

THE
DICTIONARY
Historical and Critical
OF

M^R PETER BAYLE.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Carefully collated with the several Editions of the Original; in which many Passages are restored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Translation of the Quotations from eminent Writers in various Languages.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

BY

M^R DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

F—L.



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M D C C X X V I.



Mr BAYLE's

Historical and Critical

DICTIONARY.

F.

FABRICIUS LUSCINUS (CAIUS) a Roman captain, as commendable for his probity and frugality [A] as for his valour, gave signal proofs of all those accomplishments during the war with Pyrrhus. He was consul for the first time in the year of Rome 471, and gained (a) signal victories over the Samnites, the Brutians, and the Lucanians [B]. He raised the siege of Thurium, and got so considerable a booty, that after having given a large donative to his soldiers, and reimbursed all the citizens of Rome for what each of them had contributed towards the war, he had still four hundred talents left, which were carried into the treasury on the day of his triumph. He was the only man who had not his share of those rich spoils. His colleague was Quintus Æmilius Papus, with whom he was consul a second time in the year 475 (b); but between those two consulships we must place his embassy to Pyrrhus [C]. He was sent to that prince, to treat about the ransom of the prisoners made at the battle which the consul Lævinus had lost in the year 473. Pyrrhus, being informed that Fabricius was very poor, offered him a sum of money (c): which Fabricius refused, tho' they protested, that the king presented it to him, not with design to bribe him to any thing dishonourable, but only as a mark of his friendship. The reflexion Fabricius made at that prince's table, upon what Cineas said concerning the Epicureans, that they

(a) Dionys. Halicarn. Excerpt. de Legat.

(b) Cicero, de Amicitia, c. xii.

(c) Plutarc. in Pyrrho. Dionysius, ubi supra.

[A] He was commendable for his frugality. He refused not only the presents of Pyrrhus, but likewise those of the Samnites. The thing deserves to be related (1). The ambassadors they sent to him, having enlarged upon the good offices he had done their nation since the peace, desired him to accept a good sum of money, which they were ordered to offer him; urging, he wanted a great many necessary things to furnish his house and table, and that he had not such an equipage as became his rank and merit. Thereupon Fabricius extended his hands from his ears to his eyes, and then laid them on his nose and mouth, and afterwards on his bosom, and so down to his belly, and said to the ambassadors, *As long as I can command all the parts I have touched, I shall want nothing: Therefore, having no occasion for money, I will be sure not to receive any from those who I know want it.* All the plate he had consisted in a silver cup and saltcellar; and he would not allow generals to have any more: (2) *Bellicosos imperatores plus quam pateram & salinum ex argento habere vetabat.* He lived upon herbs, which he plucked and cultivated himself (3).

[B] He gained signal victories over the Samnites, Brutians, and Lucanians. Signonius (4) had not groped in the dark, as he has done as to this consulship, and would not have said that Fabricius triumphed over the Tuscans and Gauls, if he had known what I have quoted out of Dionysius Halicarnassensis. He is to be blamed for applying to the second consulship of Fabricius, what Valerius Maximus relates of the raising of the siege of Thurium (5); in which action the Romans pretended the god Mars had visibly fought for them (6). Compare that with the St George of our Croyfades. The raising of that siege happened under the first consulship of Fabricius (7). The city of Thurium raised a statue to its deliverer (8).

[C] We must place between those two consulships his embassy to Pyrrhus. Authors disagree as to the time of that embassy: some will have it, that Fabricius was sent to Pyrrhus before the arrival of Cineas at Rome (9); Eutrop. lib. ii. others

(1) Seneca, de Provid. cap. iii.

(2) Comment. in Fast. ad annum 471.

(3) Val. Maxim. lib. i. cap. viii. n. 6.

(4) Idem, ibid. lib. xxiv. cap. iv.

(5) Ex Dionys. Halicarn.

(6) Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. vi. sub fin.

(7) V. de Signonius in Fast. ad ann. 471. & Eutrop. lib. ii.

(1) Julius Higini, de Vita Robo. illust. Virorum. lib. vi. apud A. Gellium lib. i. cap. xiv. See also Valer. Maxim. lib. iv. cap. iii.

(2) Plinius, lib. xxxiii. cap. xii. See also Valer. Maxim. lib. iv. cap. iv.

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made the supreme good to consist in a voluptuous life, altogether free from public affairs, and did not believe that the gods troubled themselves with the government of the world; the reflexion, I say, which Fabricius made thereupon, crying out, Heaven grant Pyrrhus and the Samnites may relish that philosophy as long as they are in war with us (d)! was not the least thing which made Pyrrhus conceive a great opinion of the Romans. He liked Fabricius to that degree, that he offered him the first place in his council and his armies, if he would go along with him after the peace (e). The Roman, with his usual plainness, answered him, It is by no means for your interest to have me near you; for those who honour and admire you now, would rather chuse me for their king, if they knew what I can do. Tho' this answer was not very obliging, yet Pyrrhus did not seem offended at it; nor did it hinder Fabricius from obtaining satisfaction about the subject matter of his embassy. During his consulship in the year 475, he gave Pyrrhus a great instance of his probity, by giving him notice, that his own physician offered to poison him [D], provided he was sure of a recompence. It is in this year we ought to place the battle of Asculum, which was the second against Pyrrhus [E]. The most probable opinion is, that the Romans lost it [F]; but that it cost the conqueror so many brave men, that he hoped no advantage from the continuation of the war; so that he was very glad to see himself called to the assistance of the Sicilians. Fabricius was censor in the year 478; and his colleague (f) was the same Æmilius Papus, with whom he had twice been consul. Both of them gave an instance of severe regularity, by degrading (g) a senator, named Cornelius Rufinus, who had been dictator, and twice consul, only because they found in his house silver plate for the use of his table, to the weight of ten pounds. Fabricius had long hated that man; and nevertheless he served him, towards the obtaining the consulship, at a time when he thought him more capable than his

(d) Plutarch, ubi supra. Val. Max. lib. iv, cap. iii. See also Cicero, de Senect. cap. xii.

(e) Idem. Plut. ibid. Eutropius says, That Pyrrhus offered the fourth part of his kingdom to Fabricius.

(f) Cicero, de Amicitia, cap. xi.

(g) Gellius, de Legibus, lib. iv, cap. viii. & lib. xvii, cap. ult.

(10) In Pyrrho, pag. 395.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 396.

(12) Val. Antias, apud Gellium, lib. iii, cap. viii. See also Valer. Max. lib. vi, cap. v.

(13) Val. Max. ibid.

(14) Quadrigarius apud Gellium, ubi supra.

(15) Ælian. Div. Hist. lib. xii, cap. xxxiii. It seems we must read Nicias, and not Cineas, as Andrew Schottus has remarked, lib. iii, Observe. Hist. cap. xxxiv. Schottus is mistaken on this place of Ælian, by saying, that Valerius Antias gives the name of Nicias to the Physician.

(16) Cicero, de Offic. lib. iii, cap. xxii.

(17) Eutrop. lib. ii. Aurel. Vict. de Viris illust.

(18) Lib. i, cap. xliii.

others put it back till after the return of Cineas to his master. Plutarch (10) is of this last opinion. What is most certain is, that Pyrrhus did nothing considerable during the second campaign; for the two first battles were fought, the one during the first campaign, the other during the third; the year between being spent in proposals of peace.

Now it was in the interval that Fabricius went to Pyrrhus, and that Cineas was sent to the Romans: but which of the two set out first, is what cannot be determined with any certainty. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*

[D] He gave Pyrrhus notice, that his own physician offered to poison him. Authors differ extremely concerning this fact: some (11) say, that an unknown man brought to Fabricius a letter from Pyrrhus's physician, by which he promised to poison his master if they would give him a good recompence for it; and that Fabricius, abhorring such a proposal, wrote, jointly with his colleague, to Pyrrhus, and sent him the physician's letter. The substance of the letter written by the two consuls is in Plutarch, who afterwards describes the battle of Asculum as a passage posterior to that. Others say (12), that after the two first battles won by Pyrrhus, one Timochares came secretly to the consul Fabricius, and promised him, that, provided they could agree upon the reward, he would poison Pyrrhus; which he might do easily, because his two sons were cup bearers to that monarch. Fabricius informed the senate of it, who sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus, to warn him, in general, to be upon his guard against his domestics; but who were not to mention any thing of Timochares. They had a mind to shew some regard to a man who had been willing to do them service, and at the same time to be generous towards the king. Timochares nomen suppressit, utroque modo equitatem amplexus, quia nec hostem malo exemplo tollere, neque eum qui bene mereri paratus fuerat prodere voluit (13).

They suppressed the name of Timochares, maintaining a strict regard for justice to both; for neither would they take off an enemy by any unwarrantable practices, nor betray the man that offered to do them service. Others (14) affirm, that he who came to Pyrrhus was named Nicias; and that he was sent by the two consuls, and not by the senate. They quote the consul's letter word by word; but it is not the same with that whose substance we find in Plutarch. Some will have it (15), that the name of Pyrrhus's physician was Cineas; that he wrote to the senate of Rome; and that the senate, rejecting his proposal, communicated it to Pyrrhus. Others (16) say, that Fabricius sent back to Pyrrhus the deserter who offered to poison him, and that the senate approved what Fabricius had done. There are some (17) who pretend, that Pyrrhus's physician went himself to Fabricius, and that the latter sent him bound hand and foot to his master. Florus (18) robs Fabricius entirely of the honour of this action, to

give it to Curius, Medicum venale regis Pyrrhi caput afferentem Curius remisit. — Curius sent back the physician who proffered to sell the life of his master Pyrrhus. Wherein he was not so good a judge as Pyrrhus, who by those actions knew Fabricius again, and cried out, That it was he, and no other, whom it would be more difficult to divert from the accustomed road of virtue, than the sun from it's ordinary course (19). Among so many different opinions of the ancients, it is no wonder to me if those who cite these passages sometimes mistake the one for the other. See Friethemius upon Florus, and you will find he relates altogether wrong what Aulus Gellius had taken from Valerius Antias, and Quadrigarius. I will make no reflexions upon that great variety of accounts, but shall leave it to every one's judgment, and content myself to say, that we should not have facts transmitted to us with such a medley of circumstances, if authors could cure themselves of these two faults: first, the trusting too much to their memory; secondly, the liberty they take to give great examples such a turn as best fits the subject they treat of. As for moral reflexions upon the probity of the ancient Romans, so much superior to that of our times, they are obvious to every body, without my mentioning them. See the 120th epistle of Seneca.

[E] The battle of Asculum . . . was the second against Pyrrhus. They reckon generally but three battles between that prince and the Romans; the two first of which preceded his journey into Sicily, and the other was fought after his return into Italy. But those who say, that the consul P. Decius was killed in a battle against Pyrrhus (20), must of necessity suppose, either that there have been four battles (21), or that there was none fought between Pyrrhus and Fabricius: for it is certain, that the consulship of P. Decius preceded the second consulship of Fabricius, and followed that of Lævinus, under which the first battle was fought. Eutropius, who places the second under the consulship of Decius, says, that Pyrrhus went into Sicily the following year; and that the consul Fabricius had only to do with the Samnites and the Lucanians, over whom he triumphed. Plutarch and Florus positively affirm, that the second battle was fought between Pyrrhus and Fabricius. How can we trust old historians in things little remarkable, since the years of the most decisive battles are not certain?

[F] The most probable opinion is, that the Romans lost it. The ancients had, as well as we, some Senef battles, of which each party claimed the victory, and for which they returned thanks to heaven with solemn pomp. See what is said concerning the battle of Asculum, in the remark (M) of the article PYRRHUS. In some respects, nothing is more easy than for providence to please every body. When people are in war, they seldom own that fortune has been favourable

(19) Suidas, in ἀνακρινόμενος; & in Quæstione. See also Eutrop. lib. ii, and Aurel. Victor, ubi supra.

(20) Quod quidem ejus factum nisi esset jure iudatum, non ellet imitatus quarto suo consulari filius; neque porro ex eo natus cum Pyrrho bellum gerens Consul e. didisset in prelio, seque à continentem genere tertium victricem republice præbuisse. Which action of his, had it not been justly applauded, would never have been followed by his son-in-law in his fourth consulship, nor again would the son of the latter, when consul, have offered him self the third successor against Pyrrhus. Cicero, lib. ii, de Finib. cap. xii.

(21) Father Lubbe, Chronol. Fra c. and La Fiole, Hist. de la Republ. Romaine, acknowledge four; but the first places before the consulship of Fabricius that wherein Decius was killed: the second places it afterwards.

FABRICIUS. FAKREDDIN.

his competitors to discharge that office for the good of the commonwealth. He had a fine saying about it, which is related by Cicero [G]. It is no wonder that such a man died so poor, that the public was obliged to give his daughter a portion to marry her [H]. I find in no author what Moreri relates, *that the senate were at the charge of his funeral*. I only knew, that, to honour his virtue (b), they made an exception, in his favour, to the law of the twelve tables, which allowed no body to be buried within the city of Rome.

to the enemy; they generally give out he has been beaten, and has a thousand reasons to be uneasy. If the enemy has had any success, they insult over him for not improving it better: they suppose he had formed a hundred great designs; and that being so far out in his reckoning, he ought to be the object of public laughter. There are no men that want so little to be exhorted to celebrate and rehearse the blessings of God, as public news-writers: they might well be excepted out of a cantic that may be made after the pattern of that of the three Hebrew children. They admirably

(17) 1 Thess. v. 16.

well obey the precept, *rejoice evermore* (22). [G] *He had a fine saying about it.* This P. Cornelius Rufinus was a brave man and a great commander, but prodigiously covetous and rapacious (23). He stood for the consulship at a time when the commonwealth was in danger; and his competitors were men who did not underland the war, and who had no merit. Fabricius, though he hated him, did nevertheless use all his interest in his favour. Some, who very much wondered at it, asking him the reason why he did so, *Because*, answered he, *I had rather be plundered than sold*. *Nil est quod miremini si malui compilari quam venire* (24). Cicero pretends, that Fabri-

(21) Ant. Cell. lib. iv, cap. viii.

(24) Id. lib. lib. xii, cap. i, pag. 53.

cius made this answer to Rufinus himself, who returned him thanks for his good offices: *Nil est quod mihi gratias, agas inquit, si malui compilari quam venire* (25).

[H] *The public was obliged to give his daughter a portion.* I shall quote two authors for it. 'Senatus Fabricii Lusini, Scipionisque filias ab indotatis nuptiis liberalitate sua vindicavit quoniam paternæ hæreditati præter optimam gloriam nihil erat quod acceptum referrent (26). — *The senate, by their liberality, supplied the want of fortunes to the daughters of Fabricius Lusinus, and Scipio; the only pair-mony which they could boast of being honour.* That is the first. The second is Apuleius: 'Quod si modo judices de causa ista federent C. Fabricius, Cn. Scipio, Manius Curius, quorum filiae ob paupertatem de publico dotibus donatæ ad maritos ierunt, portantes gloriam domesticam pecuniam publicam (27). — *Were C. Fabricius, Cn. Scipio, Manius Curius, whose daughters had fortunes allowed them out of the treasury, by reason of their poverty, and brought their husbands private glory, and public money, to be judges in this cause.*

(25) Cicero, lib. ii, de Oratore.

(26) Val. Max. lib. iv, cap. 19.

(27) Apuleius, Arol. i, p. m. 280.

FABRICIUS (VINCENT), a native of Hamburg, in the XVIIth century, has been famous by his wit and learning, and the political employments he has discharged. He was both a good poet and physician, an able orator, and a learned lawyer. He gained the esteem of the most learned men in Holland, whilst he studied at Leyden; and they liked his Latin poems so well, that they advised him to print them; which he did in the year 1632. That edition was followed by some others [A]. He was, for some time, counsellor to the bishop of Lubec, and afterwards syndic of the town of Dantzic: which town honoured him with the dignity of burgomaster, and sent him thirteen times as it's deputy into Poland. He died at Warsaw, during the diet of the kingdom, on the eleventh of April 1667, being fifty four years old. A collection of his works was printed in 1685, by the care of Frederic Fabricius his son (a). See the remark.

(a) Taken from the Journal of Leipsic, for the month of June 1685, pag. 279, 279.

[A] *That edition of his poems was followed by some others.* I must not forget that he was principally encouraged by the famous Daniel Heinsius, at whose house he lodged, to print his Latin verses. He was not very well pleased with that first edition, and therefore he put out another, corrected and improved, in the year 1638. He added to it a satire in prose, which he dedicated to Salmasius, and is intitled, *Præfatus paratus*: wherein the makers of anagrams, and of leud and extemporary verses, and such as despise the poets, are most bitterly railed at. Note, that he made a poem, which a physician of Geneva (1) inserted in the second part of his *Medicina septentrionalis collati-tia*. Here follows what was said of it in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, when an abstract of that physician's book was given. 'That is perhaps less surprising than the adventure of the Dutch maid, who was confined to a garden as soon as three plague-sores appeared on her body, during the horrible pestilence in the year 1636. She thought on nothing but on her journey to the other world, when a young man, who loved her, bestowed no other remedy upon her than the most amorous embraces he was capable of; and perceiving they were of some virtue, and the better to repeat the dose, he went and lay every night with his infected mistress. She perfectly recovered, and he got no harm by it. This oc-

(1) Theophilus Bramer.

casioned a fine Latin poem, which Vincent Fabricius dedicated to Salmasius, and which was soon after printed at Hamburg. It is inserted here at large, p. 210 (2). The subject was as favourable as a poet could wish, and I am sure Mr la Fontaine would have made a very diverting tale of it: which might have been intitled, *Love the best Physician*. Let us leave to the disciples of Hippocrates and Galen, to make inquiries into the natural cause of that little prodigy. What triumph of love is here! If that passion makes the dullest witty, it also gives courage to the most timorous; for in all probability, the gallant of that maid had run away like a hunted hare from the encounter of a fellow infected with the plague; but because he was in love with the infected woman, and had a fair opportunity to satisfy his passion, he dared and laughed at the danger, and was so lucky as to find, by experience, that fortune favours the bold (3).

(2) *Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres*, Febr. 1687, pag. 174.

(3) *Avances fortune juvat.*

The most complete edition of our Fabricius's poems, is that of Leipsic (1685; for besides the verses contained in the edition of Leyden 1638, it contains many others never before printed. It also comprehends many adopted pieces; and both the speeches the author made to the kings of Poland, and that he pronounced at Leyden in 1632, *De obsidione & liberatione urbis Leidenensis*, besides the theses of physic which he defended in the same city in 1634, &c (4).

(4) Taken from the Journal of Leipsic, ubi supra.

FAKREDDIN (a), prince of the Drusians in Syria, was driven out of his dominions by the Turks, and fled to Malta, then to Florence, and afterwards to Rome, about the year 1620 (b). He pretended to be related to the duke of Lorraine. The desire of reigning made him return to mount Libanus. He gave fresh jealousy to the Turks, who made war upon him. He was persuaded to go to Constantinople to vindicate himself, and had his head cut off in that city. Mir Ali, his son, succeeded him,

(a) He is named FAKREDDIN in a passage I have mentioned above, in the remark (8) of the article ECHRELL.

(b) Journal des Savans of the 12th of March 1703, pag. 470, Paris Ed.

(c) Idem, pag. 174.

(d) Ibidem.

(e) Pag. 243 of the 11th Vol.

(f) Intituled Etat present des Nations & Eglises Greque, Arme menienne, & Maronite, en Turquie. See the 17, V, and VI chapters of the 11th book, p. 174, and following, Edit. Holl. 1695.

(a) Plutarch, in Mario, pag. 427, E. calls him Titinius.

(b) Plut. ibid. Valer. Maxim. lib. viii, cap. ii, n. 3, says she was fined Sclericio nummo.

(c) Taken from Valer. Maxim. ubi supra.

(1) Τέτα δια-
ζῆσα τὴν Φερ-
νὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
λαμπρῆς ἐξου-
Divortio facto
dotem que lauta
erat repetebat.
Plut. in Mario,
pag. 427, E.

(2) Valer. Max.
lib. viii, cap. ii,
num. 3.

(3) Plutarch
ubi supra.

him, and was succeeded by his son Mir Achmed Bin Mahan; and it is the son of this last who reigns at present (c). These people had formerly several emirs; but Ibrahim, basba of Cairo, subdued them all in 1584, under Amurath III. Thirty or forty years after this Fakreddin seized several fortresses (d). The French Mercury (e) mentions his arrival at Florence under the year 1613, and relates some circumstances of it; but who-ever would know his history exactly, and without the trouble of much reading, should have recourse to a work of Mr de la Croix (f): there it appears, that this prince, whom the Arabians called merely Eben Maan, the son of Maan, took the name of Fecred-din, which signifies flambeau, or light of the faith; that he set up for a conqueror, that he oppressed the people he had conquered: that having continued five years in Italy, he returned into his own country in 1618, with vast designs in his head; but not being able to put them in execution he was forced to submit to sultan Amurath, who ordered him to be strangled in his own presence the fourteenth of March 1633.

FANNIA, wife to Caius Titinius (a) a citizen of Minturnæ, dealt very generously with Marius, tho' she was not satisfied with the judgment he had given in a law-suit wherein she was very much concerned. That Woman had lost her Reputation by her leud life; but nevertheless Titinius married her: nay, her very leudness was the chief motive that made him take her to wife, because he expected he might put her away when he would, and keep her portion, if she could be convicted of adultery. He did not fail of an opportunity to put his project in execution; but Fannia stood upon her defence, and had recourse to law. Marius was to be judge, who, as soon as he had been acquainted with the case, took Titinius aside, and advised him to restore Fannia her portion; but not being able to persuade him to it, by a peremptory sentence he adjudged Titinius to give back the portion [A]; and that Fannia should be deemed fully convicted of impudicity, and should pay a fine of a groat (b). Some time after, Marius was obliged to fly from Rome, and was declared an enemy to the commonwealth. He hid himself in the morasses of Minturnæ, from whence he was taken and put under the guard of the magistrates, who provided him a lodging in Fannia's house, because they concluded she would resent the defamatory sentence he had pronounced against her. But they were mistaken: Fannia did herself justice [B], and took all the care imaginable of her gueft (c).

[A] Marius . . . adjudged Titinius to give back the portion.] Nothing could be more just than to force him to it, because he was not unacquainted with Fannia's leud life when he married her. If he had taken her for an honest woman, and desired she should have lived as such, the case had been altered; but in order to seize upon Fannia's great fortune (1), he was well enough contented to be her cuckold for some time. It was not therefore reasonable that he should cease to be so, and have all the benefit of it: And so Marius's sentence was most judicious. 'Mulierem impudicitæ ream festertio nummo, Titinium summa totius dotis damnavit, præfatus idcirco se hunc judicandi modum secutum, quod liqueret sibi Titinium patrimonio Fannia infidias fruenter impudicæ conjugium expetisse (2). — The lady being convicted of the accusation, he fined her a sesterce, and condemned Titinius to restore the whole of her fortune, declaring that he had followed this form of judgment, because it appeared to him, that he had married Fannia to secure her fortune, since he knew of her leud practices before.' Plutarch touches upon the ground of the sentence. 'Ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὴν Φαννίαν ἀπὸ λατῶν γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸν ἀνδρα τοιαύτην εἰδὼτα λαβεῖν, καὶ συμβύσασαι πολλὸν χρόνον. Quum Fanniam constaret impudicam fuisse, & virum qui talem sciret esse eam duxisse, diuque cum ea in matrimonio vixisse (3).

— It was publicly known that Fannia had been a leud woman, and that her husband who knew it married her, and lived a considerable time with her.

[B] Fannia did herself justice.] She knew in her conscience, that she deserved all the infamy Marius had laid upon her; and consequently that he deserved all the esteem one ought to have for a just judge. She had recovered her fortune by Marius's sentence, which was a greater advantage for such a woman as she, than if Marius, in full court, had declared her an honest woman; for he could not thereby have made up the flaws which her amours had made in her reputation. Her neighbours, and in general all her acquaintance, would still have had the same opinion of her virtue as before: And therefore Marius did more sensibly oblige her, by declaring her a whore, and by restoring her her portion, than if he had proclaimed her honest, without allowing her her fortune. When a woman's leud life has once made a noise, she is no longer concerned for her reputation, but she desires then as much or more than ever to have riches, and to enjoy them. We must not therefore wonder, that Fannia behaved herself towards Marius as towards a just judge. See Valerius Maximus, whom I quote in the margin (4). However, we must not doubt but several persons, in the like circumstances, would have abused Marius.

(4) Fannia autem hæc est, quæ postea Marium, hostem a senatu judicatum, eoque paludis, qua extractus erat, oblitum, etiam in domum suam evocandum Minturnis deducum, ope quantacunque potuit, adjuvit: memor, quid impudica judicata esset, suis moribus; quod dotem servasset, illius religioni acceptum ferri debere. Valerius Max. lib. VIII, Cap. II, num. 3.

FANNIA, an illustrious Roman lady, the worthy daughter of the famous Pœtus Thrasea, and worthy grand-daughter of Arria, was so eminently magnanimous and virtuous, that she might not only be a pattern to other women, but likewise be proposed as an example of resolution to men. She followed her husband Helvidius twice into banishment, and was afterwards exiled herself upon his account, that is, because she had desired Senecio to write Helvidius's life, and had furnished him with memoirs. She confessed it openly before the judges [A], and only denied that her mother was privy to

[A] She had furnished memoirs for the life of Helvidius: she confessed it openly before the judges.] Metius Carus, a famous informer, accused Senecio of having composed Helvidius's life. The accused defended himself, by saying, he could not deny that small service to Fannia's entreaty; whereupon Fannia being asked with a threatening tone, whether what Senecio said

was true, answered, it was. But it is better to hear Pliny speak. 'Bis maritum sequuta in exilium est, tertio ipsa propter maritum relegata. Nam cum Senecio reus esset, quod de vita Helvidii libros composuisset, rogatumque se à Fannia in defensione dixisset, querente minaciter Metio Caro, an rogasset, respondit: Rogavi: ac commentarios scripturo dedisset;

FANNIA FANNIUS.

5

(a) Taken from
Pliny junior, Ep.
p. XLII, lib.
viii.

to it (a). This happened in the reign of Domitian. That greatness of soul was joined with that sweetness of temper and good humour, that Fannia was no less loved than respected (b).

(b) Eadem quæ
iucunda, quam
comis, quam
denique (quod
paucis datum est)
non minus ama-
bilis quam vene-
randa. Plinius
l. id.

(1) Plinius, ubi
supra.

disset; Dedi: an sciente matre; Nesciente. Postremo nullam vocem, cedentem periculo, emisit. Quin etiam illos ipsos libros, quæquam ex necessitate & metu temporum abolutos, S. C. publicatis bonis, servavit, habuit, tulitque in exilium, exilium causam (1). — She twice followed her husband in his exile, and was banished a third time on his account; for Senecio being accused of composing some books concerning the life of Helvidius, and alledging in his defence that it was done at the request of Fannia; Metius Carus, with an angry tone, asked whether she had desired him to do it: she answered, yes. Whether she had furnished him with memoirs: she answered, she had. Whether with the knowledge of her mother: no, replied she. In short she let fall no expression, but what was attended with danger. And notwithstanding the books had been suppressed, and her goods confiscated, she made them the companions, as they had been the cause, of her banishment. If on the one hand, it raises our indignation to see the cringing adulations of an infinite number of Romans, who sued for preferments under the first emperors; we are on the other hand struck with admiration, to see not a few great souls, who preserved the old Roman spirit amidst the public corruption. The author, whose

words I have quoted, bestows a thousand praises on Fannia; and acquaints us with one passage, which the curious will be glad to see. It was the custom for the high-priests to appoint certain ladies to take care of the Vestal virgins, who were by sickness obliged to leave their convent; and Fannia being named for that service, she contracted a disease by the extraordinary care she took of one of those Vestal virgins. Angit me Fannia: nix valetudo. Contraxit hanc dum addidet Junia, virgini Vestali, sponte primum, (est enim adfinit) deinde etiam ex auctoritate pontificum. Nam virgines, quum vi morbi atrio Vestæ coguntur excedere, matronarum curæ custodique mandantur. Quo munere Fannia dum sedulo fungitur, hoc discrimine implicita est (2). — I am concerned for Fannia's indisposition, which she contracted by attending Junia, a Vestal virgin, and her relation; her attendance was at first voluntary, and afterwards enjoined by the authority of the high-priests. For when the virgins are by sickness obliged to be removed from their apartments, they are committed to the care and inspection of the matrons. Which service whilst Fannia was discharging with the greatest fidelity, she was unhappily seized with a fit of sickness.

(2) Id. Ibid.

FANNIUS, a Roman family. We are going to mention some persons that belong to it; and we shall not forget Moreri's faults [A].

(1) He should
have said Cæ-
sarpinus.

[A] We shall not forget Moreri's faults. I. He places the questorship of Caius Fannius under the consulship of C. Calpurnius (1) Piso & M. Popilius Lænas, and in the year of Rome 611. Here are two mistakes; for that Fannius was questor in the year 614, and that consulship does not fall in the year 611, but in the year 614 of Rome. II. Fannius Strabo was not twice consul, but only once; the consulship of the year 632, which is ascribed to him by Moreri, belongs to Caius Fannius, son to the other. III. These words, perhaps this Fannius, consul in the year 632, was son to the first, are absurd; for there is no body but will explain them thus, perhaps he was son to the first Fannius, of whom I (Moreri) have spoken. Now that first Fannius is the annalist, who, far from being Fannius Strabo's father, is only his nephew. If to excuse Moreri, you suppose that his first Fannius is Fannius Strabo, you will expose him to three reproaches: his pitiful way of expressing himself; his affirming a thing, of which he speaks doubtfully some lines after; and his being ignorant of a known truth. There is no reason to doubt, that Domitius Enobarbus's colleague, in the consulship of the year 632, was son to the consul of the year 592 (2). Let us pass on to other faults. IV. Fannius, Pliny the younger's friend, did not compose a history that was lost. Indeed it was lost in process of time, with an infinite number of other books; but there is no doubt but it was extant a long time: and after all, it is very false that Pliny mentions the loss of that history. Moreri, who affirms it, shews he did not understand the Latin of Vossius, who having related Pliny's lamentations (3), because Fannius's death had overthrown the preparations of a great work, makes this sad reflexion (4). Ita profecto est, nam ut alibi de alio loquitur Plinius (5), omnia illa cum ipso sine fructu posteritatis obierunt. — It is indeed so, as Pliny speaks on a like occasion in another place, all those labours died with him, without any advantage to posterity. Moreri did not understand that this passage of Pliny does not relate to Fannius's works, but to another man's, as Vossius expressly remarks. It is true, Vossius has made use of the words of Pliny, to express what became, in time, of those works of Fannius. That is the least privilege of the art of applications: the same words,

which would be most false in the book of the first author, are most true when, a thousand years after, they are applied to other matters. Moreri was so well satisfied that Pliny spoke of his Fannius in the ninth letter of the fifth book, that he has quoted it at the bottom of the article. V. He should not have said, that Fannius's poems were placed with his picture in the temple of Apollo and the Muses, and in a public library. This is beyond hyperbole: this is not to magnify an object, but to give a quite different idea. It is almost as much as to say, that Fannius's image became an idol, an object of people's devotions in the temple of false gods; than which nothing can be more false: For the most that can be said, is, that the poems and picture of Fannius were put in Augustus's library. I own, that that library was put in a temple of Apollo (6); but that ought to be taken in the same sense, as when we say now, that there is a fine library in the cathedral church of such a place; and it is no less absurd to confound those two phrases, To put a picture in the cathedral church, to put a picture in the library of a cathedral church; than to take for the same thing, to put the picture of a poet in the temple of Apollo, to put the picture of a poet in the library of the temple of Apollo. Let us therefore confess, that Vossius has ill expressed himself in relation to Fannius (7): his negligence has deceived Moreri; but however, the latter should have taken notice of the disjunctive *etiam*; which if he had done, he would not have said, that Fannius's works were placed with his picture in the temple of Apollo and the Muses, and in a public library. The copulative *etiam*, instead of the disjunctive *or*, and the omission of *etiam*, are in this place a prodigious fault: for it not only multiplies things without necessity, but gives us also to understand, that the honour which was done to Fannius, when his picture was placed in a public library, was of another nature than that which was done him when his image was placed in the temple of Apollo. If it was of another nature, what could it be less than a kind of consecration, and a sort of idolatry? Moreri cannot be excused, by saying, that by the temple of Apollo he meant the library of that temple; for the particle *etiam*, of which he has made use, robs him of that subterfuge. Was not that library public?

(6) Sueton. de
Augusto, c. 29.

(7) Caius postula-
ta in aedem A-
pollinis & Musæ-
rum etiamve
bibliothecam
publicam cum
imagine fuerunt
delata. Voss. de
Poet. Latin. pag.
34.

(2) I have fol-
lowed Sigonius:
Moreri says 593.

(3) Quod me re-
corantem milite-
rio suble quan-
tum vigilanter
quantum laboris
exhausserit fru-
stra.
It is not without
the poet's concern
I reflect what in-
fate, pains la-
bour, whilst his
death rendered
fruitless. Plinius,
Epist. v. lib. v.

(4) Vossius, de
Hist. Lat. p. 161.

(5) Lib. v.
Epist. ix.

FANNIUS STRABO (CAIUS) a Roman consul with Valerius Messala in the year of Rome 592. That consulship is remarkable for two things: I. For the regulations made by the senate concerning the expence of feasts; II. For a decree of the senate, VOL. III. B authorizing

(a) He was called Marcus Pomponius.
(b) In the remark [B] of the article TITIUS (CAIUS).

authorizing the pretor (a) to expel the rhetoricians and philosophers from Rome [A]. They were not satisfied with the regulations which the senate made to restrain the profuseness of feasts, there was also a law made about it, which from the consul Fannius was called Fannia [B]. We shall mention elsewhere (b) the excesses which made way for it. I find nothing

[A] To expel the rhetoricians and philosophers from Rome. Suetonius (1) and Aulus Gellius acquaint us with it. These are Aulus Gellius's words. 'C. Fannio Strabone, M. Valerio Messala Coss. Senatus-consultum de Philosophis & de Rhetoribus Latinis factum est. M. Pomponius Prætor Senatui consuluit. Quod verba facta sunt de Philosophis & de Rhetoribus, de ea re ita censuerunt. Uti M. Pomponius Prætor animadverteret, curareque uti ei de republica fideque sua videretur, uti Romæ ne essent (2). —

(1) Sueton. de clar. Rhetorib. cap. i.
(2) Aul. Gell. lib. xv, cap. xi.

In the consulship of C. Fannius Strabo, and Marcus Valerius Messala, a decree was made concerning the philosophers and rhetoricians of Rome. M. Pomponius, the pretor, asked the opinion of the senate. The affair of the philosophers and rhetoricians was discussed, and they came to this determination; that M. Pomponius the pretor should take effectual care, agreeably to the interest of the republic, and his own duty, to clear the city of them.

[B] A law which . . . was called Fannia. Aulus Gellius speaks distinctly of that law, and of the senate's decree, as of two things which followed one another. The senate's decree was first made, and the law afterwards. 'Legi adeo nuper in Capitonis Atci conjectaneis senatus decretum vetus C. Fannio & M. Valerio Messala Coss. factum; in quo jubentur principes civitatis, qui ludis Megalensibus antiquo ritu mutitarent, id est, mutua convivia agitant, jurare apud Consules verbis conceptis, non amplius in singulas cenas sumptus esse facturos, quam centenos vicienque æris, præter olus & far & vinum; neque vino alienigena, sed patrio, utrosque; neque argenti in convivio plus pondo, quam libras centum illaturos. Sed post id Senatus-consultum lex Fannia lata est, quæ ludis Romanis, item ludis plebeis & Saturnalibus, & aliis quibuscumque diebus, in singulos dies centenos æris infumi concessit, decemque aliis diebus in singulis mensibus tricenos; cæteris autem omnibus diebus denos (3). — I have read lately in Capito Atci's conjectures, that an old decree of the senate was made in the consulship of C. Fannius, and M. Val. Messala; whereby the magistrates, who according to custom gave mutual entertainments during the Megalensian games, were obliged to swear in form before the consuls, not to expend above a hundred and twenty pieces of brass money, besides bread, herbs and wine, upon every feast, and not to use foreign wines, but of their own growth, nor to bring to table above one hundred weight of plate. But after that decree the Fannian law was enacted, which allowed one hundred pieces of brass to be expended at a time, during the Roman, Plebeian, and Saturnalian games, and on some other particular days; and on ten other days in every month thirty, but on all other days only ten.' This was a marvellous frugality, and such as put a great constraint upon people. What rich nation would now-a-days undergo such a yoke? but passing by all moral criticisms, let us enquire under which Fannius the law Fannia was made; for some people think, it was not made under him whom Aulus Gellius mentions.

(3) Idem, lib. ii, cap. xxiv.

(4) Gland. Onomastic. p. 333.

Glandorp (4), considering the distinction which Aulus Gellius has observed between the senate's decree and the law, is persuaded that the law was made a long time after the senate's decree; that is, under the consulship of Caius Fannius, son to our Caius Fannius Strabo, in the year of Rome 632. But that opinion can never agree with what we read in Pliny, that the law Fannia was made eleven years before the third Punic war. I shall quote the whole passage, because it contains some curious particulars. There you will see that the inhabitants of Delos were the first that crammed hens, which introduced the custom of eating no fowls but what were crammed. In order to restrain that piece of luxury, the law Fannia ordained, that no manner of fowl should be served up at table, except a hen uncrammed. But this law was soon after eluded, under pretence that it did not prohibit crammed chickens. 'Gallinas faginare Deliaci cœpere: unde pestis exorta opimas aves & suopte corpore unctas devorandi. Hoc primum antiquis conarum interdicitis exceptum invenio jam lege C. Fannii Coss. XI. annis ante tertium Punicum bellum, ne quid volucre

poneretur præter unam gallinam quæ non esset altalis: quod deinde caput translatum per omnes leges ambulavit. Inventumque diverticulum est in fraude earum gallinaceos quoque pascendi lacte madidis cibis: multo ita gratiores approbantur (5).'

Macrobius would furnish us with very good weapons against Glandorp, if his Computations were not somewhat intricate. He enumerates, one after another, the laws of the ancient Romans against expences in eating, and this is the order he observes. The first law was made at the request of C. Orchius, tribune of the people; the second, which was the law Fannia, was made twenty two years after the first. 'Prima omnium de cœnis lex ad populum Orchia pervenit, quam tulit C. Orchius tribunus plebis de senatus sententia, tertio anno quam Cato censor fuerat. Cujus verba quia proluxa sunt prætereo. Summa autem ejus præscribat numerum convivarum. Et hæc est lex Orchia, de qua Cato in orationibus suis vociferabatur, quod plures quam præscripto ejus cavebatur ad cenam vocarentur. Cumque auctoritatem novæ legis aucta necessitas impelleret: post annum vicimum secundum legis Orchia Fannia lex lata est, anno post Romam conditam, secundum Gellii opinionem, quingentesimo octogesimo octavo (6). — The Orchian law was the first which was published concerning entertainments. C. Orchius, tribune of the people enacted it with the approbation of the senate three years before Cato was censor. As it is very tedious I shall not transcribe it. The principal thing which it regarded was the number of guests. This is the Orchian law on which Cato de-claimed with so much warmth; because more were invited than were allowed by that law. And as the exigency still encreasing called for the authority of a new decree; twenty two years after, the Fannian law was enacted, &c.' The first was made three years before Cato obtained the censorship; and therefore the law Fannia was made nineteen years after he was raised to that office. Now he was created censor in the year 569 of Rome, and so the law Fannia must have been made in the year 588. This conclusion rightly drawn from Macrobius's Words, joined with the Fasti Consulares, is agreeable to the text itself of Macrobius. 'Post annum vicimum secundum legis Orchia Fannia lex lata est anno post Romam conditam, secundum Gellii opinionem, quingentesimo octogesimo octavo (7). — Twenty two years after the Orchian law had been enacted, the Fannian law was passed, in the year of Rome, according to Gellius, five hundred eighty eight.' But here we find this inconveniency, that, according to Aulus Gellius, the law Fannia was made in the 588th year of Rome. Now look as long as you please in Aulus Gellius, and you will not find there that point of chronology; but only, that after the decree made by the senate, under the consulship of C. Fannius, and Valerius Messala, the law Fannia was enacted. Macrobius cannot say, that, according to Aulus Gellius's opinion, that law was made in the year 588, without supposing that Aulus Gellius affirms, that the law Fannia was made under the consulship of Fannius and Messala, and that that consulship falls in the year 588. But it is certain that Aulus Gellius has neither of those two assertions, and that he rather speaks like one that rejects the first, than like one that designs to maintain it. Post id senatusconsultum lex Fannia lata est (8). I know very well that it cannot be concluded from that Latin, that the senate's decree and the law were not made the same Year, and this is what I oppose to Glandorp's reasoning: for there is time enough in one year, both for the senate to make a decree, and afterwards for the people either to confirm, correct, or amplify by an authentic law, that decree of the senate. Aulus Gellius might therefore have expressed himself as he does, although he had been sure that the senate's decree and the law were made the same year; but it is most certain that his words do rather lead to another sense, and that therefore Macrobius is not exact, in pretending that Aulus Gellius has placed both the senate's decree and the law under the same consulship. As for the other assertion, Macrobius is yet more to blame: for Aulus Gellius would

(5) Plin. lib. x, cap. i.

(6) Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. ii, cap. xiii.

(7) Id. lib. ii.

(8) Aul. Gell. lib. ii, cap. xxiv.

FANNIUS.

7

nothing worth mentioning touching Marcus FANNIUS, brother to him who is the subject of this article. Those two brothers left each of them a son named Caius, as we shall see presently.

would advance a very gross lye, if he placed the consulship of Fannius and Messala under the year 588. These intricacies in Macrobius will not allow us to make use of his testimony towards a chronological exactness; but here are others which will suffer it yet less.

According to his supposition, it is most certain that the law Fannia was made in the 588th year of Rome: for he places an interval of twenty two years between that law, and that which was called Orchia, and pretends that the later was made three Years before Cato was created Censor. Now that office was bestowed on Cato in the 569th year of Rome (9); and so the law Orchia was made in the Year 566, to which number if you add twenty two years, you will come to the 588th year of Rome. It is therefore unnecessary to correct Macrobius's words (10); for if they are not right, it is the author's fault, and not the transcriber's. Father Hardouin, by supposing that they have adulterated the numbers in Macrobius's text, assigns a very probable cause of that alteration. 'Hinc Macrobius emendamus, lib. 2. Saturn. cap. 13. pag. 367. apud quem corruptus annorum numerus legitur. Fannia lex, inquit, lata est anno post Romam conditam,

'secundum Gellii opinionem, quingentesimo octogesimo octavo. Scriptum erat per litterarum compendium, DLXXXIII. Librarii deinde, ut alias saepe advertimus, denarii nota postrema in quinarium versa, DLXXXVIII, perperam refererunt (11). — Hence I correct Macrobius, lib. 2. Saturn. c. 13. p. 365, where the number of years is corrupted. The Fannian law, says he, was passed in the year of Rome, according to Gellius's opinion, five hundred eighty eight. It was wrote in numerals DLXXXIII. The transcribers, as I have often observed in other places, by changing the last X into V corruptly wrote it DLXXXVIII. But that supposition happens un luckily to be false; for if Macrobius had not set down the year 588, but either the year 592 or 593, he had confused himself by his own calculations. Turn the thing which way you please, and you will never find him exact: and if you should maintain, that according to him the law Orchia was enacted three Years after Cato was made censor (12), you would but increase the confusion. See the article TITIUS (13), wherein I examine, whether what Macrobius says concerning that Man, can any ways back Glandorp's opinion.

(11) Hardouin, in Plin. lib. 2, pag. 482, Tom. II.

(12) One might maintain that the ellipsis of these words of Macrobius, Tertio anno quam Cato Censor fuerit, is not ante but post.

(13) Rem. [B].

FANNIUS (CAIUS) son of the fore-mentioned, distinguished himself by his eloquence [A]. He was consul with Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, in the year of Rome 632, and opposed the factious attempts of Caius Gracchus, tho' he was indebted to him for the consulship (a). He published an oration against him, which Cicero has commended [B].

[A] Distinguished himself by his eloquence. Left my reader's fancy should go too far, I must acquaint him, that the orator I speak of in this place was never of the first rank, but always passed for one of the middle class. Fannius in mediocribus oratoribus habitus esset (1); however, the following remark will shew you that I might speak of him, as I have done, without hyperbole. Does not Paternus place him among the most famous orators (2)?

[B] He published against C. Gracchus an oration which Cicero has commended. These are his words. 'Horum ætatis adjundi duo C. Fannii, Caii & Marci filii fuerunt, quorum Caii filius qui Consul cum Domitio fuit unam Orationem de sociis, & nomine Latino contra Gracchum reliquit, sane & bonam & nobilem (3). — Cotemporary with these were the two C. Fannius, sons of Caius & Marcus; the former, who was consul with Domitius, has left an oration against Gracchus, which is truly good and noble. That oration was thought to good by nice judges, that some fathered it upon Persius (4), and others said, that several men of quality had a hand in it; because they found in it more beauties than they thought could proceed from a mean orator, such as Fannius was accounted to be. Cicero confutes that opinion among other reasons, by this, that Fannius had always excelled in his language, and had rendered himself illustrious in his tribuneship. 'Eam suspicionem propter hanc causam credo fuisse, quod Fannius in mediocribus oratoribus habitus esset, oratio autem vel optima esset illo quidem tempore orationum omnium: sed nec ejusmodi est, ut à pluribus consula videatur: unus enim sonus est totius orationis, & idem stylus, nec de Persio reticisset Gracchus, quum & Fannius de Menelao Maratheno, & de ceteris objecisset, præsertim quum Fannius nunquam sit habitus linguis: nam & causas defendit, & tribunatus ejus arbitrio & auctoritate Publici Africanus gessit, non obcurus fuit (5). — I imagine this suspicion took it's rise from hence, that Fannius was only esteemed a second rate

orator: but that oration even excelled any of that time. It is not however such as may argue it to be the composition of a club; for the periods have all the same turn, and the same stile runs thro' the whole; nor would Gracchus have passed Persius in silence, when Fannius had made objections concerning Menelao Marathenus, and the rest, especially as Fannius was never accounted a man that wanted elocution, for he pleaded at the bar, and his tribuneship, which he obtained by the interest of Publius Africanus, was not inglorious. This passage acquaints us, that Fannius was of a Plebeian family. Cicero is taxed with bestowing elsewhere upon Fannius, the son of Marcus, the tribuneship, which he ascribes in this place to Fannius, the son of Caius. 'In præsentia mihi velim scribas quibus CENS. C. Fannius M. F. Tribunus pl. fuerit: Videor mihi audisse P. Africanum, L. Mummi (6). — I wish you would inform me as speedily as may be, who were CENSORS when C. Fannius Corradus. These as, son of Marcus, was tribune of the people. If I are his words in Brutus Cicero, pag. 187, Vide & L. Mummius were. But I do not find that that later Cicero's criticism (7) is well grounded; for it is very possible diversely tunc Fannius, the son of Marcus, was tribune during the censorship of Scipio Africanus, and that Fannius, quoniam libro the son of Caius, followed Scipio Africanus's counsels decimo sexto ad in the discharge of his tribuneship. Now if these two things are very possible, why may not we say, that Cicero has spoken of the one in this place, and of the other in his letters to Atticus? I find more difficulty in the word censoribus, which has been put instead suo loco ea de re of consules, in the passage of his letter to Atticus; for as Cicero chiefly wanted to know in what year such and such had been either tribunes of the people, or pretors, &c. (8), without doubt he enquired under & hunc pro illo what consulship they had exercised those offices. The censures were renewed but every fifth Year, and so he could not have known the year of a tribuneship, if he had only known under what censor such or such a man had been tribune of the People.

(a) Plut. in vita Gracchi.

(6) Cicero, epist. xlii. ad Attic. lib. xvi.

(7) It is made by Corradus. These as, son of Marcus, was tribune of the people. If I are his words in Brutus Cicero, pag. 187, Vide & L. Mummius were. But I do not find that that later Cicero's criticism (7) is well grounded; for it is very possible diversely tunc Fannius, the son of Marcus, was tribune during the censorship of Scipio Africanus, and that Fannius, quoniam libro the son of Caius, followed Scipio Africanus's counsels decimo sexto ad in the discharge of his tribuneship. Now if these two things are very possible, why may not we say, that Cicero has spoken of the one in this place, and of the other in his letters to Atticus? I find more difficulty in the word censoribus, which has been put instead suo loco ea de re of consules, in the passage of his letter to Atticus; for as Cicero chiefly wanted to know in what year such and such had been either tribunes of the people, or pretors, &c. (8), without doubt he enquired under & hunc pro illo what consulship they had exercised those offices. The censures were renewed but every fifth Year, and so he could not have known the year of a tribuneship, if he had only known under what censor such or such a man had been tribune of the People.

(8) See the fifth letter of the second book to Atticus.

FANNIUS, (CAIUS) son to Marcus, and cousin-german to the fore-going, was questor in the year of Rome 614, and pretor two years after. He bore arms in Africa under Scipio Africanus the younger (a), and in Spain under Fabius Maximus Servilianus (b). He was disciple of Panætius (c) a great Philosopher of the sect of the Stoics, and married the younger daughter of Lælius. He composed annals which were in esteem

(a) Appian. in lib. c. pag. m. 476.

(c) Cicero, in Brutus, cap. xxvi.

(a) Iste Fannius non Platorchius in vita Gracchi, pag. 325, d.

esteem [A]. He resented his father-in-law Lælius's bestowing the office of Augur upon Quintus Mutius Scævola his other son-in-law; nor would he admit of Lælius's excuses [B]. It will not be amiss to observe, that Cicero having said that Fannius the historian was son-in-law to Lælius, he was confuted by Pomponius Atticus in a demonstrative manner [C], tho' at the same time he was not mistaken. The Reader will see, in one single remark, the mistakes of some authors in relation to the Fannii [D].

(1) In Bruto, cap. xxvi.

(2) The fifth of the twelfth book.

(3) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. 28.

(4) See Grevius's edition, Tom. II, pag. 75, 76, of Manutius's Commentary.

(5) See Grevius's edition, Tom. II, pag. 296, col. 1.

(6) Marius Victorinus in primum Ciceronis de Inventione apud Vossium de Hist. Lat. pag. 28, 29.

(7) Cicero, in Bruto, cap. xxvi.

(8) Idem, Epist. I, ad Atticum, lib. xlii.

[A] He composed annals which were in esteem.] Cicero speaks pretty honourably of them (1): 'Ejus omnis in dicendo facultas ex historia ipsius non inegant scripta perspicui potest, quæ neque nimis est infans neque perfecte diserta. — All his skill in oratory may be seen in his history which is not ill wrote, being neither too puerile, nor altogether elaborate.' Brutus made an abridgment of them, as we learn from one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (2), where we read these words, *Conturbat me epitoma Bruti Fanniana, an Bruti epitoma Fannianorum*. Vossius (3) observes, that Manutius has ill explained that Latin in his commentary. He thought, says he, that that work of Brutus was either a short history of the Fannian family, or of the memorable actions done by the Fannii. Manutius says no such thing in his commentary, but has understood the thing rightly. 'In Bruti epitoma Fannianorum, that is according to him, quam confecit Brutus annalium Fannianorum, id est historiae à Fannio conscriptæ (4). — In Brutus's epitome of Fannius, that is, according to him, of the annals of Fannius, or the history which Fannius wrote.' Instead of accusing Manutius of that fault, it ought to have been laid upon Corradus (5). As for the rest, if Fannius's annals came short of being a masterpiece of eloquence, they had however an excellence better than a fine style, which was sincerity; for that is the character Sallust gives of Fannius. 'Cum aliis Historiographis singula tradidisset (Sallustius) in libro primo historiæ, Catoni brevitatem, Romani generis disertissimum, paucis absolvit; Fannio vero veritatem (6). — Sallust, in his first book of history, gives each historian his particular character: to Cato brevity, to Fannius's truth.'

[B] Nor would he admit of Lælius's excuses.] He had married Lælius's younger daughter: the elder was married to Scævola. But Scævola being younger than Fannius, the latter pretended that his birthright ought to incline Lælius to prefer him before the other in the disposal of the augurship. Lælius excused himself, by saying, that he had not preferred the younger of his sons-in-law to the elder, but the elder of his daughters to the younger: but Fannius would not be satisfied with that distinction. 'Is focerum quia cooptatus in Augurum collegium non erat, non admodum diligebat, præsertim cum ille Q. Scævolam sibi minorem natu generum prætulisset, cui tamen Lælius se excusans non genero minori dixit se illud, sed majori filia detulisse (7).' This passage of Cicero does not altogether agree with his dialogue of friendship, wherein he introduces Fannius speaking to his father-in-law, as if he was very well pleased with him, and as being his colleague in his dignity of augur.

[C] Cicero was confuted in a demonstrative manner.] I do but translate Cicero's words, *Sed tu me γεωμετρικῶς refelleras* (8). I am mistaken if there be not some irony in it. Cicero would insinuate to his friend, who was a man consummate in the knowledge of families, that we ought not always to trust our memory; and that we may sometimes take for invincible reasons, what at bottom is but a meer illusion. You proved geometrically to me, that I had falsely advanced that Fannius was son-in-law to Lælius. This I had from Hortensius, who is very credible in those things; however, I was fain to yield to your geometrical proofs: But here is Brutus, who confutes you in the abridgment he has made of Fannius's history; get you out of that plunge as well as you can. 'Scripti quod erat in extremo: idque ego secutus hunc Fannium qui scripsit historiam, generum esse scrip-

seram Lælii: sed tu me γεωμετρικῶς refelleras: te autem nunc Brutus & Fannius. Ego tamen de bono auctore Hortensio sic acceperam, ut apud Brutum est. Hunc igitur locum expedies (9).' Thus Cicero (9) Id. ibid. speaks to his friend Atticus. It is visible he is upon the jeering strain, when he gives the name of geometrical demonstrations, to the pretended reasons of Atticus. Note, that Cicero's words prove, 1. that Fannius had said in his history, that he was son-in-law to Lælius. 2. That Cicero learned only, from the abridgment of that history published by Brutus, that Fannius had said such a thing; for if he had known it otherwise, he would not have alleged, as his only proof, the single authority of Hortensius. If Mezerai had said in his history, that he had married the daughter of such one, those who should mention that marriage, and should remember what the historian had said about it, would not quote an hear-say; or if they did, they would deserve to be laughed at.

[D] See the mistakes of some authors in relation to the Fannii.] Let us begin with Mr Lloyd. I. He places in the 508th year of Rome, the passing of the law Fannia, and quotes the fourteenth chapter of the second book of Aulus Gellius, instead of quoting the twenty fourth. He also quotes the seventeenth chapter of the third book of Macrobius's Saturnalia, instead of quoting the twelfth chapter of the second Book. II. He says, that Caius Fannius, son to Marcus, and son-in-law to Lælius, was more famous than Fannius his cousin, both by his morals and his eloquence, *moribus & ipso dicendi genere clarior*. That is a notorious falsehood; for Cicero, to whom he refers us, is very far from saying any such thing (10). III. As for the poet Fannius, he says, that his poems were carried with his image into the temple of Apollo and the Muses, or into some other library: which fault he has copied from Vossius (11). IV. He applies to Fannius Cæpio an epigram of Martial (12), which he does not transcribe right; for he says,

*Hossem cum peteret (13) se Fannius ipse peremit,
Hic rogo non furor est ne moriari mori?*

These two verses have no manner of sense. The word *peteret*, put instead of *fugeret*, blunts the point of the epigram; and if you leave *fugeret* in it, it will not hit upon Fannius Cæpio, the head in a conspiracy against Augustus. I do not quote Macrobius (14), who relates the great fidelity of one of that Fannius's slaves towards his master, and who acquaints us, that Fannius shunned death with all the caution imaginable: I do not quote, I say, Macrobius, who does not say, that Fannius was at last weary of shunning death; but I quote Dion, who says positively that Fannius was killed (15), and betrayed by one of his servants (16). Is not this a proof that he did not kill himself. Let us pass on to Mr Hofman. He has committed the four faults of Lloyd, and some of those of Moreri. He has quoted the ninth letter of the fifth book of Pliny, which has no reference to any of the Fannii. He says, that Fannius Strabo was twice consul; first with Valerius Messala, and then with Domitius Ænobarbus. He adds, that the law Fannia was made under the first consulship of Fannius; and refers us, for that matter, to his article Fannia, where we find that that law was made in the year 508. He therefore places the first consulship of Fannius Strabo, in the year 508, whereas it ought to have been placed in the year 592 or 593. Before he spoke of Fannius Strabo, he had made an article of Caius Fannius, consul with Domitius; and so of one man he has made two.

(10) He says, Moribus & ipso genere dicendi clarior. Idem, in Bruto, pag. 183.

(11) See, above, the faults of Moreri, remark [A] of the article FANNIUS, (the Family) num. 5.

(12) It is the 80th of the 2d book.

(13) There should have been *fugeret*.

(14) Saturn. lib. i, cap. xi.

(15) Καὶ ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνάστην ἐπὶ μὴν δὲ καὶ Φεβρουαρίου ἡλυσαν, ἀπεσφάγησαν δὲ ἡ πολλὰ ὑπερβόη. Hic quum die dicta in iudicia non comparissent, abentes exilio damnati sunt & paulo post necati. Dio, lib. 54, pag. m. 508, ad ann. 732.

(16) Τὸν δὲ ἔτερον (τῶν δυνάστην) τὸν προδόντα αὐτὸν. Alterum (servorum) qui herum prodidisset. Id. ibid.

FANNIUS QUADRATUS, a Latin poet, whose poems, though ridiculous, were placed, with his picture, in the library which Augustus had erected [A]. Horace, cotemporary

[A] His poems were placed in the library which Augustus had erected.] It was in the temple of Apollo Palatinus. See what Horace says of Fannius:

----- beatus Fannius ultro
Delatis capsis & imagine: quum mea nemo
Scripta legat, vulgo recitare timentis (1).

(1) Horat. Sat. iv, lib. i, vers. 21.

Mr Dacier

FANNIUS FAREL.

9

(a) Aut cruciet
quod Vellicet ab
stem Demen-
trius, aut quod
isepus Fannius
Hemogenis la-
cat corvina Ti-
gelli. *Herat. Sat.*
i, lib. 1, ver. 78.

cotemporary of that Fannius, has spoken of him with much contempt, and has re-
flected on him as a parasite (d). That is the common character of bad poets.

Mr Dacier understands these words in the following manner: 'That Fannius, *says he*, though a bad poet, made a shift, by his intrigues, and by a sort of cabal he had raised by reading his poems in all places, and to all comers, to get leave, against all manner of justice, that he himself should be permitted to carry both his composures and his picture into the library which Augustus had dedicated: and this is what Horace ridicules very wittily. . . . Fannius, by making daily assemblies where he read his works, had got a vast number of admirers, who cried up his verses, and dispersed copies of them every where: whereas the verses of Horace, who would be indebted to no body but himself for his reputation, and who communicated them but very seldom, to very few people, were almost unknown, and did not make a quarter part of the noise the foolish works of Fannius did: for at that time, as well as now-adays, fiction often prevailed over merit. This is the true sense of that passage, which has not been well understood: for what Acron says, that the senate had done that honour to Fannius, to be rid of his importunities; or that some people that hankered after the estate of Fannius, who

was childless, in order to curry favour with him, and become his heirs, had carried his writings and his picture into the public library; all that, I say, is a meer fancy, which has no manner of ground. I put in the margin (2) the words of the old interpreter, which Mr Dacier condemns. I have said somewhere (3), that satires want to be commented upon, either by the author himself, or by some cotemporary writer. Here is a passage of Horace which confirms my opinion. We know not the true meaning of it, we only guess at it; and how happy soever our conjectures be, there are still some doubts behind. We should not be at that loss if Horace had commented upon his own satires, or if some writer of Augustus's age had writ commentaries upon them: but because one of the perfections of that kind of composures consists in a thousand strokes of raillery, exprest by obscure hints, and which allude to some adventures not known to every body, I believe a satirical author does not much care for commentaries. The modern Theophrastus (4) was not pleased, to see that people made him enemies by applying his characters to such and such persons.

(4) La Bruyere.

(a) Fannius
Quadratus Poeta
loquacissimus &
ineptissimus fuit,
cui senatus au-
diendi fastidio
ultra capias &
imaginem obtu-
lit, ut libros
suos mitteret, &
in auctoritatem
reciperetur tan-
quam optimus.
Poeta: vel, ut
alii referunt,
Fannius Poeta
malus cum libe-
ros non haberet,
hereditate sine
eius cura & stu-
dio libros ejus
in publicas biblio-
thecas refere-
bant, nullo ta-
men merito
scriptoris.
(3) See, above,
remark [A] of
the article A-
BELL Y; and
remark [C] of
D'ASSOUCI,
at the end.

FANNIUS (Caius), a Latin author, who lived in Trajan's time, and had a great share in the esteem and friendship of Pliny the younger. Though he was busy in pleading causes, yet he found time to make a collection of Nero's cruelties; that is, he composed the last dying words of those whom that wicked prince had either put to death, or banished. He had published three very exact and polite books upon that subject [A]; and he bestowed the more pains upon the sequel, because he saw that the first parts were read with applause: but death prevented the finishing of that work. He had himself a fore-sight, occasioned by a certain dream, that he should die before the publishing of the fourth book (a).

[A] He had published three very exact and polite books upon that subject. Nothing was more proper than a work of that nature, to render the memory of Nero odious: for it was a kind of martyrology; and it is well known, that satires, though most nicely written, do much less prejudice to a tyrant than a martyrology unskillfully compiled. The last dying words of the persecuted recommend them by two powerful reasons: the one is, the miserable condition to which they are generally reduced; and the other, the patience and fine discourses that usually accompany their conflicts, at least in relations: which make us forget those passages of their lives which might hinder the effects of compa-
sion and veneration. Judge you what coals of fire all these things heap upon the head of the persecutor and tyrant: and I leave you to think, whether that work of Fannius was not very proper to make Nero's memory detested; for it contained the last dying words of a great many

illustrious persecuted persons, written with great clear-
ness. Let us hear Pliny speak: 'Pulcherrimum opus
' imperfectum reliquit. Quamvis enim agendis causis
' distringeretur, scribat tamen exitus occisorum aut
' relegatorum à Nerone: & jam tres libros abfolverat,
' subtiles, & diligentes, & Latinos, atque inter sermo-
' nem historiamque medios. Ac tanto magis reliquos
' perficere cupiebat, quanto frequentius hi lesitaban-
' tur (1). — He left a most beautiful work imper-
' fect. For though he was engaged to attend almost
' constantly at the bar, yet he wrote the last words of
' those who were either put to death, or banished by
' Nero, and had already finished three books, wrote
' with the greatest art, elegance, and purity, keeping
' a mean between history and familiar style. He was so
' much the more desirous to have completed the rest,
' as he found that those which he had done were greatly
' admired.'

(a) Taken from
Pliny the
younger, *Epist.*
v, lib. v.

(1) Plin. *Epist.*
v, lib. v.

FAREL (WILLIAM), one of the most eminent ministers of the reformed church, was son of a gentleman of Dauphiné, and was born at Gap, in the year 1489 (a). He studied at Paris with great success: he learnt there philosophy (b), the Greek and Hebrew languages (c), and was some time a teacher in the college of cardinal de Moine (d). James Faber Stapulensis procured him that employment (e), and, as I believe, also the invitation which William Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, sent to him. That bishop was a little inclined to the reformation, and upon that account he invited into his diocese, some persons who had relished the new opinions. Farel, among the rest, was called to preach to them there in 1521 (f). The persecution which was begun at Meaux, in the year 1523, against those they called heretics, obliged him to provide for his safety elsewhere than in France (g): whereupon he retired to Strasburg [A], where he received the band of fellowship from Bucer and Capito (h), as he did afterwards from Zuinglius

(a) Ancillon vie
de Guillaume
Farel, pag. 1.
(b) Ibid. pag. 10.
(c) Ibid. p. g. 18,
& 28.
(d) Ibid. pag. 29.
(e) Ibid.
(f) Ibid. pag.
110, & 193.
(g) Ibid. pag.
110.
(h) Ibid. pag.
197.

(1) Ancillon,
minister of
Meaux before the
revocation of the
edict of Nantes,
and since of Ber-
lin. See his
life of Farel,
published at
Amsterdam, in
1791, pag. 222.
(2) Frederic
Spanheim.

[A] He retired to Strasburg. I thought I ought to follow the account of a man (1) who tells us he has Farel's Diary in his possession. I have therefore said, upon the faith of this voucher, that our William, flying from Meaux, retreated to Strasburg; but I ought not to conceal, that another minister (2), who to me seems to have written after good memoirs, relates the thing a little otherwise. He says, that Farel, being constrained to quit Meaux, went to Gap, and endeavoured to set up the Reformation there; which design had no success, and did but expose him to the

hatred and ill offices of his countrymen. Thereupon he retired to Basil, where he publicly defended a thesis: which having exposed him to great dangers, he retired to Strasburg, where he was received with open arms by Bucer and Capito, and where he preached the truth to the refugees from France, till, in the year 1527, he removed to Montbéliard in order to promote the reformation (3). This last assertion is very false; for we shall shew presently, that Farel preached the gospel in the country of Montbéliard in 1524.

(3) Taken out
of the oration of
Frederic Span-
heim, intitled,
Geneva restituta,
p. 29, 40.

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C

[G] He

- (i) *Ibid.* at Zurich, from Haller at Berne, and from Oecolampadius at Basil (i) [B]. Being found very proper to gain profelytes, he was advised to undertake the reformation of Montbeliard; in which enterprize he had very great success, through the favour of the duke of Wirtemberg, the lord of that place (k). He abated somewhat of his zeal, according to Oecolampadius's advice [C]. He had the like success in the year 1528, in

[B] He received the hand of fellowship . . . from Oecolampadius at Basil.] I add the name of that city to the account of my author, because that omission is illusory, and seems to intimate that Oecolampadius was minister of Bern. These are Mr Ancillon's words: 'In the year 1524 Zuinglius, the burning and shining candle at Zurich: Haller, the vessel of election at Bern; Oecolampadius, the lamp of the house of God, embraced Farel (4).' I find in his narrative another omission of more consequence; for he says nothing of a famous dispute which Farel maintained at Basil in the year 1524. I know very well that he has mentioned it in another place (5); but besides that he has not rightly set down the time of it (6), he has not mentioned it in the right place, that is, when he related (7) historically, and according to the order of chronology, all the labours of Farel. Let us therefore supply what he has omitted. Farel being arrived at Basil, in the year 1524, addressed himself to the faculty of divinity, to whom he declared, he desired to defend a thesis publicly. The divines of Basil, particularly Lewis Berus, provost of St Peter, refused him their permission for it, under pretence that his positions were agreeable to the new doctrine. The senate having notice of that refusal, gave leave to Farel to maintain his assertions; which Farel caused to be posted up at the gate of the college. The grand vicar, the rector of the university, and the professors, published a prohibition to be present at that disputation, under pain of excommunication: which the senate looking upon as a manifest encroachment upon their authority, ordered all divines, curates, and scholars, to assist at that disputation, upon the forfeiture of the use of mills and ovens, and of the liberty of buying their necessities in the market (8). By that means Farel had all the advantage he could have wished, and defended his thesis in the presence of an infinite number of persons, both ecclesiastics and laics, on the fifteenth of February 1524: but nevertheless the popish faction was so prevalent, that he was soon after obliged to quit Basil (9).

(4) Ancillon, ubi supra, pag. 197, 198.

(5) In the 43d page, where the business is not to relate the labours of that minister in a chronological order.

(6) He has placed it on the 15th of Febr. 1520.

(7) In the 13th chapter, pag. 191, & 192.

(8) Secus facturus vis molendinorum furnorum & mercatus interdicat. Melch. Adam, in Theol. exten. pag. 114.

(9) Taken from Melch. Adam, ubi supra, pag. 113, 114.

(10) Ancillon, ubi supra, pag. 204.

(11) Melch. Adam, ubi supra, pag. 114.

† In Epist. lib. iv.

(12) *Ibid.* pag. 115, 116.

‡ Lib. iv, Epist. pag. 916.

[C] He abated somewhat of his zeal, according to Oecolampadius's advice.] These are Mr Ancillon's words: 'Farel, according to the caution given him by Oecolampadius, moderated his ardour, managed his zeal, and proportioned it to the temper of his hearers, whom he drew all to the communion of JESUS CHRIST (10).' This relates to Montbeliard. Others say, that having shewed too much passion in those parts, he was advised by Oecolampadius to join prudence with zeal in another place, whither he went to preach the gospel. 'Basilea exactus in monte Bellicardi Evangelium Christi aliquandiu docuit: post & in aliis Gallici idiomatis peritis vicinisque locis: tanta animi contentione tantoque ardore, ut divinitus illum ad munus ejusmodi excitatum res demonstraret: quanquam alicubi moderationem in eo quidam desiderarint, ut dicemus. Circa annum vicesimum septimum iterum annunciandi verbi locum invenit, in quodam oppido, cui *Ælin* nomen: ubi ut fortiter & prudenter ageret, Oecolampadius submonuit. — Being obliged to quit Basil, he preached the gospel for some time at Montbeliard, and after that in other places which lay near France, whose inhabitants spoke French, where he behaved himself with such zeal and resolution, that he appeared to have been commissioned by heaven for that purpose: though some, as I shall hereafter observe, complained of his want of moderation. About the year twenty seven he found another place to preach the gospel in, namely a town named *Ælis*, where Oecolampadius advised him to mix prudence with his zeal.' The author, from whom I borrowed this Latin, recites (12) the words which Oecolampadius made use of when he exhorted his friend not to be so violent. 'Ita Oecolampadius alicubi: Qui hic tibi & evangelio favent, ne quid ardore zeli inter initia attentes, timent. De quo satis monui ante, quam abires: nunc non item. Neque enim excidisse animo crediderim, quomodo inter nos convenerit: nempe ut quanto propensior es ad

violentiam, tanto magis te ad lenitatem exerceas: leoninamque magnanimitatem columbina modestia frangas, Duci, non trahi, volunt homines. Unum spectemus; quomodo lucrificamus animas Christo: & quomodo ipsi doceri vellemus, siquidem adhuc teneremur in tenebris & captivitate Antichristi. Vide ut Christum etiam vita exprimas, exemplo inquam docendi. Et alibi: apertius: Rogavi ex N. super mansuetudine tua: qua nihil magis Christianum, nedum Apostolum decet. Is cum mire extulisset sedulitatem insatigabilem, ardoremque inextinguibilem, & satis felicem successum, subdidit, quod in sacrificios imbres effundas convivium. Non ignoro, quid illi mereantur, & quibus coloribus depingi debeant: pace tamen tua dixerim, amicus & frater patri: non videris per omnia officii tui remissi. Evangelizatum, non male dictum missus es. Condo, imo laudo zelum: modo ne desideretur mansuetudo. Da operam, mi frater, ut spiritum meum exbilares etiam hoc nuncio: quod in tempore suo vinum & oleum infundas: quod Evangelistam, non tyrannicum legislatorem præstes. — Thus Oecolampadius in one of his letters: Those here who wish well to you and the gospel, are under some apprehensions lest your zeal should, at your setting out, transport you too far; on which head I gave you my advice in full before your departure; and for that reason shall be as brief as possible. For I can by no means imagine you should have forgot our agreement: that the more prone you are to passion, the more you should compose yourself to meekness, and temper the lion's courage with the meekness of the dove. Men may be lead, but will not be driven by force. Let us have this only in view, how to win souls to CHRIST, and how we ourselves should chuse to be instructed, if we were still in darkness and slaves to Antichrist. Let your conversation and method of doctrine be an imitation of CHRIST. And in another of his epistles more openly: I enquired of N. concerning your meekness, than which nothing is more becoming to a christian or an apostle. He wonderfully extolled your unwearied industry, your boundless zeal, and happy success, but added that you were apt to pour an inundation of the bitterest expressions on the priests. I am not ignorant what they deserve, and in what colours they ought to be exposed: but give me leave, as a friend, and as a brother to a brother, to say, you do not seem in every respect to remember your duty: you were sent to preach and not to rail. I excuse, nay I commend your zeal, so that it be not without meekness. Endeavour, my brother, that this advice may have its desired effect, and I have reason to rejoice that I gave it. Pour on wine and oil in due season, and demean yourself as an evangelist, and not as tyrannical legislator.

Here follows an instance of his too passionate zeal: upon a procession-day Farel wrestled from the hands of a priest the image of St Antony, and threw it from the bridge into the river. He would have been knocked down dead, if God had not prevented it by striking a panic terror among the populace. It is thus, at least, a minister I quote saves Farel: 'Cum vero Favellus noster aliquando, publica occasione gloriæ diviniæ asserendæ oblata, Antonii idolum, magna cum pompa per urbem circumgestatum, sacrificulorum manibus excussum in subiectum flumen & ponte præcipitasset, Pentheus alter haud dubiè futurus erat, nisi mira Dei providentia furibundæ plebis ora & manus in injecto terrore panico præter spem compescuisset (13).' It is dated the 26th of Decemb. 1524. From whence it appears that Farel went that year into the country of Montbeliard. See also the 14th letter of the 36th book; but we must remember, that he thought himself injured in some writings of Farel: 'Supereit Pharellus, bone Christe, quam pius, quam innocens vir! In quem quid scripserim non referunt.

(13) Fredericus Spanhemius, in Geneva restructa, pag. 40, 41.

(14) Erasmi. Epist. xxx, lib. xviii, pag. 701. It is dated the 26th of Decemb. 1524. From whence it appears that Farel went that year into the country of Montbeliard. See also the 14th letter of the 36th book; but we must remember, that he thought himself injured in some writings of Farel: 'Supereit Pharellus, bone Christe, quam pius, quam innocens vir! In quem quid scripserim non referunt.

in the town of Aigle, and soon after in the bailiwick of Morat (1) [D]. He went afterwards to Neufchatel, in the year 1529, and there combated the Romish party with so much vigour and efficacy, that this city established the reformed religion the fourth of November, 1530 (m). He was (n) deputed to the synod of the Vaudois, in the valley of Angrogne, and came afterwards to Geneva, where he disputed against Popery; but the great vicar, and other ecclesiastics, opposed him with so much violence, that he was forced to retreat from thence. He was recalled thither in the year 1534, by the inhabitants, who had renounced the Romish church, and was the principal instrument of the entire suppression of Popery, which happened in that city the next year. He was banished from thence, with Calvin, in the year 1538 (o), and retired to Basil, and afterwards to Neufchatel (p), where he exercised his ministry till 1542; at which time he went to Mentz (q), where there was a hopeful appearance of a spiritual

(1) Ibid. pag. 206, 207.

(m) Ibid. pag. 207, 209.

(n) Spanheim. in Geneva reſtituta. pag. 42, 43.

(o) Beza, in vita Calvini.

(p) Ancillon, ubi ſupra, pag. 170.

(q) Ancillon, pag. 210.

Si nunc est conversus ad meliorem frugem, gratulor homini. Qualis olim erat, mihi valde displicuit, fedditiosus, acida lingua, & vanillimus. Sic rem gessit in monte Pellicardi ut bis inde profugerit. Basiliensis senatus, quum cuperet civitatem esse tutam à seditione, iussit Pharellum ire exulatum. Oecolampadius cujus mensa tum utebatur non semel objurgavit hominem, quod obtestandi nullum faceret finem, testatus se non posse ferre in convivio tam amarulentas obtestationes. Id mihi narravit qui in eadem mensa accubebat, vir integritatis rarissimæ. Appellat me Balaam, hac de causa cum illo expostulanti, nihil certi respondit, sed sic elapsus est, ut diceret negotiatorum quendam Dupletum hoc dixisse, se enim jam abierat; & fieri potest ut dixerit, sed à Pharello doctus. De colloquio nostro scripsit epistolam ad fratres Constantiam, in qua sæpe in decem versibus non erat unum verbum verum. Omitto jam leviora. Talem expertus, si talem depinxit, nihil mirum. Nunc qualis sit nescio (15). — There remains still one Farel, O heavens, how religious and innocent a person is he! They do not say what I have wrote against him. I should be well pleased to hear of his reformation. As he was formerly I could by no means admire him, conceited, virulent, and seditious. He behaved himself at Montbeliard in such a manner that he was twice obliged to quit the town. The magistrates of Basle, to prevent sedition, expelled him the city. Oecolampadius, at whose table he was then fed, more than once reprimanded him for his endless insolence, declaring he could no longer bear such ill manners in his company. This I know from a person of uncommon integrity, who sat with him. He had called me Balaam. When I expostulated with him on this head, instead of giving an answer he had recourse to a mean subterfuge, and said he had it from one Duplet, a correspondent of his, who was dead. It is possible he might have said it, but he had it from Farel. He wrote an epistle concerning our conference, in several parts of which there was not one word of truth for ten sentences together. I pass over things of less moment. It is no wonder I should represent him such as I found him. What he may be now, I know not. Since Erasmus was personally offended, we are not obliged to believe, that he has here drawn Farel's character to the life: but, however, we may rest persuaded, that our Farel was one of those who have more need of the bridle than the spur. The natural temper is almost always the first and principal spring, even in persons who are God's instruments. Some pretend, that it was necessary for Luther, Calvin, Farel, and some others, to be hot, passionate, and violent; else, say they, they could not have overcome all opposition. The church was then in the same circumstances, as when Jesus CHRIST said, The kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force (16). See Mr. Claude's thought, in remark [T], of the article

(15) Erasmus in epistola ad fratres Constantie infirmos, pag. 212, 213. It is the copy of the 15th book, and was written in 1530. I have corrected some faults in the London edition. Compare what I shall quote from Erasmus in the remark [L].

(16) Matth. xi.

[D] He succeeded . . . in the town of Aigle, and soon after in the bailiwick of Morat. According to Mr. Ancillon, he did not go to Neufchatel till after he had reformed the town of Aigle and the bailiwick of Morat; but Mr. Spanheim, the father, makes him go from Montbeliard to Neufchatel, and then to Aigle, &c. His narrative is curious enough, to deserve being cited at length; the reader will find in it the undauntedness of the reformer, and with what vigour he surmounted the opposition of the priests, who caused the bells to be rung to drown his voice: they also practised the wile of which Ulysses made use, to prevent the ill effects of the Syrens songs; that is, they stopped their ears with flakes of silk. This is what they opposed to

Farel's thundering eloquence; tho' at last they hearkened to reason, and heard him favourably. Inde, that is, from Montbeliard, Neocomum delatus Farelus, sed & ibi duriter habitus Aquileiam Bernatum oppidum Valesii conterminum incolere cepit, & ludum aperire erudiendæ juventuti in speciem, revera docendæ veritati. Turbatum hic etiam à sacrificulis, & Farello quærenda sedes alia. Delecta Moratum, Helveticæ gentis fortitudine & victoria nobile municipium. Sed nec ibi Farello nostro quies. Extrusus itaque in agrum Biellensem divina providentia totum illum tractum ingenti successu Evangelii prædicatione implevit, cumque inter ludibria, verbera, & contumelias innumeras, Diaboli & Cleri ingratis, Christo vindicavit. Accessere mox Orba & Granfonium, quicquid fremeret Satan, quicquid sacrificuli in Farello & evangelii perniciem molirentur. Imperterritus hominis animus omnes in stuporem dabat, cum viderent animum simul ac vocem illi ad stridos enses constare, adeo quidem, ut & illi ex clero, qui continuo campanarum clangore, & aura bombycina lanugine oppleta, conciones ejus eludere diu fategerant, postmodum patulas aures & faventes animos ad Farello auditorium adferrent (17). — From thence, namely, from Montbeliard, Farel came to Neufchatel, but meeting there with a rough reception, he removed to Aigle, a town of the canton of Bern, bordering on the Valois, and opened a school, under a pretence of instructing the youth, but in reality to teach the gospel. But here he was molested by the priests, and obliged to move his quarters. He chose Morat, a town famous for the battle won there by the bravery of the Swisses. But neither could Farel there be at quiet: being driven therefore to the district of Biel, by the providence of GOD he entirely converted it, and notwithstanding the difficulties he met with, and the severities which were practised to deter him, he banished all the arts of the devil, and the priests, and established the reformed religion. Orbe and Granfon soon followed. Farel's undaunted courage despised the roarings of satan, and the attempts of the priests. At last when they saw his heroic soul was proof even against drawn swords, terror and amazement seized them to that degree, that the very clergy, who by continual ringing of bells, and stopping their ears with silk, had endeavoured to frustrate his preaching, came afterwards to hear him, with open ears, and more favourable sentiments. You do not find Lausanne in this catalogue of the towns wherein Farel planted the reformation; though he planted it at Lausanne also, if we may believe Theodore Beza (18), and the inscription of his picture. Note, I beseech you, that, during the first sermon he preached at Metz, the Dominicans had recourse to their bells, as a sovereign remedy; but their peals were not able to interrupt the zealous preacher. He contended with the bells who should best be heard, nor did he suffer himself to be overcome. Primam concionem in cœmeterio Dominicanorum habuit. Qui cum aliud non possent, campani aeris impulsu impedire concionem conati sunt. Ibi tum Farelus contra ad ravim uque vocem intendit: nec vinci se à strepitu ullo passus est (19). — He preached his first sermon in the church-yard of the Dominicans, where, when all other attempts had proved ineffectual, they endeavoured to hinder him from proceeding by ringing of bells. Then Farel strained his voice, till he was hoarse, being resolved to vanquish. His voice was like thunder; and it may be applied to him what Frederic Spanheim has said of a monk who preached against Lutheranism. Dominicanæ familie Monachus, qui pro concione in Palatii cœnobio stentoreâ declamations Cornua quæ vin-

(17) Spanheim ubi supra, pag. 41, 42.

(18) Beza, in iconibus.

(19) Meib. Adam. ubi supra, pag. 114. See a letter from Bucer to Calvin. It is the 37th among those of Calvin, dated Octob. 6, 1541: which date does not agree with Theod. Beza's Hist. Eccles. lib. xvi, p. 433, who places Farel's journey in 1542.

catique

harvest. Some months before, he had received a great affront at Neufchatel, for which he had such satisfaction made him [E], that it cannot be said he was forced to go to Metz. He had a thousand difficulties to struggle with in that new-born church, and was forced to retire, with the faithful, into the abbey of Gorze (r) [F], where the count of Furstemberg sheltered them under his protection; but they could not be secure there; they were besieged, and forced, at last, to surrender upon terms (f). Farel happily made his escape [G], and endeavoured to procure their restoration by the means of the protestant princes, and states of Germany (t). He went and resumed his ancient post of minister of Neufchatel, from whence sometimes he took a journey to Geneva. In the journey he made thither, in the year 1553, he was informed that he was very odious to some persons in that City [H]. He assisted then at the execution

(r) Ib. pag. 211.

(f) Beza, Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. xvi, pag. 434.

(t) Ancillon, ubi supra, pag. 99, 100.

(20) Spanheim, ubi supra, p. 56. catque tubas, in Lutheranism nomen invehebatur, à Petro Roberto Olivetano . . . publicè increpitus & correptus (20). — A monk of the Dominican order, who in his sermon in the Palatine monastery, declaimed most furiously against Luther, in a tone that would have drowned the trumpet and the clarion, was sharply and publicly reprimanded by Peter Robert Olivetanus.

[E] He received a great affront at Neufchatel, for which he had satisfaction made him. Farel having made it his business to establish order and decency in the church of Neufchatel, was constantly employed in reforming manners, correcting abuses, removing scandals, and opposing vice with all his might. This strictness, in causing discipline to be observed, rendered him odious, and even insupportable to the vicious and libertines. It happening one day, that a woman of noble extraction went away from her husband, Farel exhorted her not to put asunder what God had joined together, and alleged other powerful reasons to bring her back to her duty. But that woman refusing to hearken either to private admonitions, or the remonstrances of the consistory, or even the solicitations of the magistrates of Neufchatel, Farel thought himself obliged to blame and condemn that disobedience in another manner, and that from the pulpit he ought to remove that scandal. Therefore upon a Sunday morning, being the last day of July, he spoke with his usual heat, both against that contumacious woman, and against those who encouraged her in her perverse humour. The persons who interested themselves for the guilty lady, took his public reprehension very ill, and that very day formed a party against Farel, and prevailed so far with the people, that they got together, at two of the clock in the afternoon, in the field near the church and the castle, to consult what they should do with Farel. The people were divided; some being for Farel, some against him: But at last it was carried by the majority, that in two months he should quit Neufchatel. The prudence of the governour, and of the council of state, as they call it, was such, as prevented any sedition, or effusion of blood. Farel having no other motive or aim but the glory of God, and the honour of his church, was neither surprized at, nor shaken by that popular emotion, but continued the exercise of his office without any remissness. The magnificent lords of Bern were no sooner informed of the tumult raised by the friends of that lady, than they wrote about it to the governour and council of Neufchatel, that they might prevent the mischief, and stifle it in its birth. This letter they sent by two eminent members of their council, who being arrived at Neufchatel, remonstrated both to the four ministers, to the council, and to the burghers, the great wrong they did to Farel; and how ill they acknowledged the great services he had done, and the graces of God which had made him the instrument towards them. Whereupon the twenty eighth of November the council made a decree, ordaining, that all misunderstandings should be removed, all factions stifled, all jealousies terminated, and all feuds extinguished: that Farel should continue the exercise of his function, as being blameless both in his doctrine and morals, and one to whom the church was very much beholden: that whoever should speak against Farel, should pay a great fine; Farel being truly the bulwark and ornament of Neufchatel, by his piety, probity, and capacity. The fourth of January, 1542, according to the advice of the lords of Bern, by the majority of votes of the burghers of Neufchatel, Farel was continued, to the great com-

fort of all good men, and confusion of his enemies, whose mouths were stopped, and their hands and feet tied; whereas Farel with new vigour thundered more fiercely than ever against the depravation of manners (21). We must observe, that this minister maintained with so much zeal and vigour the severity of church discipline, that he subjected to public penance those sinners that had given scandal. Here follows the substance of a letter written to the clark of Neufchatel, by the ministers of Basil, the twenty eighth of July, 1554. 'They say, they commend the zeal of Farel, who made it his business to cause the church-discipline to be religiously observed, vice suppressed, and the sacraments devoutly received: adding, that they approved Farel's opinion, that those, who by their open sinning gave offence to the church, should make a solemn confession of their faults, give a public testimony of their repentance, and by an extraordinary humiliation make reparation for the scandal they had given (22).'

[F] He was forced . . . to retire into the abbey of Gorze. The women were like to have pulled him to pieces, if we believe Mr Madanre (§ 2). 'He accuses him of having confidently affirmed, that it is false that the virgin Mary remained a virgin after she was brought-to-bed (23): the women of Gorze, adds he, astonished at that blasphemy and impudence, rushed upon him with their nails, and plucked off his hair and beard; and worried him in such a manner, that he could never have escaped from their hands with his life, if captain Henry Frank had not rescued him.' Mr Ancillon shews that this is but a fable.

[§ 2] Mr Bayle is mistaken in this and the following remark, by taking the name of a city, of which the person he means was titular bishop, for the name of a man. This man was called MARTIN MEURISSE: he was a Franciscan, bishop of Madaur, suffragan, and administrator of the bishopric of Metz. These are the titles he takes at the head of his works, and particularly at the head of that which is here quoted by Mr Bayle, which is intitled *Histoire de la Naissance, du Progrès, & de la Décadence de l'Hérésie dans la Ville de Metz & Pays Messin*: a title which seems to have been copied from that of the history of Florimond de Remond. Probably what deceived Mr Bayle was the manner of Mr Ancillon's quoting this author in the life of Farel: he commonly calls him the *Sieur de Madaur*; and that expression is as inaccurate, as if one quoted Coeffeteau by the name of *Sieur de Dardanie* or *de Marseille*, or cardinal du Perron by the name of *Sieur d'Ereux* or *de Sens*. Meurisse's book, which occasioned this note, was printed at Metz, by J. Antoine, in 1642, in 4to. His other works may be seen in *Waddingi Scriptores Ord. Minorum*, and in the *Bibliotheca Telleriana*, page 115, 192, and 294. REM. CRIT.]

[G] Farel happily made his escape. Theodore Beza having related (24), that this abbey was besieged, and at last surrendered upon articles, adds, and though a strict enquiry was made after Farel, yet he escaped their hands, having been put in a waggon among the lepers. Mr Madanre pretends, that Farel was saved by being put in a waggon full of lepers, having his face daubed with meal, with a leazar's chicken in his hands (25). But Mr Ancillon has answered, that his being daubed with meal, and the chicken, are both of Mr Madanre's invention. He grounds himself on Theodore Beza's silence, which ground is not very solid; for Beza's business was not to relate the circumstances, but only the material part of that adventure.

[H] He was very odious to some persons at Geneva. They indicted him as a criminal, and he was obliged

(21) Ancillon, ubi supra, pag. 176, & seq.

(22) Id. ibid. pag. 153.

(23) Madaure, in the book intitled, *La naissance & la décadence de l'hérésie à Metz*, apud Ancillon, ubi supra, pag. 66.

† See the Mélanges Critiq. of Mr Ancillon, Tom. II, pag. 271.

(24) Beza, Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. xvi, pag. 434.

(25) Madaure, ubi supra, apud Ancillon, pag. 95.

(1) *ib. p. 218.* of Servetus (u). He took another journey to Geneva, in the year 1564 (x), to take his last leave of Calvin, who lay dangerously ill. He married at sixty nine years of age [1]. He went a second time to Metz, in 1565; being invited by his old flock

(x) Melch. Adam. in vita Theolog. exten. pag. 115.

to appear before the judges; for the senate of Geneva wrote to the magistrates of Neuchâtel, to desire them to order that the accused person might come to answer to the charge that was brought against him. As soon as the senate had notice that Farel was arrived, they let Calvin know that he should not be suffered to ascend the pulpit. Calvin does not acquaint us with the sequel of this affair, but contents himself to say, that he wished he could with his own blood wipe off the disgrace those of Geneva had cast upon themselves by that ungrateful proceeding. Here is the whole passage: 'Nunc ad summum pervenit nequitia, ut omni pudore excusso, templum Domini in lupanar convertere obstat cupiant. Atque ut sciat, quam fœda sit deformitas, cum hic nuper esset frater noster Farelus, cui se totos debent, ut satis nostis, & pro jure suo eos libere moneret, tantos in eum furor exaruit, ut capitale judicium in eum intentare non sint veriti. Scio equidem non debere novum videri, si reperiant in urbe libera factiosi homines, qui turbas concitent. Sed deploranda est Senatus nostri cœcitas, quod libertatis suæ patrem, & patrem hujus Ecclesiæ sibi reum causæ capitalis, miti a Neocomen-sibus poposcit. Dedecus hujus urbis proferre cogor, quod lingue meo delere cuperem. Venit Farelus: antequam urbem ingressus esset, denunciavit domi meæ Apparitor Senatus, ne suggestum conscenderet. Reliqua non persequor: quia satis est ejus ingrati-tudinis gustum dedisse, quæ bonis omnibus, & inge-nuis merito stomachum movebit. Sed quoniam me complures causæ impediunt, ne mala nostra aperte deplem, sic breviter habete, nisi per vos cohibeatur satan, habenas ei laxatum iri. (26). — Vice

(26) Calvinus, Epistola ad Tiguri-nos Ministros. In die 16to, dies 26th of Novemb. 1553.

bas now reached it; meridian, and men, devoid of all shame, obstinately endeavour to convert the temple of the Lord into a brothel-house. That ye may have a just idea of this monstrous baseness, know then, that our fellow-labourer, Farel, one, to whom they owe even themselves, as ye are not ignorant, being here lately, and agreeably to his character, taking the freedom to admonish them without reserve, their fury against him was kindled to that degree, that they scrupled not to prosecute him for capital offences. I allow, it ought not to seem strange, if in a free city there should be persons that delight in faction, and raising tumults. But the blindness of our senate is surpris-ing, in demanding the inhabitants of Neuchâtel to deliver up the father of their liberty, and father of this church as guilty of a capital crime. I am obliged to proclaim the dishonour of this city, which I could wish to wipe away with my blood. Farel came; before he entered the city, the marshal of the court de-livered orders at my house not to permit him to mount the pulpit. I shall proceed no farther: let it suffice to give you a taste of their ingratitude, which will raise a just aversion in all men of probity and honour. But because I have many reasons which binder me from publicly deploring our calamity, take it briefly thus. Unless satan be chained up by you, he must be let loose.

[1] He married, being sixty nine years old.] 'It appears by a writing under Farel's hand, that he married a maid advanced in years, named Mary, the daughter of Alexander Torel, of the city of Roan; that that maid having retired to Neuchâtel, upon the account of religion, had been brought up in the discipline of the Lord by her mother, who was a true widow, and who feared and served God: that this maid was wise and virtuous, and her life and conversation regular and edifying. The bans of marriage between Farel and Mary Torel are found written with great plainness by Farel's own hand. They were published the eleventh and twenty first of September, and the second of October, 1558 (27). Let us see how Mr Ancillon justifies that marriage (28): 'Farel did not marry till he was sixty nine years old, and, as his friends said, till he had already one foot in the grave. Farel's friends thought his marriage very strange, and unreasonable; but neverthe-less he convinced them of the reasons he had to in-gage in a conjugal society in an age so very much ad-vanced. The general opinion has hitherto been, that Farel was prompted to marry by a secret inspi-

(27) Ancillon, ubi supra, pag. 242, 243.

(28) *ib. ibid.* pag. 240, 241.

ration and extraordinary impulse. Whatever it be, it is well known, that, by marrying, he meant to provide for the infirmities of old age by the means God himself has ordained, and taking a help to piety to entertain himself in it: a help to civil society, that it might not grow tedious to him; a help to husbandry, to ease himself of the cares of this life; and lastly, a help for infirmity, to possess his own vessel in sanctification and honour. It is well known that Farel married to shew, that, contrary to the opinion of those of the Romish church, celibacy is neither meritorious nor satisfactory; and to justify, that the gift of perpetual continence is neither given to all, nor for ever. The end of this apology will surprize all superficial wits, and many others also; for they will not easily conceive how the gift of continence, preserved till the age of sixty nine years, can disappear and vanish on the sudden. The most sensual and lascivious do generally lose at that age, and even before, their incontinence; and even those who have not abused the excessive heat of their constitution, find their strength exhausted before they reach the sixty ninth year of their age; and here is a man who begins then to be incontinent. The thing is undoubtedly very singular, but nevertheless let us not look upon it as a fable. Let us consider, that the impres-sion of some objects upon our brain are independent upon our soul. It is not because we would have it so, that certain objects please us; but because they move, in a certain manner, the fibres of our brain, and open some valves that were shut. This alteration produces others, almost *ad infinitum*, in our machine; and from thence spring desires, and prelibations of pleasure, and an hundred other innovations, which de-stroy continence. Thus Mary Torel altered the course of animal spirits in that good old man: she pleased him; she had that proportion of the object to the fa-culty which excites sentiments of love, &c. And that was enough. Do not tell me, that maid was not young, she is not represented as handsome: No matter for that. The proportion here in question, that great spring, that great mover, neither consists in youth, nor in beauty: It is something, I know not what, which lies in some insensible particles, whose efficacy we feel without being acquainted with the manner of their acting (29). There is many a man, who for twenty years has conversed with an infinite number of women, without having a mind to marry: the same man will meet by chance, either in a boat, at a feast, or visit, a woman, with whose beauty he shall be so smitten, that he will be ready to marry her instantly. She is, per-haps, neither so young nor so handsome as those that could not please him; and, on the other hand, she has conversed with men more susceptible of love than he, without wounding their hearts. The proportion of the object to the faculty was wanting; which being found in this particular case, a match is soon conclud-ed. It may also be affirmed, that a man advanced in years, who, after a long train of reasonings, concludes that he ought to renounce celibacy, does thereby dis-pose himself to incontinence: he grows easy to be struck in that part of the brain which stirs up love; the object which strikes him in that place pleases and charms him, he continually thinks upon it, he has a mind to enjoy it. This robs him of that fine gift of continence which nature had given him; he finds himself in a burning condition, and so marries, ac-cording to St Paul's advice. Therefore there is no-thing improbable in the apology I have made for the marriage of our old man; and we rather find in it a remarkable instance, to prove, that there is nothing more rash than the vow of celibacy. The gift of con-tinence is not a thing on which a man may depend. He has, you will say, been proof against a thousand most lovely objects for a great many years: well, does it follow that he will be so eternally? Can you answer that at last you will not see some other object bet-ter proportioned to the fibres of your brain? Love comes as a thief in the night, when you least expect him. Keep therefore your liberty always; possess your gift as not possessing it; think that you may lose it, and that you will lose it, perhaps, when you least

* Chrysost. Hom. 47, upon St Mat-theus.

(29) See the Nouvelles Lettres contre le Calvinisme de Malm-bourg, pag. 557.

(y) Ancillon, *ibid.* pag. 263.

(z) That is the 23rd of May.

(aa) Melch. Adam, *ubi supra*.

to come and reap the fruit of the seed he had sown in their hearts (y). The next day after his arrival (z), he preached in the church of the retrenchment. He was not then so old as it is reported [K]. He returned to Neuchâtel, and died there the thirteenth of September, the same year (aa). He left a son who was but a year old, and who died three years after (bb). Though his talent lay rather in preaching, than writing books, yet he commenced author [L]. Let us not forget that he laid the foundation

(bb) Ancillon, *ubi supra*, pag. 272.

think on it: It is but meeting a person who may create love in you. This will be the sponge of your continence.

Yet, after all, it is somewhat surprizing that our Farel remained a bachelor to his old age. One would think, that his constitution, which was so brisk and vigorous, that at the age of seventy five years (30) he got a son, tho' his wife was then old, should have induced him to marry before. The efficacious eloquence, with which he opposed the validity of monastical vows, required no less his marriage: since at that time, to avoid being suspected of heterodoxy, a man was obliged to preach by example (31). Erasmus, speaking of the progress which the reformers made, says, among other things, that many friars and nuns married. He had said, but just before, that Farel preached in the country of Montbeliard: 'In montem Bellicardi vocatus est Pharellus ad prædicandum Evangelium hoc novum, cujus hic mirus est successus. Jam multi repudiaverunt Baptismum, & revocarunt Circumcisionem. Missam abominantur plurimi: sunt qui publice doceant in Eucharistia nihil esse nisi panem & vinum: Velum & Cuculla deponitur passim. Nubunt & ducunt uxores monachæ & monachi (32). — Farel

(30) He lived 76 years, and left a son who was but a year old. See Ancillon, *ubi supra*, pag. 272.

(31) See the article EUCER, remark [E].

(32) Erasmus, *Epist.* xiv, lib. xxx, pag. 1507. It is dated from Basel, the 10th of February, 1515, but it should be 1516.

was called to Montbeliard to preach this new gospel, the success of which is surprizing here. Multitudes have now renounced baptism, and recalled circumcision. Great numbers abhor the mass: there are some who publicly teach that there is nothing in the eucharist but bread and wine. The veil and the cowl are discarded by many. Monks and nuns marry, and are given in marriage. Mr Maimbourg observes, that Farel's sermon to the nuns of Geneva was full of exhortations to marriage. 'The sisters of St Clare, who were the only nuns of Geneva, were obliged to go from thence, tho' no violence was offered to those holy virgins, save only, that the most prevailing arguments were used to persuade them to quit their veils, and to accept of such as offered to marry them: and they were compelled to hear a tedious and ridiculous sermon, which the minister Farel preached in their monastery, in the presence of their syndics, on this text of the gospel, *Exurgens Maria abiit in Montana*, to prove to them, that, in imitation of the virgin Mary, who went to visit her cousin Elizabeth on the mountains of Judea, they ought not to be recluses, and were obliged to live in the world, and to marry like other people (33). I shall say, by the way, that those who think that the reformed ministers laboured too much at that time, to shew the excellence of marriage, and to thunder against vows of continence, do not consider the circumstances of the time. It must be remembered, that the celibacy of priests had been for some ages an unexhausted source of scandalous impurities which dishonoured the christian name. It was therefore necessary to put the ax to the root of the tree, and to drain that source by the abolition of vows. It was necessary manfully to confute that pernicious tenet, that a whoring priest committed a less sin than a priest that married. That tenet is a necessary consequence of the law of celibacy: for, according to the principles of the Romanists, a clerk, who marries after the vows of continence, engages himself by oath to violate all his life-time an inviolable law; and therefore he is more guilty than if he should fall sometimes into the sin of fornication. This is but a transient fault, and does not hinder him from acknowledging his fall, and repenting of it, or from returning to the observation of his vow; but if he marries, he runs himself into the necessity of violating it without remorse, and without return. It was therefore necessary vigorously to preach up the honesty and dignity of marriage, and against the audaciousness of those who disparaged it so far as to prefer fornication to it. Besides, it was to be feared, that if the priests and monks who renounced popery should abstain from marriage, the same impurities might soon creep into the reformed church, which had exposed the Romish clergy to the

(33) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, lib. i, pag. m. 48.

Why the ministers in the beginning of the reformation insisted on the necessity of marriage.

detestation and contempt of honest men. In order therefore, to prevent that great disorder, it was necessary to encourage those gentlemen to marry, in case they wanted encouragement; and so the most eminent men were obliged to shew them the way, and served for an example. We must do the great men of the primitive church the justice to own, that they were led by excellent motives to recommend celibacy; for nothing is more proper to make the gospel spread and fructify, than the belief, that those who preach it have mortified their flesh, and debar themselves even of those pleasures which worldly men may enjoy without sin. They considered that marriage was attended with a thousand earthly and sensual cares, which made too much diversion from the sacerdotal functions; and, in short, being dazzled by the fair outides of celibacy, they went so far, at last, as to turn it into a law. But it may be said, that the promoters of such a law had not sufficiently studied human nature; for if they had been thoroughly acquainted with it, they would never have imposed so heavy a yoke on the necks of the ministers of the altar. Every one of them ought to have said to the other, we go no deeper than the bark; the shining superficies deceives us.

Maxima pars vaturn, pater & juvenes patre digni, Decipimur specie recti (34).

Most poets fall into the grossest faults, Deluded by a seeming excellence.

ROSCOMMON.

If they had foreseen the consequences of that law, they would, in all probability, have looked upon their fine notions as a snare of the tempter.

Note, that Florimond de Remond affirms, that Farel had had a former wife, when he married so old. These are his words: 'Farel having quitted his place to him, to make himself minister at Neuchâtel, where at a decrepit age of seventy years, having the stone and gout, (the usual lot of old age) he married again with the daughter of his house-keeper, full of last, like an old stag; lamenting in vain his youthful vigour, more idle and unprofitable in her arms than among his books (35).'

[K] He was not at that time so old as it is reported. Beza affirms that Farel went to Metz in the year 1565, notwithstanding his extreme old age, which was above fourscore years (36). But he has better set down Farel's age in another book (37), where he allows him only seventy six years. Mr Ancillon should not have copied this mistake of Theodore Beza, since he had placed the birth of Farel in the year 1489 (38). Thus you see how authors forget in one place of the same book what they have said in another. God, says he (39), put it into the heart of Farel, who was then above eighty years old, to take a journey to Metz where he arrived the twelfth of May, 1565.

(34) Flor. de Remond. *Hist. de l'Hérésie*, lib. vii, cap. xviii, pag. m. 929.

(35) Beza, *ubi supra*, lib. xvi, pag. 456.

(36) Beza, *in iconibus*.

(37) Ancillon, *ubi supra*, pag. 1.

(38) Id. *ibid.*

[L] He commenced Author. He published in Latin an account of a disputation he maintained at Bern

in the year 1528 (40). Mr Ancillon does not speak of it, but only of the substance and brief declaration, necessary for all christians, printed in the year 1552; and of the book of the blessed sacrament of the Lord, and of his testament, printed in the year 1553 (41); and of another book, intitled, the sword of the spirit

(42), printed at Geneva in 1550, and levelled against libertines. Erasmus mentions some anonymous writings of Farel in these words (43): 'Cum Phallico fuit mihi congressucula perbrevis. Ejus historiam scripsit cuidam Constantiensis. Exemplum clam ad me perlatum est. Nihil vidi vanius, nihil gloriosius, nihil virulentius. Sant ibi interdum decem versus in quibus ne syllaba quidem vera est. Idem edidit libellum de Parisiensibus & Pontificis. Quantum illic

infectiarum, quantum ineptæ virulentæ, quam mul-

(40) Melch. Adam, *ubi supra*, pag. 116.

(41) Ancillon, *ubi supra*, pag. 44.

(42) Id. pag. 272.

(43) Erasmus, *Epist.* cxlii, lib. xix, pag. 951. It is dated the 6th of September, 1524.

of the church of Grenoble, during a journey he took to Gap (cc). By marking the mistakes of Moreri, we shall shew the errors of some other writers [M]. Note, That

ti nominatim traducti? & tamen ipse solus non appoint nomen suum. Idem ut audio auxit stolidum Alberi judicium, quod nondum videre licuit. Vixi sunt Constantiæ & alii duo libelli quos in me scripsit. Et profectur novum dogma, sic traducendos qui obstitunt Evangelio, inter quos me numerat, & Balam passim appellat. — I have had a short encounter with Farel: he wrote his life to a correspondent at Constance: a copy was privately conveyed to me. I never saw any thing more vain, or virulent. There are sometimes ten sentences together without one syllable of truth. He published a treatise de Parisiensibus & Pontifice. What a heap of unmeaning trash, and insipid malice is there. How many has he expressed by traduced? He does not however put his name to it. He has, as I am informed, enlarged Alber's foolish judgment which I have not yet had an opportunity to see. Two other pamphlets have appeared at Constance which he wrote against me. He has therein breached a new doctrine, that all should be used after the same base manner, who oppose the gospel, of which number he makes me to be one, and often compliments me with the name of Balaam.

[M] By marking the mistakes of Moreri, we shall shew the errors of some other writers. I. Moreri says, that by Farel's means heresy made also the greatest progress in Dauphiné. He is mistaken; for all the share Farel had in the conversion of that province, is contained in these words of Beza (44): 'It happened in the mean time, that William Farel going from his church of Neuchâtel in Switzerland to Gap, his native place, and passing through Grenoble, he made a lively and ardent exhortation; he being a man full of zeal for God beyond any in our days, and having disposed them to do well, he left there, for their minister, Aynard Pichon, to encourage them.' II. Farel, I confess, was minister at Neuchâtel after he went from Geneva; but before he had been minister at Geneva, he had exercised the same office at Neuchâtel; and consequently Moreri has not followed chronology. III. He falls into the like error, when he says, that this minister, having been somewhat hardly used by those of Geneva, taught his doctrine afterwards at Metz, Montbelliard, Lausanne, and elsewhere. After his banishment from Geneva, he only taught it at Neuchâtel and Metz. His first seats at arms, if I may so speak, was the reformation of Montbelliard; and what he did at Lausanne preceded his ministry at Geneva. IV. He should not have quoted the annals of Sleidan; for the history of that author is not so called. V. According to Moreri, Farel was charged with reviving the heresy of Paulus Samosatenus, and those of the Eleutherians; which appears by a letter he wrote to Calvin, which begins thus: Literas tuas quæque est, &c. (45). and which is the seventy eighth among Calvin's letters. I could not yet find out the ground of all this: I have only discovered (46), that one Peter Caroli, formerly a doctor of the Sorbonne, retired to Geneva about the year 1535; and being known to be a trimmer in matters of religion, and too great a lover of women and good cheer, it was not easy for him to find a good church: he aimed at being minister of Neuchâtel, but could not compass it. Farel was undoubtedly the cause of it, and Calvin and Viret were also against him; which, in all appearance, is the true reason that prompted that Caroli to accuse them sometimes of Arianism, and sometimes of Sabellianism. A synod was thereupon called at Lausanne, where he produced all the proofs he could possibly get together to maintain his accusation. But the accused defended themselves so well, that his proofs were declared null, and they obtained a sentence declaring them orthodox; and as for him, the synod adjudged him unworthy of the ministry (47). Caroli was not thereby disheartened: he appeared with his bag full of accusations, swelled with new pieces, in a synod of Bern, and endeavoured to obtain a declaration, that the accused had at least given occasion to suspicions. They confuted him fully as to that, and were absolved in that particular, as well as in relation to heresy (48). 'Ubi à nobis excussa omnia fuerant quibus suspicionem aliquam de tempore præterito injicere conatur atque hac ratione, cui

non satisfaceret, nemo præter ipsum repertus est. Fratres ut dignum erat fidei Christi Ministris nos iniquissime in suspicionem aliquam (49) adductos sibi videri pronuntiarunt. — Having refused all his arguments, by which he endeavoured to shew there had been sufficient room for suspicion formerly, there was none besides himself who were not satisfied with the answer. Our brethren, as became faithful ministers of CHRIST, declared we had been most iniquitously prosecuted upon groundless surmises.

By Calvin's letter, out of which I borrow those words, it appears, that the abstracts of Caroli's accusations being spread every where, had caused very ill impressions against those accused ministers: so true is it, that man is apt to be wrought upon by the assurance of an impudent calumniator! Caroli would not yield to the authority of the synod, but persisted alone in maintaining his accusation (50). It is the character of pragmatical, proud and revengeful spirits, never to own they have rashly defamed their brethren. 'Dum hæc geruntur, afferuntur à Myconio literæ publicæ ad conventum scriptæ. Aliæ rursum à Capitone ad Farellum generatim missæ, quibus utrisque intellectum est, horrendum longe lateque rumorem de nostra controversia pervagatum esse. Denique ad excitandam erga nos gentium omnium invidiam maliciose à certis hominibus fibrefactum. Quod autem homo nihili fuilissima sua vanitate tantum proficere potuerit, ut tot ecclesiis finitram de nobis opinionem injiceret: id vero est, quod nos vehementer perturbavit. — Whilst these things were carrying on, a letter came from Myconius to the synod, another from Capito to Farel; from both of which it appeared, that a dreadful rumour had been spread far and near concerning our controversy, and that certain persons laboured to draw upon us the hatred of all people. That a worthless man by his ridiculous vanity should be able to effect this, made us really uneasy.' Calvin observes, that Caroli was condemned to banishment (51). Note, that by all this it does not appear that William Farel was charged with Samosaténianism. I know very well what Lindanus observes, that this minister taught, that the Holy Ghost was nothing but the motion God imprinted upon the creatures (52). I know also, that, to make good his assertion, Lindanus quotes a letter from Caroli to the cardinal of Lorraine (53), but I am certain there are here a great many frauds. He falls into a blunder, which I shall not pass over in silence. Those of Basil, says he (54), dreaded so much Farel's mutinous spirit, that, having been informed of his two escapes from Montbelliard, they banished him. He quotes Erasmus. epist. ad Prin. Infer. Germ. It is easy to convict him that he examined very slightly the authors he quoted: for Erasmus's letter, on which he grounds himself, is not directed ad Principes, but ad Fratres inferioris Germaniæ; neither does Erasmus say, that those of Basil did banish Farel since his two flights from Montbelliard, well knowing that Farel did not go to Montbelliard till after his banishment from Basil. Prateolus (55) adopts all the faults and phrases of Lindanus: and they talk both of a chimerical sect of Farellists, which never existed but in the fancy of the impertinent makers of catalogues of heretics. Gaultier the jesuit brings that same sect upon the stage, and quotes Prateolus. He says, that Farel (56) revived the whole heresy of Paulus Samosatenus, and renewed the doctrine of the Eleutherians. He pretends to prove it by a letter, wherein he supposes, that this minister does not declare those to be damned who dissemble their faith in time of danger, provided they do not openly profess idolatry. 'Dicens nolle se eos damnare qui periculum formidant adducti fidem suam dissimulant modo idololatram exterius non profitentur (57). He quotes Farel. ep. ad Caler. cujus initium, Literas tuas, quæque est 78. inter epistolas Calvini (58). We have seen before, that Moreri founds himself on the same quotation. I have Calvin's letters, printed at Hanaw in the year 1597. The seventy eighth is from Butler to Calvin. None of those of our Farel begins with Literas tuas, nor favours the Nicodemites; and I find in his life, composed by Mr Ancillon (59), a

(cc) Beza, Hist. Ecclæs. lib. 7, pag. 891. See the last remark.

(49) Symplicianus ille senatus consulto in exilium actus est, nos plane absoluti non à crimine modo, sed ab omni quoque suspicionem. Id. ibid.

(50) See quotation (47).

(51) See quotation (49).

(52) Hic præter sacramentalium etiam Samosaténianorum renovavit hæresim, Spiritum Sanctum affirmans motum in rebus creatum. Lindanus in Dubitatione, Dial. ii, pag. m. 147.

(53) Ita in Summa Gallicana Scriptura, testis Petro Caroli epist. ad Card. Lotharingum. Id. ibid.

(54) Hunc adeo seditiosum metu ebant Basilienenses, ut cum his monte Pellicardo profugisset eum in exilium abire jussissent. Id. ibid. pag. 146.

(55) Prateol. in Elencho Hæretic. pag. m. 180. See also pag. 290.

(56) Pauli Samosaténianus hæresim in integrum restituit docens Spiritum Sanctum esse quendam motum creatum. Jacobus Gaultierus, in tabula Chronographica. pag. m. 757.

(57) Id. ibid.

(58) See, above, citat. (45).

(59) Ancillon, ubi supra, pag. 222.

(44) Beza, Hist. Ecclæs. lib. 7, pag. 891.

(45) See, below, citat. (58) of Father Gaultier, where you will learn that quæque est is not in the text of the letter.

(46) Beza, ubi supra, lib. xvi, pag. 435.

(47) Non synodi sententia finimus absolvi, ille indignus judicatus qui ministerio suspensus, Calvinus, Epist. ad Grynonem. It is in the fifth in the Edition of Hanaw, 1597.

(48) Id. ibid.

That he was supposed to be the author of some papers posted up in several streets of Paris, and even on the gates of the Louvre, in the year 1543 (*dd*), which did the whole party a great deal of prejudice in the kingdom.

(*dd*) Florim. de Remond, Histoire de l'Hérésie, Liv. VII, cap. v, pag. m. 859.

* that it is to the letter he wrote to Calvin, the second of November 1544, we owe that excellent work of Calvin against the Nicodemites, which we have in his Opuscula from page 789 to 803. Here follows an evident lie of father Gualtier. He supposes that Calvin took Geneva from Farel, *qui tamen eam (Geneviam) illi postea eripuit, adeo ut deinde Nescomensis minister creatus sit* (60). It is most certain that those two ministers were driven out of Geneva

at the same time, and for the same cause; and that when Calvin was recalled, they would also have recalled Farel, who notwithstanding Calvin's earnest intreaties (61) would never comply to this new invitation of those of Geneva.

This lie of father Gualtier is more pardonable than that in Prateolus, who assures us that the archers surprized Farel at Basil, in a house of prostitution, upon a Holy Friday (62)

(61) See Calvin's 40th letter.

(62) Prateolus in Elencho Hæref. pag. 230.

(60) Gualt. Tab. Chronogr. pag. 757.

(a) Barlaeus, Epist. cxix, pag. 292.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) See the epistle dedicatory of his Lucan.

(d) Taken from the same epistle dedicatory.

(e) Farnaby Epist. ad Vossium, pag. 303, Epistolæ ad Vossium scripturum.

(f) Id. ibid. pag. 302.

(g) Witte, in Diar. Biograph.

(h) Pag. 270, & seq.

FARNABY (THOMAS) was a learned philologist of the XVIIth century. His notes upon the greatest part of the Latin poets have been of great service to the youth. They are short, and full of learning, tending chiefly to explain the text. He lived at London (*a*), and applied himself to teach children of figure and quality, and found a good account in it for the maintenance of his family (*b*). I believe also his epistles dedicatory brought him in some profit, tho' he says, somewhere, that the time was over for making much that way [*A*]. He dedicated his Horace to prince Henry, eldest son to king James I, and afterwards his Juvenal and Persius. He was very graciously received by the young prince (*c*), when he had the honour to present the latter book to him, and he gave him a kind of order to make a like commentary upon all the Latin poets; but he was so sensibly touched at certain criticisms made upon him, that he resolved out of indignation and against the bent of his own genius to discontinue his work. Some time after he was persuaded to change his mind (*d*). He had a country house twenty miles from London, whither he retired in the year 1636 (*e*). Charles I commanded him to compose a Latin grammar for the use of all the schools; he received, I say, this order when there was a necessity to reform that grammar which had been established by authority, and which had been very much complained of (*f*). He died in the year 1647 (*g*). A French Dominican has bestowed great encomiums upon the writings of this author [*B*]. See also what is said concerning his notes upon Martial, in a book of the jesuit Vavasseur de Epigrammate (*h*).

[*A*] He says somewhere that the time was over to get much by epistles dedicatory. He applies to this purpose a particular related by Valerius Maximus, which is, that though they did not consult, as formerly, the flight of birds at marriages, yet they invited to the wedding the persons appointed to take those observations, retaining, at least in name, some footsteps of the ancient ceremony. 'Quod antiquis, apud quos nihil nisi auspicio prius sumpto gerebatur factitatum, ut ex more, nuptiis auspices interpositi, quamvis auspicia defissent (Val. Max. lib. 2. cap. 1.) ipso tamen nomine veteris consuetudinis vestigia usurparent: hoc plerisque nostrum quos vexat insanabile hoc scribendi cacœthes, usu venit ut quamvis patronorum exoleverit cum autoritas tum benignitas, non citra ambitionem tamen summis & gravibus viris perituræ chartæ tutelam obtrudamus (1). — As the ancients never engaged in any enterprise, without first consulting the omens, for which reason the soothsayers were applied to in marriage, and tho' that custom was laid aside, there still remained some marks of it: so most of us moderns are infected with an incurable itch of scribbling, though the authority and benevolence of patrons is out of date, and still obtrude our shortlived labours on persons of the greatest merit and distinction.' His meaning is, that though the real benefits of epistles dedicatory is lost, yet the custom of dedicating is not given over.

[*B*] A French Dominican has bestowed great encomiums upon the works of this author. It is in the place where he undertakes to shew that the jesuits are inferior to abundance of other writers, who have shone in polite learning (§a). 'Doleo, continens he (2), meo tempore, cum literis humanioribus studerem,

defuisse nobis illud subsidium ad rem litterariam maxum, quod suppeditarunt à paucis annis Farnabius & alii; Poëtis omnibus commentariis marginalibus ita clarè explicatis, ut mediocribus grammaticis possit etiam difficillimos inoffenso pede locos decurrere. Hæc non possunt expectari aut parari adjumenta, ad auctorum peritiam, ab iis, qui per tres aut quatuor annos literas humaniores docent, & ad Theologiæ conscendunt vel philosophiæ cathedram, sed ab his, qui consensescunt & immoriuntur Grammaticæ, aut rhetoriæ scholis; quales non dubito fuisse illos, qui adeo utilem & necessariam opem contulerunt bonarum litterarum studiosis, Commentatores marginales. — I am sorry that during the time of my study we had not those helps to learning, which Farnaby and others have of late years given. All the poets are so clearly illustrated with marginal notes, that a mean grammarian may with ease get over the greatest difficulties. Such helps as these cannot come from those, who teach polite learning for three or four years, and then step into the chair of divinity or philosophy, but from those who grow old in the schools of grammar or rhetoric. Such I do not question those to have been, who by their marginal comments have bestowed on all lovers of learning, a most useful and necessary work.'

[§a] I believe the author of this observation is Cæsar Cremoninus, in his harangue pronounced in 1591, for the university of Padua, against the jesuits. Mr Antony Arnaud quotes the place, page 6, and 7, of his *Franc & véritable discours*, &c. edition of 1662, and the piece itself is to be found in page 445, of the *Mercurie jésuite*, edition of 1626. R. E. M. C. R. I. T.]

(1) Thomas Farnaby, Epist. Dedicatoria Tragediar. Senecæ.

(2) Vincent Bassonius, Apolog. lib. iv, sect. 1, pag. 316.

(a) A city of Persia.

FATIMA, daughter of Mahomet, and wife of Ali. Some accounts say, she is the great saint they worship with so much devotion at Com (*a*) [*A*]; but most travellers

(1) Pag. 339, cited by Desjardins, Remarques sur l'Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman par Ricaut, Tom. 1, pag. 74.

[*A*] Some accounts say she is the great saint. . . . at Com.] Herbert, in his Persian travels, having said that the mosque at Com is magnificent, adds (1): The devotion they have for this place has enriched it with many great presents brought to the sepulchre of

Fatima the wife of Mortis Ali, and daughter of Mahomet, the great prophet of all the Mussulmen, who is buried here. The building of the mosque is round, and made after the Epirotic manner. The tomb of the pretended saint is raised twelve feet from the ground, and

lers are of another opinion. Some say the faint at Com is the daughter of Ali and Fatima [B]. According to Peter della Valle she is their grand-daughter [C]. Others say, she is the daughter of Mousa the son of Dgafer. This latter opinion is supported by one authentic Proof, viz. the titles they give the faint at Com in the solemn prayers the pilgrims direct to her [D]. These are forms of prayers, and consequently they furnish us with a good proof how little exact travellers are, since some of the most celebrated of them relate so ill the titles of such a faint. It appears by this formulary of prayers that Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, the wife of Ali, and mother of some children, is nevertheless venerated as a virgin [E].

and is covered with white velvet: you go up to it by steps of solid silver.

[B] Some say she is the daughter of Ali and Fatima. This appears in Figueroa's narrative: they informed me, says he (2), that at Com there was a famous mosque, dedicated to the memory of a great saint named Lela, grand-daughter of Mahomet, and the daughter of Ali and Fatima. The Sieur Belpier advances a conjecture which is very probable: The name of Lela, says he (3), is commonly given to the great ladies of Africa, and it is also the title of honour which they give there to the Blessed Virgin, mother of our Lord JESUS, for whom the Mahometans have a great deal of respect and veneration, as well as for her son. He cites Diego de Torres, who assures us (4) that they call the Holy Virgin, Lela Mariam, which signifies, the Lady Mary, and that (5) all the daughters of the cherif took the title of Lela, and he names them all four, viz. Lela Mariam, Lela Aya, Lela Fatima, and Lela Lu. After this Belpier adds, that he is inclined to think that Lela was not the proper name of the faint mentioned by Figueroa, but only the title of honour preceding it, and that she had another name which Figueroa has omitted, or was not informed of. The inhabitants of Com, who held that maid for a saint, were content with calling her Lela, or The Lady by way of excellence: much after the same manner, as most christians now call the Virgin Mary Our Lady.

[C] According to Peter della Valle, she is their grand-daughter. There is a fine bridge at Com, and near the bridge a magnificent mosque, in which they told me that a sister of Iman Riza, whom they have a veneration for, and who was one of the most esteemed successors of Mahomet, is buried, whom also they look upon as a saint in their way: so that they have a great respect and veneration for the place of her burial (6). Iman Riza was the son of Houssein, who was Fatima's son (7): let us say therefore that the sister of Iman Riza is the grand-daughter of Fatima. Tavernier's relation agrees here with that of Peter della Valle. What is most remarkable at Com is a great mosque . . . where are seen the sepulchres of Cha-Señ and Cha-Abas the second, and that of Sidi-Fatima the daughter of Iman-Hocen, who was the son of Ali, and of Fatima Zuhra, Mahomet's daughter (8).

[D] The solemn prayers which the pilgrims direct to her. Mr Chardin (9) has copied the two chief prayers they make the pilgrims repeat at Com. The first begins thus: I vish my lady and mistress Fatimé, the daughter of Mousa, son of Dgafer, upon whom be salvation and peace for ever. There is one remarkable thing in

these prayers, which is, that therein they recommend themselves to the intercession of this faint, and make vows for her. We have seen already that they wish her peace and eternal salvation: here is another part of that formulary: I wish thee eternal salvation, O Fatimé daughter of Mousa, virgin, holy, virtuous, just, director of truth, pious, sanctified, worthy of all our praises, who supremely lovest the faithful, and art supremely beloved by them: Virgin without spot, and free from all impurity. May GOD take his greatest delight in thee, be always well pleased with thee, and establish thee in paradise, which is thy eternal refuge and abode (10). But immediately they recommend themselves to her prayers in the following manner (11): I am come to seek thee, O lady and mistress of my soul, with a view of approaching by this pious act to the most high GOD, and to his apostle and his children. May the mercy of GOD be upon him, and them for ever. I detest and abhor my sins, the load of which miserably oppresses me, and I do my endeavour to break the yoke of hell. Vouchsafe me thy intercession, O holy Virgin, in that day when the righteous shall be separated from the wicked. Be then propitious to me; for thou art descended from parents who will suffer none of those that love them to fall into trouble, who refuse nothing to those that pray to them, who divert all kinds of evil from those that cherish them, and whose enemies on the contrary can never prosper. Chardin informs us (12) that the tomb of this Fatimé has been three times rebuilt: Her father, continues he, carried her to Com on account of the persecution which the califs of Bagdat raised against his family, and all that held Ali and his descendants for the only lawful successors of Mahomet. She built several fine houses in this city, and died there. The people believe that GOD took her up into heaven, and that her tomb has nothing in it, being only a representation. The Romish church then is not the only one that honours the assumption of virgins. We have seen that the immaculate conception, and the virginity of a mother, seem to be two doctrines of the Mahometan religion. One thing is wanting in Mr Chardin's narrative. He should have told us in what time Mousa the father of Fatimé lived.

[E] Though the wife of Ali, and mother of several children, she is nevertheless venerated as a virgin. The pilgrims are obliged, according to the formulary of prayers, among other things, to say thus: 'I wish thee eternal salvation, O virgin most pure, most just, and immaculate, glorious Fatima, daughter of Mahomet the elect, wife of Ali the well beloved, mother of twelve true vicars of GOD, of illustrious birth (13).' 474.

FAUCHET (CLAUDE) a Parisian, and first president of the court of the mint at Paris, published some books which gained him the reputation of a learned man [A]. He died very old in the year 1601. Lewis XIII was not pleased with his way of writing (a). The Sieur Sorel, in his French Bibliothèque, makes a parallel between him and Scipio du Pleix (b). It deserves to be read.

[A] He published some books, which gained him the reputation of a learned man. He has translated with great labour and learning the history of Cor. Tacitus, printed at Paris by Abel l'Angelier in 1582, 1583, 1584, in folio, in 4to, and 8vo, without putting his name to it, no more than to his book of Gallic Antiquities . . . so little does he thirst after fame, only desiring to benefit the public (1). Thus la Croix du Maine spoke in the year 1584. Mr Baillet does not mention this translation as an anonymous work. Claude Fauchet, says he (2), has translated into our language the works of Tacitus, which were printed under his name in divers forms, but the first five books are translated by Stephen de la Planche (3). Fauchet published a Collection of Gallic and French antiquities in two books, in the year 1579;

in 4to. Twenty years after he gave a second edition of it in 8vo, and carried it down to the end of the first race of the kings of France. He published the sequel of it, in 1601, in 8vo: it is intitled, *Flur de la maison de Charlemagne . . . contenant les faits de Pepin & ses successeurs depuis l'an 751, jusques à l'an 840 de JESUS CHRIST*. He died while they were printing, *Declin de la maison de Charlemagne . . . contenant les faits de Charles le Chauve & ses successeurs depuis l'an 840, jusques à l'an 987 de JESUS CHRIST & entrée du regne de Hugues Capet*. This volume came out in 1620, in 8vo. As to the work des Origines des Chevaliers, Armoiries, & Héraux, ensemble de l'ordonnance, armes & instrumens desquels les François ont anciennement usé en leurs guerres, it was printed at Paris in the year 1600, in 8vo. His

Recueil de l'origine de la langue & poésie Française, Rhyne & Romans; plus les noms & sommaire des Oeuvres de 127 poètes Français, vivans avant l'an 1300, was printed at Paris in 4to, in the year 1581. The

edition of his works done at Paris in 1610 (4), which Morel mentions, was reprinted at Geneva the year following. (4) It is in 4to.

(a) I have seen him cited in Latin Falcarius

(b) Witte, in Dario Biograph. See also la Vie de Mr Daillé, pag. 44.

FAUCHEUR (a) MICHAEL LE) was an illustrious minister among the protestants of France in the XVIIth century. Preaching was his great talent [A], in which indeed he excelled. He made himself admired in this way in the church of Montpellier [B]; and as his reputation increased, and the church of Paris used to appropriate to herself the greatest preachers of the provinces, he was called up thither. He was not sorry of an opportunity to undeceive those who thought his capacity was confined to the making a good sermon and delivering it well. Wherefore he engaged in a larger work upon the eucharist against cardinal Perron. They were agreeably surprized to see a large folio come from his pen, full of Greek and Latin quotations, and all sorts of erudition relating to that controversy. His other works are several volumes of sermons, and a treatise of the action of an orator [C], which was lately reprinted in Holland. I have seen a latin manuscript letter of his, in which he gave very good advice to the great du Moulin upon his book of the Salmurian controversies. Le Faucher died at Paris the first of April 1657 (b).

[A] His talent was preaching. I have heard that one day he preached with so much eloquence against duelling, that the marshal de la Force, who was present at the sermon, protested before some men of the sword, that if a challenge was sent him, he would not accept it.

[B] He made himself admired in the church at Montpellier. The sermon, he preached there upon a fast-day in the year 1618, was several times reprinted. It is a most solid and pathetic piece.

[C] He wrote a treatise of the action of an orator. It was printed at Leyden the year 1686, and falsely attributed to Mr Conrart; whether they believed he was the author, or designed to make the book sell the better, by putting the name of a man to it who was celebrated for his politeness. The journalists of Leipzig give a very exact abstract of it, in their Journal of the month of January 1687 (1). They did not forget the place where the author speaks of a preacher, who made himself a rule to cough exactly at such and such a period; and least he should forget, he made marks in his notes wherever he proposed

to cough. In those places he wrote *hem, hem*, as was seen in the original after his death. The advice given by these journalists was followed by a professor of Helmstadt (2), who translated that treatise into Latin. This translation was published in the same city in 1690. They make mention of it (3), informing the public that the translator had restored that work to its true author. Their supposition that this book, having been printed at Lyons without the author's name in 1676, was published at Paris ten years after under Mr Conrart's name, and that the Holland edition, in imitation of that of Paris, also ascribes it to Mr Conrart, wants to be corrected. I. The anonymous edition of Lyons in 1679 is not the first. I remember to have seen this book ever since 1666. II. They did not print it at Paris in 1686, with Mr Conrart's name to it. Those words *ad exemplar Parisi* 1686, which those gentlemen quote (4), signify, not that it was printed from the edition which came out at Paris in 1686, but that it was printed in 1686 according to the Paris edition. And so they do not give the date of the Paris edition.

(2) Melchior Smidius.

(3) At the month of July 1690, pag. 368.

(4) Pag. 17, Ann. 1687.

(1) Pag. 17, 18.

FAUNO (L u c i o) in Latin Faunus, an Italian author, who lived about the middle of the XVIth century (a), composed a book of the antiquities of Rome *delle antichità della città di Roma*, which has been printed in Italian and Latin [A]. He translated also into Italian certain works of Flavius Blondus (b).

(a) Quem ætate Pauli IV (it should be Pauli III) Romani Pontificis, anno Christi M.D.XL, vixisse constat. Hankius, de Scripturis Rerum Romanarum, Tom. II, pag. 134.

(b) Epitome Bibliothecæ Gesneri, pag. m. 552.

[A] His book of the antiquities of Rome, has been printed in Italian, and in Latin. In the catalogue of the Bibliotheca Thuana, the Italian edition of Venice

(1) See Mr Telfier, in Catalogor. etc. pag. 550.

is placed in the year 1558, in 8vo. It is said (1) there was another edition of it in the same city in

1553. The Latin edition, if we believe Gesner's abridgment, came out at Venice in the year 1546. Others take notice of none but the Venice edition in 1549 (2).

(2) Hank. de Scriptor. Rer. Roman. p. 154.

(a) Zosimus, lib. ii, pag. m. 81.

(b) Id. ibid. pag. 82.

(c) Idem ibid. See also Eutropius, lib. x.

(d) Id. Zosimus, lib. ii, pag. 93.

(e) Her name was Minervina. Zosimus, lib. ii, pag. 93.

(f) Id. ibid. pag. 103, 104.

FAUSTA, daughter of Maximian Herculeus (a), was wife to the emperor Constantine. She was bestowed upon him with a design to deceive him (b); but she discovered Maximian's treachery to her husband (c). They say that Constantine suspecting that Crispus, a son he had (d) by a concubine (e), had an unlawful commerce with Fausta, caused him to be put to death; and to comfort his mother Helena, who was infinitely grieved at the death of that young man, he ordered Fausta to be smothered in a very hot bath. This is affirmed by Zosimus (f). Some say that Fausta, falling in love with Crispus, discovered her passion to him; but not being able to prevail upon him, she complained to Constantine that he would have attempted her virtue. They add, that Constantine believing Fausta's calumny, put Crispus to death; but afterwards, being convinced of his son's innocence, he ordered her to be executed [A]. Cardinal Baronius

[A] Some say that Fausta falling in love with Crispus Constantine put Crispus and that woman to death. This tragical event is related a thousand different ways by authors, and almost always curtailed of some of the most essential circumstances. Zosimus

(1) Zosim. lib. ii, pag. m. 103, 104.

(1) pretends that Constantine suspected Crispus had to do with Fausta; and yet he assures us that the emperor put Crispus to death without inflicting any punishment upon the empress; for he says she was stifled in the bath, only because it was found necessary to do so, to

comfort Constantine's mother. Such a relation deserves much to be censured. Crispus could not be suspected as guilty of incest with Fausta, without Fausta's being suspected of the same crime. How comes it to pass then that Constantine punished none but Crispus? this is an objection Zosimus ought to have foreseen and obviated, and yet he has taken no manner of precaution against it: therefore he has not given an exact account of Constantine's behaviour in this affair. According to the latter part of his narrative, it should have been

(1) Baron, ad
Ann. 324, n.
8 sq.

ronius (g) justly complains of the writers of ecclesiastical history, who have either sup-
pressed

been said in the first, that Crispus was suspected, not of committing incest with Fausta, but of having attempted her chastity in vain. Then the consequence would have been natural, and every body would have easily conceived that Constantine sacrificed the innocence of his wife to his mother's grief, or that by certain artifices they had persuaded him that the empress's conduct had not been faultless. To have a full account of this event we must have recourse to Metaphrastus: I confess he is not an author very worthy of credit; but yet he leaves the fewest chasms, he is one that puts the circumstances into good order. Crispus accused by his mother-in-law is punished: his father looks upon him as the only criminal. No wonder then that Fausta suffers nothing. Afterwards she is convicted of being a false accuser, and is punished on that score. Note, Metaphrastus supposes that Artemius the martyr relates this to justify Constantine, and answer the objections of Julian the apostate. Read the following passage of Baronius (2): 'Artemius præ-

(1) Baronius, ad
ad. ann. 324, n.
25, pag. m. 295.

* Ex Metaphr.
apud Ser. die 20
Octob. Tom. V.

fectus Augustalis, idemque martyr, cum christianitatis reus causam ageret coram Juliano Apostata, deroganti illi Constantino, multaque in eum obijcanti, ac præsertim propinquorum necem, hæc tunc in eum pro Constantino respondit: 'Ille autem (inquit) uxorem Faustam juste admodum interfecit, ut quæ pristinam Phædræ esset imitatrix, ejusque filium Crispum calumniata, quod ejus amore captus esset, et vim ei conatus esset asferre, sicut etiam illa Hippolytum Thesi filium. Atque primum quidem qui sic in matrem insaniat (ut volebant ejus verba) ille cum esset maritus, punivit. Postea autem cum scivisset esse mentiam, ipsam quoque occidit, in eam ferens sententiam omnium justissimam. Hæc Artemius ad Julianum. — Artemius the emperor's lieutenant, and a martyr, being accused of christianity, and obliged to appear on his trial before Julian the apostate, who inveighed against Constantine, laying several heavy things to his charge, but more particularly the murder of his nearest relations, made this answer in defence of Constantine. He killed, says he, and that most justly his wife Fausta, because like another Phædra she had falsely accused his son Crispus of having fallen in love with her, and attempted her honour, as the first had done to Hippolytus son of Theseus. In the person of a husband he punished the son, who, according to his wife's insinuation, had been transported with so unjustifiable a passion. But when he was afterwards convinced of his wife's perfidy: he put her likewise to death, making her undergo a sentence, than which none could be more just. Thus Artemius replied to Julian.' Sidonius Apollinaris tells us, that Ablavius the consul made a distich which was fixed upon the palace gates, containing a stinging satire upon Constantine's cruelty. 'Ut mihi non figuratus Constantini domum vitamque videtur vel pupugisse veru gemello consul Ablavius, vel momordisse disticho tali clam palatinis foribus appenso:

Saturni aurea sæcla quis requirat?
Sunt hæc gemmea (3), sed Neroniana.

The age of saturn was an age of gold;
But this, like Nero's, is an age of gems.

(3) Sævos
hæc rursus me
aves erat uxor,
sicut quod
Crispus . . . ve-
neno gemme il
et gemmate pa-
ture infuso poti-
us occidit.
— Hæc
Crispus had been
poisoned with a
liquor prepared
in a cup for round
with wax.

(4) Sidon. Apol-
linar. Epist. viii.
lib. v. pag. m.
238.

(5) Ammianus
Marcellinus lib.
xiv. cap. ult.
pag. m. 57, 58.

(6) Hieronymus de
script. Eccles. in
in Laetantio.

Quia scilicet prædictus Augustus iisdem ferè temporibus extinxerat conjugem Faustam calore balnei, filium Crispum frigore veneni (4). These words of Sidonius Apollinaris say nothing of the cause of Constantine's proceeding; they only inform us that this prince put his wife Fausta to death by the heat of a bath, and his son Crispus by the deadly cold of poison. Most writers say that Crispus was killed, not poisoned. 'Ad Ilium duxit prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam PEREMPTUM Constantini filium accepimus Crispum (5). — To Ithra near the town of Pola, where, it is said, Crispus the son of Constantine was killed.' St Jerom's expression is: 'Hic (Laetantius) extrema senectute magister Cæsaris Crispum, filium Constantini in Gallia fuit, qui postea à patre INTERFECTUS est (6). — Laetantius in his old age was preceptor to Crispus, son to Constantine, in Gaul, who was afterwards slain by his father.' We read in Eusebius's chronicle, that Crispus the son of

Constantine, and young Licinius the son of Constantine's sister, were barbarously murdered, CRUELISSIMÉ INTERFICIUNTUR, the first year of the CCLXXVth Olympiad, that is in the year 325; and that Constantine put his wife Fausta to death the fourth year of the same Olympiad. Orosius says nothing of Fausta; but he says that Constantine, about the time that the Arian heresy was condemned in the council of Nice, put to death Crispus his own son, and Licinius his nephew, without any body's knowing the reasons of his being thus exasperated against his own blood. 'Sed inter hæc latent causæ, cur vindicem gladium & destinam in impios punitionem Constantinus imperator etiam in propriis egit affectus. Nam Crispum filium suum, & Licinium, sororis filium INTERFECIT

(7) Orosius, lib.
vii. cap. xxviii.
fol. m. 321.
ver. 6.

(7). — It is not well known what should induce Constantine to draw his vindictive sword, and to inflict the punishment destined for beasts on his own family; for he put to death his own son Crispus, and his sister's son Licinius.' It is very strange this historian should never have heard what is attested by so many others, that Crispus was put to death upon suspicion of a criminal love to his mother-in-law; but perhaps Orosius had heard that, and other reasons also, but judged from the diversity of opinions that the true causes of it were concealed. Aurelius Victor, who says that it was believed Constantine made away with Crispus at Fausta's instigation, does not add the motive which she suggested to her husband. But he however agrees with Zosimus concerning the cause of Fausta's death; he says that Constantine ordered her to be put to death in a bath, because his mother Helena, exceedingly afflicted with grief for the death of Crispus, reproached him with it. 'Fausta conjuge, ut putant, suggerente Crispum filium NECARI jubet. Dehinc uxorem suam Faustam in balneis ardentibus coniectam interemit, cum eum mater Helena dolore nimio nepotis increparet (8). — He caused his son Crispus to be put to death upon the suggestions, as it is believed, of his wife Fausta. Afterwards he put her also to death in a hot bath, moved thereto by the complaints if his mother Helena, who extremely regretted the loss of her grandson.' Nothing is more surprizing to me than that Eutropius should enlarge upon Constantine's cruelty, without touching upon the death of Crispus, though he did not forget to mention particularly that of young Licinius, and Fausta (9). It is pretended that St Chrysostome, without naming any celliuidines peccatorum, has related this action of Constantine; but he supposes that this prince, suspecting his wife of adultery, ordered her to be bound upon the top of a mountain, to be devoured by wild beasts. He adds that the son of that prince was killed by his own father, or rather by his brother (10). Gregorius Turonensis affirms that Constantine put his son Crispus, and his wife Fausta to death, for high-treason (11). Philostorgius says that Constantine being prepossessed by the calumnies of his wife, Crispus's mother-in-law, ordered him to be killed, and afterwards having discovered that she committed adultery with a courier, he caused her to be sufficed in the bath (12). Besides the authors I have named, the reader will do well to consult Suidas (13) pag. m. 58. and Zonaras.

I have produced all these authorities, that the reader may see the defects, variations, and want of exactness, in ancient historians. Note also, that having so many authors to cite upon this subject, it is strange that no body should be quoted in Moreti but Ammianus Marcellinus, who says nothing, either of Fausta, or of the reason why Crispus was put to death. We have seen before (14) all that is to be met with in this writer concerning this matter.

I cannot omit the liberty Caussin the Jesuit has taken to add abundance of things of his own invention to the account of this adventure. This would be tolerable in a piece of poetry, or a romance; but in a serious work, and which is intitled *The holy court*, such rhetorical decorations are not to be allowed. Nothing is more delightful than this to young scholars, or more insipid to persons advanced in age, and judgment. They cannot behold without indignation a long description of the beauty of Crispus, the rise and progress of Fausta's passion, the manner she made her passion known, her rage to be denied, her contrivance to be revenged, her sorrow for the death of Crispus, &c; they cannot bear, I say, the representation of all

(11) Græg.
Turon. Hist.
Frang. lib. i.
cap. xxxv.

(12) Philostorg.
Hist. Eccles.
lib. ii. cap. iv.

(13) Suidas, voce
Kpivovs.

(14) Crit. (5).

(b) *Mr. Baluze*, in *Lactant. de Morte Persec.* cap. xxvii, proves that this chronology is right.

(i) *Michel Glycas*, lib. iv, apud *Baronium*, ad ann. 324, n. 35.

pressed these facts, or have even endeavoured to confute them [B]. He places the marriage of Constantine with Fausta in the year 307 (b), and the death of Crispus and that empress in 324. Nothing could have been more dangerous to this son of Constantine, than to have his mother-in-law in love with him, for which way soever he acted, he was sure to be ruined by it. A compliance had exposed him to the wrath of God; and besides, if it had been known, he could hope for no favour from Constantine; his refusal was no less fatal, for this was what exposed him to the indignation and rage of an empress [C]. Some say that (i) Fausta brought back Constantine to worship false deities,

(15) Of the death of Crispus.

all these things, though they are not derived from any history. As to the last particular, the author says as follows. 'As soon as this news (15) arrived at court, the wicked Fausta knowing it to be the effect of her own perfidy, and having before her eyes the image of the poor prince whom she had so passionately loved before, but now safely butchered in the bloom of beauty, and at an age, most to be lamented, and of so sweet a temper as would have excited compassion in lions and tigers; all her passion and hatred was turned into outrageous grief, which forced her to cry and howl at her husband's feet, confessing she had murdered the chaste Crispus by her abominable calumnies; that she had solicited him to wickedness; but had found him, like Joseph, armed with invincible chastity, abhorring her sin to the degree it deserved; whereupon, stung with rage, and fearing to be prevented, she had invented that calumny against him; for which reason she was unworthy to live any longer, after having destroyed the most innocent prince in the world, and stained his own father with his blood (16).' What boldness this! An author of the XVIIth century pretends to give us the particulars of a thing which happened in the IVth, and all out of his own head. No ancient author has informed us how Constantine came to know his son's innocence, much less that it was Fausta herself who discovered it to the emperor.

(16) *Cassius*, *Hist. Court.* Tom. II, pag. m. 56.

[B] *Cardinal Baronius justly complains of the writers . . . who have suppressed these facts, or who have even endeavoured to confute them.* He attacks on this head three historians; Eusebius, Sozomen, and Evagrius. The first is silent: the other two dispute against those who have spoken. Eusebius keeps a profound silence concerning this matter in his life of Constantine, but not in his chronicle. Sozomen durst neither positively acknowledge, nor deny the death of Crispus; he (17) is content to refute the Pagan authors, who had said that Constantine finding no way in Paganism to expiate such execrable murders, but finding a method to do it in the christian religion, forsook the religion of his fathers, and turned christian. Evagrius (18) absolutely denies these two things; first, that Constantine put Crispus and Fausta to death; and secondly, that he embraced christianity for that reason. Baronius (19) having condemned the silence of the first of these historians, as a base flattery, charges (20) Sozomen with incredible stupidity, who, to shew that Constantine did not put Crispus to death, only makes use, says he, of this argument: Crispus lived to the twentieth year of Constantine's reign, and enacted several laws with him. Baronius (21) still wonders more at Evagrius's behaviour: he refers him to the chronicle of Eusebius, to Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Orosius, Sidonius Apollinaris, &c. Afterwards he confutes the arguments that Sozomen and Evagrius have opposed, the former to the Pagan authors in general, the latter to Zosimus in particular. I. We may observe in the first place that he mutilates their arguments, and that he should not have affirmed that Sozomen denied the death of Crispus (22); for that historian is satisfied with leaving the matter doubtful, and only confutes the consequences which the Pagans would infer from it. The argument, he urges against them, is much better than Baronius makes it; for if Constantine and Crispus had jointly enacted laws in favour of christianity, as Sozomen supposes, it follows that Constantine had abjured the Pagan religion before the death of Crispus; therefore he did not abjure it, because he could not find in it the necessary expiations, stained as he was with the blood of his son, as the Pagans pretended. This is Sozomen's argument: the annalist destroys the force of it, by supposing that this author only said, that Crispus had made laws together with Constantine (23). His observation was not so indefinite: he said those laws were in favour of

(17) *Sozomen*, *Hist. Eccles. lib. i*, cap. v, pag. m. 406, 407.

(18) *Evagrius*, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii*, cap. xlii, pag. m. 371.

(19) *Baron. ad ann. 324*, n. 5, pag. m. 293.

(20) *Ibidem*, *ibid.* n. 7, pag. 294.

(21) *Ibid.* n. 8.

(22) *Ut neget Crispum occisum à patre. Baron. ibid.* n. 7. Non admittens omnino Crispum à Constantino justum occidit. *Id. ibid.* n. 20. *James Godfrey*, *Notis in Philost.* pag. 50, makes the same mistake.

(23) *Es uno utiliter argumento quod Crispus vivens ad viginti annos usque patris imperii annum pervenerit, multas interea leges cum eo statuit. Baron. ad ann. 324*, n. 7.

the christians (24). Baronius does not deal more fairly with Evagrius: he charges him (25) with urging against Zosimus, Eusebius's silence; but it is certain that Evagrius goes farther: he relates (26) three passages in Eusebius's ecclesiastical history, which testify, that the emperor Constantine was always zealous for the true faith, and that his son Crispus, beloved of God, was like his father. II. In the second place let us say, that Sozomen's other arguments have been well answered by the annalist (27), who has plainly made it appear that Sosipater the philosopher was acquainted with Constantine, and ought to have told him, according to the Platonic hypothesis, that the parricides of that emperor could never be expiated: and Zosimus assures us that this was the answer that philosopher did give Constantine. But he has been confuted (28) among other reasons by this: that Sosipater could not be ignorant that the religion of the Greeks had expiatory ceremonies for the most heinous murders; witness Hercules who killed his sons, and his host, and yet found means to expiate it. Baronius (29) refutes these answers of Sozomen excellently well, by shewing a capital difference between the parricides of Constantine, and those of Hercules. The former were committed by a prince in his senses, and the latter by a madman, whose actions could not be deemed voluntary.

No doubt it will be asked, why this annalist undertakes to confirm the slanders of the Pagan authors, and confutes the ecclesiastical historians, who have answered them as well as they could. Does it become a cardinal to declare in a manner for infidels, who have affected to vilify Constantine's conversion, as if that emperor had only abjured Paganism, because the discipline of it was so severe, that there was no remedy against the terrors of his own conscience, whereas the christians offered him an easy method to wash away his guilt in the waters of baptism? we must not think Baronius does all this for nothing: he does it only to support certain traditions which are favourable to the Roman see; he (30) makes use of this to confirm the acts of pope Silvester, and to prove that Constantine received baptism at Rome, from that pope, a little before the celebration of the council of Nice. The annals of Idatius are not in his favour; for they place the death of Crispus in the year 326. Father Pagi (31) places the third consulship of Crispus in the year 324. Consult Godefroy's notes upon Philostorgius (32). After all, it is hard to imagine that, one year before or after the council of Nice, Constantine should consult a heathen philosopher upon the expiatory ceremonies for murder. Could he be still immersed in Pagan superstition after so long a profession of the true faith? note, that even to this day there are some people (33) who question whether he put his wife Fausta to death; and forgot not to compare the pagans with those who have published, and do still publish, that the reformers of the church in the XVth century, did not leave the Romish communion, for any other cause but to free themselves from the rigours of celibacy, and abstinences, and that the liberty of living without auricular confession, and without any austerities, procured them a crowd of followers.

[C] *His refusal . . . exposed him to the indignation, and rage of an empress.* Those, who are best acquainted with affairs of gallantry, say that it is very imprudent to play the part of a tempter, when their design is nothing more than to try the virtue of a woman; for they run a very great hazard, if they go so far as to gain her consent. The affront they do her, by neglecting the favourable disposition she is in, fills her with resentment, which puts her upon inventing a thousand ways to revenge herself: she cannot bear to remember that she has been deceived, and that the weakness she discovered, has produced nothing; she cannot, I say, think upon this without violent transports of rage, which her deceiver has reason to dread,

(24) *Πολλὰς δὲ οὐκ αὐτῷ ἐξέμασε, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς Χριστιανισμοῦ. Multas una cum patre leges pro Christianis tulit. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. i, cap. v, pag. 406, 407.*

(25) *Baron. ad ann. 324*, n. 3.

(26) *Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii*, cap. xlii, p. 372.

(27) *Baron. ad ann. 324*, n. 22, & seq.

(28) *Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. i*, cap. v, pag. 407.

(29) *Baron. ad ann. 324*, n. 25.

(30) *Baron. m. 29*, & seq. ad ann. 324.

(31) *Pagi, Dissert. Hypat. pag. 249.*

(32) *Jac. G. theodoretus, in Philostorg. pag. 54.*

(33) *See Cellarius in Eutrop. lib. 2.*

FEITHIUS. FELIBIEN.

deities, and that God sent the leprosy upon him to reclaim him.

it is much worse when a woman has declared herself first, and made advances which have met with ill success. Wo to the man she has tried in vain: she meditates nothing but his ruin. The patriarch Joseph is a proof of this (34): and besides this great example in holy writ, the history of the heroic times will furnish no less shining instances of the same: read the adventures of Bellerophon, and those of the chaste Hippolytus. The history of the following ages will also supply us with something of the like, were it only in our Fausta the false accuser of Crispus, who would not gratify her lust. Juvenal has well observed, that if the shame of such a denial inflames hatred, in that case a woman shews the greatest cruelty.

(34) Gen. xxix.

Sed casto quid forma nocet? quid profuit olim
Hippolyto grave propositum? quid Bellerophonti?
Erupt nemp hæc cœu fastidita repulsa:
Nec Stenobœa minus quam Cressa excaudit, & se
Concussere ambæ, mulier sævissima tunc est,
Cum stimulos odio pudor admovet (35).

(35) Juvenal, Sat. x, v. 324.

She may be handsome, yet be chaste you say,
Good observer not so fast away.
Did it not cost one modest youth his life,
Who found n'd th' embraces of his father's wife?
And was not t'other stripping forc'd to fly,
Who coldly did his patron's queen deny?
The ladies charg'd them home, and turn'd the tale,
With shame they reddend, and with spight grew pale.

'Tis dangerous to deny the longing dame,
She loses pity who has lost her shame.

DRYDEN.

An empress, a queen, and in general, ladies of the highest rank, are especially to be dreaded when their enticements are slighted: their quality makes them more sensible of the injury, and gives them greater opportunities of revenge. To them may be well applied these words of Juno in Virgil (36):

(36) Virgil. Æneid. lib. i, ver. 37.

Mene incepto desistere victam?

Must I then vanquish'd quit the form'd design!

Upon such occasions a contempt of beauty is an offence which sinks deep into the heart.

Manet alta mente repositum

Judicium Paridis spretæque injuria formæ (37).

(37) Id. ibid. ver. 26.

Deep graven in her heart the doom remain'd
Of partial Paris, and her form disdain'd.

DRYDEN.

I know not whether Lactantius had made his disciple (38) read the history of Phædra: it might have been of some service to him.

(38) Crispus the son of Constantine.

FEITHIUS (EVERARD) was born at Elburg in Guelderland, in the XVIth century. He spent some years in the study of philosophy, after which he devoted himself entirely to polite learning, and made a great progress therein. He made himself master of the Greek, and even of the Hebrew tongue. The professors of the Academy, which the French protestants had in Berne, gave an ample testimony of it. Having been abroad a long time, he returned into his own country, where he found every body in a consternation on account of the Spanish expedition under Spinola. This made him resolve to leave his native country. He retired into France, where he taught the Greek tongue, and was honoured with the friendship of Casaubon, Messieurs du Puy, and Thuanus. As he was walking in Rochelle, attended with a servant, he was desired to go into a certain citizens house (a). It could never be known since what became of him, tho' the magistrates made the most strict inquiry. It was great pity; for if this young man had arrived to old age, he would have wonderfully improved literature. This opinion is founded upon the manuscripts he left behind him (b); one of which was published at Leyden in 1677 [A].

(a) In civis Rupellani sedes vocatur. Brumanus; ubi infra.

(b) Taken from Brumanus, Epist. Dedicat. Antiquitatum Horicarum.

[A] One of his works was published at Leyden in 1677. It is a volume in 12ves consisting of 350 pages, intitled *Antiquitatum Homeriarum libri quatuor*. It contains a great deal of curious and useful learning. Henry Bruman rector of the college of Swol, great nephew to the author (1), took care to publish it.

He promised also to collect Feithius's other writings which were dispersed through the negligence of his heirs. I am well informed, that they are not all lost, and that the tract *De Atheniensium Republica*, and that *De Antiquitatibus Atticis*, are in the hands of a most learned antiquary (2).

(2) Mr. Cuper.

FELIBIEN (ANDREW) Sieur des Avaux and de Javerzy, counsellor, historiographer to the king, &c. made himself remarkable by his knowledge of the polite arts. He was of Chartres, where no sooner had he finished his classic learning at fourteen years of age, but he was sent to Paris to learn the sciences and fit himself for business. But his inclination for the muses soon discovered itself. The first essays of his pen shewed the happiness of his genius, and the gracefulness of his style. The Marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil being nominated a second time ambassador extraordinary to Rome in 1647, Mr Felibien was appointed secretary to the embassy, and answered all the expectations of that worthy minister towards him. During his stay at Rome, his natural passion for the polite arts made him willingly sacrifice all his leisure time in visiting persons who excelled in them, and especially the famous Mr Poussin, in whose conversation he became acquainted with the greatest beauties which were in the statues and paintings. From the sublime ideas he then formed of the excellence and perfection of painting, he afterwards composed those learned works which have gained him so much reputation. Upon his return from Italy he went to Chartres, and as his design was to settle, he married Mrs Marguerite le Maire, daughter to the king's advocate in the Presidial, related as well as he to the best families in the city, and among others to the illustrious house of Aligre originally of Chartres. Afterwards his friends presented him to Mr Fouquet, who would have given greater marks of

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his favour if he had not too soon fallen under disgrace. But Mr Colbert, who loved the arts and sciences, did not neglect him. After he had made him draw certain plans for his majesty, that he might proceed upon the other works he had begun, he got for him a brevet to be historiographer to the king, to his buildings, and the arts and manufactures of France, which was dispatched the 10th of March 1666. The royal academy of architecture being erected in 1671, he was chosen their secretary. After this his majesty made him keeper of his cabinet of antiquities, and gave him an apartment in the Brion palace. He had also one of the first places in the royal academy of inscriptions and medals. Monf. le Pelletier succeeding Monf. Colbert in the direction of the finances, appointed Mr Felibien by commission to be comptroller-general of the bridges and causeways of the kingdom. Tho' he had business enough upon his hands, he did not refuse his assistance to the poor, being many years administrator of the hospital of the Quinze-vingts at Paris. . . . He died the 11th of June 1695, at the Age of seventy six years. He left five children (a) [A]. We shall see, below, the catalogue of his principal works, with the abridgment of the encomium upon them, and the character of his heart [B]. See the *journal des Savans* of the 28th of November 1695.

(a) Taken word for word from a memoir received from Paris.

[A] He left five children. Three sons and two daughters: the eldest son, formerly dean of the cathedral church of Bourges, is now vicar-general in that archbishopric. The second succeeded him in the office of historiographer to the king, and keeper of his majesty's antiquities. We have of his an historical collection of the lives and works of the most celebrated architects. The third is a monk, Dom Michael Felibien of the congregation of St Maur (1).

(1) Taken word for word from a memoir received from Paris.

[B] We shall see the catalogue of his principal works, with the abridgment of the encomium upon them, and the character of his heart. His chief books are the conferences upon the lives and works of the most excellent painters, ancient and modern, in two volumes in 4to, the second edition. The principles of architecture, sculpture, and painting, with a dictionary of the proper terms in those arts in 4to. Of the origin of painting together with several miscellaneous pieces in 4to. Several descriptions either of Versailles, or of the diversions given by the king, or of pictures, collected into one volume in 12ves. The conferences of the royal academy of painting in one volume in 4to. The description of the abbey de la Trappe in 12ves; and he also left some translations, as an account of what passed in Spain at the disgrace of the count duke of Olivares; translated from the Italian; the castle of the soul of St Theresa translated from the Spanish. The life of pope Pius V translated from the Italian. There appears in whatever he wrote, a solid judgment, an exquisite taste, great politeness and perspicuity. His style is pure, natural, noble, and elegant. The variety of things he has mixed together, especially in his

dialogues, and the beautiful strokes he has interspersed with a suitable decorum to his Subject, makes the reading of them exceedingly delightful. But however great his talents were, it was not from thence alone that he gained so much esteem. It was partly owing to the reputation of his integrity; and the honour to be employed by five ministers successively, who were excellent judges of men, is an authentic proof of their approving his conduct. The king himself more than once commended his knowledge and virtue. Had he been ambitious or less moderate than he was, he might easily have advanced himself more in the world, being always welcome to the great men at court, but he could never bring himself to handle other people's money; which was his great consolation at his death. Between eight and nine thousand livres which he annually received from the king's favours, together with his own paternal estate, seemed to him a sufficient reward for a man of letters, who ought rather to be a friend to virtue, than a slave to fortune. He always preserved a great sense of honour and religion. Though he was naturally of a grave and serious temper, nay, haughty and severe, yet his conversation was very agreeable, and upon occasion gay and sprightly. He had a heart full of sincerity and regard to truth, to which he excited himself by these words, *benefacere & dicere vera*, which he had caused to be engraven upon his seal, and which they put in the exergue of his medal. He lived in the practice of these two duties, which make the honest man, and the true christian (2). You may find all this more particularly in the *journal des Savans* (3).

(2) Taken from the same memoir.

(1) Of the 28th of November, 1695, pag. 695 & seq. Dates Eds.

FENOILLET (PETER) bishop of Montpellier in the XVIIth century, was of Anancy in Savoy. He applied himself to study with great diligence, and after receiving his doctor's degree in divinity, he applied himself to preaching, and became very famous in it. He was much esteemed by Francis de Sales bishop of Geneva, who gave him a benefice in his diocese, after which he was made canon of the cathedral of Anancy. Being invited to Paris to preach during Lent, he was so much applauded, that Henry IV honoured him with the title of his preacher, and at the end of three years nominated him to the bishopric of Montpellier (a).

(a) Taken from the fourth letter of the first book of Francis de Sales, pag. 24, 25, Paris edit. 1662, in 8vo.

FERNELIUS (JOHN) physician to Henry II, king of France, was born in Picardy [A]. He was sent something late to Paris to learn rhetoric and philosophy; but he made so swift a progress, that commencing master of arts at the end of two years, the heads of the college unanimously offered him to be teacher of Logic, with a very considerable salary. He refused these offers, chusing rather by private study, and lectures, to fit himself for a public profession. He followed his studies with such application,

[A] He was born in Picardy. I confine myself to this general expression, to be more secure; for I see on one hand that he styles himself *Ambianus*, a native of Amiens, and on the other that we are assured in his life, that he was born at Clermont, twenty miles from Paris, and that he took the surname of Ambianus, because his father was of Amiens. *Claramontio oppidulo (quod viginti duntaxat milliaribus à Lutetia distat) natus atque ingenue educatus, Ambianum in operibus idecirco se prædicat, quod patrem inde habuerit* (1). By Cler-

(1) G. Plantius, in vita Fernelii, initio.

mont is to be understood here Clermont in Beauvaisis. Dom Peter de St Romuald alleges another reason why Fernelius was named Ambianus. He was born, says he (2), at Clermont in Beauvaisis, in a house in the suburbs, where to this day hangs the sign of the swan. Some have called him Ambianois, because the suburb he was born in is called the suburb of Amiens. Mezerai affirms (3) that Fernelius was a native of Montdidier in the diocese of Amiens.

(2) Abrégé de Thref. Chronol. Tom. III, at the year 1558.

(3) Histoire de France, Tom. II, pag. 1558.

[B] He

tion, that he denied himself the most innocent pleasures of life which might deprive him of his Cicero, his Plato, or his Aristotle (a). He got this advantage by reading Cicero, that his philosophical lectures were as eloquent as those of other masters were barbarous at that time. He also applied himself much to the mathematics; this hard study threw him into a long fit of sickness, which forced him to leave Paris. Returning thither after the recovery of his health, he resolved to study Physic; but before he entered upon it, he taught a course of philosophy in St Barbe's college. After this he spent four years in the study of physic, and taking his doctor's degree, he confined himself entirely to his closet in order to read the best authors, and cultivate the knowledge of the mathematics. He had an intimate friendship with an excellent rhetorician (b), who taught him polite learning, and whom he instructed in the mathematics. The instruments he invented, and ordered to be made in this science, were very expensive to him; which the wife, he had just married, not approving of, it breaking in upon her fortune, she murmured, wept, and complained to her father (c), and incensed him against Fernellius; at length he desisted, dismissed all his instrument-makers, and applied himself wholly to the practice of physic; but because visiting the sick could not take up all the time of a man, who, like him, allowed very little to eating and sleeping [B], he resumed an occupation which he had followed before he was doctor in physic; I mean he read public lectures upon Hippocrates and Galen. This soon acquired him a very great reputation through all France, and in foreign countries. He was forced at the end of six years to break off these lectures; for the esteem he was in drew such multitudes of patients to him, that he had not time to assist all those that came to consult him; but as nothing could make him leave his private studies, he employed all his leisure hours in composing a book of physic (d), which was published some time after. His disciples pressed him so warmly to read lectures upon this work, that he resolved to do it notwithstanding the opposition of his wife [C], and the advice of his friends. He spent three years in these lectures, and as during that time he undertook another work, which he also made public (e), he laid himself in a manner under a necessity reading publicly some years longer, for they passionately desired him to explain that second book to the youth

(a) See the Remark [B].

(b) James Strebenus.

(c) He was a counsellor at Paris. But it is not said in what court.

(d) This is the book which he intitled *Physiologia*.

(e) De venæ sectione.

[B] He allowed little time to eating and sleep. Every other pleasure but that of learning was insipid to him; he valued neither play, nor walking, nor entertainments, nor conversations. I speak of the time when he was yet only a scholar. 'Ludos, jocos, comotationes, & comestiones, sermones etiam omnium pene condiscipulorum, ac familiarium, fugere statuit, non cibi, non somni, non corporis, non valetudinis, non rei familiaris rationem habere, omnia perperit, dum liberalium artium cognitionem assequeretur: omne in eis studium, diligentiam, curam, induriam adhibere, nullam præterquam ex discendo voluptatem capere: arbitratus omnem horam perire quæ in bonorum authorum lectione & studiis non collocaretur: tanta in illius animo insita erat discendi cupiditas, tantus cognitionis amor & scientiæ (4). — He scorned all plays, diversions, clubs, entertainments, the conversation of his companions, and friends, and payed no regard to feasting, sleeping, dress, exercise, health, or fortune, but devoted himself entirely to study; laying out all his application, industry, and care in the search of learning, in which was his sole delight. He imagined every hour was lost that was not dedicated to the reading of good Authors, such was his desire for learning, such was his love for knowledge and improvement.' The sequel of his life did not contradict such a beginning; never man was more active than he. He rose at four a clock in the morning, and studied till the time came on to read the public lectures, or to visit the sick. Then he examined the urines that were brought to him, and prescribed medicines according to the conjectures he could form (5). When he returned home to dinner, he shut himself up with his books till he was called to sit down to table, from table went into his closet again, which he did not leave till he was called to go abroad upon business. When he returned in the evening, he did as at noon, attended his books till called to supper; after supper he resumed them again till eleven at night, when he lay down to rest. When he had invited any friend to eat with him, he made no scruple to leave them as soon as the entertainment was over, and go to his books again. 'Omnia animi & corporis oblectamenta præ literarum studiis, & medicæ artis exercitatione, pro nihilo ducens: ut nulla vitæ pars neque publicis, neque privatis, neque medicis, neque domesticis in rebus vacasse officio videretur. Si quem fortè ad cenam vel prandium aliquando invitaret, ab eo neque turpe,

neque inhonestum ducebat, aliquantò post sumpsum cibum studiorum causa se surripere (6).'

Some years before his death, at his wife's request, he bought a country-house (7): but he never went to it but once or twice a year to refresh himself. He found more pleasure in an active life, and in the exercise of his profession than in retirement. 'Erat hoc robore animi, atque hac indole virtutis, & continentia, ut respuerit omnes voluptates, omnemque vitæ suæ cursum in labore corporis atque in animi contentione conficeret; quem non quies, non remissio, non æqualium studia, non ludi, non convivia delectarent, nihil in vita expetendum putaret, nisi quod esset cum laude, & honore, & cum dignitate conjunctum (8). — He was of that strength of mind, of such a disposition to virtue and continence, that he rejected all manner of pleasures, and spent his whole time in the labour of his body, and the application of his mind. Neither rest, relaxation, the company of his equals, plays, nor feasts, had any charms for him. He thought nothing in the world was worthy his desires, except what was attended with dignity and honour.' He never sent away the sick that came to implore his assistance, how poor soever they were; and, they came in such great numbers to him in summer time, that he had not leisure to sit down to table, but dined standing. 'Tantus ægrorum numerus ad eum confugiebat, ut per totam ferè æstatem stans prandere cogeretur: neminem quantumlibet pauperem à se abire dimittebat morbi quo angeretur ignarum, remediisque ad eum profligandum destitutum (9).' When he was advised to give himself a little relaxation, his answer was that death would give him time enough to rest in. 'Quod si illum nonnunquam de curanda corporis sui valetudine, deque nocturnis studiis intermittendis, commonefacerem, & ad quiescendum cohortarer, (erat enim somni parcissimus) responsum in promptu habere solebat, *Longa quiescendi tempora fata dabunt*.

(6) Planctus, ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.

The wives of such physicians are much to be pitied, when they love their husbands, and are not of a covetous temper; for indifference and avarice can find relief in such an absence of the Husband. [C] Notwithstanding the opposition of his wife. It is not hard to guess why his wife would not consent to such kinds of lectures: they hindered him from seeing his patients, and so considerably diminished the daily profit of his practice. His historian is not silent upon this damage: 'Quod onus . . . uxore, amicis

(4) Planctus, in vita Fernellii.

(5) It was the method of the common people in those times. They did not call a physician, but sent the patient's urine to him, and he prescribed for them. See Planctus, in vita Fernellii.

(f) It was of six hundred livres.

(g) Hoc. per-
fectus muncere alia
quedam Hippo-
cratis & Galeni
interpretari scrip-
ta cogitabat, id-
que ab eo quoti-
dianis precibus &
acclamationibus
contendebant
philiatri omnes,
sed pre ægrorum
qui undique ad
eum opis causa
quotidie confu-
giebant turba, id
muneri aggregi
non potuit.
G. Plantius, in
vita Ferneli.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) No regard
ought to be had
to this sum-
mary in the
margin, *regiam*
caravit, for
probably the
book-sellers cau-
sed it to be put
there.

(13) Henrico
Galliarum regi
designato cui illa
charissima erat.

(14) Brantome's
discourse on that
queen.

youth also. He had not gone thro' this when he was called to court, to see if he could cure a lady, whose cure was despaired of [D]: he happily succeeded, and this was the first cause of the esteem which king Henry II, who was then only dauphin, and tenderly love that lady, had for him. That prince offered him the place of his first physician; but Fernelius, who preferred his studies to the tumult of a court, refused the offer, and even made use of some artifice to get leave to return to Paris [E]. He obtained it without any diminution of the pension that had been promised him (f). Having finished the explication of his book, he was continually solicited to read upon something else; but the multitudes of patients, who sent for him, hindered him from engaging in it (g). However, he did not cease from being serviceable to the public, otherwise than by his practice. In his spare time he composed a work *de additis rerum causis*, which was followed by seven books of pathology; after which he treated of medicines [F]. Before he had finished this last work, he was forced to obey the orders of Henry II: that prince would have him with him as his first physician, and it happened just contrary to what Fernelius had dreaded; for he found more quiet and leisure at court than he had had at Paris, and had

it

'micis omnibus, & ægrorum curis reclamantibus, vel magno rei domesticæ dispendio suscepit (10). — *This laborious employ he undertook, notwithstanding the instances of his wife and friends, and the inconvenience which would attend his practice.*

[D] He was called to court, to see if he could cure a lady whose cure was despaired of. Those who imagine that the historian had a view to the barrenness of Catherine de Medicis, would be grossly deceived, and this will be easily granted me if his manner of expression be considered (11): 'Nec absolverat ejus commendationis explicationem, cum in gravissimo mulieris nobilissimæ (12) casu ad aulicos quasi edicto regio rapitur. Pervagabatur enim incredibilis ad hujus imperii proceres de Fernelii eruditione fama & persuasio, quasi unus esset à Galliae Medicis calamitosi illius morbi perstrenuus oppugnator, & impendentis mortis fortissimus vindex, malorumque depulsor, quasi Hercules Alexicacus: quam ille opinionem de se strenue sustinuit, ut non tam sit creditus mulierem in vita retinuisse, quam jam profligata salute ex inferorum faucibus revocasse. — Before he had finished the explication of his commentary, he was sent for to court, as it were by a mandate from the king, on a most dangerous case of a lady of great quality: for the nobles of this kingdom, from the incredible reputation which had spread itself of him, had entertained a belief, that he was the only physician in France that could combat with success that deplorable distemper, the bravest champion against impending death, and a very Hercules at destroying and driving away distempers; which opinion of him he bravely kept up, it being believed, that he did not so much keep the lady alive, as rescue her from the most desperate circumstances, and the closing jaws of death.' First it is a question whether Catherine de Medicis is intended here at all: in the second place, no doubt nothing less than her barrenness was designed. If the author meant to speak of that princess who was then dauphiness, is it not strange that he should describe her by the general name of a lady of great quality? Is it not strange that he should say she was most tenderly beloved by the dauphin (13)? if it was not the dauphiness, the expression is good and proper: it might be a mistress: it might be a lady for whom the dauphin had a particular friendship; but if it was his wife, the historian explains himself impertinently. It is always supposed in relations of this kind that a husband loves his wife, that he is extremely concerned for his wife's cure, and is exceedingly grateful to the physicians who cure her. It is sufficient then to observe that the patient is his wife; and if they will use the word *charissima*, *tenerrima*, it should be brought in after the term *uxor*, or *conjugis*, is employed. From whence I conclude, that that author, having wrote with eloquence and judgment, would not have expressed himself as he has done, if he had designed to speak of a distemper of the dauphiness. Add to this another reason. It would have been an additional glory to John Fernelius, if the lady he cured had been the dauphiness: why then should his historian, who seeks to load him with honour and encomium, have concealed the principal title of that lady? so much for the first point: the second is still clearer. Catherine de Medicis was very healthy while she was barren; she tired her horse, she rode a hunting with the king (14), and neither her life nor health seemed to be in any danger from her continuing without having children. There-

fore she was not cured of a mortal distemper, when he gave her medicines against barrenness; so that it cannot be meant of her, since the question here is of a morbus calamitosus, of mors impendens, of profligata salus, of an ex inferorum faucibus revocatio.

I do not insist on all these observations without reason; it is to draw from thence a strong proof against those who say Fernelius cured the barrenness of the dauphiness. This is a fact which appears very dubious to me, since his beloved disciple says nothing of it, and yet speaks of another cure less important than this would have been. It is not at all probable that he should be ignorant of so shining a circumstance in Fernelius's life, or that knowing it he should pass it by in silence in the history of that physician. Who should know this adventure, if Plantius was ignorant of it? Plantius, I say, bred up so long at the feet of this Gamaliel, and admitted to his greatest confidence? and who was fitter to publish a thing so glorious to the memory of his good master than this disciple? he forgot it, may some say, when he resolved to write the history of John Fernelius: but would he not have recollected it when he was giving an account of his master's first journey to court? could this lady, abandoned by her Physicians, so dear to the dauphin Henry, come into his mind without exciting the idea of a dauphiness, rendered fruitful by Fernelius's remedies? *Credat Judæus Apella.*

[E] He made use of some artifice to get leave to return to Paris. They were not satisfied with the reasons he alleged that he was not skillful enough to be trusted with the health of princes, but if they would let him return to Paris, he would use the utmost diligence to make himself more fit and worthy to serve the dauphin. When he found these arguments would not serve his turn, he pretended to be sick, and got a surgeon who could speak familiarly to the prince, to tell him that he had a pleurisy, which grief would infallibly render mortal, and that his grief proceeded from seeing himself separated from his books, lectures, and family and engaged in a life of hurry and tumult. 'Simulata pleuritide & conficta ementitque à Chirurgo qui principi familiaris erat periculi magnitudine, per eum nuntiari jubet tanti mali causam ab animi ægritudine & morore proficisci, quod à studiis esset abductus, &c (15). The prince believing this lye gave Fernelius leave to retire. Must not a man be strangely in love with study, and a philosophic life, to employ so many machines not to be a court physician, that is, to avoid an employment that others endeavour to obtain by all manner of ways? when Henry II succeeded to the throne, he renewed his instances; but Fernelius represented that the honour offered him was due upon many accounts, and as an hereditary right, to the late king's physician, and also that he wanted some time to make experiments on several things which he had discovered in physic. A time was granted him accordingly; but when the physician of Francis I was dead, Fernelius was obliged to go and supply his place to Henry II.

[F] He treated of medicines. He had finished his book of compound remedies, and was working upon simple remedies, of which he had discovered some virtues unknown to the ancients. He communicated them to no body; he desired the world might know to whom the honour of the discovery was due; he therefore designed not to make them known till the publication of his book. The necessity he was under of follow-

(15) Plantius, in
vita Ferneli.

it not been for the journeys that prince was obliged to take by the breaking out again of the war, his physician could have looked upon the court as a pleasant retreat. Returning from the Calais expedition, he sent his wife to Fontainebleau; the good woman was so grieved to be separated from her family, that she fell sick and died of a phrenzy shortly after. This afflicted him so deeply, that twelve days after his wife's funeral he fell sick, and died the eighteenth day of his illness (b) [G]. I shall make a remark upon the number of his years [H]. He got a great deal of money

(b) Taken from his life, written by William Plantius, his disciple, native of Mans. It is prefixed to Fernelius's works in all the editions. (c) See the remark [H].

ing the court, hindered him from setting his last hand to this work. The greatest concern he had upon his death-bed, was, that he could not finish it. * Hic doctor hominem præcipue angebat, hæc cura sollicita: bat quod therapeuticæ postremæ Medicinæ parti in qua multum diuque versatus erat, quamque suis inventis plurimum locupletare poterat, extremam manum non addidisset (16). — His greatest concern was, that he could not put the last hand to the last part of his discourses on Physic, namely the Therapeutic, about which he had been a long time employed, and which he could have greatly enriched with discoveries of his own. This is the reason that in his works there is an excellent pathology to be found, and but little therapeutic. See the *Journal des Savans* for the month of April 1666.

(16) *Id. Ibid.*

[G] He was so grieved at the death of his wife . . . that he died the eighteenth day of his distemper. Considering Plantius's narrative, it may be said that divers causes concurred to Fernelius's death. His spleen was disordered: and grief coming on made it worse, from whence issued a continual fever. He would not have died so soon, neither with his distemper of the spleen without his grief, nor of grief without the distemper of the spleen. It is true his grief did not arise wholly from the loss of his wife, many other things before that having extremely afflicted him. Quam causæ quædam externæ hæcque graves addidit acerbissimum mororem attulissent, superveniente uxoris obitu quo omnia exasperata sunt, humor in liene collectus tandem incallescens atque putrescens, inflammationem ejus visceris peperit, unde & febris accensa est continua (17). — Some external causes of a very bad nature having thrown him into a state of melancholy, his condition was rendered still worse by the death of his wife. A humour being collected in his spleen, which fermented at length and putrefied caused an inflammation in his bowels, which ended in a continual fever. But tho' no notice should be taken of these circumstances, yet it would plainly appear that the abbot Des Landes is strangely mistaken. * John Fernelius, says he (18), having been called to court by a princess who was disconsolate at her barrenness, and hearing of his wife's death, fell down at the princess's feet, from whence they carried him to his grave in the church of St James 'de la Boucherie.' This princess no doubt is Catherine de Medicis who was rid of her barrenness in the year 1543. Now Fernelius and his wife did not die till the year 1558, and besides it is not true that this physician died a sudden death. He did not fall sick till ten or twelve days after he had buried his wife, and did not die till the eighteenth day of his distemper.

(17) *Id. Ibid.* See Thes. Tom. VII. pag. 334.

(18) In a letter inserted in the *Mémoires Galants*, of November, 1765, pag. 197. See, above, remark (C) of the article CHARNACE.

[H] I shall make a remark upon the number of his years. If we believe Plantius, his historian, he died in the seventy second year of his life, in 1557, a little after the taking of Calais. That city was subdued by Henry II, in the month of January 1557, according to the way of reckoning at that time, that is if the year is not begun in the month of January; but if it began as we begin it, it was in 1558 that the town of Calais was taken. Plantius observes, that it had been a hundred years in the hands of the English. He should have said two hundred and eleven years. Fernelius's epitaph places his death on the twenty sixth of April. If the day is right in the epitaph, it must be concluded that Plantius is wrong in the year; for the twenty sixth of April, which follows the reduction of Calais, belongs to the year 1558, even according to the old way of reckoning. If Thuanus places the day right on the twenty seventh of March (19), then Plantius may be right in the year. But this is not the chief point. The epitaph gives Fernelius only a life of fifty two years. Plantius gives him seventy two. It must not be thought that the printers have put 72 instead of 52; for we find in that same life of Fernelius: 1. That he was about sixty years of age when he was made first physician to the King. 2. That he practised physic

at Paris thirty years. 3. That he did several things before he applied himself to visit the sick; so that we may be very sure that Plantius assigned him seventy two years; and yet the epitaph, which is drawn up by the son-in-law of Fernelius, gives him but fifty two years. Let us set down a passage of Guy Patin (20): (20) Patin, letter Since you are printing Fernelius's works, I would desire you to correct a fault which those of Utrecht made in their impression (21), when they say, in his life, that he died in the seventy second year of his age; which is false, for I can assure you that it was only in the fifty second. I had it from the late Mr de Villersay, master of the requests, son to a daughter of Fernelius, who died but in 1642. I had it also from other relations of his, and it is a constant tradition in his family. But, without taking notice of tradition, which is not always to be depended upon, I have two positive proofs of it. One is taken from the register of our Faculty, which I had when I was dean; where it is expressly said, that Fernelius died the twenty sixth of April, 1558, *anno ætatis* 52. The other argument is taken from his epitaph at St James de la Boucherie, which I have shewed to a great many: where it is also said, that he died at the age of fifty two years. The author of this epitaph is there called *Philippus* (22) Barjæ, Fernelii gener, who was master of the requests, and president of the great council, and married his eldest daughter; Mr Giles de Riant, president au Mortier, married the second, and died in the year 1597: his widow lived forty five years after him. These arguments of Guy Patin can hardly be answered. Had he alledged only the epitaph, his argument had not been so decisive as he pretended: for who is sure that the engraver did not omit two XX, which would reduce seventy two to fifty two? He might more easily be mistaken, if he made use of figures instead of letters, for a 5 is soon put for a 7. Those that know that an author, when he corrects his proofs, doth not sometimes perceive that his printers have prodigiously altered his figures and numerical letters (23), will not find it strange that Fernelius's son-in-law did not perceive the engraver's mistake. But, as I have already said, Guy Patin's arguments do not wholly depend on the epitaph. However, I will object two things against him: 1. I cannot well conceive, that one of Fernelius's disciples, who was ten years his confidant, should be so strangely mistaken in his master's age; what, could he be mistaken twenty years, and would he compose his life without informing himself a little better of the age he was to assign him? 2. If this disciple errs with respect to the age, he must needs err in many other particulars. He is wrong when he relates, that Fernelius began his studies late (24); and it is not true, that Fernelius studied two years in St Barbe's college, and afterwards with so much application in private, that he contracted a quartan-ague, which obliged him to go into the country. Febre quartana TANDEM corripitur, qua crudeliter ac diu confectatus ceptum studiorum cursum interrumpere, utque salubriore aëre frueretur solum vertere cogitur (25). — He was at length seized with a quartan-ague, which having afflicted him a long time very cruelly, he was obliged to break off the course of his studies, and retire into the country, in order to enjoy the benefit of a more wholesome air. How is it possible, that after his recovery, being returned to Paris, and having de- liberated what profession to choose, he could have been two years regent in St Barbe's college? How can, I say, these things be, since we know that he printed some books of mathematics in 1526 (26): now taking things at worst, it cannot be supposed that those books appeared at any other time but while he was regent. Where shall we then find the time that he published them in, according to Plantius's relation, if it be true that Fernelius died at the age of fifty two years? He must then have been author of a book of astronomy

(20) Patin, letter cxvii. of the first tome.

(21) Patin is in the wrong to imagine that it was only in the fifty second. I had it from the late Mr de Villersay, master of the requests, son to a daughter of Fernelius, who died but in 1642. I had it also from other relations of his, and it is a constant tradition in his family. But, without taking notice of tradition, which is not always to be depended upon, I have two positive proofs of it. One is taken from the register of our Faculty, which I had when I was dean; where it is expressly said, that Fernelius died the twenty sixth of April, 1558, *anno ætatis* 52. The other argument is taken from his epitaph at St James de la Boucherie, which I have shewed to a great many: where it is also said, that he died at the age of fifty two years. The author of this epitaph is there called *Philippus* (22) Barjæ, Fernelii gener, who was master of the requests, and president of the great council, and married his eldest daughter; Mr Giles de Riant, president au Mortier, married the second, and died in the year 1597: his widow lived forty five years after him. These arguments of Guy Patin can hardly be answered. Had he alledged only the epitaph, his argument had not been so decisive as he pretended: for who is sure that the engraver did not omit two XX, which would reduce seventy two to fifty two? He might more easily be mistaken, if he made use of figures instead of letters, for a 5 is soon put for a 7. Those that know that an author, when he corrects his proofs, doth not sometimes perceive that his printers have prodigiously altered his figures and numerical letters (23), will not find it strange that Fernelius's son-in-law did not perceive the engraver's mistake. But, as I have already said, Guy Patin's arguments do not wholly depend on the epitaph. However, I will object two things against him: 1. I cannot well conceive, that one of Fernelius's disciples, who was ten years his confidant, should be so strangely mistaken in his master's age; what, could he be mistaken twenty years, and would he compose his life without informing himself a little better of the age he was to assign him? 2. If this disciple errs with respect to the age, he must needs err in many other particulars. He is wrong when he relates, that Fernelius began his studies late (24); and it is not true, that Fernelius studied two years in St Barbe's college, and afterwards with so much application in private, that he contracted a quartan-ague, which obliged him to go into the country. Febre quartana TANDEM corripitur, qua crudeliter ac diu confectatus ceptum studiorum cursum interrumpere, utque salubriore aëre frueretur solum vertere cogitur (25). — He was at length seized with a quartan-ague, which having afflicted him a long time very cruelly, he was obliged to break off the course of his studies, and retire into the country, in order to enjoy the benefit of a more wholesome air. How is it possible, that after his recovery, being returned to Paris, and having de- liberated what profession to choose, he could have been two years regent in St Barbe's college? How can, I say, these things be, since we know that he printed some books of mathematics in 1526 (26): now taking things at worst, it cannot be supposed that those books appeared at any other time but while he was regent. Where shall we then find the time that he published them in, according to Plantius's relation, if it be true that Fernelius died at the age of fifty two years? He must then have been author of a book of astronomy

(22) It should be *Philippus*.

(23) I know it by experience.

(24) Jam natus grandis quum afterwards with so much application in private, that he contracted a quartan-ague, which obliged him to go into the country. Febre quartana TANDEM corripitur, qua crudeliter ac diu confectatus ceptum studiorum cursum interrumpere, utque salubriore aëre frueretur solum vertere cogitur (25). — He was at length seized with a quartan-ague, which having afflicted him a long time very cruelly, he was obliged to break off the course of his studies, and retire into the country, in order to enjoy the benefit of a more wholesome air. How is it possible, that after his recovery, being returned to Paris, and having de- liberated what profession to choose, he could have been two years regent in St Barbe's college? How can, I say, these things be, since we know that he printed some books of mathematics in 1526 (26): now taking things at worst, it cannot be supposed that those books appeared at any other time but while he was regent. Where shall we then find the time that he published them in, according to Plantius's relation, if it be true that Fernelius died at the age of fifty two years? He must then have been author of a book of astronomy

(25) *Id. Ibid.*

(26) *Gesner. in Biblioth.*

(7) See the remark [J].

money [J], and married his two daughters very advantageously (i). It is a common opinion that he cured Catherine de Medicis of her barrenness [K], and was magnificently rewarded by her for it [L]. We shall collect together in one remark the faults

(27) The book which, according to Geiner, was printed at Paris in the year 1526, was intitled, *M. nalo-fpharum*.

(28) In Ferneli's elegy, Tom. VII, pag. 325, edit. of 1671, in 12mo.

(29) Plantius, in vita Ferneli, in fine.

(30) St Romain, ubi supra.

(31) Plantius, ubi supra, sub fin.

(32) Scaligerana prima, pag. 82.

(33) Letter 100, pag. 394, of the first tome. This letter is dated the 25th of September, 1655.

(34) Bullart, Academy of Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 84. He quotes Duplex.

(35) Varill. History of Francis II, lib. I, pag. m. 76.

(36) Ferneli was first physician only after the death of Francis I. Francis II, eldest son to Catherine de Medicis, was born four years before the death of Francis I.

(37) He speaks of the Leprosy.

(38) Mezerei, Hist. of France, Tom. III, pag. 42.

(39) See the remark [M], etat. (53).

at the age of twenty (27). But how doth this suit with his beginning late his grammar and rhetoric? We must take notice, that, in Ferneli's time, a scholar, that learned philosophy before he was twenty, was thought very forward. A country youth, who was sent to Paris at fifteen or sixteen years of age, to go through his school-learning, was not reckoned to begin his studies too late. I lay no stress on Thevet's authority (28), because he only copied Plantius both with respect to the seventy two years, he ascribes to Ferneli, and every thing else.

[I] He got a great deal of money. Plantius (29) says, that for the space of ten years that he was with Ferneli, this physician often got above twelve thousand livres, and rarely or never under ten thousand livres a year. Here is a passage of an author, whom I have already quoted: 'They found thirty thousand crowns of gold in his study, for he died very rich: he left, besides that, thirty six thousand livres a year to be divided between his two only daughters (30).' If we believe his history, he was kind to his family, but a lover of gain: *Attentus quidem ad rem familiarem, sed in suis beneficiis liberalis* (31). Scaliger says on this account, and on another more tender point, some things very offensive. *Ferneli* Get penny, who came in repute for having facilitated the queen-mother's delivery. 'Habuit salacissimam filiam, cui dedit decem millia aureorum pro dote (32). — He had a most leud daughter with whom he gave ten thousand crowns in marriage.' Those who will know something of Ferneli's Posterity, may read this passage of Guy Patin (33). In the nunnery of The Visitation at Lyons, there is a gentlewoman, daughter to Mr de Riant counsellor of state. Her mother is Mary des Prez, niece to Mr Narbonne. This pretty nun, who hath not as yet taken the veil, among other good qualities, is considerable for her birth, being descended from our great Ferneli, who was truly an incomparable physician. He left two daughters: the first was married to Mr Barjot, president of the great council, and master of the requests; from whom is descended Mr d'Annœuil, now steward to the king. Annœuil is a country-seat of twelve thousand livres a year in our province of Picardy, near Beauvais, two leagues from my native country. Ferneli's youngest daughter was married to Giles de Riant, president au Mortier, who died in the year 1597. Her name was Magdalen, and she died in the year 1642, in the month of March, aged ninety four. *Et generatio restorum benedicatur*. I am sorry that I did not go formerly to Villersay au Perche (where she died), on purpose to have the honour of seeing her, and kissing her hands. They make us kiss relics which do not so well deserve it; so that your pretty nun may boast, that she is sprung from the greatest man in our profession since Galen, Ferneli being her great-great-grandfather.

[K] It is a common opinion, that he cured Catherine de Medicis of her barrenness. They pretend, that Henry II proposed this affair to him in very odd terms: *Mr Doctor, can you get my wife with child?* And they will have, that Ferneli answered, very prudently, *It is GOD, Sir, who must give you children by his blessing: It is your business to beget them, and mine to apply those remedies of physic, which GOD hath ordained for human infirmities* (34). Mr Varillas tells us what expedient Ferneli made use of: 'The people, says he (35), were persuaded, that the queen-mother, after ten years barrenness, had conceived the king, only because the first physician (36) Ferneli had advised Henry II to lie with her during her courses; and that those, that were got so, were liable to this shameful disease (37). According to Mezerei (38), Francis II was from his infancy very sickly, being the first child of a mother who had her courses but late. And indeed several pretend that Catherine de Medicis became fruitful, merely because a remedy was found against the suppression of her flowers (39). This expedient is very different from that which Varillas relates. We have seen, that Scaliger talks of another service performed by Ferneli: He insinuates, that this physician was called whilst the queen was in labour, and gave some proper remedies for her easy delivery.

This would better agree with the cure of a great lady mentioned by Plantius. But as there seems to be no reason that could induce him to conceal from the public, that Ferneli procured a happy delivery to the dauphiness, who was in danger of dying; I persist in my opinion, that he did not mean Catherine de Medicis, and to draw from his silence a very cogent argument to doubt of what is contained in the text of this remark. According to Brantome, *They said at court, that it was not so much the fault of the dauphiness, as of the dauphin, that he had no children* (40). And upon that, he relates the jest of a lady. Here was a fine opportunity to relate what is said of Ferneli, and yet he says nothing of it. Doth his silence signify but little? Had Thuanus in Ferneli's encomium forgot so considerable an event, if he had known or believed it? I believe then that it is a fact, of which we ought to say *non liquet*, notwithstanding this Affirmation of Scœvola Sammarthanus. 'Ab Enrico secundo, in regiam accersitus, principem inter ejus archiatros locum tenuit. Eo felices operæ proventu ut quod à natura negatum esse videbatur, artis beneficio consecutus inivisam sterilitatem à domo regia repelleret (41). — Being called to court by Henry II, he was made his first physician, where he happily, by art, effected what nature seemed to have denied, and delivered the royal house from the misery of barrenness.' I believe that all these doubts might be easily cleared, had we the dissertation which Varillas hath quoted. 'Dr Ferneli, says he (42), having observed the constitution of the dauphiness, resolved to relieve her; and whether the medicines which he prescribed had any operation, or whether all his secret was to inform the dauphin at what time his wife was capable of conceiving, the court observed some months after, that the dauphiness was big with child.' You will find this place, word for word, in *The Gallantries of the Kings of France* (43). Mr Menjot, a learned physician of Paris, hath thought, that Ferneli conjectured that Catherine de Medicis was barren, by reason of the too great driness of the uterus, or because it was too much contracted. In the first case, the seed, finding too dry a soil, could not fructify: In the second, it did not reach as far as it ought to do. Now because in her courses the part was moistened and dilated more than ordinary, Ferneli thought that the dauphin ought to make use of that time, and that it was the happy minute for him to get his spouse with child. Mr Menjot adds, that Hippocrates might give very good hints for this advice. This author expresses himself with so much energy, that I should do him wrong did not I relate all that he says upon it: 'Reserunt Catharinam Medicæam Galliarum reginam ætate licet integra, cum velut quinta luna nata progeniem desperaret, importunam alvi sterilitatem votiva fecunditate commutasse, dulcique liberorum propagine ditatam fuisse, quod contra Mosis edictum et τῇ καθύδω τῶν καταμνηνίων quibus semen alias eluitur, à rege subagitata esset, ex consilio Fernelii sagaciter conjicientis exuperantem uteri ariditatem benigni sanguinis aspergine rigandam esse, vel etiam stomachum matricis naturaliter, perinde ac ex eventu in gravidis, arctissimum nonnisi mensium transitu reserari. Idque edoctus fuerat Ferneli ab Hippocrate jubente mulierem ἰμερῶσθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ inchoante menstruo profluvio, sed maxime eo delinente, verum profluente adhuc potius quam arefacto (44). [L] She rewarded him largely. Let us hear Mr Patin (45): 'Some speak of the king of England, who hath married the princess of Portugal: he would willingly have divorced her, because she is barren; as Henry II would have done to his wife Catherine de Medicis, if Ferneli had not happily prevented it; from whom, out of an unparalleled liberality, he received every time that she was delivered of a child ten thousand crowns, as Lewis d'Orleans says in his *Human Plant* (46). The as of this Author is truer than he thought; for what he says of Charles II king of England's design, is a whim of newsmongers without any ground: And we learn from Brantome, that Catherine de Medicis ingratiated herself so much into the king her father-in-law's and king Henry her husband's affections, that remaining ten years without children

(40) Brantome, Dames illustres, pag. m. 42.

(41) Sammarth. in elegiis, lib. I, pag. m. 33.

(42) Hist. of Francis I, lib. xi, pag. m. 99. He puts in the margin. In the Latin dissertation presented to the king on that subject.

(43) Tom. I, pag. 225, of the edition of 1694; and pag. 207, of the edition of 1695.

* Lib. I. de Morb. Mul.

(44) Antonius Menjotus, differtat. Pathologica. Part. III, pag. m. 23.

(45) Patin, letter cxc, pag. 120, of the third tome.

(46) Naudé de antiquitate Scholæ Medicæ Parisiensis, pag. 75, quoting the same book of Lewis d'Orleans, says, that this present was made four times: Fernelius ad Henricum seculum decem aureorum milia pro quatuor filiis ejus opto & consilio susceptis obtulit. It is certain that Catherine de Medicis's ten children were all born before Ferneli's death.

faults of some authors [M].

'children, abundance of people persuaded the king and the dauphin to put her away, because France wanted an offspring from them; but that they loved her so much, that neither of them would consent to it' (47). See in the margin what I have observed on the passage of Gabriel Naudé: It shews that Lewis d'Orleans spoke of a thing whereof he was not well informed. This is what I said in the first edition: I shall now add two amendments; the one is, that there are some books which make mention of this design of Charles II. The other, that Catherine de Medicis was sometimes in terrible frights: from whence we may conclude, that her father-in-law and her husband were not always very far from thinking of a divorce (48). See the remark [O] of the article MAROT.

(47) Brantome, *abrégé*, p. 41.
(48) See *les Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Febr. 1700, pag. 156.

[M] *We will gather the faults of some authors.* There are but few of Moreri. He says, that Fernelius saw, 'that the books which he had published were the only books that were expounded to the students of physic in all universities, and preferred to all others.' This is one of the greatest lies that hath ever appeared in a book. What Sammarthanus affirms hardly deserves credit: what must we judge then of those monstrous hyperboles which Moreri hath bestowed upon him. These are Sammarthanus's words (49): 'Cujus (Fernelii) admirabili genio id contigit, quod à multis seculis nulli quamlibet erudito contigisse meminimus, ut ipso vivo atque vidente opera quæ de universa medicina scripsit in scholis publice legerentur: ejusque auctoritas veterum scriptorum instar apud optimum quemque rei medicæ magistrum gravissimæ esset ponderis et momenti.' — To Fernelius's admirable genius that honour was paid, which I do not remember to have happened to any other learned man for many ages past, that in his life-time and in his presence, the treatises which he wrote on all the parts of physic were publicly read in the schools, and his authority, like that of the ancients, was allowed by all eminent professors of that science to be of the greatest weight and moment.' Mr Bullart's faults are

(49) In *Elogiis*, lib. i, p. m. 321.

in greater number: he says, that Fernelius resolved but late to put himself under the discipline of James Strebæus, to learn the principles of the Sciences (50). This signifies two things: one, that Fernelius began his studies late; the other, that he begun them under James Strebæus. The first is very true, according to Plantius in his life of Fernelius; but the second is very false, because Fernelius had already taught philosophy in the college of St Barbe, and was received doctor of physic when he became acquainted with Strebæus. Their acquaintance was a reciprocal instruction; for they taught one another. Fernelius taught Strebæus the mathematics, and learned of him to write good Latin. 'Dum Strebæus à Fernelio mathematicarum disciplinarum, Fernelius vicissim à Strebæo polidioris literaturæ cognitionem & gravem plenumque orationis styli acceptionem, integrum biennium exigitur' (51). Mr Bullart is in the wrong, to believe that Henry II. was king of France whilst his wife was barren. Had he consulted Brantome, he had not said, that this prince had some thoughts of putting her away: neither, if he had consulted Lewis d'Orleans, had he said, that the queen gave ten times to Fernelius a present of ten thousand crowns (52). Let us quote Mr Bullart's words (53). *This French Æsculapius made so happy an use of the knowledge of her distemper, and of a proper remedy, that he made the queen fruitful by removing the suppression of her monthly courses: after which she had five sons, and five daughters; and at the birth of every one of them, she presented this learned man with ten thousand crowns.* He falsely supposes (54), that Henry II, after he had kept him near his person, as his first physician, and carried him every where with him, as the preserver of his health . . . gave him time to put in order those works of physic which he had writ, and means to get them printed. Read the life of this learned man, and you will find that he composed but a treatise of fevers after he was Henry the second's first physician, and even that he died before he had finished it.

(50) Bullart's *Academy of Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 83.

(51) Plantius, in *vita Fernelii*.

(52) See, above, the remark [L], citat. (46).

(53) Bullart, ubi supra.

(54) *Ibid.*

FERON (JOHN LE) Advocate in the parliament of Paris, was of Compiègne: he was above sixty years of age in the year 1564, and died in the reign of Charles IX. He was one of the most diligent and most curious men in France, in searching and discovering noble houses and coats of arms (a), as he shewed by many volumes; some of which were printed [A]. Persons of a good taste despised them, because of an infinite number of fictions and puerilities they were filled with [B]. Mr le Feron, antient provost of the merchants at Paris, and president of the court of inquests in the XVIIth century, was of this family (b).

(a) Taken from *La Croix du Maine*, pag. 221, 222.

(b) *Mercure Galant*, Febr. 1703, pag. 38.

[A] Many volumes, some of which were printed. He published at Paris, in 1555, by Vascofan, a catalogue of the constables, chancellors, great masters, admirals, and marshals of France, and provosts of Paris, containing their institutions and establishments, the time and exercise of their offices, the changes and alterations in them, their names, surnames, lordships, and coats blazoned: also an abridgement of their actions; in folio (1). The same year he published his treatise of the primitive institution of kings, heralds, and pursuivants at arms, at Paris, with Maurice Menier, in 4to. As to his history of heraldry in two volumes, containing the escutcheons, blazons, names, surnames, titles, and perpetual memorials, of kings, princes, lords, gentlemen, and nobles of several kingdoms, christian and infidel, and particularly of the kingdom of France; and many other collections of the same nature; la Croix du Maine observes, that they were never printed (2).

(1) Du Verdier *Vin. Prim.*, Bibliothèque Française, pag. 532.

(2) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Française*, pag. 222.

(3) In remark [C] of the article FINE.

[B] Persons of good taste despised them, because of an infinite number of fictions they were filled with. We have shewed in another place (3) what Mr le Laboureur thought of them, and I shall now quote a passage of Stephen Paquier, out of a letter he wrote to

an advocate (4), who was about a work of arms and escutcheons. 'I must tell you, that among those who have pretended to meddle with it, le Feron, whom you write about, set himself above all others. I shall mention him as a man I was formerly acquainted with in my middle age. He was an antient advocate in our court, but never made much of his business (5), only employing himself in blazoning arms and escutcheons, as you may have seen by some books he hath published upon that subject; and yet he was more unconfin'd than some that have succeeded him: for to tell you the truth, he derived the use of arms, and war, and nobility, from the beginning of the world, assigning even to our father Adam his escutcheon. If you ask me what he bore? I answer, three fig-leaves. And upon my asking of him why he did so; he replied, because after eating of the forbidden fruit, Adam covered his pudenda with a fig-leaf: and upon this foot he composed four or five large volumes, drawn up according to his own fancy; an inexcusable, as well as inextricable curiosity (6).'

(4) Mr Moreux, advocate in the parliament of Bourdeaux.

(5) See the *Oracles de Lolois*, pag. 525.

(6) Paquier *Lettres*, liv. xix, pag. 455, 5^e see second time.

FERRAND (JAMES), doctor of physic, born at Agen, composed a book, of the *Disease of Love*, printed at Paris in the year 1622. The historians of the physicians have as yet made no mention of it: It deserved however to be taken notice of better than many others which they have mentioned [A].

[A] It deserved however to be taken notice of better than many others which they have mentioned. Although James Ferrand's design be only to consider love, as it sometimes degenerates into a bodily disease,

as fury and melancholy, nevertheless he says many things which may be referred to love in general. I take here the word love in that sense which is given to it by way of excellency, I mean that passion which

one

one of the sexes hath for the other; a passion which hath been honoured by the heathens with a divine worship, under the name of Venus, and is one of the most profound mysteries of nature. The epistle dedicatory of James Ferrand's book is full of learning, and shews, that the heathen poets philosophized upon nothing so profoundly as upon love. The verses of Lucretius, which I have quoted in another place (1), were forgotten there. I said, then, that if this passion came into the world by sin, we must consider it as a plank after a shipwreck, and as a second principle of life granted to mankind; it was a new spring very necessary to give motion to nature. But I should have said, that this second liberality of the author of all things was marked with the general stamp of this maxim, *that the presents of fortune are always attended with some inconvenience: Fortuna nunquam simpliciter indulget* (2). Those that do not know by experience what bitterness is mixed with the pleasures of love (3) need but read Ferrand's book, and they will learn what to think of this passion from the sentences of several grave authors: for, according to the method of those times, this physician is full of quotations: and he scarce says any thing, but what is strengthened with the authority of some Greek or Latin poet, or some ancient or modern philosopher. This method is now laid aside: however, those authors who have followed it are not the less instructive; and after all, I am surprized that Lindenius Renovatus (4) hath said nothing of the author who is the subject of this article. This is not the only sin of omission that he is guilty of. See the remark [B], of the article VANDERLINDEN.

(1) In the remark [F], of the article EVE.

(a) Father Anselm's Genealog. History, p. 132.

(b) See the remark [A].

(c) Who was afterwards the Emperor Charles V.

FERRARA (RENATA OF FRANCE, DUCHESSE OF) celebrated for her virtue and attachment to the reformed church, was daughter to Lewis XII, and of Anne of Bretagne [A]. She was born at Blois (a) the 25th of October 1510 (b), and was engaged to Charles of Austria (c) in the year 1513, and in the year 1515, and afterwards was also promised to Joachim Marquis of Brandenburg; but in 1527 she was married to Hercules d'Este, the second of that name, duke of Ferrara and Modena (d). Others reckon the 28th of June 1528 to be her wedding-day (e). A modern historian affirms, that she was very learned [B]. He relates several things, whereof some are abominably false, others doubtful, concerning Calvin's journey to this princess's court [C].

(2) Q. Curtius, lib. iv, cap. xiv.

(3) See the article SELEMIUS. Was there nothing else but jealousy, it would be enough to make at least the misery that attends love equal to the satisfaction of it.

(4) Thus the *Bibliothèque de Scriptis Medicis* is called in the last edition, which is that of 1686, in 4to.

(d) Anselm, ubi supra.

(e) Father du Louet's *Essai de la vie des Rois*, &c. pag. 32.

What

[A] She was daughter of Lewis XII, and Anne of Bretagne. I shall relate here a particular which deserves to be more known: 'This queen was brought to bed, in the year 1510, of a second daughter, whom she named Renata, as if by this birth she had seen her hopes revive of having children, which she had almost wholly lost: but the ignorant midwives used her then so ill, that she was afterwards incapable of having any more; and she remained so infirm, that she died three years after, in the castle of Blois, the thirteenth day of February, 1513 . . . (1)'. The author of the notes on Rabelais's letters, is probably mistaken, when he said (2), that Renata was born the fifteenth of October 1509, &c.

(1) Mezerai's Hist. of France, Tom. II, pag. 89.

(2) Pag. 83.

[B] A modern historian affirms that she was very learned. Mr Varillas is the historian I mean. There are his words: 'Renata of France, daughter to Lewis XII, was married to Hercules d'Este, duke of Ferrara, and made him father of five of the handsomest children in Christendom, tho' she had the most disfigured body of any princess of her age. It is true, that what was wanting in her stature and Beauty, was so abundantly supplied by her mind, that, all things considered, she had more reason to be thankful, than to complain of nature. She had a more refined and delicate wit than had been observed in any woman, even in the Italian ladies, who pretended most to it; and it was but a diversion to her, to learn what was most difficult in the most sublime sciences. She had dived with ease into the most abstruse points of philosophy and divinity; and no woman spoke more gracefully of them, or rather with more ease. She excelled in all the parts of the mathematics, but especially in astronomy. Although she contemned judicial astrology, yet she would have the famous Luke Gauric shew her all the secrets of it (3)'. He says in another place (4), in stronger terms, 'That none exceeded her in the knowledge of the most abstruse points of philosophy, mathematics, and astrology.' This is romantic. Mr Varillas, instead of mollifying the expressions of Brantome, a Gascon author, who gave but too often way to hyperbole, especially when he spoke of princesses, refines upon him. We may be convinced of it by what follows: 'Madam Renata had as fine and piercing a wit as can be imagined; she had studied much: and I have seen her very learned, plainly, and gravely, talk of all sciences, even of astrology, and the knowledge of the stars; wherewith I saw her once entertain the queen-mother, who hearing her speak so well, said, that the greatest philosopher in the world could not talk more pertinently (5)'. Observe the abatement. According to Varillas, the equality of knowledge between this princess, and all learned men, relates to the knowledge of the most abstruse points of philosophy, mathematics, and astrology. But according to Brantome, it only relates to some dif-

(3) Varill. Hist. of Henry, lib. x, pag. 354. Dutch Edit.

(4) Hist. of Charles IX, Tom. I, p. 176. Dutch edit.

(5) Brantome's Lives of Illustrious Ladies, pag. 300.

courses of astrology, and this only in the judgment of Catherine de Medicis. It is of more importance than is imagined, to give the readers a parallel of the original with the copy, as I do here. Consult the margin (6).

[C] He tells several things, whereof some are abominably false, others very doubtful, concerning Calvin's journey to the court of that princess. Mr Varillas relates (7) in the year 1535, that Calvin, having pitched upon Strasburg for the place of his abode, drew there those of his sect, who had voluntarily banished themselves out of France. Calvin, continues he, having gathered a great number of disciples to form a congregation, by Bucer's advice presented a petition to the magistrates of Strasburg to obtain the spiritual direction of those Frenchmen, who, on account of religion, had transplanted themselves from France into Alsatia. . . . The magistrates, persuaded by Stunius (8), . . . granted his request; and thus Calvin had the opportunity to found a church after his own way. . . . As his design was to make the college of Strasburg famous, he was not satisfied to draw thither the finest wits, and the most learned men of the universities of France, whom he had corrupted, but he also endeavoured that this college should chiefly be obliged to him for its reputation, and he taught there with a more constant application, than either Luther or Melancthon had done in the college of Wittenberg: and truly the number of his auditors became, without comparison, greater than theirs had been, although no sovereign prince was concerned in it. He taught divinity in that college, and none of the professors assisted more readily than he at the public disputations. He revised his Institution also, and added a fourth and last book to it. He spent two years in this painful employ; and nothing had been capable to have drawn him thence, had he not hoped to make a greater progress somewhere else: but he was deceived by the vain hope, which was given him, of spreading his doctrine in Italy; and he fancied it so glorious and pleasing an attempt, to penetrate into a climate which had been inaccessible to Luther and Zuinglius, and to withdraw from the pope's obedience a people that was nearest to the holy see, that he could not withstand the temptation. Mr Varillas makes here a digression, in praise of the duchess of Ferrara (9), after which he says (10), that Calvin, knowing the disposition of this princess, went disguised from Strasburg to Ferrara. He supposes, that Calvin, having acquired by his Parts the friendship of Renata, disposed her to the doctrine of Luther, Zuinglius, and Melancthon; and that the princess, who (11) had only a mind to change her religion to be revenged of the court of Rome, rejected Calvin's maxims at first, but that it was not long before she became a Calvinist. . . . He preached in her chamber

(6) Brantome, ubi supra, says, 'That tho' Renata was ugly, yet she brought a very handsome offspring: And pag. 36. That although she seemed to make no great figure, by reason of the deformity of her body, yet she had a great deal of majesty. Whereas Varillas says, 'That, as for her body, she was the most disfigured princess of her time.'

(7) Varill. Hist. of Henry, lib. x, pag. 352, & seq.

(8) It should be Sturm.

(9) We have seen it in the preceding remark.

(10) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 355.

(11) Ibid. pag. 355.

What he says of the motives, which engaged her to embrace the new religion, has very little probability [D]. As soon as her husband was dead, she left Italy on the account

'chamber, that it might be more private, because her servants, out of respect, were not to enquire too curiously what was done there. But it is not so easy for ladies of quality, as for others, to hide their religion from their husbands. The duke of Ferrara came to know his duchess's religion; and this prince was the more exasperated, because nothing was more contrary to his temporal interest. He held of the holy see; and he knew that the popes would not want forces to dispossess him, if they had any pretence for it. His fear increased, when he considered that duke Alphonso his father had been a long time an exile, vagabond, poor, and a soldier in the pay of a foreign nation, only because he had disobliged the pope; and that, to make his peace, he had been obliged to beg pardon of pope Alexander VI, and to marry Lucretia Borgia. These considerations immediately altered the duke, who had hitherto been very complainant to the dukes; he forced her to return to the exercise of the new religion (12), and all that she could obtain of him, in favour of Calvin, was, that he should return as he came.'

f. There are abundance of lyes in this narrative. I. When Calvin, in 1534, went out of France, he chose the city of Basil (13), and not that of Strasburg, for the place of his retreat; and he remained in Basil as obscure as possible (14), till he undertook his journey into Italy, after he had published his *Christian institution* (15). II. It is false

then, that he erected at that time a church at Strasburg, and made the college of that city more famous than that of Wittenberg. III. Let us rectify this as well as we can, by referring it to its true time, and yet we shall find it full of lies. Calvin, being expelled out of Geneva in the year 1538, went into Switzerland, whence he was called by the magistrates of Strasburg to be professor in divinity. He accepted of

the employ, and acquitted himself with the applause
of the learned (16): But, IV. he drew not into
this college the finest wits and the most learned men
of the universities of France: And, V. the number of
his auditors became not, without comparison, greater
than that of Luther and Melancthon at Wittenberg,
I cannot imagine where Varillas could find a foun-

Calvin, with the consent of the magistrates, founded a French church at Strasburg, and that he submitted it to the formulary of his discipline (17): But, VI. it is not true, that he began by that his labours in that city. Seeing himself called by the magistrates, he went thither to teach divinity, and afterwards desired leave of them to erect a French church. VII. He left not

his painful employment in hopes of making a greater progress in Italy; for he took his leave of those of Strasburg, only to return to Geneva (18), where he was recalled with great earnestness. It is absurd to suppose, as Mr Varillas doth, that Calvin went to see the dukes of Ferrara in the year 1525: after he had

the dukes of Ferrara in the year 1535, after he had for two years performed at Strasburg the office of professor in divinity, and of minister; and after he had there revised his Institution, and had augmented it with a *fourth and last book*: for, VIII. he left France in the year 1534, and went to Ferrara towards the end of the year 1535: and, IX. when he undertook that journey, his Christian Institution had but once been published. He only revised and augmented it after his return from Italy (19). X. It was not divided into books, till the edition of one thousand five hundred and fifty nine. XI. I acknowledge that the dukes of Ferrara was mother of five children, but they were not all born when Calvin went to her. When she was delivered of a daughter in the year 1536, Rabelais observes that she had already a daughter and a son (20).

An historian, who is guilty of so many falsehoods in things so easy to be told with certainty, doth not deserve much credit in what he says of the private con-

verations which he supposes between the duchels of Ferrara and Calvin. This is what I call doubtful ; for I have no good proofs to aver, whether Calvin in-

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finuated, or did not infinnuate, to the duchess such and such things against Zuinglius, Luther, and Melancthon. I might easily be persuaded, that Calvin contributed but little to the conversion of this prince. I believe he found her pretty well cured of the Romish belief; and that Marot, who was a refugee before him in that court, had a greater share than he in Renata's changing her religion (21).

[D] *That* *both* *Varillas* *lays* *of* *the* *motives*, *which* *engaged* *her* *to* *embrace* *the* *new* *religion*, *has* *very* *little* *probability.*’⁴ The injuries which the pretended that the king her father had received from pope Julius II, had inspired in her an aversion for the court of Rome (22).’ This is, according to Mr Varillas, the motive that disposed her to lend a favourable attention to the new sectaries. ‘She did not change her religion, but to revenge herself: she fancied for that purpose, that it was enough to attack the spiritual and temporal authority of the popes, without meddling with the sacraments, and especially with religious orders, which would infallibly cause a great deal of disorder in the

best established states (23).¹ It must be confessed that, generally speaking, a desire of revenge may produce in men minds a strong inclination for a fact. If a party appears against those who have done us a considerable prejudice, we are very much disposed to maintain that party: we wish it may have justice on its side; and, eagerly wishing, we at last believe it to be in the right. This is seen, not only in states and academical cabals, but also in religious disputes; so that we must not doubt, but a personal hatred against a pope may induce a prince to favour those divines who preach against that pope. But was this

the case of the ducchi? She was scarce out of her swaddling-cloths when Julius II died. The court of Rome was reconciled with Lewis XII, when this prince went out of the world: so that our Renata was more like to hear of the peace between her father and Leo X, than of the outrages of Julius II. It is not probable that she conceived against this pope's memory a hatred that included all his successors. When we are informed of a quarrel, after it is ended,

ed, those passions which it excites are not so lively for it is the fight of those evils, wherein it involves us, that kindles in our minds a violent hatred against the author of them. I do not deny, but those who at the time of the troubles, and even of the pacification, were as yet in the cradle, may harbour a very deep repentment against the author of those troubles when they come of age, and feel the fatal consequence of his turbulent temper. But was this the duchess of Ferrara's case? By the Salic law she was excluded from succeeding her father; and so the mischiefs which Julius II had done to Lewis XII had not affected her, even though they had continued in the reign of Francis I.

It is certain that true matters of fact are sometimes destitute of probability; and thus, without determining whether the princess had, or had not, any repentment, I only say, that it is not likely that the remembrance of Julius the second's injustice should breed in her a strong desire to be revenged of the court of Rome, by adopting the Lutheran religion. Nevertheless I ought not to conceal what I have read in Brantome.

‘ Perhaps, *says he* (24.) resenting the ill offices which
‘ the popes had on so many occasions done to the
‘ king her father, she withdrew from their obedience ;
‘ not being able to do them more mischief, because
‘ she was a woman. I have it from good hands, that
‘ she often said as much.’ Mr le Laboureur (25.)

quotes an elegy of Clement Marot on her being with child the third time, wherein the child is congratulated for his being conceived in so happy a time. Marot promises him the pope's and the holy see's ruin, whom he uses injuriously, and says, that he was an enemy to his family. That shows that this poet brought domestic quarrels upon the stage, to alienate the dukes of Ferrara from the court of Rome. Observe,

that he also employed good omens and favourable predictions, whereof poets are so lavish, and which so often convict them that they are false prophets (26)

(21) See le Laboureur, Addit. to Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 746, 747.

e (22) Vafillas,
e Hist. of Heresy,
lib. x, pag. 355

Id. (23) Id. ibid.
pag. 356.

(12) The Printers have blundered here: we must read either *remembrance* instead of *return to*, or *ancient* instead of *new*.

THIS passage of
Varillas censu-
red.

(13) See, above,
remark [F] of
the article
CALVIN.

(14) Ubi supra,
remark {U}.

(15) He published it at Basil, in 1535. See, above, remark [U] of the article CALVIN.

(16) Theologiam
ibi docuit magnam
eum doctorum
omnium applau-
su. *Exea in vita*
Calvini ad ann.
1538.

(17) Ex senatus
consensu Galli-
tam ecclesiam
constituta etiam
ecclesiastica dis-
ciplina plantavit.
Id. ibid.

(18) He returned thither in the year 1541. See his life by Beza.

(10) Mr Varillas, *Hist. of Charles IX, Tom. I*, says, That Calvin had composed, at the desheis of Ferrara's court, the books of his

books of his Institution. In the tenth book of his *History of Heresy*, pag. 350, he says, That Calvin being gone to Nerac, to confer with le Fevre and Rossel, read to them his Institution. You must take notice, that Calvin conferred with le Fevre at Nerac in the year 1533, or thereabouts.

(20) Rabelais,
Epist. xiv, p. 59.

(24) Brantôme
vie des Dames
illustres, pag.
300.

(25) Addit. to
Castelnau's Me-
moires, Tom.
pag. 747: he ob-
serves that this
elegy was sup-
pressed.

(26) See remark
[C] of the article
FONTARABIA.

of her religion [E], and went into France, where she had leave to profess the doctrine of Calvin. She resided at Montargis, and there protected many that were persecuted, till she was forced to desert. Mezerai, I am afraid, doth not set down the exact time that this happened [F]. She complied with this hardship with much reluctance. She shewed in that juncture both her courage and charity [G]. This virtuous Lady had always expressed a strong Inclination to relieve the distressed [H]. She interceded strongly

He proved so in this particular; but blushed no more for it than his brethren are used to do in the like cases.

[E] *She left Italy on account of her religion.* I have this from Thuanus. 'Sub idem tempus, *says he* (27), Renata Ferrariensis Guisii socrus, quæ ex Italia in Galliam ob religionis causam migraverat, Aurelianum Regis salutandi gratia venit. — *Renata duchess of Ferrara, and mother-in-law to the duke of Guise, who, on account of religion, had retired from Italy into France, came to Orleans to pay her compliments to the king.* He says this under the year 1560. The duke of Ferrara, this prince's husband, died in 1559.

[F] *Mezerai, I am afraid, doth not set down the exact time that this happened.* Giving an account of the cruel hardships which the reformed suffered in divers places in 1562, he says (28), 'That the duchess of Ferrara's authority saved a great many, who came from all parts to Montargis for her protection. The duke of Guise, her son-in-law (29), not able to bring her into the right way, sent thither John de Souches-Milicorne with four troops of horse, who, having summoned her to deliver him the chiefs of the factious who had to fled her castle, threatening withal to bring cannon before the place to get them out by force, received an answer worthy of such a prince. *Have a care of what you do* (says she to him); *know that no body hath a right to command me but the king himself; and that if you push things to this extremity, I will put my self at the breach, where I will try whether you will have the insolence to murder a king's daughter, whose death heaven and earth would be obliged to revenge upon you, and all your posterity, even upon babes in the cradle.* These resolute words a little cooled his heat; and the duke of Guise's death happening at that time, he wholly left off his design.' Mr Varillas telling the same story, and according to his usual custom amplifying it, applies it to the year 1562 (30). But I should be mightily mistaken, if the protestant authors, who apply it to 1569, deserved not more credit. We are going to see Mr d'Aubigné's words.

[G] *She shewed in that juncture both her courage and charity.* Her answer to Malicorne was not so nobly expressed by d'Aubigné as by Mezerai; but I doubt the phrases must rather be ascribed to the historian, than to the prince. Be it how it will, let us quote d'Aubigné. 'This (31) was the cause, that from the towns and villages of the flat country all fled to Montargis, where many had been preserved the first war, under the protection of the duchess, who being of the royal blood, and related to the Guises, had a particular privilege allowed her. She and her ministers blamed those, that took up arms, in such a manner, as set her and the prince of Condé at variance, and this quarrel was a cloak to the civilities which were shewed her. But this last crowding of the protestants into her house, stirred up the preachers of Paris, and they the king, to force her to turn out 460 persons, two thirds women and young children in the cradle. This prince, all in tears, told Malicorne, who had brought her this harsh news, that if she had on her chin what he had on his (32), she would kill him with her own hands, as a messenger of death. She furnished this distressed multitude with one hundred and fifty carts, eight travelling coaches, and a great many horses (33). There is something very particular in these poor people's escape, whom Malicorne endeavoured to destroy upon the road. D'Aubigné relates it. Another Huguenot historian (34) gives us also an account of it, but without mentioning Malicorne; and as for the duchess, this he says of her under the year 1569 (35). 'At that time the duke of Alençon gave the duchess of Ferrara to understand, that Montargis (her place of abode) was a harbour for protestants, and where plots were daily contrived against his majesty.

Therefore he desired her to drive them and their ministers out, to leave off the exercise of the protestant religion which she professed, or to remove somewhere else. She answered, that she was too near related to the crown to have so little regard for it: besides, that there was in the town but a poor harmless people, who meddled with nothing, that might in the least prejudice the king. In a word, that she could not go out of a place that belonged to her, and wherein she was resolved to live and die, and even in the exercise of that religion which the king had permitted her to profess, and in which she had been hitherto brought up. However, about the end of September she was forced, for fear of having immediately a garrison in her town, to dismiss most of those who had retired thither: and because there were several families, many women, and a great number of young and old people, who were not able to go those long journeys, which they were obliged either to go, or to be at the mercy of those who only waited for an opportunity to destroy them, she lent them her coaches, carts, and waggons to assist them, answering for the waggoners, who took care of the rest of their baggage.'

When I consider, that Thuanus (36) hath supplied Mezerai, and Varillas, with what they say of Malicorne's foolish attempt in the year 1562, and of the brave answer of that prince, and that he puts the same event in the same year, I cannot tell which way to turn myself; and perhaps it must be said, that the duchess was disturbed twice at Montargis, in the year 1562, and in the year 1569. Malicorne was not perhaps sent thither the second time, although d'Aubigné says it.

[H] *This virtuous lady had always expressed a strong inclination to relieve the distressed.* I will make use of Brantome's words. 'This prince, *says he* (37), 'was not only ingenious, wise, witty, and virtuous, but also full of goodness, which he expressed so well to her husband's subjects, that I never saw any one in Ferrara but was satisfied with, and extolled her to the skies: for they had chiefly a deep sense of her charity which she shewed, especially to the French; for she had this good Quality, that she never forgot her country; and altho' she was very far from it, yet she always loved it. Never a Frenchman going through Ferrara, if he was in want, and made it known to her, went away without a large relief, and money to carry him to his country and house; and if he was sick and could not travel, she ordered him to be taken care of and cured, and then gave him money to return into France. Brantome had heard, that when the duke of Guise went into Italy, she saved after his return above ten thousand poor French souls, as well soldiers as others, who had died of hunger and want, had not she assisted them; for when they went through Ferrara, she supplied them all with physic and money as much as she was capable to do; and when her stewards represented to her her exorbitant expenses, she only answered, what will you have me do, they are my poor country-men, whom, if God had given me a beard, and I was a man, would now be all my subjects, and even should be so, was not that wicked Salic law so hard upon me (38). Brantome was not unacquainted with her charity at Montargis. Let us hear him further (39). 'I have heard some of her servants say, that being returned in France, and retired into her city, and house of Montargis, as long as she lived, she received there in the civil wars a great number of people, and especially the protestants, who were driven and banished from their estates and houses, and assisted, helped, and entertained them as well as she could. I my self saw, in the time of the second troubles, when the forces of Gasconne, headed by Messieurs de Terrides and de Monfales, consisting of about eight thou-

(36) Thuan. Hist. lib. xxx, pag. 608.

(37) Brantome's Lives of Illustrious Ladies, pag. 302.

(38) Ib. p. 303.

(39) Ib. p. 305.

(27) Thuan. lib. xxvi, pag. 521.

(28) Hist. of France, Tom. III, pag. 86.

(29) Ann d'Est, Renata's daughter, married first Francis of Lorraine duke of Guise, and afterwards the duke of Nemours. She was Mother to the duke of Guise killed at Blois, and who did so much mischief in favour of the League against Henry III and Henry IV. She was then called the duchess of Nemours. See the last remark, towards the end.

(30) Varill. Hist. of Charles IX. Tom. I, p. 175.

(31) That is to say, the massacre of the protestants at Orleans, in the year 1569.

(32) See, hereafter, Brantome's words, remark [H], citat. (38).

(33) D'Aubigné, Hist. Universelle, Tom. I, lib. v, cap. xiii.

(34) His book is intitled, The true and complete History of the Troubles and remarkable Accidents that happened in France, Flanders, and the neighbouring countries, since the year 1562. It was printed at Rochel, 1573, in 8vo.

(35) Lib. viii, fol. 253.

ly for the prince of Condé, when he was put in prison [I]; but she afterwards fell out with him, because neither she nor her ministers approved of the protestants taking arms (f). We cannot too much admire with what steadiness she opposed the machines made use of by Henry II, and her husband, to draw her from what they call heresy [K]. She died at Montargis the 12th of June 1575 (g), in the profession of the reformed religion. It is therefore through gross ignorance that a jesuit . . . (b) hath put her into the list of those who abjured the errors of the protestants. Her bearing with her husband's galantries shewed her mistress of a great deal of temper. It is pretended, that after she had brought him three sons and three daughters, she voluntarily retired to a private house, that she might not see, nor thwart those Diversions which he took with other ladies. Nay, they add, that this good prince expressed some kindness for her husband's mistresses (i).

(f) See remark [C].

(g) Le Laboureur, *Additions to Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 749.*

(h) Joannes Præcificus Hackel, in *libro cui titulus Via Regia, &c.*

(i) See Lewis Guyon's *Various Readings, Tom. III, pag. 136.*

and men were marching towards the king, and we the chiefs and principal captains and gentlemen passed by Montargis, as we were in duty bound, to pay our respects to her; I believe that we saw in the castle above three hundred protestants, who had fled thither from all the parts of the country. An old steward of her's, a very honest gentleman, whom I had known at Ferrara and in France, protested to me, that she fed every day above three hundred of those poor persons who had retired thither.

[I] She interceded strongly for the prince of Condé. I will still draw my proof from the same author. 'I have heard say, and have it from good hands, that when the prince of Condé was put in prison at Orleans, in young king Francis's time, she came from Ferrara two days after, and I saw her arrive: the king and all the court went to meet her, and she was received with all the honour that she deserved. She was mightily concerned at his imprisonment, and represented to the duke of Guise, her son-in-law, that whosoever had advised the king to do this, was mightily in the wrong, and that it was not a small matter to use a prince of the blood after this manner (40).' Thuanus makes her yet speak in a more lofty stile. 'Aurelianum regis salutandi gratia venit, deploratque præsentis rerum statu generum acerbe increpuit, & siquidem ante captum Condæum advenisset id se impedituram testata monuit, ut ab injuria erga regis stirpis principes in posterum temperaret, nam plagam eam diu sanguinem miserram, nec cuiquam unquam bene vertisset qui regis confanguineos principes prior læcessivisset (41). — She came to Orleans to pay her compliments to the king, and having deplored the miserable state of affairs, she very warmly reprimanded her son-in-law, and declared that had she arrived before the prince of Condé had been made prisoner, she would have prevented it. She advised him for the future to use more moderation towards princes of royal blood, since this wound would bleed a long time, and no man had been crowned with happiness that, unprovoked, had offered violence to princes allied to the king.'

[K] We cannot too much admire with what steadiness she opposed the machines made use of by Henry II, and her husband, to draw her from . . . heresy. Mr le Laboureur hath published (42) a very curious piece. It is Henry the second's instructions to Dr Oriz, when he went to Ferrara. This doctor was one of the pope's penitentiaries, and performed the office of inquisitor in France. He was sent to Ferrara on purpose to convert the dukes. He was ordered to tell her, I. That the king had, to his inexpressible grief, been informed, that she had suffered herself to be entangled in the labyrinth of those wicked and damnable opinions, which are contrary and repugnant to our holy faith. II. That when he shall hear that she is reconciled with, and reduced to the true obedience of the church, that it will give him as much joy and satisfaction as if he was to see her raised from death to life. III. That if instead of treading in the steps of her progenitors, who, by an exemplary zeal, have always protected our holy catholic faith, the said lady would remain stubborn and obstinate, nothing in the world could more displease the king, and would oblige him to forget wholly the respect, friendship, and duties of a good nephew; nothing being so odious to him as those reproachable sects, whereof he is a mortal enemy. If these remonstrances produced nothing, then Dr Oriz was

to preach some polemical sermons which the dukes should be obliged to hear, with all her household, though she should obstinately refuse it. After he had done this for some days, and saw that he made no impression on the said lady, he was to declare, before the duke her husband, that his majesty wills and understands, and actually desires and exhorts, with earnestness, the said lord duke, to cause the said lady to be put in a place separated from all company and conversation, and where she may no more spoil any body but herself; taking wholly away from her, her own children, and all her servants, of what nation soever they may be, who are accused, or strongly suspected of the said errors and false doctrines, to have them brought to justice. . . . And after sentence passed against them, that the delinquents may receive exemplary punishments. All this was to no purpose. Read Mr le Laboureur's words (43). The duke of Ferrara had not skill enough to prevent Anne d'Est, his daughter, from being imbued with the new opinions. Her mother, who caused her to be instructed in the sciences, gave her, for a fellow student, Olympia Fulvia Morata, a young woman of great parts, and who was afterwards a good Lutheran. Cum Anna Herculis Estensis Ferrariorum sum Principis filia iisdem literis à Joanne Sinapio, viro summo, institueretur, ut haberet quicum honesta æmulatione certaret, visum matri est. . . . ut Olympia in aulam, in qua aliquot annos magna cum laude fuit, advocaretur (44). — Whilst Anne daughter of Hercules d'Est, duke of Ferrara, was under the tuition of John Sinapius a very eminent man, her mother, to excite an honourable emulation, caused Olympia to be sent for to court, where she lived for several years in the highest esteem. This young lady's conversation gave the prince's Anne a great insight into religion: Therefore it is reported, that she was sensibly grieved at the punishments which were inflicted on the reformed after the business of Amboise, and that she exhorted Catherine de Medicis not to spill innocent blood. It is Thuanus who reports it. 'Anna Atelina Guisii uxor mihi ingenio femina, & quæ à teneris annis Ferrariæ sub Renata parente ei doctrinæ quæ tunc exagitabatur inutrita fuerat, Olympia Moratæ lectissimæ & eruditissimæ semine consuetudine ad id usque lacrimas non tenuisse dicitur, ultroque Catharinam monuisse ut si regem ac regnum saluum vellet, ab innocentum suppliciis abstineri juberet (45). — Anne d'Est, wife to the duke of Guise, a woman of a mild temper, who from her infancy had been trained up by her mother at Ferrara in that religion, which then lay under persecution, and had enjoyed the instructive conversation of Olympia Morata, a lady of distinguished merit and abilities, is said to have burst into tears, and begged of Catharine, as she tendered the welfare of his majesty, and the kingdom, to divert him from the shedding of innocent blood. At the time of the league, she was very zealous against the protestants. Family interest, and the remembrance of Poltrot (46), perhaps altered her opinion. For the rest, the duke of Ferrara was at variance with Renata before the reign of Henry II: for Rabelais wrote this from Rome in the year 1536. 'Madam Renata is in danger of suffering for it: the said duke hath taken Madam de Soubise her governante from her, and allows but Italian women to wait upon her, which is no good sign (47).'

(43) She obstinately endured the effects of these threats, for which Braniome observes, that there was for some time a misunderstanding between her and her husband, who could do no more than take from her the education of her children. Le Laboureur, ubi supra, pag. 745.

(44) Cellius Secundus Curio in Epistola ad Beulæum inter Epistolas Olympiæ Fulviæ Moratæ, pag. m. 97.

(45) Thuan. Hist. lib. xxiv, pag. 496, 497, ad ann. 1500.

(46) Who assassinated the duke of Guise, her husband.

(47) Rabelais Epist. pag.

(40) lb. p. 306.

(41) Thuan. lib. xxvi, pag. 521, 522, ad ann. 1560.

(42) In the editions to Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 747.

(a) It was the order of the Dominicans.

(b) Licet corpore gravis Provincialis tamen Ordinis visitando iuravit ex officio, re-stituenda vite regulari . . . pro viribus intendens. Altamura, ubi infra.

(c) Taken from Altamura's Bibliotheca of the Dominicans, pag. 253.

FERRARIENSIS, a scholastic philosopher, who is commonly quoted by this name, tho' his true Name was Francis Sylvester [A]. He was a native of Ferrara, and made himself so much considered in his order (a), that he was chosen their general in a chapter held at Rome in the year 1525. His corpulence did not hinder him from visiting the provinces of his order, to restore it's discipline as much as could be (b). He died at Rennes in Bretagne the twenty fourth of September 1528. Father Ives Mayeuc, a Dominican, who was bishop of Rennes ever since the twenty ninth of January 1506, and had been confessor to queen Anne of Bretagne, to Charles VIII, and Lewis XII, attended him at his death, and administered the sacraments to him (c).

I add, that, according to Leander Alberti (d), he died the nineteenth of September 1528, aged fifty four years. This historian agrees with Altamura as to the place of his death; but his Latin translator hath not well rendered these words, *Nella città di Rennes*; for he says, *in urbe Renesid*, whereas he should have said, *Redonibus*, or *in civitate Redonensi*. D'Argentré asserts (e), that Francisco Sylvestro, general of the Jacobins, died at Rennes the twentieth of October 1528. He was very much mistaken, when he thought that he was called Prieras; confounding him with Sylvester Prieras, master of the sacred palace under Leo X.

(d) In Descript. Italica, fol. 350, verso, of the Italian edition of Venice 1561, and pag. 540, of the Latin edition of Cologne, 1567.

(e) D'Argentré, Hist. de Bretagne, lib. xii, cap. lxxix, pag. m. 718.

(1) Ex Altamura, in Biblioth. Dominica, pag. 253.

[A] Who is commonly quoted by this name, though his true name was Francis Sylvester. His commentary on the four books of Thomas Aquinas against the heathens, is chiefly quoted. He hath also wrote some commentaries on Aristotle's philosophy and the life of blessed

Osanna, in six volumes. This is a saint, whose confessor he had been, and who is held in great veneration at Mantua, by reason of her holiness and miracles (1).

FERRETUS (ÆMILIUS) [A], one of the ablest civilians of the XVIth century, was born at Castello Franco in Tuscany [B] the fourteenth of November 1489. As soon as he was twelve years of age, he was sent to Pisa, where he studied the canon and civil laws for three years: After that, he spent two more in the university of Siena, and then went to Rome, and was secretary to Cardinal Salviata. He was received Advocate at the age of nineteen, having defended some Theses before a numerous assembly of cardinals and bishops. He then left off his christian name of Dominic, to take that of Æmilius. Having accepted the professorship in the civil law, he explained so learnedly the title *De rebus creditis*, that he was for that promoted to be secretary to Leo X. He was some years in that office, which he voluntarily left, and retired into his own country. Two years after he came from thence, where his father had been killed, and went to Tridino in the Montferrat. He married there [C]; and after four years stay, he followed to Rome and Naples the marquis of Montferrat, who commanded part of the French army. This expedition of the French proving very unhappy, he endeavoured to return again into his own country; but he fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who made him pay his ransom for his liberty. He went into France, and taught the civil law at Valence with so much reputation, that Francis I made him a counsellor in the parliament of Paris [D], and sent him with a public character to the Venetians and Florentines. He acquitted himself in these employs with so much skill, that the marquis of Montferrat, having obtained Francis the first's leave, sent him to Charles the fifth's court. Ferretus followed the emperor in his African expedition; and after his return into France, the king sent him to the Florentines during the war which they had with the emperor. After they were conquered, he went back into France, and

(1) Æmilius Perrotus, qui & alius Æmilius Ferretus dicitur (an errore id factum non est hic disquirendi locus) jurisconsultus fuit magni nominis. Franciscus Graverol, notis in Epist. ii, Bonelli, pag. 7.

(2) See the 7th letter of Bunel, pag. 33.

(3) Thuan. Hist. lib. iii, pag. 1077, ad. ann. 1572.

(4) Epit. Bibl. Gelfi. p. m. 12.

[A] Æmilius Ferretus. Mr Graverol the advocate is mistaken, to think that this professor of the civil-law was called Æmilius Perrotus. He will not enquire whether some have erroneously called him Æmilius Ferretus (1); however, he affirms, that Æmilius Perrotus, to whom Bunel wrote some letters, is the same civilian as Æmilius Ferretus. It is a mistake. This was an Italian, the other a Frenchman, as Mr Graverol might have been informed by Bunel (2). I do not distinguish him from that counsellor of the parliament, honourably mentioned by Thuanus, and whose son was killed at the massacre on St Bartholomew's day. 'Dionysius item Perrotus Æmilii Senatoris Parisiensis non minus integritate quam juris scientia clari F. tanto patre dignissimus eandem fortunam subiit (3). — Dionysius Perrotus, son to Æmilius, a counsellor of the parliament of Paris, a man no less famed for his integrity, than for his knowledge in law; who, as he inherited his great father's virtues, so he likewise underwent the same fate.' The epitome of Geiner's Bibliotheca hath deceived Mr Graverol; wherein are these words, *Æmilius Ferretus seu Perrotus jurisconsultus scripsit, &c.*

(4) The author ascribes to him the commentary in legem Gallus, which belongs to none but Perrotus.

[B] Was born at Castello Franco in Tuscany. His ancestors, who were originally of Ravenna, settled

in that town of Tuscany (5). Observe here one or two mistakes of Mr Allard. Æmilius Ferretus, says he (6), was at Languedoc, but he taught with applause in the university of Valence in Henry the second's reign. He should have said Francis I. It might have been said after Panzirolus (7), that he was appointed counsellor in the parliament of Grenoble; by that, he would have had a new relation to Mr Allard's work.

[C] He married there. His wife was of a very good family, *ex splendida familia* (8). He had by her six sons and one daughter (9), and yet he died without children, and his nephew became his heir (10); which is another proof, that Æmilius Perrotus, father to a son who was killed in the year 1572, is not the same Æmilius Ferretus who died without children in the year 1552.

[D] Francis I made him a counsellor in the parliament of Paris. It was in 1536, if we believe Panzirolus; but if he be in the right in that, he is soon after grossly mistaken, when he supposes that Ferretus, since his promotion to that office, was sent by Francis I to Venice and Florence, and by the marquis of Montferrat into Spain, about the time that Charles the first was preparing himself for his expedition into Africa. This expedition was in the year 1535.

(5) Panzirolus de claris legum interpret. lib. ii, cap. clxxii, pag. m. 348.

(6) Allard, Bbl. de Dauphiné, pag. 103.

(7) Panzirolus ubi supra, pag. 350.

(8) Ib. pag. 349.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Uxoræ æ libris amissis Marcom Nicolii fratris filium heredem scriptis. Id. ib. pag. 350.

[E] He

and followed the court to Nice, at the time of the Pope's, and Charles the fifth's, and the King's interview; then, having parted with his place of counsellor in the parliament, he retired to Lyons, whence he went to Florence, and obtained the freedom of that city. He was called to teach the civil law at Avignon. His stipend immediately rose to 550 crowns, then to 800, and at last to 1000 *per annum*, a sum which had never been given to any professor in that university. He gained the love both of the inhabitants and students, as it appeared after his death [E], as may be seen in the remarks. He died at Avignon the 15th of July 1552. He wrote several books (a) [F]. One of his letters is seen before the old French translation of Boccace's Decameron [G].

(a) Taken from Panzirolus, lib. ii, cap. clxvii, de claris legum Interpretibus.

[E] He gained the love both of the inhabitants and students, as it appeared after his death. Simon Craveta, his successor in the chair of the civil law, daring to blame him in his first lecture, was hissed by all his auditory, and expelled out of the city. 'Unicū tam à civibus, quam auditoribus dilectus (Ferretus) in gens sui desiderium reliquit, quod Simonis Cravetæ exemplum ostendit, qui Æmilii Cathedræ subrogatus, cum in prima oratione eum perstrinxisset, ab omnibus explosus, & urbe eiecus, coactus est discedere (11). — He was beloved in so singular a manner, both by the citizens and students, that his loss was extremely regretted, and his memory had in the highest esteem, which is manifest in the case of Simon Craveta, who, succeeding him in the chair, censured him in his first harangue, which so exasperated the whole audience, that they turned him out of the city, and obliged him to retire.'

(11) Id. lib. ii.

[F] He wrote several books. Panzirolus says this (12). 'Plura in jus civile scripsit, & librum de Signo, & Ratione inscriptum, in quo multas leges interpretatus est, & alterum Bartoli Evericulum nuncupatum, in quo ejus errores congerit; notas in Institutiones, opinionum volumen, responsa, nec paucas epistolas edidit. Opus etiam de armorum ratione lingua Hetrusca composuit. — He wrote several treatises on the civil-law, and a treatise intitled, de Signo & Ratione, wherein he explained a great number of laws, and another intitled Bartoli Evericulum, in which he makes a collection of Bartoli's errors; he published also annotations on the Institutes, a volume of cases, replies, and several letters. He composed likewise in Italian a treatise upon the law of

(12) Id. lib. ii.

'arms.' We must add to this a commentary on Tacitus.

[G] One of his letters is seen before the old French translation of Boccace's Decameron. This letter is in Italian, and dated from Lyons the first of May 1545. He wrote it to the queen of Navarre. It is a very good encomium on the Decameron, and on the French translation, which Antony le Maçon had made by order of that prince. Emilio Ferretti (thus he subscribes his name) declares, that he had not believed that the translator, though a man of parts, a diligent and good writer, and skillful in the Italian tongue, could succeed well in translating the Decameron; but that he had been convinced of the contrary, by reading his translation. Le Maçon's application to husbandry and building, and his distractions occasioned by the cares of his family, being incumbered with a wife and a great number of children, made Ferretti despair of seeing a good translation from him. I am sure that you will not be displeased to see here his own words. *Per la moltitudine & varietà de le cure, ne le quali egli ha reso singular conto di se, o per esser deditissimo à la agricultura, & à l'edificare, secondo che dimostrano le ville & le case sue, o per haver moglie & buon numero di figliuoli & maschi & femine, à quali è stato mestieri di altro aiuto che di tesser favole, à ogni altra cosa aspettavo che mi riuscissi che à tradur novelle, almeno in sì gran numero & di sì gran varietà: ma la bellezza de l'ingegno suo, & il compartimento, per il quale egli ha saputo così ben dispensar il tempo, ha vinto & tante sue difficoltà, & l'imagination mia. Here is, by the way, a small account of the character of the old translator of the Decameron.*

FERRI (PAUL) in Latin Ferrius, was a very learned divine in the XVIIth Century. He was born the twenty fourth of February 1591, at Metz, where his family made a good figure [A]. He improved himself so much at Montauban, where he had been to study divinity, that he was received minister at Metz in the year 1610, at the age of nineteen. He had already published a book [B]. The quality of student of divinity, and that of author, were found united in him at the same time. Those which he afterwards published at several times, acquired him great reputation [C]. He had excellent talents for

(1) The Oxford Catalogue should have called him Montan, and not Montan.

[A] He was born . . . at Metz (1), where his family made a good figure. James Ferri's father was forty one years successively going through all the degrees of the ancient magistracy of this city, and was not out of employment till the suppression, which was made in the year 1643, of the jurisdiction of the judges which were called the thirteen. Elizabeth Jolli, his wife, our Paul Ferri's mother, was sister to the famous Peter Jolli the king's attorney at Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to whom Mr le Bey-de-Batilli, and Mr Boiffard, addressed several epigrams in their Latin poems.

[B] At nineteen years of age, he had published a book. This is the title of it: *Les premières Oraisons politiques de Paul Ferri Messin, où sous la douce diversité de ses conceptions se rencontrent les bons libertez d'une jeunesse*. He got it printed at Montauban in 1610. He was as yet but a student of divinity; but as he prepared himself to be shortly promoted to the ministry, he ended his advertisement to the reader with these words, *Sat ludo nūquid datum. — Tous much for mirth and trifles*. If this collection of poems was in Latin, it would be called, *Juvenilia Pauli Ferrii*. Here is a new author to be added to the famous youths, as Mr Baillet prints that book again. The first piece that is found among his poems, is a pastoral, intitled, *Isabelle ou le dessein de l'amour*. The next pieces are several sonnets and stanza's, under the title of *Les gloires d'Isabelle*; and lastly, many stanza's and

sonnets for some ministers and other persons of Montauban, Metz, and Rochelle.

[C] Those that he afterwards published at several times, acquired him great reputation. That which he published in 1616, under the title of *Scholæstici orthodoxi specimen* (2), shews that the doctrine of the Protestants, upon the subject of grace, hath been taught by the schoolmen. This treatise got him the esteem of the illustrious Mr du Pleissis Mornal, who writ him a letter (3), wherein he gave his thoughts on another work which he had heard Ferri was about. That other performance was printed at Sedan by John Jannon in the year 1618, and is intitled, *Le dernier desespoir de la tradition contre l'Ecriture, ou Refutation du livre de François Veron*. Here is the title of a book published at Leyden in 1630. *Pauli Ferrii Pindicæ pro Scholæstico orthodoxo adversus Leonardum Perinum Jesuitam, doctorem theologum, & universitatis Mussipon-tanæ Cancellarium, jussu, plenæ, amicæ, in quibus agitur de prædestinatione & annexis, de gratia & libero arbitrio, de causa peccati, & justificatione*. This Jesuit had put out a book in 1619, intitled, *Tursionica Pauli Ferrii Calvinistæ* (4). Mr Ferri made a general catechism in 1654, to shew that it was necessary to reform the Romish church. He published it the same year, under the title of *Catechisme général de la réformation*, Mr Bossuet, who was then canon and arch-deacon of Metz, and who hath been so famous, under the name of bishop of Condom and Meaux, writ against this

(2) It is an octavo of 559 pages. The title says, that it was printed at Gossard. It is in all likelihood a supposed name which signifies God's Town, meaning by that Geneva.

(3) Dated June 15, 1617. It is found in the third tome of Du Pleissis's Memoirs, p. 1158.

(4) Alexandre Biblioth. Societ. Jellu, pag. 506. His Continuator, but said Verrii instead of Facii.

for the pulpit. He was the most eloquent man of his province, and whose discourses were the most moving. His tall stature, his venerable face, and his graceful gesture, added much to his eloquence. His enemies spread a false report, that he was one of those ministers, whom cardinal Richelieu had prevailed upon to attempt the union of both religions. Guy Patin's Letters contain this falsity [D]. What is certain is, that he lamented the division of the Protestants, and that he hoped to be able to contribute something towards a union among them. It was, no doubt, for that reason, that he kept a great correspondence by letters with Mr Dury (a) [E], who negotiated in Germany the agreement of the Protestants, and who was a good man, full of piety and zeal; but at last he became a sort of visionary [F]. Paul Ferri died the 27th of December 1669. He continued

(a) See his article.

treatise of Mr Ferri. I must not forget, that this minister was chosen to preach Lewis's thirteenth's, and the queen mother Anne of Austria's funeral sermons. These two sermons are printed. He made also, on certain occasions, some prayers for their majesties recovery. These prayers were printed, and are very good.

(c) Ancillon, *Mélanges Critiques* Tom. II, p. 269.
(6) He had just before spoken of the *Scholasticus Orthodoxus*.

Let us add to all this a passage of Mr Ancillon (5). Mr Ferri hath also writ another book (6), intitled, *Le dernier desespoir de la tradition*, which is an excellent book in it's kind. He writ also, in 1624, a small book, intitled, *Remarques d'Histoires sur le discours de la vie & de la mort de St Livier, & le récit de ses miracles nouvellement publiés par le Sieur de Ramberviller lieutenant-général au bailliage de Pontche de Metz, avec diverses approbations des docteurs*. Mr Ferri would not be known to be the author of this small piece, because he had writ it against a person of note, and his countryman, with whom he would have no difference; but he hath made me a present of this small book since I have been his colleague, and I actually have it by me, under whose title he writ with his own hand, by Paul Ferri.

(7) Patin, *Letter DIX*, dated the 10th of March 1670, Tom. III, pag. 499, Edit. Genev. 1691.

[D] Guy Patin's letters contain this falsity. These are his words (7). 'Mr Ferri, minister of Metz, died there a month ago. He was one of the most learned of his rank. If cardinal Richelieu had not died so soon, he had reconciled both religions. Several ministers were gained over to this project. This Mr Ferri was of that number, and had for it a pension of five hundred crowns every year. Thus the Huguenots speak of it here.' His enemies renewed this false report on account of his general catechism, wherein they pretended he gave his adversary a great advantage; I mean, the abbot Bossuet, archdeacon of Metz, who writ against him.

[E] He kept a great correspondence by letters with Mr Dury. This correspondence lasted above five and twenty or six and twenty years. I will relate on this subject a story that has been communicated to me. Dury, being at the fair of Francfort in April 1662, expressed to some gentlemen of Metz a strong desire to see Mr Ferri. When they were ready to go home, they asked him whether or no he would go along with them; they pressed him to undertake the journey, and offered to stay for him till the next day. He could have wished to have had more time to resolve upon this journey; but he was obliged to determine immediately. He then resolved to go to Metz; but met with two obstacles in his way: the first, that he must dress himself in the habit of a French peasant, and to cut off a large white and square beard which he then wore. He had an aversion to the first of these two things; and could not, without mortification, comply with the second. But the desire to see Mr Ferri overcame these difficulties. They arrived at Metz so late, that Dury was obliged to delay his visit till the next day. But one of those that came along with him, very early in the morning, told Mr Ferri, that Mr Dury was arrived the day before, and that it was reasonable that he should prevent his visit. Mr Ferri beset himself so much at this news, and was transported with so much joy, upon his going to embrace this good doctor, that he forgot to tie the strings of his drawers, and went out half dressed. Their interview was attended with a thousand edifying marks of zeal and reciprocal esteem. It is thought that, as a consequence of their conferences, Mr Ferri writ a paper, which he addressed to the divines of Strasburg. One of them, who in all probability did not like Syncretism, writ against Mr Ferri. Observe, by the by, that Mr Amyraut was mistaken, when, in 1647, he

spoke of Mr Dury, as of a man that was already dead (8).

Let us place here what Mr Ancillon, Mr Ferri's colleague, hath said of Dury (9). 'He came to Metz, and conferred at a gentleman's house with Mr Ferri and me upon this subject. He told us as a secret whatever he had hitherto done, and what he designed to do for the future, and asked our opinion. We observed him to be a good man, learned, and every way capable to negotiate a business of that importance: he had then put it on a good foot; for he had already a promise of all the princes of Germany, and the northern kings: he told us, that he found no opposition from the princes, but only from some ministers who opposed this great and desired work. He was well satisfied with the charity of the gentlemen of Zurich, who had supplied him with considerable sums of money to defray the expenses of his journey, and to supply what he wanted over and above what the protector (10) did give him. We earnestly exhorted him not to leave off his design till he had executed it.'

In the first edition of this work, I gave an account what the memoir contained that was communicated to me; which is, that after Dury and Ferri's conferences, the latter composed a discourse, which obliged a divine of Strasburg to write against him. This divine cannot be Dorscheus, because he died in 1659, and so his book, *De gratia adversus Calvinismum Ferrium*, cannot be referred to any thing that followed this conference of the peace-maker Dury, and the minister of Metz. What Dury said, that he found no obstacle but from some ministers who opposed the re-union of the parties, is worth our notice, and confirms what shall be said hereafter (11). Hulfeman, a professor of divinity, published at Wittenberg, in 1644, a book against this project of Dury, and intitled it, *Calvinismus irreconciliabilis*.

[F] Dury at last became a sort of visionary. This appears from what I have said in another place (12) concerning his apocalyptic designs, and much more from the great hopes which he had conceived of his new explanation of the apocalypse. I could not join this last fact with the preceding, because I was then at the last page of the first volume of this Dictionary. I therefore referred it to this place. Pray observe Dury's plan. It is a 'method of meditation to obtain the true sense of the holy scriptures by one's self, and to prevent all occasions of dispute concerning what may be doubtful; for in every doubtful case, we shall have nothing to do, but immediately to have recourse to one or several texts, which speak of the subject in hand, and having found the true sense of the scripture by the rule of common interpretation, the decision will be found, if people are previously agreed to acquiesce in the sense of the holy scripture (13)'. He adds, that to give an essay of his method, 'he hath pitched upon the book of the Revelation, which, without doubt, he looked upon as the most obscure book of all the whole Bible; that by the description of the means whereby we come to understand it, we may be convinced that the same rule may discover the sense, and lead us to the understanding of other less obscure books and texts of holy writ (14)'. He believes, that, *with God's help, this battery against the powers of darkness will be so raised, that the Lord's hand shall be lifted up according to Isaiah's prophecy*, chap. xxvi. ver. 9, 10, 11, 12. *which begins to be now fulfilled. We must therefore surround them with such a light, that they shall have no place where to hide themselves any more* (15). What dreams! what chimeras! how weak must a man be, to fancy that he can draw from such a method so great an evidence

(8) Andrew Rivetus observes ed tiz mistake: Scriptis in sua prefatione (that is to say, in his preface Speciminis Animadversionum against Mr Spanheim) Rever. Dorem pie memorie non deposuisse nisi cum vita studium concordes inter Reformatos & Lutheranos faciendum, qui etiamnum vivit Dei gratia & valet. Andr. Rivetus, Epist. A. polget, ad Guill. Frater, dated July 14, 1648, Oper. Tom. II, pag. 886, 887.

(9) Ancillon, *Mélanges Critiques* Tom. II, pag. 244, 245.

(10) Oliver Cromwell.

(11) In Remark [D] of the article HO TTINGER.

(12) In Remark [C] of the article D U R Y.

(13) Dury, *Intelligence de l'Apocalypse*, p. 24.

(14) Ibid. p. 25.

(15) Idem, *Epist. chimeras!* how weak must a man be, to fancy that he can draw from such a method so great an evidence

continued his preaching. Above eighty stones were found in his bladder, which was the cause of his death. He had a very fine library, and to the last took a pleasure in writing several remarks on the blank-paper, which is commonly at the beginning and end of books; and because he writ small and plain, he set down upon these leaves abundance of things, which may easily be read. We see in the inscription of his picture in print the words *Verbi divini minister* [G]; which

dence, that it will be able to clear all the doubts which are raised on such and such places of scripture? This great pacificator founded the horn in Zion; for he joined to his book, a Latin piece, of four pages in 4to, with this title *Celestina ad pios Evangelii Ministros. An exhortation to the devout ministers of the gospel.*

Vos qui per vada sancta navigantes
Lentos figitis ad mandata remos
Audite hoc monitum, ut celestina missum
NOMINE CHRISTI.

Attend ye sailors on the sacred deep,
Whose oars the measures of God's mandates keep,
The cheerful signal catch, and think it came
From heav'n itself, with your great master's name.

The owner of the copy, which came to my hands, fastened to it the original of the letter, which Dury wrote to the consistories of the province of Groningen, when he sent them his new project and his *Celestina*. This letter is dated from Cassel the 22d of June 1674, and shews, that he was concerned for nothing so much as for his new method.

Observe, that to excuse him, and to shew that he fed not on whims, one would think it might be said, that one of his chief designs was to attack the consciences of those who foment division. This appears by his words: *What perplexes the minds, and separates the affections of christians, is nothing else but a design that men have to maintain the principles and method of their particular faction, against the interest of the common edification, which is taught and recommended to us by the apostle St Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 19. I have therefore in view an enquiry after a truly evangelical and spiritual remedy, which may be applied to the conscience of those who foment a spirit of Party among christians, for a temporal interest: this is the foundation and aim of my new design* (16). It may be said, that this was to go to the spring of the evil, and of the remedy; and so it ought not to seem strange that he appeared so confident of success. 'He had a mind to shew by what means those obstacles might be removed, which hinder the Protestants from proceeding to a more perfect reformation, which ought to be introduced both in the schools and in the church, and from whence, by the blessing of God, the fruit will redound to the government of the state (17).' People may say what they please; his chimeras will still subsist; for the attacks, which he designed to give to the conscience of the chiefs, were not less unlikely to succeed, than those which he levelled against their understanding.

[G] We see in the inscription of his picture in print the words *Verbi Divini Minister*. It will be a satisfaction for many to find here the distich which is at the bottom of that picture:

*Tales q; multos ferrent hæc sæcula Ferri,
In Ferri sacris aures sæcla ferent.*

(18) Article ANCILLON (DAVID).

(19) Discourse on the late Mr Ancillon's Life, pag. 397.

A COMPLAINT of Mr Ancillon the Son.

* Reformed Religion.

(21) Ibid. p. 318.

was, without lessening Mr Ancillon? Or could not be raised but on the ruins of his colleague? This distinction seems to him (22) odious and affected; he says, (22) Ibid. that I preposterously endeavour to blacken Mr Ancillon's memory (23). II. He is angry (24) with the person (23) Ibid. who furnished me with some memoirs, and he hath been surprized (25) at my credulity, and at the manner of my making use of them. He supposes, that having been a long while in the neighbourhood of Metz, I must be pretty well acquainted with the transactions there, and that I could not but know the universal esteem, and unexpressible affection, which people had for Mr Ancillon. III. He speaks (26) of the correspondence by letters that had been between Mr Ancillon and me for several years. IV. He doth not believe (27) that his father, or any of his family, hath ever disoblige me. V. But he finds (28), that I should have done well for my credit to forbear placing with so much care the name of Ancillon, in the body and index of my book, since I would afford him but a rank unworthy of so great a man. VI. Coming to the fact, he pretends, that what I say is false; and informs the world (29), that Mr Philippe engraved Mr Ferri's picture some time after his death, and named him minister of the R. R. that the king's attorney took fire immediately at this title, and proceeded against the Engraver; That Mr Ferri's heirs unwilling to meddle in that affair, the Engraver (30) was displeased with his work, and that if some persons of note had not hindered him, he would have broke his plate to pieces, being vexed that no person appeared for him, who, by his work, had had no other aim, than to honour the memory of Mr Ferri; that therefore he was contented to correct the title, and, to stop the king's attorney's and the Roman Catholics mouths, he put a P. between the two R. to signify pretended reformed; That (31) the same Philippe engraved afterwards Mr Ancillon's picture; and that, to avoid the same inconvenience that had happened to him on account of Mr Ferri's picture, he put these words, David Ancillon, Ministrorum Metensium Decanus. That no body ever found fault with them; that they remained without contradiction; that the world hath always seen them in this print; that he hath actually the plate in his hands, and (32) that he is ready to shew it to whosoever will desire to be convinced that there is at least one mistake in my large work.

I never was more surprized, than when I read this part of Mr Ancillon's son's book. I immediately did two things: one was to write to him, that he might be in the right as to the fact, but that he could not be so with reference to the design which he accuses me of. I gave him some explanations, and begged of him to rectify these things in the first work that he should publish; and I told him, that, on my side, I would clear this business in my second edition. He returned a very obliging answer, and assured me, that he hoped to print shortly a book, wherein all this should be revised and corrected. The other thing that I did was to write to the person who had furnished me with the memoirs concerning Mr Ferri: I desired him to tell me, whether the two facts which I had related, and received from him, could be well proved? or whether I must confess myself in the wrong, since the public had seen a book, wherein Mr Ancillon the son maintained, that Mr Ferri's print was called in question, but that of his father had never been so? We shall see hereunder what answer I received. But before that, let us make some notes on the five heads of this complaint.

I. I can protest, with all the sincerity in the world, that I have had no design of giving my readers an idea of superiority or inferiority, with reference to these two ministers of Metz, Mr Ferri and Mr Ancillon; neither do I believe, that the gentleman, who sent me these memoirs, had any such design. I have read them over since I have known the complaint, and I have found in them no ground to suspect it. The thing is told in a plain manner, as I have related it; and it plainly appears, that he only designed to shew the

which were not allowed to be used since for his colleagues. He left some children

the epocha of one of the chicaneries of the missionaries against the Protestants. There was a time when only those ministers, who took upon them the title of pastors, were put to some trouble for it, but were not disturbed for styling themselves ministers of the word of God; but at last it was thought fit to vex them on this account. This is all that I believed, that the person who sent me those memoirs, designed to shew with reference to the affairs of Metz; and it was wholly with that view that I made that remark which concerned Mr Ferri's picture. Had I been told, that any body would have pretended, that I designed, by that, to have put Mr Ferri above Mr Ancillon; I had answered, that it had been impossible. I at least remember, that it never then came into my mind that any one would understand me so; and had I suspected it, I would have positively set down the design of my remark. Judge then what was my surprize, when I saw that there was a public complaint against me, that I had aimed to vilify and blacken Mr Ancillon; and that I said, that the title of minister of God's word was blotted out of his picture, *because they had not the same regard for him as for the other*. This is not only to impute to me a design which I never had, but also some words which can never be found in my dictionary. I have several times observed, that those who write either the life, or encomium of great men, are pleased to say, that such or such a custom hath begun, or ceased, by such or such a professor, &c. These are epocha's or particulars which are thought remarkable; and therefore the author of the memoirs ought to have informed me when the permission to put *verbi divini minister* to the copper-plates of the ministers ended, and when it began to be forbidden. But had he had a design to have heightened Mr Ferri's character, he should have entered into particulars, and shewed how they warranted such a distinction; otherwise he could not have made it appear that Mr Ferri was preferred to his colleague. To explain myself: Those who say in general, *That such a one was the last who had that permission, such a one was the first that had it not allowed him*, shew plainly and precisely a period of time; but they say nothing which proves that the first was more deserving than the last: the event, which they relate, is a very equivocal sign. Some factions may spring up, which may endeavour to abolish a custom, and for the first three or four years have not authority enough to abolish it: in the mean time a professor is promoted to the chair, and of course enjoys the privileges of that custom. If in the fifth year the faction is potent enough, another professor, that happens to be elected at that time, shall be debarred this privilege. Doth this prove him less deserving than the other? not at all. It proves only, that the cabal was more able to carry their point the fifth year than they had been before. It may even happen, that a faction will not employ their whole strength, because they despise certain persons; and that they wait to establish their innovation, till a professor of extraordinary worth is chosen, because the alteration of a custom is of much more weight when it begins by a very eminent person. There are a thousand cases wherein the epochas, which the author of the memoir pointed out to me, would be a proof of Mr Ancillon's superiority over Mr Ferri: but the truth of it is, that there was no design in this business to decide who was the greatest man of the two. It was only intended to shew by what steps ministers were wronged and vexed. Observe, that the judges, exasperated by the missionaries, or carried on by their own ambition (33), did sooner vex a minister of great parts and learning, than one of less note. They imagined, that by persecuting one, who was reckoned as a pillar of a Calvinistical church, they could better carry on the ruin of the whole party, than if they persecuted a minister of an inferior rank. So that, instead of pretending, as Mr Ancillon, the son, hath done, that there was a design to lessen his father, it had been more excusable to have fancied, that there was rather a design to extol him: for what can be more honourable for a minister, not only according to the opinion of the refugees, but also of all the Protestants, to have been the first example of the persecutions of the missionaries (34)? Did not such a choice of the persecutors imply, that they did despise those upon whom they had not begun their attacks,

and that they thought it a master-piece to affront those upon whom they begun them? you may remember, that the agents of the clergy, who took no notice that some country ministers, or some indifferent writers, styled themselves pastors, made a great bustle when they saw the Paris ministers take upon them that title in an excellent book composed by Aubertin, one of the ministers of that church (35). After all, it will appear, that if the author of the memoir and I had had the odd design which is fathered upon us, we should have been the most unskillful of all men: we should have so concealed our design, that we should have made it invisible to all unprejudiced readers, and that many might easily have concluded from our words just the contrary to our intention. This is what concerns the first part of the complaint: I will not enlarge so much on the others.

II. The credit that I gave to the memoir is not an unlawful credulity. I was obliged to believe, that a man that had lately taken the pains to inform himself upon the spot, as exactly as he could, of all the particulars of that story of the prints of Mr Ferri and Mr Ancillon, could not be mistaken: and as I had lived some years in the neighbourhood of Metz, and had never heard any thing of what concerns these prints, it induced me the more to think so. I came to Sedan about the end of August, 1675, and I found that the Protestants there enjoyed a greater liberty than the other churches: but I found that things grew worse with them every day, and I saw the cavil that arose concerning the *verbi divini minister*. A student (36) of divinity was to maintain some theses which he had dedicated to some of the ministers of that place. He gave them the title of *verbi divini minister*, according to the custom that had been always practised, and never opposed; but the priests of Sedan made a bustle about it, and got this title struck out. When I remembered this, could I doubt but such another innovation had happened some time after Mr Ferri's death? The particular esteem which the magistrates might have for a minister (37) did not hinder them to give way to the peevish temper of the missionaries who applied to them. It was the bent of the court, and consequently the spring that gave motion to all.

III. I was very well pleased, and thought myself honoured, to have an intercourse of letters with Mr Ancillon. We writ to one another what we knew concerning the news of the republic of learning. I had a design to speak of him in my book, and to boast of his friendship; but I expected some memoirs, or at least till the article of Farel, whose life he has written, should give me occasion to do it: but this article was referred to the Supplement to the two volumes of my Dictionary, as I have referred to it several important articles. IV. None that knows me will ever do me so much injustice as to suspect, that, under pretence I had been disoblighed by any one's relations, I would revenge myself on his memory (38). I freely here confess, that I have no reason to complain of the late Mr Ancillon, or of any of his family. V. If I thought it not fit to go from my memoir concerning Mr Ferri, to speak of the worth of his colleague, it was because I was very sure that I should not want a more proper opportunity to do it. I gave the public notice, that I did not make the Index to my Dictionary: It was done by a minister, and a refugee, who no doubt put there Mr Ancillon, because he had a mind to shew the epocha of the particular quarrel against the title *verbi divini minister*, it being a remarkable thing.

VI. Let us at last come to the chief point. The author of the memoir hath acquainted me, that he was mistaken in one thing; that it is not true that *Verbi divini Minister* was put in Mr Ancillon's print, and therefore that they were not obliged to raze out this clause. However he was in the right to say, that this clause was allowed in Mr Ferri's print. He has sent me a copy, where I read these words: PAULUS FERRI V. D. MINISTER ECCLES. P. R. METENSIS OBIT ANNO 1669. ETAT. ANNO 79. The inscription was at first MINISTER ECCLES. REF. METENSIS; but they were obliged to raze out REF. as repugnant to the edicts of pacification, and to put in the room of those three letters P. R. which are seen in all the prints.

(35) See remark [B] of the article AUBERTIN.

(36) Born at Sedan. He is minister of the Walloon church at Dort. He is yet alive, and may witness to what I advance here.

(37) The author of the complaint ought to acknowledge it, since he confesses that the engraver of Mr Ferri's picture was dead, and that this minister was very much esteemed.

(38) See in it's place the article ANCILLON. It was composed since the unkind complaint of this minister's son; and notwithstanding that, I have spoken very advantageously of the minister, without minding this unjust and ill grounded complaint.

(33) It was in France a short and sure way to please the court, and to obtain from thence some favour and preferment, to shew a great zeal to harass the ministers, &c.

(34) It is a glory to be the first victim of a persecution: It is the brightest gem in St Stephen's crown. Proteus's death became famous on that account in the renowned Trojan war. *Hecuba PRINUS fataliter bala Proteus edidit. Ovid. Metam. lib. xii. ver. 675.*

children [H], and some manuscripts (b) [I]. I know not whether we shall ever see his posthumous works.

(b) This, and most of the things which you will find in the remarks, have been taken from a memorial which the kind, learned, and curious author of the *Remarks on the Catholic Confession of Sainty*, printed at Amsterdam in the year 1693, hath imparted to me.

prints. Mr Ancillon is mistaken when he says, that Mr Ferri's plate had originally R.R. in whole room, when they came to correct it, they were only obliged to put a P between those two letters. The conclusion of all this will be, I. That it is strictly true, that the title of *V. D. Minifter* appeared at first on Mr Ferri's print, and that it remained there even after the Engraver was sued for it. II. That it was never seen, after that, on the print of any minister of Metz, and that the Engraver durst not put it on that of Mr Ancillon. This is what the author of the memoir answered me. I omit several considerations which tend to distinguish the pretence from the true cause of the affront that was put upon him and me: there is no necessity to trouble the world with it.

[H] He left some children.] He was twice married, and had by his first wife one son and one

daughter. The daughter is at Metz, with all her family. The son's family consists of one son and several daughters: these, except the eldest, have taken sanctuary in Berlin, and the son is in England. The eldest daughter is at the Hague with Mr du Vivier her husband, who is minister there. He had by his second wife one daughter, married to Mr Bancelin, heretofore minister of Metz, and now of Berlin.

[I] And some manuscripts.] As, the answer to *The history of the birth and decay of heresy in the city of Metz*. Mr de Madaure, suffragan of the bishopric of Metz, is the author of that history. Mr Ferri, by his last will, desired his heirs to print his answer to this book, yet it hath not as yet appeared (39). They keep some other treatises of the deceased, besides a vast number of sermons, and among them eleven hundred only on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*.

(39) Comparé with this the *Mélanges Critiques* of Mr Ancillon, Tom. II, pag. 271.

FERRIER (ARNAUD, or ARNOUL DU) president of the parliament of Paris in Henry II's reign, was employed by Charles IX in several embassies. See upon this Mr Moreri; for my design is only to insist on a thing which he hath taken no notice of, which is, that du Ferrier was along while a good Huguenot in his heart, and that at last he publicly owned himself one [A]. Had not he made his escape, he had been put in prison, (as being suspected of heresy) after the famous *Mercuriale* of the year 1559 (a). This storm against him ceased some time after; and he was chosen for an embassy, which gave him occasion, in some measure, to speak his mind. He harangued (b) in the council of Trent, as ambassador of the most christian king; and expressed himself with so much vigour, that he offended the stanch Papists. After that, he went to Venice in the same quality of ambassador, and remained there several years without having an opportunity to discover his sentiments. At last Mr du Pleffis Mornai, who was not ignorant of them, pressed him so warmly, at his return from his embassy, to give glory to truth, that he obliged him to declare himself publicly (c). The king of Navarre made him his chancellor [B]. The Ultramontanes have accused du Ferrier of a certain plot,

(a) Mezerai, Epitom. Chron. Tom. IV, pag. m. 721.

(b) In the year 1562.

(c) See the remark [A].

[A] At last he publicly owned himself a good Huguenot.] This circumstance, which many learned men have not known (1), deserves to be proved here. The place that I will quote is something long; but I quote it entire, because I found in it nothing but what is useful to give us an insight into the history of this famous man. Mr du Pleffis Mornai going to Guienne (2), meets with Mr Ferrier, at Artenay, as he returned from his embassy at Venice, where he had been particularly acquainted with him in the year 1570. After they had embraced one another, they retired into a private place, and talking of the good disposition which God gave him at his age, he happened to say, that it bordered on the seventy sixth year: Whereupon Mr du Pleffis took occasion to tell him, *Is it not then high time to look to your conscience, and to remember those edifying discourses which we have had together formerly at Venice, and that resolution which you have so many times repeated to me, both by word of mouth and by letters, of making an open profession of the truth, which you have known so long, and so long concealed?* And he pressed him so warmly, that he got a promise from him, that he would declare himself; not without saying however, that he would be glad to be first paid off fourteen thousand crowns, which were due to him for his embassy. Mr du Pleffis wrote to his friends at Paris, to keep him in this good resolution; and, to take off all manner of excuse, as soon as he was with the king of Navarre, he persuaded him to make du Ferrier his chancellor. Whereupon laying aside all other business, he went to meet him, and then made a public profession of the reformed religion. He was a great man, acquainted with all the parts of sound learning; an excellent civilian, honoured with several embassies, and even with that to the council of Trent, and who in his old age confined his studies to the scriptures and the holy tongue: and for that reason, Mr du Pleffis, as may be seen by several of his letters, exhorted him to make a more solemn declaration (3); whereby the states,

wherein he had lived, might know, why a man, so much valued, had forsaken the Romish religion at that age. But he could not obtain that of a man who had grown old in the respect for the court, and in the fear of the world. Truly Mr Montagne could not forbear saying often to Mr du Pleffis, *You have gained a victory over us by getting this man, and honouring in him a virtue which we slighted.*

[B] The king of Navarre made him his chancellor.] Believing that the affairs, du Ferrier negotiated at the court of France, would not give him leave to reside near his person, he was pleased to give him an employment, which should oblige him to stay at Paris: he designed Pibrac's place for him, that is to say, the superintendence of the affairs which he had in that city (4). This prince had a council at Paris at Toulouse, and at Bourdeaux. The law-suits which he had in every one of those parliaments required it. But let us make use of Mr du Pleffis's own words (5). *Because the said estates are under three parliaments, namely, Paris, Toulouse, and Bourdeaux, to whose cognizance several affairs and law-suits arising concerning them belong, he retains and pays in every one of these parliaments a council, over which one of the chief of the parliament presides. As for that of Paris, he hath chosen Mr du Ferrier, lately ambassador for the king at Venice, one of the greatest men of Europe, and whom the late chancellor de l'Hôpital had judged the only man worthy to succeed him in the place of chancellor for his integrity and capacity. We are afraid that he dares not accept of it, because he desires hereafter to make an open profession of the Protestant religion, and therefore he would live in a more secure and free place for the exercise of it. Indeed I believe that he did not accept of that post. He went to the king of Navarre to be his chancellor; for here is what I find in du Pleffis's memoirs (6): 'I have not known all this while but two chancellors of the king of Navarre; the late Mr Ferrier, a very great man, the second Cato of France, who died*

(4) Du Pleffis's Memoirs, Tom. I, pag. 158, & 165.

(5) Ibid. pag. 187, in a writing dated in May, 1583.

(6) Ibid. pag. 644.

plot, that might have been either wholly or partly true [C]. This learned man died in the year 1585, aged about seventy nine years [D]. Brantome says a remarkable thing of him [E]. I shall mention it, and will not forget cardinal Palavicini [F].

I lengthen a little this article in the second edition; to observe that du Ferrier took his degree of doctor of the civil law at Padua; and that from a professor in the university of Toulouse, he was promoted to be counsellor of the parliament of that city (d). Read on this subject a letter of Bunel (e), where he observes, that cardinal de Tournon had contributed very much to this honourable recompence of the merit of this learned civilian; and that the liberality of Francis I appeared on that occasion. This letter is without date; but we find in it, that Castellan was then bishop of Mâcon. We must thence conclude that du Ferrier got that employ between 1543, and 1548. He had been one of the learned men whom cardinal de Tournon carried along with him, and with whom he familiarly conversed (f). Thuanus says on this head what redounds much to this cardinal's glory (g). Du Ferrier's elogium is found among those of Sammarthanus [G]. Besides that, consult the notes on the Catholic confession of Sanci (h).

(d) Sammarth. in Elogior. lib. i, pag. pag. m. 90.

(e) It is the 42d.

(f) Thuan. de vita sua, lib. ii, pag. m. 1185.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) At page 391 of the edition of 1699.

* a year ago of grief for the war of the league; and * Mr de Glacins, Mr Pibrac's eldest brother, who * fills up that place with so much applause.' The writing, where these words are seen, is dated in the month of October, 1586.

[C] The Ultramontanes have accused him of a certain plot, that might have been either wholly or partly true.] The author of the *Journal des Savans* is angry with Raynaldus the annalist, who attributes this plot to chancellor de l'Hôpital, and to president Ferrier. A certain project of the pope's legates, occasioned the remonstrances made by the emperor, the king of Spain, and other princes, and the famous protestation pronounced by president du Ferrier, Charles the ninth's ambassador, which was so displeasing to the court of Rome. Nothing could be invented more injurious to the memory of this famous magistrate, than what Raynaldus rashly advances, that he had conspired with the chancellor de l'Hôpital to withdraw the most christian king from the holy see, to assemble a national council, where the French king, in imitation of the king of England, should have been declared head of the Gallican church, and to usurp all the church lands of France (7).

(7) Cousin, Journal des Sav. Febr. 28, 1680, pag. m. 118.

(8) Confer. que infra, Rem. [F].

AUTHORS who knew not that du Ferrier died a Protestant.

A great many other learned men have not known that du Ferrier died a Protestant. Here is what Davila says of a conference that the duke of Elpernon had with the king of Navarre, whereupon Roque-laure, one of this prince's favourites, advised him to comply with Henry the third's intentions. *Contendeva in contrario Arnaldo Monsignore di Ferrier suo Cancelliere, il quale buono di finissimo ingegno, e di eccellente dottrina dopo la legatione di Venetia, nella quale era stato molti anni, tornato in Francia, e poco riconosciuto alla corte, s'era ritirato appresso il Rè di Navarra. Questo temendo, se il Padrone si riducesse alla concordia, e alla ubbidienza del Rè di rimanere abietto, e abbandonato, s'era BENECHE CATTOLICO accostato all'opinione di Filippo di Mornè Signore di Plessis (9). Mr de Beauvais-Nangis (10) hath taken notice of this Mistake of Davila. I believe that cardinal Palavicini would have thanked any one that had informed him of what I relate in the remark [A].*

(9) Davila, delle guerre civili di Francia, lib. vii, ad ann. 1585, pag. m. 377.

(10) In the remarks on Davila, at the end of his History of France.

(11) Palavic. I. storia del Concilio di Trento, introduzione, cap. iv.

(12) Life of du Mellin, pag. 65.

(13) Memoirs of the Jans. Tourn. 2, pag. 644.

This would have given great weight, among those of his party, to the reason he alleges (11) against Fra Paolo, taken from the great intimacy which was between that friar and the ambassador du Ferrier. It is most certain that the conversion of the latter was not known to this cardinal, since it is not alleged in the place which I have quoted. See the remark [F].

[D] He died in the year 1585, aged about seventy nine years.] Two places of Mr du Plessis Mornei, above quoted, are a proof of this. One says, that in 1582, president du Ferrier bordered on his seventy sixth year (12), and the other, that he died in the year 1585 (13).

[E] Brantome says a remarkable thing of him.] I should as well like president du Ferrier, so long kept ambassador at Venice, who sometimes would go and read public lectures at Padua; which was a thing unbecoming his employ and the king's authority, who took it ill of him, and gave him no kind reception at his return, as well on that account, as for the religion he professed. He was afterwards chancellor to the king of Navarre (14).

[F] I will not forget cardinal Palavicini.] He quotes (15) the life of father Paul, wherein is seen that this father had been very intimate with du Ferrier, and that du Ferrier had made a large collection of memoirs and letters. Hence the cardinal concludes, that father Paul had taken his materials from ill hands: for you must know, says he, that du Ferrier was one of those ambassadors which the court of France sent to Trent (16), when, in the time of king Charles's infancy, most of those that governed the royal council were imbued with new heresies. Du Ferrier shewed himself so plainly, that three persons of note testified, by their writings, that he passed for a Huguenot. The third of these witnesses is the ambassador of Venice, who affirms, in the account which he gave the senate, that du Ferrier, suspected of being a Huguenot, read Lucian as he was at mass. The cardinal adds, that du Ferrier, designed to enrich himself by a traffic of religion, and that he treated secretly for that purpose with the Pope, by the means of Bastian Gualtieri bishop of Viterbo. He endeavoured to persuade his holiness to dissolve the council, and call a particular assembly of the Gallican church; whereof the Pope was to be the head, and where he hoped to assist on the king's behalf. As he expected wonders from the Pope's favour, he promised all manner of good offices to the court of Rome, and protested that he was persuaded of the Pope's authority on those points upon which the Sorbonne were contesting. Seeing that the Pope would not follow this project, he changed his ambition into rage; and taking advantage of the absence of the cardinals of Lorraine, and of Lanfac, chief of the embassy, as also of the conditional power which the court of France had given its ministers to protest, and knowing that his colleague would applaud him (18), he made, before all the council, a satirical harangue against the Popes, and against the members of the assembly, and ascribed to the king his master the same authority over the Gallican church that the schismatic kings of England ascribe to themselves over the church of that kingdom. He appeared no more at the council, because he knew that he had made himself odious there, but he went some time after to Venice, from whence he wrote to the king as maliciously as he could, and shewed, by the most cunning reasons of state that he could devise, that his majesty ought not to send any more ambassadors to Trent, nor receive the decrees of that council, since they were so prejudicial to the royal authority. From hence father Paul hath drawn his dross, which he vends for pure gold. Thus Palavicini concludes this subject.

(14) Brantome, Memoirs, Tom. I, in the Elogy on Francis I, pag. 248.

(15) Palavic. ubi supra, cap. 4.

(16) Three were sent; Lanfac, Ferrier, and Pibrac.

(17) Confalvo di Mendoza, bishop of Salamanca; Muzio Callino, archbishop of Zara; Nicolo da Ponte, ambassador of Venice at the council of Trent, and afterwards doge of the republic.

(18) Essendo rimesso per Collegio al Ferrier solo Guido Fabri palese Ugonotto in quel tempo, come il nomina la mentovata Relazione dell'Orator Veneziano Palavicini, ubi supra.

[G] Du Ferrier's panegyric is found among those of Sammarthanus.] This eulogist hath very well expressed what he hath said, but he hath not enlarged enough on the life of this great man. For the rest he hath been hitherto quoted (19) in Moreri's dictionary in *Annal*. Which will make many believe, that Sammarthanus hath written annals, and may oblige them to seek for this pretended book. This gives me occasion to observe an error

(19) That is to say, till the edition of Paris, 1600, insinuates.

of this nature, which hath not been corrected, even in the Paris edition of 1699. In Morel, at the end of the article of Eugene IV, is quoted *Eneas Silvius, Eutrop.* c. 53. This is enough to persuade several readers, that this Eneas Silvius, who was Pope under the name of Pius II, had wrote a Book intituled, *Eutropius,*

or a Commentary on the Historian Eutropius. These faults, and many more of this nature, have been made not by Mr Morel himself, but by his printers. I do not question but that he had wrote *Ste. Marthe, in Elogiis. Eneas Silvius in Europa.* At least to he ought to have written.

FERRIER (JEREMIAH) (a) was a minister and professor in divinity at Nîmes, about the beginning of the XVIIth century: He afterwards changed his religion, and was made counsellor of state. He had maintained, in a public disputation in the year 1602, that *Pope Clement VIII was properly Antichrist* (b). This caused a great disturbance [A]. Who would have thought that a man, who made so bold a step, would not always continue a hot man, and an enemy to moderate divines? Yet, he was one of the first that grew faint and slack [B] in the political assemblies of the Protestants: For he did not second those who were for appearing bold and daring; on the contrary, he opposed, as much as he could, all the vigorous and courageous resolutions which several zealous persons proposed. This made him so suspected, that they looked upon him as a court pensioner, a false brother, and a betrayer of the church (c). The national synod of Privas in 1612, forbid him to preach at Nîmes (d) [C]. Whereupon Ferrier got a place of counsellor in the presidial of that city; but a popular tumult was raised against him, which occasioned his change of religion [D]. After which he settled at Paris, where he endeavoured

(a) And not Benjamin, as St Romauld calls him, *apud David l'Enfant, month of Septemb.* pag. 174.

(b) Ferrier's preface to the treatise of Antichrist.

(c) See the remarks [D] and [L].

(d) French Mercury, Tom. III, pag. 156.

[A] This caused a great deal of disturbance. The parliament of Toulouse ordered, that he should be taken into custody for this thesis. At Castres the chamber was divided about the form of proceeding. At last Henry IV made an arrêt, forbidding all manner of persons to disturb this minister for that proposition (1). The provincial and national synods used all their interest for Ferrier (2), who had industriously concerned the whole body in this affair; inasmuch that the national synod of Gap, where he was assistant to the moderator (3), ordered, in the year 1603, that a new article should be inserted in the confession of faith, importing, that the Pope is properly Antichrist, and the son of perdition, foretold in God's word. See in Mr du Pleffis Mornai's life (4), how ill Henry IV. took this innovation; and observe how the intrigues and interest of a private member may influence the whole body.

[B] Yet he was one of the first that that grew faint and slack. We are told, in the history of the edict of Nantes (5), that he was corrupted by the cajoling of the court; and that the Jesuits boast, that in the year 1600, their father Cotton being at Nîmes... got Ferrier's acquaintance, whom he disposed at that time to betray his brethren. Let the matter be how it will, continues this historian, he embroiled every thing in the political assemblies, where he was present, which obliged the synods to forbid him appearing there any more. The French Mercury (6) informs us, that some jealousies arose between the deputies of the assembly of Saumur in the year 1611; and that also Ferrier the minister took occasion to go home upon his son and wife's sickness. There were two opinions in this assembly (7): Some maintaining, that they ought to enjoy the edict of pacification as it was drawn up; and others, (among whom Ferrier was) that they ought to acquiesce (conformably to the king's pleasure) to the terms of the edict, as it had been verified in the parliaments.

[C] The synod of Privas forbid him to preach at Nîmes. The historian of the edict of Nantes gives a large account of this affair: 'It was on Ferrier's account, says he (8), that in the synod of Privas an act was made, whereby the divinity-professors were excluded out of the political assemblies; but, with relation to him, they were not contented with general terms, for he was arraigned after a very mortifying manner. The means which he had devised to ward off the blow, seemed only to draw it upon him: he took some suspected journeys to court, with out acquainting his church. He at first accepted the place that was offered him in the church of Paris, and even shewed a great deal of sorrow when he was upbraided with his faults: but after he had promised not to abandon his profession, and to exercise it at Paris, he very dishonourably broke his word, and returned into his province without taking his leave of the ministers of Paris. All this was considered at Privas; and du Moulin, who gave there an account of what had passed at Paris, where Ferrier had shewed himself of a temper equally haughty,

inconstant, and unsincere, proved his deportment very irregular. Several accusations concerning his former behaviour, which was rigorously searched into, were added to this. He was charged with neglect of his duty as divinity-professor; with preaching some doctrines not very orthodox; with meddling with the management of money; with having kept a considerable sum which he would not account for; with having forged, or consented to the forging of, certain letters, which had engaged him in some shameful broils and dishonest disguises. He was severely censured on all these heads: but besides the verbal censure, the synod ordered him to write to the church of Paris, and to make them satisfaction: forbid him appearing in the political assemblies for ten years; and enjoined him to exercise his ministry out of the province of Languedoc. The church and city of Nîmes sent some deputies to the synod, who omitted nothing to get this decree cancelled, but to no purpose. The synod even declared to them that they took it ill, to see so considerable a deputa-tion in the behalf of a man who betrayed the common cause. The ministers, who had sided with him, were censured for their complaisance; and the memorials, which they had taken along with them to justify him, were voted slanderous. But because they saw that Ferrier would not stop there, and that having the magistrates for him, he would continue the exercise of his ministry, whereof he was not suspended; they declared, that he was already suspended, if he did not obey. Nevertheless, because they would not carry things to the utmost extremity against him, the synod sent him to Montelimar, in the room of Chamier, who was going to be divinity-professor at Montauban. Ferrier then took other measures (9): he got a place of counsellor of the presidial of Nîmes, and was there installed, notwithstanding the oppositions of the consistory, which, after many proceedings, excommunicated him on the fourteenth of July, 1613. We shall see, in the following remark, the disorders that happened by a popular commotion.

[D] But a popular tumult was raised against him which occasioned his change of religion. The author of the French Mercury has described the circumstances of this tumult. Ferrier's adversaries, says he (10), seeing him a counsellor of the presidial, excommunicated him after their way, and incited the populace to fall upon him as he went to the presidial, or returned from it. Though Ferrier was informed of this design, yet he went with the provost to the presidial the fourteenth of July, 1613. As he went thither, he met with no body; but as he came out, designing to go home, he found his adversaries with the populace, who, pointing at him with their bands, said to one another, see, see, that traitor Judas! then they began to throw stones at him, and to pursue him, with a design to seize him; but he escaped into Lieutenant Rozel's house. Mad that he had made his escape, they went to his house, ransacked it, and burned before his door a great deal of his goods and books.

(9) Ibid. pag. 122.

(10) French Mercury, Tom. II, pag. 156, 157.

(1) Ferrier's preface to the treatise of Antichrist.

(2) Ibid.

(3) History of the Edict of Nantes, Tom. I, pag. 395.

(4) Pag. 296, & seq.

(5) Tom. I, pag. 395.

(6) French Mercury, Tom. II, pag. 237. Colloque Edit.

(7) Ibid. Tom. III, pag. 156. See also Tom. XII, pag. 207, where it is said, That Chamier was head of the first opinion, which was that of the Parry-huguenots; and Ferrier head of the second opinion, which was that of the State-huguenots.

(8) History of the Edict of Nantes, Tom. II, pag. 14, & seq.

(e) The epistle dedicatory to the king is dated from Paris, the first of September 1614.

(f) French Mercury, Tom. XII, pag. 495, 497.

endeavoured to raise himself. He published, in 1614 (e), a book of controversy, concerning Antichrist. The king employed him in many affairs of importance; and in the year 1626, he commanded him to follow his majesty in his progress to Bretagne, and there honoured him with the place of privy-counsellor of state (f). Cardinal Richelieu honoured him with a particular esteem (g). At his return from this journey he was attacked (g) Ibid. with a lingering fever, which grew worse every day. He died of it the 26th of September 1626 [E], and was buried in St Sulpice's church, which was his parish-church (b). He gave great proofs of his catholicism on his death-bed [F], and made all his children promise that they would live and die in the same faith [G]. I cannot well

(b) Ib. pag. 499. His house was in the suburbs of St Germain.

The fifteenth and sixteenth of July, they went also to ransack what he had in the country, and to pluck up his vines; which having performed, they returned to Nismes, every one of them having in their hands vines and young trees out of Ferrier's inclosure. He found means to escape to Beaucaire, after he had been shut up for three days in a tomb (11). Ferrier says, (12) that 'he was half killed with stones; and that he escaped by a miracle out of the hands of thirty of the consistory's parishans, who had bound themselves by an oath to kill him: that his mother, aged sixty years, widow and daughter of a minister, died with horror at this sad spectacle; and that she was several times threatened by these murderers to be burned alive: that two little children were miraculously snatched from the flames by the prudent management of the magistrates, whom these enraged zealots threatened to kill: that his poor wife, nine months gone with child, was struck with a halbard: that his mother-in-law, being almost eighty years old, was treated with the same cruelty: that all his household-stuff was burned before their temple; the greatest part of his books and papers pillaged or burned; all the best of his goods carried away, or spoiled: that the sentence of the chamber of the edict of Castres, and the opinion of all the judges of the pretended reformed religion, condemned to the galleys seventeen of these wretches, whom they (13) had persuaded to kill him on account of religion, by promising them heaven for so detestable an action.' This last circumstance hath all the air of an impotence and black calumny. By this means the rest may be suspected (14): but, at worst, this cannot be brought as a consequence of the doctrine and temper of the whole party. It is well known, that in all countries, and in all religions, the mobile, when in a mutiny, knows no bounds. Ferrier himself acknowledges, that the Protestant judges voted seventeen of these mutineers to be punished. All that I have to do, to make an end of the commentary of my text, is only to say, that Ferrier pretends that all these outrages conquered the obstinacy wherewith he resisted the light: It is, says he (15), the common reproach of the enemies of my salvation, That I am a catholic by force. It is true; I confess it. God granted me this favour against my will, when I opposed him, when I fled from him, and abhorred the salvation which he offered me. My calling was violent, because my obstinacy in heresy was very great. Thus, to save the greatest persecutors, and the most virulent enemies of the church, God hath been obliged to thunder and lighten, to pull them down to the ground, and blind them by his powerful hand. He therefore pretends, that the injuries he received broke the ties by which he was attached to heresy, and conducted him to another Ananias, that is to say, cardinal du Perron, who introduced him into the bosom of the church: for this cardinal was the great converter of that time.

(11) Ibid. Tom. XII, pag. 495, 496. Ferrier says it also in his preface to his Treatise of Antichrist: I have been buried three whole days, and truly put in the grave.

(12) Ferrier, Ibid.

(13) He means the ministers and their abettors.

(14) The historian of the Edit of Nantes, Tom. II, pag. 123, 124, acknowledges that the populace, without any regard to the consuls, judges, or pastors, broke open Ferrier's house, embezzled or burned all his goods, and forgot no outrage, which an exasperated crowd can do; ravaged every thing in his country-house, and broke open the goals, to set at liberty some mutineers whom the judges had committed.

(15) Ferrier, ubi supra.

REFLEXION on the maxim, *Compelle intrare*, — compel them to come in.

I shall observe here, without having any particular event in view, that as there is a *compelle intrare*, COMPEL THEM TO COME IN, there is also a *compelle exire*, COMPEL THEM TO GO OUT. Suppose a clergyman, who hath a potent enemy among his brethren. It may happen, that in spite of himself he may be made a heretic, and forced to fly to another communion: first, he shall see himself accused of heterodoxy; after that, it shall be objected, that he keeps a secret correspondence with the enemy; that he is a pensioner, ill affected to the government, and capable to infect the church: he shall be made so odious, that even his relations dare not see him: he shall be forced, seeing his ministry can no more edify, to seek employment elsewhere. But where shall he go? his adversaries letters move faster than

a family; he can go no where, but he shall find himself already defamed (16). Thus, after he hath removed his tents into several places, without being able to remove prepossessing and rash judgments, almost reduced to the last penny, and not knowing how to subsist, and besides full of indignation, that it is so easy for two or three bawlers to prepossess so many against him, and conceiving an ill opinion of a party which can so easily be startled, he flies into the arms of another church. And this is what his enemies wanted; they are arrived to the height of their desires. Nothing torments them more, than to see that those, whom they have accused and calumniated, do not confirm their suggestions by their desertion (17). This is a kind of dragooning, not to compel to come in, but to compel to go out.

[E] He died the twenty sixth of September, 1626. Those who say (18), that he died the twenty seventh of September, 1626, are but little mistaken; those (19) who place it in the year 1625, are a little further from truth.

[F] He gave very great proofs of his catholicism on his death bed. A book was published intitled, *The happy death of the Sieur Ferrier*; wherein is related what he said when the priest brought him the sacrament and extreme unction, &c. The French Mercury (20) mentions a great many things contained in this little book; I refer the reader to it. But I will here take notice of two of them, because they are of use to rectify some mistakes. 'The holy sacrament coming into his house, Mrs du Ferrier his wife being on her knees, pretty near his bed, cried out, *Ab, Lord, I am not worthy that you should come into my house*: he, being sensibly affected with these words, said to her, *Alas, my dear, I wish that he who put these words in your mouth, will ever be here after imprint his love and belief in your heart* (21). This shews plainly, that this ex-minister's Wife was no more a Protestant; and therefore, that St Romuald the Feuillant, and after him David l'Enfant the Dominican, are mistaken, when they say (22), *That du Ferrier could not persuade his wife to follow his steps, which did not hinder them from living lovingly together*. A little before his death, he dictated his epitaph in these words (23): 'Hic jacet Hieronimus Ferrier, qui anno Domini 1613. Catholicam Apostolicam & Romanam fidem firmiter amplexus ad extremum usque vitæ spiritum firmiter retinuit. — Here lies Jeremiah Ferrier, who, in the year of our lord 1613, embraced the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith, which he steadfastly retained to his latest breath.' This will serve to confute Mr Moreri.

[G] He made all his children promise that they . . . would die in the same faith. As he says in the preface to the treatise of Antichrist, *that he hath a great family upon his hands*; we must believe that he had many children: among them, he had but one daughter. And this is what he said to her, when he exhorted them all to persevere in the Romish faith: *And you, my daughter, who have had this great privilege over your brothers, to have been baptized in the church, do you not promise it me also* (24)? Mr Patin also mentions this daughter: *The lieutenant-criminal is here very sick. His wife, who is a shrew, hath beaten and shut him in the cellar. She is a devil, worse than Pilate's wife; she is the daughter of Jeremiah Ferrier, formerly minister of Nismes, who abjured*. Thus he speaks in a letter dated the twenty fifth of August, 1660 (25). In all likelihood he speaks also of her, when he says in another place (26), 'There is here no other talk, but of the murder of Mr Tardieu lieutenant-criminal, and his wife: the two assassins were immediately taken . . . All the people go as it were in procession to St Bartholomew's Church, to

(16) See, above, remark [E] of the article ALCIAT (JOHN PAUL).

(17) See, above, remark [K] of the article ARNAULD (ANTONY) doctor of Sorbonne.

(18) Peter de St Romuald, Father l'Enfant, Mr Moreri, &c.

(19) Father Jacob, Biblioth. Pontificia, pag. 349. Knales, Biblioth. vet. & nova. Hennings White, in *Disco biographico*.

(20) French Mercury, Tom. XII, pag. 495, & seq.

(21) Ibid. pag. 497.

(22) See the General History of all Ages, by Father David l'Enfant, in the month of September, pag. 174.

(23) French Mercury, ubi supra, pag. 497.

(24) Ibid. pag. 498.

(25) It is the excvith. at page 165, of Tom. II.

(26) Letter ccclxvi, pag. 95 of Tom. III, dated the 26th of August, 1665.

well say how old he was [H]. They gave him some hopes of being sent ambassador to Holland, if we believe Mr Moreri [I]. I dare not positively say, that it was he, who writ the *State Catholique* [K], a book that was mightily valued in its time. The Protestants have given a very bad character of Jeremiah Ferrier [L]. He could hardly avoid that.

Cardinal

to pray to God for the soul of this unhappy lieutenant-criminal, and his wretched wife, who was so prodigiously covetous, that she had neither footman, coachman, nor maid. She had rather be her own servant to save a penny. . . . solemn prayers were made, at St Bartholomew's, for the late lieutenant-criminal, and his wife: but if she had no soul, what signify these prayers? As for the waltzers, they are burned and consumed (27). A son

(27) Letter in *clavis*, pag. 90, used the tenth of September, 1665.

(28) Chronological and Historical Journal.

(29) See the north satire of Boileau, where this marriage, and the sequel of it, makes a curious episode.

of Jeremiah Ferrier was killed by some footmen, whom he would have hindered from striking his servant. Dom Peter de St Romuald (28) says, that his death happened on the twenty third of February 1638. Here is a very unhappy Family. I do not doubt but Mr Tardieu's wife, who was so noted for her covetousness (29), and who so tragically ended her days with her husband, was daughter to Ferrier the ex-minister.

[H] I cannot well say how old he was. He doth not explain himself consistently on that subject; for in a place of his preface, he acknowledges, *That he is mightily afflicted that he had not employed for the Catholic church twenty whole years, which, he says, he hath wretchedly left to serve a bad and ungrateful cause.* This shews, that he was received a minister about the year 1593, since he changed his religion in 1613; but he had said two pages before, that he was but twenty four years of age, when he maintained, that Clement VIII was Antichrist. This I find in the words which I am going to quote, and which serve for an answer to the reproaches cast upon him, that he had impudently engaged in this hypothesis to disturb the state, and to enrich himself by the war. 'He therefore, *that is to say Mr du Plessis*, is more concerned than I am in their accusations, that I designed by this means to raise a war. I had then never gone out of my study, being only twenty four years of age; had never been versed in business, nor in martial cabals, and thought of nothing else but my books, and to further the religion wherein I was born.' Let us remember, that he maintained his thesis in the year 1602. Now if he was then but twenty four years of age, he could not have been received minister in 1593. The ministry is not conferred on a scholar of fifteen years of age: we cannot therefore depend upon what he says. According to the French Mercury (30), he had preached for sixteen years the Protestant religion. Taking it then for granted, that he was twenty four years of age when he maintained, in 1602, the thesis of Antichrist, he had been received minister at the age of nineteen in 1597, and had died at the age of forty eight years. But who will rather believe the French Mercury, than Jeremiah Ferrier himself, on the duration of his ministry? The best way then is to decide nothing.

(30) Tom. III, pag. 134.

[I] They gave him some hopes of being sent ambassador to Holland, if we believe Mr Moreri. I think he is not here to be relied on; for he did not know that Jeremiah Ferrier lived thirteen years after his journey to Paris; he thought that this ex-minister died a little while after he arrived in that city. He did not know, that his book of antichrist was in French; for had he known it, he had not noted it in Latin, *de Antichristo*. He believed, without reason, that Ferrier was the author of a book, intitled, *Responsio ad lib. admonitio ad Reg. Lugd. XIII. &c.* The printers have horribly misfigured this title: it should be *Responsio ad libellum cui titulus, admonitio ad Reg. Ludovicum XIII.* Those who have ascribed such a book to our Ferrier, are undoubtedly some Latin authors, who have thus described a French book which is fathered upon him. I am going to speak of it.

[K] I dare not positively say, that Ferrier writ the *State-Catholique*. There are some arguments pro and con. This book appeared in print in the year 1625, under the name of the Sieur du Ferrier (31). It was immediately ascribed to Jeremiah Ferrier; for the author of a little book, intitled, *The happy death of the Sieur du Ferrier*, observes (32) that two things may be inferred from this death: one against the Protestants, the other against the publishers of libels in Flanders. The Protestants or party Huguenots had given out, that

(31) It was afterwards inserted in the collection of several pieces useful to history.

(32) French Mercury, Tom. XII, pag. 499.

his conversion was feigned . . . and that his end would make it appear. They were answered, that the declaration, which he had made at his death, could not be called in question, or thought forced, or the effect of a delirium, since several Protestants themselves had visited him in his sickness, who might testify, that he continued in his senses, and that he kept a sound judgment to the last. As to the foreign writers, who said in their libels, that Simia fit semper Simia, it was replied, that this declaration of faith made by the Sieur du Ferrier at his death, and the relation of his happy decease, ought to have stopped their mouths, and exposed their scandalous writings. We must know, that the *State Catholique* was an answer to some libels, which some sticklers for the king of Spain had published against France (33), because it made an alliance with the Protestants to the prejudice of Catholicism. The author of the *State-Catholique* could not answer without venting many things against the house of Austria. The writers of the Spanish party replied (34), and reproached him, that he always acted the part of an ape; which shews plainly, that they took him for the ex-minister and ex-professor of Nismes; and this is the reason why, in the account of his death, the reflexion I have related is made. Several famous authors, and very well versed in books, have thought Jeremiah Ferrier to be the author of the *State-Catholique* (35). I would not stick to do it, did not I know that Mr Baillet (36) ascribes this work to John Sirmond (37), who was one of those writers, whom cardinal Richelieu employed to answer the libels that came out by shoals against him in the Spanish Netherlands. John Sirmond was used to give himself a false name in the pieces which he published against these libels; but it would be very odd, had he taken upon him the name of a living author, and so well known as Mr Jeremiah Ferrier was: besides, Mr Pellisson (38), who mentions many anonymous or pseudonymous pieces of this writer, doth not ascribe the *State-Catholique* to him, which is one of the best pieces in Mr Chatelet's collection. Notwithstanding all these reasons, I will not decide it, till I have seen what proofs Mr Baillet will alledge to maintain his opinion.

[L] The Protestants have given a very bad character of Jeremiah Ferrier. He himself tells us that he suffered two violent persecutions; one before he was a Catholic, and the other after (39). The first when he was stoned, and had his house sacked, &c. and the second was a shower of invectives that were published against him (40). He was accused of having been the king's pensioner, a traitor to the churches, and of having sown dissension in the assemblies, and disputes among the nobility; of designing to stay at Nismes, to ruin all the churches; of having been gratified by their majesties for secret services, and secured several ways to ruin and exterminate the churches; of being an atheist, and of having maintained many execrable propositions against the mystery of the incarnation; and of having deserved to be cast out of the synagogue as a son of Belial. See in the history of the edict of Nantes, at the 124th page of the second tome, the substance of the accusations against Ferrier; and here is what is found concerning him, page 395, of the first volume of the same history. 'He confounded every thing in the political assemblies where he was present, which obliged the synods to forbid him to appear there. He created to himself some trouble in his church and province, which occasioned his expulsion from thence; and being weary of being a minister, he got a place of councillor of the presidial of Nismes, though he had promised at Paris to continue somewhere else the exercise of his function. He was afterwards deposed as a defector. At last he turned Papist, and died some few years after (41), as hated by the people as he had been beloved in his youth. He was selfish, deceitful, ambitious, fickle, turbulent, void of judgment, and unfit for those intrigues wherein he had the imprudence to engage. But he was pretty bold, of quick parts, of a fiery temper, and a fluent tongue, having an imperious tone, and vehemence of action and discourse; which imposed on his hearers, and did not allow them the liberty of contradicting him. Wherefore the multitude,

(33) See, above, remark [B], of the article CARTHAGENA.

(34) The French Mercury, Tom. XII, pag. 500, 501, gives a list of several libels, written by the Spaniards, among which is one intitled, *Scopa Ferreriana*.

(35) Voëtius, Polit. Eccles. Tom. II, pag. 531. Spizelius, Scrut. Atheismi, pag. 32.

(36) See the table of his Authors disguised.

(37) He was of the French academy, and nephew to Father Sirmond the Jesuit. See the History of the French Academy, pag. m. 304.

(38) History of the French Academy, pag. 306, 307.

(39) Preface to his Treatise of Antichrist.

(40) He says, that of all the books that were published against him, he never read but two, one writ by S. Celsi, the other composed by the synod of the Lower Languedoc.

(41) I have already said, above, against Moreri, that he lived thirteen years after his abjurations. The author, whom I quote, hath acknowledged it in his second Tome, pag. 125. Ferrier lived yet a great while, says he, after the Commission of Nismes.

VOL. III.

Cardinal du Perron has said a very invidious thing of the excuses which he pretended the Protestants made for the commotion at Nismes [M].

How apt hot-headed men are to judge rashly.

tude, which is easily dazzled by these qualities, was always for him: and he often carried it, even in synods, against Chauve his competitor. This Chauve had a great deal more integrity and judgment, and especially an agreeable gravity; which made him very considerable in the assemblies. But the heat of the one did prevail over the moderation of the other; and Ferrier's vivacity obscured Chauve's solidity. I have no reason to doubt of the truth of this character. But I will say in general, without making any application, that it is easy at some certain times to pass for a false brother, though one be not so. It is enough to have other notions of things, than some men of a hot temper, and of a great and contagious imagination. These men have but little knowledge of others, or even of themselves. For the most part, they imagine that they act for the advancement of religion, when they are only acted by heat and pride. Their temper makes them averse to all counsels of moderation and patience; nothing pleases them but vigorous proceedings, and which they think fit to preserve the credit and worldly interest of the party: and this they call a zeal for God's cause. But this is no great matter; for they sometimes unaccountably injure their neighbour; they believe that he cannot be of another opinion than theirs, but out of treachery. However, there are some cases wherein a man may be fully convinced, that even for temporal interest we ought not to be so stiff. But what do these fiery men? They earnestly strive to get moderate men suspected; and then those, who will not be suspected, give way to the greater number; and those, who continue to oppose them, run the risk to draw upon themselves all the mischiefs of the *compelle exire*. Thus two or three powerful men, in a pretty numerous assembly, are enough to obtain a decree. It is only terrifying those that are of a quiet disposition, that they will be made odious to the party, and suspected of a base prevarication. What would not one do to avoid a thing which renders his pains and parts useless?

As this reflexion may displease some persons, I will strengthen it with the opinion of a very zealous writer. He acknowledges, that there have been some very honest men, who loved their religion, and thought it purely evangelical, who nevertheless made no scruple to receive pensions, because they looked upon them rather as rewards for their affection for the public tranquillity, than as a tie to engage them to attempt any thing to the prejudice of their churches. To tell the truth, continues he, in those places, where the people, who were hot and overhasty, might easily be engaged in rash and seditious attempts, it was requisite that the ministers should be discreet and moderate, that by their discourses and examples they might beget in their flocks a peaceable disposition; but it had been better to have done it for the reasonableness of the thing, without taking the gratifications of the court, than to receive these suspected rewards, which might call in question their innocence and integrity. Du Moulin hath several times been tempted by the court emissaries, who offered him a very large pension, without requiring any thing else of him but to engage his people to peace and obedience. He always protested, that it was a duty that he would discharge as long as he lived; but that he

would have the honour to do it of himself, and for conscience sake, and not as if he was hired to do it: so that he would not accept of any thing that was offered him. It had been glorious, if all those, who were exposed to the same temptation, had repelled it with as much courage (42). Nothing can be said more judicious and reasonable. Du Moulin's behaviour ought to have been a pattern for all his brethren: none of them should have received a reward for what they did pursuant to their duty. But let the thing be how it will, we see here the condemnation of those rash persons, who, carried away by the impetuosity of their temper, were always ready to disgrace all those who preached patience, as false brethren, traitors, and prevaricators. The author acknowledges, that some very honest men were pensioners to the court of France, without any design to do any thing to the prejudice of the churches, and without proposing any thing else to themselves but receiving a gratification, which they believed due to the care which they took to oppose warlike spirits: but he hath indeed more reason to acknowledge, that those, who preached patience gratis, might be honest men. As for the missionaries, who upon account of these pensions would maliciously and odiously say, that the religious wars had put the French monarchy in the same condition whence Lewis XI had rescued it (43), they deserve no notice. Henry IV, and Lewis XIII, had no need to buy any mediators of peace between them and their protestant subjects, in order to avoid religious wars. Had they observed the edict, it had not cost them one farthing to maintain the public tranquillity. Mr Jurieu will, I hope, forgive me, if I do not acquiesce in his concession, that the Huguenots, in Lewis the thirteenth's time, undermined the supreme authority. Cardinal Richelieu, says he (44), took from them their towns of security, but it was rather out of policy, than a zeal for religion. He saw that it was a state within a state, and that these cities were only harbours for rebels and malecontents.

[M.] Cardinal du Perron said a very invidious thing upon the excuses concerning the commotion at Nismes. The Protestants have writ a book to palliate their outrages against Ferrier, and make use of some places of the fathers, and among the rest of St Bernard, to prove that they were in the right to use him so, since he was excommunicated; and that a judge excommunicated was suspended from his office. Afterwards he says in jest, St Bernard speaks of excommunication as he ought to do, but St Bernard said mass every day; they will make use of our laws when they think it for their turn, otherwise they will not regard them, which is an unjust proceeding; did they believe themselves strong enough, and by excommunication think that they could be masters of the realm, and dispossess the king, I cannot tell what they would not do (45). Here is an instance of the injustice commonly done to those sects which are tolerated: their affection to the government is suspected, and they are looked upon as a sort of people that would alter the constitution, if it was in their power, and who only condemn the furious maxims of persecution, and the power of excommunication, whilst they cannot use them at their pleasure.

(42) History of the Edict of Nantz, Tom. II, pag. 101.

(43) It hath been said of him, that he set the French kings free; and some missionaries say, that Cardinal Richelieu, finding they were relapsed into their former state, freed them by the taking of Rochel.

(44) Politique du Clergé, pag. m. 20.

(45) Perronius, at the word Ferrier, pag. m. 44.

FERRIER (JOHN) a French Jesuit, born at Rouergue, succeeded father Annat in the post of confessor to the king of France in 1670. He was born in the year 1614, and became a Jesuit in 1632. He taught philosophy four years, divinity twelve years, and ethics two years. He had been Rector of the college of Thoulouse, and had behaved himself well in that employment (a). Without doubt he passed among the Jesuits for a considerable person, since they appointed him to supply the place of confessor to his majesty. It was thought by many that he was much fitter for business and intrigues than father Annat. He died in the house of his order at Paris the twenty ninth of October 1674 (b). He published several books [A], and was one of the best antagonists

(a) Southwell, Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jesu, pag. 449.

(b) Id. ibid.

[A] He published several books. An answer in Latin to father Baron's objections against the *Scientia media*. This book is intitled, *Responsio ad objectiones vinctianas*, and was printed at Toulouse in 1668, in

8vo. Father Ferrier designed to publish a course of divinity; but the first volume has only appeared, which treats *de Deo uno juxta sancti Augustini & sancti Thomae principia*. His other works are in French, and chiefly

antagonists of the followers of Janfenius. His Thesis upon Probability made a great noise. He defended it at Touloufe the eighth and eleventh of June 1659. See Thomas Anglus at page 51, and 52, of the *Montmelham excantatus*. See also the remark [B] of the Article MAIMBOURG.

chiefly relate to Janfenism. He wrote against Mr Arnauld's two letters, and made a narrative of all that had passed in the year 1663 upon the affair of Janfenism (1). I must not forget, that, according to the Jesuit's historian, he wrote a book upon the immor-

ality of the soul, in 1668, and another concerning the beauty of Jesus Christ, in the year 1657. But these two books are wrongfully ascribed to him: they should be attributed to John Ferrier, a Jesuit of Guienne, known to Mr Ballac (2).

(2) See the Journal of Trevoux, November, 1704, pag. 1866. French Edit.

FERVAUX (JOHN) is the true author of the Annals of Bavaria, which were published under the name of John Adlreiterus [A]. He was of Lorrain. This is all I can say of him for the present.

[A] He is the true author of the Annals of Bavaria, which were published under the name of John Adlreiterus. Here is my warrant. 'Joh. Adlreiterus (vel si mavis, P. Joh. Fervaux, Lotharingus, in cujus nomine ob certas causas annales illos prudentiores apparecere noluimus) in præfatione ad lectorem tomi

primi annalium Boicæ gentis minime sibi ait, &c. (1). '— John Adlreiterus (or rather John Fervaux, a native of Lorrain, in whose name, for certain reasons, men of judgment thought it improper those Annals should appear) in his preface to the reader before the first volume of his annals of Bavaria, says, &c.'

(1) Christoph. Arnoldus, de vita Marci Vellerei, pag. 46.

FERUS (a) (JOHN) warden of the Franciscans of Mentz, was one of the greatest preachers of the XVIth century. He is author of several commentaries upon the scripture, which shew not only that he was learned, but also that he was not one of those opinionated Monks who will yield nothing, nor will consent to the reforming of any abuses. There are few writers of the Romish communion more esteemed by the Protestants than Ferus [A]. The reason of which is, that he wrote with a great deal of moderation upon the controversies that divided Germany in his time, and because in some things he favoured the tenets of the reformers (b) [B]. He was attacked upon this subject by a Spanish Jacobine [C]; but his cause found apologists, even in that country. They could

(a) This is a name latinized. This monk was named Wild, a German word signifying savage. Therefore Moreri speaks of Ferus under the word Sauvage.

(b) See Thuanus lib. xiii, pag. 274.

[A] There are few writers of the Romish communion more esteemed than Ferus by the Protestants. Bucholter says of him (1). 'Fuit vir doctissimus, ejusque scripta non solum apud Catholicos, sed etiam apud Evangelicos quoddam in summo habentur pretio. — He was a man of great learning, and his writings were held in the highest esteem, not only by the Catholics, but also by some Protestants.' Quenstedt, a Lutheran author, quotes these words without finding fault with them. He also cites another passage which I shall set down for the reader's information. 'Johannes Ferus, alias Wild, Franciscanus, ecclesiastes Moguntinus, vir doctus & eloquentia singulari præditus. Scriptis latino & culto sermone piis & eruditissimis, (scilicet annotationes in Pentateuchum, in Job, Ecclesiasten, Threnos, Jonam, Mattheum, Johannem, Acta Apostolorum, Epistolam ad Romanos) in quibus tam veterum, quam recentium expostitorum labores veluti in compendium redegit, telles Sixto Senensis lib. iv. Bibl. S. (2). — John Ferus, or Wild, a Franciscan, an ecclesiastic of Mentz, a man of great learning, and uncommon eloquence, wrote, in pure and elegant Latin, his pious and elaborate lucubrations, viz. Annotations on the Pentateuch, Job, Ecclesiastes, the Lamentations, Jonah, St Matthew, John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans, wherein he has given us an ingenious compendium of the labours both of ancient and modern expostitors, as Sixtus Senensis shews in the fourth book of his Bibliotheca sacra.' It must not be thought that Quenstedt has given an exact list of all Ferus's works. They consist of several other books. Consult the Oxford catalogue, and Mr Teissier, at page 85 of the first volume of additions to the dologies taken from Thuanus.

quote after him. 'How many things are there which were instituted by the saints with a good intention, which we now see changed partly into abuses, and partly into superstition? As for instance, saints days, ceremonies, images, the mass, monasteries, &c. none of which were instituted as they are held now: a-days. And nevertheless our Gideons are silent; they do not remove the abuse, or reform the superstition.' He says in another place (6) that *this copy would have in their libraries a good edition of Ferus's commentary upon St John, ought to get that of Leu- vain 1559, which is preferable to all others: for besides that it is in folio, it has the epistle dedicatory of that pious and eloquent Franciscan to Sebastian, archbishop of Mentz, which the other editions have not. In that epistle Ferus ingenuously confesses, that he has made use in some places of the commentaries of Brentius, and Oecolampadius, Protestants; but, he adds, Ea tantum transuli quæ bona, Ecclesiasticæque doctrinæ consona videbantur, & quæ viri illi non in schismate, sed in Catholica Ecclesia didicerant. — I only (says he), took from them the things that were good, and seemed agreeable to the doctrine of the church, and which those men had learned, not in their schism, but in the Catholic church.*

(6) Bibl. Choiseul, pag. 78.

[B] In certain things he favoured the tenets of the reformers. They designed to shew the corruption of mankind, and the necessity of having recourse to the divine mercy, without relying on good works. Their forms of prayer are full of this spirit; and this is so little consistent with the maxims of the Romish church, that the French missionaries have a hundred and a hundred times cavilled at the protestant ritual on this account. But in answer to this Mr Drelincourt, among other things, shewed them (3) that John Ferus had composed prayers full of the sentiments they condemned. There are innumerable quotations out of this Franciscan in the books of that minister. Mr Colomies (4) cites a passage of Ferus (5) which I shall

[C] He was attacked . . . by a Spanish Jacobine. The famous Dominicus à Soto published a book (7) which he called, *Annotationes in commentarios Joannis Feri Moguntinensis super evangelium Joannis*, and dedicated it to Ferdinand Valdes inquisitor general. He charges Ferus with having taught Lutheranism in sixty seven places of his commentary upon St John. If Ferus did not defend himself, it was not for the reason which Nicholas Antonio insinuates (8): it was because he was dead, and not because that he either in his conscience knew the charge to be true, or would pretend not to know what Soto had published. But he found an advocate in the very same country where he was attacked. Michael Medina, a learned monk of the order of St Francis, published a book intitled (9), *Apologia Joannis Feri in qua septem & sexaginta loca commentariorum in Joannem, quæ antea Dominicus Soto Segovienfis Lutherana traduxerat, ex sancta scriptura, sanctorumque doctrina, restituantur. — A defence of John Ferus, wherein the sixty seven passages in his commentaries on St John, which have been reflected upon by Dominicus à Soto, as favouring Lutheranism, are explained and vindicated from the holy scriptures and doctrine of the Apostles.* This apolo-

(7) At Salamanca, in 1554.

(8) Fero ipso seu persuaso, seu dissimulante. Nic. Ant. Biblioth. Script. Hispan. Tom. I, pag. 257.

(9) At Comolatum, in 1558.

(1) Taken from Father Southwell, Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, pag. 449.

(1) In Indices Chronolog. ad an. 1554.

(2) Quenstedt de Præ. Viror. lib. 2, pag. 241.

(3) See the first of the nine dialogues against the missionaries upon the service of the reformed churches, pag. 12, & seq.

(4) Colomies, Rome Protestante, pag. 59.

(5) He takes it from the Commentary upon the book of Judges, chap. viii.

(v) *Id. ibid.*

(10) Nic. Antonio, Biblioth. Hispan. Tom. II, pag. 112.

(11) *Ibid.* pag. 111.

pology was condemned by the congregation of the index (10), and the author was obliged to give an account of his faith. 'Aliquando quod Joannem Ferum suæ sectæ Franciscanæ sodalem ab impetu Dominici Soti apologetico libro defendisset, causam religionis dixit, in qua tamen suam innocentiam probavit (11). — Having wrote a defence of John Ferus, a brother of the Franciscan order, in answer to Dominicus à Soto, he was obliged to give an account of his faith, wherein however he proved his innocence.' From whence we may conclude that Ferus's orthodoxy was a point much doubted of by the inquisitors, to say no worse of it.

[D] They supposed that the heretics had added to his writings many things which were not in the original. The same Medina, assisted by some others, retrenched what they thought proper from Ferus's commentary upon St Matthew's gospel, and reprinted it at Complutum in 1562. He supposed that the places which were suppressed had crept into that work by the artifice of the sectaries, after the author's death. 'Purgavit etiam, ne id ignoret, lector, Michael noster ejusdem Feri sermones, seu commentaria in Matthæum, quæ inedita ab eo relicta hæreticorum inter manus tabis quidquam contraxerant: quod & agnovit Sixtus Senensis lib. vi. Bibliothecæ sanctæ annotatione LXXII. Operas autem cum Medina Rodericus Vadillus Benedictinus, & Petrus Carolus Prior Uclesiensis Ordinis Sancti Jacobi restituendi his mancipaverunt, Complutique edi correctiora curaverunt anno 1562, in 4to. — The reader ought likewise to be informed that our own countryman, Michael Medina, lopped off several surreptitious branches from Ferus's discourses or commentaries on St Matthew, which being left by him unpublished had been corrupted by heretics, as Sixtus Senensis has acknowledged. In the execution of this work, Medina was assisted by Rodericus Vadillus, a Benedictine, and Peter Charles, prior of Uclesia, of the order of St James, who caused a more correct

edition to be published at Complutum, in the year 1562, in 4to.' The Oxford catalogue makes mention, 1. of Ferus's commentary upon the gospel of St John, and upon the first epistle of the same Apostle; that commentary, I say, corrected by Michael Medina, and printed at Complutum (12): 2. of an English book (13) wherein complaint is made that those of the Romish church falsify authors; and for an instance they give the commentary of Ferus upon the first epistle of St John.

[E] He was almost an Anabaptist . . . with respect to going to war. This I have read in Grotius, in the place wherein he observes that a great number of good men, considering the barbarities that are committed in war, have been of opinion that a christian ought never to lift himself a soldier. 'Cujus immanitatis conspectu multi homines minime mali eo venerunt, ut Christiano, cujus disciplina in omnibus hominibus diligenter præcipue consistit, omnia arma interdicere: ad quos accedere interdum videntur & Joannes Ferus & Erasmus nostras (14), viri pacis & ecclesiasticæ & civilis amantissimi (15). — In regard to the enormities which are incident to war, many valuable men have proceeded so far as to pronounce all war repugnant to the distinguishing principle of christianity, namely, universal benevolence, of which number we sometimes find Ferus, and our countryman Erasmus, men who pay the greatest regard to peace both civil and ecclesiastical.' (16)

[F] Salmeron has been his plagiarist. At least he is charged with this by John Gerhard a famous Lutheran doctor. 'Salmeron, says he (16), ex fontibus Feri areolas suas ita irrigavit, ut pagellas integras in commentarios suos ex eo transtulerit. — Salmeron, says he, has so far made free with the treasures of Ferus to enrich his little flock, as to transfer whole pages from him into his commentaries.' I wonder Thomassius makes no mention of it; but another collector of plagiarisms (17) has not omitted this.

(12) In 1569, and 1578.

(13) Printed at London in 1606, compiled by W. Crashaw.

(14) See the remark [U] of the article ERASMUS.

(15) Grotius, in Prolegomenis de Jure Belli & Pacis, n. 29.

(16) Confess. Carol. Parte I, general. pag. 23, apud Quenstedt, de Pair. Viror. illust. pag. 245.

(17) Joh. Albert. Faber, in Decade Decadum, n. 70.

FEUARDENT (FRANCIS) a famous Franciscan, was born at Coutance in lower Normandy (a) in the year 1541 (b), and might have inherited a great estate if he had not preferred a Monk's habit to the sword (c). He took the Franciscan habit in the monastery of Baieux (d), and obtained infinitely more fame in that dress than he would have done in that of a cavalier. He became doctor of the Sorbonne, preacher, and controversialist. His temper was so agreeable to his name [A], that never was the old maxim, *Conveniunt rebus nomina sæpe suis*. — *Oft does the name the thing exactly fit*, more true than in his person. He was one of the most furious adversaries, and cruellest persecutors the Protestants ever had to deal with, if we only reckon churchmen. And yet he boasts of having been ill used by the heretics [B]. He wrote commentaries upon some books of the scripture, and translated into French some works of the fathers. He published an edition of Irenæus with notes [C], and some books of controversy in which the

(a) Feuwardent Epist. Dedicat. Theomach.

(b) König, pag. 302.

(c) Botereius, Commentarior. de Rebus in Gallia gestis, lib. xvii, pag. 590.

(d) *Idem. ibid.*

(1) De Pern. & Satisfact. pag. 462, apud König. Bibl. vet. & nova, pag. 302.

(2) Some of these families have quitted their names. See the *Origines Francicæ*, of Mr Menage, at the word *Houstaclair*. See the last remark of the article REGIUS.

(3) Theomachia Calvinist. lib. iii, pag. m. 160.

[A] His temper was agreeable to his name. Mr Daillé makes this remark. 'Feuardentius, says he (1), homo nomine suo dignissimus, quem cæci irarum, odiorum ac furiarum ignes sic exagitabant ut raro apud se esset. — Feuardent (a raging fire) a man whose morals perfectly answered his name, was so transported with passion, malice, and fury, that he was seldom master of himself.' I have always very much wondered that families, who have an odious or ridiculous name, do not quit it (2). Why, for instance, do they not leave that burlesque, or savage name, of Feuwardent? One might instance a hundred more.

[B] He boasted of having been ill used by the heretics. If one will believe him (3), one day he received a box on the ear; he was often abused in the streets, accused before the magistrates, and sued for his life. They stole from him the horse he made use of in his old age, to go from place to place and preach the gospel. One of his brothers received a shot from a gun. He forgot not what his brother monks suffered: but he ought also to tell what they made others suffer. But this is the constant fraud of these passionate people. They tire the patience of all mankind, and at

last they meet with impatient enemies who handle them severely. Have they not upon this the face to complain of ill treatment? Do they not make catalogues of the hardships they have endured, and pass over in silence the injuries they had before committed? thus Mr Moreri has been deceived in favour of this person. 'Perkuis, Cocus, River, and some other Calvinists, says he (4), exclaim against father Francis Feuwardent in an unchristian manner: but these authors are not commonly consulted by honest men.' Did that Franciscan treat the ministers in a christian manner? Let any one answer for Mr Moreri.

[C] He published an edition of Irenæus with notes. Mr du Pin has made the following judgment of it (5). 'At last Feuwardent, a Franciscan doctor of divinity of the faculty of Paris, a learned man for his time, set himself about this work, and printed at Paris, by Nivelles, in the years 1575 and 1576, the five books of Irenæus, revised and corrected in many places from an ancient manuscript, and enlarged with five whole chapters which were found in his manuscript, at the end of the fifth book. He has added annotations to the end of each chapter, which he thought necessary for the understanding of

(4) In the article FEUARDENT.

(5) *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccel. Tom. I, pag. 73, 74. Edit. Amsterdam.*

the Catholics themselves confess he has been too virulent [D]. The Jesuits have had reason to complain of his proceedings towards Suarés [E]. I forgot to observe that he was one of the most seditious preachers who taught in Paris Buchanan's principles against Henry III, and Henry IV (e). He did not even spare the head of the League himself, when he thought him the author of something which might prejudice the interest

(e) Malmbourg, Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

* of his author. They are for the most part useful and learned, but some of them exceed the bounds of a commentator, who ought not to aim at being thought learned, or treat of matters of controversy, but merely to explain his author. Feuardent's second edition, printed at Colagn, in 1596, and afterwards in 1630, and at Paris in 1639, is better than the first, because it contains the Greek passages of Irenæus, which are found in St Epiphanius, and some other ancient authors. This is very moderate. Father Labbe, exasperated by some hard things which he found a Protestant had published against the edition of Feuardent, is not so reserved. 'Plura nos quoque, says he (6), adversus Centuriatores Magdeburgenses, Nicolaum Gallasum . . . sed præcipue Rivetum bipedum nequissimum, qui pristinæ Apostolorum Patrumque doctrinæ retinentissimos Baronium & Possessinum hæreticos appellare, & de Catholicæ fidei fortissimè vindicæ hæc ausus est effutire, Caveant (7) ab illis editionibus, quas impudentissimus ille Monachus Feuardentius homo projectæ audaciæ & nullius fidei, scdæ in multis corruptis & annotationibus impiis & mendacibus (sic Christianas & Catholicas vocant desperatissimæ causæ infelices patroni) conspurcavit. Verum quid facias homini impudentiam ubique professæ, nec Deum nec homines reverito, κυριωτη και κυριωτα, cui totidem hærent infixæ cordi sagittæ, quot pro veritate Eucharistiæ, hujus oblatione à Christo Domino instituta, libero arbitrio, fide & operibus, principalitate Romanæ ecclesiæ, ac similibus Catholicæ religionis asseritis, ex Irenæi lucubrationibus deprimuntur apertissima testimonio, quæ allegatis aliorum patrum locis firmavit, & discussa Novatorum caligine illustravit Feuardentius, nunquam non à laudatis viris laudandus. — We might, says he, object many other things to the centuriators of Magdeburg, to Nicolaus Gallasus . . . but in a more particular manner to that infamous Rivet, who had the assurance to call Baronius and Possessin, who most religiously maintained the ancient doctrine of the apostles and fathers, heretics, and thus to defame the greatest champion of the Catholic faith. Beware, says he, of those editions which that most impudent monk Feuardent, a fellow of a most prodigal assurance, and no credit, has, in many places, notoriously corrupted, and with impious and lying annotations (for so these wretched patrons of a desperate cause call those which are truly christian and catholic) bespattered. But what is to be done with a person, who seems to pride himself in his impudence, who reveres neither GOD nor man, but shows his teeth, and barks at all, and whose heart is transfixed with as many arrows, as there are convincing testimonies for the truth of the eucharist, it's institution by our Lord CHRIST, free-will, faith, and works, the supremacy of the church of Rome, and such like doctrines of the Catholic religion. which Feuardent has drawn from the labours of Irenæus, confirmed with the authorities of other fathers, illustrated by dispelling those clouds which novelists would spread over them, and must command the admiration of all men of merit.'

[D] He wrote some books of controversy in which the Catholics themselves confess he has been too virulent. Moreri will furnish me with the proofs of this.

Perhaps, says he (8), Father Gautier exaggerates matters in the hundred heresies he charges upon the Calvinists in his chronology, and that they might be reduced to a less number. We may also pass the same judgment upon what is written by Father Francis Feuardent a Franciscan, a doctor of Paris, who has mentioned a thousand four hundred errors of the Calvinists, in the work he calls *Theomachia Calvinistica*. These are Moreri's words. This book of Feuardent was reprinted at Colagn, in 1629 (9). He has intitled one of his books *Les Entre-mangeries Et Guerres ministérielles* (10), the most considerable part whereof, in every respect, is what he has pillaged from other authors.

Some days ago I cast my eyes upon his *Examination of the Confessions, Prayers, Sacraments and Ca-*

techisms of the Calvinists: with the refutation of a minister's answer, wherein they are convicted of six hundred and sixty six contradictions, errors, and blasphemies, contained in them. The second edition revised and enlarged by the author. This book was printed at Paris in 8vo, in 1601. Feuardent's usual fury appears in this book, and in some places (11) he relates in a prophane and impudent manner I know not what stories of ministers wives and Maids. There is no gravity in his stile: it is full of puns and burlesque phrases. An anonymous author answered the first edition of this book. This answer, printed by Nicholas Froit-d'eau, at Rochel (12), was sent to Feuardent at Nantes, towards the end of the year 1599 (13). He observes that it was thought to be the work of Anthony de la Faye (14). Here are his boasts. 'Feuardent, in the best cities and most famous churches of France, Brabant, Flanders, and Lorraine, where he has preached by God's grace, has reclaimed above six hundred souls from thy errors to the true faith and Catholic religion: and has confirmed above a hundred thousand good christians (15).'

[E] The Jesuits had reason to complain of his proceeding with Suarés. The case is this. Feuardent had cited, as a passage of St Cyril, the words of Master Jossé Clichthou, to prove the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. This Master Jossé, finding St Cyril's work upon the gospel of St John imperfect, supplied the four books that were wanting, and published them with those of St Cyril. There is one place in the supplements which is as clear as noon-day, and perfectly decisive for the immaculate conception. Feuardent cited it with an air of triumph, and attributed it to St Cyril. He was informed of this mistake by Suarés, who observes that the passage ought to be referred to Jossé Clichthou, instead of being ascribed to St Cyril. Feuardent was not at all pleased with this advice: he was so provoked that he collected together all the faults he could find in Suarés, concerning the mistakes in figures, and pretended to convict him of a like error. But those things are by no means the same. To put one figure for another is no great matter. Most commonly it is the fault of the press, which ought not to be charged upon the author; but to ascribe to St Cyril what comes from a man of our own age, and to do this in order to have an unexceptionable man to produce against his adversary in a cause of importance, is no slight mistake in a writer. Theophilus Raynaud determines positively that Feuardent did not do this out of ignorance but with a premeditated design. 'Feuardentius ad lib. 3. S. Irenæi cap. 23. intentus in asserendum nitorem conceptionis prædictæ, allegavit locum pro ea, ipis Solis radiis scriptum, ex lib. 6. S. Cyrilli in Joannem cap. 15. At non esse eum librum S. Cyrilli, sed Clichtovei, qui lacunam quatuor intermediorum librorum in eo Cyrilli opere supplere voluit, in confesso est. Neque id ignorasse Feuardentium, comperta ejus eruditio dubitare non fuit. Sed (ut dixi) serviens causæ quam tractabat, locum ex lucubratione nuper scriptoris, operi S. Cyrilli intexta, meditatio supposituit S. Cyrillo, & tanquam tanti Patris dictum, protulit. Monuit de hoc loco per Feuardentium minis aptè citato, & ad Clichtoveum, non ad S. Cyrillum referendo, Suarez tom. 2, 3. part. d. 3. f. 5. qui eam à Feuardentio gratiam retulit in posteriore editione commentariorum in Irenæum, ut quot quot congerere potuit menda, in numeros typographicos illapsa in Suarés operibus, ad eum similis lapsus insimulandum intorserit. Sed est profectò summa disparitas. Nam autorum allegationes quoad numerum arithmeticum, quo à typographo exhibentur, nullus auctor præstare queat indemnes à multis mendis, in tantarum operarum olicitantia, & emaculatorum indiligentia. At plagulæ Clichtovei prolatio nomine S. Cyrilli, ad conciliandam majorem fidem placito pro quo pugnes, non est erratum, vel mendum typographicum, quod in olicitantes operas, vel in dormitantem emaculatorem possit referri (16). — Feuardent, in his Annotations upon Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 23. passim nately

(11) Pag. 180, verso, & seq.

(12) It was not printed there.

(13) Feuardent, Examen des Confessions, folio 1, verso.

(14) Idem, folio 3, verso.

(15) Id. fol. 63.

(6) Differt. de Script. Eccles. Tom. 4, p. 630.

(7) Rhetorica in Critica Sacra, lib. 1, cap. vi, Oper. Tom. III, pag. 203.

(8) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(9) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(10) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(11) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(12) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(13) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(14) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(15) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(16) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(17) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(18) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(19) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(20) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(21) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(22) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(23) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(24) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(25) Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 295.

(f) Botereius,
ubi supra.

terest of the rebels [F]. He died at Paris the first of January 1610 (f). See in Moreri the title of several of his works, and add thereto *L'Histoire de la fondation de l'Eglise & Abbaye du Mont Saint Michel, au peril de la Mer, & des Miracles, Reliques, & Indulgences données en icelle* (g).

(e) Du Chesne,
Biblioth. des
Hist. de France,
pag. m. 141,
quotes the Edition
of Constance,
1611, in 24.

'nately labouring to give a gloss to the said notion, quoted a very clear passage to that purpose, from the sixth book of St Cyril, upon the fifteenth chapter of St John. But it is owned on all hands that that book is not St Cyril's, but Clichtboul's, who proposed to supply the deficiency of four intermediate books in the works of St Cyril. Nor will Feuardent's known great reading permit us to call his knowledge of this matter in question. But to serve, as I said, the cause wherein he had engaged, he industriously quotes a passage in a modern writer's works, interwoven with those of St Cyril, and would put it off for the authority of so eminent a father. Suarez took notice of this passage being improperly alledged by Feuardent, as belonging to Clichtboul, and not to St Cyril. Feuardent returned Suarez the favour of this information, in the second edition of his Commentaries on Irenæus, by collecting all the errors which the printers had made in the figures in the works of Suarez, to convict him of an offence of the same nature. But the difference is certainly very wide. For such is the supine negligence of compositors, and the oversight of correctors, that no au-

thor can warrant his quotations entirely free from errors in the figures; but the producing a passage of Clichtboul under the name of St Cyril, in order to give the greater credit to the cause in which you are enlisted, is not a slip or error of the press, that ought to be ascribed to a sluggish compositor, or a sleepy corrector.

[F] He did not spare even the head of the League when he thought him the author of something which might prejudice the rebels.] The duke of Nemours, a great leaguer, having made himself unacceptable to the duke of Maienne, his brother by the mother's side; was arrested, and people were persuaded that this was done by the intrigues of the duke of Maienne. Pasquier having related this, adds, 'Feuardent, a Franciscan, one of the most seditious preachers in Paris, did not stick to charge the duke with it in the pulpit. He sent for him with a resolution to punish him, to teach him to govern his tongue. But hearing he was a Savoyard by nation, he excused him immediately as one he saw favoured a prince of Savoy (17)'. Pasquier is mistaken concerning that Franciscan's native country.

(17) Pasquier,
Lett. lib. xxi,
pag. 224.

FEUILLANT (THE LITTLE) a preacher of the League. Look for MON-
GAILLARD.

(a) Etaples in
Picardy is the
name of his
country.

(b) Verheiden.
in Effig. & Elog.
pag. 104, Jovius,
Elog. cap. cxxi.

(1) Mr Rivet has
inserted this ac-
count in his
letter de Sené-
te bona, Oper.
Tom. II, pag.
2266. Mr Co-
lomiés relates it
in his Mélanges
Historiq. pag. 2,
& seq. Mr Ju-
rien mentions it
also, Apol. pour
les Reform. chap.
ii, pag. 70, &
71. I only give
the substance of
it.

(2) Mr Colomiés
pretends that the
queen went to
dine with him.
Thomas Hubert's
Latin will not
bear that mean-
ing. Quadam au-
tem die misit
ad eum re-
gina, & se velle
cum eo prandere
dixit, convocatis
aliquot doctis,
quorum confu-
sationibus mirum
in modum dele-
ctaretur.

(3a) James le
Fevre was not
quite one hun-
dred years old,
when he died,
but he did not
want much of it,
witness these
verses of Macri-
nus, *Evi per se-
cum prope scab-
b, Ec. quoted Tom.
I, pag. 362, of
the new Men-
giana, Paris
Edit. 1715.*
REM. CRIT.]

FEVRE of Etaples (a) (JAMES) in Latin, *Faber Stapulensis*, was one of those who began to expel the gross ignorance that prevailed in the university of Paris. He was a very little man and of mean extraction (b); but of great learning and parts. He made himself suspected of Lutheranism, and was forced to give way to the persecutions of certain ignorant and enraged zealots, who gave him no rest (c). He quit-
ted the field to them and retired from Paris to Meaux, where there was a bishop (d), who loved the Sciences and men of true learning. The persecution raised at Meaux by the Franciscans obliged the bishop to be a good Catholic (e). Le Fevre was then forced to retire first to Blois, and from thence into Guienne. Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I, honoured him with her protection, so that he enjoyed full liberty at Nerac, even to his death, which happened in 1537 (f). They tell very remarkable particulars of his last moments [A]. The parliament of Paris received an order from Francis I to come to no resolution against le Fevre; but to wait for his majesty's resolution.

(c) Beza, Hist.
Eccles. liv. 3,
pag. 2.

(d) Named Wil-
liam Brissonnet.

(e) Beza, ubi
supra.

(f) 14. pag. 14.

[A] They tell some very remarkable circumstances concerning his last moments.] Thomas Hubert, counsellor of the elector Palatine, Frederic II, whom he accompanied in his journey to Spain, wrote an account of that journey, which was printed at Franckfort, in 1624. He relates (1), that the elector, his matter, returning from Spain, passed through France, in 1558, and fell sick at Paris, where Francis I, and the queen of Navarre, often visited him. It was at one of these visits that this prince gave an account in what manner le Fevre of Etaples ended his life. He and some other learned men, with whose conversation the queen was greatly pleased, dined one day with her (2). In the midst of the entertainment, le Fevre fell a weeping, and when the queen asked him the reason of it, he answered that the heinousness of his crimes occasioned that pungent sorrow. That it was not the remembrance of a leud life that afflicted him, since at the age of one hundred and one years (3a) he had been utterly a stranger to women. That with respect to other passions, which precipitate men into vice, he felt his conscience easy enough, but he reckoned it as a very great crime, that, having known the truth and taught it to several persons who had sealed it with their blood, he should have the weakness to keep in a place of security, far from the places where the crowns of martyrdom were distributed. The queen, who was very eloquent, endeavoured to comfort him. He made his will by word of mouth, then laid himself down upon a bed, and some few hours after was found dead there. The queen caused him to be honourably buried in the same tomb she designed for herself: *Honorifice tumulari fecit & marmore quod pro se exsindi fecerat contegi voluit*. He bequeathed his books to Gerard Roussel, and his other goods to the poor.

It is hard to doubt of this story, and yet hard to believe it. If the fact had been false, would the queen

have told it to the elector? If she did not tell it him, would Thomas Hubert have dared to have put it into his history? These are the motives not to doubt of it. But, on the other hand, how can it be thought that a thing of this nature, most glorious to James le Fevre in particular, and to the whole body in general, should be suppressed by all the ministers if it had been true? How comes it to pass that Theodore Beza says nothing of it, neither in his History of the Churches, where he mentions the death of James le Fevre, nor in the particular elogy he has made of that doctor (3), nor in any other place in his books, where he had frequently an opportunity to have told this wonder? Whence comes the silence of Sleidan, the silence of Verheiden, and a million other authors, who ought, if they had had common sense, to have told this particular, if they had any knowledge of it? One cannot answer these difficulties but by supposing this adventure was entirely unknown to them. But this is removing one difficulty by another. The court of the king of Navarre was the scene where this fact happened: several learned men, who dined with the queen, were witnesses to it, the most part of whom were Protestants: by what strange combination were they engaged not to speak of it all their lives? By what fatality should the tongues of a whole court be tied up for more than fifty years, upon so public an accident, and of such a nature? It has been known, that when the good man was dying, he said he left his goods to the poor, and they have not failed to record this circumstance in verse (4). How then should it happen, that the rest, more worthy to be declared, should not have been known also? Add to this, that it is by no means probable that le Fevre lived a whole century; for if he had been one hundred and one years old when he died, he must have been born in the year 1436. He would have been above eighty six years old,

(3) In Iconibus

(4) Corpus homo,
mentemque Deo,
bona cuncta re-
linquo Pauperi-
bus: Faber hæc
cum morietur,
ait. Verheiden,
pag. 105. He
says he lived
in citat. (27),
that that was his
epitaph.

solution. That prince was then prisoner: the substance of his letter may be seen in Sleidan [B]. This was probably at the time when the Sorbonne degraded le Fevre from his doctor's degree; but he did not go out of France, as Sleidan affirms. I confess he made a journey to Strasburg; but it was by the queen of Navarre's order, to confer with Bucer about the reformation of the church [C]. His natural moderation left him when he wrote against Erasmus, his old friend [D]. This contest did not turn in his favour.

We have said elsewhere (g), that he was exposed to the clamours of the monks, for having maintained that St Anne was but once married. He was no less opposed in the opinion he advanced, that the woman who was a sinner, of whom St Luke speaks in his seventh chapter, and Mary Magdalen, mentioned in the eighth chapter of the same Evangelist, and Mary, the sister of Lazarus, spoken of in the eleventh chapter of St John, are three different women. This dispute was lately revived [E]. We must not forget that he translated the four gospels into French, and St Paul's epistles into

old, when he fled from Meaux, and almost ninety six when Calvin made him a visit at Nerac. Could such a circumstance be forgot? Are they contented to use for such very aged men the term of old age, which Beza, Verheiden, and other writers of that party, make use of, with respect to that doctor? In a word, there is no influence, in these latter ages, that a celebrated man should live above a hundred years, and yet no author, that speaks of him, should take any notice of it.

[B] The substance of that letter may be seen in Sleidan. It is, according to his custom, very elegantly written (5): but he did not know that le Fevre was retired to Nerac (6). Spondanus (7) speaks but in very few words of this doctor, and of his degradation.

[C] He took a journey to Strasburg . . . to confer with Bucer. I learned this particular in the life of Capito. Tanta statim Capitonis & Buceris fama fuit, ut Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, & Gerardus Rufus clam e Gallia profecti, Capitonem & Bucerum audierint, atque de omnibus doctrinæ præcipuis locis cum ipsis differuerint, missi à Margaretha Francisca Regis sorore Navarra regina (8). — Such immediately was the fame of Capito and Bucer, that James Faber of Etaples, and Gerard Rufus, went privately from France to hear them, and held conferences with them upon all the principal points of learning, being sent by Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister to king Francis. Erasmus, who did not know this last circumstance, imagined that le Fevre was at Strasburg as a refugee. Faber Stapulensis Gallia

prolongus, says he (9), agit Argenterati, sed mutato nomine quemadmodum Comicus ille senex, Aibentis Chremes erat, in Lemno Silpho. — Faber Stapulensis, who did fly from France, is, says he, at Strasburg, but under a borrowed name, like the old man in the play, At Athens Chremes, in Lemnos Silpho.

In another letter, dated from Basil, the seventeenth of May 1527, he says, that le Fevre had been honourably recalled into France. Hinc honorifice revocatus est in Galliam, cesserat enim metu & est regi charissimus (10). — He was honourably recalled into France, whence he had retired out of fear, and is highly cherished by the king. This is still the consequence of the false supposition, that that doctor had fled towards the Rhine. Every body did not know the true cause of that journey, the secret deputation of the queen of Navarre.

[D] His natural moderation left him when he wrote against Erasmus, his old friend. He was the aggressor, without any other reason than that Erasmus, when he published his notes upon the New Testament, did not adopt all his opinions upon certain passages of scripture (11). He rudely attacked Erasmus, and charged him with advancing impieties (12). Erasmus defended himself; but after having provided for his own honour, he intreated his adversary to continue his friendship to him, assuring him he should always continue to love and esteem him (13). He was not pleased with the complements which were made him upon this victory, and desired his Friends not to alter their opinion of le Fevre on account of this difference. Quæ scribis de nostra ad Fabrum apologia, quamquam scio animo abs te scribi amicissimo, mihi tamen his molestia inerat, vel quod veterem animi dolorem refricant, vel quod tu hac occasione minus aliquanto quam vellem videris tribuere Fabro, viro quo vix in multis milibus reperias vel integriorem vel humaniorem. Hac una in re sui dissimilis fuit, quod amicum imme-

rentem tam atrociter impetiit. Quis autem omnibus horis sapuit unquam? Atque utinam mihi liceisset adversario parcere. Nunc duobus crucior nominibus, & quod cum tali amico coactus sim manus conferere, & quod intelligam quosdam de Fabro minus candidè sentire, de quo cupiam omnes quam optime sentire (14). — Though I am convinced that you have wrote to me concerning my answer to Faber proceeds from the sincere respect of a friend, yet to me it was doubly unwelcome, as it revives in my breast an old pain, and as you on this occasion seem to ascribe less than I could wish to Faber, a man who, for his integrity and humanity, has not his equal amongst thousands. In this one instance he has not acted like himself, in attacking, without provocation, a friend with so much violence. But what man was ever always wise? And I wish I might spare my adversary, but I labour under a double anxiety; I am reduced to a necessity to enter the lists with a valuable friend, and find likewise, that some have conceived a less favourable opinion of Faber, of whom I wish that all mankind would conceive the most favourable sentiments. Can any sentiments be more heroic than these? Le Fevre repented of his attack (15), and made no reply.

[E] He maintained that the woman who was a sinner, . . . Mary Magdalen . . . and Mary the sister of Lazarus, are three different women: this dispute was lately revived. When James le Fevre published a book upon this subject about the beginning of the XVIth century, the unlearned and the learned, the populace and the doctors, agreed in saying that Mary, the sister to Martha and Lazarus, did not differ from the woman which was a sinner, mentioned in the 7th chapter of St Luke, nor from her out of whom Jesus Christ cast seven devils. The hymns and office of St Mary Magdalen, in the Roman breviary, are agreeable to this opinion. This did not hinder our le Fevre from combating it. His book was reprinted in 1518 and 1519, by the care of Josse Clichthow, who embraced his opinion, and defended it twice against the attacks of Mark Grandival, canon of St Victor. The book that John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, wrote against le Fevre in defence of the common opinion concerning the unity of those three women, was printed at Paris in 1519. This dispute caused a great deal of heat, both because the least innovations alarmed the Catholics in the beginning of Lutheranism, and because they were but little satisfied of James le Fevre's orthodoxy. But when these personal animosities ceased, they began to relish his sentiment, so that at the end of the XVIth century, and long after, it was looked upon as consistent with reason and faith. It was allowed to be publicly maintained in the Sorbonne, provided a small distinction was added to it, which really destroyed the whole decree in favour of which it was invented. They were obliged to say, that they did not acknowledge a triple woman, which would have been to affirm, what the decree of the Faculty had condemned; but three different women, one of whom was named Magdalen (16). The thing went so far

that the most learned men would have been ashamed to have continued in the common opinion, and the correctors of the breviaries of Paris, Orleans, and Vienne, put a distinction between Lazarus's sister, the sinner, and Mary Magdalen. Things being in this state, some doctors took pity of the doctrine they saw forsaken, and which had been led in triumph by what appeared so false, when James le Fevre ventured to swim

(14) Erasmus. Epistol. lib. iii. pag. 174. He writ it to Tonstal, the English ambassador at Paris, in 1517. There are many like passages in his letters.

(15) Erasmus. Epistol. lib. vii. pag. 398.

(16) Negobant à le agnoscit triplia sed tres diversas mulieres quarum una diceretur Magdalena. Lam. uti infra.

(g) See citat. p. 61 of the article AGRIPP. P. A.

(5) Sleid. lib. v. fol. 50.

(6) Perhibitionem quæque regi capiti Perhibitionem Theologi Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem . . . exagitant, ita quidem ut ille cetera Gallia migeret alio. — During the capture king's absence, the doctors of Paris persecuted and drove out of France, so that he left France, and retired into Switzerland. Id. ibid.

(7) Ad ann. 1527 (not met 1525, as Moreri lib. ii. p. 15).

(8) Melch. Adam in vita Christiana, pag. 60. He quasi Johannes Struvinus, Antipapa 6. pag. 5.

(9) In a letter dated in March, 1526: it is in the xxvith of the xxvith book.

(10) Erasmus. Epistol. lib. xii. pag. 830.

(11) Erasmus. Epistol. lib. iii. pag. 217, & 218.

(12) Erasmus. Epistol. lib. iii.

(13) See the letter he wrote to him in April 1527. It is in the ninth of the third book. He wrote him another in September following: it is in the xxvith of the same book.

into latin, with critical notes and a commentary in which he often censures the vulgar translation [F]. He made a like commentary and notes upon the gospels and the epistles of the other apostles. All this served only to increase the ill humour of the Sorbonne against him, and he saw himself also attacked by the formidable Noel Beda. He did not externally separate from the church of Rome, and he disapproved in certain points of the too warm conduct of those who settled the reformation in Germany [G]; but in the bottom

(17) Taken from the Dissertation of Father Lami, de unica Maria Magdalena. It is in the appendix of his Commentary in Harmoniam quatuor Evangelistarum, printed at Paris, 1699. See the Journal of Utrecht, for July and August, 1699, pag. 448, & seq.

* Natalis Alexander, Histor. Eccles. . . . I. Sacculi, Tom. II, fol. 120.

† Mauduit, Analyse de l'Evangile, printed in 1676.

† Dom Pezron, Histoire Evangelique . . . printed in 1696.

† Theol. Cleric. Fund. Tom. II, lib. iv.

(18) Erasim. Epist. viii, lib. vi, dated from Anwerp, the second of April, 1519.

* Erasim. Epist. lib. xxx, Epist. xlii.

(19) Simon Nouvelles, Observat. sur le Texte & sur les Versions du N. T., pag. 146.

(20) Simon, ibid. pag. 150.

(21) Simon, Hist. Critique des Commentateurs du N. T. chap. xxxiv, pag. 488.

swim against the stream (17). Father Alexander, who afterwards published the reformation of the office of Paris, after having weighed . . . the authorities and reasons of both parties, has concluded * in favour of the opinion which makes them but one single person. After this, father Lami, priest of the Oratory, not content with having endeavoured to re-establish this opinion in his new Evangelical Concord, which he wrote in Latin in 1689, has published a particular dissertation upon it in a French treatise, by way of letter, printed in 1691. . . . Since which, father Mauduit †, also a priest of the Oratory, and Dom Pezron ‡ . . . have each of them wrote a dissertation in a work they published in French upon the gospel, wherein they defend the common opinion . . . Mr du Hamel † of the Academy of Sciences retains the same opinion. I borrow this from a book printed at Roan, in 1699, by Mr Anquetin, curate of Lyons, under the title of a Dissertation upon St Mary Magdalen, to prove that Mary Magdalen, Mary the sister of Lazarus, and the woman who was a sinner, are three different women. Note, that Erasimus wrote to the bishop of Rochester, that all the world gave him the victory; but that there were some people who were sorry he had treated so severely a person, who had done so much service to the sciences as James le Fevre (18). We find in the same letter of Erasimus, that Stephen Poncher, bishop of Paris, had excited the English bishop to write against that doctor.

[F] He translated the four Gospels into French, and St Paul's Epistles into Latin, with notes . . . in which he censures . . . the vulgar translation.] This French translation was printed with the royal licence, in 1523, by Simon de Colines. The author did not put his name to it; but * we learn from a letter of Erasimus, written to Billibaldus in 1526, that it is James le Fevre's, who was obliged to fly for having published it, as if it had then been a crime at Paris to translate the sacred books into French, on account of the troubles, those new translations caused in Europe. James le Fevre (says Erasimus * in that place) * who had fled for fear, for no other reason but that he had translated the Gospels into French, was recalled to court. Jacobus Faber qui metu profugerat non ob aliud nisi quod verterat Evangelia Gallicè, revocatus est in aulam (19). Mr Simon, from whom I borrow these words, cites several places of this version and gives his judgment of it. What he takes from the life of Capito, compiled by Melchior Adam (20), is not at all proper to confirm what Erasimus says, that James le Fevre fled from Paris on account of his new French translation; for it appears by that passage of Melchior Adam, that this doctor was at Basil, as the deputy of Queen Margaret. See, above, remark [C].

(21) He published in the year 1512 a translation of St Paul's Epistles with a commentary. This first edition is in the king's library written upon a fine vellum. He durst not totally reject the vulgar, which he has inserted intire in his work, setting over against it his new version, where he does not much vary from the ancient: but he has added critical observations to his commentary, intitled, *Examinatio nonnullorum circa literam*; and it is chiefly in these observations that he has taken the liberty to examine and correct the ancient Latin interpreter. Tho' he shews a great deal of learning in this work, and keeps as far as possible from the barbarisms of the divines of his time, yet he discovers throughout the whole great signs of weakness, both in the interpretation and in the Latin. Erasimus and Stunica have learnedly observed some of his mistakes, having proved by many instances that he was but a half Grammarian, and had but an indifferent knowledge of the Greek tongue. Natalis Bedda, a divine of Paris, censured his divinity as well as that of Erasimus. Lastly, the inquisitors of Rome under Clement VIII have placed his commentary on all the new testament among the

* number of prohibited books, till it was revised, and purged of its errors . . . Bedda charged him with many errors, and among others with having wrote, upon the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, that it did not depend upon the will of man to save himself †, *posse salvari non est hominis voluntate, potestate, aut operibus*. . . . The learned father Taumassin (22) of the Oratory has inferred, in his memoirs concerning grace, this censure of Bedda, adding that the doctrine of that censure was in some measure the doctrine of the faculty of divinity at Paris, since it had approved of that censure. Be that as it will, Bedda presses him warmly upon this head, as if he had denied universal grace . . . (23). I have seen but one edition of his commentary upon the gospels, which did not appear till 1522, having been printed at Meaux at the charge of Simon de Colines . . . (24). He has also wrote upon the canonical epistles. This last work he dedicated to Antony du Prat, chancellor of France, thanking him for the protection he had given to his explication of the gospels; which might induce one to believe that the books of that author did not even at that time please some divines at Paris. . . . He has followed the same method in that last commentary as upon the gospels, only he has placed his corrections in the margin, over against the text, which is more convenient. He observes in a letter written from Meaux in 1525, which is placed in the beginning, that the original Greek of the gospels, and St Paul's epistles is more exact than the old Latin edition: that on the contrary that edition is more exact than the Greek in some places of the canonical epistles. Mr Simon relates several other things to shew the character of that work, and concludes that James le Fevre ought to be ranked among the best commentators of his age. But Erasimus, who wrote at the same time, and was much more polite, lessened his reputation considerably. The works of that Paris divine are now scarcely read, whereas those of Erasimus . . . are still greatly valued (25).

[G] He did not externally separate from the church of Rome, and disapproved of the bad behaviour of those who settled the reformation in Germany.] The second of these two facts is contained in these words of Erasimus: *De regno quod scripsi, plebem lingua temperare, magistratum nihil gerere, nisi ex ipsorum sententia, senatu movere, qui à doctrina ipsorum dissentiant; conjicere in carcerem, qui verbo ipsos tegerit, fœderibus sese committere, an non hoc est regnare?* Damnavit hoc in illis egregius ille vir Jacobus Faber, quum metu cesserat Galliis, & in Germaniam concesserat (26). — As to what I wrote concerning their effecting a sovereignty, what else can be the meaning of all this! to keep the common people in a state of slavery, and the magistrates in such subjection, as to determine nothing without their approbation, to expel from the senate all those who differ from them in opinion, to imprison those who complain of their behaviour, and to strengthen themselves with alliances? This the great Faber condemned in them, when he left France out of fear, and retired into Germany. For the first particular I shall cite a passage of Florimond de Remond: *Le Fevre who took the surname of Etaples, the village of his birth, a poor boy, without friends, lived a long time in the territories of the king of Navarre, raising sundry doubts and scruples in the consciences of those that would hearken to him, yet always appearing a Catholic. I remember to have seen formerly, when the church of Nerac was standing, his tomb with this inscription.*

Corpus humo, mentemque Deo, bona cuncta relinquo
Pauperibus, Faber hæc dum moreretur, ait.

*His dust to dust, his soul to him that lives,
To the poor the rest, the dying Faber gives.*

* At

bottom he was much a Papist.

At that time no alterations were made in religion, or the church ceremonies. The king and queen of Navarre, though their devotion was observed to be cooled after their intimacy with these fugitives of Meaux, continued to live in the same manner as usual (27).

(27) Flor. de Remond. Hist. of the Birth of Heresy, lib. vii. cap. iii. pag. 246, 247.

FEVRET (a). Mr Charles Fevret, son of Mr James Fevret, counsellor of the king in the parliament of Dijon, was born at Semur in Auxois in 1583.

The famous Genebrard, archbishop of Aix and prior of our Lady of Semur, was an intimate friend of James Fevret, whom he calls in his works *Patronum rebus omnibus ornatum*. He desired of him his son Charles to accompany him in his journey to Rome; but that prelate was found dead in his bed at Semur by his servants, who went to call him up the morning he designed to set out.

Bongars, so well known by men of learning, and by his works, was also the friend of James Fevret. He wrote to him for his son Charles, who went to meet him at Metz in 1602, and accompanied him in his journey to Germany, whither king Henry IV sent him in quality of Resident of France to the Electors and Princes of the Empire.

Charles left him to go and study the Civil-Law at Heidelberg, a famous university of Germany. Godefroy * taught the Civil-Law there at that time. He took a particular care of Charles Fevret, who was recommended to him by a great many persons of quality and merit, lodged him in his house, and made him maintain public theses with applause.

In the year 1607 Charles Fevret returned to Dijon, where he married Anne Brunet de Beaulne, by whom he had nineteen children. They brought up fourteen of them together for eight years. After the death of his wife which happened in 1637, he cut his bed in two and married no more.

He acquired a great reputation at the bar at Dijon, where he pleaded a long time with great eloquence and force, and did several public actions which procured him a general esteem.

He was chosen counsel to the three estates of the province.

In the year 1629, Lewis XIII coming to Dijon to punish the authors of a popular sedition, he was pitched upon to implore his majesty's pardon for the guilty: he spoke for all the several bodies, and made so eloquent a speech, that the king ordered him to print it, and send it to him to Lyons. His majesty pardoned the authors of the tumult, and made Charles Fevret a counsellor in the parliament of Dijon by a new creation; but the execution of the wills of princes often depending upon their ministers, Charles Fevret was given to understand that the king expected he should exercise himself the office of counsellor, which his majesty had bestowed upon him. This he refused, not caring to part with his profession of advocate, which he managed with so much esteem and reputation. He was therefore forced to be contented with the post of the king's counsel, secretary of the court, with a pension of 900 livres, which was granted him gratis.

His frequent deputations to court brought him acquainted with Mr de Marillac, keeper of the seals of France, who honoured him with his friendship.

In the years 1626, and 1627, the king's brother nominated him for his counsel in ordinary in all his affairs, and the prince of Condé made him Intendant of his house and business in Burgundy.

He was continued in the same post by Lewis de Bourbon, his son, prince of Condé, and honoured during the life of those two princes in a particular manner with their favour. He was also nominated by Frederic Casimir, prince palatine of the Rhine, and by his lady Amelia Antwerpia, born princess of Orange, for counsellor and intendant of their affairs in Burgundy.

Charles Fevret had an intimate acquaintance with all the learned Civilians of his time.

In 1654 he published a small Latin treatise, *de Claris Fori Burgundici Oratoribus*.

The first impression of this learned treatise, intituled *de l'Abus & du vrai sujet des Appellations qualifiées de ce nom d'Abus*, appeared in 1653. He enlarged it one half, which gave birth to a second edition in 1667, after his decease. The same tract was printed a third time in 1677.

He also made an excellent translation of Pybrac's stanzas into Latin verse, printed at Lyons in 1667, with a commentary under the title *De Officiis Vita Humana sive in Pybraci Tetraſtica Commentarius*.

Several authors have made honourable mention of him and his works.

His device was, *Conscientia virtuti satis amplum Theatrum est*.

He died at Dijon in 1661, at the age of seventy seven years, and left two sons counsellors in the parliament of Dijon, and two grandsons, one of which is a counsellor in the same parliament, and the other counsellor in the parliament of Metz.

FINÆUS (ORONTIUS) in French *Oronce Finé*, professor of mathematics in the royal college of Paris, was a physician's son, and born at Briangon in Dauphiné in the year 1494 (a). Being very young when his father died, he went to Paris, where he applied himself with the utmost diligence to his studies. Anthony Silvester, who was

(a) See the advertisement to the second edition of this Dictionary.

* Cothofradus

(a) Thuret, *Éloges des Hommes Illustres*, Tom. VII, pag. 313.

(b) Launois,
Hist. Gymnas.
Navarr. pag. 645.

(c) Id. ibid.
pag. 678.

(d) Thevet,
Eloges, Tom.
VII, pag. 314.

(e) Idem.

(f) Ib. pag. 315.

(g) Launois, ubi
supra, pag. 679.

(h) Thevet,
Eloges, pag. 314.
315. Launois,
Hist. Gymnas.
Navarr. pag. 679.

(i) See the list
of them in Mr
Teiffier's *Addit.
to Thevet's Elo-
gies*, Tom. I, pag.
210.

of Briançon (b), and taught the *belles lettres* in Montague college, was a kind patron to him, and had him entered in the college of Navarre. The young man went through his classical learning, and a course of philosophy there (c). He carefully studied all that the professors taught him; but was particularly attached to the mathematics, for which he had naturally a strong inclination (d). Nor was he discouraged by the consideration of the contempt those sciences then lay under, or of the necessity he was in of mastering them by himself, and without the assistance of another; but notwithstanding these obstacles he made a very great progress in them (e). He acquired great skill in mechanics, and as he had a head to invent instruments as well as a hand to make them (f) he got much reputation by the first essays of his industry. The first work that made him known was his correcting and publishing the arithmetic of John Martin Siliceus, and the *Margareta Philosophica* [A]. Afterwards he read private lectures in the mathematics, and then taught that science publicly in the college of Master Gervais (g). He performed it so excellently well, that he was proposed to Francis I, as the fittest person to teach the mathematics in the new college that prince had founded at Paris (h). He forgot nothing that might give credit to his profession, and notwithstanding his constant application to the public lectures, yet he published several books (i) upon almost all the parts of the mathematics. He boasted to have found out the squaring of the circle [B]. What they say concerning this, in his elogy, will furnish matter for a remark. I am very much mistaken if it is not he that is mentioned in Agrippa's letters, as a man that was a long time imprisoned for having foretold some disagreeable things to the court of France [C]; for at that time there were few Astronomers or Geometricians who did not pretend to judicial Astrology. The clock he invented in 1553, the description of which may be seen in the Amsterdam journal of the twenty ninth of March 1694, is a proof his capacity in mechanics; but neither his genius, his labour, his inventions, nor the esteem which an infinite number of persons expressed for him, could secure him from the fate so common to men of letters. He was forced all his life to struggle with grievous poverty [D], and, when he died, left a numerous family loaded with debts. It is true, the remembrance of his merit did for his children what it could not

[A] The first work that made him known was his correcting . . . the *Margareta Philosophica*. Dr de Launois informs me of this. 'Et primo quidem, says be (1), nomen suum ab edendis corrigendisque aliis rum operibus illustrare fecit. Nam anno 1519 à Navarra sua Joannis Martini Siliceii Hispani Arithmeticae typis commisit, mendisque pluribus expurgavit, & anno 1523 dum adhuc in Navarra cum Antonio Silvestro degeret, Philosophicam Margaretam quæ rationalis ac Moralis Philosophiæ principia duodecim libris complectitur, recognovit & prælo mandari curavit. — He first made his name famous by publishing and correcting the works of other men. For in the year 1519 he published, during his residence in the college of Navarre, the arithmetic of John Martin Siliceus, which he rendered much more correct; and in the year 1523, whilst he still lived in the college of Navarre, with Antony Silvester, he revised and published the *Margareta Philosophica*, which contains the principles of rational and moral philosophy in twelve books.

[B] He boasted that he had found out the squaring of the circle. Sammarthanus assures us that Orontius Finæus was in the wrong to boast that he had found it out, and that providence had reserved that honour for Joseph Scaliger: 'Cum . . . inter cætera volumina peculiari quodam libro quadraturam illam circuli à multis frustra quaesitam se tandem aliquando reperisse gloriaretur. Hoc enim de se facile credebatur homo summæ doctrinæ sibi conscius, cum tamen verum hujus admirabilis inventi gloriam uni Josepho Scaligero faciliora numina reservarent (2). — He boasted in a particular treatise, that he had at last found the method of squaring the circle which multitudes had so long in vain sought for. This a man, conscious of his own great learning, might easily believe of himself, tho' the true glory of this admirable invention was reserved by the favour of heaven for Joseph Scaliger.' He justly says that Orontius Finæus wrongfully assumed to himself the invention of the quadrature of the circle; but he is strangely mistaken in making Scaliger the only one that discovered this mystery; for this honour was so far from being reserved for Scaliger alone, that it may be affirmed that great man came not so near to it as many others.

[C] I believe that, according to Agrippa, he was a long time imprisoned for having foretold some disagreeable things to the court of France. The words of Agrippa which I shall quote are taken from a letter, wherein he complains of his disgrace, which he at-

tributes to a scheme of a nativity, wherein he found that the constable of Bourbon would be still victorious in the year 1526. The Queen-regent was incensed against the Astrologer on this account, who thereupon said his design was not to prostitute his art to lies, and that he had not timely remembered the fate of a great mathematician. I suppose he means Orontius Finæus. 'Sed & nesciebam me prædario Astrologum conductum, quodque mihi, quod ars illa dicat, monendi dicendique jus relictum non esset, occurrirque exemplis Orontius Parrhius (3) Agrippa, Epist. lib. 16, lib. 3, pag. 831. The letter is dated from Lyons the third of November, 1526.

[D] He was forced to struggle all his life with grievous poverty. He had gone through his studies without receiving those supplies from his family, which are necessary to students: his father was dead, and his relations neglected him (4). It may be easily imagined what straits he was in. Thevet (5) assures us that Orontius Finæus 'had so well freed himself from covetousness, that by philosophizing he satisfied his mind, but he did not fill his purse. I cannot say this was his fault, for he often complained to several lords of the great necessities, he was under, which they took the good man so little notice of, that honest Oronce's estate at his death was only a great load of debts, which, to his sorrow, he left his dear spouse Denise Blanche incumbered with, and five sons and a daughter to provide for. Some orators, philosophers, and learned 314.

men, have been highly valued, whereof some were rich, others threw their riches into the sea, as if they had been only a hindrance to philosophy. The learned Finæus was among none of these (6), unless it be that he was partaking with the last in this, that, after they had thrown away their estates, they found themselves poor, with respect to wealth. Let us add to this what the same Thevet observes in the elogy of Peter Danes. 'I cannot forbear saying that I commiserate the ingratitude and unthankfulness of many self from cardinals, abbots, and other prelates, who have seen, heard, and been informed, of the misery of several poor, but virtuous and learned men, such as were Jodelle, Orontius Finæus, Poissel, Regius, Belle Fosse, and a great many more, who after their death left not enough to bury them; and yet they would not vouchsafe to open their bowels of compassion to offer them one farthing (7).'

[E] Meianai's

not do for himself. Some generous Mæcenæus's were found, who, for his sake, relieved his indigent family [E]. I shall cite an author who charges him with being a plagiarist [F]. According to Moreri he died the sixth of October 1555. The abbot de Brianville, who invented the heraldry cards, and was the author of certain books for the use of the dauphin of France in the reign of Lewis XIV, was of the same country and family with Orontius Finæus (k).

(k) Allard, *Bibl. de Dauphin*, p. 106.

[E] *Mæcenæus's were found, who . . . relieved his indigent family.* Let us still hear Thevet. 'He had a great many children, who, tho' without father or estate, yet were not destitute of all assistance; for after his death, several good lords extended their charity to maintain and protect the children of a man they had so much valued during his life. Two of them not only followed the study of the mathematics, but also one of them divinity, and the other the civil-law, and were graduates in their respective faculties (8).'

(8) *Ibid.*, Tom. VII, pag. 310.

Thevet in page 312 speaks of Master John Finæus, doctor of divinity, the son of Orontius: 'I have been assisted, says he, with some memoirs by his son Master John Finæus, doctor of divinity, who, having been informed that I was writing an abridgement of the lives of illustrious men, earnestly desired that his father should be put among them.' In another place he says: 'Although his sons have composed excellent epitaphs, I durst not infer them here, fearing, however exact and true they may be, they should be lessened by this consideration, that they are not sufficient evidences of their father's merit (9).' Dr de Launoi informs me (10) that this John Finæus studied in the college of Navarre, that he taught philosophy some years in the college of Harcourt, that he was made doctor of divinity in 1565, that he was afterwards canon of Meaux, and in the year 1603 was dean of the faculty of divinity.

(9) *Ibid.* pag. 311.
(10) *Laun.* Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. pag. 679.

[F] *I shall cite an author that charges him with being a plagiarist.* John Baptista Benedictus in the preface of his book of dialling declares, that he has touched upon nothing which others had well explained, and that he has confined himself to that, that he might not appropriate to himself the labours of another, or hinder any body from reading other books. He adds, that all authors are not so scrupulous, and names Mun-

ster and Finæus. 'Quis enim Sebastiani Munsteri, & Orontii Phineæ horologiographias legit qui non animadvertit quam multa præter necessitatem de verbo ad verbum in posterioris opere sint translata quæ poterant majori cum utriusque laude apud priorem videnda relinqui, aut potius ab utroque prætermitti, cum alter alterius imprudens calcaverit vestigia, & quandoque eodem errore ambo ducti cœcutescentes in eandem foveam sese præcipites egerint, ut factum est præcipue ubi agunt de descriptione horarii super globo aut spherica superficie convexa (11). — For who that has read Sebastian Munster's, and Orontius Finæus's treatises of Dialling, has not observed what a multitude of things there are unnecessarily inserted word for word in the works of the latter, which might with more honour to both have continued in the former, or rather might have been omitted by both; whilst the one imprudently followed the steps of the other, and both, misled by the same error, blindly fell down the same precipice; and more particularly where they treat of projecting a dial upon a globe, or convex spherical superficies.' Here are two things to be considered: one is a matter of fact, viz. that Finæus's book contains word for word several of Munster's observations, the other is the reasoning of Benedictus. He supposes that if Finæus had not stolen them from Munster, the honour of both of them had been greater. He is right in some respects; but in others his reasoning is false, and upon the whole he ought to have explained himself better. He supposes afterwards that one of them copied the other without knowing it. Therefore he should have said that Munster was a plagiarist of the same authors who were afterwards plagiarized by Finæus: and he ought to have told us who those authors were.

(11) *Joannes Baptista Benedictus, Patricius Venerabilis, in Prefatione Libri de Cœnoscium Universalium Uti. This book was printed at Turin, 1574, in folio.*

FLACIUS (MATTHIAS). Look for ILLYRICUS.

FLAMINIUS (MARC ANTHONY) was one of the best Latin poets of the XVIth century, and also a good humanist. He was born at Imola in Italy, the son and grandson of learned men (a). See the account of him in Mr Teissier (b), and more at large in Moreri. I shall only observe one thing which they have omitted. The Pope chose him for secretary to the council in 1545 (c); but Flaminius refused that great office, because, finding himself imbued with the new opinions, he would not employ his pen in the service of an assembly that would anathematize them. This is cardinal Palavicini's conjecture. That cardinal, speaking of the honour the Pope designed for Flaminius, has not forgot to criticize Fra-Paolo [A]. He adds, that after that, Flaminius had the happiness to acknowledge his errors by his acquaintance with cardinal Pole, and to write and die a good Catholic. Thuanus was not ignorant, that in some points Flaminius inclined to the party of the reformers. But among other articles he excepts that of the Lord's-Supper, and I do not find that Simler contradicts him in this respect [B]. Longolius has spoken very honourably

(a) See the remark [C].

(b) *Elogies*, taken from Thuanus, Vol. I, pag. 36, & 39.

(c) See the remark [A].

[A] *Cardinal Palavicini . . . speaking of Flaminius, has not forgot to criticize Fra-Paolo.* He charges him (1) with falsely giving out that the Pope let his legates know, that it was not necessary to dispatch letters in the name of the council, and that those which he should write himself, or which the legates should write in their own names, would be sufficient. To prove that this is false, cardinal Palavicini observes that the Pope prescribed distinctly to the legates the form of signing, and directing the letters that should be writ in the name of the council. He adds, that it belonged to the secretary of the council, to draw up those letters, and the decrees of the council, and that the Pope designed Marc Antony Flaminius for that employment (2). 'Adunque il papa se propose al consiglio per Segretario Marcantonio Flaminio, chiaro fra gli Scrittori Latini di quell'età, come dimostrano i suoi versi. Ma egli scosso dal peso, forse perche già covava (3) nella mente l'affezione a quelle dottrine in condannazione delle quali gli sarebbe convenuto d'esercitar quivi la penna: avvenne che in

fine de gli anni suoi la salutare conversazione del cardinal Polo in Viterbo lo facesse ravvedere, e scri-ver e morir cattolicamente.' But what makes most against father Paul, in this chapter of the cardinal, is, that the fathers of the council complaining that the Pope chose himself the officers of the assembly, he gave them full liberty to chuse their own secretary: upon which they made choice of Angelo Massarelli provisionally (4), and afterwards absolutely (5).

[B] *I do not find that Simler contradicts him in this respect.* In the manner that Thuanus speaks of Flaminius, he makes him rather a Jesuit, than a Protestant. He says that, among those in Italy who thought that a reformation was necessary, there arose private disputes concerning faith, good works, grace, free-will, election, vocation, and glorification; and that the greatest part of them formed a judgment of these matters very different from the then received opinion, Trent, &c, and fortified themselves with the authority of St Augustine. For this reason, adds Thuanus, Augustine Pro-

pieces

(4) That is to say, till Prioli, chosen perpetual secretary, should take possession of that office; but he refused it.

(5) Palavicini's History of the Council of Trent, lib. vi, cap. i, n. 6.

(1) History of the Council of Trent, lib. vi, cap. i, n. 4.

(2) *Ibid.* n. 5.

(3) This expression seems to me to be false; for Flaminius rather declined than accepted the office, from 1545, to 1551.

(4) See alla vita del Polo scritta dal Buonaccini.

(d) Mense, Anti-Baillet, Tom. II, pag. 337.

nourably of Flaminius [C]. The piety of the latter did not hinder him, though a clergyman, from making a great number of amorous and passionate Verses (d).

The ill state of his health obliged him to such a regular way of living that he refused to sup with Corradus, out of fear that others also were invited (e).

(e) Sebast. Corradus in Brutum Ciceronis, pag. 43.

(6) Cui sententia accedebat Flaminius, cum in ceteris fidei capitibus doctrinæ per Germaniam tunc disseminatæ minime adimpleret. Nam & luculentum ipsius exstat inter vulgares clarorum virorum epistolæ de sacrosancto Eucharistie mysterio ex ecclesiæ sensu scriptis mandatum testimonium, itaque cum aliis, quibus religionis causa amicitium coluerat, atque in primis Galeacius Caracoli Vici Marchio patriam reliquisset, &c. *Tuan. lib. ix, pag. m. 177.*

(7) *Elogies taken from Thuanus, Tom. I, pag. 39.*

(8) In vita P. Martyr.

(9) He makes use of that composed by Simler.

(10) See among other places the remark [2] of the article CAS-TELLAN.

(11) He cites Longolius, Epist. lib. iii. See his *Additions*, Tom. II, pag. 395.

(12) See lib. ii, folio 190, and lib. iii, folio 240.

(a) Taken from Pierius Valerianus, de Litterarum Infelicitate, lib. i, pag. m. 23.

pieces taken from the works of that father. Flaminius embraced this opinion, and as to other things he did not follow the doctrines that were dispersed in Germany: he plainly declares in a letter, that with respect to the eucharist, his opinion was the same with that of the church, and he did not leave his country as some others did, with whom he had lived in a strict friendship, on account of religion. Galeazzo Caraccioli marquis of Vico was one of this number (6). Mr Teiffier contradicts this narrative. 'If we believe' Josiah Simler, says he (7), Thuanus was mistaken when he wrote that Flaminius did not approve of the doctrine which Luther taught in Germany; for Simler (8) places Flaminius among those who, having embraced the Protestant religion, forced Peter Martyr Vermilio, who was afterwards minister at Zurich, to follow their example, and renounce the communion of the church of Rome. I have run over Peter Martyr's life in Melchior Adam's volume (9), and I find nothing in it concerning Flaminius; but that Peter Martyr, being superior of a monastery at Naples, came to the knowledge of the truth by reading certain books, and conferring often upon religious points with persons of piety and zeal for the true religion. Martyr chiefly conferred with Marc Anthony Flaminius upon these things. I see nothing in all this contrary to Thuanus's account, and at most Simler would be more to blame than that great historian, since the letter of Flaminius is authentic, and his abode and death in Italy are incontestable matters of fact. I have said it a thousand times: a man might discover a thousand abuses and disorders in the Romish communion, and many excellent truths in Luther's books, without thinking himself necessarily obliged to take a journey into Germany, and without pretending that the Romish church was wrong in all that the Lutherans found fault with (10). Mr Teiffier opposes to Thuanus, Flaminius's epigram upon the death of Saveriola: but that proves nothing; an infinite number of Dominicans who were good Papists would not scruple publicly to put their names to that epigram. The letter inserted in the life of Galeazzo Caraccioli shews a great deal of piety, but there is nothing in it particularly declaring the profession or approbation of Lutheranism.

[C] Longolius has spoken very honourably of Flaminius. Mr Teiffier has quoted the following words of Longolius (11): 'Know that for many ages none has equalled Flaminius for parts, learning, virtue, and probity. Truly I am used to say, speaking of him, that at this day I know no body that has more merit, or who is more unhappy than he.' In other places (12) Longolius expresses a very particular esteem and friendship for Flaminius. Here is a passage which has some relation to that of Mr Teiffier. 'Ego nihil ad Flaminiū scripsi, quod neque scirem ut cum ipso ageretur, neque certi quicquam haberem, ad quod literas meas accommodarem. Quin ingenio, industria, virtute æquales suos omnes longe superaret, plane non dubito: ne fortuna tantæ indolis maligne responderit, etiam atque etiam timeo. Sed tamen velim ut animo maximo sit, optetque semper secunda, cogitet adversa, ferat qualiacunque accide-

rint, neque sibi præstandum quicquam præter culpam existimet: à qua sane tam longe abest quam ab ea ætate quæ vel culpam adhuc præstare debeat' (13). — I have never wrote to Flaminius, as being a stranger to his circumstances, and having no particular occurrence on which I might communicate my sentiments. But I question not his having surpassed all his equals in genius, application and virtue, and am much afraid that fortune has but ill rewarded such superior qualifications. I wish however that he would keep up a greatness of soul, and still hope for happier days, and bear with resolution whatever may happen, and not to think he is to answer for more than his faults: from which he is as free, as he is remote from that age which ought to be answerable for them. Flaminius was yet but a young student, and consequently could not be said to be the most unhappy of all men. A man ought to have tried every thing, and still have had an ill fate, before this could be properly said of him. However this passage discovers the unlucky circumstances of Flaminius, a young man under such hardships, that his friends were forced to contribute to his relief, and endeavoured by letters of recommendation to procure him cloaths. 'De Flaminiū quod benigne polliceris, respondes illi omnino, quam de proluxa ista tua atque beneficia in studiosos omnes natura semper habui, opinioni: sed nihil eo quod ostendis etiam nunc est opus. Initia est enim à nobis ratio, quemadmodum hic adolescentem tueamur. In vestiario tantum laboramus: in quo si adjutus à te fuerit, ocium ejus liberalitate tua constitutum esse judicabo' (14). — The generous promises which you made concerning Flaminius, you perfectly answer from that open beneficent nature, with which I have observed you constantly treat all lovers of learning. But there is now no occasion for what you propose, we have contrived a method to maintain the young man amongst us. We want only to equip him with cloaths, wherein if he should meet with assistance from you, he will by your liberality be made easy. By a certain letter he wrote, he made himself an enemy, who, speaking to Longolius, reviled him extremely, and in the same conversation affirmed, that as Flaminius was the son and grandson of a pedant, and a pedant himself, he could find in him neither virtue or wit. 'Erras, inquit, Longoli, erras, si quod te vel ingenii vel virtutis lumen in eo perpexisse putas qui & ipse pædagogus sit, & pædagogus patre avoque natus' (15). — You are mistaken, Longolius, you are strangely mistaken, if you imagine to have discovered in him either abilities or virtue; he is a pedant himself, and such were both his father and grandfather. As to the father of our Flaminius, he is not unknown to me: his name was JOHN ANTHONY FLAMINIUS. He taught polite literature at Bologna for many years (16), and died there in the year 1536, after having published some books (17). Moreri has spoken of him. As to his grandfather, I do not know him, and perhaps he is the same with one SEBASTIAN FLAMINIUS, a native of Imola (18), author of the life of Ambrose of Sienna, a beatified Jacobine.

(13) Ibid. lib. II, folio 183.

(14) Ibid. lib. II, folio 183.

(15) Ibid. lib. II, folio 183.

(16) Ibid. lib. II, folio 271.

(17) Ibid. lib. II, folio 202, verso.

(18) Leandr. Albert. Descript. Italix, pag. m. 493.

(19) See Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 682.

(20) Id. ibid. pag. 678.

FLAMMINIUS (ANTHONY) a learned professor of polite literature in the college of Rome about the beginning of the XVIth century, was a Sicilian by birth. He was so fond of solitude, that he took no pleasure in conversing either with the learned or unlearned. He never invited any body to eat with him, nor would accept of any invitation from others. He had neither man nor maid servant. He used to buy every day his provisions at an inn in the neighbourhood; but the landlord, observing that for three days past he had not come for any thing, nor had shewed himself as usual, entered his chamber through the garden window, and found him dead among his books. He studied, lying along upon the ground (a) [A].

[A] He studied lying along upon the ground. This was not the least sign of his fantastical temper. 'Is inopinata præventus morte à capone vicinæ qui quotidianè edulia homini venditabat, contentionem admittans quod jam triduum non apparuisset, & per hortuli fenestellam quandam ingresso inter libros quos

stratus, stratus & ipse lectitare consuevit, sempiterno oppressus somno repertus est' (1). He had taught a long time in Rome with profound learning. 'Cujus prælectionibus Roma longa annorum serie nihil habuit eruditius' (2).

(1) Pierius Valerianus, ubi supra.

(2) Id. ibid.

FLAVIGNY

FLAVIGNY (VALERIAN DE) doctor of divinity of the house and society of the Sorbonne, counsellor and king's professor of the Hebrew tongue in the university of Paris, and dean of the king's professors in the royal college of France (a). Add to what has been said of him in Moreri, and elsewhere (b), that he had a great dispute with some divines of the faculty of Paris, for having proved the Thesis which Lewis de Cleves, bachelor in divinity, had maintained concerning episcopacy in his public act, the fourth of November 1667. Complaint was made of two propositions in this Thesis [A], and they hindered that bachelor, 'who had gone through his licentiate's degree, who had been presented to the chancellor of the church and university of Paris by the faculty of divinity, who had been harangued and assigned, by the said chancellor, to the place, rank, and apostolical benediction of the degrees, the third of February last, as well as others of the same degree, from receiving the said benediction, which is a reward for study, and a proof of capacity (c).' Flavigny advised him, merely for the sake of peace, and to avoid the scandal which might arise from such a dissention, to sign the declaration and explication of the said two propositions which were required of him [B]. And he compiled a long apology, which was printed at Tournay in 1668, under the title of *Ad Thesim Clevesianam ubi de Episcopatu expectata Vindicia*. It is a quarto of 128 pages, wherein he cites an infinite number of authors who have advanced the same doctrine with Lewis de Cleves, viz. that episcopacy, as distinct from the priesthood, is no sacrament. Some letters were prefixed to this apology, in one of which it is said, that Valerian de Flavigny, *Presbyter Laudunensis*, had been reader of the Sorbonne for forty years.

(a) These are his titles in an instrument by a Public Notary, signed by him the thirteenth of August, 1668, and which is printed before the *Vindicia ad Thesim Clevesianam*.

(b) In the remark [F] of the article ECHELLENSIS.

(c) See the same act.

[A] Complaint was made of two propositions in that thesis. The first proposition was, 'Presbyteratum ea vestiri ratione sacramenti certum: Episcopatum ea decorari quicunque negat, probabiliorum tenet sententiam. II. Ad Episcopatum praevisue Presbyteratus? Aliquando negatum videtur. — I. That priesthood is a sacrament, is certain; that episcopacy is not, is probable. II. Whether priesthood be previous to episcopacy? It appears to have been sometimes denied.'

[B] Flavigny advised de Cleves to sign the declaration, and explication . . . they required of him.] This clause is added to the act from whence I take these words, 'referring to himself the liberty to say, and cause to be registered in the office of the said faculty in the assembly of the first of March following, that the said explanation should be no prejudice to the probability or seeming truth of the doctrine

contained in them; as also to remonstrate, &c. The declaration they extorted from that bachelor was this: 'Non intendo negare absolute episcopatum esse sacramentum; imò agnosco in collatione episcopatus dari gratiam sanctificantem. Ad secundam propositionem. Cum dixi, Aliquando negatum videri presbyteratum praevisum esse debere ad episcopatum, non intendo, episcopatum conferri posse per saltum; imò existimo non posse episcopatum consecrari, nisi sit presbyter. — I do not intend to deny absolutely that episcopacy is a sacrament, nay, I acknowledge that a sanctifying grace is conveyed to the person inaugurated. As to the second proposition. When I said, that it appears to have been denied that priesthood ought to be previous to episcopacy, I did not mean, that episcopacy could be conferred all at once; nay I think that no bishop can be consecrated unless he be a priest.'

FLORA, if we believe Lactantius, was a courtesan [A], who, having got large sums of money by prostituting herself, made the Roman people her heirs, and ordered that the income of a certain fund, which she specified, should be employed in celebrating her birth-day. She would have that day remarkable by the games that were to be exhibited to the people, and were to be named Floral. They were celebrated in a very scandalous manner [B], and were in some sort the courtezans' feast

[A] If we believe Lactantius, she was a courtesan.] Reproaching the Pagans with the enormous abuses of their deification, he says: 'Jam quanta ista immortalitas putanda sit, quam etiam meretrices assequantur? Flora (cum magnas opes ex arte meretricia quaesivisset) populum scripsit haeredem, certamque pecuniam reliquit, cujus ex annuo fœnore suus natalis dies celebraretur editione ludorum, quos appellant Floralia (1). — How great then must that immortality be imagined, which the leudest women have obtained? Flora, having raised an immense fortune by her leud arts, left the people her heir, and set apart a certain sum, out of the yearly produce of which her birth-day might be solemnized with public games, which they call Floralia.' Neither Arnobius (2), nor St Augustin (3), say any thing like this of Flora, though they reproach the heathens with the impurities of the Floral games: but she is treated as a courtesan in the dialogue of Minutius Felix (4). No doubt St Augustin was sensible this story of Lactantius was without foundation. I have read in the scholiast upon Juvenal (5), that the Floral games were instituted in honour of the goddess Flora, by Flora the courtesan. This makes nothing for Lactantius. We shall see in the following article, that there was a famous prostitute named Flora; but it is not true that she was the founder of those games. The scholiast upon Juvenal is mistaken, and at most he does not say, as Lactantius, that Flora the courtesan founded the Floral games for herself.

[B] The Floral games . . . were celebrated in a very scandalous manner.] Here Lactantius is in the right. 'Celebrantur ergo illi ludi cum omni lascivia convenientes memoriae meretricis. Nam præter verborum licentiam, quibus obscenitas omnis effunditur, exuntur etiam vestibis populo flagitante Meretrices, quæ tunc mimorum funguntur officio, & in conspectu populi usque ad satietatem impudicorum luminum cum pudendis motibus detinentur (6). — These games are therefore celebrated with all the leudness imaginable, and in a manner that perfectly answers the memory of a prostitute. For besides the extravagant licence whereby obscene talking is encouraged, the courtezans, at the instance of the people, are stripped naked, and play their monkey gambols in the sight of the people, till the eyes of the most abandoned spectators are tired with their abominable behaviour.' St Augustin thunders, as he ought to do, in divers places, against this impudence. I shall only relate the following passage (7): 'Horum planè florum non terra fertilis, non aliqua opulens virtus; sed illa dea Flora digna mater inventa est, cujus ludi scenici tam effusore & licentiore turpitudine celebrantur, ut quis intelligat, quale dæmonium sit, quod placari aliter non potest; nisi illic, non aves, non quadrupedes, non denique sanguis humanus; sed multo sceleratius pudor humanus tanquam immolatus intereat. — Of these flowers neither is the earth productive, nor any fertile virtue; but Flora, the goddess of Flora, must be made the worthy parent of them, whose games

(6) Lactant. Divin. Institut. lib. i, cap. xx, pag. m. 60.

(7) August. Epist. cccii, pag. m. 865.

(a) *Varro affirm-
this, lib. iv. de
Lingua Latina.
See Vossius, de
Orig. Idolol. lib.
i, cap. xii, pag.
m. 93.*

feast [C]. Lactantius adds, that the senate found a way to hide from the public the original of so infamous an institution [D]; but, taking the advantage of the courtesan's name, they made them believe that Flora was the goddess presiding over flowers; and that, in order to have a good harvest, it was necessary to honour that goddess every year, and render her propitious to them. It may be questioned whether Lactantius affirmed that upon good authority; for since the worship of Flora was instituted in Rome by Tatius, king of the Sabins (a), and colleague with Romulus, that goddess must have been worshipped by the Sabins before the building of Rome: therefore it was not a courtesan who had chosen the Roman people for her heirs. They did not begin to celebrate the Floral games till the year of Rome 513 [E]. The way of paying the charges of them is a new proof against

Lactantius

' games are celebrated with such profligate licence and
' obscenity, that any one may understand, what demon
' it is that cannot be otherwise appeased. There no
' birds, no beasts, nor even human blood, but human
' modesty is butchered, and most impiously sacrificed.'

Pagan authors do not deny that naked women appeared before all the people at the Floral games, and they say that once Cato assisting at those games, and perceiving that his presence hindered the people from demanding those naked spectacles as usual, retired that he might not interrupt the feast: the people, at the sight of this condescension, followed him with repeated acclamations, and afterwards they did according to custom.

' Eodem (Marco Catone) Ludos Florales, quos Messius
' ædilis faciebat, spectante, populus, ut Mimæ nuda-
' rentur, postulare erubuit: quod cum ex Favonio,
' amicissimo sibi, una sedente, cognovisset, discessit à
' theatro, ne præsentia sua spectaculi consuetudinem
' impediret. Quem abeuntem ingenti plausu populus
' prosecutus, priscum morem jecorum in scenam re-
' vocavit; confessus, plus se majestatis uni tribuere,
' quam universo sibi vindicare (8). — The same

(8) Val. Maxim.
lib. ii, cap. x,
n. 8. Senec.
Epist. xlvii,
mentions the same
thing. Catonem
illum quo sedente
negatur populus
permisisse sibi
postulare flores
jocos nudanda-
rum meretricum.

' Cato, being present at the Floral games, which Mes-
' sius the ædile exhibited, the people had so much mode-
' sty as not to require that the courtesans should be strip-
' ped: which when he understood from Favonius, his in-
' timate friend who sat by him, he left the theatre, lest
' his presence might be a hindrance to the usual spectacle.
' The people followed him with loud acclamations, and
' then proceeded according to custom, declaring they had
' a greater regard for the majesty of that one man, than
' for that of the whole assembly.' Martial justly laughs
at this behaviour of Cato. Why did he go to those
games, since he knew what was practised there? Did he
go there only to go out again? This is what the poet re-
proaches him with. But he forgot the most material
part, which is, that Cato ought not to have withdrawn,
since he observed that his presence was so necessary to
correct an ill custom.

Nosces jocose dulce cum sacrum Floræ
Festisq; lusus & licentiam vulgi,
Cur in theatrum Cato severe venisti?

(10) Mart. Epigr.
iii, lib. i.

An ideo tantum veneras ut exires (9)?

Why cam'st thou, Cato, 'midst that gamesome crowd,
No stranger to the revels there allow'd?
Thou knew'st 'twas Flora's feast; why cam'st thou
then?

Was it for this — say — to go out again?

Juvenal in a few words gives a frightful idea of the leu-
dels of the Floral games,

----- dignissima prorsus

(16) Juven. Sat.
vi, ver. 249.

Floralis matrona tuba (10).

For Flora's scenes a dame exactly form'd.

[C] They were . . . the courtesans' feast.] Though
this is clear enough from the passages I have cited in
the preceding remark, yet I shall add the following
verses out of Ovid:

Turba quidem cur hos celebrent meretricia ludos,
Non ex difficili causâ pendenda subest.
Non est de tetricis, non est de magna professus,
Vult sua plebeio sacra patere choro.
Et monet ætatis specie, dum floreant, uti,
Contemni spinam cum cecidere rosæ (11).

(11) Ovid.
Fastor. lib. v,
ver. 349.

But why should Flora chuse that motley train
Her sacred scenes to tread? the reason's plain.

No stiffness she, no rigid rules admires,

But calls her vot'ries to plebeian choirs.

Their charms she bids them use, e'er they decay:

The rose once fall'n, the stalk is cast away.

Fine morality this! The goddess Flora would have
courtesans celebrate her festival, because it is fit to let
women know they are to make the most of their beau-
ty while it is in the bloom; for if they suffer their
prime to slip away, they will be despised like a rose
which has nothing left but its thorns: but how abomi-
nable forever this morality is, it is publicly taught
among christians in assemblies that are honoured with
the protection of the supreme power (12).

[D] The senate found a way to hide from the public
the knowledge of so infamous an institution.] I shall
cite Lactantius's words (13): ' Quod quia Senatui fla-
' gitiolum videbatur, ab ipso nomine argumentum su-
' mi placuit, ut pudendæ rei quædam dignitas addere-
' tur. Deam finxerunt esse, quæ floribus præsit, eam-
' que oportere placari, ut fruges cum arboribus, aut vi-
' tibus bene, prospereque florescerent. Eum colorem
' secutus in Fastis poeta non ignobilem Nympham fuisse
' narravit, quæ sit Chloris vocitata, eamque Zephyro
' nuptam quasi dotis loco id accepisse muneris à mari-
' to, ut haberet omnium florum potestatem. — And
' because it seemed shameful to the senate, to give an
' appearance of dignity to that infamous practice, they
' took advantage of the name, and pretended she was
' goddess of flowers, that she ought to be appeased, that
' the fruits, trees, and vines, might flourish and pro-
' sper. The poet, following this fiction in his Fasti, says
' she was a celebrated nymph, named Chloris, who mar-
' ried Zephyrus, by whom she was presented with a
' sovereign power over all flowers.'

[E] They did not begin to celebrate the Floral games
till the year of Rome 513.] This is Vossius's opinion
(14): Pliny, corrected by father Hardouin, confirms the
same. Before that Jesuit's edition, we read in Pliny,

' Floralia quarto Kalendas ejusdem (Maii) instituerunt
' urbis anno DXVI. ex oraculis Sibyllæ, ut omnia be-
' ne deflorescerent (15). — The Floral games were
' instituted by direction of the Sibylline oracles, the
' twenty eighth of April in the year of Rome 516, that
' all things might flourish and prosper.' But father

Hardouin, either by the help of manuscripts, or for
chronological reasons, hath restored in this passage
the year 514 (16). The following place in Velleius
Paterculus was very serviceable to him: ' Proximo
' anno Torquato Sempronioque Coss. Brundisium (co-
' lonis occupatum) & post triennium Spoletium: quo
' anno Floraliū ludorum factum est initium (17).
' — The next year, Torquatus and Sempronius being
' consuls, a colony was sent to Brundisium; and three
' years after another to Spoletium, in which year the Flo-
' ral games were instituted.' According to Titus Livius
and Pliny's chronology, the consulship of Torquatus and
Sempronius falls out in the year of Rome 510. ' In-
' cidit prior ille consulatus in annum Urbis DX. ex
' Liviana Plinianaque Chronologia, quo fit ut triennio
' interjecto Floraliū celebritas ludorum incurrat in
' annum DXIV (18). — The first consulate was
' in the year of the city 510, as appears from the chro-
' nology of Livy and Pliny: whence it follows, that the
' institution of the Floral games, which happened three
' years after, falls upon the year 514.' Since there-
fore the Floral games began three years after, the be-
ginning of them must be placed in the year 513. Father
Hardouin chuses rather to put it to the year 514, be-
cause no doubt he imagines there were three whole
years from the end of that consulship to the founding
of the colony of Spoletium. According to this ac-
count, it would be true that the Floral games began

(12) Comedies
and Operas are
full of such
doctrine.

(13) Lactant.
Divin. Institut.
lib. i, cap. xxi,
pag. 604.

(14) Vossius, de
Orig. Idolol. lib.
i, cap. xii, pag.
93.

(15) Plin. lib.
xviii, cap. xxi,
pag. m. 527.

(16) Prius DXVI
permutatis anno-
rum numeris le-
gebatur: nos tum
ex vestigiis veter-
um codicum,
tum ex induci-
tata temporum
ratione locum
eum sanavimus.
Hardouin. lib.
xviii. Plin.
n. 40.

(17) Patere. lib.
i, cap. xiv.

(18) Hardouinus
in Emendat.
Lib. xviii Plinii,
n. 40.

Lactantius [F]. From that time to the year 580 they were not annually celebrated, but only in case the intemperance of the seasons required it, or the books of the Sybils appointed it (b). This is another proof against Lactantius. At last, in the year of Rome 580, it was found proper to make an edict, ordering that those games should be annually celebrated [G.] This decree was caused by the irregularity of the spring, which had often produced pernicious effects. Vossius's reflection upon Lactantius's objection is not relished by every body [H]. He did not understand a passage of this father [I]. Moreri's mistakes may be seen below, [K].

(1) Vossius, *ibid.*

the fourth year after that consulship, that is to say, in the year 514. In my opinion, it is more natural to say that a thing, which happened three years after the year 510, fell out in the year 513. Note, that according to Pliny the Floral games began by order of the Sybil. Therefore it was not in execution of a court-zean's last will. Father Hardouin saw medals of the Servilian family with this inscription, FLORA PRIMUS, that is, according to him, *Floralia primus edidit* (19): from whence he concludes, that the first that exhibited those games was one of that family. But if the least credit is given to Ovid (20), it is certain the first that celebrated them were two ediles of the Publician family. This is confirmed by the medals (21), and Tacitus gives no little weight to the same, when he says that Lucius and Marcus Publicius caused the temple of Flora to be built in their edileship (22).

(19) *Id.* p. 557.

(20) Father.

lib. v.

(21) See Vossius,

de Orig. Idolol.

lib. i. cap. xii.

Page 91.

(22) Tacit. Ann.

lib. ii. cap. xlii.

Comes
Orem et
of fish
tine.

Lactant.
a. infans
i. cap. 14.
60a

(23) Vossius, de

Orig. Idolol. *lib.*

cap. xii. ex

Orticio, *Fals.*

lib. v.

[F] The way they paid the charges of them is a new proof against Lactantius. They fined those who had appropriated to their own use any lands belonging to the common-wealth, and out of those fines they defrayed the expences of the Floral games. 'Non ex Floræ vel meretricis cuiusquam hæreditate, sed ex pecunia multatitia eorum qui peculatus damnati forent' quia publicum populi Romani agrum occupassent (23). — Not out of the inheritance of Flora, or of any court-zean, but out of the fines of those who had been condemned for male-administration as having appropriated to themselves the lands of the public.

[G] In the year of Rome 580, a decree was made for celebrating those games annually. Ovid proves this; for he introduces the goddess Flora, who relates that having suffered the blossoms of the trees and vines to perish, to be revenged of the Romans for not celebrating the Floral games every year, she forced the senate to make a decree concerning that anniversary, if there was a good harvest. It proved good, and thus the decree began to be put in execution under the consulship of Posthumus and Lænas.

Convener Patres, & si bene floreat annus,
Numinibus nostris annua festa vocent.
Annuius voto. Consul cum consule ludos
Postumio Lænas persolvere mihi (24).

(24) Ovid. Fast.

lib. v. ver. 327.

Vossius, de
Idolol. *lib.*
cap. xii.
cap. 91.

Plin. lib.
cap. xlii.
p. 379.

To me the fathers annual feasts decreed,
If the year flourish, and the crops succeed.
Their words I heard; thanks for the friendly aid,
The consuls, Lænas and Posthumus, paid.

[H] Vossius's reflexion upon the objection of Lactantius is not liked by every body. After having displayed the proofs which overthrow that objection, he adds, that truth has no need to beg the assistance of falsehood, and therefore all that the fathers have written against the Gentiles is not to be depended upon.

(25) Vossius, de

Orig. Idolol.

lib. i. cap. xii.

Page 91.

(26) Blondel, of

the Sybils, *lib. i.*

cap. xxvi.

Cum veritas falsi minime sit indiga, non omnia alba signari linea oportere quæ veteres adversus pago dedites edisserunt (25). Blondel has freely enlarged upon this thought. 'We ought not, says he (26), to defend a good cause by ill chosen arguments, nor take up whatever seems to make for us, wherever it comes from. Yet this has been the practice of the fathers: for the desire of making an advantage of every thing, of forcing truth even from the mouth itself of falsehood, and of being like torrents which impetuously drive down their stream whatever comes in their way, has been the cause that many among them, that they might seem to let nothing escape their memory, have lost the best opportunities of giving proofs of their judgment, and have not only endeavoured to make all the thoughts of the Pagans, both solid and groundless, subservient to them, like great rivers that roll in their beds sands of gold mixed with mire, but have also gloried in this conduct, which has sometimes been fraudulent enough, as if they were allowed to say with Æneas in Virgil,

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?

In war, or strength or stratagem's allow'd.

From hence it was that St Jerome * giving way to this strange prejudice, has made no scruple to alledge in his own vindication, that the fathers have been forced to say, not what was their own opinion, but what was necessary to refute what the Pagans believe. Nay he endeavours to justify them by St Paul's example, but without reason, since the apostle never authorized this abuse by his own example, nor believed all methods indifferent, nay praise worthy, provided they served to the overthrow of error, &c.

* Apolog. ad
Pammachium
pro libris ad
Jovinianum.

[I] Vossius did not understand a passage of this father. This father (27) upbraids the Romans with the apotheosis of a court-zean, whose festival was called *Larentinalia*. He adds that they paid divine honours to another prostitute, viz. to Paula, who, according to Verrius, was Hercules's whore. Afterwards he speaks of Flora in the terms above mentioned. Vossius pretends that Lactantius has not distinguished Paula from Flora, but that instead of Paula it should be read Flaura. Now Flaura was the ancient way of writing Flora: thus *caudex* was changed into *codex*, and many other words in like manner (28). All this comes to nothing, when it is considered that the Paula of Lactantius was Hercules's concubine, and that the Flora, he speaks of, left all her estate to the Roman people. Thus the most celebrated authors for want of attention fall into gross mistakes.

(27) Lactantius
lib. i. cap. 28.

(28) Suspect
prisco more Flauram
scripsisse
(Lactantium) id
est Floram, quod
ex altero factum
Vossius, de Orig.
Idolol. *lib. i. cap.*
xii. pag. 92.

[K] Moreri's mistakes may be seen below. I. He says they made feasts to Flora the beginning of May. This is to understand the 4 *Kalendas Maii* in another sense than any body else, that knows the elements of learning. The fourth of the Kalends of May is the twenty eighth of April. It must not be said these feasts extended to the beginning of May; for the laws of a narration do not allow that the time of a festival should be described by the last days of it rather than the first. Good Rosinus (29) fancied that at first the Floral games were celebrated in the month of April, and afterwards transferred to the following month. The verses of Ovid, which he alledges, were beyond his reach, and yet they clearly signify, that those games took in the last days of April, and the first days of May.

(29) Rosinus.
Antiquit. Romæ
lib. v. cap. 24.

Incipis Aprili, transis in tempora Maii,
Alter te fugiens, cum venit alter, habet.
Cum tua sint cedantque tibi confinia mensum,
Convenit in laudes ille vel ille tuas (30).
In April you commence, thence pass to May,
And changing thus enjoy a double sway;
To you the confines of both months belong,
And either this or that may suit your song.

(30) Ovid. Fast.
lib. v. ver. 185.
Rosinus has not
quoted the two
last.

(31) Pompey,
Panth. Mythol.
pag. 218, 219.

II. None of the authors, cited by Moreri, say that during the Floral games, the ediles strewed the way with blossoms of peas and beans. He has got this from some modern, perhaps from the Jesuit Pompey, who says that during that solemnity the ediles distributed to the people peas and beans and such like pulse (31). He cites Valerius Maximus *l. 2. c. 5*. But look for it there as long you please, you will find no such thing. No doubt Pompey trusted to Tiræqueau's commentary upon Alexander ab Alexandro (32), where this false quotation is to be found. I believe he has not been more lucky in citing Plutarch: he says, by a strange and unpardonable way of quoting (33), that that author informs us that the image of the goddess Flora, in the temple of Castor and Pollux, was dressed in a tunic, and carried blossoms of beans and peas in her right hand (34). I am very much mistaken if Plutarch has said any thing more, than that Cecilius Metellus consecrated in the temple of Castor and Pollux the picture of Flora, the mistress of Pompey the great, who was one of the finest women in Rome. III. All the authors Moreri cites are wrong cited (35).

(32) Libro vi,
cap. viii, pag. m.

513.

(33) I mean
without citing
any volume, or
book, or any
thing.

(34) Pompey, ubi
supra, pag. 218,
219.

(35) He cites
Lactantius, with-
out mentioning
the book, and
Valerius Maxi-
mus, *lib. ii.*
cap. v. where he
says nothing of
the Floral
Games; and
Ovid in the
fourth *Fasto* in-
stead of the fifth.

F L O R A

(a) His name was Geminus.

(b) Plutarch, in Pompeio, init. pag. 619.

FLORA, a famous courtesan of Rome, was passionately loved by Pompey, and had so great value for him, that she would never submit to the pressing solicitations of another gallant (a), till Pompey himself interceded for him. Pompey did this, because that other gallant, who was one of his intimate friends, begged a word of recommendation from him to Flora (b). From that time Pompey, vexed no doubt at his great interest with her, and that he had found so much complaisance, went no more to visit that mistress, which threw her into so deep a melancholly, that she continued a long time sick of it (c). When she grew old, she took a particular pleasure in telling of the happy hours she had spent with Pompey, and even would observe that she never left his arms without being bit by him [A]. Plutarch observes, that Pompey had

(c) Τὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀπο-
τὴν ὡς ἔτα-
ρῶν ἐνέγκαν
ἀλλὰ τοῦ
ὡς ἀπὸς καὶ
τὸν ἡρώου
νοήσαν. ἰδὲ
non meretricia
levitate tuliffi,
verum ex amore
& desiderio per-
diu ærotasse.
Plutarch. in
Pomp. pag. 619.

[A] Without being bit by him.] Girac affirms that Amiot did not understand this Greek of Plutarch, *Φλόραν δὲ τὴν ἑταίραν ἔρασαν ἢ δὴ προσέ-
τίραν ἔσαν ἐπικῶς ἀεὶ μνημονεύειν τῆς γενο-
μένης αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐμῆρας, λέγον-
σαν ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνῳ συναναπαυσασμένην, ἀδύνα-
τος ἀπελθεῖν.* Amiot's translation amounts to this: It is also reported that Flora the courtesan, when she grew old, took a great deal of pleasure to speak frequently of the familiarity she had in her younger days with Pompey, saying it was impossible when she lay with him to leave him without biting him. This is not the sense of the original. The Latin translator has not been more exact. *Floram meretricem ejus natu jam grandiorē fere semper commemorantem suam cum Pompejo consuetudinem, dicere solitam non potuisse se ab illo concubitu sine aculeo discedere.* I am not the first who made this remark against Amiot; I have read the same in Girac's reply, where he censures his antagonist for having compared his teeth to those of the fair Roman lady, who loved Pompey, and who never left him without fondly biting of him. He censures Costar in the following manner. 'This application betrays a great deal of ignorance; for it was not Flora who bit Pompey, but Pompey who bit Flora, as the Greek text has it in very precise and intelligible words. If Mr Costar does not understand that language, and if his Amiot has deceived him, should not the sequel of the discourse have set him right; for what reason would so judicious an author as Plutarch have observed, in the person of Flora, a lasciviousness common to women of her profession? his business was only to draw Pompey's character, to enter into his private life, and give posterity an account of the most secret motions of so illustrious a commander (1).' Mr de Girac was not satisfied with this criticism only, and he was in the right of it; it was more necessary to shew the moral fault his adversary was guilty of. Therefore he sharply reproaches him with not being ashamed to compare himself with a courtesan so famous in the Roman history for her prostitutions. He thinks it strange that an archdeacon and priest should have learned from that lewd woman, the fine art of biting gallantly. As for him he congratulates himself, that he was not under the slavery of love, since he is a master full of rage and fury (2). Which rage, continues he, as Lucretius says, never appears with more transport than in the enjoyment of the vilest pleasures; it urges them on to wound, and bite those they love most. The poets often mention these bitings.

(1) Girac, Replique, Sect. viii, pag. m. 73.

(2) Id. pag. 72.

Quod petere premunt arte, faciuntque dolorem
Corporis, & dentes inlidunt sæpe labellis,
Osculaque adfigunt, quia non est pura voluptas:
Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant lædere id ipsum
Quodcumque est, rabies unde illæ hæc germina sur-
gunt.*

* Lucret. lib. iv, ver. 1072.

He strains at all, and fast'ning where he strains,
Too closely presses with his frantic pains:
With biting kisses burts the twining fair,
Which sweets his joys imperfect, unsincere;
For stung with inward rage he flings around,
And strives to avenge the smart on that which gave
the wound.

Immediately after he speaks of Flora and Pompey. The poets are not the only persons who mention these bitings. Cicero entertained the court with them in one of his pleadings against Verres. He affirmed that, if the accused would show his breast, there would

appear, not those glorious scars which brave men receive in the wars, but such as lewd persons get in the exercise of infamous pleasures. 'Hic scilicet est metum endum ne ad exitum defensionis tuæ (3), vetus illa Antoniana dicendi ratio atque autoritas proferatur, ne excitetur Verres, ne denudetur à pectore, ne cicatrices populus Romanus aspiciat ex mulierum morfu vestigia libidinis atque nequitiae (4). — Here it is to be dreaded, lest, at the close of your defence, the Antonian method and authority of speaking should be introduced, lest his breast should be laid bare, lest the Roman people should behold those scars, the marks of female teeth, received in lewd embraces, and the war of lust.' Those who have a mind to see several passages of the poets concerning these bitings, may consult Dionysius Lambinus's commentary upon the following words in the XIIth ode of the first book of Horace.

Sive puer furens
Impresit memorem dente labris notam.
Non, si me satis audias,
Speres perpetuum, dulcia barbaræ
Lædentem oscula, quæ Venus
Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuat.

When on those passive lips the marks I find
Of frantic boiling kisses left behind,
How fond's the hope, how foolish and how vain,
Of lasting love from the ungrateful swain!
Who that soft lip so roughly can invade,
And hurt with cruel joy the tender maid.
Quickly they're glutt'd who so fierce devour;
They suck the nectar, and throw by the flower.

GLANVILLE.

Not that this author has collected together all that the poets have said of this matter: perhaps he has omitted more than he has quoted. I have observed that among other passages he forgot that of Ausonius, concerning the amorous fury of certain Eunuchs. The Jesuit Theophilus Raynaud remembered it well (5). S. Basilus l. de vera virgin. sub finem distinguit duplicem eunuchismum scilicet. Unum quo excinditur tota virilitas . . . alium quo soli didymi auferuntur. Priores Eunuchos negat S. Basilus (6). De posterioribus ait, eos acrius atque ardentius inflammari libidine, & impatientissime ferri ad complexum. Et cum obstructis per excisionem superioribus meatibus, non possint humorem in lumbis inflammatum emittere: non alleviantur per complexum, ut ii quibus vasa sunt integra & expedita; & emissione concupiscentiæ flagrantis remittunt ardorem; sed pruritu assiduo stimulat, aguntur in rabiem, nec desistunt donec fatigatio cassos conatus disturbet. Probat hoc S. Basilus, gemino suæ ætatis exemplo, quorum alterum est de falsa ingenuæ Virgine sacra, spurcum Eunuchum totum toti affusum, cum non haberet, qui cœtrum concupiscentiæ sedaret, ardentem rabiem moribus ac infixis dentibus indicasse. Annu-
it Ausonius epigr. 160 (7) sic canens.

Defectos sic fama viros, ubi casta libido
Fœmineos cœtus, & non sua bella læscit
Irrita vexato consumere gaudia læsto;
Titillata brevi cum jam sub fine voluptas
Fervet, & ingesto peragit ludibria morfu.

See what is said upon this subject in the remark [D] of the article ADONIS; and the remark [A] of the article LAMIA the courtesan.

(5) In Tractatu de Eunuchis, cap. v, parage ii, n. 12, pag. m. 143.

(6) You may find matter wherewith to fill up this chaste in citat. (12. of the article COMBATUS.

(7) In my edition of Ausonius, which is that of Amsterdam, 1671, these verses are in the 108th Epigram.

A physician

had a particular talent of obtaining the love of women [B], and that Flora was so beautiful, that Cecilius Metellus got her picture drawn, in order to consecrate it with some others in the temple of Castor and Pollux (d). This was neither the first nor the last time that the picture of a courtesan has had the like honour [C]. I know not whether this action of Cecilius Metellus did not contribute to the error mentioned in the preceding article, in which I shewed that Lactantius was in the wrong to say the Floral games were celebrated in honour of a courtesan. A modern author, who no doubt was not ignorant of Lactantius's error, has not however totally avoided the same [D]. I shall observe whence Montagne had been informed that *Flora the courtesan yielded herself to none less than a Dictator, or Consul, or Censor, and that her pleasure*

(d) Plutarch.
ibid.

A physician of Paris, much better skilled in the Greek tongue than Coltar, is mistaken no less than he in the passage in Plutarch. * Sic Flora, says he (8), * nobile apud Romanos scortum, & forma egregia, * cum ardentius Pompeium Magnum tum adolescentem deperiret, dicere solebat (ut quidem refert Plutarchus) nunquam se ab ejus amplexibus discedere potuisse nisi corpore ejusdem demorsio. — So Flora, says he, a renowned courtesan of Rome of exquisite beauty, and passionately enamoured of Pompey, who was then young, used, as Plutarch informs us, to say, * that she did never quit his embraces without leaving the mark of her teeth upon his body. Note, he observes some very curious things upon the brutality of love, and insinuates that it urges not only to bite the beloved object, but also to desire to eat it. He applies to this a passage in Plato, where love is compared to hunger, and to the eagerness wherewith wolves hunt after lambs. τὴν ἐρασὲν φιλιαν, ὅτι ἐστὶ μετ' ἐννοίας γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σιτίῃ τρόπον, χάριν ὡς ποταμῶν, &c. Amatoris amicitiam, non benevolentia ulla, sed aviditate quadam expletionis velut cibi consistere, &c. (9). — The affection of a lover consists not in benevolence, but, like hunger, in the gratification of the senses.

(19) Plato, in
Phaedrus, apud
Peterson, ibid.
pag. 105.

[B] Pompey had a particular talent of obtaining the love of Women. He proves it both by the testimony of Flora, and the behaviour of his wife Julia. She was a young woman married to a Man, not young, and yet loved him passionately. Pompey secured this affection both by his strict adherence to his conjugal faith and by his engaging manner towards the fair sex. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λέγεται, καὶ περιέχοντο τὴν τῆς κόρης τὸ φιλιαν, ὅτι ἐστὶ μετ' ἐννοίας ποταμῶν τὸν Πομπηίου. ἀλλ' αὐτίον οἰκιστὴν ἵτε σωφροσύνην τὴν ἀνδρὸς εἶναι, μὴν γυναικὸς τὴν γυναικὸς, ἥτε σεμνότητι, καὶ ἀκριτον ἀλλ' εὐχάριν ἔχουσα τὴν ἐμύλιαν καὶ μάλα γυναικῶν ἀγωγὴν, εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ φιλιαν ἀλῶναι τὴν ἐταίραν ψευδομαρτυρίαν. Nam ea quoque fama est, celebratque fuit illius in virum amor: non quod propter ætatis florem Pompeji desiderio flagraret, verum in causa videtur illius continentia fuisse unam cognoscentis uxorem: & severitas non cum aulera sed jucunda conjuncta conversatione, quæ duceret imprimis mulieres: nisi meretur damanda Flora falsi testimonii sit (10). — Her affection for her husband was greatly extolled, not that she was captivated by his youth; the cause appears to be his conjugal fidelity, and the winning complaisance of his conversation, which had a mixture of majesty and sweetness, if the testimony of Flora, his mistress, may be credited.

(10) Plutarch.
in Pompeio, pag.
647. R.

(11) Plin. lib.
xxv, cap. x.

(12) Athen.
lib. xiii.

(13) Remon.
[C] and [G].

(14) Anon. lib.
vi, pag. 199.

(15) M. lib.
pag. 158.

(16) Lib. xxxv,
cap. 2.

(17) Vol. IV,
pag. 479. I

(18) Vol. IV,
pag. 479. I

(19) Vol. IV,
pag. 479. I

(20) Vol. IV,
pag. 479. I

where you have these words. * Quid factum sit aperiit Molanus (18) in libro de Piæuris sacris, cap. 29. . . . Visæ inquit quandoque in locis ubi non decuit divorum imagines viventium adhuc hominum ora vultusque referre, ut hoc umbratice velamento illorum quos amabant effigie pascere oculos. Ad quas selectas & procaciter venustas formas pingi solere imagines deiparæ Virginis probe norunt pictores. — Molanus, in his Treatise of holy Paintings, sheweth what practices have been used. Pictures, says he, have been seen in very improper places, representing saints, whose features have exactly answered to those of persons still living, that under this symbolical dress they might feed their eyes with the effigies of those they loved. From what select and beautiful, but dishonest originals, the pictures of the virgin mother have been drawn, painters well know. I shall conclude with a passage out of the News from the Republic of Letters. * The author (19) . . . explains a medal of Julian the apostate, upon which on one side is seen Serapis, perfectly resembling Julian, and on the other the figure of an Hermaphrodite. It was no unusual thing to see statues of men altogether like those of some God. Flattery or vanity has often been the cause of this disorder. Pliny mentions a painter who always drew the goddesses like the mistresses, he was in love with. This might give Justin Martyr occasion to say, laughing at the pagans, that they worshipped their painters mistresses. But I know not whether it is very fair to make the heathens responsible for the fancies of a Zeuxis, or a Lyfippus. What would be said of a man that should pretend, that those, who believe they worship the image of St Charles Borromeo, worship nothing but a picture made at pleasure, and the caprice of a painter? I say this because, tho' that saint was very homely, he is painted very handsome. This is an unavoidable thing in all religions where images are used: you must submit to the licence of workmen, and must depend upon them for the air and shape of the objects of devotion. Deos ea facie novimus quæ pictores & scultores voluerunt. We know the gods only by such faces as the painters and sculptors please to give them, said the men of sense among the pagans. Yet this ought not to encourage such abuses: for instance, it was not to be born, that the image of the Virgin should be made at Rome from the picture and resemblance of a sister to Pope Alexander VI, who was indeed very beautiful, but not very virtuous (20). See the remark [E] of the article DÜRER.

(18) He cites in the margin, as Voëtius says, Fredericus Scenecius à Tautenburg ultimus Episcopus Ultrajectinus libro de Imaginibus, cap. xlii, xlii.

(19) Viz. Dr. Spon. See his Miscellanea Erudita Antiquitatis, pag. 13.

† Vavaffor, de Formis Christi, pag. 200.

† Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l.

† Rabelais, Epitre xv.

(20) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Septemb. 1685, art. x, pag. 1028.

(21) Dialog. I, of Orasius Tubero, pag. m. 46, 47.

[D] A modern author . . . has not wholly avoided Lactantius's error. This modern is la Mothe le Vayer. These are his words which tend to show, that all things are but opinion, and that it is by this, and not by a natural and immutable law, that vice differs from virtue. * None, says he (21), but common whores and Hortacio's wenches are infamous among us; a Lais, a Rhodope, an Acca Laurentia, who leaves money enough to make the Roman people her heirs, a Flora, a Faustina, deserve temples and altars. The most celebrated of the Egyptian pyramids was built in honour of a king's daughter, who desired only one stone of each of those who lay with her, with which notwithstanding she built that prodigious edifice, after she had enriched her father Ethiopians by that pretty pastime. It is plain he did not believe, that the courtesan Flora made the Roman people her heirs, for he ascribes this action only to Laurentia. Yet he supposes that Flora, one of the goddesses of Rome, had been a famous courtesan: but this is a mistake; This is endeavouring to support the building when the foundation is ruined. There is no other courtesan Flora, but that mentioned by Lactantius, and the who

loved

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58 FLORA. FLORIMONT. FONTARABIA.

(e) Montagne, *Essais*, liv. iii, chap. iii, pag. m. 71.

arose from the dignity of her lovers (e) [E]. Brantome has refined upon Montagne, and said many things without foundation [F].

(12) In the remarks of the preceding article.

loved Pompey. The latter did not come into the world till after the institution of the Floral games, and we have seen (22) that the other did not institute them. Our modern author did not pretend that she left her estate to the Roman commonwealth. Where then did he find the apotheosis of a courtesan named Flora?

(23) Huic si Mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis Diceret hæc animus, quid vis tibi? nunquid ego à te Magna prognatum deposito consule cunnum, Velatunque flo-la, mea cum conferbuit ira? *Hor. Sat. II, lib. i, vers. 68.*

[E] I shall observe whence Montagne had it . . . that her pleasure arose from the dignity of her lovers.] Horace censures certain debauchees for following the same maxims (23). See also Perseus's *Patricæ immetat vulgæ*, towards the end of the last satire. We shall see, in the following remark, that a very late writer (24) furnished Montagne with this fine particular.

(24) Antoine de Guevara.

[F] Brantome has . . . said many things without any foundation.] He says (25) that the courtesan Flora was of a good family and extraction, and in this was more commendable than Laïs, who, like a common strumpet, abandoned herself to every body; but Flora only to the great, so that she wrote over her door, let none but kings, princes, dictators, consuls, censors, pontiffs, questors, ambassadors, and other great lords come in. Laïs would always be paid before hand, but Flora not; saying she behaved thus to great men, that they might also act by her as great and illustrious persons; and that thus a woman of great beauty and high birth will always be esteemed according to the value she sets upon herself.

(25) Vie des Dames Galantes, Tom. I, pag. 313, & seq.

FLORIMONT (GALEACIUS) Disciple of Augustin Niphus, lived a long time at Paris in the quality of agent to Anthony Colonna, and made himself known to the learned men, who at that time were formed in the school of James Faber Stapulensis. He published in Italian a treatise of morality, and was made bishop of Sessa (a). Fracastor dedicates one of his poetical pieces to Marc Antony Flaminus, and to Galeacius Florimont, and thereby shews that they applied themselves to the study of divinity.

(2) Taken from Naudé, in *Judicio* de August. Nipho, pag. 47.

[A] Fracastor . . . shews that M. A. Flaminus and Florimont applied themselves to the study of divinity.] Thus the poem begins:

Dum vos fatidicos vates, arcanæque sensa
Volvit, atque animum cœlesti nectare alentes,
Alloquiis, magnoque Dei consuecitis ori,
Fœlices Duce Gibberto, Campense Magistro:
Quid dicam miserum me agere, & quam ducere
vitam, &c. (1)

(1) Fracastor, pag. 68, *Carmin. Edit. Genev.* 1637.

Whilst you revolve each sage by heaven inspir'd,
And, their mysterious sense exploring, feed
Your souls with Nectar, from the sacred page:
Whilst you, by Gibbert and Campensis taught,
To heav'n aspiring, with your God converse,
What shall I say, I do? how pass my days!

FONTARABIA, a city of Spain on the river of Bidasso, near the sea, was built, they say, by king Suintilla [A]. Alphonfus IX, king of Castile, took it from Sanchez, king of Navarre (a), and granted the inhabitants the same privileges that king Sanchez his father had granted to the city of St Sebastian. Some pretend that Fontarabia was formerly a city of Guienne under the viscount of Bayonne (b). It's situation on this side of the Pyrenean mountains favours their opinion: Besides that, in ecclesiastical matters, it was under the bishop of Bayonne till the year 1571 (c). See in Moreri an account of the taking this town by the French in the reign of Francis I, the succours they threw into it, and the cowardice of the governor, who surrendered it to the Spaniards. Moreri should not have omitted the disgrace the French suffered before this place in the year 1638, two days after the birth of Lewis XIV [B]; which no doubt

(a) Oihenart, *Notitia Vasconiarum*, pag. 168.

(b) Baudrand, *Geograph.* pag. 337.

(c) *Ibid.*

[A] It was built they say by Suintilla.] Beuterus affirms this, but Oihenart will not believe it. 'A Suintilla Rege Gotho conditam fuisse affirmat Beuterus lib. 3. cap. 27. Sed quis credat Beutero sine teste loquenti in re adeo antiqua, & à nostro ævo remota? mihi certe nulla suppetunt argumenta quæ huic oppido tantæ vetustatis decus concilient (1). Beuterus affirms, that this town was built by Suintilla king of the Goths. But who can give credit to Beuterus when he speaks without any authority of a fact so remote from our times? at least I can meet with no arguments which can induce me to believe it has that antiquity.'

(1) Oihenart, *Notitia Vasconiarum*, pag. 168.

[B] The disgrace the French suffered before this place in 1638, two days after the birth of Lewis XIV.] This was one of the greatest disgraces of the reign of Lewis the just, and the ministry of cardinal Rich-

lieu. Hear Balzac on this (2): 'Let us never speak a word of * * * *. It is the shame and ignominy of the French name; it is a day which the Romans would have called *Scelerata*, and we ought to call *curfæd*. Posterity must abhor it, or rather should be kept from the knowledge of it, and we should if possible efface it from the year one thousand. . . .

Que ce jour soit rayé des choses avenües
Jupiter le commande aux trois Filles chenuës
Qui tiennent Registre des Temps.

There commands the fatal day to be razed out of the records of time.

(2) It is a letter he wrote to Châlain, the eleventh of the third book. He has put asterisks in several places to leave the reader in the dark. I am confident, for the same reason, he has put a false date at the bottom of the letter. He has made it the 8th of May, instead of the 8th of October, 1638, because he would not offend a prince of the blood: it was the prince of Condé, who commanded at the siege.

* There

doubt was looked upon as a wonderful omen by the Spaniards [C]. Lewis the just, and cardinal Richlieu, were exceedingly exasperated against the supposed authors of that disgrace [D].

Joseph Moret, a Spanish Jesuit, has written a large account in Latin of this siege of Fontarabia. I do not find in the copy I make use of (d) the year of the impression; but the epistle dedicatory being dated from Segovia the twelfth of April 1654, and the approbation of the provincial of the Jesuits, bearing date the fifth of March 1655, it may be supposed this work was published soon after the defeat of the French.

(d) It is a book in 16mo, of 467 pages.

'There are some people to whom fortune owes a grudge, and in whose hands the fairest opportunities miscarry. When the design is to raise sieges and lose armies, none are fitter to be employed: immediately, all places become Acro-corinths, and all enemies meer Alexanders.' It is plain that by the people to whom fortune owes a grudge, he designs to hint at the prince of Condé (3). This was saying gravely and respectfully the jest of the song. He will take Fontarabia, Zest, just as he took Dole (4).

(3) He was grand father to the prince of Condé, living this present year, 1655.

(4) See Richelieu's dictionary, at the word Zest.

(5) The seventh of September, 1658.

[C] Which no doubt was looked upon as a wonderful omen by the Spaniards. Without doubt their poets and orators set off the circumstance of the time with all possible pomp: a signal triumph, a complete victory, two days after (5) the birth of a Dauphin, France had been so many years waiting for. What auspicious omen this for Spain! what may she not expect under the reign of a French prince, the first days of whose life are made memorable by a battle most glorious to the Spaniards, most shameful to France? perhaps the first courier that arrived at the court of France, after the Dauphin's birth, was he that brought the fatal news of the siege of Fontarabia being raised: what a horoscope! O happy presage for the Spanish monarchy! I am sure that all the poetic sallies of the Spanish writers on this subject might fill a volume, and after all what has been the issue of all these good omens? like the Sybilline oracles written upon leaves, the wind has carried them away (6). All poetical pens, whether they write in prose or verse, should know that it is not their business to prophecy. The queen of France was delivered of a prince, just at the time when express after express brought an account of the progress of Lewis XIVth's arms in Holland in 1672. Upon which what did not the French poets say? what triumphs did they not promise a prince who was born in the midst of so much good news? and yet he lived but a little while.

(6) Follis tantum ne carmina mandas. Ne turbata voluisti rapidis ludibria ventis. Virgil. Æneid. lib. vi, ver. 74.

(7) Nimrod Jofet. See the letter Balzac wrote to him. It is the fiftieth of the third book, of the Lettres choisies.

(8) Balzac mentions this in the said letter. See Celler's Apology, pag. 92.

(9) In the life of Alexander, near the beginning.

(10) Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, lib. ii, cap. xxvii.

'ander was born the same night that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt, adds, that it was no wonder the goddess should be absent from home, when the labour of Olympias called for her presence.'

[D] Lewis XIII and Richlieu were extremely exasperated against the supposed authors of that disgrace. The duke de la Valette, eldest son to the duke d'Espèron, was looked upon as the chief author of that miscarriage. He durst not surrender himself whilst his conduct was inquired into, but fled into England. The council of state declared him 'convict of high treason for having basely and perfidiously deserted the king's service at the siege of Fontarabia, and of felony, for going out of the kingdom contrary to the king's orders, and for this he was condemned to lose his head at the Greve, if he could be taken, or in effigy if he could not, to lose all his employments, and his estate to be confiscated (11).' I observe that the king cleared him from the charge of cowardice. 'The question is not, said he (12), either of the cowardice or unskillfulness of the duke de la Valette, for I know he wants neither bravery nor capacity, but he would not take Fontarabia.' Every body was not of Lewis XIIIth's opinion. See the following words of the Menagiana (13). 'At the time that Mr d'Espèron retired into England, being charged with running away in a fight, Monf. Peirec wrote to the great Bignon, and asked him if a man could be condemned to death for want of courage. Monf. Bignon answered that there was no law upon which such a sentence could be founded. The laws at most only condemn to death the first that flies, to make an example for the rest.' Mr Menage's memory, as good as it was, failed him here; for Mr Peirec died fifteen months (14) before the defeat at Fontarabia more or less: and it is certain the duke de la Valette retired into England merely on account of that defeat. After all, what the king said is more probable, and it was not upon this occasion alone, that hatred to the cardinal had cost that monarch the loss of a battle. There was no criminal attempt, the enemies of that prelate did not practise. They wished success to the Spaniards, and sometimes procured it for them, purely with a view to ruin the cardinal, who could never have maintained his credit unless the king's arms had been successful. But here is another fault. His creatures sometimes lost a battle out of complaisance to him; at least it was suspected the marshal de Grammont suffered himself to be routed at Honnecour, in order to do him service (15). The cardinal was retired from court: what could be more for his interest, than to put the affairs of the kingdom into confusion? was not this the way to have it said, that as soon as he quitted the helm, every thing went ill? and was not this the means to have him recalled, that he might remedy what had happened amiss in his absence? thus the happiness of a whole people, and even the honour of princes, are sacrificed to the interest of a minister.

(11) History of Cardinal Richelieu, printed at Amsterdam, 1694, Tom II, pag. 364, 365.

(12) Id. p. 364.

(13) Pag. 259, of the first Dutch Edition.

(14) The 24th of June, 1672. See Gassendus, in his Life, pag. m. 347, 349.

(15) Whoever reads the Mémoires de Puyfève, where this battle of Honnecour is described (it is pag. m. 254, & seq.), cannot help thinking the marshal Grammont had ordered to lose the day.

FONTE (MODERATA). Under this name a Venetian lady has published her works. Her true name was Modesto Pozzo (a). She is author of a poem intituled *il Floridoro*, and of another Italian poem upon the passion and resurrection of JESUS CHRIST. Besides this poem, and divers others, she published in prose a book *de Meriti delle Donne*, in which she maintains, that the female sex is not inferior to the male sex. I have taken this from a book intituled *Le Cose notabili & maravigliose della Città di Venezia, già riformate & accomodate da Leonico Goldoni, & bora grandemente ampliate da Zuanne Zilio*. See there page 311 of the Venice edition 1655. I was surprized that there is no mention of the year of the birth or death of this lady, nor any other circumstance of her life; but I have found elsewhere something to supply this defect [A].

(a) She preserved the sense of her name under the word *Fleur*, which answers to Pozzo, and that of *moderata*, which answers to Fonte.

[A] There is no circumstance of her life in the supplied elsewhere. Father Hilarion de Costa informs me that this lady (i) was born at Venice in Modesto Pozzo 1555; di Zorzi.

See the remark. Mr Moreri, under the word *Puy*, relates something concerning this illustrious woman.

1555; that she lost her father and mother, the first year of her life; that in her youth she was put into the nunnery of St Mariba of Venice; that she learned with great ease poetry and the Latin tongue; that she had so excellent a memory, that when she had heard a sermon she could repeat it word by word; that her book of the merit of women was published presently after her death; that she was honourably married to Philip de Georgiis, and lived twenty years with him in great harmony, after which she died in childbirth the first of November 1592; that her husband erected a monument to her upon which was engraved this epitaph: 'Modeste à Puteo fœminæ doctissimæ, quæ

'varios virtutis partus Moderatæ Fontis nominæ rhytmis Etruscis (quibus memoranda cecinit) & sermone continuo feliciter enixa, naturæ partum dum ederet, puellæ vitam, sibi verò mortem (proh dolor) ascevit, Philippus de Georgiis Petri in officio super aquis, pro sereniss. Do. publici jura defendens, amantissimæ conjugii P. obiit anno Domini 1592 Kal. Novemb. That John Nicholas Doglioni has written the life of this lady in Italian in 1593; that father Peter Paul Ribera made a panegyric upon this learned heroine in his theatre of learned women; and that N. di Zorzi her daughter wrote a preface to her works (2).

(2) Taken from Hilarion de Coite, Eloges des Dames Illustres, Tom. II. pag. 717, & seq.

(a) It is now called *Arbrifec*.

(b) Baldricus, in vita Rob. Arbriff. cap. i, n. 10, apud Joann. de la Mainferme, in Clypeo nacentis Fontebraledensis Ordinis, Tom. I, p. 317.

(c) Corruptissimi seculi fastidiosus Robertus in Credonensis desertum abscondit se. Mainferme, *ibid.* Tom. II, pag. 498.

(d) That of St Nicholas at Angers.

(e) Mirabili ejus facundia captus illius regionis princeps Baro Credonensis Abbatum beatissimæ Virginis construxit, cui de Rota cognominatæ Robertum præfexit Abbatem. — The baron of Craon, governor of the country, was so charmed with his wonderful eloquence, that he founded an abbey to the blessed Virgin, which he named de Rota, and made Robert abbot of it. Jo. de la Mainferme, Clypei, Tom. I, pag. 28.

FONTEVRAUD, or rather FRONTEVAUX [A], a famous abbey in the diocese of Poitiers and province of Anjou, acknowledges for its founder ROBERT D'ARBRISSEL. We promised to say something here of this person, and shall now perform it. He was born about the year 1047, in the village of Arbriffel (a), seven leagues from Rennes. In 1074 he went to Paris, where he was made doctor of divinity. A certain bishop of Rennes, who, though he was not learned, yet was a lover of learned men [B], and bestowed upon them employments, called him back into Brittany, about the year 1085, and conferred upon him the dignity of Arch-Priest and Official, and had the pleasure to see him oppose the licentiousness which infested his diocese. The quarrels, simony, and fornication of the clergy, had introduced strange confusion there. After labouring four years to extirpate these disorders, Robert, finding himself exposed by the death of his bishop, to the ill will of the Canons, who were not at all pleased with his reforming spirit (b), bent his thoughts another way. He went to teach divinity at Angers; but he grew so weary of the world, on account of the corruption of manners, which he found prevailed every where, that he retired into a desert (c). The austere life he led there was soon known, and many persons resorted to him, both to hear, and see a saint. Some of these he kept with him, and, about the year 1094, began to form a sort of a college of regular canons. Urban II, being in France two years after, heard so good a character of him that he sent for him, and, being desirous to hear him preach, ordered him to pronounce a sermon at the dedication of a church (d). He was so edified by it, that he created him apostolical preacher. The baron de Craon was so moved with the sermon, that the next day he founded an abbey, and gave it to Robert (e). The new abbot discharged the functions of that office till the year 1098. Then he considered that his character of apostolical preacher did not allow him to be always confined to the same place with his regular canons; wherefore he renounced his abbey and travelled from place to place in order to exercise his talent of preaching. Having done this for two years, followed by a great multitude of men and women, he resolved to rest, and to fix his tabernacles in the forest of Frontevaux. In this place he wanted nothing; people from all sides zealously supplying all manner of necessities for the subsistence of the devout souls he had about him. So that he was very soon in a condition to give alms of what was over and above what he wanted. We must not forget that, at the same time, there were two other famous preachers who agreed with him to divide the two sexes

(1) In St Bernard's 200th letter, this place is called Fons Ebraldi. Menage, Orig. de la Langue Française, pag. 336. Edit. 1694.

(2) Cited by Menage, *ibid.* See also his History of Sablé, pag. 89, 90.

(3) Mainferme, in Clypeo nacentis Fontebraledensis Ordinis, Tom. II, pag. 47.

(4) Albricus, in vita Roberti Arbriff. cap. ii, n. 8, apud Joann. de la Mainferme, *ibid.* pag. 48.

[A] Or rather FRONTEVAUX The Latin name in all the ancient charters is Fons-Ebraldi (1). According to that original, it should be called *Fontevraux*, and some call it so. But Mr Menage affirms it should be called *Frontevaux*, as the inhabitants of Anjou and Poitou call it. The letter *r* has been inserted here as in the word *fronde* derived from the Latin *fundus*, and in the word *fromage* derived from *formaticum*. It is long since this letter was inserted; for we find in Sivigni's chronicle, page 317: 'Anno Domini 1189 obiit Henricus Rex Angliæ, octavis Apostolorum Petri & Pauli, & sepultus est apud Frontevall (2). — In the year 1189 died Henry king of England, on the octaves of St Peter and Paul, and was interred at Frontevaux.

[B] A bishop of Rennes . . . not learned, but a lover of learned men.] His name was Silvester de la Guerche, and he had carried arms against Conan duke of Brittany (3). Here is what is said of him in the history of Robert d'Arbriffel. 'Licet non litteratus litteratos tamen inhianter complexabatur. . . convocabat igitur afluente si quos poterat litteratos, quod hominum genus Britannia tunc habebat rarissimum (4). — Tho' not a man of learning himself, he had a great affection for learned men: he therefore got together

'all the eminent men he could from all parts, which at that time were very scarce in Bretagne.' Upon the report of this Robert's merit, he invited him into his diocese, and made this ingenuous confession to him: 'Evectione præparata, venerandus Pontifex dirigit Parisius, & accessit taliter alloquitur. Vides inquit, Frater charissime, quomodo sancta Redonensis Ecclesia mater tua sine regimine vacillat, hoc præsertim tempore cum me pene Laicum ei contigerit præesse. Eilo igitur, quælo in responsis Ecclesiasticis noster interpres, audiam te, & loqueris in me. Poteris procul dubio Dei populo prodesse, si zelum Dei habens, volueris nobiscum aliquantulum militare. — The venerable prelate having caused him to be sent for, and brought from Paris, spoke to him in the following manner. You see, says he, my dear brother, how the holy church of Rennes, your mother, totters for want of regimen, and more especially at this time when I, almost a layman, am placed at the head of it. Be therefore, I entreat you, my interpreter in ecclesiastic affairs: I will listen to your directions, and you shall speak by me; you are able, no doubt, to serve God's people, if, out of a zeal for his service, you would enlist for a while under his banner.'

[C] Two

sexes, leaving him the care of the women, whilst they undertook that of the men [C]. No sooner had he established good laws in his monastery of Fontevaux; but he resumed his office of itinerant preacher. He ran over several provinces of France, and particularly Brittany and Normandy. He did at Roan the greatest exploit that any man of his profession could possibly do; for, by one single exhortation, he converted all the women of pleasure who were in a place of prostitution [D], where he entered on purpose to preach. In 1104 he assisted at the council of Beaugenci, and sat among the prelates. During the years 1107, and 1108, he went over the provinces of Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine, discharging his office of apostolical preacher. These travels, at least, produced this good effect, that the order of Fontevaux was spread in all those provinces [E], and found how powerful Pope Paschal II's exhortations were. The bishop of Poitiers went to Rome in 1106, to desire of his holiness the confirmation of that order. He obtained a bull of Paschal II, by which that pontiff declared he would take a particular care of, and put it immediately under the jurisdiction of the holy see, and earnestly exhorted all people to promote this new institution. He confirmed all their privileges by a new bull in the year 1113. The order was already grown pretty numerous; for the founder, as he went preaching through the other provinces of France, did not fail to establish convents there (f). He persuaded queen

Bertrade

(f) See the remark [F].

[C] Two other preachers . . . agreed . . . to leave him the care of the women while they took the charge of the men. This is an admirable partition, and not to be compared to that of the circumcision and uncircumcision, I mean that of St Peter and St Paul, when it was said that St Peter should apply himself to the conversion of the Jews, and St Paul to the conversion of the gentiles (5). The three preachers I mention here were Robert d'Arbrissel, Bernard of Tiron, and Vitalis of Moriton. Let us hear the words of an ancient Historian. 'In transmarinis partibus, sicut à majoribus accepi, tres memorabiles viri uno tempore fuere: scilicet Robertus cognominatus de Arbriculo, Bernardus, & Vitalis. Hi non ignobiliter eruditi, & spiritu ferventes, circuibant per castella & vicos, feminantemque secundum Isaiam super omnes aquas, de conversione multorum fructus coligebant, quo inter se placito constituto: quod Robertus quidem seminarum communi labore ad meliora conversarum sollicitudinem gereret; Bernardus vero & Vitalis maribus propensius providerent. Robertus igitur famosissimum illud Monasterium feminarum de Fonte-Ebraldi construxit, & regularibus disciplinis informavit. Bernardus vero apud Tironium, & Vitalis apud Saviniacum Monachis regulari institutis, suos quique ab aliis per quasdam preceptorum proprietates distinxit (6). — In the

(5) See the Epist. to the Galatians, chap. ii, ver. 7, 8.

(6) Guillelmus Neubrigenensis, lib. i, de Rebus Anglicis, cap. xv, and Joan. de la Maille, Tom. i, pag. 117.

transmarine parts, as I have been informed, there were at the same time three men of distinguished characters, namely, Robert surnamed d'Arbrissel, Bernard, and Vitalis, all persons of great learning, and glowing with zeal: who traversed the country, sowing, according to Esaias, upon all waters; and from the numerous conversions which they made, gathered fruit in abundance; having entered into this pious contrait amongst themselves; that Robert should take upon himself the charge of their female converts, that Bernard and Vitalis should take care of the men. Whereupon Robert founded that famous nunnery at Fontevaux, in which he instituted the most regular discipline. Bernard and Vitalis each instituted a regular order of Monks, the first at Tiron, the other at Savigny, which they distinguished from each other by some peculiarities in their precepts. In vain did they represent to our Robert the hazard he would run by his zeal to instruct the fair sex: he rejected that advice as an artifice of the devil, and fortified himself with the example of St Jerome. Despexit ergo tentatorem, irritis ejus fallaciis, nec seminarum abiecit moderationem. . . . divum Hieronymum imitatus, cui insulsi obloquebantur Aristarchi, quod scriberet ad mulieres, easque viris anteponebat: quorum cavillationes venustissimè & copiosissimè retundit devoti sexus celebratione sacris ex literis deducta (7). — He despised the tempter, had defiance to his cunning, and persevered in his female charge. . . . imitating therein St Jerome, who was reviled by certain dealers in defamation, for writing to the women, and preferring them to men, whose counsils he refuted in a beautiful and copious encomium upon the fair sex.

(7) Joan. de la Maille, Tom. i, pag. 115.

[D] By a single exhortation he converted all the women of pleasure who were in a place of prostitution. They ascribe to him a very particular talent

for this; and since the direction of women was fallen to his lot, it was necessary he should chiefly look after the scabby sheep. He went barefoot into the streets and squares to exhort women of ill repute to repentance, and he entered into the very stews to press his admonitions upon them. One day he went into one of those houses in Roan, and sat down by the fire to warm his feet. He was presently surrounded by women who imagined he came thither to satisfy his lust; but he immediately began to talk with them of very different things: he preached the word of life to them, and the mercy of the son of God. The chiefest of them, surprized at such language, told him that for five and twenty years that she had frequented that house, she had never seen any body come in there that had spoke of God, or given them any hope of mercy; but that if she could depend upon what he said, she would certainly change her course of life; and upon his repeated assurances of mercy, she and her companions threw themselves at Robert's feet, and promised to repent. He laid hold of that happy moment, and led them all out of the city into his desert (8). 'In Vita beati Roberti de Arbrissello legitur, quod Ordinem Sanctimonialium Fontis-Ebraldi instituit: & quod nudipes per plateas & vicos ire consueverat, ut fornicarias ac peccatrices ad medicamentum penitentiae posset adducere. Quadam ergo die, cum venisset Rotomagus, Lupinar est ingressus, sedensque ad focum pedes calefacturus, à meretricibus circumdatur, æstimantes eum causâ fornicandi esse ingressum. Sed prædicante eo verba vitæ, ac misericordiam Christi eis promittente, una ex meretricibus, quæ cæteris præerat, dixit ei: quis es tu, qui talia loqueris? Scias pro certo, quia per viginti quinque annos, quibus hanc domum ad perpetranda scelera sum ingressa, nunquam aliquis huc advenit, qui de Deo loqueretur, vel de ejus misericordia præsumere nos faceret: tamen si scirem vera esse, &c. (9).'

It is observed in the history of the works of the learned (10): 'That several other women of this sort being also converted, Robert was forced to make a particular cloister for them, which he dedicated to St Mary Magdalen, whilst August, 1690, he assigned another, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, to women of virtue and reputation.' This shews the particular talent he had to gain this sort of the creatures (11), and his attachment to the ancient discipline; for there are some fathers who were of opinion that those Nuns, which had been violated, ought to be separated from those who never had that misfortune (12).

[E] The order of Fontevaux was spread in those provinces. During his travels through Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine, in 1107, and 1108, he founded the monasteries of Chamfournais, Lapaie, Loges, Relais, Gaine, and Gironde. In the year 1110 he went through Berry, and Brittany, and founded the monastery of Orlan, in the diocese of Bourges. In the year 1112 he founded three in the dioceses of Orleans and Poitiers, la Lande en Beauchene, Tiron, and la Madeleine d'Orleans. In the year 1114 he preached in the Limosin, Angoumois, and Perigot, and in the diocese of Toulouse, and founded four monasteries, Bourbon, la Gascniere, Cadoun, and l'Epinaffe. It was at this time

(8) Statim cum de civitate egressus, & ad eremum cum eis gaudens perrexit, ibique peracta penitentia Christo facta iter transmissit.

He immediately led them out of the city, and brought them with joy to his solitude, where having fully performed their penitence, he happily led them to Chamfournais. Id. lib. pag. 115. ex Codice manuscr. scripto anno 1110. Abbatie de Vallibus Cernai (l'Abbatie des Vaux de Cernai) Ordinis Cisterciensis. Diocesis Parisiensis.

(9) Idem, ex eodem Codice. That several other women of this sort being also converted, Robert was forced to make a particular cloister for them, which he dedicated to St Mary Magdalen, whilst August, 1690, he assigned another, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, to women of virtue and reputation. This shews the particular talent he had to gain this sort of the creatures (11), and his attachment to the ancient discipline; for there are some fathers who were of opinion that those Nuns, which had been violated, ought to be separated from those who never had that misfortune (12).

(10) Quæ quidem omnia liquido ostendunt Robertum ardenti zelo assidue, dono specialis prædicationis fuisse ad convertendas mulieres impuras, meretrices, & publicas libidinis victimas imo de facto plurimas convertisse. Joan. de la Maille, Tom. i, pag. 113.

(11) See Pope Leo the First's 5th Letter, cap. 23.

(g) Abbatissam toti suo Ordini Petronillam de Camilliaco praeposuit. *Clyp. nascentis Ord. Fontevraldensis, Tom. II, p. 502.*

(h) Taken from the second Tome of the *Clypeus nascentis Fontevraldensis Ordinis*, at the end, where there is a chronological Abridgement of the life of Robert d'Arbrissel, with references to the places where every thing is related more at large.

(13) Taken from the *Clypeus nascentis* of Father Mainferme, *Clyp. Tom. II, pag. 500, 501.*

(14) Rex libidinosis Philippus Turonis venit, & cum uxore Fulconis locutus eam fieri Reginam constituit. *Pessima illa, Confite dimisso, nocte sequenti Regem sequitur, qui Mindaico prope pontem Bevronis milites dimisit, qui eam Aureliania duxerunt. Menage, Hist. de Sablé, liv. iii, chap. xvi, pag. 85, 86, ex Gestis Consulum Andegavensium.*

(15) *Ibid.* pag. 89.

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) *Ibid.*

(18) Lib. v, de Gestis Regum Anglorum, apud La Mainferme, *Clyp. Tom. II, pag. 137.*

(19) Father de la Mainferme, *ibid.* pag. 138, 139, shows this to be false.

Bertrade to take the habit of the order [F]; but she did not wear it long; the austerity of the order soon cost her her life [G]. In the year 1115 he found in himself a sensible decay, and by the advice of several prelates, abbots, and monks, whom he had assembled together, he conferred the generalship of the order upon a woman (g). This disposition has been very much censured [H]. The following year he recovered his strength, and went through the diocese of Chartres, performing his usual office of a preacher. He put an end to a dispute, which several other persons had attempted in vain, between Ives, bishop of Chartres, and Bernard, abbot of Bonneval. He was no less successful in a difference which happened between the count de Chartres and the canons, concerning the choice of a bishop after the death of Ives. He fell sick as he was preaching in the diocese of Bourges in 1117, and caused himself to be carried to the monastery of Orfan, where he died a few days after. The archbishop of Bourges, attended by his clergy, and a great number of gentlemen and plebeians, accompanied the body to the monastery of Frontevaux, where he solemnized his funeral twelve days after his decease. The earl of Anjou, the archbishop of Tours, the bishop of Angers, several abbots, and an incredible number of clergy and people went to meet the body before it came out of the diocese of Tours (b). Father de la Mainferme (i), a monk of Frontevaux, has published three apologetical volumes, in which

(i) The first volume of his *Clypeus* was printed in 1684, the second in 1688, the third in 1692.

time that having gone over Languedoc and Guienne, he went into Auvergne, where he had religious conferences with the blessed Raingarda the mother of Peter the venerable (13).

[F] He persuaded queen Bertrade to take the habit of the order. This BERTRADE was the daughter of Simon de Montfort, and sister of Amauri de Montfort earl of Eyreux, and of William de Montfort bishop of Paris. She was brought up in Normandy with her aunt, the countess d'Evreux, where Fulk Rechin, earl of Anjou, saw her, and fell in love with her. He married her in 1089. In 1092 or 1093, she left him, to marry Philip I, king of France, with whom she had had a private interview upon Whitsunday eve in the church of St John de Tours, while the canons of St Martin were blessing the fons of the church. She went to Orleans where the king received her (14), and afterwards married her at Paris. The Pope excommunicated him by his legate in 1094, at the council of Autun, and he himself excommunicated him the following year at the council of Clermont. Philip put away Bertrade in 1096, and took her again in 1100: he was excommunicated a-fresh; but both he and she obtained absolution in 1105, having sworn upon the holy gospels not to cohabit carnally together, and never to see or speak to one another but in the presence of unsuspected persons (15). The register book of St Nicholas of Angers says, 'that in 1106, the sixth of the ides of October, Philip was at Angers with Bertrade, and that Rechin received him there magnificently. No doubt it was at this time that Bertrade reconciled her two husbands, and made them a great entertainment, at which she served a table, as Orderic writes, who adds that Bertrade continued with Philip to his death (16). It is very probable the Pope approved of their marriage; for their two sons were declared capable of succeeding to the crown, as we are informed by Suger in the life of Lewis the burly. Bertrade had a dowry upon the demesnes of the crown . . . which dowry was the estate of Hautbriere in the neighbourhood of Montfort, and in the diocese of Chartres, which is the place where she founded a priory, having been received a nun at Frontevaux by R. d'Arbrissel, and in this retirement she led an exemplary life to her death.' She lived in Anjou after the death of king Philip, which happened in 1108. Mr Menage, from whom I borrow this (17), has corrected a prodigious number of faults which he had observed in several historians concerning this Bertrade. He does not say whether or no she lived long after she entered into a religious life; but we learn from William of Malmesbury that she died soon after. 'Philippus, says he (18), in extremo vitae, tactus morbo monachicum apud Floriacum accepit habitum (19). Pulchrius & fortius illa (Bertrade), quod etate & sanitate integra, nec specie rugata apud Fontem Eivaldi Sanctimonialium appetit velum. Nec multo post praesenti vitae vale fecit: Deo forsitan providente, non posse delictae mulieris corpus religionis laboribus inservire. — Philip, says he, being in a bad state of health, and near his end, took the monk's habit at Fleury. Bertrade took the veil at Frontevaux with more honour and better fortune, as she did it in full health,

and the flower of her age, & her charms were impaired by age. She died soon after; the providence of GOD perhaps being mindful, that a woman of so delicate a frame could not sustain the austerities of a religious life.' The conversion of this lascivious queen did a great deal of honour to Robert. She was so artful a woman that she did what she would with the king, and her first husband was frequently seen at her feet after she had left him, saying a thousand submissive things. A baseness equal at least to the abject behaviour of Menelaus. 'Amore ejus ita captus est (Philippus) ut illa sibi in omnibus imperaret, cum ipse omnibus imperare cuperet (20). Bertrade virago faceta, & eruditissima illius admirandi muliebris artificii, quo consueverunt audaces suis etiam lascivis injuriis maritos suppeditare, Andegavensem priorem maritum, licet thoro omnino repudiatum, ita mollificaverat, ut eam tanquam Dominam veneraretur, & scabello pedum ejus saepius residens, ac si praestigio fieret, voluntati ejus omnino obsequeretur (21). — Philip was so passionately enamoured of her, that she enjoyed an absolute power over him, tho' he was affected an universal power over others. Bertrade was a woman of great wit, and so exquisitely skilled in that species of female cunning, by which the bold are used to work upon their husbands when they have unjustly provoked them, that she so far mollified the duke of Anjou, though she had entirely abandoned his bed, that he recovered her as his sovereign, and often sitting on her footstool, as if constrained by magic force, entirely submitted himself to her pleasure.' It is thought she took the veil at Frontevaux about the year 1115.

[G] The austerity of the order soon cost her her life.]

We have already seen (22) that William of Malmesbury conjectured that the providence of GOD so ordered it, that the delicate body of this queen was unable to undergo the toils of religion. It was better perhaps that she should soon sink under them; for if they had only emaciated her body, it were to have been feared that a tedious languishing state would have given her a distaste for a monastic life, and made her regret the flattering pleasures she had forsaken. However that be, here is the proof of my text. 'Anno 1115 aut circiter Bertradam Reginam ad institutum Font-Ebraldense tandem pellectam Robertus in monasterio Alta-Brueria dicto collocavit. Vestu cultusque in primis aspero atque horrido utens, vita statim privata est' (23). Upon this occasion was verified the maxim, *Nullum violentum durabile.*

[H] This disposition has been very much censured.] There is nothing more singular in the monastic world (24), than to see a large order of monks and nuns acknowledge a woman for their head and general; as the monks and nuns of the order of Frontevaux are obliged by their institution to do. Robert d'Arbrissel their founder would have it so. He made a law diametrically opposite to the Salic law: he was not satisfied with allowing that the order might fall to the distaff, but appointed that a woman should always succeed a woman in the dignity of head and general of the order. Father de la Mainferme sets apart the third volume of his work to vindicate this conduct of the founder. He answers all the common objections that

(20) Vincentius Bellovacus, *Spec. lib. xxvi, cap. lxxxviii*, apud La Mainferme, *Clyp. Tom. II, pag. 141.*

(21) Sugerius, in vita Ludovici Groffi, cap. xvii, apud eundem, *ibid.*

(22) Above, at the end of citat. (18).

(23) La Mainferme, *Tom. II, pag. 502.*

(24) See, in the remark [F], at citat. I, the words of Charles du Moulin.

which he takes abundance of pains to justify his patriarch, who had been charged by some with going to bed to his nuns [I], not indeed with a design to enjoy them, but in order to expose himself to greater temptations. This scene has been represented in the *News from the republic of letters* [K]. That monk's vivacity and zeal against the authors

that are made, and insists very much upon this, that the Blessed Virgin commanded God himself; for it is said in scripture that JESUS CHRIST was subject to his mother. If God, the eternal being, the creator of all things, made no difficulty to obey a woman, shall we men, inconsiderable creatures as we are, dare to refuse it? If ever the church of Rome did willfully what it is pretended she did without knowing it under the reign of Pope Joan, she would find her apology ready drawn up in father Mainferme's book; and I do not see, if the apology of Frontevaux passes muster, why they should make any scruple of creating a she-Pope. Add to this, that, according to the hypothesis of the votaries of the church of Rome, God has given the empire of the world to the holy Virgin: nothing is more common in the writings of those men than the titles of *queen of heaven, queen of the angels*, when they speak of the Virgin; and this is also the language of their public worship, I mean of the church hymns. A monk of Frontevaux one day made use of this reason: father Mainferme relates it without finding any fault with it (25). 'It happened once that a monk who shall be nameless, who could hardly digest that part of our institution, speaking of this matter, told me, *that our kingdom was under petticoat government*. In which indeed he spoke better than he thought, and did us a great deal of honour contrary to his intention. For it is true, it is under petticoat government, as is also the whole kingdom of the universe of heaven and earth, under female government, in as much as it is governed by the power and sovereign authority of her, who, like a virtuous woman, *manum suam misit ad fortia; & digiti ejus apprehenderant fenum*. Pr. 31. v. 19.'

[I] Some have charged him with going to bed to his nuns. The accusation is founded upon a letter of Geoffry abbot of Vendôme. That abbot's letters were published by father Sirmond, in 1610, from a manuscript in the abbey of la Couture. One of those letters was written to our Robert, to inform him of the scandalous report that was spread concerning his conduct, and of the inconveniences which might arise from it. Let us hear the words of the letter (26): 'Fœminarum quædam, ut dicitur, nimis familiariter tecum habitare permittis, & cum ipsis etiam, & inter ipsis, noctu frequenter cubare non erubescis. Hoc si modò agis, vel aliquando egisti, novum, & inauditum sed instructissimum martyrii genus invenisti Mulierum quibusdam, sicut fama sparsit, & nos ante diximus, sæpe privatim loqueris, & eorum accubitu novo martyrii genere cruciaris. — It is said, you suffer some of the women to live with you in too great familiarity, and scruple not to lie with them and amongst them frequently in the night. If this be or has been your practice, you have found indeed a new and unheard of, but a fruitless kind of martyrdom? It is reported, as I said before, that you converse in private with some of the women, and insist upon yourself a new kind of martyrdom by lying with them.' There is another letter which is ascribed to Marbodius bishop of Rennes, containing the same informations (27): 'Mulierum cohabitationem diceris plus amare. Has ergo non solum communi mensa per diem, sed & communi accubitu per noctem dignaris, ut referunt. — It is reported that you are too fond of living with women, and that you do not only admit them at your table by day, but into your bed at night.' He blames Robert for making young girls take the habit too rashly, and represents to him the ill success of such a proceeding. Some of them, perceiving the ninth month draw on, had broke out of the cloister to live in elsewhere, and others had been brought to bed in the middle of their cells. 'Taceo de juveniculis, quas sine examine religionem professas mutata veste per diversas cellulas protinus inclusisti. Hujus igitur facti temeritatem miserabilis exitus probat. Aliæ enim urgente partu, fractis ergastulis elapsæ sunt, aliæ in ipsis ergastulis pepererunt (28).'

Note, I. that in the letter to Geoffry of Vendôme, Robert d'Arbrissel is related with having a respect to persons. There are some women, says he, with whom you are always in a good humour, brisk, active, free,

so complaisant, that you take all occasions to express your civility; but for others, if at any time you condescend to speak to them, it is to reproach them; you treat them with great rigour, and leave them exposed to hunger, thirst, and cold. 'Illis siquidem te semper sermone jocundum ostendis, & alacrem actione, omne neque genus humanitatis exhibes, nulla servata paritate. Et iterum. Aliis verò, si quando cum ipsis loqueris, semper locutione nimis durus appares, nimis districtus correctione: illas etiam fame, & siti ac nuditate crucias omni relicta pietate (29).' This is insinuating what Theophilus Raynaud affirms (30), I mean that Robert chose out the prettiest, when he had a mind to expose himself to temptation by lying with a woman. Note, in the second place, that Father Mainferme does not quote the whole passage in Marbodius's pretended letter. I have seen it much more complete in Mr Menage (31), and there I find that they put Robert in mind of his having formerly been faulty with respect to women. I find also another reflexion upon him, which I shall hereafter mention (32).

[K] This scene has been represented in the *news from the commonwealth of letters*. See the second article of the month of April 1686: it is an abstract of the first volume of the *Clypeus nascentis Fontevrauldensis Ordinis*. The author of the abstract has compared to Tantalus a man that should pitch upon such a kind of mortification as that imputed to our Robert. But as there is no comparison but what is lame, this of Tantalus in some respects would not agree to the director of these nuns. He would suffer hunger and thirst in sight of a remedy, but he could not be certain that the remedy would retire from him in proportion as he advanced towards it. The comparison with those curious physicians, who study so attentively the causes of phenomena, would only be true in some respects. Their meditations, their searches are only glancing upon nature; the secret they look for is in a vessel which they can only touch the brim of; in vain do they turn and wind about, they find no more than the circumference of the circle, without ever arriving at the centre of it. This is an emblem of Robert, with this difference, that he was not desirous as they are of penetrating to the bottom of the mystery (33). I am far from affirming what they say of him; for I find a great strength in his apologist's arguments; but it cannot be imagined how many heretics there have been, who, professing to abstain from marriage, and the full enjoyment of the fair sex, yet would lie with women, embrace them, and omit no manner of prelude. See the proceedings of the inquisition of Toulouse (34) printed at Amsterdam 1692: I shall quote something out of it in the article GUILLEMETE. See also what the bishop of Meaux reports from St Bernard against the Henricians, at the sixty ninth paragraph of the eleventh book of the history of Variations. It is a sign that there is no delusion or chimera, which does not enter into the heart of man. The greatest danger they can fall into, who are under vows of continence, is to think upon the objects they have renounced, or to see them in certain circumstances. Witness the Hermit who saw Brandimart in the arms of his dear Fleurdellis (35):

Hor stando inginocchiato in oratione,
Vide far' à color quel gioco strano:
E vengnegli si fatta tentatione,
Ch'il Breviario gli cade di mano.

Whilst the holy hermit is on his knees, he spies the strange transaction between the two lovers, which raises such a ferment in his breast, that he lets his breviary fall out of his hand.

What would have become of him in a prelude: *Admissus circum præcordia ludens* (36)? Would he have had the resolution of St Aldhelme? But not to be too tedious, I shall speak of this saint in the remark [C] of the article FRANCIS of ASSISE.

[L] That Original from
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(25) Tom. III, pag. 21. Its editor brother E. Martin, author of a book intitled, *Le Seigneur du Verbe incarné dans les entrailles immaculées de la Vierge*.

Vendôme, abbot, 1610, cap. 100, 101, and Mainferme, p. Tom. II, 144.

Geoffrey's letters, 1610, cap. 100, 101, and Mainferme, p. Tom. II, 144.

(26) See the *Clypeus nascentis*, ubi supra, Tom. I, Dissert. I, pag. 38.

Letter, d. of 100.

(27) Id. pag. 41.

Mainferme, p. 144.

In the 100, 101, and Mainferme, p. 144.

(28) Id. pag. 69.

(29) Id. pag. 66.

(30) See, below, remark [L], citat. (42).

(31) See, the they put Robert in mind of his having formerly been faulty with respect to women. I find also citat. 7.

(32) Rem [P].

(33) H. 6244, in *ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος* his apologist's arguments; but it cannot be imagined how many heretics there have been, who, professing to abstain from marriage, and the full enjoyment of the fair sex, yet would lie with women, embrace them, and omit no manner of prelude. See the proceedings of the inquisition of Toulouse (34) printed at Amsterdam 1692: I shall quote something out of it in the article GUILLEMETE. See also what the bishop of Meaux reports from St Bernard against the Henricians, at the sixty ninth paragraph of the eleventh book of the history of Variations. It is a sign that there is no delusion or chimera, which does not enter into the heart of man. The greatest danger they can fall into, who are under vows of continence, is to think upon the objects they have renounced, or to see them in certain circumstances. Witness the Hermit who saw Brandimart in the arms of his dear Fleurdellis (35):

(34) Pag. 380, & seq.

(35) See Marfig. ni's letters.

(36) Apply here the two verses: *Omne vaser vitium ridenti Flaccus amico Tangit, & admissus circum præcordia luist. To touch the soul the wavy fly Horace found, And pleas'd the patient cubic he pro'd his wounds, Persius, Sat. 1, ver. 116.*

authors of such a charge is not to be wondered at [L]: He had a delicate point to manage [M], and the utmost art was necessary to vindicate his hero. He denies the fact, which was the only method to apologize for him; for nothing is more inconsistent either with internal or external purity, than the pretended mortification of resisting temptations raised by one's self. The truest triumph is to keep as far as possible from

[L] *That monk's vivacity and zeal against the authors of such a charge is not to be wondered at.* He takes several methods to do this: he denies the genuineness of the two letters; he maintains that Geoffry of Vendôme did not write that which goes under his name; and thinks it very strange that the Jesuit Sirmond should publish it as genuine, and should put in the index, *mira Roberti simplicitas et confidentia*. He disputes against father Alexander, who maintained that it was Geoffry of Vendôme's letter, and lays hold of that Dominican's confession that the letter ascribed to Marbodius is supposititious (37). He pretends (38) that the heretic Roscelin, condemned as a tritheist in a council, is the author of a letter that Sirmond has published among those of Geoffry of Vendôme. This is the opinion of cardinal Bona, and of the Jesuits Bollandus and Henschenius, as he does not forget to observe (39). He adds, that father Sirmond, having considered all things, came into the same sentiment (40). He quotes Theophilus Raynaud, who was of the same opinion (41). He blames father Alexander for denying that Sirmond had retracted and designed to have left out this letter in a new edition. He complains that this Jesuit did a great injury to the blessed Robert d'Arbrissel, and he alleges a passage out of father Theophilus Raynaud (42), which is founded only upon the letter published by father Sirmond. These are the words he quotes. 'Fecisse

(17) See the eighth section of the first Dissertation.

(38) Tom. I. Dissert. I, pag. 45.

(39) Id. pag. 14.

(40) Bollandus assures it upon a hearsay. Idem. pag. 15.

(41) In Triade fortium David. pag. 46.

(42) Taken from pag. 132, of his treatise de Sobria aliterius sexus frequentatione.

(43) Here Father Mainferme makes this note, *Falso scribit Theophilus id legi apud Geoffridum, Epist. xlviii, lib. iv.* See upon this false quotation of Theophilus Raynaud, the *News from the Common-wealth of Learning*, for April, 1686, pag. 331.

(44) It is found among Hilderbert's letters in the manuscript of St Victor's library at Paris. See *Clypeum*, Dissert. I, pag. 61.

(45) Ubi supra, pag. 91.

(46) Id. pag. 99.

(47) Vincent Mariolle. He was general of the congregation of St Maur.

(48) De la Mainferme, *Clypeum*, Dissert. I, pag. 261.

'of the convent received him with joy, and treated him with the greatest honour and hospitality, most humbly intreating him to refresh their souls with the food of his holy preaching.' The passage in Marbodius's letter, cited by Mr Menage, and which may be seen below in remark [P], citation †, testifies that Robert was reproached with taking a great many women with him in his travels, and dispersing great numbers of them in divers provinces in the inns and hospitals promiscuously with the men, under pretence of serving the poor and strangers. It is added that this fine management had produced a sufficient number of children, to put it beyond all doubt that Robert had exposed the honour of his she-followers to very great danger.

[M] *It is certainly a delicate point.* Sins of uncleanness are not of the same nature with those that are to be vanquished by attacking, by preventing, and falling upon them. The surest way to obtain the victory is by a running fight, or rather a downright flight. Is it not then strange rashness, and a criminal contempt of that wise advice, *Quiquis amat periculum peribit in illo*, He that seeks danger will perish in it, to go and provoke to dangerous an enemy, and to attack him even in his strong holds. Arbrissel ought scarce to have looked him in the face, and he was rash enough to take him by the neck, as it is reported, in order to wrestle with him:

Cervi, luporum præda rapacium,
Sectamus ultro, quos opimus

Fallere & effugere est triumphus (49).

We feeble flag the rav'nous wolf defy,

And madly follow what we ought to fly:

To scape from such a foe is victory.

(49) Horat. Ode iv, lib. iv, vers. 50.

Those who make a vow of chastity, if they are wise, ought ardently to seek the gift of forgetfulness, and expel the images of impurity at their very entrance, so far from being allowed to lie near the living objects. Though they were sure of success, yet are they obliged to avoid such a combat like the plague: charity to one's neighbour enjoins such a flight. Are they sure of their she-companion? Is it not morally certain that a woman, who suffers a man to lie by her, is very much inclined to refuse him nothing? Is she not fortified in this disposition by the nearness of a man's body to her? and does not this neighbourhood raise thoughts and desires in her, which she would be free from if she was left to sleep alone (50)? See what Montagne (51) says of women married to old men. 'They are, says J.-P., *Qui me be* (51), in full wedlock in a worse condition than maids and widows. We think them well provided, because they have a man lying by them. . . . But on the contrary, they are therefore the more distressed, because the contact and company of a male excites that warmth which would be less moved if they were alone.' So that these devout adventurers, these seekers of alluring opportunities, these anchorites, who, to signalize the bravery of their continency, creep into bed with a young girl, only throw oil upon a fire hid under the ashes. Are they not answerable for the lascivious desires they kindle there? It is very probable that most of them do not desire a complete victory. If they do not fully satisfy, at least they amuse their filthy lust. They put themselves upon the same foot with those who say, *Amare liceat, si potiri non licet*. *Est quodam prodeire tenet, si non datur ultra*. Let us have a little moriel: let us enjoy the forestales. They do as those husbands mentioned in Seneca's controversies. 'Novimus, inquit, istam maritorum absinentiam, qui etiam si primam virginibus timidis remittere noctem, vicinis tamen locis ludunt (52). — I know, says he, that some husbands have had so much abstinence as to indulge the maid's fears the first night, yet they play about the confines.' It is therefore a nice point, and father de la Mainferme is to be commended for attempting the apology of the founder of his order.

[N] The

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from such an enemy [N], and never to think on him, and it would be the grossest folly, as well as the most intolerable impertinence, to say, that, as there have been secu-

lar

[N] *The truest triumph is to keep as far as possible from such an enemy.* I have already touched upon this in the beginning of the preceding remark; but I ressume it, in order to fortify this salutary advice with good authorities. First let us see what Socrates advised his disciples. 'Thinkest thou, fool! says he (53), that amorous kisses are not poisoned, because thou dost not see the poison of them? know that a beautiful woman is a more dangerous animal than a scorpion, because that cannot wound us unless it touches us, but beauty strikes us at a distance; on what side soever we perceive it, it darts its venom upon us, and overthrows our reason. It is perhaps for this cause that love is represented with a bow and arrows, because a fine face wounds us from afar. Wherefore I advise thee, Xenophon, when thou spiest a beauty, to fly from it without looking behind thee, and as for thee, Critobulus, I believe it will be proper thou shouldst be absent a whole year, nor will that be too long a time to cure thee of thy wound.' Add to this what Jerom said to those who did not approve of a retirement into the desert, and who pretended that this was not to combat vice, but to fly from it, and that only those who combated and overcame deserved the crown. He answered among other things, that the safest way was always to be chosen, and that therefore it were better to fly than to remain in the field of battle, where, if on the one side we may be victorious, on the other we may also be overcome. We are not safe, added he, when we sleep near a serpent: it may happen that he will not bite us, and it may happen that he will. He expresses himself so well upon this head that I cannot forbear transcribing his own words, which are so many thunder-bolts, with respect to the conduct attributed to d'Arbissel. 'Qui sciens imbecillitatem suam, & vas fragile, quod portat, timet offendere, ne impingat, corrumpat, atque frangatur. Unde & mulierum, maximeque adolescentulatum vitat aspectum & in tantum castigatorem sui est, ut etiam quæ tuta sunt, pertimescat. Cur, inquires, pergis ad eremum? videlicet ut te non audiam, non videam, ut tuo furore non movear, ut tua bella non patiar, nè me capiat oculus meretricis; nè me forma pulcherrima ad illicitos ducat amplexus. Respondebis: hoc non est pugnare, sed fugere; ista in acie: adversarii armatus obstitit: ut postquam vicis, coroneris. Fateor imbecillitatem meam. Nolo te pugnare victoriæ, nè perdam aliquando victoriam. Si fugero, gladium devitavi; si stetero, aut vincendum mihi, aut cadendum. Quid autem necesse est certa dimittere, & incerta festari? Aut secuto, aut pedibus mors vitanda est. Tu, qui pugnare, & superari potes, & vincere; ego cum fugero, non vinco in eo, quod fugio: sed ideo fugio, nè vincam. Nulla securitas est, vicino serpente, dormire. Potest fieri, ut me non mordeat: tamen fieri potest ut aliquando me mordeat (54). — *Who being conscious of his own infirmity, and sensible that the vessel which he carries is brittle, is afraid to make a false step, lest he should fall, and break it. For which reason he shuns the sight of women, especially of the younger sort, and keeps so strict a guard over himself as to be afraid in the midst of security. You will ask the reason of my retiring into solitude. It is that I may not hear, or see you, that I may not be moved with your fury, that I may not be exposed to a war with you, that no lewd eye may enslave me, that no ravishing beauty lead me to forbidden embraces. You will answer, this is not to fight but to fly; keep your rank, stand to your arms, that when you have conquered you may receive the crown. I own my weakness. I would not fight in hopes of victory, lest I should fail in the success. If I fly, I escape the sword. If I encounter, I must conquer or fall. But where is the necessity of quitting certainty and following uncertainty. Death may be avoided either by fighting or by flying. You who fight may be either conquered or a conqueror. I, who fly, do not conquer in that I fly; but I fly that I may not be conquered. No man can sleep in safety when a serpent is near him. It is possible it may not bite, and it is possible it sometimes may.* The author of a book, printed at Paris in 1630, intitled *Le Miroir des Chanoines*, has collected together a great number of sentences which loudly condemn the rash behaviour of those who come as near danger as they can. Joseph, says he (55), *left his mantle without staying to contend with Potiphar's wife, because the touch of a woman is contagious and venemous, and ought to be as much dreaded as the bite of a mad dog. This is St Jerome's comparison. Ipse mulieris contactus quasi contagiosus & venenatus est, viro fugiendus, non minus quam rabidissimi canis morsus* (56). Our author adds that St Jordan, in St Antoninus's, severely rebukes a monk for only touching a woman's hand. *Why, said the monk, she is a devout woman. No matter for that, replied St Jordan, the earth is good, and water is good: but if those two elements are mixed, from thence proceeds nothing but dirt* St Jerome knowing what prejudice the conversation of Women, though free from suspicion and scandal, did to clergymen; *Hospitalium tuum* (says he) *aut rari, aut nunquam mulierum pedes terant: quia non potest toto corde cum Deo habitare, qui fœminarum accessibus copulatur: fœmina secum pariter habitantis conscientiam exurit, fœminæ nomen tuum noverint, vultum nesciant.* Let the feet of women seldom or never tread thy chamber floor, because he that delights in the conversation of women cannot devote his heart entirely to God. A woman burns the conscience of him she dwells with, let women know thy name, not thy face . . . nor do thou know theirs . . . St Cyprian subtilly and learnedly confutes those daring spirits, who presume upon their own integrity so much, that they fear nothing from women, generously hoping to come off clear without engaging in the least of their holy affections. His words are as follow: It is impossible to be surrounded with flames and not to be burnt; it is more expedient to fear well than to presume ill. It is better for a man to confess himself weak, that he may become strong, than to pretend to be strong and prove weak. He deceives himself, who thinks himself to be something and really is nothing. Who can carry fire in his bosom, and his cloaths not be burnt? true, but I would conquer that I may triumph. Hast thou not thy own flesh to contend with and overcome? why shouldst thou desire laurels from another climate? the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. Let it be said once for all. The conversation of women is the devil's bird-lime to catch and enslave men . . . (57) Horrid blindness! to chuse to live in a place where we must every day necessarily either perish or overcome, and to imagine to sleep safely near a viper. * *Quid tibi necesse* (says St Jerome) *in ea versari demo, in qua necesse habes quotidie aut perire, aut vincere?* * *quis unquam mortalium, juxta viperam securos somnos capit?* Our author afterwards, giving some prescriptions against the motions of the flesh, places abstinence in the first place, frequenting good company in the second, and then he says (58), that the third will be never to come near women, but to see them afar off, as Lacides, in Laërtius, told king Attalus he should look at pictures. . . . * *St Austin upon these words of St Paul, fly fornication, observes that St Paul does not say resist, but fly, because victory is surer by flight than by resistance.* Contra libidinis impetum apprehende fugam, si vis obtinere victoriam, nec tibi verendum sit fugere, si castitatis palmam desideras obtinere.

Tu fugiendo fuga, quem fuga sola fugat.

Defeat by flight, what flight alone defeats,

These maxims, so true and so important in themselves, and besides so considerable on account of the veneration that is paid to those great saints, who have laid them down in their writings, are very often inculcated into the minds of those who have most need of them. The same things are preached every day to them; they are pressed in an infinite number of books; and yet those persons continue in the custom of willingly exposing themselves to danger. One would think they set up for bravery, and that flight seems to them as ignominious an act of cowardice as

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(55) Vital Bernard, Canon of the cathedral church of Puy. *Miroir des Chanoines*, pag. 240.

(56) Hieronymus lib. i, contra Jovinian. cited by Vital Bernard, ibid.

† D. Antonin. 3. tit. 23, c. 9, §. 5.

† D. Hieron. Ep. ad Nepot. sub. fin.

† D. Cyprianus singul. Cler.

(57) The same Vital Bernard, *Miroir des Chanoines*, pag. 252.

* D. Hieron. lib. ii, Ep. ix.

(58) Vital ibid supra, pag. 273.

* D. Aug. Serm. 250, de tem.

lar men, who have passed whole nights in bed with women without enjoying them [O], with much more reason it ought to be supposed that a monk should be able to refrain upon such occasions. Mr Menage deserves to be consulted upon the proofs father de la Mainferme has rejected [P]. But more particularly should we consult the

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it does to military men. They advance to the combat with boldness and cheerfulness. The fair sex, in whom courage is not required, yet shew a great deal of intrepidity upon this account: they are as ready to receive visits in their cloisters as the others are to pay them: both parties behave themselves as if neither feared to be vanquished, and it is very probable this security is not so much founded upon a knowledge of their own strength, as upon an unwillingness to come off victorious in this conflict; and at the worst the conflict itself, whatever may be the event of it, is not without its charms: if a victory follows, it is so much gained upon nature; if they are foiled, it is so much gained for her. Let this be said without prejudice to those, who sincerely keep the vows of chastity they have made, and who without doubt, if they do not happen to follow St Jerome's advice, are sure their visits, their long conversations, &c. will not excite ill desires in them. But they would infallibly condemn that excess of rashness which some have thought the founder of Fontevaux guilty of.

[O] *There have been men, who have passed whole nights in bed with women without enjoying them.* Montagne affirms this. 'I do not look upon it, says he (59),

(59) Montagne, *Essais*, lib. ii, cap. xi, pag. m. 272, 173.

(60) *Id. ibid.*, cap. ii, pag. 21.

(61) That is Montagne's father.

'as a miracle, as the queen of Navarre does in one of the tales of her Heptameron, (a diverting book in its kind) nor a very difficult thing, to spend whole nights with the utmost freedom with a mistress long courted, and keep a promise of going no farther than mere kissing.' He says in another place (60), that his father would tell of strange intimacies, that he had had with very honest women without any suspicions. And as to himself, he swore (61) solemnly that he had known no woman before his wife, tho' he did not marry till he was thirty three years of age, and had been a long time in the Italian wars. If we may credit leud men, the case mentioned by this writer is nothing extraordinary. When these people are to tell their adventures, they protest they have sometimes been forced to proceed gradually, and have not been allowed the last favour, till they have been proved whether they would keep their promise of being contented with lesser ones. Some tell, without naming persons, they could have done what they would, but they have abstained, that they might not be embarrassed with ill consequences, or would not expose the woman to the dishonour she was afraid of. Let us grant to those, who would make use of such adventures, to make it probable that some Monks have been victorious over the most alluring opportunities; let us grant them, I say, that the passion of leud men is not always so impetuous, but that sometimes it will stop of itself by the consideration of certain circumstances: what use will they make of this to justify those Monks? do these debauchees refrain, without committing impurities, which in the judgment of moderate casuists come up to mortal sin, and sometimes in the opinion of other casuists to a sin exceeding that of enjoyment? if the pretended victory of these Monks was something of this nature, would it not really be the triumph of lust, and not of chastity? and in proceeding thus against them, we must not spare their she-companions: their rashness was still more unwarrantable than that of the men. Nor can the prudence of women, who thus expose themselves, be better defended than their chastity. Common prudence would tell them, that neither promises nor oaths are to be depended upon, but that they ought to secure themselves in a better way. This puts me in mind of an adventure I have read in a little book which was printed at Paris and in Holland in 1682. The story is this: the adventurer speaks; his name is Pontignan.

(62) Academie Galante, pag. 160. Holland Edit.

'I was in the country, says he (62), with two amiable ladies, and I loved them both after my manner. I had declared to each of them singly my kindness for them, and had no reason to be dissatisfied with their answer. One evening, as I was alone in my apartment, and in my night-gown, in came the two ladies, and told me that, to put a trick upon a gentleman, who was

with us, they must swaddle me up. They told me what the trick was. I was pleased with the conceit, and contented very merrily to be swaddled. They took me in my night-gown just as I was, and wrapped me about with I believe more than a hundred ells of linnen, cut like swathes. I was just like an Egyptian mummy . . . when I was thus equipped like a mummy, they told me, well, Pontignan, a well bred gentleman does not refuse to lie with ladies when they desire him. We have both of us promised thee favours, which we are ready to grant. Ah! wicked creatures, cried I, take away these swathes, and do what you will with me. No, no, said they, those will be no hinderance: and upon that they ordered me to be carried to one of their houses, and put to bed all swaddled as I was, and the two gypsies placed themselves on each side of me. The chamber was full of lights, and I could see them in fine and alluring night dresses. I had neither hands, legs, nor any thing in the world at liberty.

'I was buried in linnen, and had only my eyes out, which made me mad. You may easily imagine the condition I was in: sometimes I begged them to let me have an arm, or hand, or only one finger. Sometimes I struggled hard to get free from my bands; so that once the ladies thought I had broke them, and jumped out of bed, crying out both of them, *we are undone*. They were in the right of it; for truly if I had been in a condition to have been revenged, I should have forced them to have cried for mercy. Sometimes I threatened to disgrace them by falling asleep by them, which yet I should have found it hard to have done. They only answered me by insulting me for the good fortune I lost, and by little caresses, for which I could freely have beaten them. I never passed such a night in my life.'

'This was a well contrived caution (63): (63) One might apply to this a parody of these two verses in Horace, lib. i, *Epist. ii*, *ita facite proci* that father de la Mainferme has rejected.

[P] *Mr Menage deserves to be consulted concerning the proofs that father de la Mainferme has rejected.* Bollandus, in his annotations on the life of R. d'Arbrissel, says, that father Sirmond, who published Geoff. fry of Vendôme's letters, repented he had made that public which we have mentioned, judging it spurious after a strict examination, and that he signed to give notice of the same in a second edition. But I can assure you, that father Sirmond never had any such design, nor ever repented the publishing the said letter. I knew him intimately and long, even to his death. Mr Pavillon in

the preface to his history of R. d'Arbrissel, says (64) Supposing that this letter of Geoffry of Vendôme, not being to be found in the manuscript of the monastery of Vendôme, as father Sirmond knew well, and plainly insinuates, it ought to be suspected (65). Mr Menage, having mentioned some other things, and particularly the certificate of Vincent Marfole, goes on thus: 'Since he affirms that letter was not in the manuscript, I am persuaded it was not there when he affirmed it. But on the other hand, as narration than the father Sirmond, who is a man of the utmost sincerity, and who had seen that manuscript, has not observed in his notes upon that letter, that it was not in the manuscript, and never told me so, tho' I have talked with him more than once upon the letter, I am also firmly persuaded that it was there, when father Sirmond printed his Geoffry of Vendôme. Therefore it must have been torn out afterwards at the request of Joanna Baptista de Bourbon, legitimate daughter of France, abbess of Fontevaux; at whose desire also Theophilus Raynaud retracted in his *Trias fortium David*, what he had wrote concerning R. d'Arbrissel in his *De sobria utriusque sexus conversatione*: this was told me by father Commire the Jesuit. And what serves to convince me, that it was torn out, is, that they no longer shew the said manuscript, but tell you, in the abbey of Vendôme, that they know not what is become of it. But what sufficiently refutes the

(64) Menage, *Hist. de Sablé*, liv. iii. cap. xix. *op. cit.* pag. 106, & 107.

(65) *Id. ibid.*

Apologetical dissertation for the blessed Robert d'Arbrisselles . . . concerning what I have said of him in the first edition of this work. It is an apology so well turned, and so solid [Q.], that every reasonable man ought to acquiesce in it; and though I have sufficiently shewed, that I did not give any credit to the common reports of sharing a bed, &c. I declare here, that wherever I mention it, without adding my own opinion, I desire to be so understood. They reckon thirty two, or thirty three abbesses of Frontevaux, from Petronilla de Chemille, who was the first, to the present abbess (k) [R]. The order is divided into four provinces [S], in each of which they have several priories.

(k) La Mainferme, Tom. III, pag. 172.

* opinion of Bollandus, Theophilus Renaud, Cofnier, Pavillon, and father de la Mainferme, is, that Marbodius, a man of great virtue, who, from a school-master of the church of Angers, was made bishop of Rennes, and afterwards became a Monk of St. Aubin of Angers, wrote such a letter to Robert d'Arbrissel. This letter is to be seen in the collection of Marbodius's letters printed at Rennes. It is true that, in a manuscript of the letters of Ildebert, bishop of Mans, and archbishop of Tours, which is in the library of St. Victor at Paris, the same letter is attributed to Ildebert. And Mr Baluze, who has promised us an edition of Ildebert's works, thinks it is rather Ildebert's than Marbodius's. But in this I am not of his opinion, hardly believing that Ildebert, who was charged himself with loving women, should accuse Robert d'Arbrissel of the same thing.

But tho' the letter should be Ildebert's, yet it would prove what I intended it to prove, which is, that Arbrissel was looked upon as a man fond of women. And this I prove also by one *Petrus Salmurienfis*. This Peter of Saumur, who was a Monk of St. Florant, wrote something like Geoffry of Vendôme's letter. This piece was in our time in the hands of father Vignier of the Oratory; who suppressed it at the request of Joanna Baptista de Bourbon, abbess of Frontevaux. This I had from Mr de Herouval, Dom Luke d'Acheri, and Mr de St Beuve; all men worthy of credit, to whom father Vignier told these particulars. But let all this be laid without any prejudice to the memory of Rob. de Arbrissel, for which I have a great veneration, being persuaded that the report concerning him, and on account of which Geoffry, the abbot of Vendôme, Marbodius bishop of Rennes, and Peter the monk of St. Florant, had written the things abovementioned, is without any true foundation. As Robert d'Arbrissel had instituted a monastery of women, to whom he had subjected the men; which du Moulin, in his notes upon the decree, has expressed in this manner: "In Monasterio Fontis Ebraaldi, adhuc præpositore Monachi sunt infæmæ, Monachæ verò sunt supæne." In the monastery of Frontevaux, the Monks are preposterously placed under, and the Nuns above. And as this institution seemed contrary to St Paul's words, that women are not to rule over men, it was thought he loved women; and this gave birth to certain jests upon him, and from those jests arose the scandalous report. Mr Menage in his additions (66) informs the public, that the letter of Geoffry abbot of Vendôme to Robert d'Arbrissel is found in the manuscript of the letters of that abbot, which is in the Franciscans library of S. Croix of Florence. This puts it past all doubt, that it is that author's: for it is also in the manuscript of the abbey of la Couture at Mans, but in a different order from that of Florence. It is the first in the latter manuscript, and the forty seventh of the fourth Book in the other. Mr Menage adds to the authority of these manuscripts two arguments from the letter itself. Mr Magliabechi informed him of what concerned the manuscript of Florence.

The reader need not be told what reflexions he ought to make upon the complaisance shewn to an abbess of Frontevaux, who was a legitimate daughter of France. At her desire an original piece is torn out of an old manuscript. How many other pieces have been suppressed to gratify several people? on the other hand, how many have been forged? how many words have been razed out of manuscripts to substitute others in their stead? see a book printed in 1699, and intitled *Lettres Critiques où l'on voit les Sentimens de Monsieur Simon sur plusieurs Ouvrages nouveaux publiés par un Gentilhomme Alleman*. Have not several facts by this means been turned into meer pro-

blems, and made matter of dispute without being ever determined.

[Q.] It is an apology (67) so well turned and so solid. It is in the form of a letter, which they have done me the honour to address to me, and contains 315 pages in 12ves. The civility, politeness, wit, and learning, of the author shine with great splendor in it, and I am very sorry I am so little worthy of the encomiums so ingenious a writer compliments me with. His work consists of nine articles, which he has proved in a manner, as I am informed, very much to the satisfaction of the world. I. That Geoffry's contested letter is really his, and is even in the manuscript of Vendôme (68). II. That the letter imputed to Marbodius, bishop of Rennes, or to Ildebert, bishop of Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, belongs to neither of those two authors, and is more probably Roscelin's. III. That at the worst it is evidently proved, that those three prelates had always a constant and uninterrupted esteem for that holy founder, and believed the quite contrary to that report spread of him by obscure and unknown people. IV. That the letter said to be written by Peter de Saumur, let it be what it will, concludes nothing to his disadvantage, no more than a fragment of a council of Albi, against the Albigenes. V. That all those writings were founded upon meer HEARSAY, without any shadow of proof, or even probability; that every confederate reader ought to despise uncertain rumours, which were spread abroad, when compared with an infinite number of positive evidences which can be brought to the contrary. VI. That the boldness with which Robert preached and exclaimed against the vices of the great men and ecclesiastics, together with his actions at the councils of Poitiers and Baugency, are a triumphant proof of his innocence and purity. VII. That even those, who are pretended to be his enemies, may be brought as witnesses in his behalf. VIII. That it would be very surprizing that a man, who openly had defiance to so many sinners, should not at least have made them murmur; and that, being so generally esteemed, it is impossible but some must envy him: but he forced even envy itself to respect him. IX. That his death, as well as his piety, at last crowns all these proofs. That from all together results a plain evidence of the falsehood of the new kind of martyrdom imputed to him; and is sufficient absolutely to destroy the least suspicions in all judicious and considering minds.

[R] They reckon thirty two or thirty three abbesses of Frontevaux . . . to the present abbess. (69) She is Mary Magdalen Gabriele Adelaide de Rochechouart, daughter of the duke of Mortemart, and sister to the marshal de Vivonne. She was made abbess of the order in 1670 (70). She is a lady of extraordinary merit: I am assured by several persons, who have had the honour to see, and converse with her, that she is universally admired for the agreeableness, the strength, and solidity of her discourse. Her virtue and knowledge (71), and other shining qualities, give her a place among the most illustrious persons of the age. Read, in the third volume of the *Clypeus nascentis Font-Ebraaldensis Ordinis*, page 192 and 193, the encomiums which are given her in the dedication of a dramatic piece.

She died the fifteenth of August 1704. See her elogy in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, December 1704, page 2118, and following.

[S] The order is divided into four provinces. Which are those of France, Aquitaine, Auvergne, and Brétagny. There are fifteen priories in the first, fourteen in the second, fifteen in the third, and thirteen in the fourth (72).

(67) Printed at Antwerp, as the title says, for Henry Desbordes, bookseller at Amsterdam, 1701. Mr Bernard speaks of it in his *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres*, July 1701, pag. 795 & 796.

(68) That is to say, that it is there yet in part, for it is not present without a title: the first leaf, which contains the beginning, is cut out; but the three next pages are enough to shew to whom it is directed, and agrees with what we have been printed. *Disserte Apologet.* pag. 34, 35.

(69) This is written in the year 1699.

(70) La Mainferme, Tom. III, pag. 182.

(71) See the *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, April 1686, art. II, at the beginning.

(72) La Mainferme, Tom. III, pag. 357.

† Mollitum ex-
habitationem, in
quo pene quon-
dam peccati, di-
versis plus amare:
ut quæ antiquæ
iniquitatis conta-
gram, novæ reli-
gionis exemplum,
etiam eximium
mysterium fideles
extorret. Has
ergo, non solum
communi mens
per diem, sed &
communi habita-
per noctem, dig-
nari, ut referunt
accubante simul
& discipulorum
grupe, ut inter
utroque medius
horum, ardens
fœdus vigiliantem
de somni levis
pregru. Has
purificationis
tue loquuntur
esse pedicellatæ
de disceptati tibi
justitæ assidue.
Sed de diversis
locis de diversis
regionibus, non
permi te afferunt
habere numerum
fœderum per
xarochia de di-
versis diffusi-
onem, non muni-
bus non impune
permissis quæ
ad puerorum &
pernegationem ob-
sequia, deputati.
Quod cum peri-
culose sit factum,
regius infirmum
paulatim.

† Father Vignier
said also that
there was a coun-
cil held at Albi
against the Albi-
genes; in which
it was said, that
those heretics
being charged
with carrying
women along
with them, just-
ified themselves
by saying, sic vis
debet Christi
Domini: sic vis
debet magister
after Robertus,
qui major Con-
ventus Virginum
instituit.

† At the word
in nullo loco, 18,
Quest. 2.

66. Pag. 66.

Supposing
in fact of
this case
which can
rightly say
the words
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FONTIUS (BARTHOLOMEW) born at Florence, was one of the learned men of the XVth century. He wrote some books which are printed [A]. Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, honoured him with his friendship, and gave him the direction of the famous library of Buda. Picus Mirandula, Marfilus Ficinus, Jerome Donatus, Robert Salviati, and other learned men of that age, had a respect for him, if we may credit the two verses of Verin, which I have inserted in the remark. He taught rhetoric successfully in his own country.

(a) Gaddi, Tom. II, de Scriptor. pag. 139, apud Angelicum Aposolium, in Biblioth. Apostolica, pag. 3.

To assign the time when he taught rhetoric in his own country, I should have said that he was Politian's colleague in 1488. Gaddi gives a good proof of this (a).

(1) It is the 17th of the second book.

(2) L'Heptaple de Pic de la Mirandole.

(3) Della Vita, Origine, e patria di Aulo Persio, pag. 17.

[A] He wrote some books which are printed. Among Picus Mirandula's letters there is one written by Fontius to Robert Salviati (1), to thank him for a book (2) he had sent him. One of Fontius's chief works is his *Commentary upon Persius*, printed at Venice, in 1491. The abbreviators of Gesner's Bibliotheca, only mention this Commentary as a manuscript kept in the emperor's library; but, as Gaspar Massi (3) upbraids them with it, they did not know that it had been printed about a hundred years before. The public were better pleased with Fontius's harangues

than with his Commentary (4). A collection of his works was printed at Franckfort in 1621, in which is inserted the life of Paul Ghiaccetti. The two verses I mentioned are as follow:

Fontius est Rhetor pubis moderator Hetruscæ,
Judicio & nulli morum pietate secundus.

Fontius, preceptor to the Tuscan youth,
For rhet'ric sam'd, for judgment, and for truth.

(4) Fontius & ipse non parum in Persio meruit, sed illius orationes maiore quodam favore excipiuntur. Aul. Dial. de Latina Lingua reparat. pag. 412.

(a) Burnet's Preface to William Bedell's Life.

(b) Ibid.

(c) König, Bibl. pag. 312.

(d) Id. Ibid.

FORBES (PATRIC) in Latin *Forbesius*, a Scotch Gentleman in the XVIIth century, devoted himself to an ecclesiastical life. By the persuasions of his bishop he was prevailed upon to undertake the service of a private cure in the country (a). He was then forty eight years of age. He discharged his duty so worthily, that a few years afterwards he was promoted to the bishopric of Aberdeen, which he held about seventeen years. It was with great difficulty that king James made him accept of that dignity, and for several months he refused it, having proposed to himself to live in a less conspicuous state. It was soon seen how much he deserved to be a bishop; and that his refusal was not counterfeit, but the real effect of his humility. In all his behaviour he has displayed the character of a truly apostolical man (b). We shall see this more particularly here-under [A]. He died in 1635, at the age of seventy one years (c). He wrote something upon the apocalypse (d).

[A] We shall see this more particularly here-under. He visited his diocese without pomp and noise, attended only by one servant, that he might more easily be informed of what belonged to his care. When he was told of the negligence or weakness of any his clergy, he would go and lodge near his church upon Saturday in the evening, without making himself known, and the next day, when he was in the pulpit, he would go and hear him, that by this he might be able to judge what his common sermons were, and as they appeared to him he encouraged or admonished him. He took so much care of two colleges he had in his diocese, that they soon distinguished themselves, and became famous all over Scotland; and when the church was involved in troubles, it appeared by the writings that came out against the covenant, that none but the doctors of those colleges were able to defend her cause; and though they were the first that entered the lists in that famous contro-

versy, yet hitherto we have seen nothing that has eclipsed or excelled their writings. Their exemplary piety, and profound erudition, were equally beneficial and honourable to that diocese. . . . He commonly assembled his clergy twice a year, and before he entered upon any business, he made them a short speech to excuse his own infirmities, and told them, that if they observed any defect in his conduct, if his errors were secret, they might privately reprove him, or before the whole assembly, if they were public, in the manner they should think proper. Then he retired a little, lest his presence should hinder particular persons from speaking. There never was but one turbulent fellow that abused this liberty, for which he was reprimanded by every body, except the bishop, who treated him with that civility his character required (1). This I have taken from the famous Dr Burnet now bishop of Salisbury's preface to the Life of William Bedell.

(1) Burnet's Preface to William Bedell's Life.

(a) Burnet's Preface to Bedell's Life.

(b) In the university of Aberdeen.

(c) See Grevinchoyus, in the preface of his book against Amelius.

(d) Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, Feb. 1704, pag. 181.

FORBES (JOHN) son of the preceding, was of a much more extensive learning than his father, in which perhaps he was excelled by none of that age: Those who shall read his book of historical and theological institutions, will not dispute this title with him; for it is so excellent a work, that if he had been left in quiet in the retirement he had chose, to apply himself to his studies, and could have finished it by a second volume, it would perhaps have been the most valuable treatise of divinity that has yet appeared in the world. He filled the professor's chair (a) which his father had founded (b) when the covenanters expelled him, and forced him to fly beyond sea. The letter he wrote to Vossius, dated from Amsterdam the seventeenth of January 1645, and that which Vossius wrote to him some months after, are worth considering [A]. Note, there was one FORBES, a Scotchman, and a great puritan, who was expelled his country in the beginning of the XVIIth century, and took shelter in Holland, where he hotly opposed the Arminians (c).

I add, that having continued in Holland a little above two years, he returned to his country, where he spent the remainder of his life upon his estate of Corfe, and died there the twenty ninth of April 1648 (d). There was an edition of all his works in

(1) It is the 402d among those written to Vossius.

[A] The letter he wrote to Vossius . . . and Vossius's letter to him, are worth considering. The letter he wrote to Vossius (1) accompanied a copy of a Latin treatise he presented to him, which he had published, wherein he shewed, that the doctrine of St Augustin,

concerning grace, was agreeable to the constant doctrine of the Catholic church. He excused himself to Vossius, that he was not of his opinion. I never saw the answer to it; but Vossius's letter (2), that I mentioned, is in the collection printed at London.

(2) It is the 56th among Vossius's letters.

[A] The

two volumes in folio published at Amsterdam 1703, to which is added his life written by George Garden. An abridgment of the same, together, with a general idea of his writings, is to be found in the journalists (e): for which reason I shall not enlarge upon them.

(e) Ibid. pag. 176, & seq. Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants, July 1703, p. 291, & seq.

FORBES (WILLIAM) bishop of Edinburgh in the XVIIth century, was born at Aberdeen in Scotland, where he went through his classical learning and philosophy. At sixteen years of age he was master of arts, and presently after professor of logic, which office he discharged for four years with great success. He applied himself strenuously to defend Aristotle's logic against the cavils of the Ramists. Afterwards he travelled, and made a prodigious progress in divinity and Hebrew in the universities of Germany, during the four years he continued in that country. After this he visited the university of Leyden, and got the esteem of all the great men who flourished there. The ill state of his health not permitting him to undertake a journey into France and Italy as he designed, he went over to England. The same of his learning soon spreading there, the university of Oxford offered him a professorship in the Hebrew tongue. He did not accept of it, for the physicians advised him to return to his native country. The magistrates of Aberdeen expressed a particular esteem for him. He recovered his health and accepted the cure of Alford in the diocese of Aberdeen. His stay in this parish was but short; his great learning, eloquence, and piety, requiring a more conspicuous station. Being called to preach in his own country, he accepted the call, and discharged the duty of a true minister of the gospel. He was admitted doctor of divinity, when king James, among other things, had agreed with the deputies of the clergy (a), that the academical dignities and degrees should be restored to their ancient course. The ministerial functions, and preaching, impairing his health, they assigned him a less toilsome employment, by making him principal of Marshal college. He read lectures three times a week, as the statutes required, and was afterwards declared dean of the faculty of divinity, and then rector of the university; a post immediately next to the chancellor. The city of Edinburgh invited him to be their pastor: he humbly thanked them for this mark of their esteem, but at length was forced to accept of it, the supreme council, and the provincial synod, having ordered him to do so. He was received at Edinburgh with all possible signs of friendship; but the tempers of men being afterwards altered [A], he withdrew from that flock, and returned into his own country, where he was passionately desired. Some years after he was sent for by king Charles I, who had been crowned with great pomp at Edinburgh in 1633. He preached before this prince with so much eloquence and learning, that he was admired by the whole auditory. The king, having founded an episcopal church at Edinburgh, found no body so worthy to fill the new see as our Forbes. He was consecrated with the usual ceremonies, and applied himself entirely to the functions of his dignity; but he fell sick soon after, and died the first of April 1634, having enjoyed his bishopric only three months. He was forty nine years of age (b). He had printed nothing, and composed but very little. He wrote a tract tending to pacify controversies [B], which was printed in 1658, and reprinted at Helmstad in

(a) He held an ecclesiastical assembly at St Andrew's in Scotland, to consider of the affairs of the church of that kingdom.

(b) Taken from his life, at the beginning of a book mentioned in the rem. [B].

1704.

[A] The tempers of men being altered.] The difference of opinions concerning episcopacy was the cause of this alteration. The pastor taught, that bishops are above priests: the people did not believe this episcopal primacy, being violently attached to the discipline of Geneva, and zealous for the equality of ministers. Forbes maintained modestly and solidly in his sermons, that the primacy of bishops is not a humane institution, but founded upon the word of God, the practice of the apostles, and the custom of the primitive church. His auditors rejected this doctrine, reproaching their pastor, and charging him with Popery. (1). When he found that his labours were unprofitable to his flock, and that it was only seed sown upon a barren ground, he resolved to lay down his charge, and the rather because his lean and macerated body could hardly bear the smoke of Edinburgh, without great danger (2). I act herein only the part of a translator, without interposing my judgment in the dispute between the Episcopians and Presbyterians.

(1) Forbesi sum doctrinam de Episcoporum primatu, multis convitiis incedere, ipsamque Pontificis profectum reum infamare non veretur. Elench. Fidei Gal. Forb. lib. 1.

(2) Ibid.

(3) It is in 8vo, and contains 464 pages. It was printed at London.

[B] He composed little: he wrote a tract tending to pacify controversies.] The title of this book is, Considerationes modestae & pacificae controversiarum de justificatione, purgatorio, invocatione sanctorum, & CHRISTO mediatore, Eucharistia (3). It will not be unacceptable to infer here the character the author of his life has given of it: "Opus hoc posthumum, quod jam in lucem prodit, est pacati ingenii & moderati animi ingens specimen & indicium: in quo tanquam alter Cassander & Catholicus moderator, rigidus & austerus, utriusque tam reformatae quam pontificae partis, opinionibus in quibusdam religionis controversiis, componere, saltem mitigare satagit. Quanti moderatio-

nem fecerit ostendens dicto illo frequenter ab ipso usurpato: Si plures fuissent Cassandri & Wicelii, non opus fuisset Luthero aut Calvino (4). — This posthumous work, which now appears in public, is an extraordinary proof and specimen of moderation, and a pacific temper, wherein, like a second Cassander and Catholic moderator, he strenuously labours to compose, or at least to mitigate, the rigid and austere opinions, both of the reformed and romanists. The great regard he had for moderation sufficiently appears by that common saying of his; that had there been more Cassander's and Wicelii's, there would have been no occasion for a Luther or a Calvin. These last words are not relished by zealous and hot men: they are a tacit censure upon Luther and Calvin; they seem to blame them for having carried a thousand things to extremities, which moderate men, such as Cassander and Wicelius, would have tolerated for the sake of peace. Observe that he had filled the margin of Belarmin's four volumes with notes. These notes were so well liked by Robert Baron, professor in divinity in William Forbes's place, that he preferred them to all that had been published against that Jesuit. He would have published them if death had not prevented him. For the rest, the resolution our prelate took not to write much was very good, and as solid as the advice he gave to one who used a great deal of paper. Read more, said he, and write less. Pauca scripsit, scire enim maluit quam scribere, & hoc differtur scripturienti cuidam, & ei magnos labores ostentanti, lepide sed solide usurpavit: Lege plura, & scribe pauciora (5). The number of excellent writers would not be so small as it is, if those, who at length acquire a talent

(4) Elench. Viten Gul. Forbesi, pag. penult.

(5) Id. ibid.

(c) See the fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Choiseux*, pag. 396, & seq.

1704 (c). We shall see below what the bishop of Salisbury says of the merit of this prelate [C]. Mr le Fevre, doctor of the Sorbonne, made an ill choice of his witnesses, when he quoted the opinion of William Forbes, to prove that the Calvinists do not adhere to the decisions of the synod of Dort. Monf. Arnauld knew how to make the most of his advantage on this occasion [D].

of writing well, could bring themselves to a resolution of publishing but once in four years; but they abuse the facility of writing they have obtained, and injure their reputation, by heaping volume upon volume: they will not be at the trouble of revising and polishing, and therefore do nothing that is good, or that comes near the merit of their first performances. To conclude, I believe that, if the man who wrote so much had come some time after, and told William Forbes, *I have followed your advice, I have read such and such a number of books, he would have given him this farther advice, for the future, read less and meditate more.* I have heard say that Mr Claude advised a very learned person, who had been a prodigious reader, to be three or four years without reading any thing, and to do nothing but meditate: as if he had said, *you have eat enough, now digest.* Those who are called *belluones librorum* have need of this advice.

[C] *We shall see below what the bishop of Salisbury has said of the merit of this prelate.* William Forbes was also one of the doctors of Aberdeen: while king Charles was in Scotland, he was promoted to the bishopric of Edinburgh, which that prince had then founded, and this gave him occasion to say that he had met so excellent a clergyman, that he deserved to have a new episcopal see erected for him, and indeed he was a great and sublime divine. . . . He preached with so much zeal and ardour, that frequently forgetting the measure of time, he continued his sermons for two or three hours: this toil greatly diminished his strength, together with his fasting and ascetic way of life, which he carried to such a height, that he took no more nourishment than was just sufficient to retard his death, which happened one year after his promotion to a bishopric. He enjoyed this dignity long enough to exhibit the virtues of an excellent minister in his person, but too little a while to perform what might have been expected from a longer life. The few books he published are a sufficient proof of his great and extensive learning, though his ardent desire after peace and unity among Christians, made him too favourable to a great many corruptions in the church of Rome: Thus an unlimited charity engages great men to entertain imprudent opinions; but when the principle or motive they act by is truly good, they ought to be excused, or at least censured with moderation (6).

[D] *Mr Arnauld knew how to make the most of his advantage on this occasion.* He had maintained in his great book of the overthrow of morality, that the in-

missibility of grace, or impossibility of falling from grace, was an article of faith among the Calvinists determined by the synod of Dort. Mr le Fevre opposed this assertion, and endeavoured to prove that the Calvinists were at liberty to believe what they pleased concerning it. He cited several Protestant writers who did not hold the inmissibility of grace, and particularly William Forbes. Let us see what Mr Arnauld replied to this (7): 'The very title of William Forbes's book ought to have convinced Mr le Fevre that he was not a fit person to be objected to me. For he was the most moderate and equitable of those pacific episcopians, who, desiring a union between the Catholics and Protestants, made no difficulty to declare for the Catholics against the Calvinists, when they believed the Calvinists were in the wrong, as he himself believed they were in several points of controversy he has handled. Therefore in the abridgment of his life, in the beginning of his book, he is called another Cassander. . . . His friends durst not publish his book till 1658, twenty years after his death: and yet, long before it appeared, he was hated by the Calvinists, as one that maintained against them the Arminian doctrine of the inmissibility of faith, probably because he could not forbear saying in his sermons, that, when the presbyterians undertook the ruin of episcopacy, being supported by the parliament rebels, one of the reproaches they threw upon Laud, the unhappy archbishop of Canterbury, was, that he encouraged Arminianism; and the proof they brought of it is, that he persuaded the king to promote to the bishoprics of Scotland, men who had hardly any thing to distinguish them, but being known to be zealous Arminians, such, said they, as was Forbes promoted by that king to the see of Edinburgh. This liberty which he took to dislike the Geneva opinions made him so obnoxious to Calvin's party, that, having been called to Edinburgh, to be pastor there, before it was erected into a bishopric, those who were the most powerful in that city could not bear him, and branded him with the name of Papist.' This, and other things specified by Mr Arnauld, shew so evidently that our Forbes's private sentiments, concerning the inmissibility of grace, cannot be brought as a proof that the Calvinists are at liberty to reject that doctrine, that it is unnecessary to inquire what Mr le Fevre answered; for it may easily be supposed that it could not be to the purpose. And indeed his reply is so weak that I will not relate it (8).

(7) Arnauld, *Calvinisme convaincu de nouveau*, pag. 120.

(8) See chap. xvii of his Reply to Mr Arnauld.

* In 1633.

(6) Burnet's Preface to the Life of Will. Bedell.

(a) It is in Abelard's works, pag. 217. Paris edit. 1616.

(b) In the articles of ABELARD and HELOISA.

FOULQUES, prior of Deuil in the XIIth century, was an intimate friend of Peter Abelard. He is little known, I believe, but by the consolatory letter (a) he wrote to that friend upon the loss of his privities. We have given an account in another place (b) of the violence done to Abelard, who, instead of well instructing his pupil, had got her with child. This young woman's relations, to be more completely revenged, went to the very root of the evil, and plucked it up so well, that they put it out of the power of the criminal ever to relapse. Foulques, knowing that Abelard was inconsolable on account of this mutilation, wrote him a letter, wherein he set out all the advantages that might accrue to him from such a misfortune. He represented to him, that his great gifts, the subtilty of his wit, his eloquence and learning, which drew an admirable number of auditors to him from all parts [A], had filled

[A] *Abelard's great gifts drew an incredible number of auditors to him.* They came from Rome, Spain, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and the remotest provinces of France. Our Foulques expresses this in a very lively manner, though his stile favours a little of the bombast of the barbarous ages. 'Roma suos tibi docendos transmittit alumnos, & quæ olim omnium artium scientiam auditoribus solebat infundere, sapientiore se se sapiente transmissis scholaribus monstrabat. Nulla terrarum spatia, nulla montium cacumina, nulla concava vallium, nulla via difficilis licet obrita periculo & latrone quominus ad te properarent retinebat. Anglorum turbam juvenum mare interja-

cens, & undarum procella terribilis non terrebat, sed omni periculo contempto, auditu tuo nomine ad te confluebat. Remota Britannia sua animalia erudenda destinabat. Andegavorum eorum edomita feritate tibi famulabantur in suis. Pictavi, Wascones, & Hiberni: Normannia, Flandria, Theutonicus & Suevius tuum colere ingenium, laudare & predicare assidue studebat. Præterea cunctos Parisiorum civitatem habitantes, & intra Galliarum proximas & remotissimas partes qui sic à te docere studebant, ac si nihil disciplinæ non apud te inveniri potuissent. — Rome transmitted her sons to your tuition, and she, who formerly infused into her pupils the knowledge

filled him with unsufferable vanity. He gently touches upon another thing that had not a little contributed to make him so proud, which was, that the women ran after him [B], and gloried in making a conquest of him. He told him, the loss he had sustained would cure him of his pride, and deliver him from the snares of women, which had reduced him to very great want [C], though his profession was worth a great deal of

of all arts, did, by committing her scholars to your care, own the superiority of your wisdom. No distance of climate, no height of mountains, no depth of valleys, no ways however difficult or dangerous to travellers have prevented them from hastening to you. The interposition of seas, the threats of storms and tempests, could not deter the British youth, when they had once heard your name, from crowding to you. Remote Bretagne determined to shake off her savage ignorance. Anjou having softened her native fierceness learned from you to obey. Poitou, Gascon, and Spain; Normandy, Flanders, and Germany, owned, courted, and continually extolled the greatness of your genius. All the inhabitants of Paris, all the people in France, whether neighbouring or remote, had such an insatiable desire of being instructed by you, that they seemed to think all discipline was engrossed by you. Foulques is not the only one that mentions this great affluence of scholars. There is a chronicle writer (1)

(1) Auctor Chronici Morinensis, apud And. du Chesne, Not. in Bibl. Colbert. Abelardi, pag. 2155.

— Peter Abelard, monk and abbot, was a man of great piety, and a master of excellent schools, which were crowded by learned men, from almost all parts of the Latin world. It cannot be denied they came some of them from beyond the Alps, since St Bernard writes that Peter Abelard had nothing to fear, because he believed he had protectors at the court of Rome among the cardinals, and other ecclesiastics that had studied under him. *Securus tamen est quoniam cardinales & clerici curiae se discipulos habuisse gloriatur* (2). Cardinal Gui du Chatel, who was afterwards Pope Celestine II (3), was one of these patrons. If you consult Abelard himself upon the number of his disciples, you will find, that when he retired into the country, he was followed by such crowds of scholars, that they could get neither lodgings nor provisions enough for them: *Ad quas (scholas) tanta scholarum multitudo confluit, ut nec locus hospitii, nec terra sufficeret alimentis* (4).

(2) Epist. cccxii.

(3) See St Bernard's letter to him, in Abelard's works, pag. 299.

(4) Abelard, Opus. pag. 19.

[B] Women ran after him.] These are Foulques's own words: where it must be observed he speaks only by hearsay. 'Nam illud quod sic te, ut ajunt, precipitem dedit, singularum scilicet foeminarum amorem & laqueos libidinis earum quibus suos capiunt scortatores, melius mihi videor praeterire quam aliquid dicere quod ordini nostro & regulae nostrae religionis non concordet. — *As to that which, the world says, plunged you into misfortune, namely the love of women, and the snares of lust in which they catch thoughtless wretches, I think it more proper to be passed over in silence, than to mention a thing which does not agree with our order, and the rules of our religion.*'

[C] . . . Women reduced him to very great want.] Foulques, who had heard say that Abelard was so poor, when this misfortune happened to him, that he had nothing but rags to cover him, begs him to consider what great damage that little part of his body, which was cut off, had been to him, and how much he would save and get by losing it. You ruined yourself, says he; by your leud intrigues; all your estate was swallowed up by that abominable gulf. 'Hæc corporis particula quam omnipotentis Dei judicio & beneficio perdidisti, quantum tibi nocuerat ac nocere quamdiu permansit non desistebat, melius tuarum diminutio rerum quam mea possit monstrare oratio, docet. Quicquid verè scientiæ tuæ venditione perorando præter quotidianum victum & usum necessarium, sicut relatione didici, acquirere poterat, in voraginem fornicariæ consumptionis demergere non cessabas. Avara meretricum rapacitas cuncta tibi rapuerat. Nulla audierunt secula meretricum velle alteri misereri, vel perpericulis rebus appetitorum quas quoquo modo auferre potuerunt. Videtur hoc probare tua profunda paupertas, qui nihil, ut dicitur, præter pannos ex tanto quæstu habebas, cum his primis casibus subiacuisti fortunæ. . . . Adde quod pecunia tua si quam tibi habere licuerit (non enim est monachorum sine

licentia proprium quid habere) vexationi distrahendum non erit obnoxia. A modo incipies possidere quod multis paulo ante distrahebatur eviscerationibus. — The diminution of your fortune is a more ample testimony, than any thing I can say, of the mischiefs continually brought upon you by that troublesome member, which by GOD's good will and favour you have now lost. All the fruits of your labours, and the produce of your knowledge, except what was laid out on a bare subsistence, was perpetually sunk in the all-craving gulf of fornication. The rapacious avarice of leud women stripped you of all. No age ever heard of a wretch that knew compassion, or that spared the fortune of her followers, if she could get it into her power. Your extreme poverty seems to be a proof of what I advance; since, if report be true, you had nothing to shew of all your vast income, except a few old cloaths, when you lay under those circumstances.

. . . Besides all this, your money, if you be allowed to have any (for the monks without permission cannot call any their own) will no longer be subject to the depredations of those rovers. From hence forward you will begin to enjoy what lately was embroiled by the most lavish profusion.' No doubt common report had amplified things: I cannot think that Abelard at the time of his disaster was reduced to the condition of the prodigal son, who, having spent his living among harlots (5), was ready to perish with hunger (6). I confess his comforter does not represent him as actually reduced to a bit of bread; but only in general as brought to rags. Nay it may be objected that it is more probable a leud fellow should ruin himself to such a degree, as to want cloaths rather than food; for the same leeches, that suck out his money, are glad he should be lusty: it is their interest that he feeds well; but his cloaths are nothing to them; it is to their damage if he is not vigorous, and they would rather supply him with food, than let him starve. Yet I believe Foulques had heard that Abelard was so ruined by women, that he wanted both nourishment and cloaths: I do not suppose Foulques minded those subtle distinctions between diet and cloaths (7); but I am sure he gave too much credit to fabulous stories; for though it should not be supposed that Abelard's profession, and marriage with Heloïsa, kept him within bounds, yet it is hard to think that a handsome man as he was, a fine speaker, a subtle logician, in great repute, loved by the women, should have spent upon them the last penny. A man of wit in his place, and acquainted with the world, would perhaps have got more money than he spent in such a way. But here was Abelard's mistake: he knew nothing of the practices of the loose world, he was a scholar: and therefore, though he returned the ladies love for love, he knew not how to increase his income by it. He was a man to be fleeced on all hands.

I fancy it may be affirmed without rashness, that our Foulques was but little acquainted with the old poet Archilochus, and little versed in Ælian: yet he makes use of a thought something like an expression in Archilochus quoted by Ælian. Πολλάκις τὰ κατ' ὄρεσιν μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων συναχθέντα χρηματά, κατὰ τὸν Αρχιλοχόν, εἰς πόρνης γυναικὸς ἔντεσιν καταρυσσίν (8). The translator has not fully hit upon the meaning of the Greek poet: the word ἔντεσιν there signifies a purse only in a metaphorical sense: the learned Kühnius saw it very well: κακῆμενον, says he (9), & sensus turpitudinis subest voci ἔντεσιν. Ita Stoici τὴν συνείσταν προφύλακτον εὐθυμίας ἀποκαλεῖν ἔντεσιν παρατελεῖν, ἔσθ, Nicetas Choniates applies this thought of Archilochus to the reign of Alexis Manuel Comnenus (10): Τὸ τὸν Αρχιλόχου ἀντικρὺς ἐπεσείνετο, ὃ φησιν, εἰς ἔντεσιν πόρνης πολλάκις μεταρρυσσέσθαι τὰ χρόνῳ συλλεγόμενα μακρῶ. Ut plane id fieret quod Archilochus scribit ea sæpe in scorti pudenda confluere quæ longo labore & tempore sint congesta.

— That saying of Archilochus was entirely verified, namely that the produce of many years hard labour is often sunk in a wretch's lap. Foulques's expression, in voraginem fornicariæ consumptionis demergere non cessabas

(5) Ὁ κατὰ Φαγῶν ἐν τὸν βίον μετὰ πόρνης. Qui abluivit vicium suum cum meretricibus. Luca cap. xxi. ver. 30.

(6) Ἐγὼ δὲ λυγρὸν ἀπολλύμαι. Ego vero fame perco. Io. xxi. 17.

(7) These distinctions might do, supposing that a woman could not get another gallant; but Abelard was at Paris, where if a gallant has not money, he is neglected, and others look for, who can maintain a mistress, and then the diet of the first is as little minded as his cloaths.

(8) Ælian, Hist. Div. lib. iv. cap. xiv, pag. m. 276. Here follows the version of Valerius: Sæpe pecunie, quas multo cum labore quis sigillatim per obolos vix comparavit, iuxta Archilochum, un versis semel in scorti marisum effunditur.

(9) Kühnius in Ælian. lib. i.

(10) Nicetas Choniates, in Alexi Mon. Comneni, p. 23. Genev. edit. 1593, in 4to.

of money to him. He assured him the loss of those parts, he had made an ill use of, would stifle several passions in him that torment other men. That he would now be at liberty to keep his thoughts collected within himself, instead of suffering them to wander upon a thousand lascivious subjects. He adds, that his meditations being no longer interrupted by the emotions of the flesh, he would be better able to discover the secrets of nature, and the reasons of things; besides, that he would not now ruin himself by intrigues, nor his purse be again the prey of those vile and voracious courtizans, who knew so well how to fleece him (c). He reckons it as a great advantage to him, that for the future he would not be the terror of any husband (D), but might safely lodge any where; for being out of the reach of suspicion from his landlord, he would be a welcome guest in all houses, and screened from jealousy. He does not forget to tell him, that he might go in and out among the best dressed ladies, and view the most beautiful maids, without the least danger or fear of those criminal temptations, with which the sight of such objects can fire even the breasts of old men themselves. He congratulates him upon being freed from those impure illusions which invade our sleep (E);

(c) See the remark [C].

effabaz, may also be compared with a passage in Sidonius Apollinaris, where the like extravagance is called *sumptuositas domesticæ Charybdis*. The passage is good, and describes the behaviour of a young man, who, after having ruined himself by profligate women, at length opened his eyes, and forsaking his infamous intrigues married a good fortune. The author would have had his change more holy, and that from debauchery he should have passed to continence; but, says he, few men can go such lengths at first, and immediately deny themselves every thing, who have been accustomed to the most abandoned liberties. 'Hic proximè abrupto contubernio ancillæ propudiosissimæ, cui se totum consuetudine obscenæ junctus addixerat, patrimonio, posteris, famæ subitâ sui correctione consuluit. Namque per rei familiaris damna vacuatus, ut primum intelligere cepit, & retractare quantum de bonisculis avitis paternisque sumptuositas domesticæ charybdis abligurisset, quamquam serò respiciens, attamen tandem veluti frænos momordit, excussitque cervicem, atque Ulyxeas (ut ferunt) ceras auribus figens, fugit adversum vitia furdus, meretricii blandimenta naufragii: puellamque (prout decuit) intactam vir laudandus in matrimonium assumpsit, tam moribus natalibusque summatem, quam facultatis principalis. Effet quidem gloria, si voluptates sic reliquisset, ut nec uxori conjugaretur: sed est forte contingat ad bonos mores ab errore migrare, paucorum est incipere de maximis: & eos qui diu totum indulerint sibi, protinus totum & pariter incidere

(11) Sidon. Apollinar. Epist. vi, lib. ix, pag. m. 571.

(11) Having broke off all commerce with his infamous maid, to whose leud embraces he had before abandoned himself, by this sudden and happy change he consulted his interest, his reputation, and the honour of his family; for being reduced by the frequent damages which his fortune had sustained, no sooner did he begin to consider what sums had been swallowed up by this domestic Charybdis, though his repentance was late, yet, having at last broke his reins, and disengaged himself, like Ulysses, he filled his ears with wax, became deaf to the music of vice, and the charms of a wanton syren. Having gained so noble a conquest over himself, he then married, and, as prudence directed, chose a maid of spotless virtue, whose family and fortune might claim the highest regard. The conquest however had still been more glorious, had he so far subdued his desires as not to have married; but tho' it sometimes happens that a man may bid adieu to his error, yet very few at the first spring rise to the heights of virtue, and, after they have allowed themselves an unlimited indulgence, cut it entirely short at once. See Rigaltius, and Gudius's notes upon a passage of Phædrus (12), where you will find a great many sentences concerning the address with which a leud woman reduces her gallants to beggary. Foulques was not ignorant of this truth, and he believed Abelard had experienced the same. He could not have expressed himself more strongly, even though he had been in a condition to profit by reading Signor Stefano Guazzo, who has the following words. 'So no più dannose le donne vecchie che le giovani, perché secondo il volgar detto, la capra giovane mangia il sale, & la vecchia mangia il sale, e' l'faccio . . . così alla fine vi risolverete, che siamo posti al mondo dalle donne, per esser ruinati dalle donne: Et perciò diceva un melchino, che se ne moriva di mal franchise: Donna m'ha fatto, & donna m'ha disfatto. Et certo che disanno in due modi, se crediamo à

(12) See these words of the second Fable of the second book: A feminis utiqueque spoliari viros Ament, amentur, nempe exemplis discimus. Loving or lov'd, we by example find, That women are the rooks that strip mankind.

quel gentil poeta, che disse. — Old women are more pernicious than the young; for according to the proverb, the young kid eats the salt, the old goat eats salt, and bag and all . . . So that it must be confessed, as by women we are brought into the world, by women we are ruined. This made a poor sinner just ready to die of the pox cry out: a woman gave me life, and by a woman I am deprived of life: and it is certain they destroy us two ways, if we may believe the poet, who has said,

Succia Lesbia la borsa, & sucia il core,
Pazzo è chi compra con due sangui amore (13).

Lesbia sucks the purse as well as heart. Woe to the man that purchases love at so dear a rate.

(13) Stefano Guazzo, la civil Conversatione, lib. ii, pag. 261.

(D) The terror of any husbands. I have not translated literally, for fear of falling into an expression a little too comical; for Foulques's words are: 'Hoc quoque magni exilimare debes quod nulli suspectus ab omni hospite hospes tutissimè recipiaris. Maritus uxoris violationem ex te vel lectuli concussionem minime formidabit.'

(E) And view the most beautiful maids without danger . . . free from those impure illusions which invade our sleep. That I may not be thought to amplify things, here I shall produce the author's own words. 'Decentissime ornatarum turmas matronarum inviolabiliter pertransibis, virginum choros flore juventutis splendentium, quæ etiam senes jam calore carnis destitutos suis motibus in fervorem libidinis inflammare confueverunt, non timens earum inceffus & laqueos, securus & sine peccato miraberis . . . Omnino post hos hujus fragilissimæ fragilitatis fluxus, quod magnum Dei gratiæ munus in hoc ordine ætino, noturnas somniorum illusiones te minime sentire ita certum est, sicut certum est quoniam voluntatem si forte aderit, nullus sequetur effectus. — You will now run no risques amidst the assemblies of ladies, however their charms may be set off to advantage; you may now securely, and without danger of falling, frequent the balls, and gaze on the nymphs that are adorned with all the pride of beauty, and who by their air have often inflamed old age itself, destitute of the warmth of the flesh, with the fervour of desire . . . After this deprivation of the most frail of all frailties, which I look on as a signal mark of divine favour in this order, 'tis as certain you will no longer be subject to the nocturnal illusions of dreams, as it is, that no effect can be produced by the will if ever such should happen to be your case. It is needless to prove that Foulques rightly places this among the greatest advantages of a clergyman's life. It is certain a man devoted to continency must think it happy to have a heart proof against love and beauty: he ought to wish to have the same qualities with respect to that fire, as the Hircæ had for common fire (14). It is not only the easiest but the surest way to be chaste; for those, who cannot persevere in this way without frequent conflicts, are much to be pitied: they live in continual agitation and trouble; their state is always doubtful; victory is sometimes wavering (15), and even sometimes goes against them: they are too often convinced that success is uncertain, nor do they scarce ever come off conquerors in those contests without being covered with wounds. We justly conclude that those are miserable, who are never out of the physician's hands (16). This is no less true of those

(14) See the remark [M] of the article LOYOLA.

(15) See the remark [N] of the article FONTEVRAUD.

(16) Vivere medicis est misere vivere.

an exemption, says he, that is a great gift from God. The matrimonial functions, continues he, and the care of a family, will not hinder you from applying to please God (d); and what a happiness is it to be placed out of danger, and assured of sinning no more: He urges the example of Origen, and some holy martyrs, who are now rejoicing in heaven, that they were on earth in the same condition, which Abelard was lamenting. He represents to him, that his loss is irreparable [F], and therefore he ought

(d) Blanditiæ uxoris corporumque contactus, sine quo uxor haberi non potest, ac liberorum cura singularis quomodo Deo placeat minime retardabunt.

those who are always forced to combat with a sanguine constitution, and be in a constant opposition to the irruptions of the flesh. This is a lamentable state: a man is often beat back to his intrenchments; his conscience fighting and groaning for the defeat: what progress would he not make towards perfection, could he walk without those obstacles, and without fighting the enemy at every step? As to the other point, I mean the impurities of sleep, St Austin will tell us what the happiness is, that Foulques congratulates his friend for; St Austin, I say, who begs of God the grace of being delivered from the inconvenience he felt on that account. He submitted in sleep to what he would not have done when awake, and laments that remainder of infirmity in him. 'Adhuc vivunt in memoria

(17) August. Confess. lib. x. cap. xxx. pag. 127, 128.

mea, says he (17), talium rerum imagines, quas ibi consuetudo mea fixit: & occurrant mihi vigilantique carentes viribus, in somnis autem non solum ulque ad delectationem, sed etiam usque ad consensionem facillimeque simillimum. Et tantum valet imaginis illusio in anima mea & in carne mea, ut dormienti falsa visa persuadeant, quod vigilantem vera non possunt. . . . Numquid non potens est manus tua, Deus omnipotens, sanare omnes languores animarum mearum, atque abundantiore gratia tua lascivos motus etiam mei soporis extinguere? Augebis, Domine, magis magisque in me munera tua, ut anima mea sequatur mea ad te, concupiscentiarum visco expedita, ut non sit rebellis sibi: atque ut in somnis etiam, non solum non perpetret istas corruptelarum turpitudines per imagines animales usque ad carnis fluxum, sed ne consentiat quidem. — The images of such things, says he, as custom had left in my memory, are still fresh therein; and tho' whilst I wake they present themselves without making any impression, yet in sleep they not only excite a pleasure, but a consent, and the resemblance of an act. Such moreover is the power of these illusions on my soul, and my flesh, that false appearances in a dream have a greater influence upon me, than the real objects whilst I wake. Is not thy hand, O almighty GOD, able to heal all the infirmities of my soul, and by thy more abundant grace to extinguish all the wanton emotions of my slumbers? Pour down, O Lord, more and more thy mercies upon me, that my soul being freed from the power of concupiscentia, may no longer rise in rebellion against itself, but be directed to thee, and that even in sleep it may not only be free from pollution, and the illusion of animal images, but also from a consent.

[F] He tells Abelard that his loss is irreparable. This is most certain: it does not happen here as to the Sybil's tree; that when one golden branch was cut off, another presently sprouts up in the room of it.

— . . . Primo avulso non deficit alter

Aureus; & simili frondefcit virga metallo (18).

When one is pluck'd, behold a second rise
And glitter on the tree.

(18) Virgil. Æn. lib. vi. ver. 143.

He who, speaking of a maidenhead, said it could be lost but once, and that no artifice could repair it, was right in the main:

— . . . nulla reparabilis arte

Læta pudicitia est, deperit illa semel (19).

No arts, no means, can honour lost restore,
When that once sinks it never rises more.

(19) Ovid. Epist. v. ver. 103. Heroid.

(20) There are cheating women who pretend to restore maidenhood. Forthwith, at the word Pucelage.

(21) Cypressi mœnem domumque pœnemque totum idem quia huius generis arbor excois non renascitur. Item ex mœnem nihil est jam speciem. Fagus.

But probably he knew that, though the original is not to be recovered by any contrivance, yet sometimes a copy of it at least may be recovered (20). But it is not so with Abelard's wound: it is incurable; there are no restorers of that kind, no false pieces to be had for money; it is a cypress tree (21). The inference Foulques draws is not so certain: grieve not, says he, for

the loss of your member; for it will never grow again, nature will not allow it to be restored. 'Ergo, frater, ne doleas, nec contristeris, nec perturbatione huius incommodi quatiaris, præsertim cum hoc tam plures, ut dictum est, utilitatis afferat fructus, & quod hoc modo factum est semper & irreparabile permaneat & evallum. Sic hoc tibi solamen affidue quod redintegrari natura non patitur, levius potest tolerari. — Grieve not therefore, my brother, be not despondent, torment not your self with the thoughts of a disaster, especially since, as I have before observed, it will be attended with so far larger a train of advantages; besides, whatever is affected in this manner remains for ever disunited and irreparable. This therefore may be a perpetual consolation, that as nature will never suffer what is thus lost to be retrieved, so the loss may the more easily be supported.' One would think that in these last words Foulques had a view to this sentence in Horace,

Levis fit patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas (22).

The worst of ills by patience milder grows.

(22) Horat. Od. xxiv. lib. i. ver. 19, 20.

But he does not well express the sense of it: the poet does not mean that an irreparable loss is easier to be born than a reparable one; he only says that the weight of an irreparable loss becomes lighter, by a resolution to bear it patiently.

It must be confessed that most of the common-place consolations have two faces, and two handles. They have this defect that they may be retorted: for instance, what can be more reasonable than to do nothing in vain? Upon this foot you argue well with a mother, mourning for the loss of her dear son, when you tell her, that her tears are to no purpose, and let her say or do what she will, she can never restore her son to life: but she may answer, that is the very thing that makes me inconsolable; for if I could repair my loss, I should bear it patiently: if I could hope, as they do in trade, to regain upon one ship what I had lost upon another, I should have little want of consolation. I doubt not but Foulques would have had more success in comforting Abelard, if the latter had only lost his beard: what are you grieved for? would he have said: they have robbed you of your beard: a great misfortune that: stay a month or two and you will have another. No doubt this would have been a great ground of comfort; but the single thought that his wound was incurable, and subject as much or more than any thing to that severe philosophic rule, à privatione ad habitum non datur regressus; this thought alone, I say, which his comforter urged as a strong argument for patience, was the chief cause of his despair: nor would it mend the matter to tell him that at last that rule would prove false, viz. in the resurrection at the last day (23); for then he might answer, that then he should have no need of such things, since at the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of GOD in heaven (24).

EXAMINATION of some common-places of consolation.

(23) John xi. 24.

Note, what I have said above concerning an irreparable loss may be confirmed by the testimony of the chief of the seven wise men of Greece, that it renders men more inconsolable. Solon was lamenting the death of his son: his friends represented to him that his tears could be of no service; for that very reason, says he, I weep. Ἀνὴρ φησὶ Διοσκυρίδης ἐν ταῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἐπεὶ δὴ δακρυοὶ τὸν παῖδα τελευτήσαντα . . . πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, ἀλλ' ἐδὲν ἀνύτλεις, εἰπεῖν, δὲ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ δακρυόν, ὅτι ἐδὲν ἀνύτλω. Ipsum refert Diocorides in commentariis cum lacrymaretur ac lugeret defunctum filium . . . dicereturque à quodam, at nihil proficere, respondisse, & propter hoc ipsum illarum quia nihil proficere (25). See in the remark [K] of the article AMPHIARAEUS how Carneades confuted certain common-places of consolation.

(24) Matth. xxii. 30.

(25) Diog. Laërt. in Solone, lib. i. n. 63.

T

[G] . . . That

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ought to bear it patiently. That he did not receive the wound in an ill action [G], since he was alone in bed, fast asleep, and designing mischief to no body. Then he comforts him by other arguments; shews how greatly the bishop, canons, and clergy of Paris were concerned at his disgrace [H]: How much he was pitied by the inhabitants,

[G] That he did not receive his wound in an ill action.] He means that he was not taken in the fact with a woman, which has cost some people the same parts he lost. 'Per & hæc, ut ait ille, solatia tecum, quoniam tempore hujus diminutionis vel thorum violando, vel in aliquo fornicationis veneno minime deprehensus es.' This consolation was better than the former, though it must be owned Abelard had drawn this disgrace upon himself, by a crime no less sinful than adultery. So that he could not say with the same confidence as that other Eunu- chus:

Quid fortunæ, stulte, delictum arguis?

Id demum est homini turpe, quod meruit pati (26).

*Why dost thou, fool, the crimes of fortune trace?
That only, which a man deserves, is base.*

However, the crime was over, and when he was mutilated he had no thoughts of injuring any body. Generally speaking the rule is true, *Quæ venit ex merito pœna, dolenda venit*, whether Abelard could or could not make the application of it to himself. Besides, there are good authorities, which prove that those who were taken in the very fact leave the instrument of their crime behind them. Thus Plautus (27) brings in his Sycerastus saying:

--- SYN. Facio quod manifesto hi mœchi haud fer-
me solent.

MI. Quid id est? SYN. Refero vasa falva.

That is, *I have done what adulterers seldom do. MI. What's that? SYN. I have brought away my tackle safe and sound.* I make use of Mr Dacier's translation, who quotes this passage in his note upon a place in Horace, where that kind of punishment is mentioned (28). Periplectomenes in the same Plautus (29) will not only use the hectoring spark in the same manner, but also hang his members, when they are cut off, about his neck for a child's play-thing.

Vide, ut tibi istic sit acutus, CARIO, culter probe.

CA. Quin jamdudum gessit mœcho hoc abdomen
adimere

Ut faciam quasi puero, in collo pendeant crepundia

PE. Cur es ausus subagitare alienam uxorem? im-
pudens!

Look to it, CARIO, that your blade carry a good edge. CAR. Fear not, sir, 'tis keen set, and longs to be about his what-do-ye-call-ums. I'll make a boy of him again, and hang a new fashioned coral and bells about his neck.

Terence only says (30) that the criminal was bound and they were just going to inflict on him the punishment of adulterers; but, either because he was more modest than Plautus, or because it is a servant maid that speaks, he does not say what the punishment was. It was well enough understood.

--- Ut ne viderem, misera huc effugi foras

Quæ futura exempla dicunt in eum indigna ---

--- Colligavit primum eum miseris modis ---

--- Nunc minatur porro sese id quod mœchis
soler

Quod ego nunquam vidi fieri neque velim.

Dear heart! I left the house in haste to get out of the fight on't. What a dreadful example do they say they'll make of him! He first bound him hand and foot, 'twould grieve your heart to see it And now he threatens to serve him like a common adulterer, a fight he never saw, nor would I for the world.

See in Valerius Maximus (31) two examples of this punishment. By the Egyptian laws (32) it was inflicted on those who violated a woman. Zonaras says that the emperor Justinian condemned all Sodomites to this punishment. 'In eos Justinianus pœnam planè convenientem statuit. Nam qua parte erant tam ignominiosi, hac eos privari imperabat, ut Zonaras prodidit. Quid enim? (ajebat) si sacrilegium commisissent, nonne eis manus amputassem (33)?' What, said he, if they had committed sacrilege, should not I have condemned them to lose their hands? the punishment was well proportioned to the crime, and was a means to prevent it for the future: a gallant who escaped with his members might charge again; as a soldier that runs away may rally again. To prevent this they proceeded to amputation (34).

One of the authors I have cited (35) quotes a short epigram of Martial, in which he laughs at a husband that cut off the nose of his wife's gallant. She loses nothing by that, says he; that is not the part that had offended you.

Quis tibi persuasit nares abscindere mœcho?

Non hac peccatum est parte, marite, tibi.

Stulte quid egisti? nihil hic tua perdidit uxor,

Cum sit salva sui mentula Deiphobi (36).

What could, my friend, your bar'rous blade engage,

On your wife's lover's guiltless nose to rage?

Fool that thou art! thy spouse no loss sustains,

The guilty part, that injur'd thee, remains.

A poet of the XVIth century, exercised his muse upon the like thought; but he changed the circumstances of the fact. This is his epigram:

De marito, cujus mœcha erat conjux.

Cum mœcha sensit mœchum dormire maritus,

Extremplu uxori construit ille dolos.

Nocte semel media repetens sua limina, mœchum

Cum mœcha in tepido conspiciet esse toro.

Distringit gladium, mœchæ duo brachia scindit,

Atque duos mœchi diffeccat ense pedes.

Non sic debuerat facinus punire nephandum:

Pars, qua peccatum est, hæc rescanda fuit (37).

On a husband, whose wife used to cuckold him.

The husband found his spouse leud pranks bad play'd,

And for the wanton dame a trap he laid:

Returning late one night, with silent pace,

He found a stranger had usurp'd his place;

His sword he drew, of arms bereft his wife,

Her minion's legs compounded for his life.

But why this rage on guiltless members shewn?

The part that injur'd should the crime atone.

[H] He represents to Abelard how much the clergy of Paris were concerned at his disgrace.] Nothing

shews better the great esteem they had for that philosopher. No doubt our Foulques exaggerates things in his letter; for one would imagine by what he writes that almost the whole city of Paris was afflicted and dismayed for the loss of Abelard's members. From hence the comforter draws one of his best arguments: as if this signal mark of the affection of the Parisians Felix le nequit was worth more than all that Abelard had lost (38). amari. Pene I do not believe the sufferer would acquiesce in this valuation, and would without doubt rather have been ignorant all his life of the friendship they had for him, than to have known it upon such terms. This lessons in te might have been said to people who made no use of what they had; but Abelard used his talent stoutly, and drew a good income from it, and always pre- tended to make the most of it: be this as it will, let us hear the comforter's own words. 'Plangit hoc

(31) Lib. vi, cap. i, n. 13.

(32) Diod. Sicul. lib. i, cap. lxxviii.

(33) Salmuth in Pancirollum Re- rum Memorabil. Part. II, pag. m. 86.

(34) 'Ανθρ δ Φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαζήσεται. Vir qui fugit rursum integrabit prælum. Demosthenes quoted this verse when he was re- proached with running away. See And. Gellius, lib. xvi, cap. xxi.

(35) Salmuth in Pancir. Rerum Memor. Part. II, pag. 86.

(36) Mart. Epigr. lxxxv, lib. iii.

(37) Jo. Vasticius, Epigram. lib. ii, pag. m. 136.

(38) Tantis omnium luctus extitit, ut melius mihi videaris te debere velle per- risse quam ser- vasse quod periit.

amari. Pene tota civitas in tuo dolore con- tabuit. Habes aram vena di- him, than to have known it upon such terms. This lessons in te might have been said to people who made no use of what they had; but Abelard used his talent stoutly, and drew a good income from it, and always pre- tended to make the most of it: be this as it will, let us hear the comforter's own words. 'Plangit hoc

tuum

tants, and lamented by the women [I]. He describes the whole in a very lively manner; but in touching upon the last head of consolation, he does not say a word of Heloisa [K]. As he seemed inclined to fly to the Pope for justice, he desires him to lay

tuum vulnus & damnum venerabilis Episcopi benig-
nitas, qui quantum licuit vacare justitiae studuit.
Plangit liberalium Canonicorum ac nobilium Cleri-
corum multitudo. Plangunt cives civitatis hoc de-
decus reputantes, & dolentes suam urbem tui fan-
guinis effusione violari. — *Your loss has been de-
plored by the venerable prelate, who sought to do you
justice as far as possible. It is deplored by the ca-
nons, and the dignified clergy. It is deplored by
the citizens: with sorrow they reflect on your misfor-
tune, and think it a disgrace to their town, that
it should be stained with your blood.* See the re-
mark, either in the margin, or in the following re-
mark. See also the remark [N] of the article HELOI-
SA; where I have quoted what Abelard said him-
self of the grief his misfortune caused him.

[I] Lamented by the women.] They wept as bi-
terly for him as if each had lost her husband, or
lover, in the field of battle; it is true no man's life
was lost, but yet they had lost their champion. These
are Fouiques's words (39). They had lost their A-
donis; therefore their sorrow for him must have been
more sincere than that of those women of old, who an-
nually celebrated the memory of Venus's mourning for
Adonis (40). *Plangentes Adonidem* (41). Methinks
the comforter should not have touched this string;
it was by no means proper to his design, and could
only exasperate the grief of the unhappy Abelard for
two invincible reasons; for first, he saw by that, in a
very particular manner, the importance of the good
he had lost; secondly, he was made sensible of a fa-
vour which he found himself utterly unable ever to
make a grateful acknowledgement of. I cannot there-
fore but say it over and over again, that our Fouiques
was too bombast an Orator who confounds two
things that ought to be distinguished. He will have
the tears of all the women, *singularum feminarum*;
to proceed from their having lost their champion,
militem suum; but this could only be true of a few
that Abelard was intimate with, or who hoped one
day to partake of his favour. Therefore he should
have said, either that the others did not lament him,
or, if they did, it was less out of love to Abelard, than
fear of the consequences. I mean, they were under
apprehensions that that barbarous manner of punishing
lewdness should be introduced in the world, and the
example of the canon be practised upon others. So

(39) Quid fango-
rum semina-
rum reform-
pandum que,
sic hoc antio-
chymis, more
famine, ora
vigilant propter
te MILITEM
SUUM, quem
amiserat, ac si
singule virum
suum nec simi-
com fore belli
significat ex-
tinctionem?

(40) That is,
according to
force, for a dis-
tinct which be-
fist poor Adonis.
See the re-
mark [I] of
the article
ADONIS.

(41) Ezekiel,
viii, 14.

(42) This is much
like what Horace
says, *Epist. i.*
lib. ii, with re-
ference to satire,
*Dilecte clemente
Dante lacrimis
fuit insidit quo-
que tua
Conditio super
communi. Per.*
150.

pleased with this woman's ingenuous declaration,
that they restored her husband to her, and all they
had taken from her. As she was going away,
Thedbold asked her what she would be willing
should be done to her husband, if he was found in
arms again. He has eyes, said she, a nose, hands,
and feet: these are his own, which you may take
from him if he deserves it; but leave him, if you
please, what belongs to me (43).

Note, that, in all probability, this woman had ra-
ther they should have taken away her husband's life,
than see him an enunch, a condition in which she
would have known all the evils without the conve-
nienices of widowhood: she would have had neither
liberty to marry again, nor right to dissolve her mar-
riage on account of impotence: for the courts of
justice would not have admitted her plea: they take
no notice of impotence that comes from such acci-
dents. Observe, by the way, that the Romans would
not have censured this woman's taste. They would
rather chafe to lose their lives than their virility.
This Caesar represented to the ambassadors of Phar-
naces, when he complained of the cruel treatment the
Roman merchants underwent in the kingdom of
Pontus. 'Se magnas & graves injurias civium Ro-
manorum qui in Ponto negotiati essent, quoniam
in integrum restituere non posset, concedere Phar-
naci. Nam neque interfectis amissam vitam, neque
excessis virilitatem restituere posse, quod quidem sup-
plicium GRAVIUS MORTE cives Romani subissent (44).

[K] Without saying a word of Heloisa.] This is
not to be wondered at; for as she was the most injured
of all, her grief was sufficiently known, and it would
have been no news to her husband to have been
told how bitterly she lamented his loss. It is true,
she was then in a convent, but had only the dress
of a nun: the secret visits she received from her
husband were for something more than *meer chat*;
they had the skill to withdraw into some corner to
be free and easy (45); and she had long enjoyed these
conversations under the habit of a nun (46). So that
she had not renounced what her husband was deprived
of. To judge of the grief which pierced her soul,
when she heard this news, I will not confine myself
to the new translation of her letters (47). *How cruel
were they* (thus the translation has it) *when their
blind fury incited an assassin to surprise you in your
sleep! had I been with you, I would have defended you
at the expense of my own life; my very cries would
have stopped his arm. But here love itself is wounded,
and my modesty, joined to my despair, render me speech-
less. It is not lawful for me to say all I think about
it, and if it were I could not possibly do it. And in-
deed there is an eloquence in silence, when the great-
ness of a calamity is beyond all expression.* How sig-
nificant is this! nature herself speaks; one would
think it not the language of the fancy, but the voice
of sensation and experience, and of one that really
was in Heloisa's place (48). I wish these were her
own words, and am sorry not to see, in the original
Latin, what I read in the French paraphrase. But
if she did not say she would have ventured her own
life to have saved her husband's virility, and that her out-
cries would have preserved that inestimable jewel from
the murderer's hands, at least she ought to have said
it, and the translator is not to be blamed for lending
her a thought so natural. Nevertheless, I shall not
make this my rule to judge of Heloisa's sorrow.
Her own Latin is enough. Her murmur against the
divine providence come little short of blasphemy,
such as never fell from the lips of Job, when he had lost
his wealth and children, and was miserably torment-
ed in his own body. Heloisa thought her loss great-
er than his, though she and her husband were both
well; after all, says she, the only comfort that re-
mains, is, that I know he is not dead, being for
ever debarred from all other joys coming from him.

(43) Ubi nullum
piu te remedium
habeam, & nul-
lum aliud in te
nisi hoc ipsum
quod vivis omni-
bus de te mihi
aliis voluptatibus
interdictis, cui
upon me all the arrows in his quiver, so that other
sinners may now rest secure. Death is the only
punishment he has not inflicted, which would have
put an end to my misery, but he will not suffer me

(44) Hirtius, de
Bello Alexandri-
no, pag. m. 411.

(45) See the re-
mark [E] of the
article HELOI-
SA.

(46) She dis-
guised herself in
that habit, when
she went to live
in at Abelard's
sister's house.
See her article,
citati. (b).

(47) Printed at
the Hague, by
John Alberts,
1693.

(48) Heloisa's ex-
tream grief for
the castration of
her husband.

(49) I have
been told that a
woman is the
author of that
translation.

lay aside all thoughts of it, since it would require too much money to succeed there [L]; that the authors of the injury had been punished [M]; that he was to blame to complain of the cathedral church, and that being a Monk, he ought to renounce all desire of revenge, leaving it entirely to Almighty God, and love even his worst enemies. To conclude, he exhorts him not to lament the happiness he had lost, since that pretended happiness is always accompanied with a thousand inconveniences: And he assures him, that if he perseveres to the end, he shall recover at the day of judgment what

to die, tho' daily expiring. 'O si fas sit dici crudelem
' mihi per omnia Deum! ô inclementem clementiam! ô
' infortunatam fortunam! quæ jam in me universi cona-
' minis sui tela in tantum consumpsit, ut quibus in alios
' seviat jam non habeat. Plenam in me pharetram exhau-
' sit, ut frustra jam alii bella ejus formident. Nec si ei ad-
' huc telum aliquod superesset, locum in me vulneris
' inveniret. Unum inter tot vulnera metuit ne morte
' supplicia finiam, & cum interimere non cesset in-
' teritum tamen quem accelerat timet.' All the rest
of her discourse shews that her horrible murmurings
were founded upon nothing else but the loss of her
husband's conversation, as appears from her own con-
fession, page 59 (50). She takes an unbounded liberty
to arraign providence, as if God had chastised them,
when they did not deserve it, and bore with them,
when they deserved punishment. God, says she,
spared us when our pleasures were criminal, delaying
our punishment till marriage had made them innocent;
' Et ut ex injuria major indignatio surgeret, om-
' nia in nobis æquitatis jura pariter sunt perverbia.
' Dum enim solliciti amoris gaudiis fruemur, & ut
' turpiore, sed expressiore vocabulo utar, fornicatione
' vacaremus, divina nobis severitas pepercit. Ut au-
' tem illicita licitis correximus, & honore conjugii
' turpitudinem fornicationis operuimus, ira Domini
' manum suam super nos vehementer aggravavit, &
' immaculatum non pertulit thorum qui diu ante sub-
' stinuerat pollutum (51). This poor woman was
strangely deluded, if she imagined her love was pure
because she did not cease loving her husband after
he was made impotent. She upbraids him for hav-
ing only had a lascivious passion for her, since he
neglected her, when he could no longer enjoy carnal
pleasures with her (52): but does she not confess (53)
that she laments past pleasures, that she thinks night
and day on their mutual enjoyments? does she not
own a desire after their continuance (54)? if this
is not a lustful love, a love of flesh and blood, what
can be so? Abelard was sensible of this, and exhorted
his wife to entertain other thoughts, least she should
be justly charged with impure love. 'Cave obscuro
' says he to her (55), ne quod dixit Pompeius mæ-
' renti Corneliæ tibi impropere turpissimè,

(50) Si vere mi-
serimi mei ani-
mi proferit in-
firmam qua
penitentia
Deum placere
valem non in-
venio, quem
SUPER HAC
SEMPER INJU-
RIA summe cru-
delitatis arguo,
& ejus dispensa-
tioni contraria
magis cum ex
indignatione of-
fendo quam ex
penitentia satisf-
actione mitigo.

(51) Pag. 57.

(52) Concupis-
centia te mihi
potius quam ami-
cicia sociavit, li-
bidinis ardor po-
tius quam amor.
Ubi igitur quod
desiderabas cessa-
vit, quicquid
propter hoc ex-
hibebas pariter
evanuit. Pag. 47.

(53) See the re-
marks of her
article.

(54) Quomodo
etiam peniten-
tia peccatorum
dicitur quanta-
cunque sit corpo-
ris afflictio si
mens ad huc ipsam
peccandi retinet
voluntatem, &
priusquam cessat
desideria?
Pag. 59.

(55) Pag. 75.

* Lucan lib. viii.

--- vivit post prælia Magnus
Sed fortuna perit, quod defles illud amasti *.

'Attende, precor, id & erubescit, nisi admittas turpi-
' tudines impudentissimas commendes. — Take care,
' says he to her, I entreat you, lest what Pompey said
' to the disconsolate Cornelia should be maliciously turn-
' ed upon you.

--- 'Tis true, my fortune's lost;
Who grieve for that, no love for me can boast,
But mourn the loss of what they wald most.

'Be circumspect, I beseech you, let modesty restrain you,
' and seem not to justify the most shameful and impu-
' dent practices.

[L] He told Abelard it would require too much mo-
ney to be able to succeed there.] Our Foulques speaks
so much to the disadvantage of the court of Rome,
that if they have not placed him in the catalogue of the
witnesses of truth, it is not his fault. He says, the
avarice of the Romans is insatiable, and that if
Peter Abelard visits the Pope without good store of
money, his journey will turn to no account. Let us
hear his own words; the language he speaks in will
bear the harshest terms better than ours. 'Nunquid
' non audisti aliquando de Romanorum avaritia &
' impuritate? quis unquam suis potuit opibus mere-
' tricum voraginem satiare? quis potuit sacculis cu-
' piditatis eorum sufficere crumenis? . . . Substan-
' tia tuæ rei ad visitationem Romani Pontificis cum
' aut modica sit aut nulla, minime sufficit. Quid

' Palatinis moribus objectabis? . . . si defecerit (pe-
' cunia) & iter tamen impleveris incautum te fudasse
' nulli dubitare fas est: quotquot enim nostris tem-
' poribus ad illam sedem sine pondere pecunie ac-
' cesserunt, perdita causa, consili & reprobi accesser-
' runt. — Have you never heard of the avarice and
' corruption of the chiefs at Rome? who ever could
' glut a whore's all-craving appetite with his sub-
' stance? or who from his purse could fill the bags
' of their restless desires? . . . Your stock of wealth,
' which cannot be great, and may be nothing, is far
' from being sufficient to defray the expences of a
' visit to the Roman Pontif. Wherewith will you an-
' swer the cravings of the Papal court? . . . If money should
' fail when you come to your journey's end, every body
' knows what success you will meet with. Whoever
' in our times has undertaken such an expedition, be-
' fore he has laid in an immense store, has had the
' mortification to see himself baffled, and his suit rejected.
' This mischief continues to this very day, if we may be-
lieve Mr Hallier, in his letter from Rome to father
Dinet, the Jesuit, dated the 16th of June 1653. Mr Hal-
lier was one of the deputies that solicited the con-
demnation of Janesism. 'It would be very just,
' says he (56), that they should have a greater
' regard for us, after the extraordinary charge we
' have been at on this occasion. You cannot ima-
' gine how much money goes away in presents and
' bribes. Every little saint must have his fee . . .
' The Janesists have spent here above a hundred
' thousand livres, and perhaps above a hundred and
' fifty thousand.'

[M] The authors of the injury had been punished.]

Only two of them were taken, one of which was
Peter Abelard's footman. They were not only dis-
membered by way of retaliation, but also had their
eyes put out. Abelard says (57): 'Quibus mox con-
' versis in fugam qui comprehendi potuerunt oculis
' & genitalibus privati sunt, quorum alter ille fuit su-
' pradiatus serviens qui cum in obsequio meo mecum
' maneret, cupiditate ad proditionem ductus est. —
' Who being immediately put to flight, two of them,
' whom we seized, were deprived of their eyes and
' genitals, one of which was my servant before men-
' tioned, who, altho' he lived in my house, and was
' bound by the most solemn ties of duty, was pervert-
' ed by the love of money to that perfidious act.'

Foulques says in general, that some of the villains

were condemned to be castrated and lose their eyes,

and that the canon himself was deprived of his whole

estate, tho' he denied he had any concern in the action

(58). Abelard was not pleased with this sentence; he illorum qui tibi

complained of the bishop, and the canons, and had a nocuerunt oculis

mind to implore the justice of the court of Rome.

(59) Totum meæ pondus injuriæ Romanis auribus

intimare studebo, & tam Episcopum quam Canoni-

cos quoniam primum judicium de illo qui in me ma-

lus extitit mutare machinati sunt, quantum potero

perturbabo, ac tum demum intelligent quàm sit

contrarium honestati à rigore justitiæ deviasse . . .

(60). Noli Canonicos vel Episcopum tui sangui-

nis effusores vel perditores vocare, qui propter te

& propter se quantum potuerunt justitiæ intende-

runt. — I will endeavour to make my appeal to

his holiness, and lay before him the whole weight

of my injuries. I will, to the utmost of my power, (50) Foulques

perjure both the bishop and the canons, since they

first contrived the sentence against the author of my

misfortunes, that they may at length be sensible

how repugnant it is to honour, to deviate from the

rigour of justice. . . . Call not the bishop or the

canons the spillers of your blood, who for you, and

for themselves, have, to the utmost of their power, la-

boured for justice.' It is pity we have not the

trial of Abelard's assassins, and of him that set them

on; and I wonder that among the great number of

pieces, that have been brought out of obscurity for

these hundred years, we have seen nothing concern-

(56) See the
pieces concerning
the New Testa-
ment of Mont,
Tom. I, pag. 405.

(57) Pag. 174.

(58) Quidam

(59) rum privatione

abiectione mudi-

lari sunt. Ille

autem (sit spe-
no ducti de Ful-

bert, Hebe's

qui per se

fictum abnegat

jam ab omni

possessione sua

bonorum com-

portatus est.

(60) It is

Foulques who

speaking thus.

had been taken from him, and that then that maxim in dialectics in *habitu nunquam potest redire privatio* would prove to be false. It is pity we have not Abelard's answer to this consolatory letter. It is probable we should have seen there a kind of picture of Job's dispute with his friends; I mean, that Abelard would have found answers and replies, and Foulques, in some things, would have been a miserable comforter.

For the rest, the priory of Deuil, possessed by our Foulques, is situated near Montmorency, three leagues from Paris. See upon this father Chifflet (the Jesuit's *Genus illustre D. Bernardi assertum*, where he mentions one Eudo of Deuil, and Velasius, in his *Notitia Galliarum*, at the word *Parisi* (e).

(e) Taken from a manuscript which I received from the Mazarin library.

(fr) Ghilini.
Ling. Latine
Vox Calfatio.

(fr) Letic. Tom.
III, pag. 339.

ing this affair. I think they were too favorable to the canon; who ought to have had the *Lex Talionis* inflicted upon him. Mr du Cange (61) having told us, that the Salic law condemned to castration slaves taken in adultery and theft, that the law of the Visigoths condemned sodomites to the same punishment, and that the laws of William the conqueror inflicted the same upon those who ravished a woman, adds that Sugerius, in page 308 of the life of Lewis VI, makes mention of a traitor who was condemned to have his eyes put out, and his privy members cut off. Mr Hofman (62) has not copied Mr du Cange aright; for instead of these words *apud Sugerium in Ludovico VI* page 308, he has made it *apud Eugenium in Ludovico VI* page 1308. The traitor Sugerius speaks of was a man that the king of England had heaped favours upon, and yet he entered into a conspiracy against his master: he came off with the loss of his privy-members and eyes, and was not changed as he well deserved. *Tam horribili fazione deprehenfus oculorum & genitalium amissione, cum la-*

queum suffocantem meruisset, misericorditer est damnatus (63). Father Theophilus Raynaud, who had read so much, yet was ignorant that Abelard's assassins had been punished by order of justice, which plainly appears by Foulques's letter. This Jesuit had therefore forgot that letter, since he affirms, that to punish those who mutilated Abelard, without public authority, was as criminal as their action. 'Petrus Abelardus. . . . privata auctoritate est eviratus, quam fuisse vindictam illicitam est manifestum. Et aequae nefaria fuit, si privata auctoritate facta est, repensia exsecutoribus truci illius ultionis excoelatio simul & excoelio (64). — Peter Abelard was castrated by the contrivance of some private persons, and it is plain that action was illegal. Nor was the privation of sight, and castration, executed on the authors of that barbarous revenge left to be condemned, if it was only founded on private authority.' I shall perhaps speak in another place of the punishment inflicted upon the gallants of Philip the fair's three daughters in law (65).

(63) Suger, Tom IV. Hist. Francor. Script. pag. 308.

(64) Theophil. Raynaudus, de Eunuchis, pag. m. 75.

(65) They cut off their privy-members, and dead them alive. See Guaguin, lib. vii, folio, m. 129.

FRACHETTA (JEROME) native of Rovigo in Italy, made himself famous by some political works [A]. He spent many years at Rome, very much esteemed by the duke of Sessa, ambassador of Philip II, and Philip III, kings of Spain, and was employed in affairs of state as well as war, in all which he behaved well. But notwithstanding all this, he had like to have been overcome, even to have been in danger of his life in the persecutions that were raised against him. He retired to Naples, and being not altogether void of friends, he made his innocence appear to the court of Spain, who ordered the count de Benevento, viceroy of Naples, to employ him as a faithful servant whenever an opportunity should offer. This was put in execution, so that Frachetta lived honourably at Naples with a suitable pension (a). I know not what grounds Moreri goes upon, when he says, *bis indiscreet zeal involved him in a troublesome affair*. For Ghilini, the only author he cites, insinuates no such thing.

(a) Taken from Ghilini, Tom. I, pag. 120, 121.

[A] He made himself famous by some political works. The most considerable of all, is that intitled *il Seminario de' Governi di Stato, & di Guerra*. He has collected together in 110 chapters about eight thousand state and military maxims, taken from the best authors; and has added to each chapter a discourse by way of commentary. This work was printed at least twice by the author. It was reprinted at Venice in 1647, and at Genoa in 1648, in 4to, to which was added, *il Principe nel quale si considera il Principe & quanto al Governo dello Stato, & quanto al maneggio della Guerra*, of the same author. This last treatise was reprinted at Venice by John Baptista Ciotti, in 1599, in 8vo, and it was an edition corrected and enlarged by the author. The first edition was certainly done in 1597; for the epistle dedicatory is dated from Rome the seventh of November in that year. It informs us that the occasion of Frachetti's composing that book was a conversation, in which the duke of Sessa had said, among other things, that it was his opinion, it was no less necessary than difficult to let princes know the truth of what passes in their own dominions. Note that, before he published his *il Seminario de' Governi*, he published a general idea of it in 1592. His other writings are *Discorso della Ragione di Stato: Discorso della Ragione di Guerra: Esposizione di tutta l'Opera di Lucrezio* (1).

(1) See Ghilini's Theatre, Part. I, pag. 121.

FRANC (MARTIN) provost and canon of Lausanne, and secretary to the Popes Felix V, and Nicholas V, flourished about the middle of the XVth century. He was one of the best French poets of that time. He wrote a poem against the *Romance of the Rose*, and intitled it *Le Champion des dames*, or the *Ladies Champion*, in which are several Verses concerning Pope Joan [A]. I do not think that David Blondel

[A] In his *Champion des Dames* are several verses about Pope Joan. I shall here insert some of them, being well assured that several readers will be pleased with them. But it must be observed, that the book is a dialogue between the ladies adversary, and their champion. What follows is an objection started by the adversary, taken from the history of the female Pope.

Tu fais qu'elle sceut tant de lettres,
Que pour son sens on la crea

VOL. III.

Papeffe & Prestresse des Prestres.
O comme bien estudia!
O grande loüange si a!
Femme se dissimula homme
Et sa nature regnia,
Pour devenir Pape de Rome!

O benoist Dieu comme oia femme
Vestir chafuble & chanter Messe:
O femme oultrageuse & infame;
U

Comment

del has put this author into the list he has made of writers, who have affirmed the story of that she-Pope. But this would not be the only author he has omitted [B]. The

Comment eust elle la hardiesse,
De se faire Pape & Papesse ?
Comment endura Dieu, comment,
Que femme ribaulde & Prestresse
Eust l' Eglise en gouvernement ?

Lors le monde estoit bien nouvel :
Dire l'on peut qu'il ne tenoit
Sinon à la queue d'un vel,
Puis que femme le gouvernoit.
Merveille estoit que ne tournoit
Le ciel, & que pour vengeance
Dieu sur la terre ne venoit
Tenir son cruel jugement.

Mais il est tardif à punir
En attendant que l'on s'amende,
Et quand on ne peut revenir
A raison, combien qu'il attende,
Certes c'est force qu'il entende,
A donner sa punition,
Et qu'à justice son droit rende
Sans plus longue remission.

Ainsi toujours pas n'endura
Que l'Eglise fust abusée
De celle qui trop y dura,
Car la fraude fut excusée ;
O vengeance bien avisée !
La sainte Papesse enfanta,
Nonques plus la putain rusée
A l'autel Saint Pierre chanta.

Entre le Mouffier Saint Clement
Et Collifée chacun vit
Le feminin enchantement.
Si fut tantost fait un edict
Que jamais Pape ne se fist,
Tant eust il de science au nas,
S'il ne monroit le doy petit
Enharnaché de son harnas.

O Dames Dames couronnez
Vostre Pape & Vostre Papeffe,
Desus les quatre couronnez
Elle acrekt moult vostre noblesse.
Alors le Champion se dresse,
Et en jettant le dextre bras
Dit, temps est que ce parler cesse
De ce mal tu te remembras (1).

*Her sense and learning wond'rous were:
Priestesses of priests she soon became;
She counterfeited well the man,
And mounted to the papal chair.*

Heav'n's! that a woman should presume
To wear the cope, and chant high mass!
Why did God suffer it to pass,
And let a whore be pope of Rome?

The world was in it's infancy,
Thus to be govern'd by a woman:
'Tis strange, such practices uncommon
Did not draw vengeance from the sky.

*Tho' heav'n to punish guilt is slow,
In hopes the sinner will repent;
Yet punishment at last is sent,
And justice, mock'd, inflicts the blow.*

Thus, by her pregnancy betray'd,
(O well considered vengeance!) Joan
Descended from the papal throne,
And from abuse the church was freed.

From the like cheat to keep her free,
Without examination, none
Sat, after, on St Peter's throne:
Such was the church's wise decree.

*Ye fair, whose heads support a crown,
Pope Joan advances high your glory:
And, proud of such a lucky story,
Your champion throws his gauntlet down.*

I shall not here set down the champion's reply, who excuses Pope Joan as well as he can, by recriminating on several Popes. Here is a short specimen of his discourse:

Or laissons les pechez disans
Qu'elle estoit Clergesse lettrée,
Quand devant les plus soubzissans
De Rome eut l'issüe & l'entrée.
Encor te peut estre monstree
Mainte Préface que dicta
Bien & saintement accoustree
Où en la foi point n'hésita.

Let us forget her crimes, and say
She was a learned she-divine;
Fix'd in the faith, whose constancy
In many a preface still doth shine

[B] He would not be the only author he has omitted.] Marefus observes, that Blondel, in his catalogue, has omitted a certain author of a book, intitled, *L'Arbre des Batailles* (the tree of battles), *Eft quoque mihi, fays he* (2), *vetus Manufcriptum Gallicum, compofitum ante 300 annos, quod infcribitur, L'Arbre des batailles, — I have by me an antient French manufcript, written 300 years ago, intitled, the tree of battles; compofed by Honoratus Bonet, do<tor of the canon-law, and prior of Challon, to the honour of God, and in the behalf of king Charles VI, furnamed the beloved. Illius libri, p. 1. c. 7. author explicans quo fenfu in Apocalypfi tertia pars Solis dicatur obfcurata ad tubam Angeli quarti, idque intelligens de multis qui circa illa tempora fedem Pontificiam illegitimè occupaverant, fic inter alia tuo ftyle loquitur. — In part 1. cap. 7. of that book, the author explaining, in what fenfe the fun is faid, in the apocalypfe, to be a third part eclipsed, upon the fourth Angel's founding his trumpet; and underftanding it of many, who, about that time, had unlawfully ufurped the pope-dome, among other things, fpeaks thus, after his manner; and at that very time, it happened, that the Pope died, and a woman was chofen to fucceed him, whom no body fufpected to have been one. She came from England; and it was no fmall affliction for people to think, they had a woman for a Pope. Eam ex Anglia fuiffe dicit, quod fortè fe curaflet nominari Johannem Anglicum, vel, at habet vetus Fragmentum apud Wolphium, Johannem Angliæ, cum tamen natione Moguntina efferet. Et credo quod fi hoc Catalaunenfis Prioris teftimonium vidiffet Rev. & Cel. Blondellus, qui etiam Catalaunenfis fuit, minus impendiffet operæ in veritate iufus hiftoriae oppugnanda. — He fays, ſhe was of England; perhaps becaufe ſhe had taken care to be called Elizabeth John, or, as an old fragment in Wolphius has it, John of England; tho' ſhe was born at Mentz, and I believe, that, if the reverend and celebrated Blondel had ſeen the teftimony of the prior of Chalon, in his country-man, he would have taken left pains oppoſing the truth of that ſtory. A little further he likewiſe obſerves, that Egbert-Grim, an Engliſh licentiate of divinity (3), had publiſhed a book concerning Pope Joan, wherein he ſpeaks of him, as an unum 1350, n. 10, and ſays, he was of the order of the Auguſtines, and that he compoſed a dream againſt the ſchiſm.*

(1) *The Ladies Champion*, printed at Paris by Galliot Dupré, in the year 1530, folio 335. This work was dedicated to Philip II, Duke of Burgundy, surnamed *The Good*.

learned differ about the place where he was born [C]. His *Estrif de fortune & de vertu*, strife between fortune and virtue (a), published at Paris in 1505 (b), is a mixture of prose and verse.

(a) La Croix du Maine, pag. 314.

(b) Du Verdier Vau-Privas makes it 1519.

errors of some men in respect of this writer. I say then, first of all, that he is called, by Du Verdier Vau-privas, Honoratus Bonnor, prior of Salon, who supposes him to have been the author of a book, containing 165 chapters, intituled, *L'Arbre des Batailles*, and dedicated to Charles V. He further adds, that this book was printed at Paris by John Dupré, in the year 1495. Here we find three several variations between Du Verdier and Marefius: I. As to the name of the author; II. As to the name of his priory; and, III. As to the name of the prince, who was the hero of the book. For my own part, I take Marefius's testimony, as to the first and last article, to be of better authority than Du Verdier's, because father Labbe does not censure him in this particular. The epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca has still a greater blunder than all this, in metamorphosing the title of a book into an author. You will find there, page 534, these words; *L'Arbre Batailles de bello & duello*. Page 360, it is said, *Honoratus Bonbor, scriptor de bello & duello*. You find then already three different names (5) given to the author of that book. But let us now pass on to father Labbe's criticism upon Marefius (6). "In Honorato Bonneto, auctore libri vernaculi, qui inscribitur *L'Arbre des Batailles*, multa peccat: I. Priorem de *Challon* vocat, cum fuerit de *Salon*. II. Compositum librum dicit ante annos 300, cum tamen Carolus VI, cui dicatus fuit, regnaret dumtaxat ab anno 1388, ad 1422. III. *Challon* reddit Catalaunensem, id est

(5) Bonet, Bonnor, Bonhor.

(6) In Joanne Fastidio Crenotaphio everio, ad calcem Dissertat. de Scripturis Ecclie, Tom. I, pag. 922.

Chaalons, cum appellare Cabillonensem debuisset. Ita enim discriminantur illæ Civitates: hæc Matronæ in Campania, illa Arari in Burgundia imposita, utraque Episcopalis. IV. Atque hinc longè absurdior apparet allusio, alioquin Alpina nive frigidior: Quod si illius testimonium vidisset Blondellus qui Catalaunensis fuit, minus impendisset operæ in fabula illa expugnanda. — He commits many mistakes, in relation to Honoratus Bonetus, author of a book in our mother tongue, intituled the Tree of Battles: First, he calls him prior of Challon, whereas he was of Salon. Secondly, he says the book was written three hundred years ago; whereas Charles VI, to whom it was dedicated, reigned only from the year 1388 to 1422. Thirdly, he translates Challon Catalaunensis; that is Chaalons, when he ought to have called it Cabillonensis: for so those cities are distinguished; the one situated on the Marne in Champagne, the other upon the Soane in Burgundy; and both bishops seen. Fourthly, and hence the allusion, otherwise more cold than Alpine snow, appears far more absurd. Had Blondel, who was himself of Challon, seen his testimony, he would have taken less pains in opposing the truth of that story."

[C] The learned differ about the place where he was born. President Fauchet (7) assures us, that he was a native of the county of Aumale in Normandy. But, according to John le Maire de Belges, he was born in the city of Arras (8).

(7) Des anciens Poëtes François liv. ii, pag. 205.

(8) Jean le Maire, Couronne Margueritique, page 57.

FRANCIS of Assisi, a great saint of the Romish church, and founder of one of the four orders of the Mendicants, was born at Assisi in Italy, about the year 1181. His father was a merchant, whose profession he followed till the year 1206, when, being strongly moved with the precepts of the gospel, he resolved to forsake the world (a). And, devoting himself to solitude and mortifications, he acquired such a ghastly countenance, as made all the inhabitants of Assisi believe, that he was mad (b). His father resolved to bring him back to his profession; and, the better to effect it by his severity, confined him to a close prison: But finding his endeavours unsuccessful, he brought his son before the bishop of Assisi, where, on this occasion, he not only renounced his right to all his paternal estate, but pulled off his very cloaths, his shirt not excepted [A]. Thus, by his example, he induced a great many people to devote themselves to an evangelical poverty; and he drew up for them an institute, which the Popes did approve. To quench the fire of lust, he would lie upon ice and snow [B].

But

[A] He pulled off his cloaths, his shirt not excepted. Let us see after what manner Mr Ferrand has endeavoured to justify this new saint, at the expence of the prophet David: "Michal, says he (1), the wife of David, perceiving, through the window, her husband, who, transported with a holy zeal, was leaping and dancing before the ark of the lord, despised him in her heart, and . . . said to him in derision; how glorious was the king of Israel to day, who uncovered himself in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself! Now these last words of holy writ seem to imply, as if David had stripped himself stark naked. Nevertheless, because the same scripture (ver 14.) speaking of David's dancing before the ark, says, that he had a linnen ephod on; I cannot think that he stripped himself stark naked. But he stripped himself so as to look as if he had been naked; which therefore was censured, and accounted by all unbecoming the majesty and gravity of a king, and the more because it was done publicly, and before a great concourse of people. David's behaviour, considered with all its circumstances, is not more becoming than that of St Francis, who was seen but by very few; so that, if the behaviour of the one ought to be blamed, the other must be so too; and therefore we read, that Michal laughed at it. But let us see whether the Holy Ghost derided it; and we may guess by that, whether St Francis's behaviour is an object of laughter. He relates afterwards what David answered to Michal, and what the scripture observes concerning the barrenness of that woman. I will make use of Mr Ferrand's words, to expose Francis's nakedness; and thus I shall not be afraid of those reproaches,

(1) Ferrand's Answer to the Apology for the Reformation, pag. 364, 365.

wherewith he loaded his adversary (2). (3) As for (2) He accuses what the apologist specifies concerning St Francis's Mr Jurieu of stripping himself stark naked, I will relate the story fairly, when he as St Bonaventure hath written it. . . . This terrestrial related the and carnal father (says † St Bonaventure, speaking actions of Francis of St Francis's father) after he had deprived this of Assisi; and he son of grace of money, brought him before the quotes some of his father's, bishop of the city, that he might quit all right besides those two, and title to his father's estate, and return what which are in the was in his hands. Francis did it, and restored to remark [H]. his father even all his cloaths, under which was Ferrand's Answer to the Apology for the Reformation, pag. 364, 365. found a hair cloth, wherewith he macerated his flesh: afterwards †, moved by a wonderful fervour of zeal, wherewith he was transported, he stripped 361. himself stark naked before all those that were present, and thus addressed himself to his Father. Hi- (3) Id. ibid. therto I have called you my father on earth; but pag. 362, 363. hereafter I may certainly say † our father which † Tentabat ari in heaven, since I have put all my treasure and deinde pater carnis, &c. ibid. confidence in him. The bishop, seeing this, and admiring so excellent a fervency in the man of God, rose from his seat, and, as he was a devout and kind man, he, with tears in his eyes, took up admiringly Francis in his arms, and covered him with his cloak. † vore, &c. ibid.

[B] To quench the fire of lust, he would lie upon the ice and snow. Let us go on with Mr Ferrand's † Matth. vi. 9, translation. "Blessed Francis (says St Bonaventure), at the beginning of his conversion, would often, in winter, throw himself into a ditch full of Ice, that he might get a complete victory over his domestic enemy, and to preserve the robe of chastity from the conflagration of pleasure. He asserted, that a spiritual man would rather chuse to suffer great cold in his flesh, than to feel the least heat of carnal pleasure in his soul. Being one day strongly pressed

by

But that was all he thought fit to imitate of St Aldhelme. He durst not come near women, in the height of his eager desires [C]; and perhaps he acted prudently; for he was not sure, that he could have withstood temptation, as St Aldhelme did. Let us speak more positively, and say, that his behaviour was, without comparison, more discreet than that of the other saint. It is a mad rashness for people, who aspire to the greatest purity, to come so near the borders of a condition, which, according to the doctrine

by a temptation of the flesh, he pulled off his cloaths, and scourged himself soundly. Then, warmed with an admirable fervency of zeal, he opened his cell; and, coming out of it, he went into a garden, where, having thrown himself naked into a great heap of snow, he made of it seven balls, and laying them before him, he thus spoke to his external man: the largest of these balls is thy wife; the other four are thy two sons and two daughters; and the remaining two are thy man and maid servants, which thou must keep. Make haste then to cloath them, for they are starved with cold. But, if the trouble, they put thee to, is uneasy to thee, serve carefully one only God. The devil, who then tempted St Francis, being balked, immediately left him, and this holy man returned victorious into his cell. For the cold, which he endured externally, so extinguished the internal flames of his concupiscence, that he was never after troubled with them (4).

(4) Ferrand, ubi supra, pag. 368.

[C] He durst not (like St Aldhelme) come near women in the height of his eager desires. Aldhelme, who, from a monk, became a bishop in England, towards the end of the VIIth century, dipped himself in water in the middle of winter, as high as his shoulders, to quell the rebellion of the flesh. However, he would upon some occasions expose himself to danger; he did not avoid women, when he found himself tempted; on the contrary he would get one, and lie by her till the temptation was over, and nature was quiet. He made the devil mad by his great triumph; for this did not hinder him from singing psalms; and he dismissed the woman as unpolluted as she came to him. This is a coarse translation of the Latin, which I insert in the margin (5); but here is a paraphrase of it full of inimitable ornaments. St Aldhelme was an English monk of the VIIIth century, who was raised to a bishopric for his learning and piety. But the most shining part of his holiness was an invincible chastity, which was more to be valued, because it had cost him a great many sharp conflicts. For the author of his life relates, that he would dive into cold water, or snow, to extinguish the flames of concupiscence. He was, no doubt, pressed very hard, since he applied such violent remedies. Nevertheless, he got so perfect a mastery over his flesh, that the finest woman made no impression upon him. Nay, he proceeded further; for he went to bed to a young maid, that he might triumph over the most dangerous temptations, and which would perhaps embarrass the greatest saints. Any other, but he, would have had his mind very much taken up in so nice a circumstance; but he repeated the whole Psalter, and the motions of his heart tended only to heaven. They say here, that the devil fretted and fumed, seeing him look danger so unconcernedly in the face, and his virtue strengthen where it commonly sinks. Father Henchenius would not however advise the present saints, of either sex, to expose themselves to such trials of virtue. He thinks this an example, which ought rather to be admired, than imitated; and that there is a great deal of rashness in presuming so much on one's self (6). I wonder, that father de la flo. Si quando Mainferme hath not mentioned this adventure, because it might have admirably helped him out at a corporis amore; non solum illecebræ denegabat effectum sed aliis insolitum reportabat triumphum. Neque tunc consortium fecundum repudiabat ut ceteri, qui ex opportunitate timent prolabi. Immo vero vel afflicti vel cubitans aliquam detinebat; quoad carnis tepescere lubrico, quieto & immoto discederet animo. Derideri se videtur Diabolus, cernens adhærentem fecundam virumque alias avocato animo insistentem cantando Psalterio. Valescebat ille mulieri salvo pudore, illæsa castitate. Residebat carnis incommodum: dolebat nequam spiritus de se agitari ludibrium. Wilhelmus Malmesbur. in vita Aldhelmi apud Angliam Sacram. Part. II, pag. 13.

(6) Beauval's History of the Works of the Learned, for the month of April, 1689, pag. 164, 165, giving the abstract of the Acta Sanctorum Maii, Tom. VI & VII.

dead life. Although Aldhelme lay by a woman, and there rehearsed the praises of God, in spite of temptation, and triumphed over nature in the midst of so imminent a danger; yet he hath been ranked among the saints, and deserved that honour by a great many miracles. Why then should it be thought strange, that the blessed Robert d'Arbrissel went to bed to one of his nuns, to obtain a victory so much the more meritorious because it was hard to be obtained? If people will blame this, as indeed it is very much to be condemned; at least it must be acknowledged, from the example of the English bishop, that it doth not hinder the gift of miracles.

I have spoken, in another place (7), of an honest hermit, who let fall his breviary at the sight of a couple, who were diverting themselves at the sport of love. This had not happened to him, had he been as strong as St Aldhelme. This saint, though he had by his side a pretty woman, yet did not lose one word of either breviary, or psalmody; and I do not question, but that, if he had had the case of conscience, which Peter Damianus examined, propounded to him, he had answered as Peter Damianus did. You may find this in La Mothe le Vayer. Agnes, says he, (8), Widow to Henry II (9), asked, by a bishop, this pretty question of Peter Damianus, one of the most understanding churchmen of his age, 'Utrum licet ceret homini inter ipsum debiti naturalis egerium aliquid ruminare Psalmorum (9a)? — Whether it was lawful for a man, during the performance of matrimonial duty, to repeat to himself any part of the psalms. It was decided in the affirmative, as Baronius informs us, upon the authority of the text of St Paul, in the first epistle to Timothy, which says, 'that God may be prayed to every where.' Is it possible, that there has been an empress so weak, as to propose such questions? and if the curiosity of a woman extended so far, ought any grave Casuists to have examined them? It is a true saying, that a man's mind will leave nothing unstirred: the most gloomy and dark recesses are not without it's reach; and, against all the rules of decency, it will carry thither a torch. I will observe, by the way, that one of the most celebrated of Aristotle's commentators would have answered the empress's question quite otherwise than Peter Damianus did. He had maintained, that the public welfare requires, that, in this action, as much as in any other, *bona age*, and nothing else, should be remembered: for he pretends, that the reason, why the children of ingenious and learned men are commonly dull and stupid, is, because their fathers let their thoughts wander when they should be thinking on what they are doing, when they beget them. On the contrary, says he, you see some blockheads, who get children of admirable parts, because they get them in earnest, and not for fashion-sake: they mind what they are about, and nothing else, and wholly apply themselves to the business in hand. Read this Latin: 'Alexander Aphrodisæus magno fe labore conficit, dum causam conatur investigare & tradere, cur non raro contingat, ut crassus quispiam, tardus ac propemodum hebes, liberos gignat solertes, prudentes & acutos. Cujus rei causam hanc tandem statuit, quod qui tardiore est ingenio, is in ipso coitu ita se totum presenti voluptati percipiendæ addicit, ut nihil aliud animo cogitet, quem totum corpori immersum detinet. Itaque ex eo corpore ductum & haustum semen, cui spiritus admixti sunt, multum habet ipsius facultatis intelligendi: quo fit, ut liberi nascantur ipso patre prudentiores. E diverfo, qui ingenio sunt acuto, aut etiam eruditione præstant, quia eorum animus in perpetua quadam cogitatione versatur, in ipso venereo complexu alias res agunt. Quare semen quod tunc profuit, quum nihil nisi corporeum habet (animo nempe tum peregrinante) non multum illius præstantissimæ facultatis habet (10).' A great many physicians have vended this fine doctrine. Read only Gaspar à Reies, in his seventy sixth question, where he says, among other

(7) In treat. (55) of the article FONTEVRAUD.

(8) In the twelfth Academical Homily, Tom. XIV, of his Works, pag. 291.

(9) It should have been Henry III.

(9a) Chap. II.

(10) Corrafius, Not. 5, in Aræthum Parilamentum Philol. pag. m. 21.

He quotes Alex. Aphrod. Prob. lib. xxix.

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doctrine of the greatest philosophers, far from leaving room for pious ejaculations, allows not the soul a freedom of thought [D]. What is most extraordinary in St Francis, is, that it is pretended, that JESUS CHRIST stamped upon him the marks of his five wounds. The Monks of his order relate a thousand wonderful things on this subject.

other things, that wife and thoughtful men, who perform matrimonial duties not so much to gratify their inclination, as to keep peace at home, and who, even in the very performance, have their mind taken up with philosophical notions, see their children degenerate. He adds, that, for a contrary reason, bastards are generally strong, and ingenious: 'Nec ipso quidem venereo congressu, omnino à rerum studio, & contemplatione deflunt prudentes, à quibus cerebrum debile redditur, quo fit ut plerumque tales minus salaces, minusque fervidi sint, & qui non magnopere hanc monomachiam ardentius expetant, imo detrectent potius, & velut inviti accedant, tantummodo ut uxoris gratificentur, easque paciores experiantur, sicque ad concubitus debitum solvendum magis videntur accedere, quam avidè expetere (11).' His advice is very wide of the decision sent to the empress Agnes (12), and of the doctrine of the Rabbins (13).

[§ (a) The casuists, building on the canon law, have declared for the negative. John Nevissan, l. i. n. 25. of his *Forè Nuptiale*: 'In actu coitus semper impeditur ratio ab actu suo, & in omni illo actu Propheta non habebat influxum spiritus Prophetici, secundum Tabienam in verbo Matrimonium iii. §. j. imo etiam in actu matrimonii quod est tantum Sacramentum, Spiritus Sanctus adest usque quo venit ad copulum, quia tunc recedit. Cap. Connubia xxxij. quæst. ij. — In the act of copulation reason is always hindered from exerting itself, and in all that act the prophets had not the influx of the prophetic spirit, according to Tabiena on the word Matrimonium, 3. sect. 1. may, even in the act of matrimony, which is so great a sacrament, the HOLY GHOST is present no longer than till they come to copulation, because then he retreats. See his chapter Connubia, 32. quæst. 2.' See the new Menagiana, edit. of Paris, 1715, tom. i. p. 367. REM. CRIT.]

Cicero would have laughed at this pretended cause of the dulness of children: for he says, that the soul is so absorbed, that it is not capable of any reasonable act: 'Cujus (voluptatis) motus ut quisque est maximus, ita est inimicissimus philosophiæ, congruere enim cum cogitatione magna voluptas corporis non potest. Quis enim cum utatur voluptate ea qua nulla possit esse major attendere animo, inire rationem, cogitare omnino quidquam potest (14)?' He has confirmed this, in another book, by the authority of a great Pythagorean philosopher (15). 'Cumque homini five natura five quis Deus nihil mente præstabilibus delisset: huic divino muneri ac dono nihil esse tam inimicum, quam voluptatem. Nec enim libidine dominante temperantæ locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere; quod quo magis intelligi posset, fingere animo jubebat, tanta incitum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima. Nemini censere fore dubium, quin tandem dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset; quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile, tamque pestiferum, quam voluptatem: siquidem ea, cum major esset atque longior, omne animi lumen extingueret (16). —

And, as the mind is the most excellent gift of nature, or some God, nothing, he said, is more pernicious to this divine present, than sensual pleasure. For, under the dominion of lust, there is no room for temperance; nor, indeed, can virtue consist, where pleasure reigns. The better to prove this, he bids us suppose a man excited as strongly as possible by corporeal pleasure: and no one, he thought, could doubt, but that, during such an enjoyment, he could have no room for thought and reflection: for which reason nothing is so detestable and contagious as pleasure; since if we suppose it to rise higher, and continue longer, it would extinguish the whole light of the mind.' See the following remark.

[D] A condition . . . which, according to the doctrine of the greatest philosophers, allows not the soul a freedom of thought. You have just now seen Cicero's opinion, which is agreeable to that of the greatest men of antiquity. We have already seen (17) that Hippocrates and Democritus called the venereal act, a little

epilepsy. What can be added to this definition? doth it not emphatically express what is contained in our text? but let us not here forget the divine Plato. It is reported, says he, that the gods forgive false oaths to the pleasures of love, as if they were children void of understanding: 'Ἡδονὴ μὲν γὰρ πάντων ἀλαζονέστατον, ὥς δὲ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια (αἱ δὲ μέγισται δονῶσιν εἶναι) καὶ τὸ ἐπιτρέψαι συγγνώμην εἰληθε παραθεῶν ὥς, καθάπερ παίδων, τῶν ἡδονῶν ὅν ἐδὲ τὸν δαίμονα κεκμηῖαν. Voluptas enim maxime omnium temeraria: fertur enim de veneris voluptatibus, quæ ingentissima omnium æstimantur, quæ peccantibus illis Dii prorsus ignoscunt, quasi pueri quidam voluptates sint, nullius intelligentiæ compotes (18). Aristotle observes, that pleasures are obstacles to the faculty of thinking well; and that those of love give not the soul leave to meditate, or examine any one thing: 'Ἐν ἐμπόδιον τῷ φρονεῖν αἱ ἡδοναὶ καὶ ὅσω μᾶλλον χαίρει, μᾶλλον οἷον τῇ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἡδονῇ γὰρ ἂν δυνάσθαι νοῦσαι τὴν αὐτῇ. Deinde prudenter sentiendi facultatem impediunt voluptates, eoque magis quo quisque magis delectatur: qualis est ea quæ ex rebus veneris percipitur. In ea voluptate enim neminem quicquam animo agitare, aut ratione explicare posse (19). Montagne was not altogether of this opinion, and he went upon his own experience. Here are his words (20): 'Those, who cry down sensuality, gladly make use of this argument, to shew that it is intirely vicious, and unreasonable, and that, when it is at it's height, it masters us so much, that reason is shut out of doors; and they alledge the experience we find of this in the conversation of women,

- - - Cum jam præfagit gaudia corpus
Atque in eo est Venus, ut mullebra conferrat arva.

When now the limbs preface approaching joys,
And the whole man for the attack prepares.

'Where it appears to them, that pleasure transports us so much beside our selves, that our reason, being charmed and captivated, cannot exert itself. I know that it may happen otherwise, and that, if a man will, he may arrive, at that very instant, at bending his thoughts on something else; but they must be purposely forced and stretched. I know that the effort of this pleasure may be checked, and I have some insight into it; for I have not found Venus so imperious a goddess, as many, and more moderate, men than I, pretend.' This would be a slender excuse for those monks, whom we attack here: the observation, which an Italian physician has made, would better teach them their duty. The very thought, says he (21), of such an action oversets reason, and inspires a sort of fury. 'Atque utinam in ipso Veneris actu tonus Ulmus, duntaxat mente privaremur, non etiam in previa meditatione ad eundem, quam furorē & rabiem dixit Sect. II. cap. iii, & descriptis Virgilius, lib. 3. Georg. hilce carminibus (22). . . . Transimus consulto carminis majestatem, leporem, possuntne apertioribus argumentis physice comprobati, quas furias addat sola mentis ditatio Veneris non homini tantum, sed & brutis quoque cæteris (23). Pudenda itaque, vel partes reprehensibiles existunt, quod animalia omnia in rabiem agant, naturæ cancellis propriis amoveant, in homine verò maxime omnium jugulent ipsam rationalem animam. — And I could wish we were deprived of reason only in the very act of venery, and not driven, even by the previous meditation on it, to that madness, and rage, described by Virgil . . . I purposely take no notice of the grandeur and elegance of the verses, and whether the truth of them may not be physically proved by plainer arguments, as also what that kind of madness is, which the meditation alone on venereal pleasure raises, not only in man, but in the brute creation. Those parts therefore are deservedly termed Pudenda, (or what we may be ashamed of), since they drive all animals to madness, break down the proper fences of nature, and, in man particularly, destroy the very rational soul.' We shall see in another

(18) Plato, in Philebo, pag. m. 405. C.

(19) Aristot. Ethic. Nicomach. lib. vii, cap. xii, pag. m. 72. C.

(20) Montagne's Essays, book ii, chap. xi, pag. m. 172.

* Lucret. lib. iv, ver. 1099.

(21) Marcus Antonius, Phylologie Bar. de humanitate, cap. 11, esp. iii, pag. 128.

(23) It must be observed, that he enquires into the reason why the parts, designed for generation, are called the Pudenda.

(11) Gæstus à Reims in Juvenalis Epyll. Ogest. Camp. Quæst. LXVII. pag. 203.

(12) Iste qui optima & familiaris desiderio tenentur, non fecus ac veritas, totum se Venere tradere debent, & illius illecebris cum uxoris attentus esse necessus est, alioquin si aliter imaginationem occupant, conceptus impediant, vel propositum ordinem spiritus sine ministerio possunt. Id. ibid. pag. 203.

(13) See the remark of the article ARDON.

(14) Cicero, in Hortensio, apud Aquilam, contra Pelsigum, lib. iv.

(15) Archetis Tarentina.

(16) Cicero, de Senectute, cap. xii.

(17) In remark [D] of the article DEMOCRITUS.

(4) Spondan. ad
ann. 1223, n. 11.

subject. They have obtained a permission to consecrate a festival in honour of these holy marks, and to recite the office of it (c) [E]. They have reported so many things of their patriarch, and with so little judgment, that they have exposed him to many bitter invectives and jests [F]. Some of those jests are, without doubt, too biting, and malicious [G]: But one can hardly forbear imitating Democritus, or Heraclitus, when one reflects, that Francis of Assisi receives divine honours after his death; he, who was guilty

(24) In remark
[B] of the article
FRANCIS,
ciat. (9).

(25) August. de
Civ. Dei, lib.
xiv, cap. xvi,
pag. m. 129.

* 1 Thess. iv.

(26) Lib. i, pag.
4, of the edit.
of Geneva, 1560,
in 8vo, sold by
Conrad Badius;
and pag. 5, of
the edit. of Ge-
neva, 1578, in
12mo, sold by
William de Lai-
marie.

(27) Mr. Simon's
Critical History
of the Commen-
tators on the
New Testament,
chap. xxxiv,
pag. 494, and
495. He quotes
Faber's Words.

ther place (24) a passage of Melancthon, which has some affinity with this. But we must not refer St Augustin's fine maxim to another place. He concludes, that, since the soul is affected with such an excess of pleasure, as to be incapable of any intellectual function, every man, who is truly wise, and sensible of holy pleasures, had rather that the conjugal duty were separated, if possible, from the voluptuous sensation, which accompanies it (25). 'Hæc autem (libido) sibi non solum totum corpus, nec solum extrinsecus, verum etiam intrinsecus vendicat, totumque commo- vet hominem, animi simul affectu cum carnis appetitu conjuncto atque permixto, ut ea voluptas sequatur, qua major in corporis voluptatibus nulla est: ita ut momento ipso temporis, quo ad ejus pervenitur extremum, penè omnis acies & quasi vigilia cogitationis obruatur. Quis autem amicus sapientie sanctorum gaudiorum, conjugalem agens vitam, & sicut apostolus monuit *, *Sciens vas suum possidere in sanctificatione & honore, non in morbo desiderii, sicut & gentes quæ ignorant Deum*, non mallet, si posset, sine hac libidine filios procreare; ut etiam in hoc serendæ proles officio, sic ejus menti, ea quæ ad hoc opus creata sunt, quemadmodum cætera: suis quæque operibus distributa membra fervirent, nutu voluntatis acta non æstu libidinis incitata? — But lust governs the whole man, the affection of the mind being united with the carnal appetite, whence follows that pleasure, which is the greatest of all corporeal enjoyments; inasmuch that, at that instant of time, when it is raised to the highest pitch, all thought and reflexion is taken away. Who therefore, that is a friend to wisdom and heavenly joys, leading a married life, and, as the apostle advises, Knowing how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence, as the Gentiles, which know not God, would not rather, if he could, get children without this lust; and wish, that, in the very act of propagating his species, the faculties of his mind, no less than his body, were subservient to his will, not under the government of lust.'

[E] The monks of his order obtained a festival in honour of these holy marks, and leave to recite the office of it. See Alcoran des Cordeliers (26), and you will find there a marginal note, very satirical, in these words: As for the marks of this idol, the Jacobins say, that it was St Dominic, who made them with a spit, as he was sitting under the bed, upon a quarrel between them. And thus these abominable sects worry one another. The author of this note is at least guilty of a very great omission; for he quotes no body, who relates, that the Jacobins say this. Now it is so unlikely, that they have ever reported it, that twenty witnesses would not be too much to make them suspected of it.

Observe, that Faber Stapulensis very freely condemned, as superstitious, the feast of the holy marks of Francis of Assisi. See his comment on the seventeenth verse of the sixth chapter of the epistle of St Paul to the Galatians (27). The superstition of this festival is very contagious, and able to delude devout minds; for the preachers on that day are so pathetic, and full of high flights, that they sow enthusiasm and extasies in many weak brains; and, when some certain incidents chance to concur, these seeds never fail to spring up. I remember a passage of Balzac, which is worth inserting here. 'There was some time ago, in a town of Spain, a society of devout women, who meditated for many hours in the day, and who forsook the care of mean concerns, to live, as they pretended, a more sublime life. But what think you was the event of this? a thousand domestic disorders, and a thousand public extravagancies. The less credulous mistook the pricks of pins for holy marks; the most humble thought their husbands profane; and the wisest talked to themselves, and were continually making grimaces. In fine, when only three or four of them

run mad in the month of May, it was thought a good year (28).'

[F] They have published so many things of their patriarch, and with so little judgment, that they have exposed him to many invectives. See the book, intitled, *Liber Conformitatum Divo Francisci ad vitam JESU CHRISTI*, and you will need no arguments to prove the text of this remark. Those, who compiled, in the XVIth century, the Alcoran of the Franciscans, took their materials from thence, and only published some abstracts of this book, with marginal notes. They made use of the edition of Milan, 1510. In all likelihood, the Franciscans would have been a little wiser, had they foreseen what happened by the means of Luther and Calvin. But those, who dared exclaim against the Romish church, were, for so long a time, crushed by the secular power, that they easily believed those, who should follow their steps, would meet with the same fate. But they were mistaken. A large body of a church arose before the middle of the XVIth century; and this large body as yet maintains itself, subsists, and is still in a capacity to make itself dreaded. It has had abundance of writers of all sorts, who have taken notice of the impertinencies of former authors. Therefore, as the impression of the book, intitled, *Liber Conformitatum*, &c. was imprudently allowed, the Franciscans have been obliged to smart for it. This is not a blow, that is soon over, as when a whole sect is extirpated, with all its books. But those, who gave this blow, have a great many authors among them, and a great many libraries, and printing houses.

[G] Some of those jests are, without doubt, too biting and malicious. I reckon among them what I have already said concerning the marks of Francis. Those blows with a spit, which he received from St Dominic, must be looked upon as a ridiculous and malicious story. Some body framed to himself a comical notion of the two founders of these orders, and fancied, that, one day, they quarrelled, and came to blows; and that, St Francis hiding himself under a bed, his antagonist, armed with a spit, thrust it five or six times into his body: whereupon another carried the jest so far, as to say, that St Francis's marks proceeded from this quarrel. I also rank, among these jests, this rally of d'Aubigné (29): 'If any bishop, or cardinal, falls in love with his page, let him comfort himself after the example of St Francis, who calls his love to brother Maceus, sacred. And, in truth, they expressed their lust even at the altar; for, as the said book says, St Francis was all in a flame, when he looked upon brother Maceus, and would often cry out, as he did one day, when he held the chalice, and Maceus the burette: or cruel, as if he had been transported with fury, *Præbe mihi te ipsum!*' Lastly I reckon, among those malicious jests, Conrad Badius's glosses, which I am going to relate. I put them, as he does, in the margin. As for the text, taken from the book intitled, *Liber Conformitatum*, &c. here it is in the body of this column. 'We must know how St Clara † was dedicated and consecrated to CHRIST. The night after Palm-Sunday, being in honest company, she went out of the town of Assisi, and came to St Mary of the angels, in the convent of the brethren, where St Francis and his companions stayed for her; where, being honourably received by St Francis, and his companions, she was conducted to the altar of the virgin Mary; and there, in the first place, she was shaved; then her worldly cloaths were pulled off, and the habit of the order put on her: which being done, St Francis, and his companions, conducted her to the monastery of Panzo, which is now of his order, and was before of that of St Benedict. . . . One time, St Clara told St Francis, that she had a mind to eat with him; but he would by no means agree to it; for which he was blamed by his

(28) Balzac, in
the third book of
his Letters.

(29) Confess. Ca-
tholique de
Sancy, lib. i,
cap. ii.

† Here is the
she-wolf that has
brought forth so
many others.
Now we may
very well think,
that this last had
been very fami-
liar with this
russian Francis,
who (as they
themselves say in
their book) was a
thorough debauchee,
delighting in all sort of dis-
soluteness, in
dancing, gaming,
juncting, and
I leave you to
judge whether he
abstained from
fornication, be-
fore Satan had
chosen him to
complete that
disaster, which
has overturned
Christianity. For
what sort of beha-
viour is it, for a
young woman,
of an honourable
family, to go out,
in the night-
time, without
any attendants,
or the knowledge
of her parents,
to meet certain
monks, hotter
than bulls, and
be so familiar
with them, as to
suffer them to do
what they will
with her, to
shave her, strip
her naked, cloth
her again, and
then carry her
where they please,
and all under
pretence of
holiness? Al-
coran des Cordeliers,
liv. ii, pag. 126.
Geneva edit.
1560.

guilty of so many extravagancies during his life [H]. He died the fourth of October 1226 (d), and was canonized by Pope Gregory IX, the sixth of May, 1230. His festival was appointed to be on the fourth day of October. The most violent satire, that hath appeared against him, is one intitled, *Alcoranus Franciscanorum*. A Monk of his order has endeavoured to refute it [I].

(d) Spondan. ad ann. 1226, n. 11.

The

He has said before, that the was 43 years that up, without stirring out of the monastery. Recall these two things, if you can. In the mean time remember what I have already observed, That, if these things are true, it may well be conjectured, that lewdness was mixed with his holiness. For what decency is it, for two monks to go along with two monks, from one place to another, for dinner? Moreover, whence came this locution in this holy man, to feast with the holiness of this fine father? He tells that he had a mind to rump, and to move their former acquaintance? *lib. pag. 225.*

(32) *lib. pag. 224.*

(31) Quodlibet ex quolibet, quia quilibet in quolibet.

(32) Jurieu's Apology for the Reformation, chap. i, pag. 12, 13. Edit. in 4to.

(33) Ferrand's Answer to the Apology for the Reformation, pag. 356, 357.

(34) *lib. pag. 359, 360.*

(35) What a thought is this! It is as if I should say, If the bishop of Meaux were the one Claude, he would take care not to blame the reformation.

his brethren, and therefore at last he consented. Thus having with her a she-friend, and two of St Francis's companions, she came to St Mary of the angels; and, after she had bowed before the altar of the virgin, where she had married CHRIST, she went to eat the dinner, which St Francis had ordered to be laid on the ground. For the first course, St Francis began to speak of God so sweetly and holily, and so divinely and sublimely, that the good faint himself, St Clara, and her friend, with the other brothers, were charmed with it; and, on a sudden, as they were thus transported, having their hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, a great fire appeared over the convent of the brethren, so that the place and the forest seemed all in a flame. The inhabitants of Assisi, seeing this, made all the haste they could to the convent, to put out the fire; but they saw that nothing had been damaged, and that the brethren, and St Clara, were in ecstasies; and then they perceived, that the fire was a divine fire, which had visibly appeared to comfort those, who were there assembled, wherewith they were mightily edified. Now when they came to themselves, not caring for any other vicuals, St Clara and her friend returned to her monastery (30). Nothing can be more dull and impertinent, than what Badius says in his last gloss: *A great fire appeared upon the convent; that is to say, it was reported abroad, that the monks diverted themselves there with some nuns.* What sort of interpretation is this? Is not this to transfer Anaxagoras's principles of physics into morality (31). At this rate, one may find any thing any where.

[H] He gave so many marks of extravagancy during his life. He, who had a wife, and daughters, of snow, might very well have swallowed, and graphoppers, for his sisters, and hares and lambs for his brothers; for thus he called these animals. Swallows, my sisters, you have chattered enough: my brother leopards, dost thou let thyself be thus deceived? Graphopper, my sister, sing and praise the creator. He told a countryman, who carried two lambs upon his shoulders, why dost thou thus torment my brothers? his mercy extended even to lice and worms; for he would not suffer them to be killed; because it is said, in the twenty first psalm, *I am a worm, and not a man*. . . . He himself killed the eldest son of a physician, in a place, called Nuceria, to have the pleasure of raising him again from the dead (32). Compare this passage of Mr Jurieu with that of Mr Ferrand, which I am going to quote, and you will see what facts cannot be disputed: they are those, which Mr Ferrand durst not deny. 'I omit here,

(Mr Ferrand speaks) (33) those things, which are either of no moment, or which are notoriously false; as is, for instance, St Francis's clemency to lice and worms, which he would not suffer to be killed; and the murder, which the apologist says this saint committed on the eldest son of a physician, to have the pleasure of raising him from the dead. This is either so weak, or so evidently false, that we ought not to insist upon it. The bare proposing of it is its refutation. These are the only falsties which Mr Ferrand upbraids his adversary with; he therefore grants the rest; and that is enough to shew, that Francis had unhinged his mind by some very false notions of devotion. I pity Mr Ferrand, for having engaged to apologize for these fine fraternities. 'If the apologist, says he (34), was like St Bonaventura, he would take care (35) not to censure the name of sister and brother; which St Francis gave to animals. He would admire that, as well as St Bonaventura. Whose interpreter I cannot forbear to be here again.' St Francis, considering the first origin of all things, and being full of an abundant charity, called, by the name of brother and sister, the minutest creatures. He did it, because he knew, that these animals came from the same principle, as he, that is, that God was their creator: but he embraced, with more tenderness and friendship, those animals, which, both by their own nature, and by the application, which the scripture made of them,

represented the meekness of JESUS CHRIST; as, for instance, lambs. As he was one day at Santa Maria della Portiuncula, there was a graphopper on a fig-tree, near the cell of the man of God. This graphopper invited often, by her notes, the servant of God to praise him; for he had learned to admire the magnificence of the creator, even in the smallest beings. He called her one day, and, as if she had been inspired from above, she flew upon Francis's hand. This saint said to her; sister graphopper, sing, and praise God by your tunes. The graphopper obeyed immediately, and fell a singing. If it be true, that St Francis placed himself stark naked in the room of a crucifix, we cannot doubt, but that he was mad. I do not affirm it positively, because I have only read it in the Confession of Sancy. Let us see the passage, and fetch it a little higher. 'When we read of St Francis cohabiting with his wife of snow, it must be said, that it was an antidote against his own natural heat, and that which appears in his posterity. When he preached to fishes, it implies, that, when his posterity preaches, they want dumb hearers. When he preached to them, as a miracle, that God preserved them from drowning at the flood; it means, according to Richeome, that the miracles of the Romish church are to proceed from natural causes. When he called wolves his brothers, and gave them his hand, it was to foretel, that the Franciscans would be a ravenous crew, who would endeavour to surprize innocent sheep. He called swallows his sisters, because his brothers, as well as they, in the time of matins, nestle in the bores houses. When the angel told him, in his prayers, that Antichrist would come out of his order, it was, that the Franciscans might not be thought unworthy of being Popes. And, when he laid aside his shirt, to stand naked before the ladies, in the place of a crucifix, it was to shew the beauties of nature, as not having eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and to represent, if not the knowledge, at least the nakedness of father Adam (36). I conclude with this observation; none have done more prejudice to St Francis, than his own children. If, when they published his history, they had expunged several things, which were not fit to be rehearsed, they had not given the Protestants occasion to laugh at him. What grief was it not for the Irish Capuchins, when they came to settle at Sedan, to find themselves entertained with three sermons from Mr du Moulin (37) full of the ridiculous passages of their patriarch's legend, which that minister, who naturally loved bantering, seasoned pretty high?

[I] A Franciscan monk has endeavoured to refute the *Alcoranus Franciscanorum*. The author of this refutation is a Franciscan of the Low-Countries, called Henry Sedulius. He published his book (38) at Antwerp, in the year 1607. He observes, 1. that the book intitled, *Liber Conformitatum*, &c. was composed by brother Bartholomew de Pisis in the year 1389; and that in the year 1513, a book intitled, *The Alcoran of the Franciscans*, appeared, in High-Dutch, against it, without the name either of the author or bookseller. 2. That this Alcoran, enlarged by half, appeared at Geneva, in Latin and French, in the year 1578, and that it was printed in Dutch at Dort in the year 1589 (39). He observes, 3. that the author of this Alcoran is called Erasmus Alberus, and styles himself minister of the church in the country of Brandenburg. Now as, in the year 1513, Luther had not yet declared against the Pope, Sedulius fancies, that the date of the impression is supposititious; for before Luther, the title of *Ecclesiæ minister* was not in use. In the 4th place, he observes, that it is a calumny to affirm, as Alberus does, that the *Liber Conformitatum*, &c. hath as much authority among the Franciscans, as the Alcoran among the Turks. 5. He denies, what Conrad Badius asserts (40), that, since the reformation, this *Liber Conformitatum*, &c. which was often reprinted before that time, is as much suppressed as can be. He sets, upon that account, Badius in opposition to Luther (41), and observes, that this book was printed at Bologne

(36) Confession Cathol. de Sancy, lib. i, cap. ii.

(37) They were printed in the year 1641. Father Joseph wrote against these sermons; but du Moulin replied by a book, intitled, *De Capuchin*, which he published at Sedan, in the same year 1641. See the remark [M].

(38) Intituled, *Apologues adversus Alcoranum Franciscanorum*, pro Libro Conformitatum, libri tres, in 4to.

(39) He knew nothing of the edition 1556, cited by du Verdier, *Bibl. pag. 858*, nor of the Geneva edition, 1590, in 8vo, by Conrad Badius. Note, That Voëtius, *Deper. Causa Papatus*, pag. 619, knew only the Dutch edition of that Alcoran.

(40) In the preface to the *Alcoran de Cordeliers*, of the Geneva edition.

(41) Tam hoc est falsum (pudere nos libri conformitatum) quam quod scribit Luther verum, nos hic abominacione necdum penitentiam agere, hanc non recantare. Sedulius in *Prilegium*

(e) See the passage of Rivetus in the remark [C], citat. (43).

(f) Author of the book, intitled, *Liber Conformitatum*, &c., which is the ground and foundation of the Satire, intitled, *Alcoranus Franciscanorum*.

The method he has taken will rather please, than displease, his enemies (e); for, instead of condemning what is evidently blameable, in the *Liber Conformitatum*, he has attempted either to justify, or excuse, it all. It was impossible to succeed in this; and therefore his book is only fit to inspire these thoughts into the minds of the Protestants, viz. that the monks, unwilling to abate any thing, do still approve the greatest excess of superstition, which was occasioned by the gloomy ages of ignorance. Would they but abandon the cause of Bartholomew de Pisis (f), they might, in some measure, stop the mouths of those, who lay a great stress upon the Alcoran of the Franciscans; but with might and main to defend it, is to put new arms into their hands, and to give them the satisfaction of seeing that this satire was reasonable, and that it attacked an inveterate Disease, against which the most caustic remedies were not too strong. I know, that the Franciscans might have feared something, had they confessed themselves in the wrong: And this gives me occasion to say, that those are under very unhappy circumstances, who, being assaulted by their enemies, afford them matter of triumph, whatever course they may take [K]. The Franciscans find themselves in this plunge, when they are reproached with the extravagant and scandalous propositions of the book of Conformities. They are not the only people, that are resolved, right or wrong, to acknowledge

Bologne in the year 1590. Lastly, he observes, that the names of the compilers of this Alcoran appear neither in the German, nor in the French and Dutch editions; and that he will not answer the marginal observations, but only the objections that are grounded on the words of Bartholomew de Pisis.

(43) Pag. 97, 98, of the edition of 1699.

* Henry Sedulius says so.

† Theatre Hist. de Helvic. Table xxxvii.

(43) Rivet, Remarques sur la Réponse au Myſtere d'Iniquité, Part. II, pag. 354.

‡ Jerem. iii, 3.

(44) See Florus, lib. i, cap. xvi.

The notes on the *Confession Catholique* of Sancy (42) inform us, that the Alcoran of the Franciscans was printed with this title, *De stygmatisato Idolo, quod Franciscum viscant, blasphemiarum & nugarum lerna, seu Alcoranus Franciscanorum*, in 1543; and that it was only a translation from the High-Dutch, which was published in 1513, or rather in 1531; for, in 1513, there were as yet no Protestants; and that this year, 1531, which is only a transposition of the two preceding numbers, is set down † for the epoch of the life of Dr Erasmus Alberus, who at first wrote, in High-Dutch, the Franciscan Alcoran. Let us see Andrew Rivet's judgment upon this work of Sedulius. A certain Franciscan, called Henry Sedulius, says he (43), who attempted to mimic Lipsius, both endeavoured to defend all these idle tales and scandalous propositions, heaping together several sentences out of ecclesiastical authors, and others, which only swell his book, and perplex the subject: and, though, at the beginning, he grants, that there is something too free in this book, by reason of the simple age it was writ in, yet there is no freedom of expression there, but he strives to justify: and therefore he compares them to some few drops of water, which do not alter the nature of wine, instead of acknowledging them a rank poison, that choke the understanding of those, who delight to drink of it. This book is approved by the censors of Antwerp, as very useful against heretics. Truly, it is so useful to us, that I could wish, for the glory of God, that there was not one Papist of sense, but what had one, and read it with attention, that he might say to the author, and those like him, thou hast a whore's forehead, and thou refusedst to be ashamed †. To make this appear, requires a larger volume than this; but this is sufficient.

[K] Those are under very unhappy circumstances, who, being assaulted by their enemies, afford them matter of triumph every way.] Those authors, who are exposed to such attacks, are like the Roman army, who suffered themselves to be hemmed in *ad furculas caudinas* (44). They could not get out, but by submitting to great ignominy. They could neither resist, nor capitulate, but at a great disadvantage. There are some controversies, which have the same fate. Peace cannot be sued for, nor war continued, but to one's confusion. This was the case of the Franciscans in the XVIth century, when the Protestants attacked them, concerning the book of Bartholomew de Pisis. To acknowledge, that this work contained many blasphemies, many ridiculous, extravagant, and impious propositions, &c. was to sacrifice the glory of the order, scandalize devout souls, and acknowledge that the heretics were obliged to teach them how to think and speak better. Besides, it was to make those heretics proud, to give them a large scope to insult the Franciscans, and to prepare them the way to overthrow many other things, by acknowledging, that they were mistaken in some, and that they had left the world, for so long a time, in a gross superstition. They thought it better neither to give way, nor to capitulate, but to defend them-

selves as well as they could, though their post was not well fortified. They then saw themselves within the reach of the ancient proverb, *A fronte præcipitum, à tergo lupi*; Go forward and fall, go backward and mar all. There was a necessity to choose one of two evils, and they thought the worst was to confess themselves vanquished: they hoped, some apologies might be made, which would satisfy devout souls; and that their adversaries replies, though never so strong, would not stagger the faith of good Romanists. In a word, they found, that, if it was dishonourable to contend, it was much more so not to resist (45). Generally speaking, it is true, that, in a dispute, he, who attacks, has more advantage, and can better maintain his ground, than he, who is attacked: but this was more particularly true, with reference to those, who declared war against the book of Conformities. They fought, sure of the victory; they run no risk; and they were certain to get the better, which way soever the enemy turned. If he holds his peace, they might have said, he will acknowledge our objections unanswerable: if he suppresses the book of Conformities, he will grant the same thing; for he will confess himself ashamed of the extravagancies of his predecessors, and confirm our charge against them. If he pretends to justify this book, he will as much confirm our accusation: his answers will be wretched, and only shew his obstinacy, and give us a fair opportunity to insult over him, and tell him, that he does not innocently suffer for the faults of his ancestors (46), but rather as an accomplice, since he adopts them, and endeavours to justify them as well as he can. Note, that Sedulius, the apologist of Bartholomew de Pisis, observes, that there were some heretics, who charged the Franciscans with being ashamed of this book, and that others upbraid them with not being ashamed of it (47). Were not they like to expose themselves, whether they approved, or disapproved, the book of Conformities?

Such must always be the fate of those who are to defend posts of this nature. Mr le Camus, the famous bishop of Bellai, did not foresee, when he began a controversy with Mr Drelincourt about the worship of the virgin Mary, that he would be drawn into this desile. Mr Drelincourt made a large collection of the most extravagant expressions, that he found in the writings of the Roman Catholics, concerning the power of the holy virgin, and desired Monsieur le Camus to give him his opinion about them. This prelate was hampered; he racked his invention and fancy, and answered, that he was in the country, and could not come to verify the passages alledged by the minister; he drolled, and gave himself merry airs; but, in the main, he formally condemned nothing: he durst neither swallow, nor cast out the bit; he only chewed it, and even recurred to a mean and comical recrimination (48). All which proves how much he was puzzled. This recrimination, how bad soever it be, is more tolerable than that, which the Franciscan Feuardentius made use of in a like case. It came into his head to reproach the ministers, that Theodore Beza had invoked his Candida as a goddess. These are his words: 'But what will you say, if I shew you, by the writings of your chief ministers and preachers, that they invoke and adore their whores as Goddesses?'

(45) Turpe quidem contendere, erant, sed cedere vilium Turpinus. Ovid. Metam. lib. 9, ver. 315.

(46) What Horace. Od. iv, lib. iii, said to the Romans, *Delicta majorem immeritis laes Romanes*, could not therefore have been applied to them.

(47) See the remark [I].

(48) See it above, at the end of the remark [A], of the article ARODON.

acknowledge nothing; for the Jesuits also undertake to defend the book of Bartholomew de Pisis, when they see it attacked by the Protestants [L]. Some laymen have been seen to take pen in hand in a like cause, against the minister du Moulin [M], and have met with the fate they deserved. However, the Franciscans continue to preach up many absurd things concerning their founder; and the world would be better informed of

Is not that to deny the only living and true God?
These are Beza's own verses concerning his whore
Candida.

Et tamen hæc aude maculare, & dicere nigram?
Define, habet certe Numen & ista suum.
Quæ nisi sit precibus nostris lenita, veremur
Ne dicas læsæ quàm gravis ira deæ.

Dare you to blacken and prophane the fair?
Dress: for, O! divinity is in her.
If she relent not at our prayer, expect
To feel the vengeance of an angry goddess.

And a little after,

Parce, rogo, quæcunque dea es.

Thy humble supplicant in mercy spare,
Whate'er divinity resides within thee.

And again,

Ecce fugam fateor, veniam ne, Diva, negabo.

Goddess, I own my flight, and sue for pardon.

After that, he gives and consecrates his soul to her,
as to a goddess:

Ipsam nempe animam tibi dicatam, Amorisque tui
ignibus perustam, Quæ pridem tua sit licet, suamque
Te pridem Dominam vocetque ametque, Se rursus
tibi datque dedicatque. — My very soul, dedicated
to thee, and burnt up with the fires of your love;
which, though it has been long your's, and has long
called you its mistress, and loved you, again devotes
and dedicates itself to you.

And again,

Ergo fas alium te, Candida, dicere Solem,
Upotè quæ facias æstum hyememque mihi.

Thou art, my Candida, another sun,
Since from thy kind, or angry, eyes alone
My summer and my winter I derive.

Doth it become your authors, and arch-preachers,
to call their flutes, Ladies, Mistresses, Suns, and Goddesses; and is it idolatry for the Catholics to call the most holy Virgin, and mother of God, star of the sea, advocate of sinners, life, sweetness, and queen of mercy (49)? Any body may see how ridiculous this parallel is: for, 1. there is a vast difference between a poetical expression, and a phrase of devotion. Those are only witty conceits, which are not serious; but these are seriously used, as an act of religion. In the 2d place, Beza was not a minister, when he made those verses. 3. He disowned, and abhorred, them as soon as he made public profession of the Protestant religion.

[L] The Jesuits also undertake to defend the book of Bartholomew de Pisis, when they see it attacked by the Protestants. Du Plessis Mornai, in one of his books (50), displayed the comparisons, which the author of the Conformities has made between JESUS CHRIST, and the founder of the Franciscans. Gresser, the Jesuit, answered (51), that there is nothing in that work, but that a pious soul may make a good use of; and that there are a great many things in it, which a wicked soul may wrongfully explain; that, before candor and simplicity had forsaken the earth, many things were said simply and candidly, which now men of deceitful hearts cavil at and revile. After this manner, this is Andrew Rivet's reflexion (52), any one may defend Mahomet's Alcoran; and there is not a blasphemous expression, but may be

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turned into a divine sentence by those, who can so easily satisfy thus their pious souls, little zealous for the honour of CHRIST. Coëffeteau, who was a Dominican, did not stand up so much in vindication of this book of Bartholomew de Pisis, when he answered this work of du Plessis. As for the book of the Conformities between St Francis and JESUS CHRIST, the Romish church has never approved it. It is the work of a private man, who, transported with an indiscreet zeal for his patriarch, may very well be blamed for want of judgment; because, being willing to stretch too far his encomium, he has written some things, which may be explained in a bad sense. Those of his order, who approved it in their general chapter, did not imagine that his words would be so severely construed; and I am sure, that not one of them believed, for all that, that St Francis equaled, or was above, JESUS CHRIST, though they looked upon him as one of the great saints of heaven (53). Let us conclude with Rivet's reply: 'If the Romish church doth not approve these blasphemies, why has it born with them so long? why have the censors of books, the masters of the palace of Rome, and all the inquisitors, been as it were asleep, with relation to them? have not they approved, by their silence, of two hundred years standing, what the infamous Bartholomew de Pisis hath written? have not they, of late years, given leave that it should be printed at Bologna, without any censure or preservative? can Coëffeteau, then, throw it upon a private man, who, transported with an ardent zeal . . . He comes off very cheap, if this will serve his turn. What, was his general, and the chapter, a private man? they did not believe, says he, that his words would be so severely construed. But could they say, with a good conscience, that, after they had thoroughly examined it, they had not found in it any thing that wanted to be corrected? is it not at least a proof of palpable stupidity and ignorance (54)?' I wanted this to prove what I have already said, concerning the inextricable labyrinths, into which the Protestants have driven their adversaries, when they attacked the author of the Conformities. And thus far the influence of the folly of a private man extends: it exposes a whole society to storms, as formerly Ajax's crime exposed the Grecian fleet (55). If you would rather have another comparison, see the margin (56).

[M] Some laymen have been seen to take pen in hand in a like case against the minister du Moulin. William Cacherat, advocate, the king's attorney in the admiralty of France, in the jurisdiction of Quillebœuf, wrote a book, printed at Paris in the year 1642, intitled, *The Capuchin vindicated against the calumnies of Mr Peter du Moulin, minister; or, an apologetic treatise, containing the just reasons, why the parliament of Bourdeaux hath caused to be burned, by the executioner of criminal sentences, the defamatory libel against the Capuchins, written and published at Sedan by this minister, and dispersed in this kingdom, contrary to the edicts of pacification: with a summary refutation of the calumnies and impieties, which are contained in it.* I have already spoken (57) of this work of du Moulin; and I add here, that Cacherat shewed as much zeal to vindicate the Capuchins, as if he had been of their order; but his apology is good for nothing. He reckons (58) this passage the ninth calumny of that minister: 'The Capuchins, who profess to observe entirely St Francis' rule, do not observe it; for his rule commands, that the Franciscans should work with their hands, which the Capuchins do not.' Let us see how he strains, to prove that it is a calumny: 'The generals of the order, says he (59), who are to give an account of the actions of all their monks to the cardinal their patron, and he to the Pope, and who have the greatest interest, that the rule be punctually observed, and who watch carefully, that it should be so, do not complain, that it is neglected: and the minister du Moulin, having no authority to enquire into it, nor having ever been in the convents of this order,

(53) Coëffeteau, Réponse au Mystère d'Iniquité, pag. 870.

Anno 1590

(54) Rivet, ubi supra, pag. 352.

(55) Unius obnoxam & furiam Ajaxis Oilei. Virgil. Æneid. lib. 1, ver. 41.

(56) Sicut grex totus in agris Unius scabie cadit & porrigine porci. — One tainted swine doth infect the whole flock. Juven. Sat. 11, ver. 79.

(57) In remark [H].

(58) Cacherat, Capuchin vindicated, pag. 72.

(59) Id. libid.

(49) Feanlent, Examination of the Confessions, Prayers, Sacraments, and Catechisms, of the Calvinists, p. 95. He quotes Elegis 6, que est de sua Candida, ad quemdam Lodoicum.

I have an edition of the *Juvenilia* Poems of Theodore Buz, wherein the place, and time, it was printed, is not specified, and without the name of my Printer. The first copy, which I received, was in the fifth day. The following, which this man conveys together as if they were prose, are in an epigram, intitled, Xenium Candidæ. The two last verses are in an other epigram. Judge by that, whether Feanlentian knew how to quote.

(50) In the *Mystère d'Iniquité*, pag. 119, and more fully in his *Traité de l'Éducation chrétienne*, lib. III, c. xvii. Note, That Henry Stephens took notice of it in the 25th chapter of his *Apology for Heretics*.

(51) Gresser. Exam. Myther. esp. 53. upon Rivet's remarques for la Réponse au Mystère d'Iniquité, Tom. II, pag. 354.

(52) Rivet. Ibid. pag. 354.

of this, were all prelates as vigilant and steady as the archbishop of Rheims [N]. Let us speak of another matter of fact. Francis founded an order, which, in a short time, grew very considerable, and has been a main prop of Popery. Some Popes, several Cardinals, a great many Prelates, and famous Authors have been of that order. Some particulars concerning this may be seen in the commentary of Henry Sedulius, a Flemish Franciscan, on the life of St Francis, composed by St Bonaventura (g); and a great many particulars in the annals of the order, written in several volumes by Lucas Wadding, an Irish Franciscan, who writ also a volume concerning the Franciscan authors. This order is divided into several bodies, some more rigid than others, but all true heirs of that old emulation, which soon appeared between the children of St Francis, and those of St Dominic. This emulation hath divided them, not only in religious matters,

(g) Printed at
Amstcrp, 1597o
in 8vo.

to see whether it be punctually observed, ought to be looked upon as a slanderer, and ignorant of what St Francis meant by these words, *to work with their own hands*; which ought not to be understood as this minister will have it, but as the church and the superiors of the order understood them, and explain them now. It is evident, that to prove a calumny after this manner is very little to the purpose; and that it is rather a calumny, than a refutation of a calumny. This pretended proof amounts to this; *The church dispenses the Capuchins from the literal observation of their rule*: but that very thing proves, that they do not observe it, and that du Moulin's accusation is just. Had he accused them of infringing the orders of their founder, without being warranted by some dispensations, or allegorical glosses, he might have been filled a calumniator; but he only said, that they did not observe St Francis's rule. Their vindication, grounded on the dispensations of Popes, and on the interpretation of their superiors, would not have puzzled this minister; it would have afforded him new arguments against him. And indeed it is a very great abuse, to profess a very austere rule, and afterwards to obtain a dispensation to infringe it. And this the Franciscans did, with relation to their vow of poverty: they got the Pope to give them leave to handle money, which gave birth to a dispute, that made a great noise in England, of which Erasmus gives a very diverting description (60). Read it, and you will see, that the motive, which obliged Standish, the ringleader of the Franciscans in that country, to make such a stir, was, that he might hinder the Augustins from pursuing their traffic, because their gain diminished that of the Franciscans. Some mendicant friars, famous for their writings, might be named, who had leave from their superiors to bargain with bookellers. The latter give them a good price for their copies, and for the trouble of correcting the proofs: they give the author both money and copies, and the author himself sells for ready money the copies that are given him. Do they then observe their vow? not at all. But they have leave to break it; and that very thing proves, that they do not observe it. This dispensation supposes, and proves, that they do infringe it.

(60) *Erasm. A-*
dag. chil. ii.
cent. v. n. 98.
pag. m. 511, &
seq.

[N] *The public would be better informed of the absurd things which the Franciscans continue to preach concerning their founder, were all prelates as vigilant and steady as the archbishop of Rheims.* (61) A Franciscan, a Capuchin, and a Benedictin, had preached, in his diocese, the second of August, 1694, the panegyric of St Francis, at the solemnity of the Portiuncula.

(61) See the
Journal des Sa-
vans, d'Apr. 11,
1695, pag. 241,
Dutch Edit.

(62) *Ibid. pag.*
242.

(62) He gave them himself their recantation in writing, to undeceive the people, whom they had deceived, to make them for the future more circumspect in the exercise of their functions, and to give the people a preservative against such extravagancies. The three preachers humbly complied with his orders; and the Franciscan declared in the pulpit, that the text, which he had taken for the subject of his sermon, *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in Cælo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus Sanctus, & hi tres unum sunt*, had no relation to what he had undertaken to discourse upon, and could not be applied to it, without evidently wresting the word of God: that, having a wrong notion of the merits of St Francis, though he was a great saint before God and men, he had rashly affirmed, that St Francis, in the Portiuncula, had done, by his tears, what Jesus Christ did for sinners, in the manger of Bethlehem, by his; that St Francis had done, in the Portiuncula, by the blood of his wounds, what Jesus Christ did by his on Calvary; and that St Francis

had done, in his heart, for sinners, what Jesus Christ did in his upon the cross. . . . (63) The Capuchin recanted likewise some propositions, contrary to sound doctrine, which he had asserted in a sermon the same day. The first, that St Francis, protesting himself on the ground, made the son of God come a second time upon earth. The second, that the Portiuncula is so entire and perfect an amnesty, that it may be said, that, in all former ages, God never shewed himself more indulgent to sinners, than at that solemnity: that, when he had said, that St Francis, like St Paul, may boast, to have completed what was wanting in our Saviour's passion, he had made a rash application of this apostle's words, and contrary to their true meaning: that he had also advanced a rash and false proposition, when he made St Francis say, my God, if it be necessary, that your justice should be satisfied, pardon, mercy, mercy to sinners; I offer to be alone the victim, and to satisfy your justice for them. . . . (64) He acknowledges further, that, in a parallel . . . which is false, rash, and erroneous, as well as what he had affirmed, that the indulgence of the Portiuncula is an image of the immensity, infinity, and eternity of God, because it is gained in all St Francis's churches, because it expiates the punishment of sin, and will endure to the end of the world. These are the propositions which the Benedictin was obliged to retract: (95) The first is that, wherein it is said, that he did not know which to admire most, the divine word coming down into the chaste bosom of Mary, or the same Jesus coming down into the chapel of the Angels. The second, that he did not know which to admire most, St Francis's charity for sinners, or Jesus Christ's love for St Francis. The third, which he has repeated often, that St Francis made himself a victim for sinners, and hath taken upon him the sins of the world. The fourth, that Jesus Christ hath given to St Francis the fulness of his graces. The fifth is that, wherein he said, in many places of his sermon, that the holy Virgin hath an absolute power over her son, by reason of the authority of father and mother, which she hath over him. The sixth, that the cry of St Francis was more favourably heard, than that of Moses and St Paul. The seventh, that the Blessed Virgin gave St Francis the life of grace, as she gave our Saviour that of nature. The eighth, that St Francis makes up what is wanting to our Lord's passion in the behalf of sinners, by co-operating with him in his victories over sin and hell. He likewise retracts several other propositions, and dangerous expressions, as the following are: that the Franciscans are uterine brothers to Jesus Christ, the children of Mary, the companions of the blessed spirits; that, like them, they draw their origin from the midst of the splendors of grace and glory: that the plenary indulgence of the Portiuncula is irrevocable and eternal, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, who descended into the chapel of the Portiuncula, in the shape of a dove, as he appeared at the river Jordan, to make this indulgence as it were a baptism of salvation: that the indulgence of the Portiuncula doth not only remit the punishment due to sin, but in some manner the guilt of it, since it is Jesus Christ, who grants it; he, who never, during his mortal life, remitted sin, but he remitted both: that Jesus Christ himself grants the indulgence of the Portiuncula independently from the Popes: that it was a seraphim who drew up the bull of it: that St Francis asks either a fulness of grace for sinners, or a want of mercy for himself.

(63) *Ibid. pag.*
244.

(64) *Ibid. pag.*
245.

To

matters, as that about the immaculate conception of the holy virgin, but also about a great many questions of philosophy. The Scotists and Thomists, those Franciscans, and these Dominicans, differ as much now, as formerly the Platonists and Peripatetics did. I take no notice of a controversy, that lasted a long while among the monks of St Francis, and which created a great deal of trouble to their superiors and to the Popes, tho' it was only about a trifle; for the thing in dispute was only the shape of a hood, &c. Gentillet relates this very pleasantly (b). Mr Nicolle speaks of it in one of his imaginary letters. Observe, that the saint, of whom I speak, was called Francis, because his father had traded in France (i).

(b) In the Preface to the 2d book of his Political Discourses against Nicolas Machiavel.

(i) Volaterr. liba xxi, p. m. 761.

REFLECTIONS
on what has been
said.

To avoid prolixity, I will not make all the observations, which might be made upon what I have just now related. I will confine my self to three. The first is, that the same propositions, which the archbishop of Rheims obliged these fryars to disown, the same propositions, I say, or some equivalent to them, are every year preached, not only in Spain, Italy, Germany, &c. but also in France. The greatest part of the prelates do not mind it, or are not scandalized at it: And this is the reason, why these doctrines, meeting with no opposition, go on quietly; and it is never known in foreign countries, that they have been vented. Should we ever have known, that they were delivered from the pulpit in the diocese of Rheims, in the year 1694, if the archbishop had not taken exception at them, and obliged the three preachers to make public reparation for their faults? let this suffice to shew that the empire of the monkish fancies concerning the credit of certain saints, and the prerogatives of certain indulgences, is very little lessened; although the time of ignorance, which gave it birth, is vanished, and has been succeeded by a return of learning and knowledge, which have lasted a great while. My second observation is, that the Benedictin's hyperboles, concerning the indulgences of the Portiuncula, and the greatness of St Francis, exceeded those of the Franciscan, or Capuchin. This is a good office, which the monks mutually do one another. The Franciscans imagine, that the praises of their founder will not be so much suspected in the mouth of a monk of another order; and therefore they desire either a Benedictin, or a Carmelite, &c. to preach in their churches at their great festivals. He, whom they employ to preach, is sure to have his mind and body handsomely entertained; for he never returns to his convent, before he has been plentifully treated, and sufficiently praised, and largely thanked, for his eloquence. Besides, they are ready to requite him upon occasion; for his order hath also it's festivals. A Franciscan's sermon is requisite there, and is more effectual than one of the same order. He often is more extravagant in his encomium on the efficacy of

the scapulary, than a Carmelite. This is a mutual intercourse of good offices. It is not long ago, that an ingenious man, and who is now a Protestant, told me, that, when he was a Benedictin, he was desired to preach in a convent of Franciscans, at the festival of the Portiuncula. They specified on what they would have him chiefly insist. He partly complied with their desire; but he gave his subject a certain turn, which did not please them. Some of them artfully let him know it: he excused himself, and then asked them, as among friends, whether it was reasonable to affirm in the pulpit so many things which are not true? what then will you have us do? replied they. Will you have us starve? which leads me to the third observation. There are several abuses in the Romish church, which, in all likelihood, will last as long as that church. It will be to no purpose to go from a learned age to one more learned; those things will not alter. It is true, they sprung up in the times of ignorance; but ignorance was not the only cause, nor even the principal cause, of their birth. The wants of a society, as well those of food, as commodious lodging; the interest they had in shewing the people an altar well set off, and rich church ornaments; all this required some wonderful descriptions, to exalt the privileges of a certain saint, or of a certain chapel, or of some particular festival. It was a daily fund of subsistence; and, when the anniversary feast came, then the order had it's harvest and vintage. Now the wants, that I speak of, are not subject to the vicissitude of light and darkness; they are the same at all times, in an ignorant, as well as in a learned age. Therefore, tho' knowledge is greater, and more common, yet they produce still the same effects. Philosophical heads are puzzled, whether they shall admire, in this, the long forbearance, or the long anger, of heaven. And some would willingly apply here the *tantane animis caelestibus ira*, which an English doctor applies to the errors in which the history of nations have been plunged for so many ages (66).

(66) See, above, citat (55) of the article FRANCHIMANES.

FRANCIS I, king of France, was one of those great princes, whose extraordinary qualities were mixed with many faults. The French historians (a) very sincerely acknowledge this mixture; and even some complain, that the Spanish writers, instead of acknowledging it, affect to represent this king as an accomplished prince [A]. There may be a great deal of design in both their proceedings; however there seems to be less in the French, than in the Spanish writers. For a man must be blind, not clearly to perceive, in Francis the first's reign, a long series of faults and imprudence. This prince had like to have deprived himself of the right of succeeding Lewis XII. He took the ready

(a) Beaucourt, Spondanus, Merzeri, Varillas, &c.

[A] The French historians . . . complain, that the Spanish writers . . . affect to represent this king as an accomplished prince. Some of Mr Varillas's critics would have had him imitate the . . . Italian and Spanish historians who have not been contented to exaggerate Francis the first's noble actions, but have moreover concealed those, that were not praise-worthy (1). Among other things, he answers, that they did it not to oblige Francis I, but that they wrote favourably of him, by a refined policy, which it is necessary to unfold; and he unfolds it thus: 'They were jealous of the growth of France, and they were afraid, lest the French should carry their conquests even into their country, after they were free from those civil wars, they had been involved in for forty years. There was no better way to prevent it, than to persuade the French, that they would not, for the future, have better success against Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries, than they had under Francis I; and, to effect it, they were to be accustomed to

(1) Varillas's Preface to his History of Francis I.

read, in the history of this prince, that he had done what mortal man could do against the house of Austria, and that he was not able to shake it: that he had made no false steps: that the faults, which were ascribed to him, belonged rather to the monarchy, than to the monarch; that is to say, that Francis I had, for his part, done what ought to be done, to overcome Charles V, but that France could not make sufficient efforts, nor raise men and money enough for so great a victory: that what was imputed to Francis I, as a misfortune, ought to be ascribed only to the weakness of his kingdom; and that, if the greatest generals and politicians, that ever were, had commanded the same armies, and had been in the same circumstances, they had been overcome at the battle of Pavia, and, like him, had disentangled themselves by the shameful treaties of Madrid, Cambray, and Crepy. The French historians might have easily refused so palpable an error,

ready way to it, by the tender caresses, wherewith he charmed the young queen (b) [B], when he was informed of the danger he exposed himself to. Altho' this story is variously told [C], yet it is not agreed on all hands, that he made a good use of this wholefome

(b) Lewis the twelfth's wife.

for, by laying open, as I have done, the naked truth, and by shewing, by authentic pieces, that Francis Ist did not do, by far, what he might have done against Charles V, and that it was several times in his power to beat him: that his most christian majesty's negligence, and preposterous management in some things, cannot be excused: that these irregularities proceeded always from the monarch, and not from the monarchy: that weakness had no share in it, and misfortune the least; that these miscarriages were chiefly occasioned by the misunderstanding, so common, in the history of France, between the sovereigns of former times, and their ministers: and that some better generals, and more vigilant politicians, would one day mend what Francis Ist had spoiled.

[B] The tender caresses, wherewith he charmed the young queen.] Lewis XII, who had married the king of England's sister, in the month of November, 1514, died the first of January following; and many thought that his too great caresses of the young queen were the cause of his death (2). These caresses, excessive for so tender a prince as he was, were not so for his spouse, who was but eighteen years of age. She hearkened to amorous tales both in French and English. A gentleman of her own country loved her, and had followed her into France. She married him afterwards. On the other hand, she appeared charming to the presumptive heir of the crown. He then was called the duke of Valois. Let us see what Mezerau says: 'The young duke of Valois, who was a great admirer of fine ladies, was soon smitten with the young queen; and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who loved her before this marriage, and followed the court of France as ambassador of England, had not extinguished his first flame: but Arthur de Gouffier-Boisy, who had been governor to the duke of Valois, representing to him, that he run the risk of getting a master, and that he ought to fear the same thing from the duke of Suffolk; he cured himself of this folly, and had this duke narrowly watched (3).'

(2) Mezerau's History of France, Tom. II, p. 372.

Varillas has very much enlarged upon this: he speaks thus, after having said that the count of Angoulême (4) was ordered to go and marry, at Bologne, the princess of England for the king. 'He could not forbear being smitten with her, whom he married for his father-in-law (5), as she could not forbear wishing, that heaven had given her the count for her husband. Perhaps, the convenience, which they had of seeing one another, might have made them carry things too far, if the protonotary du Prat (6), who was sent with the count to check the violent motions of his youth, had not made him consider, that it was the new queen's interest not to be chaste; because going to a husband, by whom every body told her she should have no children, it was to be feared she would give way to the temptation of having a son, who should support her in her rank in France, when she became a widow, and exempt her from returning into England under her brother's government: but that, as for him, he had the greatest interest in the world to take care, that the queen should be chaste, so far ought he to be from debauching her; since, if she had a son, tho' by him, this son would hinder him from coming to the crown, and force him to be satisfied with the duchy of Bretagne, which he had by his wife: besides, he would be obliged, against the order of nature, to pay homage for it to his own ballard. This reason flattered the count of Angoulême's egotisms, who, ever after, only looked on the queen with a jealous eye. He observed her so narrowly, that he discovered at last her inclination for Suffolk (7).'

(7) Varillas's History of Francis I, lib. i, p. 17.

Varillas relates afterwards some very curious things concerning the precautions taken against Suffolk. The following remark.

[C] This story is variously told.] Brantome does not give the glory of this prudent advice, either to Gouffier-Boisy, or Du Prat, but to a gentleman of his province. I am sure, that his words will be more acceptable than mine, and therefore I will transcribe

them (8). 'They say, that queen Mary of England, third wife to king Lewis XII, did not do the same thing (9); for, being displeased with, and dissident of, the king her husband's strength, she had a mind to found the ford, taking the count of Angoulême for her guide, who was afterwards king Francis, and then a very beautiful and agreeable prince, whom she made very much of, calling him always *Monsieur mon beau-fils*; (*my son-in-law*) and so he was; for he had already married the lady Claudia, king Lewis's daughter. She was truly very much smitten with him, and he with her; so that they would have proceeded too far, had it not been for the late Mr de Grignaux, a gentleman of Perigord, who had been knight of honour to queen Anne, as we have said, and was so still to queen Mary. This gentleman, being informed of the intrigue, that was then carried on, represented to the said count of Angoulême the fault that he was going to commit, and angrily told him; how now! what will you do? do not you see, that this cunning and subtle woman would draw you in to get her with child; and, if she comes to have a son, you will be still count of Angoulême, and never king of France, as you expect? the king her husband is old, and cannot get her with child; and you will meddle with her, and do it so well, you that are young and hot, and she young and hot too, that it will take like wild-fire; she will bring you a child, and then you are very well helped up. You may then indeed say, adieu my share to the kingdom of France; therefore think on it. This queen had a mind to put in practice the Spanish proverb, which says, that *nunca muger aguda murio sin herederos*; an ingenious woman never dies without heirs: that is to say, that, if her husband does not get her some, she employs a second to perform that office. The count of Angoulême thought seriously upon it, and protested, that he would be wife, and quiet his design; but, being inticed over and over by the caresses and allurements of this beautiful English woman, he was more smitten than ever. How furious is love! that, for the sake of such a little piece of flesh, which a man longs for, he abandons, nay loses kingdoms and empires; and you may see frequent instances of this in history. At last, Mr de Grignaux, seeing this young man run headlong to his ruin, and that he went on with his intrigue, told it to the countess of Angoulême his mother; who curbed his love, and chid him for it, so that he left it off. Compare these three relations, and you will find they vary a little; but Brantome chiefly differs from Mezerau and Varillas in this, that the young queen, being a widow, endeavoured to suppose a child, to supplant Francis I. The two other historians clear her from that crime. After Lewis the twelfth's death, Mary of England was thought to be with child; but the contrary was soon known, by her own acknowledging she was not. They are Mezerau's words (10). These are Varillas's (11). The queen was as narrowly watched as before, whilst there was room left to doubt whether she was with child; but after she had declared that she was not, and that there were sufficient proofs that what she said was true, the count of Angoulême, coming to the crown, &c. Brantome speaks after a very different manner (12). 'They report however, that the said queen did what she could, to live and reign as queen mother, a little before, and after the king her husband's death: but he died too soon, and she had too little time to compleat her design; and yet she reported, every day after the death of the king her husband, that she was with child; so that, being not so inwardly, they say, she swelled herself outwardly, by little and little, with linnen cloths; and, the time being come, she had a supposed child, which another big bellied woman was to have, and to produce at the pretended time of her delivery. But the lady regent, who was a Savoyard, and knew what it was to have children, and who saw, that her's and her son's interest was too much concerned in this affair, had her well examined and searched by physicians

(8) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, p. 117.

(9) He had been saying, that Queen Louisa, wife to Henry III, rejected the advice, that was given her, of being got with child by somebody else, since she could hope for none from her husband.

(10) History of France, Tom. II, pag. 895.

(11) History of Francis I, lib. i, pag. 20.

(12) Brantome, ubi supra, pag. 118, 119.

(c) He undertook his journey to Milan, among other reasons, to lie with a fine woman. See the *Poésies* for les Comtes, p. 715. (d) In the article *ETAMPES*, remark [E].

wholsome advice; but he was not circumspect with regard to other women (c); and some pretend, that it cost him his life [D]. I have said elsewhere (d), that the chief of his mistresses had like to have made him lose his whole kingdom. He did not suspect that black design; and, seeing how ill his affairs went, he let fall some complaints against divine providence [E]. It was during a war, which was sooner ended, than

scians and midwives, and, by the sight and discovery of the linnen and clouts, she was found out, and so miscarried in her design; and, instead of being queen-mother, she was sent back into her own country. This irrefragably confutes those, who say, in behalf of king James (13), that it cannot come into any one's thought, who is in the midst of a numerous court, always surrounded with a vast number of domestics, to suppose a child. Here is Brantome, who understood the world as well as another, and knew the court extremely well; here is he, I say, relating such another project actually carried on at the court of France. It is an argument, that there are some men of sense, who fancy, that it may be done.

[D] Some pretend, that it cost him his life. The French authors speak very freely of this. One of them, mentioning an abscess, which reduced this prince to a very low condition (14), adds; I have sometimes heard say, that he had got this distemper of the handsome Ferroniere, one of his mistresses, whose picture is still to be seen in some closets of the curious; and that her husband, out of a strange and silly sort of

revenge, went into a scandalous house, on purpose to get this infectious distemper, that he might infect them both. Tho' the danger was over, yet did he suffer for a long while after (15). Thus Mezerai speaks, under the year 1539. Let us see what he says concerning the king's last sickness. That malignant ulcer, which happened to him in the year 1539, not being cured by his physicians, because they durst not treat him with that severe method, which ought to be used in those distempers, crept as far as the neck of the bladder, and began to corrode it with intolerable heats; so that this pain and infection, which was spread all over his body, caused in him a slow fever, and a fullen perverseness, which made him incapable of any great design (16). This slow fever was soon converted into a continual fever, which carried him off the thirtieth of March 1547. Although this author, in his chronological abridgment, has said most of the things, which we have just now seen, I will set down here what he repeats, because something new will be found in it. Three months after, the king

was grievously sick of an ulcer, which affected that part, which the physicians call the *Perinaeum*. This distemper was reported to be the result of a scandalous intrigue, which he had with the handsome Ferroniere, one of his mistresses. This woman's husband enraged at an affront, which courtiers call only gallantry, bethought himself to go to a bawdy-house, to infect himself, that he might infect his wife, and so extend his revenge to his rival. The unhappy woman died of it; her husband was cured by some speedy remedies, and the king had all the troublesome symptoms of it. And, as his physicians took care of him more according to his quality than his distemper, something of it stuck by him ever after, whose malignity altered very much the sweetness of his temper, and made him peevish, suspicious, and hard to please (17). Tho' Mr Varillas, contrary to his custom on such sort of subjects, is short, yet he expresses himself fully enough, not to put his reader upon a necessity of supplying any thing by his imagination (18). I have read, in Brantome, that the king gave queen Claudia the distemper he had got. See father l'Enfant's Calendar (19), and you will find in it this pox of Francis I, which he had got with the handsome Ferroniere. This author quotes du Verdier in this king's life.

I have heard say, that this mistress was called LA FERONNIERE, only because her husband was an ironmonger. I should less suspect this, had not I read in Lewis Guion, that she, who was infected by her husband, and infected the king, was the wife of an advocate. These are this writer's words (20). Francis I, courted the wife of an advocate at Paris, who was a very handsome and genteel woman; I will not name him, because he has left some children, who are very rich, and in good repute. This Lady would not comply with him; which grieved the king extremely. This coming to be known by some courtiers, and royal pimps, they told him, by virtue of his royal authority and power, he might take her away. Pursuant to this advice, one of them went and told it to the lady, and the lady to her husband. The advocate saw very well, that his wife and he must quit the kingdom, which yet he was not sure they could do, if they did not obey. At last, the husband gives his wife leave to comply with the king's desires; and, to be no hindrance, he pretended to go into the country for eight or ten days about business. In the mean time, he kept himself private in Paris, and frequented bawdy-houses, that he might get the pox, to give it his wife, that the king might get it from her: he soon found what he sought, and infected his wife, and she afterwards the king, who gave it to several other women, which he kept; and himself could never be well cured of it; for he was sickly the remainder of his life, and became peevish, troublesome, and inaccessible. I wonder that Brantome does not particularize any woman in the passage, which I am going to quote, where he speaks of this pox. King Francis, says he (21), loved much, and too much; for, being young and free, he indifferently embraced, sometimes one, sometimes another, as, at that time, he was not a gallant man, who did not whore indifferently every where, and by it got a swinging pox, which hastened his end: for, when he died, he was then but fifty three years of age, which shews that he was not a very old man. Having been racked by this distemper, he considered, that, if he continued his loose intrigues, he might be again caught, and, being grown wife by woful experience, he resolved to make love gallantly; and for that purpose made his fine court to be frequented by beautiful and modest princesses, great ladies, and gentlewomen. And this he did that he might preserve himself from that nasty distemper, and be no more defiled by it, and to suit himself not to a loose, but to a genteel, clean, and pure love. He then immediately speaks of this prince's love to madam de Hell; and this is in effect to pretend, that his pox preceded his imprisonment. It cannot be doubted, but this writer pretends it, since he says in another place (22), that the king gave queen Claudia the pox, which hastened her death. Now this queen died in the month of July, 1524.

[E] He let fall some complaints against divine providence. Brantome (23) affords me a comment upon this text. I have heard a lady of that time say, that of all the blows, that the king had received of Charles V, none affected him so much, as when he heard of the taking of St Didier (24), and that the emperor was coming directly to Paris, to besiege it with so numerous an army, that he saw it already shaken; he was then something indisposed, and kept his chamber: the late queen of Navarre his sister, and a great many other ladies, were then with him. Crying somewhat loud, he said, ah! my God, thou sellest me very dear a kingdom, which I thought thou hadst freely given me; thy will however be done. Then he told the said queen, my darling, (for so he called her) go to church, and there pray to God for me, that since such is his will to love and favour the emperor more than me, that he will do it so, that I may at least never see him encamped before the principal city of my kingdom, and that it may not be said, one day, that my rebel vassal is come as far to see me, as his grandfather the duke of Burgundy did to king Lewis XI, who gave him battle so near; however, I am resolved to go and meet him, to prevent and fight him; and I pray God, that I may sooner die in battle, than undergo a second imprisonment. He might then have said, O crown! if thy weight was known, &c (25).

[F] This is king Antigonus.

(1) James II, late King of England.

(2) In 1539.

(3) Mezerai's Hist. of France, Tom. II, pag. 200.

(4) Id. Ibid. pag. 1039, and Ann. 1546.

(5) Abrégé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 606, and numm. 1535.

(6) It could not be doubted, but the account given of Henry VIII (king of England) has for several days, and Francis perceived his end approaching, occasioned by a distemper (which is in the fourth book. Varillas's Hist. of Francis I, lib. xii, pag. 264. I think that instead of fourth it must be eighth, and that Mr Varillas must give place to the eighth book, pag. 359. Two famous accidents ended the year 1538. One was the king's long sickness at Compiègne, occasioned by an ulcer in that part, which modestly forbids naming: his majesty was then cured, but died of it nine years after.

(7) Under the 31st of March, pag. 297.

(8) Tom. II of du Verdier's Lett. pag. 217, p. 109.

(9) In the article *ETAMPES*, remark [E].

(10) In *Eloge de Henri II*, Tom. II, of his *Mémoires*, pag. 34.

(11) In the *Mémoires* of illustrious Ladies, pag. m. 298, where speaking of queen Claudia, he says, That, if queen Anna her mother has lived, king Francis had never married her; for the well foretold how ill she was like to be used by him; for the king her husband gave her the pox, which hastened her death.

(12) Francis I, *Elogium*, at Tom. I, of his *Mémoires*, pag. m. 318.

(13) Mr Varillas, inserting a translation of this place of Brantome in the Hist. of Francis I, lib. xi, pag. 102, applies this to the king Chateaubriand, and not to that of St Didier.

(14) See Volerius Maximus, lib. Ext. Stobæus, Sermon. xlvii, of which this sentence is to king Antigonus.

(e) See the article of HENRY II.

(f) See, above, remark [A] of the article CHARLES V.

than those, who knew not the bottom of things, had believed [F]. He saw too late, that he had for his favourites two or three persons, who were very unworthy of it, and had done him a great deal of prejudice, by their evil counsels. Had he removed from him the constable of Montmorency (e) twelve years sooner, he had never found himself in so great straits. Besides, there was something so preposterous in his destiny, that, even when he acted according to the rules of prudence, yet he wanted success. All these things, duly considered, make his reign very wonderful; for who would not be surprized, to see this Prince, frowned upon by fortune, ill served by his own mother [G], in the hands of imprudent favourites, betrayed by those, whom he honoured with his strictest confidence, so gloriously resist the emperor Charles V; that is to say, an enemy, whose dominions were much larger than France, who had more money and forces than he, who was a very great warrior, and a very able politician, who was faithfully and well served by his generals and ministers, and who had generally the assistance either of England, or of other potent princes, against him alone? After all, it is a greater glory for Francis I to have preserved his kingdom under those circumstances, than for Charles V not to have been able to conquer it. I believe it may be said of these two princes, that, had not the one been opposed by the other, either of them might have grasped the universal monarchy; and that, since there were often leagues made in favour of Charles V, than of Francis I, this king of France was more dreaded than that king of Spain. I believe farther, that, if the liberty of Europe was not oppressed by Charles V, it is almost wholly owing to the valour of Francis I (f). I cannot tell whether the ill fortune of this monarch has any where appeared more than in the alliance, which he made with Soliman. He never could gain any real advantage by it, and gave his enemies occasion to declaim against him, and make him odious, which did him more harm than ever the Ottoman Porte did him good. The lies, that were spread on this occasion over all Europe, cannot be excused, but by the maxims of a very pernicious morality [H]. They dispersed the

[F] This war was at an end sooner than those, who knew not the bottom of things, had believed. Most people thought, that Charles V, having made so great a progress in Champagne, would not hearken to any terms of peace, but what would be too ignominious for his enemy to accept. They had then no good opinion of the success of the negotiation on foot; but those, who knew very well, that he would be very glad to end this war, were full of good hopes. Among these, was an Italian poet who had sheltered himself at Paris. Read this passage: *When king Francis I, and the emperor Charles V, came in sight of each other, in France, in the year 1544, with each a potent army, both weary of making war against one another, some great men interposed to make that peace, which was then concluded between these two great monarchs. Some asked Lewis Alamani, a Florentine, whether he believed that those persons could make this peace. He answered in this Italian distich:*

Com' esser può ch'a noi pace si togli,
S'un n'ha necessita, l'altro n'ha voglia (26)?

How can we have otherwise than peace, seeing the one desires it, and the other stands in need of it?

(26) Meynier, pag. 589, of his *Curious Questions and free Answers*. I have corrected some errors of the press. He has taken this from *Considerationi Civili di Remigio Fiorentino*, cap. 97, fol. m. 123, verso.

(27) Such was that of all knowing men at the beginning of the conferences of Ryswick, in 1697.

(28) Et lassata viris nondum satiatia recessit. Juven. Sat. vi, ver. 129.

(29) Galeazzo Guialdo Priorato, History of the Peace, pag. 124, 225. Edit. 1667.

Nothing could be more just than this reasoning; for there is no better prognostic (27) of a peace near at hand, than the necessity, wherein both parties find themselves to end the war. Want of money tires as much as a surfeit. People then do, as the emperor Claudius's wife did (28); they retire, not glutted, but fatigued. Before this, the mediators were not heard; but then they are intreated to act, or rather they are laid aside; because both parties treat directly with each other, agree upon the main points, and then conclude without them; or if they are made use of, it is only *pro forma*. We read this in an historian of the peace of the Pyrenees (29). *This peace was concluded, without the intervention of those, who had a long while mediated it, and gave occasion to remember what Pope Innocent said, one day, that he was at a window of his palace on the Piazza Navona: he saw two men, of an inferior rank, boxing one another furiously, and he forbade that they should be parted, adding, you will see that, when they are weary, they will leave off of themselves; which happening a little while after: thus, (continued he) the French and Spaniards will do, when they are tired of waging war against one another; for then they will make peace without any body's mediation,*

[G] He was ill served by his own mother. She was of the house of Savoy. I will only speak of two things, which she did to the prejudice of France. She got the money, which had been promised to Lautrec, governor of the Milanese, which occasioned the loss of that country: and, when she saw Francis I, in a rage for this loss, ask his treasurer (30), what was become of that money, she point-blank denied, that it was ever represented to her for what use it was designed. The lie, that she gave this poor treasurer, was the cause that he was hanged (31). What mischief did she not do to France, because she had a mind to marry Charles de Bourbon? Mad, that her advances were slighted, she persecuted that prince by a thousand vexatious law-suits; which exasperated him so much, that he went over to the emperor, and commanded his armies in Italy against France; and even against Francis the first himself, at the battle of Pavia (32).

[H] The lies, that were spread over all Europe, on this alliance with the Turk, cannot be excused. I have mentioned, in another place (33), the speech, which Charles V made at Rome, in the year 1536. Let us add here, that the copies of it, which he sent to the princes of the empire, and the imperial towns, were different, and even contrary to one another (34). He left out in the copies, which he sent to the Protestants, what might displease them, and added something else, which was likely to be acceptable to them. He sent emissaries into all the circles of the empire, to give out, 'That the king of France had barbarously treated all the subjects of the empire that were found in his kingdom, either to trade or to travel, and all the French who had lived in Germany: That he had made an offensive and defensive league with the Turks: That it was in concert with them, that he had usurped Savoy and Piedmont, to draw into these two provinces all the forces of Christendom, and to give Soliman an opportunity to fall upon Germany, whilst the emperor should be employed towards the Alps. These calumnies, which were at first only whispered, became afterwards the subject of sermons, and were authorized by libels, licenced by the ecclesiastical and civil magistrates. Though this slander was very gross, yet it produced a prodigious effect; for all Germany was prepossessed against him in less than a fortnight. The most famous of all these libels was that, which was vended at Nuremberg, with the emperor's licence. It had, for its device, a sword surrounded with flames, and contained a challenge from the emperor to the king, and threatened the French with fire and sword, if, within fifteen days, they did not renounce

(30) His name was James de Beaune, lord of Samblancay. See the article SAMBLANCAY.

(31) Varillas's History of Francis I, lib. iii, pag. 215, 216, ad ann. 1522.

(32) Id. lib. iv, pag. 247, & seq.

(33) In remark [E] of the article CHARLES V.

(34) Varillas, lib. viii, p. 310, ad ann. 1536.

the form of the oath, which they supposed that prince had taken to the Grand Signior. Nothing can be more horrid, impious and abominable, than this oath [I]; and this, with some other circumstances, shews plainly, that it is an improbable Imposture. However, this formulary was inserted as an authentic piece in a pamphlet that appeared, in the last war, against France (g). There was another lie spread, as absurd as this, (g) See remark [I]. concerning

renounce their alliance with the Turks. This libel was followed by another of the same nature, which particularized the day, that this pretended challenge was made, the name of the herald, with some circumstances, said to have been taken from his verbal process: And, as no body went about to discover the imposture, it produced it's desired effect; since it excited a hatred in people's minds against France, which lasted even after they saw the cheat. Langey, at his arrival at Francfort, found there these libels, and writ two answers to them, one in High Dutch, and the other in Latin. He made an excellent use of the time, that the merchants of all the circles of the empire returned from the fair of Lyons; for he had them before the magistrates of Strasburg, and took their depositions, which were printed, and sent every where. They imported, that the deponents had been very civilly treated in France; that the emperor's challenge was a fable; and that the French, far from insulting the Germans without cause, did not so much as question them about their religion. Thus the imposture gave way to truth (35). Here

(35) Ibid.

(36) He was a Genoese, whom Francis I was sending to Venice as his ambassador in ordinary. Varillas, *ibid.* lib. iv, pag. 403.

(37) He was born a subject to the king of Spain, and had negotiated privately with Soliman for Francis I, and was then going to the Pope as ambassador of France. *ibid.*

(38) The Marquis de Guast caused them to be murdered on the Po, as Langey proved it. *ibid.* p. 407, &c. at ann. 1541.

(39) Id. *ibid.*, pag. 409, & seq. (40) Above, remark [G] of the article BRUN (ANTONY LX). [I] Nothing can be more horrid . . . than the oath, which it was supposed Francis I took to Soliman [I]. Every body yet remembers the harangue, which the marquis de Rebenac made to the Pope in 1692, to represent what mischiefs might ensue to the Catholic religion from the alliance, which the emperor and the king of Spain has made with Protestant princes. The anonymous author, who made an answer to this harangue, did not forget to object, that Francis I combined with the Turks against Charles V. 'It will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the public, adds he (41), to insert here the formulary of an oath, which this prince took to sultan Soliman, to confirm that infamous alliance, which as yet subsists, and which seems to be knit so fast by Lewis XIV, that it is not to be broke. I know that you will not blush at it: for, if there were none then, but chancellor du Prat, who were honest enough to disapprove it; it may be now presumed, that your court, which hath got over all divine and humane laws, cannot abhor any sacrilege or impiety. Give me only leave to desire the reader here to pardon me, if I lay before his eyes an object, which he cannot see without horror, and which should never have come to the knowledge of the Christians. This is it: *Per Deum Magnum & Altum, Misericordem & Benignum, formatorem Caeli & Terræ, & omnium quæ in eis sunt: & per Sancta hæc Evangelia: per Sanctum Baptisma; per Sanctum Joannem Baptistam, & per Fidem Christianorum, Promitto & Juro, quod omnia quæ novero, aperta erunt Altissimo Domino Sultano Solimano, ejus Regnum Deus fortificet. Ero Amicus suorum amicis, & Inimicus Inimicorum. Ero Redemptor Captivorum Turcarum ex Vinculis Hostium ejus: nihil in mea parte fraudulentum erit. Quid si hoc neglexerim ero Apostata, & mandatorum Sancti Evangelii Christianæque Fidei Prævaricator. Dicam Evangelium falsum esse: Negabo Christum vivere, & Matrem ejus Virginem fuisse: super Fontem Baptismatis porcum interficiam, & Altaris Presbyteros maledicam; super Altare fornicabor cum Luxuria; & Sanctorum Patrum maledictiones in me recipiam. Ita me Deus respiciat ex alto.* 'I believe I need not enlarge on the enormity of this oath.' I find fault with two things in the proceedings of this Writer: One, that he quotes no body; and the other, that he hath not translated into the vulgar tongue the form of the oath, which he relates. When there was only occasion to say, in general, that Francis I had made an alliance with the Ottoman Porte, our anonymous author (42) did not omit quoting Ribier's memoirs: How comes it then to pass, that when he speaks of a more heinous circumstance he quotes no author? He ought to have quoted either a French author, or one wholly indifferent to France, or to the house of Austria; at least, he ought to have told us, that such a Spanish, Flemish, or German author, hath inserted this oath in his book, and shewed which way this mystery was discovered. But our anonymous author, having

vier, his ambassador, was heard with so much prepossession, that whatever he said was understood in a contrary sense; and that minister was obliged to retire, after he had seen, to his sorrow, the diet grant the emperor near fourscore thousand men, to be employed as he should think fit (39).

I refer all those, who will learn to make a true judgment of this affair, to Mr de Wicquefort (40); but I do not know to whom I shall refer those, who will be disposed to grieve, when they consider, that such plain and diabolical calumnies have turned so much to the advantage of their authors. It must be confessed, that it is a thing that gives great offence; but such is the way of the world; and we must adore those great and profound mysteries of providence without murmuring. I shall conclude with this reflexion; our age does not afford us instances of such impostures, as Mr Varillas relates: for, among so many libels, wherein anonymous authors invent what they please, we see no forgeries invested with the public authority, as were those, which Charles the fifth's court knew how to invent.

(41) Answer to a speech made to his Holiness by the Marquis de Rebenac, pag. 18, 19.

(42) Ubi supra, pag. 18.

concerning a pretended design of recovering the hostages, that Francis I. had given [K]. I have read another, and a very gross one, which relates to the trouble, wherein this prince

ving done nothing of all this, shews, that he durst not declare whence he hath taken this formulary; and that he knew, that, if he declared it, he would discredit his authority. He seems to have artificially omitted the French translation of this formulary, fearing, perhaps, to expose the forgery to too many: Be it how it will, here is the translation of the Latin that he hath printed. 'By the great and high God, merciful and gracious, author of heaven and earth, and of all things therein; and by these holy Gospels, by the holy baptism, by St John the Baptist, and by the faith of Christians, I promise and swear, that whatever comes [to my knowledge] shall be made known to the most high lord sultan Soliman, whose reign may God strengthen. I will be the only friend of his friends, and an enemy to his enemies. I will redeem the Turkish prisoners out of the bonds of his enemies. There shall be no fraud on my side. If I neglect these things, I will be an apostate, and a prevaricator of the precepts of the holy gospel, and the christian faith. I will say, that the gospel is false; I will deny that CHRIST is alive, and that his mother was a virgin; I will kill a hog on the font, and I will curse the priests of the altar; I will luxuriously commit whoredom on the altar, and may the curses of the holy fathers fall on my head. Thus may God look upon me from on high.' I question whether any sensible and reasonable man can ever imagine, that the form of this oath was ever contrived between the ministers of France and those of the Porte (43). Every thing in it shocks probability, and there is nothing in it worthy either of the gravity of Soliman, or that of Francis I. The sultan had been well enough satisfied with the common form of oaths, and he was too wise a man not to perceive what advantages he might expect from so potent an ally.

Perhaps it may be objected, that it is the custom of the Turks to prescribe this form of an oath; and I confess, that the Venetians were charged with having taken such an one in the person of the bastard of Cyprus: but this would serve at the most to elude the accessory observation, which I have just now incidentally proposed. Besides, it is a question, whether the Venetians acquiesced in that form, and whether a good proof can be brought for it. However, because the book, in which that reproach was cast on them, during the war with Lewis XII, is grown scarce, I shall here recite the tenor of the oath. 'The said bastard took an horrible, execrable, and most damnable oath to the said sultan; which was afterwards translated from Arabic into Latin, and brought to Pope Pius by some knights of Rhodes; for which reason he would never receive the ambassadors of the said James as the ambassadors of a christian king; but reprimanded them very severely. Since, then, the Venetians are his heirs, is it not necessary that they should take such an oath as the said James did, in the following manner?

First, He invoked the name of Almighty God forty times, and then said: By the great and high God, merciful and gracious, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things that are therein; by these holy gospels, by the holy baptism, by St John the Baptist, and all the saints, and by the christian faith; I promise and swear, that whatever I shall know, shall be discovered to my sovereign lord Alleferaph Afnal, sultan of Egypt, and emperor of all Arabia, whom God strengthen in his kingdom; and I will always be a friend of his friends, and an enemy of his enemies, and conceal nothing from him: I will suffer no pirates in my kingdom, nor furnish them, or assist them, with any provisions: All the Egyptians, who are slaves in my kingdom, I will redeem and set at liberty: I will offer every year, on the first day of October or November, by way of tribute to the sovereign temples of Jerusalem and Mecca, the sum of five thousand ducats of gold: I will take care, that the Rhodians furnish the pirates with no arms: Whatever shall come to my knowledge, that deserves to be known, I will communicate to the sultan truly, and without fraud. If I fail in any of the abovesaid matters, I will be an apostate from the christian faith, and the commands of the gospel: I will deny that JESUS CHRIST lives,

and that his mother is a virgin: I will kill on the font a camel, and curse the priests of the church: I will deny the divinity, and adore the humanity: I will commit fornication on the high altar with a Jewess, and receive on myself all the curses of the holy fathers. Was not Mark Corrario, a Venetian (whose daughter the said bastard king afterwards married to his detriment), present at the administering of the said oath and homage? Therefore it is most likely, that they are in possession of Cyprus upon the same terms, since they have usurped that title (44).

[K] A lie was spread . . . concerning a pretended design of recovering the hostages that Francis I. had given.] Francis I. coming out of prison, delivered his sons to the Spaniards: He could not have them again but on disadvantageous conditions; for the Spaniards would keep them till the treaty of Madrid was executed. Some people were so foolish, or so malicious, as to spread a report, that he had sent for a German magician, who should transport from Spain into France these two hostages, so as that no body should perceive it, and do a great many other miracles. You will find this absurdity in one of Agrippa's letters; for he is the author of that letter, although it is intitled, in the edition in 8vo, *Amicus ad Agrippam*. But this is a transposition of words; it must be read, *Agrippa ad Amicum*. It was printed under this title, with the three books of his occult philosophy, in the year 1533, as Gabriel Naudé observes at the 410th page of his apology for great men. These are Agrippa's words: 'Acersitus est à Germania non modicis sumptibus vir quidam dæmoniorum, hoc est magus, in quo potestas dæmonum inhabitat, ut, sicut James & Mambres resistunt Moysi, sic iste resistat Cæsari. Persuasum enim est illis à patre mendaciorum, illum futurorum omnium præcium, arcanorum quorumcumque consiliorum conscium, ac deliberatarum cogitationum interpreter: tanta præterea prædium potestate, ut possit regios pueros reducere per aëra, quemadmodum legitur Abakuk cum suo pulmento traductus ad lacum leonum, possitque, sicut Helisæus obsecus in Dothaim, ostendere montes plenos equorum & curruum igneorum, exercitumque plurimum: insuper & revelare ac transferre thesauros terræ, quasque volet, coget nuptias amoreque, aut dirimet, deploratos quoque curabit morbos stygio pharmaco (45). — There was sent for out of Germany, at a great expence, a certain magician, endued with a diabolical power, that, as James and Mambres resisted Moses, so might he resist the emperor: for they were persuaded by the father of lies, that this man knew before-hand all future events, was privy to the most secret counsels, and an interpreter of the intentions of the mind; moreover, that he was endued with such power, that he could bring back the king's children through the air, as we read that Habakkuk was transported with his baggage to the lake of Lions, and that he could, like Elisea besieged in Dothaim, shew the mountains full of fiery horses and chariots, and a numerous army; and farther, that he could discover and convey away hidden treasures, and make, or break, what matches and love-affairs he pleased, and cure desperate diseases by an infernal medicine.' This letter was written from Paris the twenty third of February, 1528. He even observes, that the cardinals and bishops consented, that this magician should be sent for, and contributed to defray his expences: 'Huic tam nefario idololatricæ & sacrilegorum artificii audaciam præstat, quæ illis tam impense favet orthodoxa illa mater, & Christianissimi filii accommodatur autoritas, & à sacris pecuniis largiuntur munera, conviventibus etiam atque tam nefariam operam conducentibus columnis ecclesiæ, episcopis & cardinalibus, & impietatis ministro impij applaudunt proceres, quemadmodum operibus lupi congratulantur corvi (46). — The most orthodox mother herself, and her most christian sons by their authority, greatly encourage so wicked an artificer of idolatry and sacrilege; and the church's money is employed for this purpose, by the connivance, and even contribution of those pillars of the church, the bishops and cardinals; and the impious nobles applaud this minister of impiety, as the crows congratulate the actions of the wolf.'

(44) John le Maire de Belges, *Légende des Vénitiens*, pag. 75. Edit. Lyons 1549.

(45) Agrippa, *Epist. xxvi*, lib. v, pag. 913.

(46) *Ibid.* pag. 914.

John

Prince found himself in the year 1544 [L]. I speak, in another place (b), of a fable, which is told of the emperor's journey through France, when he went to chastize the city of Ghent. It is not the only one that hath been spread, in reference to that time [M]. Francis I was the author of some innovations, among which we must chiefly reckon the custom of womens going to court [N]; which did not alter that article of the Salic law, which excludes women from the crown of France: However, it may be said, that, since that time, till the end of the XVIth century, more or less, France hath been governed by women (i). Francis Ist hath been wrongfully accused of having too much indulged the Lutherans of his kingdom [O]. It is one of those lies, which

(b) In the tempest [1] of the article CHARLES V.

(i) See, in the remark [Z], Mezerai's words.

John Wierus, Agrippa's disciple, tells part of these fine stories; I mean, what relates to the carrying away of the hostages. *Quemadmodum dicitur, quo tempore Francisci primi regis Galliae filii detinebantur obsides in Hispania, magum in Galliam evocatum à Germania fuisse, qui tanta credebatur prae-ditus potestate, ut posset regios pueros per aëra reducere, thesaurisque investigare & transferre* (47).

(47) Jo. Wierus, de Lamiis, lib. iii, cap. xlii, n. 7, pag. m. 195.

As it is reported, that, when the sons of Francis I, king of France, were detained as hostages in Spain, a magician was sent for from Germany into France, who was thought to be endued with such power, that he could bring back the king's sons thro' the air, and discover and convey away treasures. The count de la Rocca (48) knew this passage of John Wierus; not that he had read the books of this author; he had only seen this passage quoted by Bodin: but he was in the wrong to say only, that Bodin speaks of it; he should have added, that Bodin rejects it as a fable. 'It is enough for me, these are

(48) See his History of Charles V, 159, 161, Bruffels, edit. 1663.

that French civilian's words (49), to refute Wierus by his own words and books. For he himself writes, that he hath seen men carried through the air by devils, and that there is no absurdity in it; and, in the same place, he writes this lie, viz.

(49) Bodin's Relation of John Wier's Opinions, pag. m. 313.

that a magician was sent for from Germany, who promised to get out of the castle of Madrid king Francis's sons, and to have them transported through the air from Spain into France; but that this was not done, because it was feared they should break their necks. I have not found this last particular in John Wierus's book. I make use of the Amsterdam edition, 1660.

Lib. ii, cap. xli, de Praestigiis, pag. 6.

[L] I have read another very gross lie, which relates to . . . the year 1544. John Saxon, rector of the university of Wittenberg, caused a *Programma* to be affixed the twelfth of October, 1544, and therein declared, among other things, that it was not by chance, but by the just judgment of God, that France was overwhelmed with calamities. The emperor, says he, came near Paris, and the queen of France and the dauphin went to meet him as humble supplicants.

(50) See the book, intitled, Scripturae publicae professorum à Professoribus in Academia Wittenbergensi ab anno 1544, ad annum 1553, Tom. I, fol. 95, verso.

Non casu jam Gallia miserabiliter vastatur, & rex potens venit in tantum discrimen ut cum Carolus imperator accesserit ad Lutetiam usque, supplices occurrerint regina & delphinus, ut ante paucos annos ad Carolum Burgundum venit supplex rex Franciae Ludovicus cui confesso victoriae inscripserat, *VIVAT BURGUNDIÆ* (50). — In like manner as, a few years before, Lewis, king of France, met, as a supplicant, the duke of Burgundy, whom duke Charles invested with the Burgundian breast plate, inscribed with this confession of victory, *LONG LIVE THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY*. These two facts, compared together, are false. The first is so absolutely, and without any mixture of truth; and the other, in its principal circumstances: for, when Lewis XI was forced to follow the duke of Burgundy to Leige, he did not go to meet him as a supplicant, but to have a conference with him, hoping to bubble him. It is a shame, that the rector of a famous university should publish, in a *Programma*, a lie unworthy the Gazette.

[M] It is not the only fable, that hath been spread in reference to that time. 'How many romances have been made of Francis I? Hath it not even been reported, that he fought a duel with the emperor; and that this prince going through France, the king, with an unparalleled generosity, offered him his kingdom? That Charles had one day fate on Francis's throne; that he had ordered a criminal to be condemned, and had afterwards granted him his pardon, to shew his authority (51).

(51) Cluverius, Project of a new Historical Dictionary, pag. 11.

[N] He was author of . . . the custom of womens going to court. What I am going to quote, will, no

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doubt, be read with pleasure. 'One day, it is Brantome speaks (52), as I was discoursing with a great prince about the great virtues of Francis I. . . He spoke very much in his praise; but he blamed him very much for two things, which had done the court and France a great deal of mischief, not only during his own reign, but also during those of his successors: to wit, for having introduced into the court the great assemblies, resort, and ordinary residence of ladies; and for having invited thither, and entertained so many ecclesiastics: as for the ladies, it must be confessed, that, before his time, they seldom came there, and but few of them too. It is true, that queen Anne began to bring to her court more ladies than the other preceding queens; and, had it not been for her, the king her husband had not much regarded them. But, when the said king Francis came to the throne, he considered, that the ladies were the sole decoration of the court, and therefore peopled it with them, more than was formerly usual. Brantome tells us the reasons, which this critical prince made use of. 'If the court ladies only, said he (53), had grown loose, it had been no great matter; but they set such a bad example to all the other ladies of France, that, following their way of dressing, genteel carriage, fashions, dances, and way of living, they would also imitate them in their intrigues and whoring; for, said they, at court, they are thus dressed, they dance after this manner, and whore, and we may do so too. Concerning the prelates, he said (54), 'That, then beginning to be debauched and loose, they set an ill example to others in France to do the same thing; and that it had been better, if they had kept in their dioceses, to preach to their flocks (55). Brantome refutes all these reasons: he maintains, that, before the reign of Francis I, there was as much corruption among women, and clergymen (56); and that nothing but troubles and heresies had been seen in France, since preaching had been so frequent (57). See Mr Jurieu's reflexions on all this (58).

(52) Brantome's Memoires, Tom. I, pag. 277.

(53) Ib. pag. 286.

(54) Ib. pag. 284.

(55) Ib. pag. 285.

(56) I never heard, nor read, that they were better men before, or lived more regularly; for they were as debauched in their bishoprics and abbeys, as soldiers. Ibid. pag. 282.

(57) Ib. pag. 285.

(58) Jurieu's Apology for the Reformer, cap. vii, pag. 121, & seq.

[O] He is wrongfully accused of having too much indulged the Lutherans. You may see this accusation strongly refuted by these words of Mezerai. 'The infection of errors increasing, the king caused the fire to be re-kindled, to purge France of them. There were still some remains of them in the city of Meaux, after bishop Brignonnet had received there le Fevre, and the Rouffels. Above sixty were taken there, and brought to Paris, whereof fourteen were burned, others hanged, and the rest whipped and banished. Which proceedings, and others like these, palpably convict that Italian author of fallacy, who hath written the history of our civil wars of religion, and of the League (59), who, through gross forgetfulness, or egregious malice, said, in his first book, *That Calvin's belief began to spread in this king's reign, whether he allowed it, or took no notice of it; and that it was rather received with indignation and scorn, than feared, or carefully suppressed*. What! To make six or seven severe edicts to stifle it, to convoke the clergy several times, to assemble a provincial council, to be continually sending embassadors to all the princes of Christendom, in order to have a general one called, to burn heretics by dozens, to send them to the gallies by hundreds, and to banish them by thousands; Can this be said to allow, or to take no notice of it? Are these bare resolutions, or real performances? This ought to engage you, judicious reader, to read this foreign author with a great deal of caution, and will perhaps give you occasion to observe a great many faults, which the curious ought not to forgive him, since he hath spoken thus of the father of learning (60). It were to be wished, for the honour of this king, that

(59) Mezerai means Davila, These are the words of that historian, pag. m. 32, of the first book. Comincio l'origine di questa dissentione insino al tempo del Rè Francesco il Primo, il quale benche facesse tal volta qualche severa resolutione, occupato nondimeno del continuo nel travaglio delle guerre straniere ò permesse, ò non si avvide, che andassero all' hora serpendo i principii di questa piu tosto dispreziata & odiata che temuta ò avvertita eredenza.

(60) Mezerai's History of France, Tom. II, pag. 1038.

A a

Mezerai's

which our dictionary ought to censure. Had it been said, that this prince was very useful to the Protestants [*P*] of Germany, it would not have been a mistake. I have observed, in another place (*k*), what trifling excuses he made use of, to justify himself to them for putting some Lutherans to death. Mr Varillas is here guilty of an anachronism [*Q*]. The last part of Francis the first's life was calamitous to him. The effects of his incontinency (*l*), and the remembrance of the unhappy circumstances, wherein the mismanagement of his ministers had engaged him, so overwhelmed him with grief, that he was incapable of consulting his true interest; for he was sensibly affected with an accident, which he should have looked upon as very lucky to him; I mean, the death of Henry VIII, king of England (§ *a*); a prince, who had so often acted against France, and who would have always been inclined to ruin it, provided he might have shared it with Charles V. The disquietude, which Francis the first's children gave him, encreased the anxieties of his mind [*R*]. I do not relate the series of his actions, because

[§ *a*] This death of a prince, a few years older than himself, put him in mind of his own approaching end, and this reflexion, among others, quite sunk him. See the *Memoirs du Bellai*, towards the end of book x, and Thuanus, *Tom. I*, pag. 85. B. C. of the edition 1626. REM. CRIT.]

Mezerai's cause were not so good. An unprejudiced historian, who hath a true notion of uprightness, and of the universal laws of order, would wish, that Davila's reproaches were well grounded: *Juvat*, would he say, *hæc opprobria nobis, et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli* (61): But I have unluckily too many reasons to call Davila a calumniator: Why am I able to prove him one by so many arguments (62)? Who-soever hath a true notion of true glory, and a value for Francis the first's memory, whether he be a Protestant or Roman Catholic, will speak after this manner; for nothing can be more abominable, than to put to death those, who separate from a communion, only because they are afraid of offending God, and who behave themselves in all other respects as very good subjects: nothing is more consonant to reason, than to leave the empire of conscience to God alone.

Let us oppose to Davila this passage of Brantome: 'The Lutherans, and those of the new religion, have been mightily incensed against Francis I; which hath perhaps made both those of his time, and of this too, speak so ill of him, as they have done; for he burnt a great many of them, and spared none of those that he could discover. He is said to have been the first, who brought those burnings into vogue, since they were scarce spoken of in his predecessor's time: God be thanked, that Luther was not as yet come, who was the first and new heretic (although there were some few before him) who drew so great a part of Christendom after him. I leave this to those, that know it better than I. This great king, notwithstanding these fires and burnings, took Geneva under his protection, when Charles, duke of Savoy, would besiege it; which occasioned the loss of part of his territories, which those of Bern took from him: His said majesty was blamed for it, as also for having sent into that city the bands of the lord Rance de Lore to it's assistance. Reconcile, I beseech ye, if you can, these fires with that protection (63).

[*P*] Francis I. was very useful to the Protestants.] We have just now seen, that he saved the republic of Geneva, the metropolis of the reformed, their mother-church, which sent her apostles and books into France, and her advice every where to maintain their cause. This behaviour of Francis I. enlarged the canton of Bern, of which the reformation still feels the benefit. He did directly many good services to the league of Smalcald, but many more indirectly; for he was the cause that Charles V had, on many occasions, a great regard for the Protestants of Germany, to draw them off from the interest of France. As it is more agreeable to the principles of religion and piety, to acknowledge the hand of God, I mean a particular influence of providence, in the establishment of the reformation, I approve those that judge of it in that manner: but I cannot forbear saying, that some understanding persons believe, that the rivalry between Charles V, and the king of France, was more than sufficient to afford the Protestants the means of disputing the ground; and that, if Luther made a greater progress than so many other reformers that lived before him, it is because he appeared in a favourable time, when Francis I and Charles V were competitors, who, to thwart one another, favoured this new sect by turns; and, when it was once settled in Germany, it sent the Calvinists of France sufficient supplies to keep their posts, &c. Brant-

ome's question, upon the little relation there is between burning a hundred heretics, and protecting their nest, centre, and metropolis, will puzzle those, who do not observe, that this is one of the most common scenes of the great comedy of the world. Sovereign princes have in all ages thus played with religion; and they play this game still; for they persecute at home a religion which they support abroad. You must not infer from hence, that they have no religion: for the inference would be false; they are often religious, even to bigotry. What then can be the reason of this? They have a greater regard for the temporal interest of their dominions, than for the kingdom of Jesus CHRIST (64). I do not except the Pope himself. I believe that he was no better pleased with the emperor's progress against the league of the Protestants, than Francis I. was. Let us quote Mezerai. 'The noise of the emperor's arms frightened all Christendom; the Pope himself quaked for fear, left, after having conquered Germany, he should come into Italy. When Francis had duly weighed the consequences of the ruin of the Protestants, he altered his opinion, made a league with them, and obliged himself to receive the duke of Saxony's eldest son in France, and to allow him the private exercise of his religion, and promised to send one hundred thousand crowns to his father, and as many to the landgrave of Hesse, till he sent them some forces (65). Had not he a great deal of zeal for his religion? He condemned to the flames some poor private persons, because they did not go to mass; and sent a powerful assistance to princes who had abolished the mass in their territories. This was to attack the party by the weather-cocks; to take some tiles and stones, or plunder some huts, while they build for them strong forts and places of arms (66). Add to this the remark [*AA*] of the article HENRY II, and the remark of the article SERGIER.

[*Q*] Mr Varillas is here guilty of an anachronism.] For he supposes (67), that, when Francis I. put six Lutherans to death on the nineteenth of January, 1535, the French monarchy was more dangerously shaken by Calvin's Institution, than it had ever been by either the English, or the house of Austria. We have already shewed (68), that Calvin resolved to publish this book, in order to refute the calumnies, that were spread against those, whom Francis I. put to death; that were spread, I say, to appease thereby the Protestants of Germany, who were very much exasperated at the last execution of those six Lutherans.

[*R*] The disquietude his children gave him, encreased the anxieties of his mind.] The eldest was called Francis. He was born at the castle of Amboise, the twenty eighth of February, 1518. (69). He was poisoned with a cup of fresh water by Sebastian Montecuculi, and died at the castle of Tournon the tenth of August, 1536 (70). 'The king, his father, was so afflicted at his death, that he was a long time before he could recover himself; for he conceived mighty hopes, and a great opinion of this son. Mr de Bellai relates this very well in his memoirs (71). Francis the first's second son reigned after him, and was called Henry II. Without doubt he gave his father a great deal of trouble, by keeping a correspondence with Montmorency, who was out of favour, and by making a cabal against the dukes of Etampes, his father's favourite. He combined against her, with his own mistress, Diana of Poitiers;

(k) See, above, remark [*E*] of the article BELLAI (WILLIAM DU).

(l) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 1039.

(61) Ovid. Metamor. lib. i, ver. 758, but, instead of *juvat*, he says *pudet*.

(62) O utinam arguerem sic, ut non vincere possem. Me miserum! quare tam bona causa mea est? Id. Amor. lib. II, Eleg. vi, ver. 7.

(63) Brant. Life of Francis I, in the first Tome of his Memoirs, pag. 231.

How useful the emulation of Charles V and Francis I proved to the Protestants.

(64) See, above, remark [*H*] of the article AGE-SILAUS II.

(65) Mezer. Abrégé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 637, ad ann. 1547.

(66) Francis I. preserved Geneva, where the duke of Savoy would have destroyed the reformation, if that king had not prevented it. The following words may be applied to the use of such a policy: Urbem (philosophum) mihi crede proditit, dum castella defenditis. — Believe me, you betray the city, while you defend the citadel. Cicero de Divina lib. II, cap. xvi.

(67) Hist. de François I, lib. vii, pag. 248.

(68) In remark [*F*] of the article CALVIN, towards the beginning.

(69) Fauter Anselme, Histoire de la Maison Royale, pag. 136.

(70) Id. ibid. He says, that he was poisoned at Valence; but Brantome says more truly, Tom. I, pag. 336, that he was poisoned at Lyons.

(71) Brantome, ibid. pag. 338.

cause it would oblige me to repeat what is sufficiently expressed in other dictionaries. The surname of GREAT, which was given him after his death, was of no long continuance [S]. He deserved it in certain respects, but especially for his courage, and that free, open, and generous temper, which is so rare in persons of his rank. His undauntedness failed him sometimes; for it flagg'd in his prison, where he was like to die of grief; and he betrayed too great a fear when he returned into France [T]. What I have read in a small book, lately published (m), I take to be a fabulous story; which is, that he killed, at Madrid, a great lord, who had been wanting in his respect to him, and that the emperor did not take it ill.

Here follow the additions I make to this article in this second edition. It hath been falsely reported, that Francis Ist was born after his mother had been a long time barren [U]. He hath been reckoned among those princes, who, when they came to the throne, did not revenge the affronts, which they received, when they were private men. It is reported, that, under the reign of Lewis XII., he sent Charles de Bourbon a challenge, who had endeavoured, by some reports, to set the king against him; and that, when he came to the crown, he took so little notice of the hatred he had conceived against Charles de Bourbon, that he promoted him to the office of constable (n). Every body knows

(m) It is intitled, *Aviz à l'Auteur du Mercure Historique & Politique*. It was printed; if I am not mistaken, in the year 1689, against some things which the author of the *Mercure* had said of Christina, queen of Sweden. I have not been able to find this *Aviz* again.

(n) See Camerarius, *Meditat. Histor. Tom. II.* cap. xlv, sub fine pag. m. 106. He quotes du Ferron, in *Vita Francis I.*

(72) See the article *ETAMPES*.

(74) See the article *SILVANO*.

(75) Mezerai, *Abbrégé Chronol. Tom. IV.* pag. 671, ad ann. 1545.

(76) Francis Ist was born on the 22^d of September, 1494, at Cognac, in France. He was the first of the Valois, and the first of the French, who was crowned king of France.

(77) His name was Palamedes Contier.

(78) That is, Francis I.

(79) Addit. aux *Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. I.* pag. 420.

(80) *Id. ibid.*

others; and it cannot be imagined what mischief these two women jealousies caused (72). If the jarring of the father's and son's mistresses gave the king a great deal of trouble, the disagreement of the dauphin, and his brother the duke of Orleans, gave him no less, and was no less prejudicial to him. The duchess of Etampes's faction was for the duke of Orleans; and that of Diana of Poitiers thwarted this prince, and poisoned him at last. Let us see what Mezerai says of it: 'The duke of Orleans, a prince of great hopes, died at Forest-Moutier, the eighth of September, either of the plague, or of poison, which it was suspected his brother's creatures gave him; because they could not endure that the king should be so fond of him as he was, and that he should be angry, that the dauphin, contrary to his orders, held a correspondence with the constable of Montmorency, whose return they wished, because their master earnestly desired it (73).'

What grief was it for Francis I to see, that his son, by meddling more than he ought to do with state-affairs, obliged him to take those measures, which were neither agreeable nor advantageous to him! The dauphin's faction was the cause, that the king signed the treaty of Crefpy. The dauphin had written 'to his father, with the consent of the general officers of his army, to beg that his majesty would be pleased to send again the constable to the army, to perform his office, and that nothing but this general was wanting to make his forces invincible. . . . The king never expressed so much resentment as he did at the reading of this letter. He complained, that his son encroached upon his authority, and that his officers presumed to prescribe him laws. He declared his indignation to all that approached his person, and severely checked all those, who had exasperated him. He resolutely told the dauphin, that it was his duty to set his subjects a pattern of perfect obedience, and not to find fault with his conduct, by proposing to him to restore a favourite, whom he had disgraced upon good grounds. He threatened the rest with his displeasure, if they persisted in their indiscretion; and the duchess of Etampes's cabal, laying hold of his passion, so powerfully represented, that the only way to be free from all the importunate petitions, that might be made in behalf of the constable, was to conclude a sudden peace, that his majesty ordered admiral Annebaut to do it, &c. (74).'

This peace being more advantageous to the duke of Orleans, than to France, the dauphin, who could endure neither the aggrandizing of his brother, nor the prejudice done to the kingdom, protested against it in the castle of Fontainebleau, in the presence of the duke of Vendôme, the count d'Enghien, his brother, and Francis d'Aumale, the second day of December (75). It may be easily imagined, that the king of France underwent the same fate, that many other princes undergo; which was, to be unhappy in his family, and to have occasion to be jealous of him, who was to be his successor. Those, who poisoned the duke of Orleans, saved, perhaps, the lives of two hundred thousand men, and, perhaps, prevented the order of succession in France from being shamefully disturbed (76).

(8) The surname of GREAT, which was given him after his death, was of no long continuance.] Theod.

dore Beza informs me (77), that this surname was given him after his death; but I conclude, that it did not continue long, because every body says, and writes, Francis the First, and not Francis the Great. They say, and write, Henry the Fourth, or Henry the Great, which is the same thing; and it would be the same thing too, with reference to Francis the First, and Francis the Great, had not that title been laid aside almost as soon as it was given. There is no need to put you in mind, that the great king Francis the First, and Francis the Great, do not signify the same thing.

[T] He betrayed too great a fear, when he returned into France.] I will make use of Mezerai's words: 'As soon as the king was on this side of the river, he immediately got upon a Turkish horse, as if he had been afraid of some ambush, and put on to St John de Luz, which is four leagues from thence; and, having refreshed himself for half an hour, he spurred on as fast to Bayonne (78). Sure he had been very basely treated in his confinement, since he charged his children to revenge him, on pain of his curse. I have read this in a letter of admiral Chabot's secretary (79), which Mr le Laboureur hath published. It was written from London, the fifth of February, 1535, and contains, among other things which Henry VIII told this secretary, 'that he remembered very well, when they were last together, that the said king (80), speaking one day to the dauphin, the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Angoulême, his children, said to them these words: that, if he knew that they should ever forget the injuries and barbarous usage, which he and they had received from the said emperor, or did not revenge him, in case he could not do it himself, from that time he gave them his curse (81).'

[U] It has been falsely reported, that Francis I. was born after his mother had been a long time barren.] Many of those, who have published Francis de Paula's life, say, that the prince's Louisa of Savoy, wife to Charles de Valois, lamented, to this holy man, her unhappy barrenness; and she had been, add they, a long while sensible (82) of this imperfection. Francis de Paula, by his prayers, cured her of it; and therefore, being delivered of a boy, she had him called Francis. This they relate. Theophilus Raynaud, upon the credit of these authors, reported the same thing in his *Trinitas Patriarcharum*; a book, wherein he makes the panegyric of St Bruno, the patriarch of the Carthusians, of St Ignatius, the patriarch of the Jesuits, and of St Francis de Paula, the patriarch of the Minimes; but he was informed afterwards, that it was a great falsity, since Louisa of Savoy became a widow at nineteen years of age, and was then mother to the prince's Margaret, and prince Francis; which irresistably shews, that she could not deplore her long barrenness to Francis de Paula. 'Hoc correctione indiget, says he (83), neque enim longam sterilitatem suam deplo- rare potuit Ludovica, quæ anno ætatis undevicesimo vidua relicta, duplicem jam prolem enixa erat, Margaritam filiam natam Engolismæ XI. Aprilis anno 1492, & Franciscum, Cognaci editum anno 1494, 11. Septembris.' He adds, that Hilarion de Coila, who wrote afterwards, had observed this in the life of the founder of the Minimes, and that the brothers Sammarthanus

(77) *Histoire des Eglises Reform. liv. 1, at the end pag. 66.*

(78) *Histoire de France, Tom. II.* pag. 950, ad ann. 1526.

(79) His name was Palamedes Contier.

(80) That is, Francis I.

(81) Addit. aux *Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. I.* pag. 420.

(82) *Dia sterili. Theoph. Raynaud. Syntagma de Libris Propriis, Art. lv, pag. 635 Appompei.*

(83) *Id. ibid.*

knows his love to learning; but few are informed of a particular, which may be seen, in relation to that, in a letter of Andreas Alciatus, which was not published till the year 1697 [X]. There is another thing remarkable, and of greater moment, which hath been lately known, viz. that the Duke of Orleans, Francis the first's second son, offered to the Protestant princes of Germany, to allow them the exercise of their religion [Y]; and it is conjectured, that he did it with his father's consent (o). I have spoken, in the remark [N], of the disorders, which were caused in France by the new custom, that Francis Ist introduced into his court, when he brought the ladies there. These disorders cannot be better represented, than they are by Mezerai, and therefore I will make use of his words [Z]. The author (p) of some dialogues, printed at the Hague in the year 1700, hath judiciously observed this king's faults. It is in the dialogue between this

(o) See the end of the remark [I].

(p) He is reported to be the same, who has published the *Adventures of Telemachus*; that is, the archbishop of Cambray.

(84) Atipulan-
tur F. F. Sam-
marthani, Tom.
I, lib. x, pag.
627. *Id. ibid.*

Sammarthanus had confirmed it (84), since they say, that Louisa of Savoy was born in the year 1477, and that she was married to Charles of Orleans, count of Angoulême, in the year 1488; and that she was delivered of Francis the twelfth of September, 1494, and lost her husband the first of January, 1496. Here is then a falsehood demonstratively confuted: besides, here is an instance of the precipitation, wherewith miracles upon miracles are crowded in the legend of a saint, without ever consulting genealogical and chronological tables. Had they been consulted by those writers, they would not have said, that a woman, who at the age of fifteen is delivered of a girl, and of a boy at seventeen, had grieved at her long barrenness, and had not been cured of it, but by the prayers of a holy man. Go on grant there may be nothing else but simplicity and credulity in this story, and that the wants and interest of a society, whereof I have said something in another place (85), may not have engaged the Minimes to adorn the life of their patriarch with this false glory.

(85) In the re-
mark [N] of
the article
FRANCIS of
Aldia.

[X] Few are informed of a particular, which may be seen in a letter of Andreas Alciatus, which was not published till the year 1697. This letter was written from Bourges, the third of September, 1530. Alciatus says in it, that one Julius Camillus, a learned man, had offered to Francis I. to teach him, in a month's time, to speak Greek and Latin, in prose and verse, with as much elegance, as Demosthenes and Cicero, Homer and Virgil. He required the king to be with him but one hour a day: but Camillus would be alone with him, because he thought, that so extraordinary a secret was not to be imparted, but to crowned heads (86). He also demanded an income of two thousand crowns a year in good benefices. He spoke with so much assurance, that Francis I. believed there was something in these extraordinary promises. But, after he had been twice with Camillus, he dismissed him with a present of six hundred crowns (87).

(86) Nolle enim
ea arca cui-
quam inferiori à
Rege patieretur.
Alciat. *Epist.*
xviii, inter Gu-
dianat, pag.
209.

(87) Ex Alciato,
ibid.

[Y] The duke of Orleans, Francis the first's second son, offered to the Protestant princes of Germany, to allow the exercise of their religion. We are obliged to Mr le Vassor for the discovery of this singularity. He hath published it in the second edition of Vargas's letters, which he hath translated from the Spanish, and adorned with several very solid remarks. He found (88), among cardinal de Granville's papers, the instruction, which the duke of Orleans gave to his secretary and valet de chambre, when he sent him to the dukes of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and other Protestant princes, who were to meet at Francfort (89). It is dated from Rheims the eighth day of September, 1543, and begins thus: 'He shall declare to them the great desire, which, by the grace of God, we have, that the holy gospel be preached all over the kingdom of France, where we would see already a beginning of it. And because the filial reverence, and fraternal honour, which we have for our most honoured lord and father, the most christian king, and for the dauphin, our eldest brother, hinder us from having it freely preached in our duchy of Orleans, which is under the jurisdiction and in the possession of our said lord and father; besides that the Pope, Emperor, and other princes, might oppose us; and other reasonable causes, which we reserve to be urged by us in a fit time; we have faithfully applied ourselves to the most illustrious and excellent princes, the duke of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and other Protestant princes, to give them notice, that we are resolved, and promise to them expressly, and without any regard, to have it preached in the duchy of Luxemburg, whereof we hope

(88) Le Vassor.
Lettres & Mé-
moires de Vargas,
pag. 24, edit.
1700.

(89) *Ib.* pag. 25.

our said lord the king will leave us in quiet possession, and of other territories, which belong to us by the laws of arms. But we would have the said Protestant princes to receive us into an offensive and defensive alliance and confederacy: and we earnestly require them not to refuse so just and reasonable a demand; not to assist us with their protection, forces, or aid, against any particular prince, but only in what concerns the affairs of the Christian religion, whose encrease we chiefly desire, which by these means may the more easily be known in our other territories, and in the said kingdom, when my said lord, the king, comes to see me allied with the said princes, who will be the cause, that he will declare his good zeal in this business, and we shall be able to excuse ourselves to him, and defend ourselves against our adversaries. Therefore, may it please the said princes, that, as soon as we begin to have the said gospel preached in the said duchy of Luxemburg, at that very time our alliance and confederacy with them may begin (90). This is Mr le Vassor's reflection: 'It is very likely, that the duke of Orleans did not make this step without his father's knowledge. He speaks too confidently of Francis the first's good zeal; he too freely offers all this king's power; he gives too great hopes of what will be done, as soon as the Protestants have admitted him into their league. All this supposes, that the father and son acted in concert (91). Those who say, that the dachess d'Etampes was a Lutheran in her heart, and that she caballed, in favour of the duke of Orleans, against the dauphin (92), will not fail to say, that, without the king's knowledge, she engaged this young duke to link himself with the princes of the league of Smalcalde; and that afterwards she induced him to court the emperor (93), when she saw, that fortune was likely to be more favourable that way. Perhaps some will think, that the king came clandestinely into this plot of his son, without any real design of favouring the new religion in France, but only to make a better advantage of the assistance of Germany, by giving these Lutheran princes hopes, that he would declare, at a proper time, for the reformation, if he found it his interest. I believe, that this discovery of Mr le Vassor will induce the curious to sift out the bottom and drift of this negotiation, and they will find some papers, that will clear this affair.

[Z] I will make use of Mezerai's words. 'King Francis I, who had a noble passion for what was great, took great delight in magnificence, believing that nothing could better display his grandeur: and, as he thought, that the beauty of the ladies would heighten the glory of his pomp, and, as he was of an amorous disposition, he was the first who accustomed the fair sex to frequent the court. It had at first a very good effect; this lovely sex having introduced there politeness and civility, and inspiring noble souls with principles of generosity. But, when impurity crept in, and the example of great men authorized corruption; what was before a fine spring of honour and virtue, became the sink of all vices: infamy became in credit; prostitution was the way to favour; and none was a favourite, and continued so, but by these base means: in a word, offices and employments were at the sole disposal of women. And because, when they are disorderly, they are more easily induced to injustice, fraud, vengeance, malice, and impudence, than men; they were the cause, that several very ill maxims were introduced into the government, and that the ancient candour of the Gauls was banished yet farther than chastity. This

(90) *Ibid.*

(91) *Ib.* pag. 27.

(92) See, above, rem. [H] of the article *ETAMPES*.

(93) *Ibid.* rem. mark [F].

this prince and Lewis XII. It is pity that this dialogue is so short; this is perhaps its only fault. Francis I made a regulation, which deserves a remark; I mean, that he abolished the custom of drawing up all public acts in Latin [AA]. Naudé (q) mentions this, and several other particulars, which concern the learning of this prince, his writings, and love to learned men. The last thing I shall say of him is pretty remarkable: It is pretended (r), that Francis de Paula, the day before he died, spoke after this manner to Louisa of Savoy; *Your son shall be king of France, and will exceed in glory, riches, and happiness, all the princes of his age, provided he applies himself to the reformation of the church; but, if he doth not mind it, he will be very unhappy.* Observe, that Francis de Paula died the second of April 1507; and that Lewis XII, who then swayed the sceptre, lived almost eight years after, and that his wife was not barren (s).

Here are some things which I have collected since the second edition. It has been falsely said, that, after he was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, he was conveyed to the castle of Ambres, near Inspruc [BB]. Among the praises bestowed on him for his encouraging learning, we must not forget, that the learned acknowledge themselves indebted to him for some excellent editions [CC]. The Passage he caused to be through a mountain is very surprizing [DD]. I have something more to say concerning the oath, which

(q) Naudé, *Add. à l'Histoire de Louis XI*, pag. 369.

(r) See Richer. *Hist. Concil.* lib. IV, pag. 102.

(s) See the article FERRARA, item. [d].

* This corruption began under the reign of Francis I, and was almost universal under Henry II, and at last came to its height under Charles IX, and Henry III (94).

(94) Mezerai, *Hist. of France*, under Henry III, Tom. III, pag. 445, 446.

[AA] He abolished the custom of drawing up all public acts in Latin. Let us make use of Varillas's words:

* Justice had, till that time, been administered in Latin, throughout the French monarchy, or at least in the greatest part of it; and that tongue had been so corrupted, that it was scarce known, but by the termination of words; whether it was through ignorance, or that the judges endeavoured by that to be better understood. This abuse was not to be born with at the time that they so successfully strove to restore the ancient politeness; and since the French monarchy had never any dependence on the empire of Rome, it was not fit, that its most authentic acts should be in that tongue. It had been ridiculous to have put them in good Latin, because most people would not have understood them; and the king was of opinion, that they would be better in good French, than in bad Latin. Thus this order was made in the year 1539; and, of all those of Francis I, none hath been more universally and constantly observed than this (95). This historian had but just before observed, that chancellor Poyet had procured this reformation, a little before his fall. Germany had reformed this abuse almost three hundred years before. What follows is found in the historical meditations of Camerarius. The emperor Rodolphus I.... moved by the complaints of the German nation, and seeing himself, as it were, under the yoke of foreign secretaries, who understood Latin, and whom he was obliged to make use of, to the great prejudice of his affairs, because such persons often betrayed him, held a diet at Nuremberg in the year 1252; wherein it was ordered, with the common consent of all the states of the empire, that, from thence forward, the German tongue should be used in the chanceries, and public contracts. This occasioned the Germans to improve their language; and it is arrived to such a perfection, that now any history or science may be elegantly, and clearly expressed in it, either in print, or manuscript (96). Observe, that it has been said, that the king of France was induced to banish the Latin tongue from all public acts of justice, because he was told, that the first president of the parliament of Paris, had used a very barbarous term, when he pronounced sentence. Scripserat morem Gallie fuisse, leges regni semper Latino sermone scribi, donec Franciscus Rex ejus nominis primus id vultu anno 1539. Sed debuerat Matharellus causam addere: quoniam videlicet Præses Curie Parliamenti in arrepto pronuntiando dixerat, debotamus & debotavimus: quod Gallice jam pronuntiatur. Avons debouté & deboutons (we have dismissed, and do dismiss). De quo Rex Franciscus (ut quidam dicunt) multum relesat: ut alii, multum iratus fuerat (97).

(95) Camerarius's *Historical Meditations*, Vol. III, lib. IV, cap. V, pag. 217, 218, of Simon Goussier's Translation.

[BB] It has been falsely said.... that he was conveyed to the castle of Ambres near Inspruc. Let us quote the Historical Mercury of March 1702. 'By letters from Vienna of the fourth of this month,

(96) Matignon's *de Magnonibus vestris Italogalibus Annis* Matharellus, pag. 215.

[CC] The learned are indebted to him for some excellent editions. We need only read these words of Peter Victorius (102): 'Veritas quoque non patitur, ut reticentem egregiam voluntatem atque operam, inferioribus temporibus in hac re positam à Francisco primo Gallorum rege, qui ut erat omnibus in rebus magno animo, ac vere regio præditus, proclivique in humanum genus juvandum, rectaque studia summa ope augenda, curavit, ut quidquid antiquorum ingenii monumentorum restaret in afflicta Græcia, ad se mitteretur: cui beneficio magno addidit alterum, & ipsum valde utile ad hanc ipsam honestam artem ornandam: studium enim, magnis præmiis propositis, ut lepidæ admodum formæ litterarum, & Græcarum, & Latinarum, fingerentur: in quo etiam felix fuit: ita enim pulchræ atque politæ fabricatæ fuere, ut non videantur ab humano ingenio veniuntiores, & exquisitiores ullo pacto conformari posse: librique ipsis excusi, non inventi tantum, sed etiam aliquo modo rapiant ad se legendos. — Truth will not allow me to dissimulate the obligations we are under of late years in this respect, to Francis I, king of France, who, as he discovered a greatness of mind in every thing, and a truly royal disposition, in promoting the good of mankind, and encouraging useful learning, to the utmost of his power, so he took care to have the ancient monuments of wit, remaining in desolated Greece, transmitted to him; to which great piece of service he added another, of great use towards the carrying on this design; for, by proposing large rewards, he encouraged the founding of beautiful Greek and Latin Types; in which he met with success; for such beautiful and elegant ones were founded, as were not to be surpassed by the skill of man, and the books, which were printed with them, not only invited, but even forced men to read them.' To this we may add, what I relate in the article VERGERIUS (ANAGERIUS) (103), and this passage of the Antiquities of Paris: 'It appears, that, in the year 1541, Angelus Vergerius, Greek secretary to the king, had a pension of 450 French livres, charged on the Exchequer (104).

* we are informed, that, by order of the emperor, the maréchal de Villeroi (98) has been carried from Inspruc to the castle of Ambres, at a leagues distance, and that he is in the same chamber, in which Charles V confined king Francis I, after he had taken him prisoner before Pavia. Some of the Dutch Gazettes had already said the same thing. I could wish, the author of the Mercury had refuted, instead of followed, them. It is certain, that Francis I. was not carried into Germany, but into Spain. Bouchet observes, that the viceroy of Naples (99) gave the charge of the person of the king of France to the lord Marcon, governor of Apulia and Calabria, whom he carried to the castle of Piqueton (100). Paradis, Mezerai, and several other historians give the name of Piqueton to the castle, in which this prince was detained, before he was carried into Spain. This castle is on the river Adda in the Milanese, and is called in Italian Picighitone. See Leander Alberti in his description of Italy (101).

(98) He was taken prisoner in Cremona, the first of Feb. 1702.

(99) It was Charles de Lanol.

(100) Bouchet, *Annal. d'Aquitaine*, fol. m. 217.

(101) Folio 407, verso, Edit. Venice, 1561.

(102) P. Victor. *Præfat. Comment. in VIII Libros Aristot. de optimo Statu Civitatis*.

[DD] The passage he caused to be made through a mountain is very surprizing. Mr Leger affirms (105), that

(103) Citat. (b).

(104) Jacq. du Breui, *Antiq. de Paris*, pag. m. 568.

(105) Jo. Leger, *Hist. des Eglises Vaudoises*, Part. I, pag. 2.

which certain satirical writers pretend he made to the Turk [EE], and which I have set down in the very terms (1).

(1) See remark [1].

that Mount Visol which is esteemed the highest in all Europe, and where the Po rises, is a mountain, of which history informs us . . . that Francis I. caused it to be dug quite through to open a passage into Italy. But (adds this author) 'since the French have found the secret of opening the passage of Mount Genevre, which is much shorter and more convenient, they make no farther use of this hole; which yet suffices, being cut thro' a rock, and requiring two hours to pass it, which may be done with loaded mules; and the only inconvenience attending it is, that it is so dark, travellers are obliged to carry torches.' This author not having given us the date of this surprising piece of work, nor told us where he met with the relation. I have made inquiries which induce me to believe, that the expedition of Francis I. into Italy, in the year 1515, is the epocha of this. I thought, that Martin du Bellai had very fully described the difficulties to be surmounted in passing the Alps; but I found, that he speaks of it very succinctly (106), and without giving any idea of the prodigious labour in accomplishing it. I consulted Guicciardin (107), who gave me more satisfaction. Mr Varillas gave me no less: these are his words (108): 'Lautrecc and Navarre, with the choice men of the French army, left Geneva (109) on the left hand, forded the river Durance, and entered the Argentaires (110), by a place called Gillestre: from thence they penetrated as far as the rock St Paul, which they were forced to open with iron tools and fire. The two following days, the pioneers were for the most part useless; for, as each mountain was separated from the rest by abysses, the mine and sap were of no use, and they had recourse to bridges of communication, to transport

the artillery. The soldiers and pioneers dragged it along in places inaccessible to beasts of burthen; they filled with fascines places, which would admit of it, and if they were too large, the void space was supplied with props and great trees. After this manner, they reached mount Pied-de-Porc; which they despaired of penetrating, because it consisted of but one solid rock, steep on all sides: but Navarre, who examined it thoroughly, discovered one vein more soft than the rest, and followed it so exactly, that he made himself a way through the middle. Thus, by the industry of engineers, by the labour of the soldiers, and by the perseverance of their leaders, the French army arrived, about the evening of the eighth day, in the marquisate of Saluces *.' But, good as this description is, it will be found cold and insipid, when compared with that of Paul Jovius (111). There is an observable difference between him and Varillas. This latter takes no notice of Trivulcio, to whom Paul Jovius gives the honour of discovering this new passage, and being the principal director of the execution.

[EE] I have something more to say concerning the pretended oath . . . he took to the Turk.] We have seen (112) what John le Maire de Belges reproached the Venetians with. I add, that the Saracens, who had the king St Lewis in their power, proposed to him the form of an oath, much shorter than that which the bastard of Cyprus is supposed to have made no scruple of taking, and which is the same Francis I. is supposed to have taken. It is plain, that the one was copied from the other; but St Lewis would not submit to this hard condition.

* In the relation of the passage sent to the king's mother by the count de Moret.

(111) Jovius. Hist. fol Temp. lib. xv. fol. m. 301, &c.

(112) In remark [1].

(106) Martin du Bellai, Memoir. livr. i. ad ann. 1515, pag. m. 28.

(107) Guice. livr. xii. fol. m. 336.

(108) Varill. Hist. de François I. livr. i. pag. 43. Edit. of the Hague, 1690.

(109) It should Mount Genevre.

(110) It should be (Le col de l'Argentaire) The descent of Argentaire.

(a) Called Laurence Pontiani.

(b) Taken from the bull of her canonization, inserted by Bzovius in the 16th Vol. of the Ecclesiastical Annals, pag. 730, & seq. ad ann. 1440.

FRANCISCA, a devout lady canonized in the year 1608, was born at Rome, about the year 1384. She shewed from her infancy, that her heart was turned towards heaven, for she loved prayers and solitary places, and had an aversion for the pleasures and diversions of that age. At eleven years of age, she resolved to become a Nun; but her father would not agree to it; on the contrary, he married her to a rich Gentleman (a). Her solitary and devout temper did not alter with her condition; for she was alone, and prayed as often as the business of her family gave her time. She frequented neither public shews, nor banquets, nor weddings; nay, she did not visit her relations; but all her delight was to go to the churches and hospitals. She persuaded a great many maids to forsake the world, and founded for them a convent in Rome, according to the rule of St Benedict. They were called Oblates, and were of the congregation of the Olivetans. Having lost her husband, she very humbly petitioned to be admitted into that society, where she professed herself a Nun, and was wonderfully punctual in the performance of all her duties. She died the ninth of May 1440. She wrought a great many miracles during her life, and soon after her death; so that, some months after her decease, the preliminaries of her canonization were begun (b). This business was re-assumed several times, at the earnest request of the citizens of Rome, but it was not ended before the pontificate of Pope Paul V in the Year 1608 [A]. I have found, in a book of Nicolas Vignier, a very strange story [B], and of which I have in vain sought the original.

I have

[A] This business was re-assumed at several times. . . . but it was not ended before . . . the year 1608. The proceedings were begun under Pope Eugenius IV, in the 1440. A bishop and a prior of the Carthusians were appointed commissioners, to examine the witnesses of the life and miracles of Francisca. After two years and some months, this business was put into the hands of cardinal Alberti; thirty witnesses were heard upon eighty articles. Nicolas V, successor to Eugenius IV, ordered these informations to be renewed by two bishops, who judicially received the depositions of 132 witnesses. There the business stood, till the pontificate of Clement VIII; in the mean while the devotion for the deceased did not cool, and the day of her death was kept at Rome. Clement VIII, at the solicitation of the inhabitants of Rome, ordered, that this affair should be expedited out of hand. He named commissioners, who examined the former proceedings from the beginning, and made some new informations to the year 1604. The Pope, dying in the mean time, could not satisfy the desires of the Roman

people. Paul V, his successor, being urged to make an end of it, ordered, that it should be dispatched; and, at last, after the formalities required in the like case, he canonized our Francisca, the twenty ninth of May 1608, and appointed the ninth of March for her festival (1). The people of Rome took upon them the expence of this great ceremony, and laid out upon it above a hundred thousand crowns (2).

[B] We find in a book of Nicolas Vignier, a very strange story. These are his words; for I make no alteration in them, nor indeed ought I to do it

(3). A Roman matron, called Francisca, was ranked among the saints by the Pope, because she was wont to curb her carnal affections, by distilling burning Bacon upon her Pudenda. Volaterranus. You see he quotes Volaterran after a very indeterminate manner, without mentioning either the title, or number of the book, or chapter, or section. This is usual enough with him; but I think he should not have done it here, considering the oddness of the thing, and that he should have made the verification of that passage as 1505.

(1) Taken from the bull of her canonization, inserted by Bzovius in the 16th Vol. of the Ecclesiastical Annals, pag. 730, & seq.

(2) Continens. Histor. Thuan. lib. i. pag. 30, ad ann. 1608, in fine.

(3) Nicolas Vignier, Recueil de l'Histoire de l'Eglise, pag. 626, ad ann.

I have at length found in Volaterran the words, which gave Vignier room to mention this strange fact. The public has been informed of it, and may be sensible, that this scarce excuses that writer [C].

(Q) That is, in the work, intitled, *Commentariorum Urbani VIII. libri octo & triginta*. I have at last found the passage. See the remark [C].

easy as possible. I have searched in Volaterran (4). Wherever the table of matters, which is not good, and the distribution of the subjects might serve me as guide; but I have not been able to meet with it. A learned man had already informed me, that he had met with no such thing in the volume of Volaterran. This is not the only thing I have to say against Vignier. I cannot comprehend, why he mentions this Roman matron under the year 1505. It is not the time when she lived, nor that of her death, nor that of her canonization. Bzovius, under the year 1505, speaks of two persons of the fair sex, who died in the odour of sanctity, the one at Bourges, the other at Ravenna; but they were not the same with our Francisca: the one was Joan of France, foundress of the religious of the Annuciade; the other was called Margaret. Lastly, I observe that I can never be persuaded, unless I see the express words of Volaterran, that the quotation of Vignier is faithful. It is contrary to all probability, that Volaterran should say, that Francisca was canonized in the year 1505; for it was not till 1608; and it is yet less probable, that he should affirm, that her canonization was founded only on the reason assigned by Vignier. He was too well acquainted with the style of the court of Rome, to advance a thing so distant as this is from the practice of canonizations. They are never grounded merely on the virtues of the persons, tho' never so eminent: miracles true or false must come in; I mean, witnesses must be examined, which depose, that the intercession, relics, &c. of the person to be canonized, have done miraculous cures, &c. I would not alledge against Vignier the silence of the bull of Paul V; for I very well conceive, that, although it had been proved, that Francisca, made use of that severe mortification, yet it would not have been expressly inserted in the canonizing bull. I own, that some particular acts of austerity, less surprizing than this, have been inserted in it; but they had no relation to obscene images which are not to be inserted in a bull. 'Nec minori virtute in Christo JESU, (these are Paul the first's own words,) cum hoste domellico pugnavit, sed exemplo electorum Dei, admirabilem in modum castigavit corpus suum, & in feruitutem redegit. Cibum illi semel in die herbæ, & legumina, aqua potum præbuerunt, five vigilaret, five dormiret, asperum lincum indusium non exuebat, durisque cilicio, ac ferreo cingulo super nudum membra mortificabat; accedebant flagella ferreis aculeis aspersa, quibus corpusculum, quamquam aliunde attritum severissime atterebat (5).' These Latin words say, that she eat nothing but greens and pulse, and drank nothing but water; that, day and night, she wore a woollen shift, a hair cloth, and an iron girdle next to her skin; and that she unmercifully whipped herself. Whoever doth this, hath no need of the lard mentioned by Vignier, especially when, after the example of Francisca, a woman avoids the company of worldly persons, their visits, weddings, banquets their profane diversions, &c. Let us add that she became a widow but a few years before her death (6), and she died in the fifty sixth year of her life. These are sufficient reasons why this saint stood in no need of this violent cure of immodesty.

(5) Literæ decretæ Canonizationis S. Franciscae, apud Bzovium, ubi supra, pag. 732.

(6) Defunctio maritimi, paucis annis ante suam mortem.

(7) See the article of FRANCISCA of Affin, remarks [C] and [D]. See also the article FONTENAY, REMARKS [M] and [N].

After all, had our Francis made use of such a violent remedy, she would deserve, not only the praises but also the admiration of all good people. She would have shewed a love for chastity incomparably stronger and livelier, than if she had followed the example of St Aldhelme (7), and such other rash votaries, who excited concupiscence, in order to have greater

merit in curbing it. A bad victory, not only dangerous, but also not to be gained, but at the peril of the virtue, for which they contended. The thought alone, the imagination, a burning got the better of, are a state of impurity, and an object which must be displeasing in the sight of the lawgiver and his holy angels. St Paul's words (8), which, according to most translations, signify, that the widow, that *lives in pleasure, is dead while she liveth*, ought to be otherwise explained, if we believe Melancthon. The apostle doth not mean, according to him, that a widow, who loveth junketing, gaming, going abroad, such worldly pleasures, hath lost the HOLY GHOST, and the life of grace; but he means, that this spiritual death belongs to those widows, who are exposed to the burnings of the flesh; and he doth not understand a temptation, which satisfies their criminal desires, but a temptation, which hinders the soul from thinking on heavenly things, and makes it dwell on lascivious thoughts. These are Melancthon's words: 'Accusat Paulus illas mulieres non levibus verbis: Pruriens viva mortua est. Nam vocabulum *σταλάσσειν* propriè significat prurientem; quod plus est quam appetere delicias ciborum, sed est habere incendia libidinum, *σπάτος* cutem significat, *σπατίζειν*, *σπάτος* *τίλλειν*, vellicare cutem, seu titillare, *σπατάλλειν* pruritus seu titillatio cutis. Deinde *κατασπινδιάν*, significat turgere seu distendi saginatum & tumefactum esse contra Christum. His insignibus verbis multi turpes motus pugnant: cum Castitate significantur. Hac salacitate dicit veram fidem expulso Spiritu sancto extingui. Hæc est nativa significatio verborum Pauli (9). What is it to resist these temptations? it is to wish to have no lewd desires or motions: but still you have them. The safest way, then, is to put one's self in a state of never having these desires. And this our Francisca did, if Vignier's story be true (10).

[C] I have found in Volaterran, the words which gave Vignier room to mention this strange fact. . . . The public has been, in a letter, which I wrote the sixth of May 1702, this whole affair cleared up. Observe, I beseech you, Sir, these are the words of my letter (11), that I have not accused Vignier of citing Volaterran falsely; I have only said, that, having searched in Volaterran, wherever the table of matters, which is not good, and the distribution of the subjects, might serve me as a guide, I could not meet with this passage. You yourself acknowledge, that you have in vain turned over this author's bulky volume; but you add, that you cannot forbear thinking, that Vignier had read in it what he mentions. You are in the right, generally speaking, and I am well pleased, both for your satisfaction, and that of my readers, to inform the public here, that, in searching, two days ago, for something else, in Volaterran, I light upon this. It is to be found in the twenty second book, at page 810 of the edition of Frankfurt, 1603, at the place, where he mentions Pope Urban V. There we meet with these words: Quam (Catharinam Virginem filiam Brigide) Julius jamjam in Catalogum referre una cum Francisca Romana Matrona statuit, quæ & ipsa sub Eugenio claudit prodigiis & sanctitate: voluptatem inviti coitus ardente supra vulvam larido reprimebat. I have set down, in my dictionary (12), Vignier's translation of this passage. Examine carefully my criticism, and you will find it just: for it is true, that Volaterran observes, that Julius II designed to canonize this lady; but not that he did canonize her, &c.

(1) *ἡ δὲ σταλάσσεισα τὰς τρεῖς ὥρας. Nam quæ in deliciis est, vivens mortua est. Epist. ad Timotheum, I, cap. v, vers. 2.*

(9) Melancthon. Psephus ad impios Articulos Bavaricæ Inquisitionis, Art. xxvi. fol. m. H. 2.

(10) Confer quæ supra, rem. [A] of the article CORONEL (AZARONUS).

(11) Journal de Trevoux. May 1702. Amsterdædam Edit. pag. 385, 381.

(12) Above, citat. (3).

FRANCUS (SEBASTIAN), an Anabaptist of the XVIth century, who published several books full of errors, which the Lutherans confuted. He was a true fanatic. He taught, that all sins are equal, and undermined the authority of scripture; for he maintained, that men were to seek for the suggestions of the Holy-Ghost, without minding the words revealed. He also believed, that the true church was an aggregate of several sects, wherein the Papists were no less comprehended than the Protestants. The divines of the confession of Ausburg, assembled at Smalcalde in the year 1540, desired Melancthon to refute this man's conceits, and those of some other fanatics.

(a) Taken from
Seckendorf.
Lutheran. Hist.
lib. iii, pag. 268,
269.

(b) Crelius, Ani-
madv. Part. II,
pag. 92.

(c) Pag. m. 746.

(d) Quia homo
fuit deditus
Swerckfeldii,
phantasis, ideo
mira subinde
asimiliet.
Kotern. de Hist.
Pag. 209.

(e) Spondan.
Annal. ad ann.
1529, n. 9.

natics (a). The same Francus published a very satirical book against women, which was refuted by John Freder, and by Luther [A].

Let us add, that he drew very strange consequences from an axiom of Servetus concerning the presence of God; for he pretended, that not only beasts, but the inanimate creation likewise partook of a general soul, that was divine. The sieur de Saint Aldegonde, who informs me of this, wished that some one would examine to the bottom the principle, whence these consequences were drawn [B]. Observe, that he says, Francus was a German; but others make him of Woerden, a town of Holland (b); they first name him Werdenensis in the abridgment of Gesner's Bibliotheca (c), and give the titles of several of his works, among which we must not forget a German chronicle, in which he intermixes many wonderful things (d). Some, writing even in Latin, call him Franc. Mr Moreri has mentioned him under this name: He says scarce any thing of him, though Spondanus, whom he cites, might have furnished him with some particulars, and among others this, that Francus was expelled from Strasburg, that his chronicle was there condemned, and that he is the first, who asserted, that Anabaptism was divided into more than forty four sects (e).

(*) King Chri-
stian the third's
queen.

[A] He published a very satirical book against women, which was refuted by John Freder and Luther.] John Freder wrote a dialogue concerning marriage, in answer to this satire of Francus, and dedicated it to Dorothy queen of Denmark (1), upon whom he bestowed a very noble encomium. Luther prefixed a preface before this work, and exclaimed bitterly against Francus: he said, among other things, that he was a slanderer, who raked together all the filth of mankind, and impudently published it. He compared him to flies, &c. But it is better to set down the author's own words, whence I have all this: 'Opus postus ille (Dialogus de conjugio) est maledicentiae Sebastiani Franci . . . qua foeminiuum sexum edidit libello proterve insectatus est. . . Lutherus in praefatione fatetur, se Francum hominem pessimum responso indignum judicasse, certum, quod scripta ejus lucem haud diu sint laturos, cum non nisi satirae & convitiis indulgeat, & aliorum detegat & exagitet vitia, illitque turpitudinum illarum inverecunda relatione chartas mundo obtrudat; Comparat eum cum muscis & vespis, quas scissidissima quaeque pervolantes & perrepentes, postea inquinatae & foetentes, naso, oculis, genis & labiis hominum impudentiam insidere velint. Taxari quidem merito vitia etiam a piis doctoribus, sed non cum petulantia aut insultatione, aut quod delectentur in eorum enarratione, sed ut odium flagitiorum excitent, & viam ad emendationem ostendant (2). — The dialogue concerning marriage is opposed to the calumny of Sebastian Francus . . . who libelled the female sex in a book that he published. . . Luther, in the preface, confesses, that he had thought Francus, the worst of men, unworthy of a reply, being well assured, that his writings were short-lived, since he indulges himself in nothing but satire and calumny, and detects and censures the vices of others, and obtrudes his books on the world, stuffed with immodest accounts of filthy actions. He compares him to flies and wasps, which flying and creeping thro' the noisiest things, afterwards, defiled and stinking as they are, impudently endeavour to sit on the nose, cheeks, and lips of men. Vice is deservedly censured by the most pious teachers, but not with petulance and insult, or to shew that they are delighted with the narrative, but to raise an hatred to vice, and to print out the path of amendment.'

[B] St Aldegonde . . . wished that some one would examine to the bottom the principle, whence these consequences are drawn.] Read a letter, which he wrote to Theodore Beza in the year 1566, where you will find these words: 'Sebastianus Francus homo Germanus qui mirifica hujusmodi portenta congestit in suas farragines, ac in primis in eum, quem Paradoxa inscriptit, librum, Axioma illud Serveti de Dei reali vel essentiali in omnibus & rebus & locis praesentia ita urget, ut ex eo colligat non modo brutas pecudes, sed ipsa etiam corpora inanima, tamen anima quadam communi atque divina vel caelesti vegetari, quae nisi fallor à Virgilio mundi spiritus, ab hoc verbum internum, sermo, spiritus, lux, potentia, vis, ac denique Filius ipse Dei nominatur. Eam cum hominum omnium animus communi quadam vi fovere, tum praesertim in piis viris facultatem quandam praecipuam ac singularem exercere.

Eoque restit illos vel Deos vel certe deificatos appellari. Quo sensu vult Christum ipsum dici Filium Dei, cui Socratem ac Mercurium Trismegistum, alioque hujus farinae nonnullos, tanquam aequales ac socios adjungit. Ejus infinitas blasphemias statuerunt quidam refutare, sed hoc unum eos remouit, quod haud satis illis constare possit quid de primo illo axioma Servetico ex quo caetera omnia manant, sit judicandum. Mihi certe haud dubium sit, quin ex eo multa non modo falsa, sed prorsus etiam impia consequantur. Tamen neque Joannes Calvinus neque ex veteribus (quod quidem sciam) quispiam argumenta ad illius ipsius refutationem suppeditat. Quinimò verò veteres illi Theologi videntur mihi praesentiam illam realem Divinae essentiae in immensum plerumque extendisse (3). — Sebastian Francus, a German, who heaped together in his miscellaneous collections wonderful portents of this kind particularly in that book, which he entitled Paradoxa; wherein he urges that axiom of Servetus, concerning the real or essential presence of GOD in all things and places, in such a manner, as to gather from it, that not only brute beasts, but even inanimate bodies, are vegetated by a certain common and divine or celestial soul; which, if I mistake not is called, by Virgil, the spirit of the world, by him the internal word, the speech, breath, light, power, force, and, lastly, the son of GOD himself. He asserts, that this soul not only cherishes the minds of all men by a certain common energy, but exerts a particular force in good men: and that therefore they are rightly styled Gods, or deified men: In which sense he pretends, that Christ himself is called the son of GOD, with whom he joins, as equals and companions, Socrates, Mercurius Trismegistus, and others of that stamp. Some persons have resolved to refute his many blasphemies; but this one thing has hitherto stopped them, that they know not what to think of that first axiom of Servetus, from whence all the rest flow. For my own part, I am convinced, that it is attended with many, not only false, but even impious consequences. However, neither Calvin, nor any of the old writers (as far as I know) furnish us with arguments for the confutation of it. Nay, those old divines seem to me for the most part, to have immensely extended that real presence of the divine essence. I omit what he says afterwards, and which shews, that the received opinion of the immensity of God puzzled him, and seemed to him productive of many vain and empty notions. I pass by likewise Beza's answers to him (4); but I will observe, by the by, that the opinions of the divines, which import, that the essence and substance of God is extended thro' all bodies, is liable to a thousand difficulties. The Cartesians shew this very plainly. See what Mr Wittichius (5) observes against Suarez, who has endeavoured to explain how God may be present in imaginary space. Mr Arnould censured also a minister, who had made use of the received opinion, to prove, by an argument, ad hominem, that one might worship marble (6). The minister in his reply, said several things, and among others this (7); that the divinity of Vaqueus, according to which all inanimate and irrational things may be worshipped, because GOD is in all creatures by his essence, and sustains

(3) Epist. vi.
Theod. Bezae,
Tom. III. Oper.
pag. 206, 207.

(4) Ibid. Epist.
vii, pag. 206,
209.

(5) Wittich. in
Consensu Verita-
pag. 86, &c.
Edit. 1682.

(6) Arnould,
Reflexions sur le
Préservatif, pag.
69, &c.

(7) The Janse-
nist convicted of
vain sophistry,
pag. 194.

frustrates them, is shocking, but that it is by no means irrational, nor ill connected with his principles . . . that 'Vasques' reasons divinely on the subject of man according to the tenets of his church, in order to prove, that man, who is the lively image of the

divinity, may be worshiped with the act of a doration, by which we worship God (8). We ought not to wonder after this, that the Sieur St. Aldegonde (9) feared the ill consequences of the doctrine of Servetus, adopted by Sebastian Francus.

(8) Janfenist convicted, &c. pag. 195.

(9) Epist. vii. Theod. Beza pag. 207.

FRANGIPANI, a very antient Roman family, related to the best families of Europe [A], owes its name to some extraordinary acts of charity to the poor in a famine [B]. It is long ago, since a branch of this illustrious family settled gloriously in Hungary [C]. MURIO FRANGIPANI served in France, in the Pope's troops in the

[A] A Roman family... related to the best families of Europe. Mr le Laboureur (1) says, that the marquis Frangipani, whom he had seen at Rome, reckoned, among the younger brothers of his family, the arch-dukes of Austria, and the kings of Spain, grounded on the opinion of Raphael Volterrano, which opinion he would have been sorry to have been undeceived in; and that he was perpetually troublesome to the new princes of Rome, by pretending to be of so ancient a family, that none could presume to compare with him. This author, having described the equipage of the same marquis in a great ceremony (2), adds (3), that it gave him notions quite contrary to the esteem, which is due to the first and most ancient name of Rome, and to the most illustrious family of Dalmatia and Frioul, since about the year 1120, when one of that house married the daughter of Engilbert marquis of Frioul, sister to Mahaut, wife to Tibbaut IV, earl of Champagne and Brie, aunt to Alice of Champagne, wife to Lewis the younger, and mother to Philip Augustus king of France. Lazzera, who hath written an history of several families of Italy, and who knew nothing of this alliance, adds another, which he proves, namely, with a niece of the emperor of Constantinople, who, in the year 1170, was sent in great pomp, attended by several bishops and great lords of Greece, to marry Eudo Frangipani. It appears by the history of this illustrious family, written by him, that it was the most powerful in Rome, and that they have seen there the rise of the grandeur of all the others, whom the abuses of the times engaged to take upon them the quality of princes. We shall see below (4), that the Frangipani pretend to be related to St Gregory.

[B] . . . Owing its name to some extraordinary acts of charity to the poor in a famine. Frangipani in Italy, bears azure, two hands argent, holding a loaf, or, cut into halves; because one of his predecessors, in a time of dearth, relieved a vast number of indigent persons. Thus father Gilbert de Varenne speaks in his Theatre of Arms, and achievements (5). They were at first called Fricapani, as it appears by these words of Geoffroy of Vendosme: 'Primo anno, quo, deo volente vel permittente, nomen abbatis suscepit, audiui pie recordationis Dominum Papam Urbanum in domo Joannis Fricapanem latitare' (6). — The first year, in which, by the will or permission of GOD, I took upon me the name of abbot, I heard, that Pope Urban of pious memory lay concealed in the house of John Fricapani. See father Simond's note on this place (7). The name of Frangipani was already in vogue in the XIIth century; for these words are found in the chronicle of the monastery of Anchin (8): 'Schismatici quietem non serentes ecclesie, iterum quemdam Clericum de progenie illorum quos Frangipanes Romani vocant contra Papam Alexandrum, Antipapam statuunt, quem mutato nomine, Innocentem III vocitarunt. — The sibismatics, not enduring the repose of the church, again set up, against Pope Alexander, an Anti-Pope, a certain ecclesiastic, of the race of those, whom the people of Rome call Frangipani.' Conrad, abbot of Ursperg, makes use of the word Frangentes panem. He speaks thus: 'Imperator convocavit ad se de civibus Romanis potentissimos & nobilissimos de familia eorum qui dicuntur Frangentes panem, & aliis ad quos precipue habebat respectum populus Romanus (9). — The emperor sent for the most powerful and noble of the Roman citizens, of the family of the Frangentes panem, and of those, to whom the people of Rome paid a particular regard'.

[C] It is long ago, since a branch of this family settled gloriously in Hungary. Scioppius produces an act, or deed, dated in the year 1260, whereby Bela, king of Hungary, acknowledges, that, when his country

was laid waste by the Tartars, he was assisted and comforted by Frederic and Bartholomew Frangipani, who, with their relations, went into his service, and assisted him with a large sum of money. And, for an acknowledgment, he transferred to them the possession of a maritime town, with all the rights and lands that belonged to him. See page 215 of the book intitled, *Oporini Grabinii Amphitides Scioppiana*. Scioppius affirms (10), that this act was communicated to him by George Antigonus Frangipani, gentleman of the bed-chamber, and great master of the horse to the archduke Maximilian Ernestus. Let us quote something of it (11): 'Deus totius consolationis, qui consolatur suos in omni tribulatione, etiam nobis fontem aperire dignatus est, & ad consolandum nos Feldericum & Bartholomæum illustres & strenuos viros de Frangipani, nobiles de Weglia quasi de coelo projecit, qui nobis cum omni parentela adherentes inter alius promiscuos, fideles exhibuerunt famulatus & non modicam pecuniam eorum, quæ ultra XX. marcarum millia transcendunt, in vasis aureis & argenteis atque aliis rebus pretiosis nobis de bonis eorum præsentaverunt, & præsentando donaverunt. Demum nos, cum à nobis Deus suam indignationem amoverit, recompensantes eorum servitia & dona, de consilio dominæ Mariæ, christianissimæ consortis nostræ, & Baronum nostrorum fidelium, quandam civitatem nostram, circa litus maris extantem, SEGNIAM vocatam, cum omnibus suis utilitatibus & pertinentiis universis, simul cum tributo seu Telonio, & aliis circumferentiis, & in eadem libertate, sicut nobis servire consueverant, dedimus & donavimus, & contulimus ipsi Felderico & Bartholomæo in filios filiorum perpetuo & irrevocabiter possidendum.

The GOD of all consolation, who comforts his people in every distress, has vouchsafed to open a fountain even to us, and has sent, as it were from heaven, to comfort us, Felderic and Bartholomew, illustrious and brave men, of the family of the Frangipani; nobles of Weglia, who, adhering to us with all kind of fatherly affection, have served us faithfully, and given us no small share of their wealth, amounting to above 20,000 marks, in gold and silver vessels, and other valuable things. In recompence for which services and presents, we, being restored to the favour of heaven, do, by the advice of our dearest consort Mary, and our faithful barons, give and bestow, and have given and bestowed, on Felderic and Bartholomew, and their heirs for ever, the possession of one of our maritime towns, named SEGNI A, with all its profits and appurtenances, together with the tribute or toll, as hitherto paid to us. This prince, by another deed, granted them several privileges and immunities, and gave some reasons for it, that are very honourable; which obliges me to quote his words. They are so many historical facts, fit to be inserted in this place: 'Deus ad refulciendum & corroborandum nos, Feldericum & Bartholomæum de Frangipani, illustres & strenuos viros, nobiles de Weglia alta ex profapia urbis Romanæ senatorum ortos, tanquam angelos protectionis de arce polorum misit, qui nobis cum eorum parentela & familiarium caterva armigeræ in opem & nostræ personæ saluberrimam tutelam adhaerendo, per eorum strenua certamina, quosdam duces ipsorum Tartarorum, sequacesque eorum diræ necis exterminio necari, & quosdam captos nobis offerre, ubi etiam crebra stigmata & gravia sustulerat & multos ex eorum charis proximos & familiares amittere, supraque omnibus prænaratis copiosam pecuniarum ipsorum in auro etiam & argento ac rebus pretiosis quantitatem ad XX. millia marcarum se extendentem nobis pro assumendis stipendiariis & expeditionibus variis offerre maluerunt, &c (12). — GOD, in order to restore and strengthen us, sent from heaven, as guardian angels, Felderic and Bartholomew Frangipani, illustrious and brave men, nobles of Weglia

(10) Scioppius Amphit. pag. 214.

(11) lb. pag. 218.

(12) Apud Scioppium, Amphitides pag. 217, 218.

(1) Additions to the Memoires of Cælius, Tom. II, pag. 704.

(2) See the remark [C].

(3) Ibid. pag. 705.

(4) In remark [F].

(5) Apud Menagium, Origini de la Lingua Italiana, pag. 231.

(6) Goldast, Vindobonensis, lib. i, cap. vii, word Menagium add.

(7) Vetusillustre nobilissime vni Romanorum familie nomen nunc positum inferius; Frangipani enim dicuntur. Simondet, Not. in cap. viii, lib. i. Goldst. Fendic. apud Menag. add.

(8) Ad. ann. 1179, apud Menag. Ibid.

(9) Conrad. Alibi Ursperg, ad ann. 1227, apud Menag. Ibid.

(a) See, in the remark [F], Balzac's words.

(b) Le Laboureur, *Addition to the Memoirs of Castelnau*, Tom. II, pag. 705, wherein the marquis of Frangipani, his own brother, is said to have been a partner in this invention.

in the reign of Charles IX [D]. One of his grand-children had some employments in the same kingdom in Lewis XIII's time (a). One of his jests was made use of, and, he who used it, was severely censured for it [E]. This grand-child of Mutio Frangipani invented the composition for perfume and scents, which yet retain the name of Frangipane (b) [F]. He thought it an honour to be the last of that illustrious name, and did not stick to say, that he kept himself single out of necessity, because his quality did not allow him to mix his blood with upstarts, wherewith the ancient majesty of Rome had been dishonoured (c). The equipage, wherein he appeared at Rome in a solemn cavalcade, was remarkable [G].

(c) Id. ib. pag. 704.

* *lia*, descended from the high ancestry of Roman senators; who, standing by us with their protection, and an armed force of their friends, fought bravely in our defence, killed some of the Tartar generals, slaughtered part of their army, and brought us others prisoners; in which actions, they were not only often and dangerously wounded, but lost many of their nearest relations and friends; and, besides the abovementioned services, presented us, for the hire of troops, and for various expeditions, a large sum of money, in gold and silver, and other valuable things, amounting to 20,000 marcs, &c. See, in the supplement to Moreri's dictionary, the tragical end of a great lord of Hungary, called Frangipani, who had plotted against the emperor, in the year 1671.

[D] Mutio Frangipani served in France . . . in the reign of Charles IX. The Pope concerning himself mightily in the wars about religion in France, several great Italian lords passed the Alps: some were officers of the forces, which he sent; others, to shew their respect to that crown, served as volunteers. The lord Mutio Frangipani thought, that he was the more obliged to engage himself in that expedition, because he was a partizan of France, and had there a great many relations by his wife Julia Strozzi, sister to the countess of Fiesque, who had besides the honour of being related to the queen. He gave some proofs of his bravery in the battle of Jarnac, where he was wounded; and afterwards he returned home, to enjoy quietly the glory, which he had acquired in that war (13).

[E] One of his jests was made use of, and he, who used it, was severely censured for it. Colstar, writing to Mr Colbert (14), made use of the following expressions: 'How would you have me go to court? I have been almost these five years in the country, because I am not strong enough to bear the fatigue of Paris, and to repair to those places, where one must shew a great deal of respect, and where one must continually be in that troublesome posture, which seemed intolerable to the marquis de Frangipani, when he was at the French court; which made him say pleasantly, *Star sempre dritto a scapellato*: — You know the rest, Sir; or, if you do not know it, you must not expect to be informed of it by an archdeacon (15). Let us see how he was censured for this. These words need no explanation, since every body understands them. It is an old jest, which all those, who glory in their lewdness, do often repeat; and, if my antagonist hath been ashamed to explain it, who will undertake it (16)?

(15) Colstar, cited by Girac, Reply, pag. 27.

(16) Girac, *ibid.*

[F] He invented the perfume and scents, which yet retain the name of Frangipane. Here follows what Menage says of it (17). 'Da uno di que' Signori Frangipani, (l'abbiam veduto qui in Parigi) furono

(a) Noctu in abditis locis sacra operari soliti, post quosdam hymnos seu cantilenas, extinctis luminibus promiscuis ac fortuitis coitibus sese inquinabant. Spondanus, ad ann. 1597, n. 9. He quotes Sabellic. 9, an. 7. Prætorius, Sanderus, Gualtier.

(b) Idem Spondanus, *ibid.*

(17) Annales Galantes, III Part. Hist. VII, pag. 156. Holl. Edit. 1677.

[A] Madam des Jardins traces this sect to a very probable origin. She supposes (1), that the report of their amorous achievements having given the alarm to jealous husbands, they encreased the number of

* *chiamati certi guanti profumati, Guanti di Frangipani*. Ludovico Balzacio in una sua lettera à madama Desloges: yesterday he saw himself willingly your tributary, and engaged to send you every year a pretty good quantity of his perfils. If you find them good, they will be in more repute than the gloves of Frangipani. But, because your people of Limousin might here mistake, pray give them notice, that this Perfumer is worth above thirty thousand livres a year, and hath the first dignity of this province; and that his Glover is a Roman lord, who is marechal de camp of the king's armies, and related to St Gregory the great; and, what I value more than all this, he is one of the honestest men in the world. Menage quotes afterwards these Latin verses of Cerisantes, which are very pretty.

Amice, nil me, sicut antea, juvat
Pulvere vel Cyprio Comam nitentem pectere,
Vel quas Britannus texuit subtiliter,
Mille modis varias jactare ventis tœnias:
Vel quam perunxit Frangipanes ipsemet,
Pelle manum gracilem coram puellis promere (18).

Whilom a fop, those arts I now give o'er,
The powder fetch'd from Cyprus' distant shore,
The various fillet, pendent from behind,
By Britons wove, and floating in the wind,
The lady-band, so smooth, so white, and spare,
From glove drawn off produc'd to court the fair,
And breathing Frangipane his scented air.

[G] The equipage, wherein he appeared at Rome . . . was remarkable. Mr le Laboureur, an eye-witness, speaks of it after this manner: 'I cannot forbear adding concerning this last marquis of Frangipani, that I saw him once at the cavalcade, which is performed on St Peter's day, to conduct the Pope from the Vatican to Montecavallo, very well mounted, and gracefully sitting on horseback, but not in a garb suitable to this solemnity, which is altogether warlike, and which was celebrated by firing all the guns of the castle of St Angelo. He was clothed in black taffety, with a cloak upon his shoulders, tucked up under his arm, his cloaths of the same stuff, with hanging sleeves to his doublet, sitting on a deep saddle, with silk stockings, and garters rose-wise, and a switch in his hand. I made it my business to be sure, that it was he, though I knew him; because I thought it strange, that he should publicly appear so like a citizen on so solemn an occasion (19).

(18) Taken from an ode which he addressed to Voiture, and which has been printed at the end of Balzac's Letters.

(19) Le Laboureur, *ubi supra*, pag. 705.

FRATRICELLI, heretics, who appeared in Italy towards the end of the XIIIth century. They performed their devotions in private places, where they met in the night-time; and, after they had sung some hymns, they put out the candles, and every one laid hold of a woman, as he was directed by chance (a). The children, that were begot by this commerce, were brought into the assembly, and handed round about till they expired. He, in whose hands they expired, was chosen high-priest. They burned one of those children, and put the ashes in a vessel, in which they poured wine, which they gave to drink to those they initiated into their brotherhood. They exclaimed against the property of goods; and maintained, that the faithful ought not to meddle with magistracy, and that the souls of the blessed shall not see God till after the resurrection (b). Madam des Jardins traces this Sect to a very probable origin [A]; for 'tis hard to believe, but that most of those religious hypocrites, who

their spies, so that this commerce was absolutely interrupted. Some young people were extremely concerned at this reformation. . . . Seeing therefore, that the noise their public gallantry made was the cause

set up conventicles under pretence of reformation, have a design upon women. They persuade themselves, that the fair sex will easily fall into the snare, and that their inclination to the outward exercises of religion, as well as to those of nature, which maintains an admirable correspondence with the other, will furnish them with means to bend women to whatsoever they shall please.

In order to observe the rule, that we ought to hear both parties, *Audi & alteram partem*, I ought to note in this place, that an illustrious Protestant gives us to understand, that the Fratricelli were not guilty of the enormities, that were laid to their charge [B]; but that the true reason, both of the calumnies, that were spread abroad against them, and of the rigour, with which they were persecuted, was, because they taught tenets, which clashed with Popery. The answer, which has been made to that Protestant, will inform us, that, according to some authors, the Fratricelli did not lie with women, to enjoy them, but only to render their continence more meritorious [C]. We must not forget, that several of them called themselves Friars of the order

of that disorder, they resolved to make love by health, and, to save the appearances, which alarmed husbands, they affected to live in retirement; they studied a mortified outside, and, forming a new religious order, under the name of Fratricelli, or Little brethren, they quickly gained so much reverence by the piety they seemed to practise, that they were looked upon as new anchorites. Some of the most suspicious husbands, and whose spouses were none of the chafest, had the curiosity to see those devout men. People, distracted with domestic cares, make great use of conferences; and so, finding the conversation of the Fratricelli very edifying, there was none of them but hoped, from their charitable remonstrances, the entire conversion of the most coquetish wives. They were impatient to return home, to cry up the new order; and the women, looking upon all the pretences of visits as so many steps towards liberty, shewed as great a desire to see the Fratricelli, as the husbands had they should go to them. Thus our Fratricelli received agreeable visits, with which the husbands were very well pleased; for, in order to establish their new dominion, they preached up nothing but the keeping conjugal faith, the bounden obedience of wives towards their husbands, and many other wholesome precepts, all very necessary towards domestic peace, and very edifying to married men: but, because what was proper to be said to the one, was not agreeable to the other, they exhorted the ladies to come and see them in private: In order, said they, that we may put the axe to the root of the tree, and work effectually their entire conversion. They found no difficulty in obtaining from the wives that mark of their deference; they had much rather come to their sermons, than be confined at home; and, finding the secret instructions of the Fratricelli not so hard to be practised, as those of common ghostly fathers, they received them with docility, and submitted to them without reluctance.

AN INQUIRY
into the causes,
which draw so
many women to
fraternities of
austere devotion.

It is a truth, confirmed by the experience of all ages, that one of the surest means to draw the sex, and make them run after men, is to set up fraternities of an austere reformation, and to make a great shew of strict devotion in certain conventicles. Those, who trace events to their causes, have not forgot to meditate on the reasons of this. They divide into two principal classes those female scholars. Some go to that school out of a good principle; being led by devotion, which is innate to the sex: others have heard a thousand times, that there is a great deal of hypocrisy in these religious founders, that they are men like the rest, and that they play the hypocrites, only to make love without scandal, and under the cloak of secrecy. Without doubt, the following song has a long time been sung all over the world, though in other terms.

... Bourgeois de Sodome,
Voyant Dom Côme
Dit en courroux,
Ces bigots sont tous en priere,
Ils font tous au ciel les yeux doux,
L'onaison ne leur sert de guiere,
En amour ils sont tous
Moins bêtes & plus fripons que nous.

A burgher of Sodom, seeing Dom Côme, said in a passion;
these bigots are all at their prayers; they stealthily look

upon heaven; but their praying is to little purpose;
for in love they are more politic, and less scrupulous
than we.

This is the reason a woman hopes to find a lucky hour among those pretenders to devotion, and is eager to put herself under their direction, with whom she may lose nothing with regard to pleasure, and get a great deal as to her reputation. Women even hope, that, in case such men should not be hypocrites, they may have the address powerfully and victoriously to tempt them; for, of all vices, none is more untameable and ungovernable than concupiscence (2). As for the scholars of the other class, they conceive so great a veneration, and even so great an affection for the pretended man of God, that they blind themselves in his favour. If he finds it necessary to persuade them that there is no sin in doing some things, he insensibly turns them that way, and at worst their tenderness does not suffer them to resist his desires. However it be, there never was a head of a sect, nor a founder of a conventicle, let the things practised there be never so abominable, but found very tractable disciples among the other sex (3): and when we see how solicitous these men are to draw in women, one must have a great deal of charity not to believe, that the scope of their devotion rather centres in the body, which they have received from nature, than in the salvation of their soul.

[B] An illustrious Protestant gives us to understand, that the Fratricelli were not guilty of the enormities laid to their charge. Mr du Plessis looks upon them as a branch of the Vaudois: But besides, says he (4), that the Vaudois continued in France, we trace them into Italy and Germany, by their own blood, which was spilt by the inquisitors. In Italy, where Boniface exterminated, by all manner of severities, those they called Fratricelli, brethren, whose teachers were Gerard Sagarelli of Parma, and Dulcino of Novarra, disciples of Herman, who was esteemed a saint in Italy, and was afterwards dug up by Boniface at Ferrara. These poor people, to whom, according to custom, they impute a thousand infamous enormities, but who, in truth, taught, that the Pope was Antichrist, and the church of Rome the Babylon of the Revelations; those pretended inspired men reproved several Romish abuses and traditions; and their being persecuted by Boniface, one of the most leud and prophanes Popes that ever was, ought to make us presume that it was not on account of leudness. We find them also at the same time in Germany.

[C] The Fratricelli did not lie with women, to enjoy them, but only to render their continence more meritorious. Coëffeteau, answering that passage of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, affirms (5), that the very fathers of these Fratricelli, relate some things of them, which render the depositions of others probable. Let us hear how Vigniere speaks of them. 'Pope Clement (says he) being informed, that the assemblies and congregations of those they called Fratricelli, who dwelled in the mountains of Piedmont and Lombardy, and even in the neighbourhood of Verceil and Novarra, increased more and more, inasmuch that they could not be dispersed, caused the Jacobins and Franciscans to preach a crusade against them: so that a great number of crosses went in quest of them in their mountains, where they destroyed, that year, either by the sword, hunger, or cold, above 400, and burnt 140 of them; among whom was found their principal minister Dul-

(2) What Seneca says in general, Nuncquam bona fide vitia mansuecunt, is applicable in a particular manner to this.

(3) See the rest of article GUILLELMA.

(4) Du Plessis Morpav, *Mystère d'Iniquité*, pag. 412. He quotes Guido Perpinia de Heresib. Blond. dec. II, lib. ix, Guillaud de Nangis.

(5) Coëffeteau, *Réponse au Mystère d'Iniquité*, pag. 1015, 1016.

* Vig. pag. 3, of the Biblioth. Hist. in the year 1308.

order of St Francis. Bzovius, who affected to make that remark, was censured for it by the Franciscans. We shall see part of what has been said in his justification [D]. Neither must we pass over in silence, that Prateolus, who warmly affirms all the ill reports, that have been spread against the Fratricelli, confesses, that they opposed the court of Rome, and the papal authority [E].

'cin, and his wife Margaret, who were also put to death. Some call them Dulcins, because of the said Dulcins; others, Fratricelli, because they called one another brethren; and the women, who accompanied them, sisters in JESUS CHRIST; with whom, Platina and other historians say, they cohabited, and cohabed promiscuously, in their conventicles, after the manner of those called Adamites and Nicolaites, putting out the candles: but the Mer des Histoires says only, that they did not scruple to lie together, without knowing one another carnally, esteeming such a continence as meritorious, as the raising one from the dead, &c. Does not this lying together, and bestial indifference, make their lewdness more than probable, unless we suppose them to have been marble? but Vignier flatters them as well as du Pleiss. The common opinion is, that they defiled themselves with a thousand infamous impurities, for which they deserved to be exterminated as monsters, that dishonoured the christian religion. Masseus, so often quoted by du Pleiss, speaks of them in these words: † In 1308,

† Masse. Ch. Mund. lib xvii.

in Lent, were taken above 400 Dulcins, in the mountains of Navarra, and the neighbourhood of Perceil. Now these were the remains of those, whom St Bernard mentions, on the Song of Solomon. They mingled promiscuously, men and women lying in the same bed: the men saying, that they kept women company in order to make their own continence more meritorious, by passing by those occasions of sinning, and leaving them virgins, &c. I omit some faults, which have been taken notice of. Rivet, replying to Coëffeteau, declares himself the apologist of the Fratricelli: he does not confess, that they endeavoured to signalize their continence by lying near a woman, without going further; he owns, that, if they had done so, they had been to blame; but however, he does in some measure extenuate the fault. These are his words (6): 'The witnesses against the Fratricelli agree like the witnesses of Susanna: what Vignier writes, and what Coëffeteau takes from him, is a proof of it: for what Platina imputes to them is more than what the Mer des Histoires says of them. And, though I will not approve, that men and women should lie together without scruple, to make their continence more painful, and consequently more commendable; yet Coëffeteau might have found such a proceeding warranted in antiquity by several ecclesiastics, against whom Cyprian and Jerome exclaimed: for they had their Agapetes, and companions of celibacy, with whom they lay, as we have said elsewhere: however, we do not own what is said of them in that Mer des Histoires, which is often a sink of lies.' Observe by the bye, that the misconduct imputed to Robert d'Arbrissel is very ancient, and that it would be common to him with many, who have lived both before and after him.

(6) Rivet, Remarques sur la Réponse au Myſtere d'Iniquité, Part. II, pag. 478.

[D] We shall see part of what has been said in Bzovius's justification.] The complaints of the Franciscans, together with their answers and apologies, are found (7) in the book intitled, *Nitela Franciscanorum contra Bzovium*; and in Wadding, in the third tome of the Annals of the Friars Minors (8). The reply for Bzovius is found in the writings of a dominican, called Nicolas Janfenius; to which I refer my readers; contenting myself to say, that father Vincent Baron has shewn, by the testimony of Oderic Raynaldus, the continuator of Baronius, that the Fratricelli had obtained confirmations and privileges of Pope Celestine V, in the quality of monks of the order of St Francis. 'Illi (Bzovio) assentitur . . . Odericus Raynaldus . . . tomo quinto decimo suorum annalium ad ann. 1317, n. 56. & sequent. ita habet: variae fuerunt fraticellorum sectae; & certum est ex extravag. Joannis XXII. Sancta Rom. de Relig. Domib. fraticellorum alios prætenuisse, habitum se, & vitæ ritum ab episcopis, aut ecclesiarum praelatis accepisse; alios iactasse se tertii ordinis sancti Francisci, penitentium vocati, habitum induisse; fixisse alios ordinem fratrum Minorum profiteri, & sancti Francisci regulam ad litteram observare, & objecto eo fuco, ipsos à Caeslino quinto hujusmodi vitæ, & status privilegium obtinuisse: quamvis ea ratio non valeat; cum Bonifacius octavus concessa à Caeslino resciderit, ac posteriori

(7) Ad. ann. 1317.

(8) Ad. ann. 1317.

decreto standum esset. Hæc Odericus (9). — With Bzovius agrees . . . Odericus Raynaldus, in the fifteenth tome of his Annals, under the year 1317, n. 56. &c. he has these words: There were many sects of the Fratricelli; and it is certain from the Extravagant of John XXII, that, of the Fratricelli, some pretended to have received their habit and manner of life from the bishops or prelates of the church; others boast, that they have taken upon them the habit of the third order of St Francis, called the Penitents; others pretended to profess the order of Friars Minors, and to observe punctually the rule of St Francis; and, by this pretence, they obtained of Pope Celestine V their privileges; although this reason is of no avail, since Boniface VIII annulled the grant of Celestine, and they were obliged to abide by the latter decree. He quotes also this passage of Alvares Pelagius, a Franciscan monk. *Multi sæculares & Fratres Minores pro isto carnali spirita libertatis, per inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis incarcerati fuerunt* (10). Note, that this passage of Raynaldus confirms what Hospinian observes, that the Popes have varied in their judgments about the Fratricelli: 'De Fratricellis à Johanne XXII. condemnatis, à Gregorio XI. & Eugenio approbatis, refert Hospinianus de Monachis, lib. 6. cap. 32. Vides judiciorum Papalium auctoritatem (11). — Hospinian, de Monachis, lib. 6. c. 32. gives an account of the Fratricelli, condemned by John XXII, and approved by Gregory XI, and Eugenius. You see the authority of Papal decrees.'

(9) Vincent. Baronius, Apologet. lib. iv, sect. iii, art. ii, pag. 107.

(10) Alvar. Pelagius, de Planctu Ecclesiæ, lib. i, cap. liii, apud Vinc. Baron. ibid. pag. 108.

(11) Giff. Voëcius, de perverta causa Papatus, pag. 211.

[E] Prateolus, who warmly affirms all the ill reports . . . against the Fratricelli, confesses that they opposed the court of Rome, and the Papal authority.] What he relates is intermixed with several things, that are not mentioned in our preceding remarks; wherefore I think I ought to copy it, the better to shew what has been said of these heretics. 'Some, who would be thought of the third order of St Francis's institution, and who were called by the Italians, in the kingdom of Sicily, and province of Narbonne, Fraticuli, or Fratricelli, or Fratres de paupere vita, or Bifolbi, or Beguini, and other names, were at that time accused and condemned of heresy, by Pope Boniface VIII; though some say they were so first by Pope John XXII. They contemned the sacraments of the church; and said, that it was not lawful for christians to hold any thing in property, nor to meddle with the administration and government of commonwealths; and that the souls of the blessed did not enjoy the sight of God till the last day. In their assemblies, (like the Adamites now-a-days, who say that all women are common) after the celebration of their mysteries, they indulged carnal lust, contrary to conjugal chastity, with the next woman that came to hand; which they did by night, after having put out the candles. The chroniclers relate, how those, who were of that sect, were discovered, to wit, by a merchant of Milan, named Conrad; who, seeing, that his wife often rose in the night, had a mind to know whither she went, and why she got up. He therefore followed her once secretly, and went into their synagogue; where, after their mysteries were performed, and the candles put out, holding her close, he enjoyed her, and took a ring off her finger for a token, and afterwards declared it to the rest, and informed the inquisitor of the faith of it. All the women, who were of that sect, had a crown like the clerks and monks, and thereby were all discovered. See the supplement to the Chroniclers. They said also, that the power of the church, by reason of the ill morals of the ecclesiastics, had been a long time made void and extinguished; that they were the only church of God; that they imitated the apostles; that the church of Rome was a whore; and that the Popes, from Sylvester, the first of that name, had all been wicked, as not having lived in poverty; and that therefore people ought not to pay tithes to them. They were so impudent, that they said, that one Margaret, concubine to one of their principal preachers and ministers, named Dulcinus, had conceived by the Holy Ghost (12).'

(12) Du Fresnoy (or Prateolus), Hist. de l'Édit & Succès de l'Église, Tom. II, fol. 2, verso, & fol. 3, ad ann. 1300.

FRAUWENLOB,

FRAUWENLOB (HENRY); a German author; who died at Mentz, in 1317. His funeral was very singular. The women carried his corps from his house to the great church, filled the streets with their lamentable cries and complaints, and poured so great a quantity of wine on his grave, that it overflowed the church: All which they did in acknowledgment of the praises he had bestowed on their sex in his books. See the remark [A].

[A] See the remark.] This article is taken from Albertus Argentinensis, one of the writers of the history of Germany (1), whose words I am sure the reader will not be displeased to see here: 'Anno Domini 1317. sepultus est Henricus dictus Frauenlob in Moguntia in ambitu majoris ecclesie . . . qui deportatus fuit

' à mulieribus ex hospitio usque ad locum sepulture, & lamentationes & querelæ maximæ audite fuerunt ab eis propter laudes infinitas quas imposuit omni generi femineo in distaminibus suis. Tanta etiam ibi copia fuit vini fusa in sepulcrum suum quod circumfluebatur per totum ambitum ecclesie.'

(1) He is in the collection of the Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, by Urstius.

FREIGIUS (JOHN THOMAS) grand-son of a peasant, and son of a civilian [A], lived in the XVIth century. He was born at Friburg in the Brisgaw, and acquired great reputation by his learned works. He studied the law in his own country under the famous Zasius, and he had likewise for masters Henry Glarean, and Peter Ramus. He addicted himself extremely to the principles and method of the latter. He taught first at Friburg, and afterwards at Basil; but meeting with ill success, he was near breaking with the Muses, and retiring into the country. He was revolving this design in his thoughts, when the senate of Nuremberg, at the instigation of Jerom Wolfius, offered him the rectorship of the new college of Altorf. This post became vacant by the death of Valentine Erythreus the first who had enjoyed it. He took possession of this employment the thirtieth of November 1575. He discharged his duty in it zealously, in explaining the historians, the poets, and the institutes of Justinian, &c. He returned to Basil, and died there of the plague in the year 1583 (a) [B]. This contagious distemper had a little before deprived him of a son of great hopes, and two daughters, one of whom had already made some progress in learning [C]. He published

(a) Taken from Melchior Adam, in Vita Juriscons. pag. 252, & seq.

[A] He was grand-son of a peasant, and son of a civilian. This civilian's name was NICOLAS FREIGIUS: his father was an honest countryman, or husbandman, who lived near Basil.

Me pater agresti genuit sub rure colonus,
Hic ubi Rauriacos Rhenus adurget agros (1).

A cottage gave me birth, my sire a clown,
Where the Rhine rolls its rapid waters down.

His inclination to study lead him on as far as the degree of doctor in law. He married at Friburg in the Brisgaw; he made himself known to the public, by procuring editions of some of the works of Zasius. He exercised the profession of an advocate at Entheim in Alsace, and from thence went with his family to Ulm, and was there one of the counsellors of the town. He died there of a dropy in the year 1580: his wife buried him in a convent of nuns at Seßlingen near Ulm. Melchior Adam recites the Latin verses of John Thomas Freigius (2), which contain the aforesaid particulars; yet he had just before said, that Nicolas Freigius survived his wife, who died in the year 1564 (3); & matrem quidem primo amisit (Jo. Thomas Freigius) peste sublatam cum duobus sororibus (4) anno Christi millesimo, quingentesimo, sexagesimo, quarto. *Hæc subsequutus est pater.* If he had considered the following verses, he would have known, that they were written in the year 1564, fourteen years after the death of Nicolas Freigius.

Hic jam namque, pater, bis septimus ingruit annus,
Ex quo te tristis fata tulere nece (5).

Now twice seven years their mournful course have run,
Since death, my father, tore thee from thy son.

Morel has committed several faults: for he says, I. that Nicolas Freigius died of the plague: II. that it was in the year 1564: III. that it was with his wife, IV. and with two of his daughters (6); V. that he had made great discoveries in both civil and canon-law; VI. that his son studied law under the greatest men of his time. This is falsely to suppose, that Glareanus and Ramus taught him law. VII. He gives him the christian name Thomas; whereas he ought to call him John Thomas.

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[B] He died of the plague, in 1583.] On the sixteenth of January, if we believe Melchior Adam, who adds, that, according to others, it was in 1582. The epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca (7) affirms, that he died in the college of Altorf, in the year 1582. I believe Melchior Adam is not mistaken, and that there is a fault in the date of the epistle dedicatory of *Joan. Thomæ Freigii Quaestiones Geometricæ & Stereometricæ*. The author himself dedicates this work to six mathematicians his good friends. It is a book, which was printed at Basil, by Sebastian Henricpetri, in the month of March 1583. The epistle dedicatory is dated from Basil the first of March of the same year. This cannot agree with an advertisement at the end of the book. This advertisement relates to the elegies, which Freigius published in the year 1564, and of which he made a new edition, which was added to the *Quaestiones Geometricæ, &c.* He dedicates this new edition to his two sons, and dates his epistle dedicatory at Basil the last of December 1582. The advertisement informs us, that, during the re-printing these elegies, the author was seized with the plague, and that it carried him off at the end of forty hours, on the sixteenth of January. It adds, that the two sons, to whom the work was dedicated, died of the same distemper eight days after. The date of the impression at the bottom of the page is this month of March 1583.

[C] The plague had deprived him of a son, of great hopes, and two daughters, one of whom had already made some progress in learning.] He tells us this in the epistle dedicatory of the second edition of his elegies. 'Cum hoc anno, says he, to his two sons, sorores duas vestras Ursulam & Barbaram, ac fratrem Matthiam peste acerba nobis ex oculis eripisset (scilicet meum) &c. . . . amisi ego in Barbara nostrâ Oeconomiam meam fidelem administram & dispensatricem: amissisti vos in eadem studiorum vestrorum sociam: quæ si diutius hujus lucis usura frui potuisset, aliam Cæliam (8), aliam Fulviam Moratam habuisset. Jam enim puella XII fere annorum Latinæ & Græcæ Grammaticæ, aliarumque artium rudimenta ita peragraverat, ut Latine quædam ex vernaculo sermone convertere, Græcæ declinare & conjugare, precationem Dominicam Hebraicè recitare, poetarum versus scandere, Arithmeticos numeros addere & subducere, Musicas melodias artificiosè canere, testudinem tractare posset. Hanc Matthias frater, puer septem annorum non longe secutus est, qui qua fuit naturalis indole præditus, sororem paucis annis superasse videtur.'

(7) Pag. m. 503.

(1) Jo. Th. Freigius, Tristium Liber, Eleg. IV, pag. m. 156. He introduces his father's verses.

(2) Melch. Adam, ubi supra.

(3) It should be cum tribus. See the third Elegy of John Thomas Freigius.

(4) Jo. Thomas Freigius, Eleg. 4, Libri Tristium, pag. 156.

(5) Three died with the mother.

(8) See remark [C] of the article CURION.

lished many books [D]. Mr Moreri has committed some faults (b).

(b) See the end of the remark [A].

‘raffet. Is mane quamprimum de somno exprorectus erat statim ad libros ulro se transferebat, & aut Geographicas tabulas aut urbes, homines, animalia tam solerter, tamque graphice depingebat: in abaco Pythagoræ tam studiose se exercebat, ut vos ad laudem puerilis præcoci ingenii, ejus manuum monumenta conservare soliti sitis, ego vero mihi omnia summa polliceri de eo ausus fuerim. — When I had the ill fortune this year, to lose, by the plague, your two sisters Ursula and Barbara, and your brother Matthias, &c. . . . I lost in my daughter Barbara a faithful manager of my family concerns; and you both lost, in her, a companion of your studies, whom if heaven had thought fit to spare, we should have had in her another Cælia, and an other Fulvia Morata. For, though but a girl of twelve years of age, she had made such a progress in Latin and Greek, and other sciences, that she could translate some things out of the vulgar tongue into Latin, decline and conjugate Greek, repeat the Lord's prayer in Hebrew, scan poetry, add and subtract in arithmetic, sing according to the rules of music, and handle the lyre. Her brother Matthias, a boy of seven years of age, came not far behind her, who had so great a genius, that, in a few years, he

would have surpassed his sister. The moment he waked in a morning, he went of his own accord to his books, and skillfully drew either maps, or towns, or men, or animals: he so studiously exercised himself in the tables of Pythagoras, that you were wont, in commendation of his youthful and forward genius, to preserve his handy-work; whilst I promised myself every thing from his growing wit. It would be injustice, and a kind of inhumanity, to reproach this good father with weakness, in seeking consolation by informing the public of these little particulars of his family.

[D] He published many books. The first of all was his *Liber Tristium*, or the elegies, which I have mentioned above (9). Among the rest, I shall only point out his supplement to the history of Paulus Emilius and Ferron down to the year 1569; his *Logica Jurisconsultorum*; a Latin translation of the travels of Forbisher, and of the African war, in which Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, was killed; his orations of Cicero perpetuis *Notis Logicis, Arithmetici, Ethicis, Politicis, Historicis, Antiquitatis illustratæ*, in three volumes 8vo, at Basil, 1583. See the rest in the abridgment of Gefner, and in Melchior Adam.

(9) In remark [B].

FROISSARD (JOHN), born at Valenciennes, canon and treasurer of Chimai in Hainault, flourished in the XIVth century [A]. His chief work is a history, which reaches from the year 1326 to the year 1399 (a). He took care to be well informed of things, and for that purpose went to the courts of several princes (b), either to collect memoirs, or to hear those discourse, who had had the management of affairs. He deserved no less fame in quality of a poet, than in that of a historian; yet few people know his poems. Mr Menage was unacquainted with them; he, whose memory was filled with that sort of works, and with an infinite number of other things. If he had known, that Froissard had made a great number of love verses, he would have put him in the list he has published of the ecclesiastics, who have employed their wit in that kind of poetry [B]. Mr Moreri should not have affirmed, that John Sleidan has translated Froissard into Latin [C]. He has committed some faults, which shall be mentioned in the first remark.

(a) Vossius de Histor. Lat. pag. 543. Valerius Andreas, Bibl. Belg. p. 503, is mistaken in making that history begin in the year 1355. La Popelinière Histoire des Histoires, p. 434, makes it begin in 1335.

(b) See some curious particulars about it in Bollart, Académie des Arts & des Sciences, Tom. I, pag. 125.

(1) Dux scilicet est regum principumque familiaris, imprimis Philippæ . . . Edwardi III, Anglorum regis, uxoris. Vossius, de Hist. Lat. pag. 543, 544.

(2) Bollart, Académie des Sciences, Tom. I, pag. 126, makes him then 67 years old.

(3) He was born about the year 1333, as appears by his writings. Bullart, ibid.

(4) Pasquier, Recherches de la France, livr. vii, cap. 8, pag. 612.

(5) Tôt ir, Royal Cantos, Balads, Rondeaux, and Pastourels.

[A] He flourished in the XIVth century. I cannot imagine how Vossius could mistake here: he owns, that Froissard stayed a long while in the court of the princess Philippa, daughter of the earl of Hainault, and wife of Edward III, king of England (1). Should he not then have looked upon him as an old man in the beginning of the XVth century (2)? why then does he say, that Froissard began to be famous under the reign of the emperor Rupert, that is, after the year 1400? we must take notice, that Froissard went to present the first books of his history to the princess Philippa, wife of Edward III. Mr Moreri, deceived by Vossius, places this historian in the XVth century. La Croix du Maine is in the other extrem, in making him flourish in the year 1326, seven years before he was born (3). Mr Moreri is the more inexcusable, in that he says, that this author dedicated his *chronicle* to Edward III, king of England: for every body knows, that that monarch died an old man, in the year 1377. Besides, as Mr Moreri himself acknowledges, that this chronicle reaches to the year 1400, it is plain, that he does not express himself right, as to that dedication.

[B] Mr Menage would have put him in the list he has published of ecclesiastics, who have written love verses. For the very title of Froissard's poems would have informed him, that they were very proper to be inserted in that list. Here is what we find in Pasquier (4). He who, I find, did greatly advance that new poetry (5), was John Froissard, who did also present us with that long history, we have of him, from Philip de Valois to the year 1400. And I wonder he hath not been commended for this quality of poet: for I have formerly seen, in the library of the great king Francis, at Fontainebleau, a great volume of his poems, whose title was this. ‘You are to know, that in this book are contained several sayings or treatises of love and morality, which the Sieur John Froissard, priest and canon of Canay, and native of the town of Valentines, in the county of Hainault, has dictated and composed,

with the help of God and love, for the contemplation of several nobles and worthies, and began to make them in the year of grace 1362, and closed them in the year of grace 1394. The Paradise of Love, The Temple of Honour, A Treatise in Praise of the Month of May, The Dazie, Several amorous Lays, Pastourels, The Amorous Prison, Royal Songs to the Honour of our Lady, The Dictate of the Amorous Spinnet, Ballad, Virelaix, and Rondeaux, The Plea of the Rose, and of the Violet. I thought fit to quote, word for word, this title; because since that time, our poetry consisted mostly in that kind of delicacies. The list of Mr Menage is in the second tome of the *Anti-Bailet* (6).

[C] Mr Moreri should not have affirmed that Sleidan translated Froissard into Latin. Sleidan contented himself with abridging Froissard; and, because that historian is very prolix, and full of unnecessary circumstances, it happened, that Sleidan, having picked out only useful things, reduced a large volume into a pocket-book. I have not at present in my hands that Latin abridgment; wherefore I shall make use of the French translation, to quote a passage out of the preface which will acquaint my reader with Froissard's method. ‘It is true, the French volume is very large; but I dare affirm, that, in this abridgment, I have left out no passage, contained in the said volume, that deserves to be related, or known. The reason is, because the author recounts at large every thing; and, to speak the truth, he dwells sometimes too long, and is very redundant when he describes the preparations of war, skirmishes, single combats, the storming of places, the discourses and conversations of princes. Now because the recital of such things is of no great moment, I thought there was no need to insert them, dwelling only on what is most material, and in which lies the advantage, which we ought to expect from that reading.’

(6) Pag. 334, seq.

La Popelinere accuses Froissard of bestowing too many praises on the English (§ a), and too few on the French; because the latter did not pay for his labours, whereas he received a good salary from the former (c).

[§ a] I have not observed, that the Gothic editions of this historian, Paris, for John Petit, without date, and for Antony Verard, Paris likewise, and also without date, are at bottom different from those of Denys Saulvage, Lyons 1559, and Paris 1574; but these latter are neither faithful, nor exact, the plain language of the author not even appearing in it *. As the French accuse Froissard of partiality for the English nation, they have here and there maimed his history; notwithstanding which, an entire manuscript of it, adorned with beautiful miniatures, is preserved in the library of St Elizabeth in the town of Breslaw. 'Non nego magnam pi-
clurum elegantiam esse: (says a learned man, speaking of this manuscript) Sed majora hic sunt, quæ ani-
mum meum afficiunt. Putat Orbis eruditus se textum Froissardi egregie possidere, quem Dionysius Salvagius
Regis Henrici II. jussu quinquagesimo nono superioris seculi anno Lugduni publicavit; sed fœde decipitur,
dum codex hic imposturam detegit, & Salvagii manu omnia quæ Aulæ Gallicæ displicebant, deleta, vixque
decimam historiæ partem integram relictam esse manifestum reddit. — I do not deny, that the miniatures
are elegant; but there is something of more importance, which I am concerned at. The learned world think they
are in possession of the text of Froissard, which Denys Saulvage, by order of Henry II, published at Lyons in
1559; but they are shamefully imposed upon, since this manuscript detects the fraud, and makes it plainly appear,
that the passages, which displeased the French court, were struck out by Saulvage himself, and scarce an entire
tenths part of the history left.' REM. CRIT.]

(c) La Popelin-
ere. Histoire des
Froissards, livre
viii, pag. 434.
See also Bodin,
Meth. Hist. cap.
iv. pag. m. 58.

* Sorel, Bibl. Fr.,
cap. xi, pag. 198.
Edit. of 1654.

† Gotlob Krantz
in his Memora-
bilia Bibliothecæ
Elisabethianæ
Wrocławensis.
Breslaw, 1699.

FRONTO (MARCUS CORNELIUS) (a), a great orator, was chosen, by rea-
son of his eloquence, to teach the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus rhe-
toric (b). This procured him the honour of the consulship, and the erection of a
statue [A]. Gravity was the character of his eloquence [B]. He had a vast erudi-
tion, and a great mastery of the Latin Tongue (c). There was a sect of those, who
took him for the pattern of perfect eloquence, and who were called Frontoniani (d).
It may be proved, by an inscription (e), that his descendants were honoured with
the consulship: Neither is it improbable, that the civilians, of the name of Fronto (f),
mentioned in the Pandects, descended from him: But there is no proof, that the ora-
tors of the same name belonged to Aquitain, and in particular to Auvergne [C]. Some
pretend

(d) Frontoniani.
Sidon. Apollinari-
us, Epist. I.
Lib. I.

(e) Apud Græte-
rum, pag. 369.

(f) See Bertrand's
de Justificatione
lib. ii. pag. m.
290.

[A] The honour of the consulship, and the erection of
a statue. Here is a passage of Ausonius in relation to
the consulship (1): 'Unica mihi amplectenda est
Frontonis imitatio, quem tamen Augusti magistrum
sic Consulatus ornavit ut præfectura non eingeret.
Sed Consulatus ille cujusmodi? Ordinario suffectus,
bimestri spatii interpositus, in sexta anni parte con-
sistens: querendum ut reliquerit tantus orator quibus
consulibus gesserit consulatum (2). These words in-
form us, that Fronto was consul only for two months;
that is, that he was only substituted to the consulship,
in the place of one of the ordinary consuls, who either
died, or was put out, two months before the year
expired. Which made a great difference between the
favour of Marcus Aurelius, and that of Gratian; for
Ausonius was made ordinary consul by Gratian his
disciple. That poet was afraid, lest, by his taking
notice of this, in his acknowledgement to Gratian,
he should give way to the accusation of comparing
himself to Fronto; wherefore he ingeniously obviated
that objection. I quote his own words, because they
are a proof both of Marcus Aurelius's gratitude towards
Fronto, his tutor, and of the great esteem Fronto
was in. 'Ecce aliud quod aliquis opponat. In tan-
ti te ergo oratoris fatigium gloriosus attollis? Cui
talia requirenti respondebo breviter. Non ego me
contendo Frontoni, sed Antonino præfero Gratianum
(3). — Some one may farther object. What! do
you pretend to rival so great an orator? to such
a question I briefly reply: I do not cope with Fronto,
but prefer Gratian to Antoninus.' Let us give ano-
ther proof of that gratitude. 'Multum ex his Fron-
toni detulit, cui & statum in Senatu petiit, (there
is the erection of the statue) Proculum vero usque
ad Proconsulatum provexit (4). — He ascribed much
of this to Fronto, for whom he demanded of the se-
nate a statue: as for Proculus, he raised him to the
proconsulate.' Since Capitolinus takes notice, that
Proculus, one of the Grammarians, who had instructed
Marcus Aurelius, was raised to the proconsulship, and
does not mention Fronto's being advanced to the con-
sular dignity, he must have been ignorant of this last
passage: and therefore we may charge him with a
fault of omission. Sossipater Charisius quotes a letter
which testifies Marcus Aurelius's gratitude: 'Mibi satis
abundante honorum est quos mihi cotidiane tribuitis. —
I am thoroughly satisfied with the honours you daily
confer upon me. Fronto writes this to the emperor.

(a) I know not
where Mr. Mo-
rei has taken
the pretended
presomen Pro-
cus, which he
gives him.

(b) Capitolin. in
M. Aurelio, cap.
ii. & in L. Ver-
o, cap. ii.

(c) See Auson-
ius, lib. ii.
cap. xxxi; lib.
xii. cap. viii, x,
& xii.

(1) Auson. in
Contium Actio-
nis, pag. 714.

(2) See a like
thought above,
citation (19) of
the article
SALVUS.

(3) Ausonius,
ubi supra.

(4) Capitolin. in
Marco Aurelio,
cap. ii.

(5) Epist. ad
Africanum Mo-
nachum.

— That, after the wit of Quintilian, the flowing
periods of Cicero, the gravity of Fronto, and the soft-
ness of Pliny, I might learn the alphabet. Macro-
bius says almost as much, though in not so obliging
a manner, with respect to Fronto; for he allots him
a dry eloquence: 'Quatuor sunt genera dicendi,
says he, copiosum, in quo Cicero dominatur: breve
in quo Sallustius regnat: siccum quod Frontoni ad-
scribitur: pingue & floridum in quo Plinius secu-
tus quondam, & nunc nullo veterum minor nos-
ter Symmachus luxuriatur (6). — There are four kinds
of Oratory, the copious, in which Cicero excels;
the concise, in which Sallust is chief; the dry, which
is ascribed to Fronto; the luxuriant and florid, in
which formerly Pliny the younger, and now our
Symmachus, inferior to none of the ancients, abounds.
Sidonius Apollinaris gives a very great idea of Fron-
to's grave style: 'Nec Frontonianæ gravitatis aut pon-
deris Apuleiani fulmen æquiparem (7). — Nor do I
pretend to equal the thunder of Fronto's gravity, and
Apuleius's weight.

[C] There is no proof, that the Orators of the same
name belonged to Aquitain, and Auvergne.
Sidonius Apollinaris, in a letter (8) to Leo, counsellor
to a king of the Goths (9), speaks thus: 'Suspende
perorandi illud quoque celeberrimum flumen quod
non solum gentilitium sed domesticum tibi, quod
que in tuum pectus per succiduas ætates ab ata-
vo Frontone transfunditur. — Suspend that well-
known flow of oratory, so peculiar, not only to your
country, but family, and which is transfused into
your breast, through successive ages, from your ancestor
Fronto.' This proves nothing touching the Fron-
to's of Auvergne, tho' Savaro pretends the contrary;
for upon these words of the twenty first letter
of the fourth book, Hinc avus Fronto blandus tibi,
sibi severus, he gives us this remark: 'Fronto ex
veteri illa Frontonum familia qui in arte Rhetorica
principem locum tenuere, quos sibi suos Aquitania
jure vendicat, quantum ex lib. 2. C. de Municipiis
& Originariis licet colligere, & ex Epist. 3. lib. 8.
Sidonii Apollinaris. — Fronto, of that ancient fa-
mily of the Fronto's, who excelled in the art of
rhetoric, and whom Aquitain justly claims as her
own; as far as we can collect from lib. 2. C. de
Municipiis & Originariis, and from epist. 3. lib. 8. of
Sidonius Apollinaris.' Tho' it might be proved, that
he, to whom that third letter of the eighth book was
written, was a native of Auvergne, there would be no
reason to conclude, that the orator Fronto, his fourth
grand-father, was of the same country.

(6) Saturnal. lib.
v, cap. i.

(7) Sidon. Apoll-
inaris, lib. iv,
p. m. 235. See
also Epist. x. lib.
viii, pag. 523.

(8) The third of
the 8th book.

(9) He was called
Evaris.

pretend, that our Fronto is the same, whom Pliny junior mentions, or who is spoken of in the fifty sixth epigram of the first book of Martial. This is attended with some difficulty [D]. One would be greatly to blame not to distinguish him from

FRONTO,

One of our most curious antiquaries, for whom I have an infinite esteem, stops me here for some moments. He assures us (10), that *Sidonius Apollinaris* makes *M. Cornelius Fronto*, the greatest orator of his age, descend from the illustrious family of the *Fronto's of Aquitaine*. . . . *Sidonius*, (continues he), writing to *Aper*, (in the twenty first epistle of the fourth book) acquaints him, that *Fronto*, his grand-father by the mother-side, was of *Auvergne*, and that he might have served for a pattern to those that are proposed to our imitation. . . . He writes in another letter, which is the third of the eighth book, to another person, and gives him for great grand-father that same *Fronto*; and tells him, he not only bears his name, but has also inherited his eloquence, which is natural to him, and comes to him, by lineal succession, from that excellent orator. The author adds, I. That there was in *Aquitaine*, in the time of the emperor *Gordian*, a family of the name of *Fronto*, as we learn from the second law of the *code de municip.* & origin. lib. 10. where a certain *A. FRONTO*, having, by a settlement of trust, been made free by a woman, who was originally of *Aquitaine*, and asking whether he should follow the origin of her, who made him a freeman, or of the testator; the emperor answered in favour of her, who made him free, II. That if *Emilius Fronto*, who has dedicated the monument, of which he gives us the explanation, be not the same *Fronto* that was made free, we may well suppose, that he is the second great-grandson of *M. Cornelius Fronto*, who lived under *Antoninus* the philosopher, and who was his master of rhetoric.

The reader may have seen, in the preface to my project, that there are no writers, on whom I do more freely adventure to make observations, than those, for whom I have a particular esteem: for if I should be shy of proposing my little difficulties to them, it would be a sign that I thought them full of prejudice, which I account a very great fault. I repeat here this caution, which I desire may serve for all other occasions, when the same case shall happen.

In the first place, I shall be very glad, if any body would prove, that the illustrious *Cornelius Fronto* was of *Aquitaine*; for that would be a great honour to ancient Gaul, and an ornament to the catalogue of the learned men that are come from thence. But I do not see how this can be proved by the two letters of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, which have been quoted. One of those letters was written to *Aper*; and the other to *Leo*, counsellor to a king. The first shews only, that there had been, in *Auvergne*, a very honest man, called *Fronto*, whose daughter was mother of him, to whom *Sidonius* wrote. The other letter, as far as I can apprehend, doth not say, that that same *Fronto* of *Auvergne*, had been the great-grand-father of him, to whom *Sidonius* speaks. *Sidonius* makes use of the word *atavis*, which signifies the father of a grand-father's grand-father; and from thence we may perceive, that the *Fronto* of the first letter is not the *Fronto* of the second; for it can hardly happen, that a man should correspond by letter with two friends, the grand-father of one of which is *atavis* to the other. Besides, it is manifest to me, that the *Fronto* of the first letter had been dead but a few years: he had had a share in the education of his grand-son (11), and perhaps *Sidonius Apollinaris* had been acquainted with him. The same cannot be supposed with relation to the *Fronto* of the other letter; with relation, I mean, to *Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, tutor to *Marcus Aurelius*, for it is of him *Sidonius* speaks. Now *Sidonius* lived in the Vth century, and *Marcus Aurelius* in the second. This is my first observation. Here is another: I do not see how *Emilius Fronto*, who dedicated the monument, could be at the same time *A Fronto*, made free by a woman of *Aquitaine*, and have for his great-grand-father, *M. Cornelius Fronto*; for that orator, on whom his disciple heaped so many benefits, and who was honoured with the consulship, left his family in very good circumstances. His son, grandson, and great grandson, enjoyed the first dignities in Rome (12); and it does not appear how any of his descen-

dants could have been a slave to a woman of *Aquitaine*, which was a province of the Roman empire.

[D] This is not without some difficulty. He, whom Pliny speaks of, was called *FRONTO Catus*: He pleaded for *Marius Priscus*, accused by the *Africans*. The cause was great and noble, but difficult to maintain; both because *Marius* was guilty, and because *Pliny* and *Tacitus* pleaded against him. *Marius's* advocate made use of his usual talent, which was, to move compassion in the judges. 'Respondit *Fronto Catus* deprecatusque est, ne quid ultra re- petundarum legem quaereretur, omniague actionis suae vela vir movendarum lacrymarum peritissimus, quodam velut vento miserationis implevit. . . . (13).

— *Fronto Catus* replied, and humbly besought the judges to enquire no farther than the law against bribery, and as he had the art of raising compassion, he moved the court to pity the client's cause. Dixit pro *Mario* rursus *Fronto Catus* insigniter, utque jam locus ille poscebat, plus in precibus temporis, quam in defensione consumpsit (14).

— *Fronto Catus* again spoke admirably for *Marius*, and, as the nature of the cause required, spent more time in drawing the court to pity his client, than in defending him. This cause was tried under *Trajan*: now our *Cornelius Fronto* must have reached an extreme old age, if he be the same *Fronto Catus*, whom we just now mentioned: for there is a space of above forty years between the death of *Trajan*, and the beginning of *Marcus Aurelius's* reign, and it cannot be supposed, that *Marius's* advocate was a young man. Undoubtedly he was one of the most famous orators of that time, when he maintained that cause. Add to this, that his pathetic character does not well agree with the dry and grave eloquence, which distinguished *Cornelius Fronto*. I believe therefore, that *Catanæus* is mistaken (15), in affirming, that the *Fronto Catus* of Pliny is the same *Cornelius Fronto*, who was *Marcus Aurelius's* tutor, and whom *Juvenal* has mentioned in his first satire. *Catanæus*, I suppose, had in view this verse of *Juvenal*:

Frontonis platani convulsæque marmora clamant;

Which shews, that that *Fronto* had a fine house, and that he lent it to those poets, who had a mind to recite their poems. Now, since *Juvenal* flourished under the reign of *Domitian*, let the reader judge, if it be likely, that he could speak so of a man, who was raised to the consulship by *Marcus Aurelius*. According to the most common opinion, this verse of *Martial* (16),

Clarum militæ Fronto togæque decus,

Fronto the ornament of war and peace,

is addressed to the same *Fronto*, to whose house the poets repaired to read their verses. Now, in this case, methinks it cannot be said, that *Martial* mentioned our *Cornelius Fronto*; for I do not find any where, that that orator signalized himself in the army. Some believe, that he, of whom *Martial* has given so great a character in two words, is the same *Fronto*, who was consul with *Trajan* in the hundredth year of *Jesus Christ* (17). He is not therefore the tutor of *Marcus Aurelius*, since that prince's tutor enjoyed the consulship only through his pupil's favour. Take notice, that *Trajan's* colleague in the consulship, the hundredth year of *Jesus Christ*, was consul for the third time; and that, according to *Eusebius's* chronicle, *Marcus Aurelius's* tutor flourished in the year of grace 164. Therefore these are two different persons according to all appearance, let the Jesuit, who has commented upon *A. Gellius*, in *usum Delphini* (18), say what he pleases to the contrary. How came he not to perceive, that *Ausonius* would not have looked upon the consulship of two months, bestowed by *Marcus Aurelius* on his tutor, as a signal favour, if that tutor had been ordinary consul a long time before, and that

(10) The abbot Nicaise, in the explication of an ancient monument found in Guienne, printed at Paris 1689, pag. 14, 15.

(11) Hinc avus Fronto blandus tibi.

(12) See the inscription, in *Gruterus*, pag. 369, and *Bertrand*, de *Jurisperitis*, lib. II, pag. 291. Some believe, that the father of the grand-son was only son-in-law to our *Fronto*.

(13) *Plinius*, lib. II, Epist. 11, pag. m. 98.

(14) *Ibid.* pag. 105.

(15) Fuit igitur *Cornelius Fronto Catus* orator nobilissimus, Romanæ eloquentiæ non secundum sed alterum decus (quæquam illi *Macrobius* sicum dicendi genus ascribit) *Antonini Philosophi* præceptor. *Catanæus*, in *Plin. Epist.* xii, lib. II, pag. 98. *Tiesi* words, *Fronto Romanæ secundæ non secundum sed alterum decus*, are quoted by *Satanæus*, in *Sidon. A. poll. Epist.* x, lib. VIII, p. 574, as taken out of a papyrus upon *Maximian*.

(16) *Epigr.* lvi, lib. I.

(17) This opinion does not agree with *Pliny*, who says, in *Pamphy.* p. m. 116, that *Trajan*, in his third consulship, (it is that of the year 100) chose a colleague, who was not a warrior. See *Tillemont*, Tom. II, pag. m. 896.

(18) In *espæ* xxv, lib. II.

FRONTO, a Roman consul, under the emperor Nerva. He uttered a very solid apophthegm [E]. Some pretend, that our christians [F]. He was not contented to

teach Marcus Aurelius rhetoric, but gave him

that too with a great emperor? I observe, that our Fronto out-lived his consulship; which appears by Aulus Gellius (19), who mentions him as a consular man, speaking of the visit he made him with Favorinus. The Delphin scholiast supposes, that Aulus Gellius, in the eighth chapter of the nineteenth book, speaks of that Fronto, who signalized himself, both in war, and at the bar, under Domitian; that is, of the same Fronto, mentioned by Martial. I do not think so; I believe Aulus Gellius speaks still of him, who taught M. Aurelius rhetoric, and consequently that he does not speak of a Fronto, who from Domitian's time was a great soldier, and a great scholar. William Grotius believes, that he, whom Favorinus and Aulus Gellius went to see, is the tutor of Marcus Aurelius; but he makes him consul in the sixth year of Severus (20), that is, the year of grace 199. Which error is very gross, since that consulship was a favour from M. Aurelius; and besides, it is most false, that our

Fronto was alive in the year 199. Was he not the first and most famous orator at Rome in the reign of Hadrian? Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Κορνήλιος Φρόντων, ὁ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐν δίκαις φερύμενος, ἰσχυρὰς κατὰ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ δεινῶν οἰκασθεῖς ἱστῶν καὶ μαζῶν παρὰ τινος ὃ συνηγορήσειεν ὑπὸς χροῦ, δικάζειν αὐτὸν, ἐν τῇ τῇ σολῇ τῇ διπνίτιδι ὡς πέρ εἶχε ἐς τὸ δικάσθαι αὐτὸν κολληθεῖς. Fuit & Cornelius Fronto magnæ autoritatis, qui in agendis causis Romæ primum locum obtinebat. Hic cum vespere à cœna ferò domum rediisset, intellexissetque ex eo cui patrociniū pollicitus erat, principem jus reddere, veste cenatoria indutus, ut erat, in jus venit (21). — Cornelius Fronto was likewise of great authority, who was the most famous orator at Rome. This man, returning home late from an entertainment, and, being informed by one of his clients, that the emperor was sitting upon causes, went into court, just as he was then dressed. He was, then, at least forty years old, when that prince died, in 138.

[E] He uttered a very solid apophthegm. It is a great misfortune, said he, to live under an emperor, who will suffer no body to do any thing, but it is still a greater misfortune to be under a prince, who allows every body to do what they please. The abridger of Dion has preserved us this sentence (22); but he has so interrupted the thread of the narration, that one must divine to know to what purpose the consul Fronto spoke so. It was, in all appearance, when he saw, that, to remedy the disorders, which informers had caused under Domitian, other excesses were committed, which occasioned a greater confusion. It is probable the thing happened thus: informers were strictly called to an account, and severely punished as they deserved. But, under pretence of exterminating that detestable race of men, and those public banes, every one, to get rid of his enemies, accused them of having been informers. The easy temper of Nerva, together with the hatred the people had conceived against the creatures of Domitian, made way for a thousand unjust proceedings; inasmuch that Fronto, comparing Nerva's reign with that of Domitian, found it worse than the other. His apophthegm did some good; for the emperor put a stop to several informations and proceedings (23).

[F] He made a speech against the christians. This is the ground they go upon. The heathen Cæcilius, in the dialogue of Minucius Felix, charges the christians with several abominations, and quotes the testimony of an orator, who was born at Cirtba, a town of Africa; Et de convivio notum est: passim omnes loquuntur: id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio. — It is well known what is practised in their feasts: every one talks of it: our orator of Cirtba likewise testifies it. They accused the christians of assembling upon certain days to eat together: every one came there without distinction of age or sex; and, when they were elevated with drinking, they flung a morsel of bread to a dog, that was tied to a candlestick. The dog, rushing to the bread, overturned the candlestick, and then, the candle being put out, the two sexes mingled according to the caprice of chance, every man indulging his lust with the first woman he met with

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in the dark, whether his sister, daughter, or mother. Ad epulas solemniter coeunt, cum omnibus liberis, fororibus, matribus, sexus omnis homines, & omnis ætatis. Illic post multas epulas, ubi convivium cauit, & incestæ libidinis fervor ebrietate exarsit, canis qui candelabro nexus est, factu offusæ ultra spatium lineæ, qua vincitur est, ad impetum & saltum provocatur: sic everso & extincto conficio lumine impudentibus tenebris nexus infandæ cupiditatis involvunt per incertum fortis: &, si non omnes opera, conscientia tamen pariter incesti; quoniam voto univerforum appetitur, quidquid accidere potest in actu singulorum (24). When, in the same dialogue of Minucius Felix, the christian Octavius confutes this impudent calumny; he observes, that the witness, whose testimony had been alledged, was called Fronto; and that he ought not to be quoted as a witness who deposes, but as an orator who inveighs. Sic de isto & tuus Fronto non ut affirmator testimonium facit, sed confisum ut orator aspergit (25). There is therefore no room to doubt, that an orator, named Fronto, made a bitter invective against the christians; but the question is, whether that Fronto, and he who taught Marcus Aurelius rhetoric, are the same. The civilian Francis Baudouin (26) inclines to that opinion, and chuses rather to ascribe that speech to the orator Cornelius Fronto, and tutor of Marcus Aurelius, than to the civilian Papyrius Fronto, mentioned in the Pandects. Rigaltius (27) approves Baudouin's sentiment. Some other commentators, as Wower and Elmenhorst, positively affirm, that the orator Cornelius Fronto, Marcus Aurelius's preceptor, is he who is spoken of in Minucius's dialogue. Mr Daille affirms the same thing without the least hesitation; whereby he settles the true age of Minucius, and clears himself from the anachronism, that was laid to his charge; because, in his narration, he had placed Minucius Felix before Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus. I am not ignorant, says he (28), that your

Bellarmin places him after Tertullian; and that the late Rigaltius, not to mention others, is of the same opinion: But I had my reasons to be of another opinion. For that author speaks * of the orator Fronto, a native of Cirtba in Africa, as a man of his time, and a friend to that heathen Cæcilius, whom Octavius, in the same dialogue, converts to christianity. Now it is certain, that Fronto was already living under the first Antoninus, who died in the 161st year of our Saviour; and that he was tutor to Antoninus Verus †, and to Marcus Aurelius ‡, who succeeded the first Antoninus; and lived, one till the 170th year, and the other till the 180th year of our Saviour. I shall observe three things upon all this: I. That it is not certain, that Minucius has spoken * of the orator Fronto, as of a man of his time, and a friend to the heathen Cæcilius; for the words, Cirtensis nostri, may only signify, that Cæcilius, and he to whom he spoke, were of the same country with that orator. A Norman, born sixty years after the death of Malherbe, will make no scruple to quote him, thus; our countryman Malherbe. It is usual for an Englishman or a German, and so of other nations, to quote an author of their respective countries, thus; our such a one; although that such a one has been dead for several ages. When Mr Daille, in the passage I have quoted, says to Father Adam your Bellarmin, he does not mean, that these two jesuits lived at the same time. II. That the expression of Mr Daille, it is certain, that Fronto was already living, under the first Antoninus, does not become a man, who should have remembered, that Fronto held the first rank among the Roman advocates, under the reign of Hadrian (29). III. After all, I embrace Mr Daille's opinion: And I believe, that our Cornelius Fronto is the same, whom Minucius Felix has quoted, and so we know, that he was of Cirtba in Numidia. Let no body object to me, that there is no likelihood, that so able a man, so famous an orator, should have adopted, in a book, the silly stories, and impudent calumnies, which some passionate and ignorant men of that time spread against the christians. Let us judge of those ages by the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. Where are those, who raise with more fury the most false and

Minut. in Octav. pag. 23, & 92. † Hier. in Melit. lib. de Scrip. Eccles.

‡ Marc. Aurel. de vita sua, lib. xii.

(29) See, above, citat. (21).

(19) Lib. ii. cap. xxi. Note, that he, whom he calls here M. Fronto, and he, whom he calls Fronto Cornelius, in the eighth and tenth chapter of the nineteenth book, are the same persons. He of the twenty fifth chapter of the second book has five feet; and so has he of the ten & eleven chapter of the nineteenth book.

(20) Cojus consulatum in anno Sextum Severi religiosum puto. Crinitus de vita Justin. pag. 138.

(21) Xiphilinus in Hadrianus, pag. m. 265.

(22) Id. in Nerva, pag. m. 240.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Minucius Felix, pag. m. 89, 90.

(25) Ibid. pag. 593.

(26) In Prolegomenis ad Minuc. Felicem.

(27) In notis ad Minuc. Felicem, pag. m. 89. He quotes Lamprius instead of Cæcilius, & for it is Cæcilius, and not Lamprius, who relates that Cornelius Fronto taught M. Aurelius rhetoric.

(28) Replique à Adam & à Cotibry, Part. III, cap. viii, pag. m. 187. I transcribe his quotations without any alteration: I only observe, that those of Marc. Aurel. de vita sua, lib. xii, is not right. He should have quoted lib. i, cap. viii.

(29) See, above, citat. (21).

(g) M. Aurel. him also very good precepts of morality (g), which had great relation to the duties of kings.

de Seipso, lib. i.
n. 8.

most heinous accusations against the contrary party, century, most boldly calumniated the Protestants? Let than those who are in the possession of the kingdom of this instance serve for all: *Sit unum inftar omnium.*

declamation? Was it not they, who, in the XVth

FUGGER (HULDRIK), born at Augsburg, of a family considerable both for its antiquity and riches [A], deserves a place here, by reason of the inclination he shewed to learning, and his affection for learned men. He had been chamberlain to Pope Paul III, and afterwards embraced the Protestant religion. He spent a great deal of money in collecting the good manuscripts of the ancients, and caused them to be printed; and for that purpose he allowed, for some time, a salary to the learned Henry Stephens. His relations were so incensed against him for spending his estate that way, that they brought an action against him for it, and caused him to be declared incapable of managing his affairs. There are some, who, without taking notice of the repealing of that sentence, observe, that the judgment pronounced against him cast him into such a melancholy, as accompanied him almost to his grave (a). But his epitaph testifies, that he was unshaken at that heavy blow; that he was restored to the enjoyment of his estate; and that he inherited that of his brother [B]. He had fixed his abode at Heidelberg, where he died, being fifty eight years old, in the month of June 1584, bequeathing his library, which was very considerable (b), to the elector Palatine; and a fund for the subsistence of six scholars. He made also some foundations for the poor, as may be seen in his epitaph. He had bought the library of a physician, called Achilles Gasparus, which proved a good bargain; for that physician was a true *belluo librorum*, if we may believe Melchior Adam (c). Huldric Fugger was not the first of his family, who had a fine library: For we read, in Melchior Adam (d), that Jerom Wolfius, being gone to Augsburg, was there very civilly entertained by ANTONY FUGGER, and that the famous library of JOHN JAMES FUGGER was committed to his care [C]. This JOHN JAMES FUGGER had been a great lover of learning, and caused some writings of James Ziegler to be printed (e). He was particularly esteemed by the cardinal de Granvelle, and wrote often to him. A letter, which he wrote to him in Italian, dated the twenty first of July 1564, was published in 1692 (f).

Beatus Rhenanus gives us a great idea of the magnificence, and good taste of ANTONY and RAYMOND FUGGER. He describes the beauty of their houses, and gardens; where excellent pictures were seen, the most considerable plants that were

[A] He was of a family considerable for its antiquity and riches. See the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, in the article FOUCKERS; and above, the remark [EE] of the article CHARLES V.

(1) Thuan. lib. v, pag. m. 99.

Thuanus relates (1), that, when that emperor changed the government of Augsburg, in the year 1548, he marked the family of the Fuggers among those, which, for the future, should enjoy the dignity of a senator. Here is what the abbot Boirot wrote to Mr Pellisson, when he sent him the copy of a letter taken out of the memoirs of the cardinal de Granvelle: 'He, who wrote it, was one of those Fuggers, illustrious and famous merchants of Augsburg, who little differed in credit and splendor from those, whom an universal commerce, which was altogether noble, and the great riches that attended it, have sometimes raised to the highest employments in republics: He kept a great correspondence with the cardinal, and frequently gave him some very good advice (2).' Rabelais, writing from Rome, in the year 1536, to the bishop of Maillezais, tells him, *That, next to the Fourques of Ausburg, Philip Stroff is accounted the richest merchant of Christendom* (3). Now the following historical note has been made upon those words of Rabelais. 'The family of the Fouckres, or Fuggers, Fuggerana, is now pretty considerable in Germany, in the diocese of Constance, where they possess the baronies of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn. Their first residence was in the city of Augsburg; and it is about one hundred and fifty years ago that they were the richest merchants in Germany. By the emperor's gratification they were honoured with the dignity of barons, in the year MDX, in the persons of Raymond Povere, baron of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn, and of Antony Fugger, whose grandson was James, bishop and prince of Constance, in the year 1604. That which gives the greatest lustre to that house, is, that it is allied with the best families in Germany, viz. with the counts of Zollern, Schwartzemberg, Eberleyn, Koningseck, Montfort, Ottingen, and Trucses, with the barons of Madruce, the counts of

(2) Pellisson, *Traité de la Tolérance des Religions*, pag. 95, of the Additions.

(3) Rabel, *Epit.* pag. 9.

'Lodron, and others, the most illustrious in Bavaria.'

Hippolitus à Lapidè (4) observes, that the Fuggers were honoured with the quality of counts, but that they never were inserted in the rolls of the empire till the year 1582. I have seen a book in High-Dutch, printed in the year 1560, containing the prints of those of that family, both men and women, with a little discourse upon every one of them. The first mentioned there is JAMES FUGGER, called the Old, who died the fourteenth of March 1469. All the genealogies of Germany mention this illustrious family; tho' they do not scruple to own, that it is descended from a weaver, who, in the year 1370 (5), obtained the freedom of Augsburg, and was of the village of Gengen, within half a league of that city (6).

[B] His epitaph testifies, that he was unshaken and that he succeeded to his brother's estate. The reader may believe as much of it as he pleases; for the friends of a deceased person generally make no great scruple of an officious lie. Here is what they affirm in it. *Apud Fridericum III. electorem Palatinum fortuna constantia & equanimitate superavit. Suis interea repositus, fraternis quinetiam bonis auctior, eundem in re lauta quem afflicta vultum animumque retinuit.* See Mr Teiffier (7).

[C] Wolfius was intrusted with the care of the famous library of J. J. FUGGER. Wolfius made some Greek verses, wherein he testifies, that that library, furnished with as many books as there are stars in the firmament, was a place, where he spent whole days, gathering flowers and fruits, diverting and instructing himself; and that he preferred it to every other:

Ἀντὶ μὲν ἐν πάντων αἰσέμας βιβλιοθήκην
Φουκκαριν, εὐχῆς κρείττονα τήνδε φιλεῖ.

O Fuggere tuam, præ cunctis, Bibliothecam
Hanc amo, nam votis major & illa meis (8).

Pleas'd, I thy copious library survey,
And through the various walks of learning stray.

[D] They

(5) See Hoffman's Dictionary, Tom. III, pag. 773. I cannot reconcile with the book in German, what he says of James Fugger, a weaver's son. He makes him countessellor to Maximilian I. The book in German places his death in the year 1469. Maximilian began his reign in the year 1493.

(6) Crus. Part. III, Annal. Suev. lib. v, cap. ix, apud Magiarum Eponymia, pag. 366.

(7) Elog. Tom. II, pag. 4.

(8) Script. Publ. Academ. Wittelb. Tom. II, fol. 121, apud Lomier de Bibl. pag. 398.

FUGGER. FULGINAS. FULVIA. iii

were in Italy, and many monuments of antiquity [D]. See the letter, which he wrote to the physician of the elector of Mentz, the sixth of March 1531. It is the fiftieth of the century of philological letters, collected and published by Goldastus.

[D] They had many monuments of antiquity. Raymond Fugger spared no cost to make a good collection of them: for he was both a scholar, and a lover of antiquity. Narratur vero nobis ex toto propemodum orbe convector fuisse ea vetustatis monumenta, præcipue tamen ex Græcia atque Sicilia. Adeo nullius sumptus Raimundum pœnitet ob amorem, quem literarum minime experts erga antiquitatem gerit, modo

possit talibus rebus potiri. Id quod vere nobile & generosum hominis animum offendit (9). — We are told, that he procured those monuments of antiquity from almost all parts of the world, particularly from Greece and Sicily. And so great an admirer was the learned Raymond of antiquity, that he spared for no expence in purchasing them. Which shews the truly noble and generous spirit of the man.

(9) Beat. Rhe-
nan. apud Gol-
dast. Cent. Epist.
Philolog. pag. m.
212.

FULGINAS, or DE FULGINEO (SIGISMUND), is reckoned among the learned men of the XVth century. He has written the history of what passed in his time. Felinus (a) refers his readers to it, concerning the differences of Sixtus IV. with Ferdinand king of Naples. Vossius might have known better, than by that quotation, in what time Fulginas lived, if he had minded the first chapter of the sixth book of the *Geniales Dies* of Alexander ab Alexandro; where we learn, that the latter had, from his youth, contracted a great friendship with Fulginas, a learned man, very much employed by the Popes, and who stole as much time as he could from his business, either to read good books, or to write the annals of his time. The idea which is given us of his riches, and of his table, is very mean [A], and very much inferior to that of his wit and learning. He made some Latin verses upon the death of Bartholomew Platina, wherein he takes the title of Apostolic Secretary: They were published at the end of the works of Platina, who died in the year 1481. I only take notice of this, that my reader may the better know in what time Fulginas lived. He is little known by Bibliographers.

(a) Epitom. de
Sicil. & Apul.
Regib. cap. xxix,
and not xxix,
as Vossius, de
Hist. Lat. pag.
661, has quoted.

He was still alive in the year 1511, which appears by a letter that Bembus wrote to him. It is the third of the fifth book. The preceding letter, written the twenty fifth of November 1510, shews that Fulginas was in the service of Julius II, and that he is one of the chief interlocutors in Bembus's dialogue *de Urbini ducibus*.

(1) Alex. ab
Alexandro,
Genial. Dier.
lib. vi, cap. i,
pag. m. 391, 392.

[A] The idea which is given us of his riches, and of his table, is very mean. Judge of it by these words of Alexander ab Alexandro (1). Nonnunquam in suo prædolo in monte Janiculo, miro prospectu & colibus ameno, ubi ædículas habebat, cum amicis se recipiebat, ibique lepidis jucundisque sermonibus, id quod erat laxamenti, una familiarissime conferebat. Præstabat nonnunquam nobis ipse cœnulam, ut non nimis insolentem, sic profecto sobriam & modestam, ac temporibus consentaneam; & ut erat ipse comis, facillique natura, ita facilem nobis victum, non exquiritis valde obsonia apparabat, siquidem asparagos altius acido vino & pipere conditos cum junculo tepidulo, ac ferculum cucurbitæ, cum immatura uva ibidem expressa, & decocta largo succo, quibus perlibenter vellebatur, obsonia nobis exhibebat: addebat

etiam pyrum pomumque perficum miro odore fragrantia. Post cœnulam, &c. — He sometimes retired with his friends to his little estate on mount Janiculum, where he had a beautiful prospect, and a small seat; where they unbent their minds, and diverted themselves with cheerful conversation. I have sometimes supped with him there, at a sober and moderate repast, and agreeable to the times; and, as he was himself of a courteous and easy disposition, so he gave us an easy entertainment, not consisting of delicacies; for the bill of fare was, asparagus dressed with vinegar and pepper, and warm sauce, and a mess of gourd, with the juice of unripe grapes, and swimming in sauce; on which he fed very freely: he added likewise pears and peaches, of wonderful fragrance. After this light meal, &c.

FULVIA, a Roman lady, who discovered Catiline's conspiracy. See the remark [D], of the following article.

FULVIA, wife of Marc Anthony, had nothing of her sex but the body (a); for her spirit and courage led her to war, and public affairs. After the battle of Philippi, wherein Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Octavius and Marc Anthony, the latter passed into Asia to settle the affairs of the East. Octavius returned to Rome, and soon fell out with Fulvia: Nor could the quarrel be decided but by the sword. That woman took up arms, and caused Lucius Antonius, her husband's brother, to take them up too [A]. This preposterous step was only favourable to Octavius, who gained a full

(a) Nihil mulie-
bre præter corpus
serens. Patercu-
lus, lib. ii, cap.
lxviii. See the
remark [A].

[A] That woman took up arms, and caused Lucius Antonius, her husband's brother, to take them up too. This ought to be understood in the most literal sense, since it is certain that she was seen with a sword by her side. She was not contented to retire to Præneste, and to make it her place of arms; she not only called thither the senators, and knights of her party, held councils with them, and published several proclamations, according to the exigency of affairs, but she likewise armed herself personally; she gave the word to the soldiers, and harangued them on several occasions: καὶ τὴ ταῦτα θανύσσειν ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ παραδόντι, καὶ συνδήματα τοῖς στρα-
τίταις ἐδίδου, ἐδιδυμήγει τε ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ-
κι. Id quidem mirandum adeo non est quum gladio etiam se accinxerit ipsa, tessera militibus dederit, sæ-
penumero conciones apud eos habuerit (1). The Histo-

rian, who tells us these things, says, that, in the year 713, Publius Servilius and Lucius Antonius had the name of consuls, and that the latter and Fulvia were so in effect. He gives us afterwards to understand, that Lucius Antonius had no authority, but through Fulvia's means; and that it was she, who procured him the honour of the triumph: for he could not obtain the same, till he had engaged her, by his submission and cringing, to stir in his favour. And indeed she took more pride in that triumph, than the triumpher himself (2). It is not amiss to see what Plutarch says of Fulvia (3): Φουλκίαν ἀγόμενος τὴν Κλωδίαν τῷ θυμαγωγῷ συνοικήσαν, ἡ ταλα-
σίαν, ἐδὲ οἰκίαν προὖν γύναιον, ἐδὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδίωτι κρατεῖν ἀξίον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχοντος ἀρχεῖν, καὶ στρατηγόντος στρατηγεῖν βυλομένων. ὥς τε Κλεοπάτραν διδασκάλια Φουλκίαν τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικοκρασίας

(2) Id. ibid. pag.
409, 410.

(3) Plutarch in
Antonlo. pag.
920. D.

(1) Dio. lib.
xlviii, pag. m.
44.

(b) See the remark [L] towards the end.

a full victory over his enemies; whereupon Fulvia retired into Greece, and there died of a sickness, occasioned by her grief [B]. She left two sons (b). Womanish passions had a share in the war she raised against Octavius [C]. She had two husbands before the married Marc Antony: The first was Clodius, that great and mortal enemy of Cicero; the second was Curio, who was killed in Africa, in Cæsar's cause, before the battle of Pharfalia. It is not true, that she had been married to Catiline [D]. She

(4) Fulvia had lost another husband since Clodius; and so Plutarch is not exact enough.

γυναικροκράσιας ορεῖσθαι, πάλιν χειροῦν καὶ πεπαιδαγωγημένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀκροῦσθαι γυναικῶν, παραδόντων αὐτὸν. Fulviam Clodii, plebis concitatoris, viduam (4) uxorem duxit, mulierem non ad lanificium aut ad rei familiaris administrationem factam, neque in virum contentam dominari privatim, sed quæ imperanti imperare et ducem volebat ducere: ut mercedem Fulviæ, quod ancillari Antonium docuisset fœminis, debuerit Cleopatra, quæ plane cicurem atque à tyrocinio institutum ad obtemperandum mulieribus recepit. Here is a woman, who, bating chastity, was not unlike the Camilla of Virgil.

(5) Æneid. lib. vii, v. 805.

--- non illa colo, calathivæ Minervæ
Femineas affueta manus (5).

With mantler fires her female bosom burns,
Nor e're her hand th' unwarlike spindle turns.

The distaff, and domestic cares, were none of her business; neither was she contented to domineer over her husband at home; she was also ambitious to lord it over him abroad, that is, with respect to his great public employments. Cleopatra found no great difficulty in reducing him under obedience to a woman; for he had learned that submission in a good school.

[B] She died in Greece of a sickness, occasioned by her grief. Marc Antony, being informed of the disorders in Italy, set forward thither, to remedy them; and, being arrived at Athens, he found there his wife, who had been forced to fly out of Italy. He blamed extremely the authors of that war, that is, Lucius Antonius, Fulvia, and Manius (6). When he continued his journey, he left Fulvia sick at Sicyon (7), where she died some time after. The news of it was brought to her husband, during the siege of Brundisium, in the year 714, and it is likely he received it with joy, for he had been extremely incensed against her; and though he knew, at his departure from Sicyon, that she was fallen sick, because he had child her, he would never go to see her, which hastened the death of that proud woman (8).

(6) Appian lib. v, Bell. Civil. pag. m. 409.

(7) Ib. pag. 411.

(8) Ib. pag. 414. See also Di. lib. xiv, pag. 427.

[C] Womanish passions had a share in the war she raised against Octavius. The daughter, that she had by Clodius, was married to Octavius, who soon after put her away, swearing he had not consummated the marriage; which oath was enough to incense Fulvia. A mother's fondness suffers very much by the thought that her daughter bears the name of wife, without the reality; wherefore Fulvia could not think on the divorce of her dear child without grief: she saw her deprived of the substantial pleasures of marriage, which was a sign of extreme contempt for Octavius was of a very amorous constitution. She was not ignorant, that few people would give credit to Octavius's oath; and therefore, that her daughter, thus despised by her husband, so far as to preserve her virginity for some time, would nevertheless pass for a person, that could afford nothing but the leavings of a first husband. Fulvia might also consider, that Octavius was come into her alliance with a spirit of distrust, which had made him forbear enjoying his wife, that, according to what course affairs should take, he might be at liberty to send her away, and to affirm, upon oath, that he had not touched her. Dion (9) observes, that, when Octavius made this oath, he was little concerned, whether the people would believe, that he had kept so long this young lady at his house, without meddling with her, or whether they would think, that he had obtained from her, to make way for his divorce. These captious and political precautions are not pleasing to a mother, and consequently a womanish passion may well have had a share in the design, which Fulvia formed, of making war upon Octavius. Here is another passion of the same kind. Fulvia knew her husband to be enslaved to the fair Cleopatra; jealousy prompted her to draw Marc Antony from that new engagement; and she easily believed

(9) Dio, lib. xlvii, pag. 410.

those who told her, that her unfaithful husband would never return to her whilst Italy was quiet (10), but that a war in Italy would soon oblige him to return. Whereupon Fulvia carried things to extremity against Octavius (11). But if Augustus's epigram, which is among those of Martial, were an historical account (12), we might then boldly affirm, that womanish passions engaged Fulvia in that war.

[D] It is not true, that she had been married to Catiline. The reason Glandorpius uses to confute this (13), seems to me very good. He borrows it from the second Philippic of Cicero. Cujus (P. Clodii) quidem te fatum sicuti C. Curionem manet, quoniam id domi tue est, quod fuit illorum atrique fatale. Cicero means, that Marc Antony, having at home the same wife, which had been fatal to Clodius and to Curio, would not fail to have a fatal end, as they had had. He repeats the same thought at the end of the oration: 'Eripiet & extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus: utinam salvis nobis: sed quæ modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris' non potes (mihi crede) esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara conjux, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium debet diu populo Romano tertiam pensionem (14). — The Roman people will snatch and extort this from you: I wish, with our safety: but deal how you will with us, whilst you pursue these councils, believe me, you cannot long hold it. For that wife of yours, a woman not at all greedy after wealth, whom I describe without contumely, is too long indebted a third payment to the Roman people. It is plain to every body, that, if Fulvia had been married to Catiline, the tragical death of that husband would have been joined, in Cicero's oration, with that of the other two: both general and particular reasons would have engaged the orator not to forget Catiline upon that occasion. The error, Glandorpius confutes, may proceed from not attending to the circumstances of a narrative, which is in Sallust. That historian informs us, that a great lady, (15), named FULVIA, discovered Catiline's conspiracy. One of the accomplices, who had for a long time had a criminal commerce with her, had, by his freaks and rhodomontades, given her occasion to find out the plot. He had, it seems, spent all he had, and thereupon the lady grew extreme cold towards him. To warm her again, he boasted, on the sudden, of what he would do for her; promised her mountains of gold; adding swaggering to his boasting, and threatening to kill her, if she did not comply with his desires. She penetrated into the causes of these new bravadoes, and informed several persons of what she had learned touching Catiline's designs. 'Erat ei (2. Curio) cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo, cui cum minus gratus esset, quod inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians, maria, montesque polliceri cepit, minari interdum ferro, nisi sibi obnoxia foret: postremo, ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentia Curii caussa cognita, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione, quæ quo modo audierat, compluribus narravit (16).'

It is probable several readers have mistaken here one for the other, and believed, that it was Catiline, who kept Fulvia (17). After this mistake, nothing was more natural than to say, that Catiline was betrayed by Fulvia his mistress, or his concubine; and afterwards it was not difficult to proceed so far, as to give out, that his wife Fulvia discovered the conspiracy. Those, who were acquainted with the wickedness of Marc Antony's wife, may easily have imagined, that she was capable of all that is ascribed to the other Fulvia, and so they may have reduced those two Fulvias into one. I must add in this place, the better to make the mistress of Curio known, that she had so much discretion and faithfulness towards her gallant, as not to reveal, that he was one of the accomplices, or that she had learned from him what was contriving against the republic; neither did she

(10) Marcius, Marc Antony's Steward. Appian, lib. v, Bell. Civ. pag. m. 395, says this to Fulvia, id. pag. 397.

(11) Appian. ib.

(12) See the remark [C] of the article of the first GLAPHYRA.

(13) Gland. Osmast. pag. 84.

(14) Cicero, Philipp. II, cap. xlv.

(15) Muller nobilis, ὑψηλὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ, according to Plutarch, in Cicero pag. 868. C. From violence it appears, that Fulvia, who, in the first chapter of the fourth book, calls her Villium scortum, did not know her well.

(16) Sallustius, in Bello Catil. pag. m. 63.

(17) He who made the Index of Sallust Variorum has committed the Fault. Fulvia, says he, nobilis mulier cum qua Catiline vetus stupri consuetudo fuerat, conjurationem ejus clam noctu profecta Cicero detexit.

She had the pleasure of gratifying her revenge on Cicero's tongue [E], which had so much abused her husband in the Philippics. They, who say she was Marc Antony's first wife, are mistaken [F]. If they had had the patience to examine things exactly, they

break with him; but, on the contrary, it seems she was more intimate with him than before. They made use of her, to win her gallant by a thousand fair promises (18); and Curius employed her to discover to Cicero the designs of the conspirators: *Curius ubi intelligit quantum periculum Consuli impendat, prope per Fulviam Cicero dolum qui parabatur enunciat* (19). So true it is, that every thing is of use in a government; and that, in particular, courtizans and ladies of intrigue sometimes do the public great service by their address of searching out the most important secrets. It is true, that by this means they sometimes ruin the affairs of their country, by revealing the secrets of the cabinet to a liberal enemy. But such is the condition of human things, that what may be hurtful, may also be useful. I cannot tell whether the Fulvia, mentioned by Valerius Maximus, is the same that Sallust speaks of. Glandorpius is not far from that opinion; but others rather ascribe this adventure to our Fulvia, so much are they inclined to believe her capable of all manner of disorders. However it be, here is the whole story. An officer of the tribunes of the people gave a feast to his masters, and to the consul Metellus Scipio, and entertained them with an infamous diversion: he brought into their company two Roman ladies, who had each of them fathers and husbands; one of them was called Mucia, and the other Fulvia. *Æque flagitiosum illud convivium quod Gemellus tribunicius viator ingenui sanguinis sed officii intra servilem habitum deformis, Metello Scipioni consuli ac tribuni plebis magno cum rubore civitatis comparavit. Lupanari enim domi suæ instituto Muciam & Fulviam, tum à patre tum à viro utramque abductam, & nobilem puerum Saturninum in eo prostituit* (20). Metellus Scipio's consulship falls in the year 701 of Rome, eleven years after Catiline's conspiracy: now how is it likely, that Sallust's Fulvia should have, at that time, both father and husband? our Fulvia was then prosecuting the revenge of Clodius; and Milo, who had murdered Clodius, was tried for it in the year 701. How is it then likely, that his widow should be married again under that consul? we know besides, that, in 696, her father was dead, and her mother married again to Murena (21).

[E] She had the pleasure of gratifying her revenge on Cicero's tongue.] She strangely seconded her cruel husband, during the massacres of the triumvirate; and, of her own head, either through avarice, or a spirit of revenge, she caused to be put to death several persons, some of whom were not so much as known to her husband. Marc Antony caused the heads of those, he had proscribed, to be brought to him, while he was at table, and entertained his eyes a long while with that sad spectacle. Cicero's head being one of those, that were brought to him, he ordered it to be placed on the very pulpit, where Cicero had made so many speeches against him. But, before this order was put in execution, Fulvia took that head, spit upon it, and, putting it in her lap, drew it's tongue, which she pricked several times with her bodkin, and at the same time uttered a thousand bitter invectives against Cicero. *Ἡ δὲ δὴ Φουλμία ἐξ τῆς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὴν πρὶν ἀποκομίσθηναι, ἐδίζητο καὶ ἐμπικραμένην οἱ καὶ ἐμπύσσα ἀπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ εἶμα αὐτῆς διόισα τὴν τε γλῶσσαν ἐξέκλυσε, καὶ ταῖς βελόλαις αἷς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐχρήτο κατεκνύντσα πολλὰ ἄμα καὶ μισὰ προσετίσινε πύσσα. Fulvia autem id caput acceptum priusquam auferretur, insulansque amarulentis verbis & conspuens, genibus suis imposuit: orique ejus aperto linguam extraxit acubus quales secum comendi capitis causa mulieres ferunt compinxit, additis crebris ac turpibus opprobriis* (22). Here is a strange sort of a wicked woman! there are some villains, whom we are in a manner forced to admire, because they shew a kind of greatness of soul in their very crimes; but here we see nothing but brutality, meanness, and baseness, and we cannot but be moved with indignation and contempt. Nevertheless Mr Moreri acquaints his readers, that it is affirmed, that Fulvia had some generosity.

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[F] They, who say she was Marc Antony's first wife, are mistaken.] Mr Moreri and Mr Chevreau have committed this fault; the first in the article of Marc Antony, and the other in his *History of the World*, page 105 of the second tome of the edition of Holland. Marc Antony's first wife was called Fadia, whom he married, because she was a fortune, without regarding, that her father was as contemptible by the blemishes of his person, as by the meanness of his extraction. *Tuæ conjugis bonæ feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius, qui propter hæsitantiam linguæ, stuporemque cordis, cognomen ex contumelia traxerit. At avus nobilis, Tuditanus nempe ille qui cum palla & cothurnis nummos populo de rostris spargere solebat. Vellem hanc contemptionem pecunie suis reliquisset. — One Bambalis, a man of no account, is father of your wife, a very good woman, at least a rich one. Nothing can be more despicable than that man, who, by reason of an hesitation of speech, and stupidity, owes his very name to contempt. But his grandfather was noble, to wit, that Tuditanus, who, in his robes and buskins, used to sling money from the rostra among the people. I wish his posterity inherited this contempt of money.* This is what Cicero advances in his third Philippic, at page 782 of my edition *cap. VI.* A little after he affirms, that this wife of Marc Antony was daughter to a freedman (23): *Ipse ex libertini filia suscepit liberos.* He had said the same thing towards the beginning of the second Philippic: *Hoc idcirco commemoratum à te puto, ut te infimo ordini commendares: cum te omnes recordentur libertini generum, & liberos tuos, nepotes Q. Fadii* (24) *libertini hominis fuisse.* — *This I suppose you mentioned, to ingratiate yourself with the mob; since every one remembers, that you are son-in-law to a freedman, and that your sons are grandsons of Q. Fadius, a freedman.* Glandorpius (25) has reason to suspect, that Marc Antony and Fadia's children were not long-lived, since neither Cicero, nor any other writer, mention them by their names. We only know, that the hostage, sent by Marc Antony to Cæsar's murderers, was son of Marc Antony and Fadia; for Cicero will not suffer us to doubt of it: *Pacem haberemus quæ erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem Marci Antonii filium, M. Bambalionis nepotem* (26). Glandorpius has been strangely mistaken, in believing, that Bambalio was Fulvia's father, and that the passage of the third Philippic does not wholly relate to Fadia. This false conceit has occasioned his rash censuring Maturantius, for not having divided between two wives of Marc Antony the words of Cicero: *Ex iis quæ retulimus quivis facile perspexerit quam probe Franciscus Maturantius, vir aliquo doctissimus, Fadiæ Bambalionem patrem tributau, eamque fuisse Tusculanam asserat. Deinde quæ Cicero Philipp. 3. de Fulvia seorsim & Fadia dicuntur, ipse cuncta miscens ad unam Fadiam omnia referat* (27). — *From what I have related it is manifest with how little ground Francis Maturantius, otherwise a very learned man, makes Bambalis the father of Fadia, and asserts, that she was of Tusculum. Lastly, what Cicero, in his third Philippic, says of Fulvia and Fadia distinctly, he confounds, and applies wholly to Fadia.* Maturantius is in the right in all this; and I cannot sufficiently wonder how Paulus Manucius could believe, that these words of the third Philippic, at *avus nobilis*, &c. relate to Fulvia. If they did, there would be reason to say, that Cicero has put his words and thoughts in a very ill order: But if we consider it never so little, we shall plainly see, that Cicero reproaches Marc Antony only with his marriage with Fadia. He observes I. That that woman's father was a man of the meanest extraction: II. He raises an objection to himself, *viz.* that that woman's grand-father was nobly born: III. He relates the public extravagancies and follies of that grand-father. There had been nothing more ridiculous, than to suppose, with relation to the marriage with Fulvia, that, if Marc Antony did not marry beneath himself, it was because Fulvia's

F f

grandfather,

(23) Or grand-daughter; for the word *libertinus*, which properly signified only the son of a bond-man made free, was afterwards indifferently given to the man himself, who was made free, through the ill custom people have of stretching honourable titles, and of being civil at the expence of words.

(24) He calls him Caius Fadius, *epist. xi. ad Attic. lib. xvi.* *Vidi ibi Corradum*, who conjectures, that the transcribers have changed the C into Q, or vice versa. But what shall we say, when we see, that Cicero, below, citat. (26), calls him M. Bambalis? There are Manuscripts which, instead of Q. Fadii, have M. Fundi.

(25) Gland. Onomat. pag. 83.

(26) Cicero, Philipp. II.

(27) Gland. *ubi supra.*

they would have known, that, when he married her, he had had as many wives, as she husbands [G], and that he had put away Antonia, his second wife, under pretence of adultery, without having the least regard to his uncle, who was Antonia's father. Neither

(28) Manucius and Glandorpius pretend, that Sempronia, daughter of Tuditanus, was Fulvia's mother.

(29) Cicero, pro domo sua, fol. 180. A.

(30) Ibid. fol. 180. A.

(31) *Id. ibid.* He speaks to Clodius: he had said, fol. 180. A, how Clodius had employed his wife's brother, whom he had made high-priest. He says, in the oration pro Murena, fol. 248. A. That the son of Murena's wife is *junimo loco adolescent.*

(32) Afc. Pedian. Argum. Orat. pro Milone, pag. m. 192.

(33) Homo nulli numero: nihil illo contemptus.

(34) Cicero, in this passage of the third Philippic, confutes what M. Antony reproached Octavius with, viz. the being a country-woman's son, *Arichnam Matrem.*

(35) In Orat. pro domo sua.

grandfather, by the mother's side, was nobly born. Now it is plain, that, if the objection, which Cicero proposes to himself, relates to the marriage with Fulvia, the proof of Marc Antony's not having married beneath himself, would be grounded on the noble extraction of the maternal grand-father of his wife (28): and therefore it is not credible, that the objection relates to that marriage. I have said, that it had been very ridiculous to have had recourse to the nobility of Fulvia's maternal grand-father, to clear Marc Antony from marrying beneath himself, which I thus easily prove. Fulvia was of one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Rome. The Fulvii traced their origin to a disciple of Hercules in matters of religion. This was Fulvia's nobility. Glandorpius should not have thrust her father out of the family of the Fulvii: that woman had a brother, who was really of that ancient family, and who was made high-priest by the interest of Clodius his sister's husband (29), and whose wife was married again to Murena (30). It is from Cicero we learn all this: 'Te ad tuum affinem non delectum à te, sed relictum à cæteris contulisti, quem ego tamen credo, si est ortus ab illis, quos memorie proditum est, ab ipso Hercule perfundo jam laboribus sacra didicisse, in viri fortis ærumnis, non ita crudelem fuisse, ut *Ecce* (31). — You had recourse to your kinsman, not chosen by you, but abandoned by the rest: who, if he be descended from those, who are said to have learned religious rites from Hercules, after his toils were over, would not, I am persuaded, have been so cruel, as to, *Ecce*. Mult he not have been out of his wits, if he had pretended, that Marc Antony could not have alleged Fulvia's paternal nobility of extraction to those who should have accused him of having married beneath himself?

There remains a considerable difficulty. Asconius Pedianus relates, that the last witnesses that were examined against Milo, the murderer of Clodius, were Sempronia Tuditana, and Fulvia; the latter the widow of Clodius; the other, Fulvia's mother. *Ultima testamentum dixerunt Sempronia Tuditani filia, soror P. Clodii, & uxor Fulvia, & fletu suo magnopere eos qui adstant, commoverunt* (32). I answer, that this difficulty, how great soever it be, cannot support Manucius's opinion against my objections. Why could not Fadia and Fulvia both descend from one Sempronius Tuditanus? there might be several brothers, and several cousin-germans, who were all called Sempronius Tuditanus; being distinguished only by their fore-names. Fadia's mother might be the daughter of one of them, and Fulvia's mother descend from another. At the worst, I had rather say, that Cicero confounded the maternal grandfather of Fulvia with Fadia's maternal grandfather, than to say, that he looked upon Fulvia as an under-match for Marc Antony. I shall not omit saying, that Glandorpius condemns what he himself is guilty of. He finds fault, that one should understand, of one single wife of Marc Antony, the whole passage of the third Philippic; and yet he applies it entirely to Fulvia; for he pretends, that she was Bambalio's daughter, and Tuditanus's grand-daughter; and so he leaves nothing in Cicero's words, that may suit with Fadia. For the rest, it is a great absurdity to pretend, that Bambalio, a man of the meanest condition (33), should be Fulvia's father. This is no less than to ascribe to Cicero the greatest faults which a writer can commit. For thereby he must have retorted the reproach of an under-match (34), by accusing Marc Antony of having married a lady of the first quality; for that is the character he gives of the family Fulvia (35), when he enquires into an action of Clodius's brother-in-law. This is to say, that he could draw no advantage from the meanness and folly of the father, to form prejudices against the conduct of the son; and that, among so many invectives, which he has uttered against Clodius, he has never reproached him with an alliance, which afforded so much room for satire. Let us conclude from all this, that Glandorpius did not rightly censure Maturantius; and here are new proofs of it. He hath not taken notice of three gross errors of Maturantius on these words of Cicero, *At aequi nobilis, Tuditanus nempe ille*. Maturantius fancies,

in the first place, that that grand-father is Bambalio's grand father (36): 2. that that grand-father was like Tuditanus, but not Tuditanus himself (37): 3. that he was the grand-father of Marc Antony's wife. The last of these three faults is but a few lines distant from the first: so true it is, that authors are apt to contradict themselves in the same page. The reason of it is, because they sometimes bestow all their attention upon each period, so that they cannot think on what goes before.

I am much more concerned for an error, which I have found in Dion. That historian has inserted in his work, a direct speech of Cicero against Marc Antony: of which none can deny but he is himself the author, since we have still Cicero's Philippics, and may convince ourselves, by comparing them with Dion's words, that the speech of the latter is not the translation of any of the Philippics. It is therefore Dion, who has forged the speech. I grant him that liberty; but, at least, he ought to have said nothing that was not taken from Cicero's Latin. Now here are two things, which he has manifestly falsified; I have not examined the rest. He supposes, that Cicero reproached Marc Antony with not having recalled his uncle, neither during Cæsar's life, nor after Cæsar's death; and with loving Bambalio, a man sufficiently defamed by his very name. *Τίς γὰρ ἐκ οὐδὲ ταύτῃ ὅτι πολλὰς εὐχόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῶν γενομένων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀγαθῶν, ἐκ ἐπεκράτησε τῷ δέσπῳ . . . καὶ τὸν Βαμβάδιον τὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγαθόν. Ἰδὲ vero neminem latet, quod quum multos in exilium missos non Cæsare modo superstiti, sed defuncto etiam, ex libellis scilicet ejus in urbem reduceret, patruo suo non subveniret . . . Bambalionem etiam ipsius cognomen ratione infamem diligit* (38). Cicero objected no such thing to his adversary. Does he not expressly say, that Caius Antonius was in the senate, when his nephew made a speech against Dolabella? Cæsar was then alive. Neither did Cicero reproach Marc Antony with being a friend to Bambalio, who, in all probability, was dead. He contented himself to say, that he, who had married the daughter of an inhabitant of Tusculum, the daughter, I say, of Bambalio, so called in contempt, was much in the wrong to alledge, that Octavius's mother was a native of Aricia. Should not these two falsifications make us suspect the truth of a thousand things, which Dion has related, and of which we have not the originals?

[G] *Marc Antony had had as many wives, as she husbands.* We are going to see, that those, who have said, that Fulvia was Marc Antony's second wife (39), have committed an error not much less than that of Mr Chevreau. Marc Antony's second wife was called Antonia; she was his cousin-german, and daughter of Caius Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship. He did not keep her long: for, upon pretence that she had an amorous intrigue with Dolabella, he put her away. He was not ashamed to publish himself before the senate, and before his father-in-law, the affront his wife had done him; and he mentioned that injury among the reasons, for which he had broke with Dolabella. We must see how Cicero inveighs against him upon that account: Cicero, I say, who pretends, that Antonia was not guilty. 'Omnibus eum (Caium Antonium) contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas: filiam ejus, sororem tuam, ejecisti, alia conditione quaesita, & ante perspecta. Non est satis, probri infimulasti pudicissimam feminam: quid est, quod alii possit? contentus eo non fuisti: frequentissimo senatu Kalendis Jan. sedente patruo, hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori, & uxori tuæ stuprum esse oblatum comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu: an improbius, qui in Dolabellam; an impudens, qui patre audiente; an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurce tam impie dixeris (40)? — You have loaded him (Caius Antonius) with all kinds of reproach, II, cap. xxxviii. whom, if you had any piety in you, you ought to regard as a father: you have divorced his daughter, your sister, having before had another match in view.

(36) Occurrit dicens Bambalio: n. hujus avum nobilem fuisse. Respondet, huncque fuisse dicit, Tuditanum illi similem esse quo Valerius Maximus Maturantius in Philipp. III, fol. m. 101.

A REFLEXION on a falsity of Dion.

(37) Vellem ita contemneretis & vos pecuniam, sicut ille contempnit uxoris tuæ avus. Ibid.

(38) Dion lib. x.v. fol. 84.

(39) Glandorpius. Orat. pag. 83, affirm. ii.

(40) Philipp.

Neither did he shew much regard to him upon other occasions [H]. As brave, violent, and brutish as he was, yet he found his master in Fulvia; who made him serve so severe an apprenticeship of obedience (c), that Cleopatra, who found him ready broke and tamed, had no great trouble to keep him under. He had at last the resolution to be terribly angry with Fulvia, and to shew her so plainly either his contempt or his hatred, that she fell sick, and died upon it (d). A rhetorician, who had rallied her upon her having one cheek bigger than the other, became thereby more acceptable to Marc Antony than he was before (e); which is a shrewd sign, that she had no great share in her husband's tenderness. She had merited it, if the imitating her husband's eagerness

(c) See the remark [B].

(d) See the remark [B].

(e) Eiusdem uxorem Fulviam cui altera bucca inflator erat, acumen illi tentare dixit, nec minus, immo vel magis ob hoc Antonio gratus. Sueton. de claris Rector, cap. vi.

* Nor is this enough; you have wounded the reputation of a most modest lady. What can be added? This did not satisfy you: in full senate, and in presence of your uncle, on the Kalends of January, you had the assurance to say, that the reason of your hatred to Dolabella was, that you had discovered an intrigue between him, and your sister and wife. Shall I charge you most with impudence, in publishing your fancied disgrace in the senate; with injustice, in imputing it to Dolabella; with immodesty in doing it in the hearing of your father-in-law; or with cruelty, in exposing the character of an unfortunate lady? Plutarch will help us to discover at what time Marc Antony was divorced from his wife Antonia. He says (41), that Dolabella, a tribune of the people, desiring to get some laws enacted, intreated Marc Antony his friend to second him. Marc Antony not only refused it; but, upon suspicion that his wife Antonia had suffered herself to be debauched by Dolabella, he put her away, and took part with the enemies of that tribune, to ruin all his projects. Cæsar returned to Rome, pardoned Dolabella; and, having been made consul for the third time, he associated to himself, in that dignity, Lepidus, and not Marc Antony (42). From this we learn, that Dolabella's troubles happened before the year 707 of Rome (43); and therefore we may place them a year after the battle of Pharsalia, which is also the year of Antonia's divorce. Now Marc Antony having another match in view, before he put away Antonia (44), it is very probable, that his desire of marrying Fulvia was one of the reasons, which occasioned that divorce. If we believe Plutarch, that marriage was contracted whilst Cæsar made war in Africa in the year 707; and so Fulvia is Marc Antony's third wife. It is without any ground, that Glandorpius (45) affirms, that Marc Antony, having put her away, married Antonia; and that, being soon disgusted with the latter, he was divorced from her, and then retook Fulvia.

[H] Neither did he shew much regard to him upon other occasions.] I make this remark, to discharge my promise (46). We have heard Cicero reproaching Marc Antony with having been so barbarous as to set forth Antonia's lewdness in a full senate, that lady's father being present. This was a great mortification for that poor father; but this was not the first time his nephew had used that poor man ill. Had he not left him in banishment, when he recalled a great number of exiles? Cicero did not forget to reproach him with it (47): 'Omnia persequitur quæ Senatus salva repub. ne fieri possent perfecterat: cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite: restituebat multos calamitosos, in his patri nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnes? Si misericors, cur non in suos? — He did every thing, which the senate, before the commonwealth was overturned, had taken care should not be done: yet one vile action, which surpassed the rest, deserves mentioning: he recalled several miserable exiles; but, among these, took no notice of his uncle. If he must be severe, why not towards all; if compassionate, why not towards those of his own family?' There are other unseemly things; Cicero lets them forth, when he mentions a law for recalling exiles, which was published after Cæsar's death, and supposed to be made by him. Cicero asks, among other things, why three or four persons were still left in banishment (48): 'Cur tua misericordia simili non fruentur? Cur eos habes in loco patrii, de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluit? Quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti, eamque petitionem comparasti quæ et risus hominum & querelas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? An quia tribunus plebis fulmen finitrum nunciabat? Cum tuâ quid interest, nulla suspicia sunt, cum tuorum, tum sis religiosus. Quid! eundem in septemviro nonne de-

stituit? Intervenit enim: Quid metuiti credo? ne salvo capite negare non posses. Omnibus cum contumeliis onerasti quem patris loco, &c. — Why do they not meet with the same compassion from you? Why do you deal with them as you did with your uncle, whom you excepted out of the general law? whom likewise you persuaded to demand the censorship, and procured him such competitors, as excited the laughter and complaint of the people. But why did you not hold that election? Was it because the tribune of the people denounced an unlucky omen? when your own interest is concerned, you disregard omens; when that of your relations, you are then superstitious. What! did you not forsake him likewise as to the septemvirate? you loaded him with all kind of injuries, whom, as a father, &c. You will find above (49) the sequel of this passage. Manucius has found this full of obscurity. Hic mihi, quod aiunt, tenebræ sunt. Non enim video, quo modo C. Antonius Kalendis Jan. vivo Cæsar in senatu esse potuerit: cum eum post Cæsaris interitum, id est, post latam ab Antonio de exsulibus legem, exulare, ex iis verbis intelligatur; cur eos habes in loco patrii? De quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluit (50). — This is to me very obscure: for I cannot see how Caius Antonius could be in the senate, during Cæsar's life, on the kalends of January; when we understand by these words, cur eos habes, &c. that, after Cæsar's death, that is after Antony's law concerning exiles, he was in banishment. There is, on one side, Caius Antonius neglected by his nephew, when, after Cæsar's death, all the exiles, excepting three or four, are recalled; and, on the other side, he is among the senators, when Marc Antony makes a speech against Dolabella, before Julius Cæsar's death. It is thus Manucius conceives the thing, and therefore it is no wonder he finds some contradictions in it: but it is easy to remove them, by shewing him the cause of his pretended obscurity. He fancies, that, when Marc Antony, after Julius Cæsar's death, alledged a pretended law of that emperor for recalling the exiles, Caius Antonius was left in banishment. This is not what Cicero means; but only that Marc Antony had excluded from the benefit of that pretended law, three or four wretches. Cicero asks him the reason of it: and, to remind him of other faults, he maliciously compares the exception of these three or four persons, with the exception which he, Marc Antony, had made of his uncle during his tribuneship. Why do you use those three or four persons, says he to him, as you did your uncle, whom you did not offer to recall, when you proposed the recalling of others? This ought to be referred to Marc Antony's tribuneship, which he exercised, whilst Cæsar was in Spain, against Pompey's lieutenants, before the battle of Pharsalia. In a word, this is the same thing with what we have seen above in these words of Cicero; Reliquæ partes Tribunatus principis similes. . . restituebat multos calamitosos: in his patrii nulla mentio. We must not therefore wonder that the same Cicero should say, that Caius Antonius heard in the senate-house his nephew's invectives against Dolabella, in which his daughter was so invidiously mentioned. I own that this is a proof of his being returned from banishment before Cæsar's death, since that invective was publicly spoken, to hinder the design Cæsar had formed of resigning his fifth consulship to Dolabella. Επει δὲ τὸ σέμπτον ἀπεδείχθη Καίσαρ ὑπατεύων, περσέλειτο μὲν εὐδὺς συνάρχοντα τὴν Ἀντωνίον, ἐβέλετο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπάμενον Δολοβέλλα παρρησιάζουσαι. καὶ τὸτο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξήνεγκεν. Ἀντωνίος δὲ τεχνικῶς ἀντιπεσόντων, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπόντων κατὰ Δολοβέλλαν, καὶ ἐλάττωνα δὲ ἀκούσαντων, τὴν μὲν ἀσχυρὸν τὴν ἀκοσίαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπὸ πύλλων. Cæsar quinque consul, illico cor-

(49) In citate (49).

(50) Manucius, in Philipp. II, pag. 761.

(41) Plut. in Anton. pag. 919.

(42) Ibid. pag. 920.

(43) It is the year of Cæsar's third consulship.

(44) Alii conditione quaerita & ante perfectam. Cicero, ubi supra.

(45) Gland. ubi supra, pag. 86.

(46) See, above, remark [A] of the article ANTONIUS (Cæsar's the first).

(47) Philipp. II, cap. xxxi.

(48) Ibid. cap. xxxiii.

eagerness to get money, by the most unjust means, could have made her worthy of it. It was in Fulvia's chamber that kingdoms and provinces were sold by auction [I]. Some think that she persuaded Marc Antony to put away his second wife [K]; nevertheless, it does

scivit collegam Antonium. Intendit autem abdicare se magistratu, & cedere Dolabella, idque ad senatum retulit: verum repugnante asperere Antonio, multaque maledicta in Dolabellam congerente, nec pauciora audiente, illius indignitatis Caesar pudore rem in praesentia omisit (51). But there does not result from thence any just reason to censure Cicero; for there is nothing in his Philippics which imports, that Marc Antony left his uncle in banishment after Caesar's death. That which is certain, is, that Caius Antonius must have been recalled in the time which elapsed between the beginning of Caesar's dictatorship, and his fifth consulship, which fell in the year 709; and he was made dictator, upon his return to Rome, after the defeat of Pompey's lieutenants. He began the functions of his dictatorship with recalling the exiles (52): I know not whether Caius Antonius was at that time comprehended amongst them; but I know that Dion (53) affirms, that Milo alone was not recalled. Glandorpius says, that Caius Antonius, after Julius Caesar's death, was restored by Marc Antony his nephew, who was consul. This is not true, with relation to Caius Antonius's return to Rome, and his privilege of going to the senate-house, since he sat with the senators, and heard his nephew's invective against Dolabella, during the life of Julius Caesar. We learn from Strabo, that that exile remained in the island of Cephalonia, and kept it under his obedience. He was building there a city, but had not time to finish it; for, having obtained leave to return home, he formed greater designs, and died before he put them in execution (54).

I have read a French translation of the second Philippic (55), where the author has somewhat confounded the passage I have cleared in this place. He says, in the 166th page, that Caius Antonius was among those three or four wretches, whom his nephew had left in banishment; and yet, in the 168th, he affirms, that he was present at the speech, which Marc Antony made in a full senate upon the first of January. It is needless to shew, that these two things are contradictory: every body is sensible of it; and I have already said how this difficulty may be removed. Maturantius (56) is guilty of more faults than that translator. First, he believes, that Caius Antonius was exiled by Julius Caesar, for having followed Pompey's party: than which nothing is more false. Caius Antonius was accused, in 694, of two crimes, viz. of being Catiline's accomplice, and of extortion (57). Cicero, who pleaded for him, lost his cause. Secondly, Maturantius affirms, that Marc Antony, when he recalled the exiles after Caesar's death, did not endeavour to get Caius Antonius recalled. Thirdly, he affirms, that Marc Antony, having at last recalled his uncle, persuaded him to stand candidate for the censorship, and raised against him very mean competitors, in order to expose him to laughter. This is to ascribe a non-sensical impertinence to Cicero: for if he had said, that Caius Antonius was not recalled from banishment, when his nephew, after Caesar's death, recalled most exiles, he had said two contradictory things in the same harangue, viz. I. that, at the time he spoke, Marc Antony had not yet recalled his uncle; for it is plain, that the three or four wretches, whom Marc Antony had deprived of the benefit of the pretended law of Julius Caesar, were actually in exile, when Cicero pronounced the second Philippic. II. That Marc Antony, having recalled his uncle some time before, had fraudulently engaged him to sue for the censorship. If I was not convinced of it by experience, I could never have believed, that those, who have commented upon classic authors, should not perceive the contradictory absurdities, which they sometimes put together.

[I] It was in Fulvia's chamber, that kingdoms were sold by auction. Every one knows what revolutions happened among the Romans upon Caesar's death. At first, Marc Antony did not think himself safe in Rome; and, not many days after, it was he who was dreaded there; it was for fear of him, that Caesar's murderers fled. It cannot be expressed how many unjust things he did to heap up money, under the false pretence, that Caesar had ordered such and things to be done. He forged these orders, and took care to be well paid

for it: It was in that manner he cheated Dejotarus's ambassadors. He forged a pretended order of Caesar, by virtue of which Dejotarus was to be restored: but he caused the ambassadors to sign, in his wife's chamber, a bond for a great sum (58). Cicero has described, with his usual eloquence, the prodigious venality, which Marc Antony and his wife introduced into the commonwealth: and, when we know besides, Fulvia's character, we are apt to fancy, upon reading Cicero's words, that we see her selling, in her chamber, provinces and kingdoms, with the same greediness of gain, which is natural to women, that sell, in a shop, ribbons, or cloth by the yard. 'Quid illi immanes quaestus? ferendi ne? quos M. Antonii tota exant haufit domus. Decreta falsa vendebat: regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia jubeat incidi. Haec se ex commentariis Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicebat. Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius reipubl. nundinae: mulier sibi felicior, quam viris, auctionem provinciarum, regionumque faciebat (59). — Can we bear with the extravagant gains of Marc Antony's whole family? He sold unjust decrees: he bartered kingdoms, states, and immunities for money. All this he pretended to do by virtue of Caesar's brief instructions, which he himself had forged. In the innermost apartments of his house was held a general mart of the commonwealth: where his wife, more successful for herself, than her husbands, put up kingdoms and provinces to auction.' I think that both husband and wife were equally, like Catiline, *Alieni appetens, sui profusus* (60); and knew as well how to squander away money, as to get it. Fulvia was not worth a groat, a year after those rich auctions: so that Pomponius Atticus was obliged to pass his word for her every where, and to lend her great sums (61).

[K] Some think, that Fulvia persuaded Marc Antony to put away his second wife. They ground their opinion on these words of Cicero; *Filiam ejus sororem tuam ejecisti alia conditione quaesita & ante perspecta*. Which signifies, that, before Antonia's divorce, her husband had so well concerted measures, that he was well acquainted with the woman he was to marry next. It is, at least, very likely, that Cicero had some shrewd meaning in his *ante perspecta*; and that, when he mentioned a certain design, contrived by Marc Antony in the house of Clodius (62), he meant, that he had endeavoured to lie with Fulvia, Clodius's wife. Nevertheless, I reject Manucius's thought about the word *conditis*, employed by Cicero. That learned commentator believes, that Cicero meant, that Marc Antony had viewed, or caused another to view for him, all the parts of the body of the woman he designed to marry. He thinks, that the Latin phrase, *quaerere conditionem*, does not only signify to look for a match, but likewise to inspect the most secret parts, which are the object of love, and make a strict review of them, in order to avoid the surprize of misreckoning, to which they may be exposed, who buy a pig in a poke, if I may use that proverbial expression. How long soever Manucius's passage is, I think myself obliged to transcribe it, that my reader may not object to me, that it is easy to reject and confute a man's opinion, when we either suppress or enervate his reasons. 'Invenio apud veteres usurpari solum hoc loquendi genus, condiciones quaerere, de iis, qui mulieres ad concubitum appetentes, prius vel ipsi, vel per amicos inspiciebant quales essent, num candor in corpore, num levitas, num succi plenae; denique num appetentis libidini responderent, ut eas ne acciperent, aut admitterent, nisi prius hoc tanquam experimentum cepissent. Id, ut dixi, vocabant, condiciones quaerere. Itaque exprobravit Antonius Augusto, id, quod Suetonius litteris prodidit, condiciones quaesitas per amicos, qui matres familias, & adultas virgines denudarent, atque perspicerent, tamquam Thorano mangone vendente. Et, quod apud eundem Suetonium scriptum est, Caesar ad retinendam Pompeii necessitudinem, ac voluntatem, Octaviam, sororis suae neptem, condicione ei detulit: facta scilicet inspicendi potestate, ut nisi probatam, non acciperet. Arnobius quoque, scriptor in primis eruditus & reconditarum rerum notitia refertus, libro iv, adversus

(51) Plutarch, in Antonio, pag. 921. A.

(52) Id. in Caesare, pag. 725. D.

(53) Lib. xli, pag. 191.

(54) Strabo, lib. 5, pag. 314.

(55) Made by F. P. G. an advocate in the parliament of Paris; and printed at Paris, in 1685.

(56) In Philipp. II, fol. 82.

(57) See Dion, lib. xxxviii, pag. 71, & Cicero, in Orat. pro Caesio & in Vatinium.

(58) Syngrapha H S centies per legatos viros bonos, sed timidos & imperitos, sine Sexti, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia facta in Gynaece: quo in loco plurimae res venierunt & venerunt. Cicero, Philipp. II, cap. xxxvii. See also Ep. ad Att. xii, lib. xiv.

(59) Id. Philipp. 1, cap. 16.

(60) Sallust. in Catilin.

(61) Corn. Nepos in vita Attici, cap. ix.

(62) Instimul erit in tribunatu Clodio... ejus etiam domi iustum quiddam molitum est: quid dicam ipse optime intelligit. Philipp. II, cap. xix. Maturantius says thereupon, Fulviam credo Clodii uxorem de coitu appellavit, ut eam adulteraret. Manucius says, De stuprandi ejus uxore.

REPUTATION of Manucius's opinion about the phrase, *quaerere conditionem*.

does not seem probable, that he married her immediately after his divorce: It is rather apparent,

* adversus gentes, Dei uxores, inquit, ducunt conditionibus ante quaesitis. Sic de Faustina quaerente si bi condiciones in viris, ut cum iis, quorum condiciones probasset, concumberet, dixit Capitolinus in Antonino Philos. multi ferunt, Commodum omnino ex adulterio natum: siquidem Faustina, satis constet, apud Cajetam condiciones sibi & nauticas, & gladiatorias elegisse. Et Lampridius in Heliogabalo: Romae denique nihil egit aliud, nisi ut emissarios haberet, qui bene vasatos (sic. n. lego, non nasatos) perquirent, eosque ad aulam perducerent, ut eorum conditionibus frui posset. Nec multo post: Lavacrum publicum in aedibus aulicis fecit, simul & palam populo exhibuit, ut ex eo condiciones bene vasatorum hominum colligeret. Nec alio sensu accipiendum illud pro Caesio: habes hortos ad Tiberim: ac diligenter eo loco praeparasti, quo omnis juvenus natandi causa venit, hinc licet condiciones quotidie legas. Quibus adductis exemplis, Quærita, & Perspecta, ad conditionem malo, quam ad mulierem referre: ut sit: quaesivisti, & ante perspexisti aliam conditionem, non contentus ea, quam in sorore tua jam perspexeras. Jam enim constat, conditionem esse partem corporis, quam vel in muliere vir, vel in viro mulier explendæ libidinis causa querit, & qua inventa fruitur (63). — *The ancient, I find, applied this phrase Condiciones quaerere to those, who, before marriage, examine, either in person, or by their friends, the beauties or defects of their intended wife; as, whether she be fair, of a smooth skin, or juicy; in short, whether she answer the desires of the lover; refusing to have any thing to say to her without this previous experiment. Thus, as I said, they termed Condiciones quaerere. Thus Antony, as Suetonius informs us, reproached Augustus, that he did, by his friends, Condiciones quaerere, that is, that he employed them to strip matrons and young women naked, and thoroughly examine them, as if they were exposed to sale by the bawd Thorianus. And we read in the same Suetonius, that Caesar, to keep up his relation and friendship with Pompey, offered him Octavia, his sister's niece, conditione, that is, with liberty to examine her, and, if not approved of, to reject her. Arnobius likewise, a very learned writer, and well versed in antiquity, in his fourth book adversus Gentes, says, the gods marry conditionibus ante quaesitis, having first examined their mistresses. So likewise Capitolinus, in the life of Antoninus the philosopher, speaking of Faustina, who examined the men, (condiciones quaerebat) with whom she had a mind to lie, says, it is reported by many, that Commodus was the offspring of an adulterous bed; since it is sufficiently known, that Faustina, at Cajeta, made choice of Sailors and Gladiators, having first examined them — condiciones nauticas & gladiatorias elegisse. And Lampridius, in the life of Heliogabalus says; all he did at Rome, was, to keep emissaries, who looked out for proper persons, and brought them to court, that he might examine whether they were for his purpose — eorum conditionibus frui. And a little farther he says; he built a public bath in the palace, and admitted the people in general to it, that he might have an opportunity of examining, and selecting those, whom he liked best — condiciones colligeret. Nor are we otherwise to understand those words of Cicero, in his oration pro M. Cælio: you have gardens on the banks of the Tyber, whither all the young men repair to swim, and where you may every day make your choice — condiciones legas. From which instances I am induced to refer the words Quærita and Perspecta rather to condicio, than mulier: so that it will be; you have made a fresh examination, (quaesivisti & perspexisti aliam conditionem), not satisfied with what you had already found in your sister. For now it is plain, that condicio means a part of the body, which a man looks for in a woman, and a woman in a man, and which both enjoy when found. Among all these passages, I see none that hinders me from being fully persuaded, that the words Quæreere condiciones signified the same thing, and no more, with our phrases, to look out for, to chuse a match, a lover, a mistress. The first example Manucius alleges plainly shews it: for if his opinion took place, it had*

not been necessary for Suetonius (64) to add to (64) In Augusti condiciones quaesitas per amicos, these other words, cap. lxiix. qui matres familias & adultas virgines denuarent atque perspicerent tanquam Thorianis mangone vendente. This addition shews, that the preceding words imported no more than this, *he charged his friends to look out for mistresses for him; and because that did not express the baseness Suetonius had a mind to reproach, it was necessary to descend to the particular explanation of the enquiries, which Augustus imposed upon his friends. Thus, to represent the custom of Moscow, with relation to the choice of the maid, whom the Czar is to marry, it would not be enough to say, that people are sent into all the provinces, with orders to look out the most charming and most lovely maids; but it would be necessary to go further, and to say how those maids are viewed, searched, and examined. Solent autem Moscovitæ, quum de uxore ducenda deliberant, omnium toto regno puellarum Virginum delectum habere, ac forma virtuteque, animi præstantiores ad se perducere jubere, quas demum per idoneos homines fidelesque Matronas inspicunt, ita diligenter, ut secretiora quoque ab iis contractari explorarique fas sit. Ex iis vero, magna atque sollicita parentum expectatione, quæ Principi ad animum responderi, Regiis Nuptiis digna pronuntiatur. Cæteræ vero, quæ de formæ pudicitiaque & morum dignitate contenderant, sæpe eadem die in gratiam Principum, proceribus atque militibus nubunt; sic ut mediocri loco nata plerumque, dum principes regie stirpis clara stemmata contemunt, ad summum Regalis thori fastidium, uti & Turcas Ottomannos solitos esse videmus, pulchritudinis auspiciis evectantur (65). — *The Moscovites, when they think of marrying, select the most beautiful and virtuous maids, whom, by proper men and matrons, they examine so carefully, that they are allowed to handle and inspect the most secret parts. She of these, who pleases the prince most, is declared worthy of the royal nuptials. Her competitors, in complaisance to the prince, are often married, on the same day, to the grandees and officers. Thus a maid of mean extraction is often raised, by her beauty, to the monarch's bed, who despises high birth. I cannot sufficiently wonder that Manucius should have paraphrased his second example as he has done: how could he think that Cæsar ever had so little spirit, or so little honour? for, without mentioning the violence, which must have been offered to Octavia's modesty, would it not have been a base condescension in Cæsar, and such as would have exposed him to contempt, to give Pompey, when he offered him his grand-niece, the liberty to refuse her, if he did not like her, after he had seen her stark naked? but, to shew how very absurd Manucius's opinion is, I need but refer him to these words of Suetonius in the sixty third chapter of the life of Augustus: 'Hoc (Agrippa) quæ defuncto, multis ac diu etiam ex equestri ordine CIRCUMSPECTIS CONDITIONIBUS, Tiberium privignum suum elegit. — Agrippa being dead, after considering of many matches among those of Equestrian rank, he made choice of Tiberius for his son-in-law.' We ought to say, according to Manucius, that Augustus, having a mind to marry again his daughter Julia, Agrippa's widow, spent a considerable time in causing several Roman knights to be stripped and examined quite naked, and that at last he chose Tiberius. I shall not take the trouble to shew the extravagance of such a supposition; neither shall I relate a hundred passages of good writers, which prove, that *Conditio*, in matter of marriage, signified nothing but what we call a match: *Bona Conditio*, a good match. I shall only quote some words out of the 257th declamation of Quintilian, which are as good as a definitive sentence against Manucius: 'Sed neque in me ille (sacer) probabit aliud quam pietatem; vidit fletus meos, vidit totius animi atque corporis deflectionem: sic homini inter principes nostræ civitatis numerando cæpi bona esse *CONDITIO*. — He will approve of nothing in me but my piety; he saw my tears, he saw my extreme grief: thus I began to be thought a good match by one, who is deservedly ranked among the principal persons of our city.' See Gro-novius's observations, in the sixth chapter of the first book,**

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(f) That of Charles Stephens, that of Lloyd, that of Hoffman, and that of Calpurnius.

apparent, that he continued for some time in love with a concubine [L]. Several dictionaries (f) have affirmed, that he put away Fulvia in the beginning of the triumvirate, in

book, pag. 62 and 65. It must be confessed, that Manucius ascribes a very obscene form to the ancient style of lawyers, who, in matter of divorce, used this phrase, *Conditione tua non utor*. Consult Torrentius's commentary upon Suetonius, in the twenty seventh chapter of Cæsar's life. I am very much surprized, that a learned Jesuit did not find the falsity of that criticism of Manucius, after he had given us so many examples of the signification of the word *Conditio*. 'Quid sit autem ante perspicere conditionem, malo te ex Pauli Manucii in hunc locum quam ex meis verbis addicere. — What the meaning of ante perspicere conditionem is, I had rather you should learn from Paulus Manucius on this passage, than from my words. Thus speaks father Abram, in his commentary on the second Philippic of Cicero, pag. 725.

But, to come to the point, are we to believe, that Cicero means, that Marc Antony cast his eyes upon Fulvia before he put away Antonia? I am inclined to be of that opinion, tho' there seems to be no small distance between Fulvia's wedding and Antonia's divorce. That is the subject matter of the following remark. Maturantius and Lambinus are both mistaken here: the first fancying, that Marc Antony had a design upon Calpurnia; and the other, that he had Octavia in view. I know not who that Calpurnia may be: but, as for Octavia, I know, that she was Augustus's sister; and that she did not marry Marc Antony till after Fulvia's death.

[L]... Marc Antony continued some time in love with a concubine.] That concubine was a player. Cicero calls her Cytheris, and observes that Marc Antony carried her with him in an open litter. 'Hic tamen Cytheridem secum lætica aperta portat, altera uxorem: septem præterea conjunctæ læticæ amicorum sunt, an amicorum? vide quam turpi leto peramus (66). — Yet here he carries Cytheris with him in an open litter, and his wife in another: with these are joined seven litters, carrying his mistresses, or shall I call them his friends? behold how shamefully we perish.' Cicero wrote this whilst Cæsar went into Spain against Pompey's lieutenants, that is, the first year of the war. Marc Antony was then tribune of the people, and had been left at Rome to keep Italy in awe, and in Cæsar's interest. This is the equipage, with which he travelled. These are the men, to whom God thought fit to deliver up, as a prey, the most illustrious persons in the Roman commonwealth. But that is not the question. This equipage of Marc Antony was objected to him, to his very face, in the second Philippic, cap. 23, and 24, in these fine words: 'Ecce quid enim unquam in terris tantum flagitium exstiterit auditum est? tantum turpitudinem? tantum dedecus? vehebatur in effuso tribunus plebis: licet res laureati antecederent: inter quos aperta lætica cum mima portabatur: quam, ex oppidis municipales homines honesti obviam necessariis prodeuntes, non noto illo, & mimico nomine, sed voluminiam confutabant. Sequebatur rheda cum lenonibus (67), comites nequissimi: rejecta mater amicis impuri filii, tamquam nurum, sequebatur. O misera mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam. Horum flagitiorum ille vestigiis omnia municipia, præfecturas, colonias, totam denique Italiam impressit. — Was there ever heard of so shameful a behaviour? such baseness? such disgrace? a tribune of the people was carried in a chariot: Lictors, crowned with laurel, marched before him; among whom an actress was carried in an open litter, who was saluted, by the honest burghers of the several towns, who were obliged to come out and meet her, not by her well-known theatrical name, but by that of Volumnia, forsooth. A chariot followed with a scandalous retinue of cock-bawds: the poor neglected mother followed her son's mistress, as if she had been her daughter-in-law. O the unfortunate fruitfulness of the wretched lady! such marks as these of his villany did he leave in every Borough, Prefecture, and Colony, in short over all Italy.' Note, that, among other indignities, Marc Antony is here reproached with having obliged his mother to follow the litter of Cytheris. In the letter I have quoted, Cicero says this

not of Marc Antony's mother, but of his wife (68). It is hard to conceive, why Cicero should say nothing of the indignities done to the wife, in an oration, wherein he made it his business to load his adversary with shame. He might have said in three words, that Marc Antony allowed no place in his own coach, either to his mother, or his wife; and that he had confined them to other coaches, which followed the litter, in which he had put his concubine. The treatment of the wife served no less, than that of the mother, to render Marc Antony's behaviour odious; and therefore all that can be said in favour of the orator's silence, is, that Marc Antony's wife did not accompany him in his progress; and that, instead of reading, in the letter to Atticus, *altera uxorem*, we must read, *alteram uxorem*: and so the sense will be, that that tribune carried Cytheris with him, as if she had been his wife; as if she had been his second wife. Bosius (69) and Lipsius (70) have adopted this correction. Popma maintains the contrary (71): and pretends, not only that Cytheris, and the lawful wife, were in different litters or coaches; but also that the lawful wife was Fulvia; which is also Manucius's opinion. They quote to no purpose (72) the second Philippic, since the orator does not inform us, that Marc Antony placed his wife among the attendants of Cytheris. Mr Grævius has preferred Popma's opinion to that of Lipsius (73). It is certain, that Fulvia was not then Marc Antony's wife: for I have already shewn, that he did not marry her till after Antonia's divorce. Now Antonia was so far from being divorced, when Marc Antony went his progress through the towns of Italy with his Cytheris, that it is very likely, that she was not yet his wife. He put her away when he opposed the designs of Dolabella; that is, some time after he was returned to Rome, after the battle of Pharsalia (74). Now the progress he made with Cytheris was before that return to Rome; and therefore it is probable, that, when he went upon that progress, he was not yet married to his cousin Antonia; for he did not keep her long. We may add, that Fulvia was not a woman that would bear, that a concubine should have the honours, due to a lawful wife, paid her, during her husband's progress. She had too much pride to follow, in a coach, alone, the litter of the favourite Cytheris. Let us confirm the conjecture of Bosius and Lipsius. If it had been said, in the letter to Atticus, *Cytheridem portat alteram uxorem*, this would agree with other expressions, which are found in the second Philippic. 'At etiam quodam loco factus esse voluisti: quàm id te, dii boni, non decebat: in quo est tua culpa nonnulla, aliquid enim falsi ab Uxore Mima trahere potuisti (75). — Once you endeavoured to be witty; good GOD! how ill it became you? in which you are something to blame, since you might have borrowed a little wit from your theatrical wife.' When Cicero relates, that, at last, Marc Antony broke with Cytheris, he uses the terms, that were employed in putting away one's wife (76). Therefore it is probable, that we ought to read *alteram uxorem* in the letter to Atticus. Let us not forget, that the dismissing of Cytheris was posterior, not only to the battle of Pharsalia, but also to the war of Alexandria. Marc Antony, after the battle of Pharsalia, was sent back into Italy, to keep the people under the yoke of the conqueror, whilst Cæsar was in pursuit of Pompey. The actress Cytheris went to meet her gallant as far as Brundisium, and returned with him to Rome, with much the same equipage, which Cicero has above described. 'Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem, & in complexum tuæ mimulæ: quid est? num mentior? quam miserum est, id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri. Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? Quis enim miles fuit qui Brundisii illam non viderit? Quis qui nescierit venisse eam tibi tot dierum viam gratulatum, quis, qui non indoluerit tam sero se, quam nequam hominem secutus esset, cognoscere? Itaque rursus percurfatio, eadem comite mima (77). — You arrived at Brundisium, to throw yourself into the very arms of your actress: what! do I belie you? how wretched is it, that you cannot deny what it is the

(66) Cicero, Epist. xi. lib. x, ad Atticum. In the sixteenth letter of the same book, he speaks thus: Hoc quidem melius quam collega noster Antonius, cujus inter lictores lætica mima portatur. See also the twenty second letter of the fifth book, where he autem noster Cytheris, is Marc Antony, according to the interpreters.

(67) Some famous critics pretend, that we ought to read *Lenonibus*, because it is certain, that, in that progress, Marc Antony had a chariot drawn by lions. See the article LYCORIS, rem. [C].

(68) Cytheridem secum lætica aperta portat, altera uxorem. Cicero, Epist. xi, lib. x, ad Atticum.

(69) In Epist. supra dictam Ciceronis ad Atticum.

(70) Epistolicæ quæst. xi, lib. iv.

(71) In eam Epistolam Ciceronis.

(72) It is Popma that quotes it.

(73) Sed rectius Popma cui addi polonius, &c. In Cicero ad Atticum, Tom. II, pag. 164.

(74) This is plain. ex Plutarcho, in Antonio, pag. 919.

(75) Philipp. II, cap. viii.

(76) Frugifusus est: illam suam suam res sibi habere jussit ex duodecim tabulis claves ademit: Quam porro spectatus civis, quam probatus, cujus ex omni vita nihil est honestius, quam quod comitatus fecit Brundisium. Ibid. cap. xxviii.

(77) lb. cap. xxviii.

in order to marry Octavia. Which is false; for he did not marry the latter till after the death of Fulvia. It is not true, that Josephus speaks of this Fulvia [M].

* the greatest disgrace to confess? if you were not ashamed of your behaviour before the corporation towns, did not your veteran forces put you to the blush? for what soldier was not a witness of this at Brundisium? which of them knew not, how many days' journey she came to congratulate you? which of them was not, at last, ashamed of following so scandalous a leader? you traversed Italy again, in company with the same address. Whilst Cæsar was at Alexandria, invested the second time with the dictatorship, Marc Antony, who was made general of the horse, committed a thousand extortions at Rome: and by degrees proceeded to the audaciousness of selling Pompey's goods by inch of candle. By that means he purchased the house and furniture of that great man, and soon wasted, in that very house, the money he got by that sale; for he abandoned himself daily to the most expensive debaucheries. He had still his Cytheris: and he had already lodged in Pompey's house, when he dismissed that strumpet (78). Which I observe, to shew, that it is very probable that he kept her some time after Antonia's divorce; for Pompey's goods were not sold, till after Cæsar was gone from Alexandria (79). Plutarch, describing Marc Antony's debaucheries, his passion for Cytheris, &c. manifestly insinuates, that those disorders continued after the battle of Pharsalia: and, because he tells us, that Cæsar, being returned to Rome, shewed Marc Antony a great discontent, which produced two notable effects; he gives us room to believe, that some time passed between Antonia's divorce, and Fulvia's marriage. For, the two effects I speak of, are, first, that Marc Antony would not follow Cæsar in his expedition into Africa; and secondly, that he renounced his debaucheries, changed his course of life, resolved to marry, and made choice of Fulvia.

Εἰς τὴν μὲν τοῦ πολὺ τῆς ἀσελτηρίας αὐτῆς καὶ ἀσωτίας ἀφελῆν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐκ ἀνασθητικῆς τῆς παρρησιαστικῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀπαλλαγῆναι γὰρ ἐκείνη τὸ βίον, γὰρ προέσχε, φασίαν ἀγαπᾶν. Apparet tamen multum de Antonii amentia & intemperantia Cæsarem, peccata ejus non dissimulando, detraxisse. Siquidem explicuit se illa vita, antequam ad nuptias applicato Fulviam duxit (80). However, I would not deny, that, when he put away his second wife, he had not already taken measures to marry the third; for an engagement with a courtesan does not hinder great lords from marrying: but it is probable, he made no great haste towards that match, till Cæsar's discontent spurred him to it. Therefore I do not censure those, who apply to Fulvia these words of Cicero. Sororem tuam (i. e. Antonia) ejecisti, alia conditione quesita & ante perpecta.

I know some learned men, who apply them to Cytheris. But they are mistaken; for there is no likelihood, that Marc Antony ever thought of marrying that woman. They were both contented to do all that married folks do, eat, drink, and lie together: and, as for concubinage, and all the excesses of complaisance, which a gallant may shew to a mistress, Marc Antony could add nothing, after Antonia's divorce, to what he had already practised before the battle of Pharsalia. Father Abram has stumbled in that place: Marc Antony, according to his opinion, when he put away his second wife, had a mind to marry Cytheris, and married her in effect; and afterwards put her away, and then married Fulvia. Certe cum, ut ex Plutarcho & Cicerone constat, statim post repudiatam Antoniam, Italia Oppida obierit cum illa nimula, non videtur adhuc de Fulviæ nuptiis cogitasse, ne recentem uxorem iis flagitiiis offenderet. Quare nihil obstat quo minus ille Cytheridem vere tum uxorem acceperit, ut loquitur orator, à qua tamen paulo post fecit divortium, & Fulviam duxit uxorem (81). Father Abram's proofs are very bad. He pretends, that Cicero and Plutarch affirm, that Marc Antony, soon after Antonia's divorce, went upon a progress, with Cytheris, through the towns of Italy; and concludes from thence, that he had not yet married Fulvia, it being improbable that he would have given, so soon, such a mortification to his new bride. But he should have taken notice, that Cicero gives us clearly to understand, that Marc Antony's progress with Cytheris, through the towns of Italy, preceded Antonia's divorce. Cicero observes, that that mistress went twice upon such a progress with her gal-

lant: first, before the battle of Pharsalia; secondly, when Marc Antony, being returned to Rome, after that memorable action, met at Brundisium his concubine Cytheris, who was come there to receive him. It is certain, that the quarrels of Marc Antony and Dolabella did not break out till after that second progress of Cytheris through the towns of Italy: and it is likewise certain, that Antonia's divorce, and her husband's quarrel with Dolabella, happened in the same time. The author, whom I consult, ought not to have laid a stress upon the word *uxor*, employed by Cicero with respect to Cytheris; for the words, we find a little after in Cicero, *Rejeda mater AMICAM impuri filii TANQUAM nulum sequebatur*, evidently shew, that this was not a true marriage.

I do not doubt, but the reason, which obliged Marc Antony to dismiss Cytheris, was, because he saw, that, without that, he could not conclude his marriage with Fulvia. I place that marriage in the 707th year of Rome, when Cæsar was in Africa. Two years after there was reason to suspect, that Marc Antony continued to be in love with Cytheris; for the letter, he delivered himself to Fulvia, and which he pretended to bring as a messenger from Marc Antony, contained little else besides assurances and protestations, that he was no more in love with that player, and that all the passion he had had for her was now turned towards Fulvia. 'Confestim ad eam, cujus causa venerat, deducitur, eique epistolam transdidit, quam cum illa legeret flens, erat enim amatoris scripta: caput autem literarum, sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum, omnem se amorem abiecit illinc, atque in hanc transfudisse cum mulier fletet uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit, caput aperuit, in collum invasit (82). — He is immediately introduced to her, upon whose account he came, and delivers her the letter; which when she read with tears (for it was written in very affectionate terms, and chiefly imported, that he had quite abandoned that address, and had transferred all his love to her); when, I say, the lady could not forbear tears, my gentleman took pity on her, discovered himself, and fell upon her neck.' He was then returning from Narbonne, whither he was gone to meet Julius Cæsar, who had defeated Pompey's sons in Spain. Cæsari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime processisti (83). We shall see in the article LYCORIS, that he little remembered his promise. What Plutarch observes, touching the time of Marc Antony's marriage with Fulvia, is confirmed by the observation Dion has made, that Antyllus, their eldest son, received the virile gown, after his father, who was defeated at Actium, was returned into Egypt (84). According to Plutarch, the marriage was concluded in the year 707; and Dion affirms, that Antyllus received the virile gown in the year 724, when he might be sixteen years old. He had been betrothed to Augustus's daughter (85); but they caused him to be murdered: and it was his virile gown, which exposed him to that fatal misfortune (86). Augustus thought he ought not to suffer him to live, since the Egyptians might look upon him as grown to man's estate. Marc Antony had by Fulvia another son, whom I have mentioned in another place (87).

[M] It is not true that Josephus speaks of this Fulvia. Glandorpius (88) has committed two faults in this: he refers us to the fifth chapter of the eighteenth book of the Jewish Antiquities, to be informed concerning Fulvia, Marc Antony's wife: and he says, in the same page, that Josephus speaks, in that place, of one Fulvia, who lived in Tiberius's time. This is a double imposition upon the reader, by making him believe, that the Jewish historian has spoken of two Fulvias in the same chapter; and that the one is she, who was married to Marc Antony. The truth is, he speaks but of one Fulvia, a Roman lady, married to Saturninus, who had embraced the Jewish religion, at the solicitation of four villains. She gave them all they asked of her under the fair pretence of religion; but, when her husband was informed, that they had kept for themselves all the presents, which she intended should be sent to the temple of Jerusalem, he complained of it to Tiberius; who, without distinguishing the innocent from the guilty, commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome.

FUNCCIUS,

(78) See Cicero, Philipp. II. cap. xxv. & seq.

(79) Cæsar Alexandria se recepit... habita posita pro sede Jovis Statoris, bona Cn. Pompeii... vocis acerbillissime fulgentia percrevit. Ibid. cap. xxviii.

(80) Plut. in Antonia, pag. 920. C.

(81) Plut. in Antonia, pag. 920.

(82) Plutarch. in Antonia, pag. 920. C.

(83) Plutarch. in Antonia, pag. 920. C.

(84) Plutarch. in Antonia, pag. 920. C.

(85) Plutarch. in Antonia, pag. 920. C.

(86) Plutarch. in Antonia, pag. 920. C.

(87) Plutarch. in Antonia, pag. 920. C.

(88) Plutarch. in Antonia, pag. 920. C.

(82) Cicero. Philipp. II. cap. xxxi. See also Plutarch. in Antonia, pag. 920.

(83) Cicero, Ibid. cap. xxxii.

(84) Dio, lib. II, pag. 511.

(85) Ibid. pag. 519.

(86) Ibid. pag. 511.

(87) Article ANTONY (MARCE JULIUS).

(88) Onomast. pag. 353.

(a) Melchior. Adam. in Vitis Theolog. pag. 412.

(b) See the remark [B].

(c) Πολυπραγ-
μοσύνη, de qua
voce vide A.
Gellium, lib. xi,
cap. xvi.

(1) See the
epistle dedicatory
of that chrono-
logy.

(a) Vossius, de
Scient. Mathe-
mat. pag. 454.

(a) Andreas
Schottus, Bibl.
Hispan. pag. 615.

(b) He was a Si-
cilian, called
Bononia, who
was divinity-
professor at
Louvain. Thuan.
lib. civ. pag. 486.
I have made an
article concern-
ing him.

(c) Idem. Schot-
tus, ubi supra.

(d) Thuan. ubi
supra.

(1) Nicol. Anto-
nius, Biblioth.
Hispan. Tom. I,
pag. 277.

(2) In the
500th page of
the first part.

(3) Thuan. lib.
civ. pag. 486.

(4) Montanus
haud hexagenario
major vitæ ulti-
mum diem clau-
dit. Id. ibid.

(c) Ex Thuan.
lib. ix. pag. m.
208, 109, ad
ann. 1575.

FUNCCIUS (JOHN), a Lutheran preacher, son-in-law to Osiander, and his second in the disputes about Imputative Justice, took upon him to disturb the public repose another way, that is, by politic cabals; which at last brought him to the scaffold, at Königsberg in Prussia, the twenty eighth of October 1566 (a); being then in the forty ninth year of his age (b). See, in Moreri, the two verses, which he is said to have composed the day that he died. They contain a Greek word, which Mr Moreri has put into French (c); but, having translated that word only, he has made nothing of it but perfect nonsense. He should therefore have said, that those two verses contained an exhortation to all men to grow wise by Funccius's example, and to avoid, as one would the plague, the cursed itch of meddling with too many things. Mr Moreri has committed another fault [A]. Vossius is mistaken as to the age of Funccius [B].

[A] Mr Moreri has committed another fault. He says, that Funccius carried down his chronology as far as 1552, and then to 1560. He should have said, that, in the year 1544, Funccius printed the first part of his chronology, which reached from Adam to the birth of JESUS CHRIST (1); and that, in the year 1554, his whole chronology was published, which began with the creation of the world, and ended with the year of grace 1552. In a new edition, revised and corrected, he went down as far as the year 1560.

[B] Vossius is mistaken as to the age of Funccius. He says, that Funccius was beheaded in the fortieth year of his age (2). But let us rather lay the fault on his printers, and content ourselves to censure his having sent to them a very needless addition. He had said, in the 231st page, that Funccius, born in the

year 1518, lost his life, being forty eight years old; and he ordered, that, in the 454th page, they should print an addition, which should inform us, that Funccius was beheaded in the year 1566. Could any thing be more needless than that? did not all his readers plainly see, by the 231st page, that Funccius died in the year 1566? the only way to excuse him, would be to say, that he had a mind to shew, by his addition, that Funccius was beheaded in the forty ninth year of his age; but that the printers put 40 instead of 49. It is certain, that Melchior Adam is not exact. For, having placed the birth of Funccius in the month of February 1518, and his execution the twenty eighth of October 1566, he should have placed his death in the forty ninth, and not in the forty eighth year of his age.

FURIUS (FREDERIC) surnamed Cæriolanus, because he was born at Valentia in Spain [A], flourished in the XVIth century. He studied at Paris under Audomarus Talceus, Hadrian Turnebus, and Peter Ramus (a); and afterwards came to Louvain, where he published a treatise of rhetoric, and maintained, against a doctor of divinity (b), that the holy Scripture ought to be translated into the vulgar tongue (c). He wrote thereupon a very fine treatise [B] in the same city, and went to print it in Germany. This brought him into trouble (d); but his learning, piety and candour, being made known to the emperor Charles V, he was preserved from the storm. That prince sent him back into the Low-Countries, and placed him near Philip his son (e), where he had the character of historian (f). Furius devoted himself all the rest of his life to the service of that master; and, having accompanied him to the states of Arragon, he died at Valladolid, in the year 1592 (g). I cannot set down his age exactly [C]. He endeavoured heartily to pacify the troubles of the Low-Countries (h) [D]. He was never married (i). Neither was he ever chancellor to the king

[A] Surnamed Cæriolanus, because he was born at Valentia in Spain. Nicolas Antonius (1) says, that the inhabitants of the kingdom of Valentia are vulgarly called Seriolis; and that, for this reason, our Furius has the surname of Seriolanus. He does not spell that word so, at the beginning of his book, intitled, Bononia, where he writes Cæriolanus. In the catalogue of Thuanus's library (2), he is miscalled Coriolanus.

[B] He wrote thereupon a very fine treatise. It is intitled, Bononia, sive de libris sacris in vernaculam linguam convertendis, libri duo ad Franciscum Boodillium Mendozium, Cardinalem Burgesem, and which was printed at Basil by John Oporinus, in the year 1556, in 8vo. It contains 365 pages. The reading of it was forbid by the Index Expurgatorius of the council of Trent.

[C] I cannot set down his age exactly. These words of Thuanus are not precise: *Ad meliorem vitam baud paulum Montanus senior hoc anno migravit* (3). For they only inform us, that Furius died much older than Montagne, who lived but sixty years (4). Those words were not understood in the eulogies of Mr Teissier, where it is said, that Furius was about sixty years old, when he died.

[D] He endeavoured . . . to pacify the troubles of the Low-Countries. You will find, in Thuanus, the substance of a project of peace, which Furius published in the year 1575. The conditions, he proposed to the provinces that had revolted, seemed very reasonable; but the prince of Orange answered, that they came too late, and could not be depended upon: and so he preferred war to so suspicious a peace (5).

Note, that Furius assured them, that the king of Spain would ratify the conditions, contained in his project; and that, if it was thought necessary to bind more strongly that monarch to the observation of the treaty, he would cause it to be signed by the grandees of Spain, both ecclesiastical and secular, by the princes of the empire, and by some of the most considerable cities in the Low-Countries. The author of the project promised, that the inquisition should not be established; that the imposition of the tenth-penny should be taken away; that the edicts against the new religion should be mitigated by certain proviso's, as should be amicably agreed on by both parties; and that such as would not be contented with those mitigations, should be at full liberty to go and settle elsewhere, without forfeiting any of their goods; that foreign soldiers should be disbanded, and sent out of the Low-Countries, if the malecontents did desire it, &c. Furius offered to go post, to carry immediately to the king of Spain the acceptance of these proposals of peace: but there was no need that he should take that trouble upon him; for the proposals were rejected. *Ad ea Arausionensis, quoniam jam conventus delegatorum dissolutus erat, pridie Non. Maias respondet, quæ in pacis formula proponantur, de promissis servandis cautiones, quæ in re totius negotii cardo vertitur, eas non ita prudenti viro tutas videri, quin P. R. si non serventur, dispensare possint, & violatores absolvere: ea dissidentia fieri, & quoniam formula hæc serius transmissa sit, ut ipse abjecta omni meliori spe certum licet dubii eventus bellum incertæ atque adeo infideliæ paci præferendum duxerit* (6). — The prince of Orange, because the assembly of the delegates was dissolved, answered, on the sixth

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Schottus, ubi supra.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) Thuan. ubi supra.

(i) Ubi supra.

(6) Id. ibid. pag.

6 sixth

king of Poland, as some pretend (k). His *Treatise of the Counsellor* has been much esteemed [E]. (k) See the last remark.

* sixth of May, that a prudent man could not depend on the promises in the plan of peace, on which the hinge of the whole affair turned, since the Pope could dispense with the observance of them; besides, that the project was transmitted too late; so that, rejecting all better hopes, he thought a certain war, tho' of doubtful event, preferable to an uncertain and therefore treacherous peace.*

It fares with historians as with travellers: they meet now and then with certain matters, some of which are like mires, or like an even, broad, well paved road, &c. Furius's project is a favourable passage for the historians, that write on the side of Spain; and disadvantageous to the historians of the other party. It is bright and fair for the first, and dull and sad for the latter: for after all, what finer field can a historian desire, to display the clemency of a prince, and to cast an odium on the stubbornness of his revolted subjects, than that step of Furius, and what followed thereupon? what greater perplexity, than for people to be obliged to say, that they cannot trust a master, who promises to redress all their grievances, and to suppress whatever forced them to take up arms? Nevertheless, in this case, the prince of Orange had good reasons for not trusting the king of Spain: for things were come to that pass, that he was compelled to practise, as he did, the maxim, that *whenever drawn his sword against his prince must throw away the scabbard*.

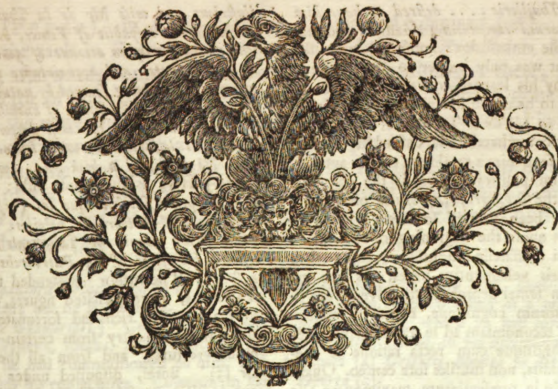
[E] His *Treatise of the Counsellor* has been much esteemed.] He intitled it, *Del consilio y consejo*. Simon Schardius was the first that translated it into Latin; and his translation was published at Cologne by

Andreas Schottus, in the year 1618, with the treatises of Peter Magnus, and Hippolytus à Collibus, on the same subject. Christopher Warsevicus made another Latin version of it, and published it with his treatise *De Legato & Legatione*. It was published at Dantzic in the year 1646, if we believe Nicolas Antonius. But undoubtedly he is mistaken: for Warsevicus was not then alive; and we have some things of his printed in the year 1582, and an edition of his treatise *De Legato & Legatione* in 1595. Nicolas Antonius has mistaken, for an edition procured by that Pole, that which was made after his death. However it be, this is the praise which Warsevicus has given to Furius's book. 'Hoc opus multis multorum vel longiorum finis commentationibus est præferendum. Sic enim respondet acumen ingenii pectoris candori, & disputandi subtilitas sententiarum gravitati, ut tales Cæsarum Consilarii omni ævo optari quam sperari videantur mihi magis potuisse (7). — This work is preferable to all comments whatever, even the longest. For the author's wit is so answerable to his candor, and the subtilty of his reasoning to the gravity of his stile, that such counsellors are rather to be wished for, than expected, in every age.' There is a Latin translation of that work, printed at Basil in the year 1563, in 8vo, and at Strasburg in 12mo (8). For the rest, Gaspar Escolanus, who has said, in his history of Valencia, that Furius had the dignity of chancellor to the king of Poland (9), has, perhaps, been led into this mistake by some book, that contained both the *Treatise of the Counsellor*, and some other dissertation, dedicated to the chancellor of Poland.

(7) Warsevicus apud Nicol. Antonium, ubi supra.

(8) See the Catalogue of Thuanus's library, pag. 500, Tom. 2.

(9) See Nicolas Antonius, ubi supra.



G.



GABRIEL (GILES) licentiate of the university of Louvain, priest, monk of the third order of St Francis, definer general, and apostolical commissary in the Low-Countries, is a Liegeois, who published, at Brussels, in 1675, a book intituled, *Specimina Moralis Christianæ & Moralis Diabolicæ*. This title alarmed the court of Rome, and obliged the author to go thither, to justify his doctrine, which being found to be sound, he thought he ought to communicate it to the public again, reforming a little the title (a). He therefore got his work reprinted, intitling it *Specimina Moralia*. This second edition is of Rome, 1680. There was a third in French, revised, corrected, and augmented. It is intituled, *Les Essais de la Theologie Morale Essays of Moral Divinity*, and contains 316 pages, in 12mo. This author approaches infinitely nearer to severe, than relaxed morality. I believe he is no friend to the Jesuits, nor, consequently, is beloved by them.

(a) Journal des Savans, April. 14, 1681, pag. 139. Edit. Holl. See also Mr Baillet, Jugem. des Savans, Tom. I, pag. 506.

(a) He was born at Mantes, in Provence. *Mercurie Gallant*, January, 1682, pag. 159.

(b) Ib. pag. 160.

(c) Father Jacob, *Traité des Bibliothèques*, pag. 479. See also pag. 704, where he quotes what Gaffarel has said, in the preface to the History of the War of Constantinople, of Paul Ramnaufo.

GAFFAREL (JAMES), one of the learned men, who has been much talked of in the XVIIth century, was a Provençal (a). He understood the oriental languages, and several others; and pretended to know almost every thing, but principally the occult and cabalistic sciences. Cardinal Richelieu chose him for his library-keeper (b), and sent him into Italy, to collect the best manuscripts and printed books that could be found (c). Mr de la Thuillerie, Ambassador of France to Venice, desired to have him near him, as a learned companion [A]. Gaffarel published a book, intituled, *Curiositez Inouïes*, (unheard of curiosities) which made a great noise, and which the Sorbonne censured [B]. He was obliged to retract it; for being possessed of ecclesiastical benefices [C], he could not with impunity bring his orthodoxy into question. Before that time, he had been exposed to many untoward suspicions [D], and it is very likely he held particular opinions. It is pretended, that cardinal Richelieu intended to employ him in his grand design

[A] Mr de la Thuillerie . . . desired to have him near him as a learned companion. Gaffarel did not pretend to be in the ambassador's house (1) upon the foot of a man, that was only proper to divert him at his leisure hours by his learned conversation. He did not believe politics to be out of his sphere; but thought he might be useful to Mr de la Thuillerie, even in the business of his embassy: wherefore he desired Mr Naudé, his good friend, to send him a catalogue of the authors, that have written on politics. That is the occasion, that gave birth to the *Bibliographia Politica* of Gabriel Naudé, which has been printed so often. In order to prove it, let us quote the beginning of that book:

Quæris à me, mi Gaffarelle eruditissime, atque etiam frequentibus literis vehementius urges, ut pro ea, quam in me non semel deprehendisti, diversorum librorum ac scriptorum cognitione, eorum nomenclaturam aut potius æconomiam ad te transmittam, quos instituentis tractandisque cum recta ratione & methodo politicæ studiis, non inutiles fore censeo. Quandoquidem ipsa tibi in præsentiarum maximopere esse necessaria, vel te ipso tacente ceteri omnes faciliè intelligunt, quos minimè fugit, te unum præ multis, non ut liberalibus modo disciplinis excultum, imbutumque sanctioris linguæ facultate præclarissimam, sed tanquam ad reliquas omnes disciplinas factum à naturâ, & diligenti arte expolitum, ab illustrissimo, sapientissimoque viro domino THUILLERIO, christianissimi nostri regis, ad serenissimam rempublicam Venetam oratore excellentissimo, selectum fuisse; quo cum de rebus gravissimis communicare, & subcivis horis sermones literarios miscere posset (2).

(2) Naudéus, in *Bibliographia Politica*, init.

— You desire of me, my learned friend Gaffarel, and earnestly request of me by repeated letters, that, as you have often found me acquainted with a great variety of books and authors, I would transmit to you a catalogue, or rather complete series, of those whom I think will be useful in rightly pursuing and methodizing the studies of politics. How very serviceable they will be at present to you, every one knows, without your confession, who are apprized, that the

illustrious and wise Mr de la Thuillerie, ambassador to the Serene Republic of Venice, has made choice of you, not only on account of your great knowledge in liberal arts, and acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, but as being formed by nature, and cultivated by art, for all other kinds of knowledge; with whom he may communicate the most important affairs, and fill up his leisure hours with learned conversation.

[B] He published a book which the Sorbonne censured. Here is the whole title: *Curiositez inouïes sur la Sculpture Talismanique des Persans, Horoscope des Patriarches, & Lecture des Étoiles*. That is, *Unheard of Curiosities about the Talismanic Sculpture of the Persians, Horoscope of the Patriarchs, and Reading of the Stars*. The author pretended to shew, that the Talismans, or constellation figures, had the efficacy to make a man rich and fortunate; to free a house and a whole country from certain insects and venomous creatures, and from all the injuries of the air (3). Sorel, disguised under the name of the Sieur de l'Isle, confuted Gaffarel's work; and his confutation was well received. You will find in it (4) Gaffarel's recantation. The first edition of the *Unheard of Curiosities* was printed at Paris in 1629. There was another printed at Roan in 1631; and two others, without the printer's name, or the place where they were printed, in the year 1637 and 1650, in 8vo. The last has additions to it. This work was printed in Latin, at Hamburg, in 1676, with Gregory Michael's notes.

[C] Being possessed of ecclesiastical benefices. I shall set down, in this remark, all the titles, which I find were given him. He was doctor of divinity and canon-law, protonotary of the holy apostolic see, and prior, in commendam, of St Giles's (5). When he died, he was dean of the canon-law in the university of Paris, prior of Revest de Brouffe, in the diocese of Cisteron, and commander of St Omeil (6). Konig calls him, *Signor apud Gallos Abbas*.

[D] Before that time, he had been exposed to many untoward suspicions. This appears by the preface to the *Unheard of Curiosities*. A person of quality, says he

(3) See Sorel's *Bibliothèque Française*, pag. 415.

(4) In page 377, teste Colomès, Gall. Orient. pag. 154.

(5) See Father Mabillon's *Travé des Bibliothèques*, pag. 704, 705.

(6) *Mercurie Galant*, for January, 1682, pag. 159.

sign of re-uniting religions; and that, in order to feel the pulse of the Protestants, he authorized him to preach against the doctrine of purgatory [E]. Gaffarel died at Signonce in the year 1681, being eighty years old (d). He had almost finished the work, which he had been upon a good many years [F]: I know not whether his friends will publish it. I shall not give an exact list of his works [G].

(d) Mercure Galant, ubi supra, pag. 160.

'whose desires cannot be refused without a crime, has drawn them out of my closet, where they should have always remained, since I had taken the resolution, after I had undergone so many calumnies, never to expose any thing more to the public: having a thousand times breathed out these words, formerly familiar to a Roman prince, *Utinam nescissem literas*.' How many authors are there, who would make the same wish, but that they have so much spirit as to despise the unjust censures of certain people.

[E] It is pretended, that cardinal Richelieu . . . authorized him to preach against the doctrine of purgatory. When, in one of the cities of Languedoc, the ministers of the place had the honour to wait upon him (7), and being fallen into discourse about a re-union in matters of religion, which he seemed to wish, since it had been happily restored in matters of state; they told him, that they saw but little probability of effecting it, so long as the Pope would so stiffly maintain his infallible authority. To which he answered mildly, that means would be found to bring the Pope to reason. And, as the Gazettes published then what the Sieur Gaffarel, a man of known erudition and reputation, authorized by his Eminence, had publicly preached in Dauphiné against purgatory; so we knew, in it's proper time, the secret negotiations, which, by his order, were entered upon by Father Audebert, a famous Jesuit, with some of our most celebrated ministers, to agree upon some propositions, which might be adjusted

'between both parties, about their chief differences.' This I extract out of a preface of Samuel Des-Marets (8). I know, that Gaffarel published a book about the pacification of religions.

[F] He had almost finished his work, which he had been upon a great many years. He had for many years been busy about a History of the Subterranean World, wherein he treated of caves, grottos, mines, vaults, and catacombs, which he had observed for thirty years in his travels through all the parts of the world. He had almost finished that work; the plates were already engraven, and it was going to the press, when death prevented the execution of his design. . . . We are put in hopes, that those two learned friends (9) who out-live Gaffarel, and with whom he entrusted his desires, will not deprive the public of so rare and curious a piece (10).

[G] I shall not give an exact list of his works. Here is only the title of some; *Abdita divinae cabalæ mysteria contra Sophistarum logomachiam defensa*, Paris 1623, in 4to. *Arts nova & perquam facili legendi Rabbinis sine punctis. De mystica Hebræorum stupenda libellus. In voces derelictas V. T. centuriæ duæ. De stellis cadentibus opinio nova. Quæstio Hebraico-Philosophica, utrum à principio mare salum existerit*. Mr Colomies (11) refers us to the *Apes Urbanae* of Allatius, from whence he has taken those titles, and where he has left many others. The *Widow of Sarepta*, and a *Treatise of the Good and Evil Genius's* are also two pieces of Gaffarel (12).

(8) Prefixed to the *Summary Answer to the method of cardinal Richelieu*. That answer was printed at Groningen in 1564. A new convert, cousin to Father Maimbourg, was the author of it. He takes, in it, the name of the Sieur R. de la Ruella.

(9) That is, the abbot Pecoil, a great traveller, and Mr Chorier, advocate at Grenoble.

(10) Mercure Galant, ubi supra, pag. 161, 163.

(11) Colomies, Gallia Orient. pag. 260, 261.

(12) Mercure Galant, ubi supra, pag. 161.

(7) That is, cardinal Richelieu.

(8) François des Ruets, Descript. de la France, pag. 283, Edit. of Combaud, 1608.

(9) In the remark of the article ROCCO.

GAIGNEUR (WILLIAM LE) was of Angers (a), and lived at the beginning of the XVIIth century. We have seen his name (b) among those, who have excelled in the art of writing. I have read, in a description of France, that he was the first of all the writers of the kingdom, and that he paved the way for an infinite number of persons, who at that time professed the art of writing (c). There are some verses in his praise, in the poems of Peter le Loyer, who styles him *secretary to monsieur the king's brother* (d).

(a) Fr. des Ruets, ubi supra.

(d) See the works and poetical miscellanies of P. le Loyer, fol. 248, verso, Edit. of Paris, 1579.

GALÉS (PETER), in Latin *Galesius*, a learned Spaniard [A], 'who having been put to the rack in Rome, upon suspicion of being a Protestant, lost one of his eyes. Being afterwards come to Geneva, he taught philosophy there, and was some time after rector of the college of Guienne at Bourdeaux. Being gone from thence, by reason of the envy they bore to him, he left France, to go into Flanders; where, having been discovered to be a Protestant, and put into the hands of the Spaniards, his countrymen, the most favourable treatment he received was, to be burnt by virtue of a decree of the Inquisition. This Galés had good books, and also some manuscripts (a) [B]. It was the Leaguers that took him, and delivered him up to the Spaniards. See Meursius (b).

(a) Transcribed from Colomies, *Mélanges Historiques*, pag. 73, 74, who, without doubt, had copied Meursius, *Albena Batava*, pag. 333.

(b) Meursius, ubi supra.

(1) Trinité de l'Antechrist, esp. xviii, apud Colomies, *Mélanges Historiques*, pag. 73.

[A] A learned Spaniard. Florimond de Remond (1) makes him an Italian; but he is mistaken. [B] He had some manuscripts. Casaubon, who had known him at Geneva, speaks, in his writings (2), of some, which he had communicated to him, and likewise commends his conjectures. Cujacius, in his

observations (3), calls him, *Doctissimum & acutissimum virum*, upon occasion of a privilege of the emperor Justinian, which he had furnished him with: and Father Labbé, in his *Bibliothèque de manuscrits*, quotes (4) *Orientii Monumenta in Biblioteca Galefiana reperta* (5).

(3) Lib. x, cap. xi, apud Colomies, ibid.

(4) Pag. 63, apud eundem ibid.

(5) Colom. ibid.

(a) On Theocritus, of the Geneva edition. On *Diogenes Laërtius*, pag. 59, 93, 105, 118 and 119, of the edition of 1594. On *Suetonius*, pag. 9, and in his preface to *Attenaus*, apud Colomies, ibid. In his preface to *Attenaus* we must read, *Ejus etiam codicem vidimus non inter alios nequitiam vulgares Petri Galefii Hispani libros, and not Gelatii*.

GALLARS (NICOLAS DES), in Latin *Gallafius*, a minister of Geneva, was one of those, who assisted at the conference of Poissy. Those of Geneva lent him to the church of Paris, when they were desired to give them a minister in the year 1557. The deputy (a), who conducted him, was stopped at Auffonne with him, and some suspicious and prohibited books having been found in his portmanteau, he was carried to Dijon, where he suffered martyrdom. Des Gallars was permitted to pursue his journey, because they found neither books nor letters about him, that might render him suspected (b). He is the author of some works [A], and of an edition of St Irenæus

(a) He was called Nicolas du Rouffau. *Beza, Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii, pag. 137.

(b) Beza, ibid. See also the History of Martyrs, lib. vii, fol. 412, verso.

[A] He is the author of some works. He published, at Geneva, in the year 1545, an Apology for Farel, and his colleagues, against Peter Charles. He translated into Latin several treatises of Calvin. His book of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, against the new Arians, was printed at Orleans in the year 1565. Calvin's

(c) Beza's preface to Calvin's Commentary on Joshua, pag. m. 10.

næus [B]. He was minister at Orleans in 1564 (c). We shall see, below, the date of some of his works [C]. Calvin had a great esteem for him, and was so much esteemed by him, that he found in him a transcriber of what he wrote (d). La Croix du Maine speaks of another N. DES GALLARS [D], who was minister of the French church in London, in the year 1561.

(d) See the remark [D], citat. (11).

vin's commentary upon Isaiah is but an abstract of the lectures and sermons of Calvin upon that prophet, which was made by des Gallars. He has also made a Commentary upon the book of Exodus, and an Apology for Calvin against Cochleus. The abridgment of Gesner's *Bibliothèque*, where we learn this, does not mention the years, wherein those works were printed; which fault is too frequent in that abridgment of Gesner, and in most compilations of that nature. Note, That the commentary upon Isaiah was afterwards revised by Calvin, and therefore that des Gallars's edition is not the best. I prove this by Theodore Beza, who, having said, That Calvin, though sick in the year 1558, had not, for all that, given over working, goes on thus:

(1) Beza, in vita Calvini, ad ann. 1558.

(2) See Placcius de Anonymis, n. 429, pag. 102.

‘Ejus rei testes sunt ultima Christianæ institutionis editio tum Latina tum Gallica, & Commentarii in Ebraicam ab eo non tam emendati (quales illos Gallarsius ex ore prælegentis exceptos ediderat) quam novius profusus emissi (1). — *Witness the last edition of his Christian Institute, both Latin and French, and the Commentary on Isaiah, not so much corrected (as those, which Gallars had published from his mouth) as new drawn up.*’ Some believe (2) that des Gallars composed, with Beza, the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches; but I believe they are mistaken (§ a).

(§ a) They ascribe to him the short prayers at the end of each Psalm of Marot and Beza, in several old editions. REM. CRIT.]

(3) At Geneva, 1570.

[B] And of an edition of *St Irenæus*. Gesner's abridgment is very good in this particular; for we find there, not only where, and in what year (3), the minister des Gallars published that edition, but also wherein it differs from others.

(4) Beza, Pref. of Calvin's Commentary on Joshua, pag. m. 10.

[C] We shall see, below, the date of some of his works.] In the year 1545, he translated into Latin a small treatise, which Calvin had published in 1540, on the Lord's Supper. Des Gallars was then minister of the church of Geneva (4). Some time after, he made a Latin translation of what Calvin had published, in 1544, against the Anabaptists and Libertines (5). He made, in 1548, a Latin version of the inventory of relics, published by Calvin in 1546 (6). He published,

(6) Ibid.

(a) Le Grain, *Décade de Louis le Juste*, lib. iv, pag. 154. *Histoire de Cyprien*, Tom. II, des Dames Illustres, pag. 477, denies that she was that nurse's daughter.

GALLIGAI (LEONORA), wife to the marshal d'Ancre, was daughter of a Joiner, and of Mary de Medicis's nurse (a). That prince's lov'd her tenderly, and brought her into France, when she came there to be married to Henry IV. Galligai, under the title of bedchamber-woman to that Prince, governed her entirely. She was extremely ugly, but had an infinite deal of wit. She married Concino Concini, a domestic of the same queen, and raised with him a prodigious fortune. They were more united by interest, than by affection [A]. They had fomented the division between Henry IV, and the queen (b); for their artifices and false reports occasioned the domestic jars, which made that great prince weary of his life. After his death, they found it still more easy to govern their mistress, and engross all the riches and best places of the kingdom [B], and were puffed up with unheard-of and monstrous pride.

(b) See Mr de Perceigne, *Histoire de Henry le Grand*, pag. m. 399, ad ann. 1603, and *Mémoires*, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. VI, pag. m. 401, 167.

(1) Relation of the death of the marshal d'Ancre, in the sequel of *The History of Favourites*, by Mr du Puy, pag. m. 23.

(2) Ibid. pag. 30, 31.

(3) She meant, without doubt, those jewels, when she said to messieurs Aubri and le Bailleur, *That she had sent to the king, the day before, a strong box, wherein were jewels to the value of two hundred thousand livres.* Ib. p. 61.

(4) Ib. pag. 31. (5) Ib. pag. 55.

[A] They were more united by interest, than by affection.] The marshal d'Ancre's wife heard, without shedding tears, that her husband was murdered; and her first care was to save her jewels, which she put in the straw of her bed, and, causing herself to be undressed, she went to bed (1). The provostmen, that went into her chamber, not finding the jewels, made her (2) rise, to search her bed, where they were found (3). She said afterwards to those, who guarded her, well, they have killed my husband; is not this enough to satisfy them? Let them suffer me to go out of the kingdom (4). When they told her, they had hanged the corps of the marshal, she seemed very much moved at it, without weeping however; but yet she said, that he was a proud, insolent, man: that he had nothing but what he deserved: that she had not lain with him for three whole years last past: that he was an ill man; and that, to part from him, she had resolved to retire into Italy this spring, and had made every thing ready for her journey; which she offered to justify (5). When messieurs Aubri and le Bailleur

ed, in 1551, the commentary, which he had extracted from the lectures and sermons of Calvin on the prophet Isaiah (7).

(7) Ibid. pag. 18.

[D] La Croix du Maine speaks of another N. Des Gallars.] Nicolas des Gallars, whom he mentions in the 344th page, and N. des Gallars, of whom he speaks in the 363d page, are the same minister, and therefore he makes two authors of one. He has written in Latin, (thus he speaks touching the latter) and since translated into French, the form of the ecclesiastical government, settled in the French church in London, printed in the year 1561, at which time he resided in the said city of London (8). It may be objected, that, if La Croix du Maine is not mistaken as to the time, it is probable, that there are here two ministers; for Nicolas des Gallars was at Geneva in the year 1560 (9), and in France in 1561, at the time of the conference of Poissy. I answer, that this proves nothing. That minister was sent to London in the year 1560, to settle there a French church; that is certain: but at the same time, that does not hinder, that a year after des Gallars might have been in France at the conference of Poissy (10). ‘Eodem tempore quum non pauci pii Galli post Mariæ reginæ mortem singulari Serenissimæ reginæ Elizabethæ pietate & humanitate freti in Angliam refugerent, peterentque reverendi viri Edmundi Grindalli episcopi Londinensis assensu ut Geneva mitteretur qui ecclesiam Gallicam illic constitueret, missus est eo Nicolaus Gallarsius familiarissimus à multis jam annis Calvini collega, & cujus plurimum opera in excipiendis dictatis utebatur. Sed Calvinus nihil antiquius ecclesiæ adificationem fuit (11). — At the same time, when not a few pious Frenchmen, after the death of queen Mary, depending on the singular piety and humanity of the most serene queen Elizabeth, fled into England, and petitioned, with the assent of Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, that some one might be sent from Geneva, to establish a French church there, Nicolas Gallars was sent thither, an intimate acquaintance and colleague for many years of Calvin, and whom he chiefly employed in taking down what he dictated. But Calvin had nothing more at heart than the edification of the churches.’

(8) He had said, that N. des Gallars was minister of the French church in the city of London, in England.

(9) The epistle dedicatory of his Commentary on Exodus, is dated that year from Geneva.

(10) Beza, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iv*, pag. 450, puts him among the ministers who were at that conference.

(11) Beza, in vita Calvini, ad ann. 1560.

went to interrogate her about her rings and other goods, she spoke to them with as much assurance, as if she had no manner of fear (6); and even told them, she hoped to come again into favour.

(6) Ib. pag. 61.

[B] They engrossed all the riches and best places.] See, above, the article CONCINI, and consider only, that they found in the marshal's pockets (7), in assignments from the treasury, in notes of receivers, or in bonds, the sum of 1985000 livres. They found in his house good assignments for 2500000 livres more (8). His wife said to the commissaries, that she had still her pearls, to wit, a necklace of 40 pearls of 2000 livres a-piece, and a chain of five turns of pearls of 50 livres a-piece, and that in all they amounted to above 120000 crowns (9). She had already sent jewels to the king, to the value of 200000 livres. The provostmen had not so well searched, but that she had still a box of jewels left: for, when they carried her to the Bastille, they asked her ‘before they went . . . if she had no more rings? She shewed a box, that had not been taken from her, wherein there were drawers

(7) Ib. pag. 43.

(8) Ib. pag. 62.

(9) Ib. pag. 61.

pride [C]. But the end of this was extremely tragical. I have said elsewhere how the husband was used, and now I am going to relate what was done to the wife. She was committed to the Bastille, and afterwards to the prison of the parliament. She was tried by the parliament, and sentenced to be beheaded and burnt; which was executed the eighth of July 1617. She took up at last a good resolution, and died with constancy enough, and like a christian (c). She was convicted, among other crimes, of having not only judaized [D], but likewise of having used magical arts [E] to compass her ends. She was condemned for high-treason against God and the

(c) Le Grain, lib. x, pag. 419.

only some chains of amber: and being asked, if she had none about her, she took up her coats, and shewed as high as near her breasts, having on drawers of red Florence frise. They told her, laughing, that they must put their hands to her drawers. She answered, that, at another time, she would not have suffered it, but now all was permitted; and so du Hallier (10) felt a little about the drawers (11). This great wealth was a sufficient proof of their crimes.

[C] They were puffed up with unbecoming and monstrous pride. She would not even allow the princes, princesses, and the greatest persons of the kingdom, to come into her chamber, nor suffer people so much as to look her in the face; saying, that she was frightened when people looked upon her, and that they might bewitch her by looking upon her: Which was the reason that she would no longer see several of her servants, only for having looked on her; and towards the end of her favour, she had even banished from her chamber, on that account, Mr de Lufson, and Faydeau, who had been the last in her favour (12). Her superstition, as to witchcraft, and her ugliness, were the reason of this, more than her vanity.

[D] She was convicted of having not only judaized. This was also laid to her husband's charge. It was proved,

I. By the care they took to bring into France a Jew, famous for fortune-telling, being a physician called Montalto. They employed Vincenzio Ludovici, their secretary, in this negotiation. This was verified by letters, written from Venice to the said Vincenzio, the twenty sixth of April, 1611, by which they give him hopes of the said Montalto's coming into France (13); and by letters of the said Montalto himself, written, the sixth of May following, to the said Leonora Galligai, by which he assures her, that he is ready to come, by the means of so gracious and singular a protection; not meaning however to disguise or conceal his profession, but freely to exercise his Jewish religion, since he had refused great offers made him from Bologna, Messina, Pisa, and even to succeed the great physician Mercurialis, under the most gracious protection of the great duke Ferdinand; and that the first professorship of Padua had also been offered him; adding, that by one single act they might know his intention, to wit, that he shall receive no money on the day he is used to observe, that is, the Sabbath-day. These letters have been seen in the process in the literal production against the said Galligai, under the letter K: and it is to be observed hereupon that la Place, gentleman of the horse to the said Galligai, maintained to her, in the confrontation, that, since the coming of the said Montalto, she went no more, either to church, or confession, but spent her time in making little wax balls, which she put in her mouth (14).

II. It was alledged (15), that by their conversation with that Montalto, the prisoners disused the observation and practice of the christian religion, and accustomed themselves to judaism; and that it was the reason, that there were found in their house two books, one of which is intitled CHEINUC, that is, in Hebrew, Custom, which is a kind of catechism; the other is intitled Machazer, that is, Revolution of the annual service, for the use of the Jews of Spain, printed at Venice.

III. It was alledged (16), that from that conversation and catechizing followed their apostasy and desertion of the christian religion, to embrace, as they did, judaism, practicing the sacrifices, oblations, and exorcisms, used among the Jews. This is verified in the process, both by the testimonial and vocal proof, and by the confession of the said Galligai; and among other depositions, that of her coachman is ob-

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servable, by which it appears how they made use of several churches in Paris, to commit, in them, in the night, those impieties, found out by the cries and howlings heard in the same, when the said Galligai sacrificed a cock, which is an oblation used by the Jews in the feast of reconciliation, offering a cock for their sins. And that this oblation of a cock is Jewish, and that the Jews are used to practise the same in the places, where they are suffered to reside, appears by two books, produced by the king's attorney-general, when the trial was depending; the one inscribed Baal Hatturim, that is, the chief and patron of orders; in the first part of which, intitled Gracchaim, that is, The way and path of life, or The way of living which one ought to observe, or, The way of spending this life, that oblation is mentioned; and of which book, Rabbi Jacob, who pretends to be a Gaul, is the author. And the other, intitled The Jewish Synagogue; in the twentieth chapter whereof is written what is done in that feast of reconciliation during ten penitential days: and that, on the ninth, the Jews rise very early, frequent the school, sing, and rehearse several prayers; and as soon as they return home, each male, both young and old, takes a cock in his hand, and the female a hen, and the big-bellied women a cock and a hen together, and rehearse these words out of the psalm of David: † The foolish, by reason of their prevarication, and for their iniquities, are afflicted, so that their soul loathes all meat, and they are come even to death's door. This oblation of a cock, does not only argue judaism, but heathenism also, and declares the accused to be apostates, and consequently sacrilegious; for an apostate is accounted guilty of sacrilege by the imperial constitutions †, which punish such capital crimes with forfeiture of all their estate. As to what the said Galligai has said in her excuse, That she had made that oblation of a cock for her health, and to be cured of a disease she laboured with; it was answered to her, that such an impiety is punished with death, although it be practised by way of remedy.

IV. They alledged, as a proof of their affection to judaism, the endeavours they used to bring Jews into France, having sent to Amsterdam in Holland, where there are many of them, to invite some of them to Paris (17).

[E] . . . but likewise of having used magical arts. This accusation affected also both the husband and wife. It was proved (18),

I. By a letter of a woman called Gondy, and others of the said Galligai, the prisoner, to the lady Isabella, a reputed witch; by which she desires her to send her word, if she knows any thing à l'usage which regards any way her person, or the interest of her house.

II. By three books of characters, with another little character, found in the room of the said Galligai, and a box, wherein are five round pieces of velvet, of which characters the prisoners made use to get an ascendant over the WILLS OF THE GREAT ONES: which is verified by the depositions of Melon, Charton, and Nicolas Viart, confronted to the said Galligai. And as for the books of characters, found in her house, they are mentioned in the verbal process of Messieurs de Maupeou, and Arnauld, intendants of the Finances, containing the description of the moveables and papers found in the said house.

III. By the deposition of Philip Dacquain, formerly a Jew, and at present a Christian, who says, that he being at Molins, in the lieutenant-criminal's house, the prisoners sent him word, that they had made use of the Cabala, and of the books of the Jews, which serves against judaism and witchcraft; it being to be observed what Dacquain deposes, that

II

* Synagoga Judæica, edita Hanoviae, anno 1514.

† Psalm cv.

† Tot. tit. C. de Apostatis.

* Novel. Conf. Leonis Imp. 65.

(17) Le Grain, ibid. pag. 406.

(18) Id. ibid. pag. 406.

the king, and for several other particular crimes. There was also in her process an article, by which she was charged with high-treason both against God and the king [F]. Her mouth was soon stopped, when, to prolong her life, she pleaded her belly [G].

* Concini, in the presence of his wife, had removed out of his chamber an urinal, by reason of its uncleanness, and carried out of the said chamber the image of the crucifix, for fear they should hinder the effects, which Concini and his wife expected from the reading of some verses of the fifty-first Psalm in Hebrew: which reading they designed should be performed by Daquin, in the same way it had formerly been performed before them by Montalto.

IV. Because they sent for some forcerers, who pretended to be monks, called Ambrosians, from Nancy in Lorraine, who assisted the marshal's wife in the offering of the cock.

V. Because there were found in their house divers things, which they used to hang about their necks (19) after the manner of the preservatives, called by the Jews, *Kamea*; by the Greeks, *Phylacteria*, and *Periaptia*; and by the Latins, *Amuleta*, and *Ligatura*: which are things condemned by the holy councils, particularly by the sixty-first canon of the sixth synod in *Trullo*, and by a Roman council under Pope Gregory III, and by another of Agatho, quoted by Gratian *, and by Yvo bishop of Chartres †, quoting a council of Arles, cap. v, which condemns *Phylacteria diabolica*, and *Caracteres diabolici*.

VI. It was proved against them, that they made use of images of wax, and kept them in coffins.

VII. And that they consulted magicians, and employed astrologers, who professed judicial mathematics; and that, among the rest, they made use of the diabolical science of Cosmo Ruger, an Italian.

VIII. (20) But, above all, it is to be observed, that the said Galligai invited to Paris one Matthew de Montenas, as a greater and more experienced magician than the said Ambrosians; by whom she caused her self to be exorcised in the church of the Augustines, in the chapel of the Epifames, and in the night, as has been deposed by several monks of the said monastery, most of whom have been confronted to her, without being excepted against by her. It being to be noted, that the exorcism was performed in another manner than among christians;

which was also done in the churches of St Sulpice in the suburb St Germain, and in the little St Antony in the city. She answered to that, that her causing herself to be thus exorcised in the night, was, lest it should be known for what distemper she did it; saying, that she was sometimes possessed. But this ought to have been done by men having the true character, as either by the bishop, or his vicar, that is, the curate of her parish, and not by unknown, grizzly, men, who have disappeared, and were no more seen; such as were those pretended Ambrosians.

IX. It is also to be noted, that, when these Ambrosians had a mind to perform any ceremonies of their art in the house of the said Galligai, they caused all the servants to go out, burnt frankincense in the garden, and made several things in form of benedictions upon the earth; and the said Galligai did eat, then, only cocks combs, and rams kidneys, which she caused to be blessed; of which there is a testimonial proof in the process.

X. It is also to be noted, that, every year, on the eve of the Epiphany, or Twelfth day, she caused father Roger to bless the water, which she used, for lustral, or holy-water: which was not without some mystery and design. And, being asked for what reason she did it, she would give no answer.

[F] She was charged with high-treason both against GOD and the king. For both husband and wife enquired after the king's life and health from some persons, who professed judicial astrology. This was proved by the deposition of John du Chatel, called *Cæsar*, who was a soothsayer and fortune-teller, confronted to the prisoners, &c. (21)

[G] She pleaded her belly. Having heard her condemnation read to her, she said, *I am big with child*. But it was answered to her, that she had said, being a prisoner, and during her trial, that she had not had her husband's company for two years before; so that this could not be, but to the prejudice of her honour: to which she answered nothing, and insisted no more thereupon (22).

GALLONIUS (ANTONY), a priest of the Oratory at Rome, hath composed, among other works, a treatise *de Martyrum Cruciatibus*, which is very curious. There is to be seen in it the figure of the instruments used by the heathens against the martyrs of the primitive church. He died in the year 1605 (a). I give the titles of some other works he composed [A].

A little book, printed in Holland in the year 1699, informs me of a thing, which, I think, deserves to be inserted in this Dictionary. It relates to the dispute, wherein Gallonius made himself a party, to defend Baronius against the monks of mount Cassin [B].

[A] I give the title of some other of his works. He wrote the life of Philip Neri, the founder of the priests of the Oratory, and an apology *pro assertis in annalibus Ecclesiasticis Baronianis de monachatu sancti Gregorii Papæ adversus D. Constantinum Bellottum Monachum Cassinatem*, Rome, 1604. in 4to. ex typographia Vaticana. See the *Bibliothèque* of Prosper Mandosio; wherein he has not forgot Gallonius, who was a native of Rome.

[B] He defended Baronius against the monks of mount Cassin. The little book, which furnishes me here with a commentary, is intitled, *Critique du livre publié par les Moines Benedicteins de la Congregation de S. Maur, sous le titre de Bibliothèque divine de St Jerome*. It contains but sixty six pages in 12mo. The advertisement of the bookseller informs us, that we are beholden for that criticism to Mr Simon's nephew, who wrote it from his uncle's Latin Memoirs. What I am going to copy from that book, is not the least curious passage in it (1). The monks of mount Cassin, are so liberal of their habit, that, having bestowed it on St Gregory the Great, they could not endure what that cardinal (2) had advanced in his annals, that it was false, that St Gregory had been a Benedictine monk; and published thereupon a book with this title, *Gregorius magnus instituto Sanctissimæ*

Patris Benedicti restitutus. But Antony Gallon, a priest of the Oratory at Rome, espousing the cause of his brother Baronius, wrote a very smart answer to them; and because it is grown very scarce, I shall send you some passages out of it, which may serve you till the whole be reprinted, with some other pieces on the same subject. It is printed at Rome, in 4to, with this title *Apologeticus Liber*... (3) I confess to you, that, if father Gallon's piety, as well as that of Baronius, were not otherwise known, one would be apt to think, that there is a great deal of passion in that answer; wherein the monks are charged with producing, to maintain their cause, some pieces, whose authors deserve the same punishment as Cicarella. Strange comparison! that Cicarella was hanged for his forgeries, by the order of Pope Pius V. It is true that the same Gallon owns, that he reveals things, which ought never to have come to the knowledge of the public; but he adds at the same time, that the extrem impudence of those monks had engaged him to publish them. He reproaches them with a great number of donations, which had been forged in mount Cassin under the names of Popes and Princes. All those deeds were printed at Venice, in 4to, in 1513, at the end of the chronicle of that monastery. By these

(19) Ibid. pag. 407.

* Si quis ariolos, 26, q. 5.

† Part XI. cap. i, liv, and lviii.

(20) Le Grain, ubi supra, pag. 407.

(a) Ludovicus Jacob in Bibliotheca Pontificia, pag. 263.

(1) Critique de la Bibliothèque divine de St Jerome, pag. 64 & seq. See also Mr Simon's Critical Letters, published by a German gentleman, pag. 118, & seq.

(2) That is, Baronius.

(21) Ibid. pag. 408.

(22) Ibid. pag. 418.

(3) See the sequel of that title in the remark [A]

• these false donations several possessions, and even whole towns, are given to the monks of mount Cassin. It is true, that the monk Constantine, in defence of his monastery, produces records, which were found in his library, written in Lombardic characters, and which, by consequence, could not have been newly forged. But Gallon, who knew to the bottom the practices of the Benedictin monks, answers, that all the papers they have, written in those ancient characters, ought not to be credited, as if they were sealed with the seal of the Revelation; it being well known that they do not want writers, who have a hand good enough to

imitate Lombardic characters: *Ac si quidquid eo cacteris (Longobardico) exaratum invenitur tanquam sigillo Apocalypsis sit consignatum in dubitationem non liceat revocare, & desint hodie quoque scriptores qui eorumdem formam elementorum valeant imitari, ut plus apud te probat genus carasteris, quam veritas manifestis rationibus confirmata.*

I have not seen the answer, which has been made to that little book of Mr Simon's nephew, by the Benedictins of Paris. If I had seen it, I would have extracted out of it all that could serve towards the clearing of this dispute, and I would have faithfully related what both parties have alledged.

GALLUTIUS (JOHN PAUL), a learned Italian astronomer, lived in the XVIIth century. He invented an instrument to observe the celestial Phenomena (a); and published several books of astronomy, and some of physics [A]. He was a fellow of the academy at Venice.

(a) Quo instrumento nove excogitato cuncta cæli phenomena una cum horis omnis generis observantur ex sole, luna, ac stellis, non longe ab ecliptica distantibus. *Vossius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 386.*

[A] He published several books. The following are those that are come to my knowledge: *Della fabbrica & uso di diversi stromenti di Astronomia & Cosmografia, Venice, 1597. Speculum Urmicum, Venice, 1593. Cælestium corporum & rerum ab ipsis pendentium explicatio, Venice, 1605.* This work has been wrongfully fathered upon Paulus Galvicius, in

the catalogue of Thuanus's library (1). *Theatrum mundi & temporis, Venice, 1589. De Iternitate erigendo, parte fortunæ, divisione Zodiaci, dignitatibus Planetarum & temporibus ad meditandum accommodatis. Extat cum Job. Haurto de cognoscendis & medendis morbis ex corporum cælestium positione, cui argumenta & explicationem inscripsit, Venice, 1584.*

GALLUTIUS (TARQUIN), born in Italy in 1574, entered himself in the order of the Jesuits in the year 1590, and became very famous among them. He taught rhetoric in the Roman college for ten years, and morals for four. He died at Rome, the twenty eighth of July 1649, in the Grecian college, of which he had been director for eighteen years (a). He is the author of several works [A].

(a) Nathan. Sotuel. in Bibl. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, pag. 753.

[A] He is the author of several works. He pronounced some orations before the Pope, that were printed. It was he, who made cardinal Bellarmine's funeral oration, which was also printed. Several other orations of his, collected into two volumes, and several of his poems, in three books, have been published. We have also of his two volumes of commentaries on Aristotle's Morals, printed (1) at Paris for Sebastian Cramoisi, in Folio. His book, intitled, *Vindicationes Virgilianæ, & Commentarii tres de Tragedia, de Comædia, de Elegia*, printed at Rome in the year 1621 (2), is very curious. His design 'was to justify Virgil at any rate. In order to that, he sets down all the objections, which he thought could be made to several places of that poet; but there are several, which he has not proposed with all their force, lest he should have found too much difficulty in answering them. Nevertheless, among some weak arguments, there are others rational enough, attended with a great deal of literature, and several fine maxims concerning the art of poetry (3). Mr Baillet shews here a piece of cunning, which is but too

common in all sorts of disputes, but especially with controversies about religion. When they find themselves unable to answer an objection, they leave out of it the principal difficulty; that is, they disarm their adversary before they attack him. Father Gallutius published, at Rome, in the year 1633, the revival of the ancient tragedy, and Crispus's defence; which work is in Italian (4).

This JESUIT is, without doubt, the same author whom Balzac commends in the words you are going to read: *I had learned in Italy, says he (5), that for a man to write well, he must propose good patterns to himself; and that good patterns were contained in a certain circle of years, out of which every thing was either in the imperfection of infancy, or in the corruption of old age. With this principle I happened to assist at cardinal Bellarmine's funeral oration, and I considered that great and admirable Jesuit, who, with the dignity of his gestures, the graces of his pronunciation, and the eloquence of his whole body, which accompanied that of his mouth, transported my soul into the ancient republic.*

(4) Sotuel, ubi supra.

(5) Balzac, Œuvres Diverses, pag. m. 404.

GALLUTIUS (ANGELUS), a native of Macerata in Italy, became a Jesuit in the year 1606, being thirteen years old, and got a reputation by his eloquence and poetry. He taught rhetoric in the Roman college for twenty four years, and died at Rome the twenty eighth of February, 1674, being above eighty years old (a). He is the author of some works [A].

(a) Sotuel, Bibl. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, pag. 61.

[A] He is the author of some works. To wit, of some Latin orations, and of a History of the wars in the Low-Countries, from the year 1593, till the truce concluded in 1609. This history is in Latin,

and was printed at Rome in 1671, in two volumes in folio; and reprinted in Germany, in 4to, in the year 1677.

GAMACHE (PHILIP), in Latin *Gamacæus*, doctor of the Sorbonne, and professor of divinity in the university of Paris, was accounted one of the most learned divines of the XVIIth century. He was born in the year 1586, and died the twenty first of July 1625 (a). His commentaries upon Thomas Aquinas, intitled *Summa Theologica* (b), are very much esteemed. See above (c) what he said of St Augustin.

(b) Printed at Paris, in 1627, in three Volumes, in folio.

(c) Remark [C] of the article ADAM (JOHN).

GAMBARA (LAURENCE), a native of Brescia in Italy, was one of the good Latin poets of the XVIIth century. He lived a long while at Rome, in cardinal Alexander Farnese's house (a). He published in the same city a collection of poems, of which

(a) Thuan. li b. lxxxiv, p. m. 76.

which Giraldus, who was a good judge, and a severe critic, gives a great character [A]. Manucius has commended yet more fully Gambara's poems [B], but we must remember, that he bestows those great praises in the letters he writes to the author. Muret went into another extrem [C]; for he spoke of that poet's works with the utmost contempt. It is reported (b), that Gambara had made some verses too free, and somewhat obscene; but that, being raised to the priesthood, he committed them to the flames in the presence of several persons, though the public was extremely impatient to see them. He composed a work, wherein he lays a heavy yoke upon poets [D]; for he will not allow them to meddle with heathenish fables. He translated into Latin verse some Idylls of Bion; but did not succeed well in it, if we rely upon Barthius's judgment (c). He died at Rome, towards the end of the year 1586, being ninety years old (d).

(b) See Mr Teissier, *Elog. Tom. II*, pag. 71. He quotes Pollewin's *Apparatus*.

(c) Barth. in *Stadium*, Tom. III, pag. 1635.

(d) Thuan. ubi supra.

[A] He published a collection of poems, of which Giraldus . . . gives a great character. Let us quote his words: 'Vixit adhuc Laurentius Gambara Riulanus ex Brixia, cujus poemata nuper legi Romæ excusa, non indigna illa quidem lectione bonorum, nam & numeris poeticis, ac figuris, & varia eruditione habetur insignis. Romæ versatur Basilio nostro Zanchio carissimus amicus, ut ex ejus carmine facile cognoscimus, & Zanchi ipsius epistolis (1). — There is still living Laurentius Gambara Riulanus of Brescia, whose poems, printed at Rome, I lately read; indeed they deserve the reading, the author being famous for poetical numbers and figures, and variety of learning. At Rome, he is in great friendship with our Basil Zanchius, as we easily perceive by his poetry, and Zanchius's letters.' You shall see, in the following remark, the confirmation of what you have just now read, touching the friendship of Gambara and Basil Zanchius.

(1) Gyrard. de Poët. suor. Tempor. Dial. III, pag. m. 573. E.

(2) It is the 28th of the 4th book.

(3) Paulus Manucius, Epist. xxviii, lib. iv, pag. m. 226.

[B] Manucius has commended yet more fully Gambara's poems. He wrote to him a letter (2), soon after the death of Basil Zanchius, at which he supposes him to be much afflicted, considering the intimacy that was between them. He takes notice, that they were looked upon as the two first poets of that time; but it was still undecided which of the two carried the prize: 'Fuit uterque vestrum ad poetiam facultatem natura propensus, ac mirè factus, ingenio verò ita pares, ut, cum nemo tam bonus poeta sit, quin vobis primas in componendis versibus partes tribuat, quam confessionem etiam ab invicem exprimit poematum comparatio, uter tamen utri præflet, nondum satis judicare quicquam possit (3). — Nature formed you both for poetry, but so equal in genius, that, when all other poets, how good soever, give place to you both, which confession a comparison between your poems and theirs extorts from them, whether they will or no, no one can determine which of you both deserves the pre-eminence.' In another letter he exhorts him to continue the poem, of which he had seen the beginning with extrem admiration: 'Patavii dum eras, habebas in manibus egregium illud poema de novis insulis à Columbo inventis: cujus ego cum exordium, multis præsentibus, legissem, admiratus gravitatem, & elegantiam carminis, exclamavi, Cedite Romani, in quo, adhuc qui à me dissentiret, inveni neminem, quo magis te horror, quamquam, ut spero, currentem, ut approperes, habesque rationem non expectationis modo

nostræ, verum etiam gloriæ tuæ, cujus habes à natura præclarum seminarium, quod etiam studio excolis, ingenium tuum. Urge igitur, nec institutum dimitte (4). — When you were at Pavia, you had in hand that excellent poem concerning the new islands discovered by Columbus; the beginning of which when I had read in the presence of many, admiring the dignity and elegance of the poetry, I cried out, give place, ye Roman authors: in which I have yet found no one, who dissents from me. Wherefore I exhort you to make haste, and consider, not only our expectation, but your own glory, of which nature has furnished you with an excellent seminary, which you even improve by study, I mean, your wit.' Mr Teissier affirms that Gambara has published this *Description of the Discovery of the New World* (5). If that be true, Manucius's exhortation was not fruitless.

(5) Teissier, *Elog. Tom. II*, pag. 71. He only quotes Manucius's letter.

[C] Muret went into another extrem. There is, without doubt, a blameable hyperbole in Paulus Manucius's flatteries; but the opposite exaggeration of Muret is still more faulty. He wrote these two verses at the head of his book of Gambara's poems:

Brixia, vestratis merdosa volumina vatis
Non sunt nostrates tergere digna nates (6).

(6) Menage, *Anti-Baillet*, Tom. II, pag. 9.

Brescia, the sh — n volumes of your poet are not worthy to wipe my dr — b.

Father Sirmond had seen that book in the library of the Jesuits at Rome (7). Mr Menage opposes, to that Judgment of Muret, the praises Thuanus has given to Gambara (8). If he had thought on Giraldus and Manucius, he would have made use also of their authority against the dislike he has quoted.

(7) Id. lib. 2.
(8) Id. lib. 2.

[D] He composed a work, wherein he lays a heavy yoke upon poets. Read these words of Mr Baillet: 'he has wrote a Latin treatise, concerning the method of advancing poetry to perfection, printed at Rome, in 4to, the year he died. He pretends to shew in that work, that there lies an indispensable obligation upon all poets, or all versifiers and rhymers pretending to poetry, to retrench, not only all that is obscene, wanton, and free in verses, but likewise all that belongs to fables, and the worship of false deities (9). I refer you to the reflexion, which Mr Menage makes hereupon (10).

(9) Baillet, *Jugement sur les Poëtes*, Tom. I, n. 1091, pag. 112.

(10) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 4, & seq.

GAMON (CHRISTOPHER DE) is no otherwise known to me than by a work, which he published in 1609, entituled *La Semaine ou Création du Monde, contre celle du Sieur du Bartas*. — *The Week or Creation of the World against that of du Bartas*. See the remark [A].

[A] See the remark. Mr Bullart, after having much commended du Bartas's *Week*, adds this: 'but because men's opinions are various, Christopher Gamon, a person famous for his learning, pretended to shew faults in that book, and to lessen it's merit by another he composed on the same sub-

ject, and which he published some time after du Bartas's death. However he contended for the prize with him with some respect; nor could he, after all, refuse to the memory of that great man the praises, which he acknowledged to be so justly due to him (1).'

(1) Bullart, *Académie des Arts & des Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 324.

GANYMEDE, son to a king of Troy [A], was the finest boy in the world. Jupiter was charmed with him; and, having carried him away, made him his cup-bearer,

in

[A] Son to a king of Troy. Trös, son of Erichonius, and grand-son of Dardanus, was father of Ilus, Aslaracus, and Ganymede. Here are some Greek verses, which inform us of it, and which deserve to

be quoted, since they are a testimony both of the beauty of this boy, his rape, and of his office of cup-bearer to Jupiter.

Adesares

in the room of Hebe (a), and employ'd him to other criminal uses [B]. Some say, he caused him to be carried away by an eagle; others affirm, that he stole him away himself,

(a) You will see, in the remark [D], the accident which was the pretence of Hebe's being turned out. Charles Stephens relates it, and quotes Servius: Cum Jove, says he, apud Ethiopias exstante, Hebe pocula illi ministrans, perque lubricum minus cautè incedens, cecidisset, revolutisque vestibus obscena superis nudasset, ab officio est amota, ejusque loco Ganymedes subrogatus. Hæc Servius. . . . At Jupiter was feasting with the Ethiopians, Hebe, his cup-bearer, happening to stumble, discovered her nakedness to the gods; for which she was turned out of her office, and Ganymede put in her place. This Servius tells us.

(1) Homer. *Iliad*.
lib. 22, ver. 219.
Δάρδανος αὖ τέκεθ' ὕδν' Ἐριχθόνιον βα-
σιλῆα (1).

Τρῶα δ' Ἐριχθόνιος τέκετο Τρώεσσι δακτύ-
λῳ δ' αὖ Τρῆς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεργέ-
νοντο,
Ἴλος τ', Ἀσφραχὺς τε, καὶ ἀντίθεος Γανυ-
μήδης,
ὅς δ' ἄλλῳ γένετο θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν,
τὸν καὶ ἀντρέψαντο θεοὶ δι' ὀνοχόευν,
Κάλλος εἶνεκα οἷο, ἢν' ἀθανάτοισι μετῆρ (2).

(2) *Ibid.* ver.
220.

Dardanus rursus genuit filium Erichthonium regem
Troem autem Erichthonius genuit Trojanis regem,
Ex Troe vero rursus tres filii inculpati nati sunt,
Iusque Asfaracisque & divinus Ganymedes,
Qui sane pulcherimus fuit mortalium hominum:
Quem etiam rapuerunt dii, Jovi ut pocillator esset,
Pulchritudinem ob suam, ut immortalibus interesset.

- - - - - From Erichthonius came
The sacred Troi, of whom the Trojan name.
Three sons renown'd adorn'd his nuptial bed,
Ilus, Asfaracus, and Ganymede:
The matchless Ganymede, divinely fair,
Whom heav'n enamour'd snatch'd to upper air,
To bear the cup of Jove (eternal guest)
The grace and glory of th'ambrosial feast.

P O P E.

Note, that, in these verses, Homer does not say, as he does elsewhere (3), that Jupiter carried away Ganymede; but that the gods carried him away, to make him cup-bearer to Jupiter. He adds, that Ilus, Ganymede's eldest brother, begot Laomedon, who was Priamus's father. I observe this, because it is necessary to examine whether Cicero be justly censured by those, who charge him with a slip of memory, when he says, that the boy, who was carried away, was son to Laomedon: 'Trois igitur fuit filius Ganymedes non Laomedonis, ut videtur sensisse Cicero 1. Tuscul. lapsus videlicet memoria (quo nomine solent magni viri laborare, qui gravioribus impeditis curis, cum citant vel auctores, vel auctorum testimonia, toto, quod aiant, cœlo aberrant: id quod diligens lector sæpe in Aristotelis deprehendet libris, præsertim de moribus). Verba Cicero's hæc sunt: 'Nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymedem à Diis rapitum ait propter formam, ut Jovi pocula ministraret: non iusta causa, cur Laomedonti tanta fieret injuria. Fingebat hæc Homerus & humana ad deos transferebat, divina mallem ad nos (4) — Ganymede therefore was the son of Troi, not of Laomedon, as Cicero seems to have thought, 1. Tuscul. plainly by a slip of memory, to which great men are very subject, who, being taken up with affairs of importance, when they quote authors, or the testimonies of authors, err very widely: which the careful reader will often discover in Aristotle's books, especially his Ethics. Cicero's words are these: nor do I regard Homer, who says that Ganymede was carried away by the gods, because of his beauty, to be Jupiter's cup-bearer. This great injury is unjustly offered to Laomedon: Homer feigned the story and transferred human things to the gods; I had rather be bad transferred divine things to us.' Tanaquilus Faber pretends, that that censure is unjust; and, to prove it, he alleges (5) a passage of Euripides's Scholiast, wherein an ancient writer testifies, that Ganymede was Laomedon's son. This shews, that, there being different opinions about the matter, Cicero might enjoy the liberty, either to follow Homer, or not to follow him: and therefore, that it is not thro'

(3) Commentar. in Emblemata Alciati, pag. 20, col. 1. Clavius de Verbor. Crit. in Authen. pag. 207, hæc criticat on that fault of Cicero.

(4) Hinc animæ vestre potes scia imperfore Ciceronem 1. multo reprehensum fuisse, qui Ganymedem Laomedonti filium fecit. Tan. Faber. *Enchiridion*, lib. 1, pag. 153.

inadvertency or forgetfulness, but by choice, that he said, that Ganymede was Laomedon's son. With the apologist's leave, methinks the censure is very well grounded; for Cicero relates in that place a tradition, which came from Homer, whom he also quotes. Therefore it is not likely, that he meant to contradict him, with respect to the father of the fine boy, who had been taken away; and so we may say, he believed that Homer made him the son of Laomedon, and conclude that his memory failed him.

Note, that, when I used the indefinite expression, son to a king of Troy, I had in view the variations, which are to be found in authors, as to this matter. Hyginus affirms, in the 224th chapter, that Ganymede was son of Asfaracus; and in the 271st, that he was son to Erichthonius. Some (6) make him Laomedon's brother, and consequently Ilus's son: others (7) make him the son of Dardanus. Homer's opinion is the most common.

[B] Jupiter . . . made him his cup-bearer, . . . and employed him to other criminal uses.] The verses of Homer, which I have quoted in the preceding remark, do not intimate, that Ganymede was stolen away out of any lascivious motive. They only shew, that the beauty of that young man prompted the gods to translate him into heaven, that he might be Jupiter's cup-bearer, and live among immortal beings. It is as much as if we should say, that they thought him so handsome, that he ought to be an ornament to the celestial court, and that, the earth not deservng to possess so great a treasure, they ought to procure him an habitation more worthy of him; that is, a good place in the country of immortal blessedness. All this denotes no lasciviousness: and Homer keeps exactly within the same bounds, when he speaks of Ganymede in the hymn to Venus. He changes indeed some other circumstances; for he supposes, that Jupiter carried him away, in order to make him cup-bearer to the gods; but he does not alter the rest.

(7) Lucian. in Charidemo, Oper. Tom. II, pag. 1019.

Ἡ τοὶ μὲν ξανθὸν Γανυμήδεα κντίστα Ζεὺς
Ἡρπασ' ἔδν διὰ κάλλος, ἢν' ἀθανάτοισι με-
τεῖν,
καὶ τε διὸς κατὰ δῶμα θεοῖς ἐπινοχόεοι,
θαῦμα ἰδεῖν, πάντεσσι τετιμένῳ ἀθανά-
τοισι,
Χρυσὲν ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀρύσων νέκτας ἐρυδρόν.

Hic quidem flavum Ganymedem confulsor Jupiter
Rapuit suam propter pulchritudinem, ut cum diis
conversaretur,
Et Jovis in domo diis vinum effunderet,
Mirabile visu, ab omnibus honoratus immortalibus,
Aureo ex crateris hauriens nectar rubrum.

The thunderer, smit with Ganymede the fair,
Snatch'd the lov'd Phrygian boy to upper air,
Preferr'd with deities to dwell above,
And fill the goblet to the guests of Jove.

Apollonius follows the same notion: and it would argue too suspicious a temper to think otherwise, under pretence of the last words he has made use of; since they are reducible to the same sense which Homer had expressed:

Μετὰ καὶ Γανυμήδεα, τὸν ῥά ποτε Ζεὺς
Οὐρανῷ ἐγκάτιναςεν ἐφείστον ἀθανάτοισιν,
Κάλλος ἱμερδαίς.

Sed cum Ganymede, quem aliquando Jupiter
In cœlo locarat, & deorum fecerat contubernalem
Pulchritudinis cupidus (8).

(8) Apollon. Rhodius, Argonaut. lib. iii, ver. 215, pag. m. 278.

Ganymede was carried away, and what he was then doing [E]. Some say, he was on mount Ida; others place him elsewhere: Some pretend he was a hunting; and others, that he kept a flock. I shall not lose time in relating the allegorical explanations that have been given (b): For those are only conceits, which may be multiplied in *infinitum*, and by the help of which one finds in every thing whatever he pleases: But I shall not pass over in silence, that some writers have related this as historical matter of fact. They pretend, that Ganymede was really stolen away by a prince, who was in love with him [F]. Those Painters, who represent him as carried away on the back of an eagle,

(b) See the commentators upon the fourth emblem of Alciatus.

compence for the service performed by him in delivering Hebe, Laomedon's daughter, who was exposed to a sea-monster (28). Note also, that, unknown to Laomedon, Anchises was so cunning as to get of these horses a breed (29). Lastly, note, that, according to some authors (30), the present, which Jupiter made to Ganymede's father, was a golden vine, wrought by Vulcan. For the rest, if the authorities before-mentioned (31), touching this young man's dedication, should not suffice, we might add to them the testimony of Pindar (32), and that of Lucian (33), besides this commentary of Servius: 'Honores dixit, vel propter ministerium poculorum, ad quod receptus est, remota Hebe filia Junonis, quæ Jovi bibere ministrabat, vel ob hoc quod inter sydera collocatus, aquarum nomine accipiet, & non ob hoc tantum irascitur Juno, sed quod violatus sit ut divinos honores consequeretur (34)'. You see, in these words of Servius, two remarkable things: first, that Hebe, whose office it was to fill drink to the gods, was deprived of that employment; and that Ganymede was preferred to her place: secondly, that he was placed among the stars, and was that sign of the zodiac, which is called Aquarius. This is observed by Hyginus (35). What a mortification was it for poor Juno, to see her husband's darling fill the place from which her daughter Hebe was turned out! The misfortune, which had befallen Hebe, was indeed the pretence, for which she was turned out, but not the true cause. She happened to fall, and shew all the had, whilst the gods were at table (36): whereupon Jupiter, who desired passionately to make Ganymede his cup-bearer, improved this opportunity to turn away that unfortunate maid.

[E] There are different opinions as to the place, from whence Ganymede was carried away, and what he was then doing.] Lucian (37) supposes, that Ganymede was a shepherd on mount Ida, when Jupiter stole him away. Virgil supposes, that he was a hunting

Intextusque puer frondosâ regius Idâ
 Veloces jaculo cervos, cursuque fatigat,
 Acer, anhelanti similis : quem præpes ab Idâ
 Sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis (38).

There, interwov'n, the royal youth is seen :
He bunts the flying flag along the green,
On Ida's shady top: with eager pace
He seems to run, and pant along the chase :
Whom the wing'd herald of his master's love
Snatch'd from th' Ilean bill, and bore to Jove.

the place, where the rape was committed: see the following remark.

[F] Some eritors pretend, that *Ganymede* was really stolen away, by a prince who was in love with him. Herodian relates, that the place called *Pessinus* in *Phrygia*, was so called, either because the image of the mother of the gods was dropt down there from heaven; or because the combat, which was fought there between *Ilus* and *Tantalus*, cost many people their lives. Those two princes, the one a *Phrygian*, the other a *Lydian*, made war upon one another, either because they could not agree about the boundaries of their dominions (45), or rather because *Tantalus* had stolen away *Ganymede*. The latter lost his life in the field of battle, in the hands of his brother, and those of his ravisher, the one pulling him one way, the other another. His body not being found, his adventure was represented as something marvellous and divine; and from thence was framed the fable of his being carried away by *Jupiter* (46). We read in *Eusebius's* chronicle (47), that, upon the account of *Ganymede's* rape, there arose a war between *Tros*, the father of that young boy, and *Tantalus*: which is affirmed upon the credit of a writer named *Phanocles*. He was an *Erotical* author (48), or, to explain myself, a compiler of amorous adventures. *Orosius* has spoken of that action of *Tantalus* in these words (49): "Neque mirum nunc enumerare opus est Tantalum & Pelopis fa-

turpia, & fabulas turpiores: quorum Tantalus rex Phrygiurum Ganyemdem Trois Dardaniorum regis filium cum flagitiosissimè rapuisset, majore concertu certaminis fœditate detinuit, sicut Phœnacles poetæ confirmat, qui maximum bellum excitatum ob hoc fuisse commemorat: five quia hunc ipsum Tantalum, utpote aesclem deorum, videri vult raptum pernum ad libidinem Jovis familiari lenocinio preparasse, qui ipsum quoque filium Peleopem epulis ejus non dubitavit impendere. — Nor need I mention the scandalous actions, and more scandalous stories, of Tantalus and Pelops, of whom Tantalus, king of the Phrygians, having most wickedly ravished Ganymede, son of Trois, king of the Dardanians, detained him for a more shameful purpose, as is confirmed by Phœnacles the poet, who relates that this was the occasion of a very great war: because, perhaps, he thought, that Tantalus, as being an attendant on the gods, might have prepared the boy for Jupiter's lust, and furnished a dinner to his guests.

“*since be made no scruple to serve up his own son Pelops as that god's table.*” Euthalius (50) having said, that, according to some authors, Tantalus had ravished Ganymede, adds, that others charged Minos with that rape. If we consult Suidas, we shall learn many circumstances of that attempt of Minos. There we shall see, that that king of Crete went to pay a visit to Tros; and, being informed, that that prince's three sons were a hunting, he declared, he had a mind to hunt with them. He had no sooner seen Ganymede, than he conceived a most violent passion for him; and, having caused him to be carried away, he put him on board one of the ships he had sent before into the Granicus, and returned into Crete. Ganymede was so concerned at his misfortune, that he ran himself through with his own sword. Minos buried him in a temple; and for that reason it was given out, that this young man conversed with the gods (51). Euthalius (52) relates the particulars in another manner. He says, that Ganymede, having been ravished, hanged himself; and that the gods made his father believe, that a whirlwind and a cloud had carried him away, to be Jupiter's cup-bearer. You will find, in Athenæus, that Echemenes, who wrote a book touching what concerned the isle of Crete, affirmed, that Ganymede was not ravished by Jupiter, but by king Minos. Ludovicus Vives affirms, that Tantalus, having stolen that young boy, transported him into the isle of Crete, and gave him to Jupi-

(45) There is in Herodian $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\acute{o}\delta\omega\nu$ de viis, but according to Meziriac's conjecture, Comment on Ovid's Epist. pag. 384, we must read $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\acute{o}\delta\omega\nu$ de finibus.

(46) Herodian.
lib. i, cap. xi.
See also I. Lycophron's scholiast,
pag. 50.

(47) Euseb. n.
654.

(48) See Scaliger
in Eusebium,
pag. 41. He
quotes Plutarch,
lib. iv, cap. v,
ΣΥΛΛΗΨΙΣ.

(49) Orosius, lib.
i, cap. xii, pag.
m. 4, 45.

(50) Eustath. in
lib. xx. Iliad.

ars (51) Taken out
of Suidas, in
Μίνως.

ud (52) Eustath.
er. ubi supra.

(39) Valer. Valerius Flaccus (39), and Statius (40), have imitated Flaccus, Argon. this passage of the *Æneid*. But Strabo (41) affirms, lib. ii, ver. 414, that it was reported that Cæsar had been carried

(10) Statius,
Theb. lib. i,
ver. 643.

(41) Strabo, lib. xiii, pag. 402. See also Stephan. Byzant. voce Ἀρπυγία.

(41) Athen. lib. xii, pag. 601. Note, that they were people immoderately inclined to the sin against nature. *Περὶ τὰ παῖδικά δαιμονίως ἐπρόνυνται. Prodigiöse in amore puerorum fla-*

(42) *ibid.*, (43). It is therefore very likely, that any one who had approached this tradition, the better to countenance their brutality by the authority and example of the greatest of the gods. This is what Plato thought of the inhumanity of the gods.

[B], *citat.* (14). Suidas has preserved to us another hypothesis touchin

(c) See the remark [A].

(53) Lud. Vives, in August. de Civit. Dei, lib. vii, cap. 26, & lib. xviii, cap. xiii.

(54) August. ibid. lib. xviii, cap. xiii.

(55) Meziriac. Comment. on Ovid's Epistles, pag. 883.

(56) Salmast. Not. in Achill. Tatium, pag. 583.

(57) Achill. Tatius, pag. m. 244.

(a) Alegamle, in Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu, pag. 124.

eagle, are mistaken, and do not consult antient authors [G]. Some pretend, that Cicero was not well acquainted with Ganymede's father (c). Time out of mind, the Philiarians paid a particular worship to a deity, which at first they called GANYMEDE, and afterwards Hebe : This Pausanias tells us, in his second book, page 140.

ter (53). Which is a meer paraphrase of Orofius. But St Augustin (54) has acknowledged, that the fable only suited with Jupiter, and that the reality belonged to Tantalus. Suidas on the Word *Ἰλίου*, and Cedrenus also, relate, that king Tros, having subdued several princes, his neighbours, sent his son Ganymede, attended by fifty men, to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving, in a certain temple of Jupiter, which was in the dominions of Tantalus. But Tantalus, supposing that Ganymede came as a spy, to view the strength of his kingdom, made him prisoner; whereupon Ganymede fell sick and died (55).

[G] The painters, who represent him as carried away on the back of an eagle, are mistaken, and do not consult antient authors.] Salmastius (56) has censured that mistake: for he says, that, according to the ancient poets, the eagle took up Ganymede by the hair between his talons. The author whom he explains (57) says the same. Note, that Martial supposes, that the eagle was afraid of hurting Ganymede.

*Etherias aquila puerum portante per auras
Illæsum timidis unguibus hæsit onus* (58).

*As with the boy Jove's eagle soar'd away,
His cautious talons bore, unburt, the prey.*

An ancient carver represented this wonderfully well (59). A learned Englishman has followed the common error of painters, in a book, whose French translation was printed at Roan in the year 1656, with the title of, *Le Monde dans la Lune*; that is, *the world in the Moon*. This is what he observes (60): If there be so great a bird in Madagascar, as Paulus Venetus relates*, the feathers of whose wings are twelve foot long, and which can take up into the air a horse with his rider, as easily as one of our kites could take up a little mouse; it were then but instructing one of these birds to carry a man, and he might ride as far on his back as Ganymede did on an eagle.

(58) Mart. Epig. vii, lib. i.

(59) Leochares aquilam sententem quid rapiat in Ganymede, & cui seriat parentem unguibus etiam per vestem.

Plin. lib. xxxiv, cap. viii, pag. m. 125. That piece of work was much esteemed.

(60) Le Monde dans la Lune, Part. I, pag. 267. Lib. iii, cap. 40.

GARASSE, (FRANCIS), a native of Angoulesme, became a Jesuit in the year 1601 (a). He made himself much talked of by the zeal he shewed against libertine wits, and against the enemies of his society: But he inveighed principally against the poet Theophile, and against Pasquier. He wanted neither genius, nor reading; and having a great deal of fire, a fruitful imagination, and good lungs, he passed for a great preacher. He was very proper to maintain a cause in the pulpit; for his turns of wit, and his way of delivery, made very strong impressions, considering the taste of that age: But he ought not to have meddled with writing; or, if he could not renounce the title of author, he ought to have made only Latin verses, or have exercised himself on some subject of little importance: For, having adventured to write on the most sublime truths, which libertines may call in question, he has contributed less to convert that sort of people, than to confirm them in their errors [A]; because, he perpetually departed from the gravity, which becomes such matters, and because he made use of bad proofs, and false quotations. He found himself exposed to the criticism of several formidable pens. Pasquier's sons vindicated their father with great stateliness [B]. But he, who wrote with most vehemence against this Jesuit, was the

[A] He contributed less to convert the Libertines, than to confirm them in their errors.] This is the title of a book he published at Paris, in the year 1623. The curious doctrine of the wits, or would be such, of this age; containing several maxims pernicious to the state, religion, and good manners; confuted and overthrown by father Francis Garasse, of the society of JESUS. He thought he had quite confounded those libertines; but he was soon acquainted, that, according to the judgment of the public, his book was much more proper to foment atheism, than to destroy it. The judgment and censure of that work was addressed to the Jesuits (1); and the author tells them, that people could not believe, that they, who were the first and strongest champions of truth, should have chosen father Garasse to defend it. That man, being better qualified for a satirical poet, or a force-writer, than for a catholic doctor, has lately written a book, which carries a specious title, against Atheists; but which, to speak sincerely, and as it were in the presence of GOD, is a sink of impiety, a common sewer of prophanations, a collection of buffoonries and facetious jests, a malicious and slanderous satire against many men of probity and merit (2). After having said several things, in the same strain, to characterise that book, he asked the Jesuits, whether those be the means to defend the venerable truths of our religion; whether those be the true weapons to combat atheism; or whether those be not rather the instruments of the ruin of souls, and the inventions of the father of lies, to render truth ridiculous and more contemptible amongst his wretched supporters. The same year 1624, Naudé published a book (3), wherein we find these words (4): As for father Garasse, it is true, he has taken some of their articles out of father Robert, which he has so aptly brought into a parallel with the ways of the libertines of our days, that, both upon that score, and for the industriousness of his wit, and variety of his learning, I am sorry he should undergo the censure, which is passed

upon all those, who have shewn their learning in that matter: that is, that no body ever wrote better against the atheists, than the recorders, who draw up the sentence of their condemnation: if, however, according to the saying of Tertullian, the church, full of mercy, Non quaerat potius pudorem suffundere, quam sanguinem effundere. He returns to the charge in the last chapter of his book, in this manner: I have some monsters to encounter, says he (5), . . . who, through an abominable indolence, draw impiety out of the book of the Curious Doctrine; which, by an unparalleled impudence and temerity, they brand with the most pernicious title of the Art of Atheism; which gives me occasion to deplore the misfortune of our age, which has attained to that degree of malice, that it deprives us even of the liberty of opposing the greatest impieties, and of confuting them by the most common and lawful means; since corruption is so very great, that, when a religious society, jealous of the honour and integrity of their religion, Voluerunt, as Lactantius says, posteris etiam approbare, quanta pietate defenderint religionem, auctoritatem religionum ipsarum testantur do minuerunt.

[B] Pasquier's sons (6) vindicated their father with great stateliness.] They made no noise, till Garasse had shewn his obstinacy in falling foul upon him (7). He had written a book (8) against his Recherches the year 1622. The next year, he abused him in a hundred places of his Curious Doctrine; and went on in the same strain, in the year 1624, in his answer to the prior Ogier. Thereupon they lost all patience, and published a very violent book against that Jesuit, which they addressed to him, wherever he might be. The reason of this address was, because Francis Garasse had dedicated his book to the late Stephen Pasquier, wherever he might be; for, (said he) having never been able to know your religion, I was at a loss which way you were gone at your departure from quier,

(1) The prior Ogier is the author of the book, that came out in the year 1623, under the title of Jugement de Censure du livre de la Doctrine Curieuse de Francis Garasse. A Judgment and Censure of the book of the Curious Doctrine of Francis Garasse.

(2) In the epistle dedicatory.

(3) Intituled, Instructions à la France sur la vérité de l'Histoire des Freres de la Roche-Croix.

(4) Cap. vi, pag. 60.

(5) Ibid. pag. 113, 114.

† Lib. i, de falsa religione.

(6) The one was called Nicolas Pasquier, Sieur de Minze, and had been Master of the Requêtes: the other was called Goy Pasquier, Sieur de Bussy, and was Auditor of Accounts. See the licence of their book.

(7) See the epistle dedicatory of the book intituled, Défense pour Etienne Pasquier, printed at Paris, in 1624.

(8) Intituled, Les Recherches des Recherches & autres Oeuvres d'Etienne Pasquier.

abbot of St Cyran [C]. Some pretend, that, upon that score, father Garasse was the Helen of the war between the Jesuits and Janfenists [D]. The last action of his life was very fine. He preffingly asked leave of his superiors to tend upon the infected with the plague, during a dismal pestilence, which raged in Poitiers; and, having obtained it, and contracted the disease in that charitable office, he died at the hospital, among the infected [E], the fourteenth of June 1631, being forty six years old (b). He had reconciled himself with a good grace to the prior Ogier [F], and to Balzac [G]. Placcius has been led into a mistake by the title of his *Rabelais Reformed* [H].

(b) Alegambe, ubi supra.

He

this life, and therefore I am constrained to write to you at a venture, and to direct this packet, WHERE-EVER YOU BE. To pay him in the same coin, they accosted him thus (9). This has made me use the same freedom with you, and has forced me to direct this packet to you, IN WHAT PLACE SO-EVER YOU MAY BE: for, not knowing whether you be at the service-tree, (which you call a tavern of honour, and where you own you have had many a belly-full at free-cost) or at the town of Clamar, in the suburb of St Germain; (where your name is written in so fair characters on all the mantle-trees of the chimney) or in some other place of that nature; I am constrained to send you this book at a venture, and to address it to you, in what place soever you be.

[C] He who wrote with most vehemence against this Jesuit, was the abbot of St Cyran. [H] He attacked the volume in Folio, which Garasse had published, in 1625, with the title of, *La Somme Theologique des Veritez capitales de la Religion Chrestienne*: His criticism (10) is intitled, *La Somme des Fautes & Faussetez capitales contenues en la Somme Theologique du Pere Francis Garasse*. It was to contain four volumes: I have only seen the two first, and an abridgment of the fourth, and, if I am not mistaken, that is all that was printed. The first tome contains the faults, which Garasse had committed in quoting the scripture, St Austin, and St Basil of Selucia. The second contains the faults in the quotations of the other fathers, and secular authors. The third was to contain the faults in divinity, philosophy, chronology, cosmography, &c. The fourth was to contain several heresies, errors, impieties, irreverences, buffooneries, and insupportable boasting. The author dedicates his book to cardinal Richelieu, and says, in his epistle dedicatory, that he honours the society of the Jesuits, as one of the strongest companies of the son of God's army, and which surpasses in courage, on days of battle, both the invincible squadron of Macedonia, and the inseparable band of lovers, who died together for the public good in Lacedaemon (11). He gives himself, in the king's licence, the name of Alexander de l'Excluse (12). I do not think it easy to find so good a criticism as that is. We see in it an exact and profound learning, a solid judgment, and a wonderful sagacity in discovering the faults of a writer. It is the most useful book a man can read, especially if he designs to set up for an author, that supports his reasonings by authorities, allusions, comparisons, &c.

[D] It is pretended, that . . . father Garasse was the Helen of the war between the Jesuits and Janfenists. [E] It is what the Janfenists pretend: for here is what one of them has published (13). 'In the year 1626, it (14) began with the book of a Jesuit called Garasse, intituled, *Somme des Veritez capitales de la Religion Chrestienne*. The late abbot of St Cyran, having found in it a prodigious number of falsifications of the scripture, and of the fathers, and of heretical and impious opinions, thought that the honour of the church required of him, that he should take upon him to confute it, tho' at the same time his modesty made him resolve to conceal his name as he always did in his other books. The first part of that work being in the press, the noise it made every where gave occasion to people to examine more nicely Garasse's book. The rector of the university made complaints about it to the Faculty, who named commissioners to examine that book. But this noise having given the alarm to the Jesuits, they made it appear, that it is no easy undertaking to confute the book of a Jesuit: for their cabal prevailed so far with the magistrates, that the book of St Cyran was a long time stopped.' The author adds, that Garasse picked out himself fifty three propositions in his book, the most easy to maintain that he could

find, and of which not three of them were of the number of those, which the abbot of St Cyran found fault with in his work; and, having afterwards formed a censure to his fancy, he confuted it at his ease; and by that artifice he dazzled, for some time, the eyes of the world, and perplexed the examination of his book, on which the Sorbonne was intent. So that the abbot of St Cyran had much ado to remove the stop, which the Jesuits had put to the publication of his confutation, and to undeceive the world, who had suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the artifice of Garasse. However, he compassed it at last, and, in spite of all the cabal of the society, and the long delays, which were granted to father Garasse, to retract what he had advanced, his book was censured, as containing several heretical, erroneous, scandalous, and rash propositions; several falsifications of passages of scripture, and of the holy fathers, falsely quoted, and wrested from their true sense; and an infinite number of expressions unworthy to be written and read by christians and divines. The Jesuits shewed . . . some sort of prudence in this affair . . . they were not obstinate in supporting their father Garasse, but confined him far from Paris to one of their houses, where he was no more heard of; and so they terminated that affair. And happy had they been, if, by stifling that difference, they had also stifled in their hearts the resentment they conceived thereupon against the abbot of St Cyran, which has since engaged them in so many horrible and violent proceedings.

[E] He died among the infected. [F] Cum Pictavi saeva lues grassaretur, multis precibus exoravit Moderatores suos, ut sibi liceret tabe infectis inservire; quod cum obtinisset, in iis demum piis officiis in hospitali domo inter infectos, quos verbo & exemplo etiam moriens hortabatur, sanctissime & religiosissime consumptus est (15).

[F] He was reconciled . . . to the prior Ogier. As soon as Garasse's apology was published, the prior prepared himself to reply; but there were mediators of peace, who terminated the dispute. The Jesuit prevented his antagonist by a letter full of civilities: Which Ogier answered in the same strain. The public was presented with those letters, as soon as they were written (16). Father Alegambe has committed here a fault; for which Monsieur Ogier would have demanded reparation, if he had been as nice as Janfenius's relations (17); for it plainly results from Alegambe's narrative (18) that Ogier had been an heretic, and was converted to the church of Rome. Southwell has not corrected Alegambe's fault.

[G] . . . and to Balzac. The account of their reconciliation, and the letters they wrote one to another, are to be seen at the beginning of the *Somme Theologique* of father Garasse.

[H] Placcius has been led into a mistake by the title of his *Rabelais Reformed*. That author has wrote a book, *de Scriptis & Scriptoribus anonymis atque pseudonymis*. He had reason to put Francis Garasse among the anonymous authors; for there are several works of that Jesuit, to which he did not put his name. Such was the book he intituled, *Rabelais Reformed*. Mr Placcius fancies, that Garasse did by Rabelais, what many have done by Martial and Catullus, which they have published, after they had expunged all obscene expressions from them. The works of Rabelais, says he (19), *Ut ut jucunda, sic obscenis aliisque scandalosis plena, castigata, imo castrata, titulo Rabelaisii Reformati, Pictavii & Bruxellis, in 8vo, nomine reformatantis Francisci Garassii, scriptis aliis notissimi Jesuitae Galli, non adjecto prodere, docente Alegambe, pag. 124.* The truth is, that the *Rabelais Reformed* of father Garasse is a book of controversy; wherein he speaks satirically of several ministers,

(15) Alegambe, ubi supra, pag. 124. See also Leicalopier, in Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 3, n. 64.

(16) In the year 1624.

(17) See their cases against the Jesuit Hazart.

(18) He reckons among the books of Father Garasse, *Litteræ ad Dominum Ogier, & hujus ad illum de sua cum Ecclesia reconciliatione.* Alegambe, pag. 124.

(19) Placcius, de Anonymis, cap. xiv, n. 463, pag. 111.

(9) Epistle dedicatory of the Deceit your Edition Palquier.

(10) It is in quarto, and printed at Paris in 1626.

(11) I think he ought to have said Thebes, and not Lacedaemon. See Plutarch in the Life of Pelopidas.

(12) See Colomieu, Milanges Historiques, pag. 26.

(13) The author of the Imaginaires, letter iii, pag. m. 4.

(14) That is, the war between the Jesuits and Janfenists.

He employ'd against poets a maxim which is very good at the bottom, but which was turned against himself [1]. He pretended, that it is not a good excuse for prophane thoughts, to say, that they are not written in prose, but in verse.

I should have said, that he is author of a *diffamatory libel*, intituled, *The Banquet of the wife Men, composed against the honour of one of the first magistrates of France* (c). He, did not put his name to it; but however, he was discovered to be the author of it: Alegambe does not deny it (d). He was sharply censured for publishing the tale of the tapestry of Joan d'Albret, which I have related in the article of that queen (e). It was pretended, that his calumny in that respect was an injury done to Henry the great, and Lewis XIII (f). They affirmed, that he had called that princess *libertine, prophane, ridiculous, a wanton*, and that *he had loaded her with a thousand other calumnies* (g). The accusation was groundless, and he sufficiently justified himself (b). He

was

ministers, particular of Peter du Moulin, whom he accuses of being an imitator of Rabelais, and a Rabelais risen from the dead. See what a man exposes himself to, when he speaks of a book, which he knows only by it's title.

[1] He employed against poets a maxim, which is very good at the bottom, but which was turned against himself. See how he begins in the confutation of a sonnet of Theophile: 'To answer these impieties, I must, by way of anticipation, enervate a foolish and weak defence, which many have in their mouths, touching the impieties of that writer: for, provided they may say, that such things are said in verse, they think the crime is advantageously palliated, because it is not in prose; as if rhyme could blot out all impieties, and authorize wits to pronounce blasphemies. It is true, those impieties and impertinences, which I am to confute, are in verse; I am sensible of it: but, for that very reason, I look upon them to be more criminal, than if they were written in bare prose; for they are thereby the more studied, enquired after, and consequently delivered in more efficacious, forcible, and elaborate terms, which make a greater impression on the minds of the readers. Was not Cleanthes used to say, that the voice, which comes out of a flute, and a trumpet, hath a greater force, than that, which comes barely out of one's mouth; and that the thoughts, which are darted by a well turned verse, are more forcible, more durable, and stronger, than those, which are expressed by a period in prose, wherein the words are generally languishing. I have fully answered this ridiculous objection, in the twentieth chapter of my apology; wherein I have shewn, that an impiety in verse is the more pernicious (20).' Pray observe, that I have said, that, at the bottom, that maxim is very good: for I do not pretend to adopt it in so great a latitude as that Jesuit has done, nor for all the reasons which he alleges. I am thoroughly persuaded, that, upon a thousand occasions, it is not so great a sin to breach loose maxims of morality in verse, as to propose them in prose, and that we ought to abate much of the weight of our censures, when it is a poet who speaks. A man, who should maintain dogmatically heretical propositions, would be a thousand times more criminal, than if he should convey them in a piece of poetry. There is many a poem, wherein the author advances a thousand things, which he does not believe, and which he would never reduce into a formal disputation, and would not even say in verse, if he thought, that his readers would look upon them, not as witty conceits, but as tenets, and articles of faith. He takes more pains, I confess, in turning and polishing them, than if he wrote them in prose; his mind is therefore more intent upon them; he meditates more deeply upon them; but yet, after all, this is not always the true picture of what passes in his heart; he does not pretend to give either his confession of faith, or a model of belief to those that read him: and it must be acknowledged, that men are not such fools, as to let themselves be as easily persuaded of an heresy delivered by a poet, as of an heresy delivered in a pulpit, or in a dogmatical work. Therefore I do not adopt father Garasse's reasons, though I agree with him in the main part and bottom of his hypothesis, that an ill maxim, either against sound morals, or against speculative doctrines of faith, is very criminal, in what sort of poetry soever it be proposed. I own also, that the licentiousness of a poet, in advancing several thoughts against morality and religion, may produce ill effects.

And I even acknowledge, that the beauties and charms of poetry sometimes render a poison more pernicious than it would be in prose. One cannot too much lament the mischiefs, which the poetical impieties of Homer, and his imitators, introduced among the heathens. Men of sense and penetration were sensible of it, and loudly complained of it. They murmured with reason against the poet's ascribing to the gods the same crimes, which are committed upon earth (21).

I have quoted elsewhere (22) a passage of Plato; and here is a fine one out of Cicero: 'Nec enim multo absurdiora sunt ea, quæ poetarum vocibus fusa, ipsa suavitate nocuerunt, qui & ira inflammatis, & libidine furentes induxerunt deos, feceruntque ut eorum bella, prælia, pugnas, vulnera videremus: odia præterea, dissidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusus in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortalibus procreatos (23). — Nor are those things much more absurd, which, uttered by the poets, have done mischief by the very pleasantness of the fiction; such as introducing the gods inflamed with anger, or raging with lust, and describing to us their wars, combats, and wounds; as also their enmities, dissensions, quarrels, births, deaths, lamentations, intemperate lusts, adulteries, bonds, intercourse with women, and mortals sprung from an immortal fire.' The dramatic pieces, wherein the gods were so unworthily represented, excited a thousand irregular passions. Cicero confessed it; and St Augustin made use of his testimony. 'Quomodo tanta animi & morum mala, bonis præceptis & legibus, vel imminentia prohiberent, vel infusa extirpanda curarent Dei tales: qui etiam seminanda & augenda flagitia curaverunt, talia vel sua, vel quasi sua facta per theatricas celebritates populis innotescere cupientes: ut tantam autoritate divina sua sponte nequissima libido accenderetur humana: frustra hoc exclamante Cicero, qui cum de poetis ageret, ad quos cum accessisset, inquit: Clamor & approbatio populi, quasi magni cujusdam & sapientis magistris, quas illi obducunt tenebras? quos invehunt metus? quas inflammant cupiditates (24)? — How can such gods prohibit, or extirpate, such great vices by wholesome precepts or laws, who take care even to implant and propagate them, desiring to have their own vices represented on the theatre to the people: so that human lusts are spontaneously set on fire, as it were by divine authority; Cicero exclaiming after this manner to no purpose, when he is speaking of the poets; what darkness do the applause and approbation of the people induce? what fears do they excite? what lusts do they inflame?' Cicero complains, in one of his books, that the reading of the poets effeminates the heart, and weakens all the nerves of virtue. 'Videsne poetæ quid mali afferant? Lamentantes inducunt fortissimos viros. Mollunt animos nostros; ita sunt deinde dulces, ut non legantur modo sed etiam ediscantur. Sic ad malam domesticam disciplinam, vitamque umbratilem, & delicatam quum accesserunt etiam poëtæ, nervos omnis virtutis elidunt. Recte igitur à Platone educantur ex ea civitate, quam finxit ille, quum mores optimos, & optimum reip. statum exquireret (25). — Do you see the mischiefs arising from poets? They introduce whining heroes: they effeminate our minds: besides they are so pleasing, that they are not only read, but learned by heart. Thus when to bad domestic discipline, and a luxurious life, the reading of the poets is added, there is an end of all virtue. Justly therefore has Plato banished them from that state, which he formed, when in search of the best

(f) Ogier, *old supra*, cap. xi, pag. 143, & seq.

(g) *Defence pour Etienne Pasquier*, livr. iv. §. 4, pag. 644.

(b) See the sixth chapter of the *Apology for Garasse*, p. m. 177, &c.

(21) See, in the *Anti-Baillet of Mr Menage*, pag. 227, of the first Tome, some verses of Xenophanes, quoted by Sextus Empiricus, pag. 57, and 548, adversus Mathematicos. See also Forcattulus de Gallorum Imperio & Philosophia, lib. iv, pag. m. 537.

(22) In the remark [I] of the article J U N O.

(23) Cicero de *Natura Deorum*, lib. i, cap. xlv.

(24) *Adignst. de Civit. Dei*, lib. ii, cap. xiv, pag. m. 188. What Cicero says here, is not to be found in the works of his that are extant; but see what he says against dramatic pieces, *Tuicil. Quæst.* lib. iv, cap. xxxii.

(25) Cicero, *Tuicil. Quæst.* lib. ii, cap. 21.

(c) Ogier, *Jogem. du Livre de la Doctrine Curieuse*, pag. 23.

(d) He reckons among his works *Septem Sapientes*.

(e) See rem. [R] of the article *N A V A R R E* (Joan d'Albret, queen of).

(20) Garasse, *Somme Theol.* pag. 370.

was likewise very highly censured for having quoted indecent passages [K]. We shall see how

'manners, and the best form of government.' Presently after, he observes, as a great abuse, the custom of causing such authors to be learnt by heart by the Roman youth. 'At vero nos, docti scilicet & Græcia, hæc à pueritia legimus & discimus; Hanc eruditio- nem liberalem & doctrinam putamus (26).'

(16) *Ib. ibid.*

'Greece has taught us to read and learn these from our childhood, and this we call a liberal education and learning.' Plutarch was of another opinion: he thought, that reading of the poets might be very useful (27); but he is forced to own, that it is only because they contradict themselves (28). Their tenets, says he, are sometimes good, and sometimes bad; sometimes impious, and sometimes pious: that is the reason why their authority is doubtful, and has not weight enough to do harm; and it is our duty to pick out what they advance for the good cause. *Αἱ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν ὑπερπαιδείας πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀναπαύσασθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐκ ἑσῶν ἰσχυρὰν ἰσθὴν γινώσκειν πρὸς τὸ βλάπτον· οὗ μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοιούτοις συνήγιντο ἑκκατὸν ποιεῖν τὰς ἀντιλογίας, δὲ τὸ βέλτιον συνυποθεῖν. Ποιῶντα γὰρ ἐν ἀντιθέσει τοῖς λόγοις διδόντων δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀντιθεσὶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀντιθετικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀντιθετικόν.*

(17) *See Plutarch's treatise De studiis Poeticis.*

(18) This calls to my mind what Mr Saurin has said, pag. 372, of his *Examen de la Théologie de Mr Juvénis*, viz. 'There is nothing in which Mr Juvénis ought to be imitated; he himself more than for his perpetual contradictions, by the favour of which only he is orthodox.'

(19) *Plut. ubi supra, pag. 20. C.*

what the poets advance in favour of vice, than to pick out what they say in praise of virtue. Besides, their contradictions lead us to believe, that their gravest and most devout maxims are only starts of fancy, of which they themselves are not persuaded. We imagine that they deliver them only because they have found them susceptible of all the beauties and majesty of poetry. And, indeed, there are poets, who, having no piety, or belief, have nevertheless made magnificent and admirable verses on the most sublime truths of religion. They chose that subject, because it gave them an opportunity to display the finest phrases, and the most shining figures of their art. Another time, they would chuse a subject quite opposite, provided it should favour the enthusiasms of their fancy; that is, provided it should furnish them with such Ideas, as they should think themselves capable to express well. Now what weight can the found doctrine have, which we find in authors, whom we believe to be of that temper?

Let us take notice, by the way, that modern poetry has excited many murmurings. I have related elsewhere (30) the complaints, which Thuanus and Mezerai have made against the poets of Henry the second's court. I might also have quoted the *Sieur de la Planchette*; for here is a fine passage out of his book: 'What aggravated, in that matter, the wrath of God was, that the knowledge of humane learning (a singular means, ordained by God to teach us to know him rightly, and consequently for the preservation of human kind), having been brought again into France by king Francis, more famous for that, than for any other thing done in his reign, was turned, by malicious and curious wits, into an occasion of all manner of wickedness; which was found principally in certain great wits addicted to French poetry, who, at that time, appeared in shoals; whose writings, impure and obscene, and full of blasphemies, are the more detestable, as they carry with them such soft allurements, as may entice, not only to all manner of lasciviousness, but also to all manner of horrible impiety, all those, who have them in their hands (31).' Add to all this, the bitter complaints of Gabriel de Puy Herbeau (32); and the reasons, which engaged Pope Hadrian VI not to favour poets (33). If you would have instances of their prophaneations, do but read Sorel's commentary on the Extravagant Shepherd (34).

(20) *See the remark (D) of the article H. A. DRIAN VI.*

(21) *Gabriel Puy Herbeau in Theotimus, livre de l'Édit de France, tom. de la République, sous le Règne de François II, pag. 71. Edit. 1576, in 8vo.*

(22) *See the remark (D) of the article H. A. DRIAN VI.*

(23) *See the remark (D) of the article H. A. DRIAN VI.*

(24) *See the remark (D) of the article H. A. DRIAN VI.*

(25) *See the remark (D) of the article H. A. DRIAN VI.*

wherein he addresses himself to Neptune and Thetis, whom he calls Numina, and where he addresses himself to nature as to a goddess. The same author refers him to his own maxim, and to St Austin's retractations. That great saint was sorry (37) that he had given to the muses the name of goddesses, though he did it only as a witticism. The same Garasse is censured for having excited *beastly* and *lascivious* ideas, in the poem he had made, in the form of an Epithalamium, on the divine and humane nature of CHRIST. I omit that he was censured for his prayers in prose; wherein he spoke of the wanderings of Ulysses, of the laurals of Thrace, and of his talent for poetry.

[K] He was censured . . . for having quoted indecent passages. He pardoned no obscenities, says an author (38), which he could not so perfectly know without having practised them. He replied (39), that this was to reason wrong, and shewed it, among other instances, by that of the lawyers, who write down at length robberies, that have been judged and condemned by the court (40), and neither approve, nor practise them; and by that of the casuists, who write down minutely all kinds of immodesty, from simple thoughts to incest and bestiality: which they know only by theory, and by the report of the guilty (41). 'It was urged against him (42), that St Austin says very elegantly, that de pudendis rebus, cogit necessitas loqui; honestas, circumloqui: That the weakness and necessity of man often oblige him to speak of leud and immodest things, but that decency requires him to speak of them with circumlocution and periphrasis.' Here is his apology (43): 'To say nothing of an hundred instances of this incomparable doctor, in which he speaks of the god Stercutius and his relation Cloacina, he expresses himself in terms much more material than those they reprehend in me, who never dreamed of any impurity in them. Let them answer me as to this observation of St Austin, in the fourteenth book of his *Civitas Dei*, cap. xxiv. *Non nulli ab imo sine pudore ullo tam numerosos edunt sonitus, ut etiam ex illa parte cantare videantur.* And those, who relate the pretty observations of Vives concerning the ass, who had drank the moon, to shew me my pretended impertinence, let them take the pains to read what Vives says on this head, concerning the young German, who did wonders that way.' He had said, in his book (44), that, publishing these impious maxims, he had done nothing but what had been practised by the saints and fathers of the primitive church against the Gnostics and Carpocratians (45). His censor (46) found three disparities in this comparison: the first is, that the Gnostics and Carpocratians taught, as articles of faith, what the fathers attribute to them. It was therefore necessary to refute, and consequently to relate, those impious doctrines. But the prophaneations, recited by Garasse, are barely actions and words of wicked and debauched minds, who never affirmed they had either said or committed them (47). The second is, that the fathers never relate, but with regret, the impure heresies, which they are obliged to refute. Garasse, on the contrary, has raked together an heap of ordure (48). In the third place, the fathers wrote for learned men (49). St Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, wrote in Greek, which was neither the language of the western empire, nor that of Gaul in particular (50). At that time, books could not be communicated so easily as they are at present, through the convenience of printing (51), and the Christians and Catholics led an angelical life. . . . They would have seen and heard these impieties and prophaneations with an incredible detestation and aversion (52). None of these circumstances could excuse Garasse. He did not reply with exactness: he supposed, that the first disparity consisted in this, that the fathers were under a necessity of publishing these abominations; inasmuch as they were public, and as it were authorized by the world (53); and he replied, that 'the immodest actions of Carpo- cras were never so known in the towns of Greece, as the impudences of Theophile, the blasphemies of Vannini, and the impieties of Charron, are known by France (54).' You see, he forgets the principal point of the difference; for the impieties and obscenities of Theophile were by no one maintained as tenets of religion. This did not take away a right to refute them, and I wonder Garasse did not say, that

(37) August. Retractat. lib. 13 cap. iii.

(38) Jugem. de la Doctrine Curieuse, in the extract of the letter of L. R. L.

(39) Garasse, Apol. cap. viii, pag. m. 90.

(40) *Ib.* pag. 92.

(41) *Ibid.*

(42) Jugem. de la Doctrine Curieuse, cap. ix, pag. 39. 40.

(43) Garasse, Apol. cap. ix, pag. 109, 110.

(44) See the Doctr. Curieuse, liv. ii, §. xv.

(45) Apol. de Garasse, chap. xii, pag. 151.

(46) Jugem. de la Doctrine Curieuse, chap. ix, pag. 106, 67.

(47) *Ib.* pag. 108.

(48) *Ib.* pag. 112.

(49) *Ib.* pag. 114.

(50) *Ibid.* pag. 115.

(51) *Ibid.* pag. 117.

(52) *Ibid.* pag. 118.

(53) Garasse, Apology, chap. xii, pag. 152.

(54) *Ibid.* pag. 153.

(i) In the remark [A]. how he defended himself (i).

(55) Ibid. pag. 151.

(56) Ibid. pag. 153, 6v.

a faction of debauchees, who impudently publish prophane and impure maxims, to corrupt youth, do not deserve more countenance, than dogmatizing heretics; that therefore the books of these debauchees ought to be cried down, and the passages cited, to avoid the imputation of calumniating them. He has said nothing upon the second disparity, and he even affirms (55), that his censor has alledged but two. Nevertheless, he might defend himself two ways, by denying, that, purposely, he had raked together an heap of filth, and by maintaining, that the reluctance, with which the ancient fathers displayed them, could not free them from blame, if, at the bottom, it was a pernicious and sinful thing. He strongly attacked the third disparity: it is there he triumphs. It is false and ridiculous, says he (56); for the censor 'says, that the ancient fathers, who have made public, by their writings, the abominable and scandalous actions of the Carpocratians; did it, not in their mother-tongue, but in a language unknown and little used in the world, and that it was only for the learned: and of his reason he gives us a wonderful instance, since, says he, St Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, did not write in Latin, which was the language then known in France; but he wrote in Greek, that he might not be understood by the vulgar, nor expose the vileness of heretics to the knowledge of all the world. Now that St Irenæus wrote in Greek I will not dispute; I know it very well, thank God: but I say, it was not for the reason alledged by our prior, but because he was a Greek born, as his name witnesses, and that he was better acquainted with this language than the Latin: for, if the reason, alledged by our prior, were admitted, it would follow, that St Epiphanius and Theodoret, who were Greeks by nation, and who wrote, among the Greeks, the impurities and turpitudes of the atheists and heretics of their time, ought to have written in Latin or in German, not to have been understood by the vulgar: yet, for all this, they wrote in Greek, a language familiar to all the people of that country, more abominations, than there are in fifteen volumes as large as mine. But what would my gentleman say to doctor Cochleus, who has written, in German, a book intituled, *Luther with seven Heads*, which was

afterwards translated into Latin, in which he relates, like an honest German, speaking to Germans, all the impurities, which Luther had sowed in Germany, so far as to produce infamous proverbs, and horrible sayings, which the immodest women had in their mouths; nay, he goes so far as to say, that in all the towns of Germany they now only talked a certain jargon peculiar to bawds and pimps; the particulars of which he cites, which I forbear to produce, tho' I am not ignorant of them, having read them in the book of this doctor, not without horror, so prophane are they and filthy.

Note. He denies that he has made use of the word *lavement* in a new sense (57). 'At this word, says (57) We do not find the word *be* (58), my enemies write, that I have indecent words in my mouth, and that I am void of shame; to whom I reply . . . in justification of myself, that they make me more knowing and less innocent than I am; for they imagine, that I am conversant in the language of physicians and apothecaries; but thank God I know no more of it than the vulgar. By the word *lavement* I understand only what I have learned grossly from vulgar usage, and ancient books of physic, which are not so delicate as the modern; for, in the old French versions of Leonardus Fuchsius, I see, that the word *lavement* signifies only gargles; as when he says in the fifth, that, for the tooth-ach, we should take a *gargle of water of plantain*, and *gargle our mouth with it*. That, if the modern apothecaries be so finical to have prophaned this word, I am not obliged to make use of it in their indecent sense: for, otherwise, when I talk of *hypocrits*, in divinity, I must be cautious how I use this term, since the apothecaries have prophaned it, applying it dishonourably to the urine of their patients; and, consequently, if I borrow a comparison from the *hypocrits*, I ought to be accused of expressing myself with impurity.' This is to pretend great delicacy and innocence, to deny that we understand the modern sense of the word *lavement*; a word invented only to succeed other terms too gross. It has been a long time in fashion among the most polite persons. They begin not to be so fond of it (59).

(58) Garasse, Apolog. cap. ix, pag. 106, 107.

(59) See at the end of the fourth volume, the explanation concerning obscenity, paragr. LI.

GARDIE (PONTUS DE LA), great marshal of the armies of Sweden, under king John III, was a French gentleman, of a more illustrious birth than some authors have said [A]. He (a) was destined by his father to the church, in the monastery of Montoliou,

(a) Mezerei, apud Clausium Arrhenium Oernhielm, in Vita Ponti de la Gardie, pag. 11.

(1) He married her in 1511.

(2) Monsieur Oernhielm, in vita Ponti de la Gardie, pag. 8, says, that he had been so before under Francis I, and Henry II, and that he obtained from Henry III, the office of great master of the horse. I believe he is mistaken; and that, as to the last point, he takes the fun for the father.

(3) Thuan. lib. lxxviii, pag. m. 57.

(4) Nunc partem scientibus Septimanie vulgo Languedocis. Oernhielm, ubi supra, pag. 11.

(5) Id. Ibid. pag. 10.

[A] He was of a more illustrious birth than some authors have said. It may be proved for certain, that he was descended from RORERT DE LA GARDIE, lord of Ruffol and la Gardie, who, in 1382, married Anne de l'Estandart. The successors of that Robert, down to JAMES DE LA GARDIE, father to our Pontus, and husband of Catherine de Sainte Colombe (1), were married into very noble and ancient families; and namely into that of Bellegarde, from which, by the woman's side, sprung the marshal de Bellegarde, governor of the marquisate of Saluces under Henry III (2). You will find the particular circumstances of all this in the life of Pontus de la Gardie, composed by Mr Oernhielm, historiographer of Sweden, and published in the year 1690. He quotes Thuanus, who says, *Pontus Gardius nobili loco apud nos in Petrocoriis natus* (3); and Mezerei, whose words he translates thus: *Pater ejus (Ponti de la Gardie) illustri domo ortus prope Ruesium in Septimania*. He believes, without reason, that the *Petrocorii* of Thuanus are now a part of Languedoc (4): He had done better to censure that famous historian, who, without doubt, meant, that Pontus de la Gardie was born in Perigord, which is not true. Perhaps his mistake proceeds from his having heard, that Pontus was born at Peiregoux; which is a lordship in the diocese of Caltres, that belonged to the family of la Gardie, and was always the share of the eldest son (5). Mr Oernhielm takes notice of it (5); and adds, that la Gardie is situate between Caltres and the Albigeois. This is an error, pardonable in one, who is so far distant from that country. Caltres is in the Albigeois; and so the situation of la Gardie was not well marked; and it ought to have been placed in the diocese of Carcassonne. How-

ever this be, it cannot be denied, that this author quotes two very illustrious French historians, who aver, that Pontus de la Gardie was of a good family. It is also most certain, that he justly censures Father Maimbourg, who has said, *That fortune took pleasure in raising Pontus de la Gardie, from a mean birth, to the first employments of the kingdom of Sweden: for, having left the village, where he was born, near Rieux in Languedoc, he followed arms, to which his inclination led him, and went as a common soldier into Scotland, under the lord d'Orfel, lieutenant of Francis II* (6). There is no body, who, from these words, will not imagine, that our Pontus was at the most the son of a tradesman, or country attorney: for there is nothing intimating that his father was a gentleman. Therefore we may say, that Maimbourg is guilty of a gross fault; which is not the only one he has committed. Mezerei affirms, Rieux, in Languedoc, a poor soldier of fortune, being desirous to see the world, went into Scotland, under the command of the Sieur d'Orfel, lieutenant of Francis II; and therefore he was not there as a common soldier. His general was called Oysel, not Orfel; and, because Oysel was sent into Scotland by Henry II, Maimbourg had done well not to have mentioned Francis II; for that makes one lose the true thread of chronology. Note, that all these faults have been blindly copied out of Florimond de Remond (7). If king Francis II, Mr Varillas had copied them with the same exactness, *Plor de Remond, Vieillesse de France*, he had not encreased the number of them; but adventuring to walk some steps without a guide, he has lost his way. 'La Gardie, says he (8), was a Frenchman, born in the province of Languedoc, and in a pag. m. 495.' village of the bishopric of Rieux, near that little town. He had dedicated himself very young to the profession of arms, and had served a long time as a common soldier. He was still in that condition, when

(6) Maimbourg, Hist. du Luth. lib. vi, pag. 251. Edit. Holl.

(7) Pontus de la Gardie, a native of a village near Rieux, in Languedoc, a poor soldier of fortune, being desirous to see the world, went into Scotland, under the command of the Sieur d'Orfel, lieutenant of Francis II; and therefore he was not there as a common soldier. His general was called Oysel, not Orfel; and, because Oysel was sent into Scotland by Henry II, Maimbourg had done well not to have mentioned Francis II; for that makes one lose the true thread of chronology. Note, that all these faults have been blindly copied out of Florimond de Remond (7). If king Francis II, Mr Varillas had copied them with the same exactness, *Plor de Remond, Vieillesse de France*, he had not encreased the number of them; but adventuring to walk some steps without a guide, he has lost his way. 'La Gardie, says he (8), was a Frenchman, born in the province of Languedoc, and in a pag. m. 495.'

(8) Varillas, Hist. de l'Heret. lib. xxx, pag. 265. Dutch Edit.

Montoliou, in the diocese of Carcassonne; but the ardour of his courage did not suffer him to live long in that cloister; he soon left it to go to the wars. He bore arms first in Piedmont, under the marshal de Briffac; afterwards he went into Scotland, with the troops, which Henry II sent thither, under the conduct of Henry Clutin d'Oysel, to succour the queen-mother against her subjects. That Scotch war being at an end, he went into Denmark, and signalized himself in the armies of king Frederic II, against Eric king of Sweden. He changed his master some time after; for, having obtained a very honourable discharge from the king of Denmark, he betook himself to the service of the king of Sweden (b). This happened in the year 1565. He was sent into France the following year, with another ambassador, to ask of Charles IX leave to raise men in his kingdom; which negociation was so well managed, that they carried into Sweden three thousand foot, and as many horse (c). They found at their return the affairs of that kingdom in a very ill situation, both on account of the war, which the Danes, the Poles, and the city of Lubec, had declared against Sweden, and by reason of the misunderstanding between the king, and John duke of Finland, his brother. This fire, having been concealed for some time, broke out at last. The duke, and his wife, sister to Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, had been committed to prison; several persons were ill used upon suspicion of favouring them: The king flew into great excesses of cruelty; but, being informed, that people began to say, that, of right, he had forfeited the crown (d), he affected to give a great instance of clemency, by restoring his brother to his former state, and by placing near him a lord, who was a man of sense and courage [B], and who, upon all occasions, might be serviceable to him. This lord was our Pontus de la Gardie. Some time after, it was thought, that the king designed to make away with all his brothers during the solemnity of his nuptials: Wherefore they were exhorted not to assist there, and to free the kingdom from oppression [C]. They followed that advice, took a progress

(b) Oernhielm, ibid.

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 14, 15

(d) Certe, post patratas innocentium multorum caedes, jam non obicere ferebantur voces populi, regnandi jure excidisse immittem principem. Id. ibid. pag. 16.

* when d'Oysel, whom king Francis II sent into Scotland with troops, carried him thither. He stayed there till the peace of Caiteau-Cambresis, by which being disbanded, he was reduced to lift himself, with twenty of his comrades, under a captain, who carried them into Denmark. It is an untruth to say, that he was born in a village near the episcopal city of Rieux. Those historians, who say, that he was born at Rieux, or therabouts, do not mean that city, but a place in the diocese of Narbonne, or some other. Varillas should not have said, that Francis II sent troops into Scotland before the peace of Caiteau-Cambresis; for Henry II, his father, survived that peace, and it was properly he, who sent Clutin d'Oysel to the queen-regent of Scotland, mother-in-law to the dauphin, who had married the heiress of Scotland. Besides, the peace of Caiteau-Cambresis did not put an end to the divisions of Scotland; for some new troops were sent to the regent, soon after the conclusion of that peace.

All the proofs of Mr Oernhielm against father Maimbourg are not good. If Pontus de la Gardie, says he (9), had not been nobly descended; or had been born in a village, Charles IX, and Henry IV, would not have used the style they employed, when they wrote to him. The ambassadors of France, not to mention the emperor Rodolphus, Mary his mother, Frederic king of Denmark, Radziwill, or Zamoyski, would not have paid him all the honours which appear in their letters, with extream eagerness to cultivate his friendship. This reason is frivolous; for, as soon as a man enjoys the greatest employments in a state, and the favour of his master, every body respects him: foreign princes do all they can to gain him; his extraction is not regarded, but only his present condition, and his ability to serve or hurt. Who is ignorant of the flatteries of Charles V towards cardinal Wolsey, the son of a butcher?

Let us conclude, by saying, that most of the gentlemen in France come from a village: they are born in some castle, seated near some small lordship belonging to their father. And there are several families without a title, and who never appeared at court, nor ever had any considerable employment in their province, who nevertheless are of a most ancient nobility, can produce pedigrees of three or four hundred years standing, and are related, tho' perhaps at a great distance to houses, that bear the most magnificent titles. This is what might be supposed of that of our Pontus. I take notice, that neither the place, nor the time, wherein he was born, could be marked by Mr Oernhielm; which is very surprizing.

[B] By placing near him a lord, who was a man of sense and courage. These are Mr Oernhielm's words (10):

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* Hujus (populi) iram ut mulceret insigni aliquo specimen clementiae, fratrem Johannem Ducem, deterio carceris squalore, libertati dignitateque pristinae restituit. Eidemque, praeter caetera argumenta duraturae in posterum benevolentiae PONTUM DE LA GAR- DIUM concedit, virum in negotiis pacis ac belli spectatae industriae, ut ejus uteretur opera, ubicunque rerum magnitudo posceret. Soon after he quotes this passage out of a history of Sweden in manuscript (11). 'Duke John, a prince prudent and wise, who was well acquainted with the humour, temper, and infirmities of the king his brother, yielded at last to his commands, and accepted the burthen of that great and painful office; to wit, of viceroy, lieutenant-general, and governor of Sweden, and of both the Gothlands. But he sincerely remonstrated to him, that his long confinement had made him lose, not only all his faithful servants, but likewise the good and ancient acquaintance he had at court; and therefore he most earnestly besought his majesty to give him some trusty counsellor, and worthy second, in whom his majesty might entirely confide, and who might be an illustrious witness and companion of his actions and behaviour. His request being just, Eric readily gave him Pontus de la Gardie, or de la Garde, a French gentleman, whom he loved exceedingly, both for his wit and courage, and had raised him so high in his dominions, that he followed his wholesome counsels in all great and important affairs.' Florimond de Remond relates the same thing, tho' with a circumstance, which Joliver has omitted. 'The king, says he (12), who, during this discourse, saw, that the duke kept his eyes fixed upon a Frenchman, whom he loved, called Pontus de la Gardie, told him, through the suggestion of his evil genius, (for Pontus was the author of his ruin) brother, I give you Pontus, make use of him, and trust to his courage and loyalty, of which I have had many proofs.'

[C] They were exhorted to free the kingdom from oppression. They could not use a more pressing motive to prompt them to it, than that which they employed: for they had intelligence sent them from all parts, that the king designed to destroy them: 'Adferuntur ad principes amicorum ab omni parte literae, monentes, caverent sibi à futuris inaugurandae Reginae elocandaeque sororis solemnibus epulis, quibus haud aliter usus sit rex quam retribus, captivis everfuisse haud dubie suspectos fratres Regnique Proceres, operosa aliis conquirendos indagine. Ad haec adjungunt se Ducibus aliquot, de sua ipsorumque jam salute solliciti, decretam adferentes omnium necem, certumque debere opprimi, ni opprimant. Frustra adhiberi fidem promissis totiens juratis violatissique

M m

* Erici,

(9) Oernhielm, ubi supra, pag. 13.

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 16.

(11) Id. pag. 174. He quotes Joliver, author of a History of Sweden.

(12) Florimond de Remond, ubi supra, pag. 495.

into all the provinces, raised men up and down, and put themselves in a condition to dethrone the king. They marched directly to Stockholm, entered the city, and, after some parleys, and skirmishes, wherein la Gardie, one of the commanders of the troops of John duke of Finland was wounded in the arm, they brought their design about. King Eric was dethroned, and committed to prison in the year 1568. John, his brother being chosen to succeed him, gave immediately to la Gardie the place of high-steward of his household, and committed to him all the care of his coronation, which was not performed till the tenth of July 1569. No man had more contributed than la Gardie to the success of this revolution; wherein his vigilance, address, and resolution, shone wonderfully. The new king, not having been able to conclude an honourable peace with the king of Denmark, marched against him. A battle was fought, wherein la Gardie, having received a great wound, was made prisoner: He did not recover his liberty, till the treaty of peace, ratified the sixteenth of March 1571. He had been made a knight (e) on the coronation day; and he had a new title conferred on him the twenty seventh of July 1571, to wit, that of baron of Eckholm, to which a great estate was annexed. At the same time, he was sent (f) upon an embassy, with two others, to some imperial cities, to the bishop of Munster, the count of East-Friesland, the duke of Alva, the king of France, the king of Navarre, and the king of Spain: And, soon after his return, he was employed in military affairs; for he was sent into Livonia in the month of August 1573, to stop the progress of the great duke of Muscovy (g). He was recalled three years after, to be entrusted with an embassy of great importance, which he discharged very well. He negotiated at first with some imperial cities, &c. and afterwards at the court of Rodolphus, lately made emperor. Afterwards he passed the Alps, to go to Rome, where he had several audiences of Pope Gregory XIII, and then went to Naples, to receive what was due to his master (h) for his share of the estate of Bonna Sforza, mother to the queen of Sweden. He came back to Rome, and there had some conferences with cardinal

(e) *Eques auratus.*
Id. pag. 19.

(f) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 23.

(g) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 121.

(h) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 164.

(14) Oernhielm,
ubi supra, pag.
16, 17.

Erici, ludentis jam perjuriis, ut solent pueri astragalis (13). — The princes received friendly admonitions, from all hands, to beware of the ensuing inauguration of the queen, which the king would certainly make use of as a snare, to entrap and destroy his brothers, and the nobles of the kingdom, whom he suspected, whom it would be difficult otherwise to draw into his net. They join themselves likewise to certain leaders, already solicitous for their own and their safety, affirming that they deserved to be oppressed, unless they prevented it by first destroying the oppressor: that it was in vain to trust to the promises, so often sworn to, and yet broken, of king Eric, who played with perjuries, as children at cockall. Upon these occasions, people must do nothing by halves: the discontented ought not to say only, that there is some danger; they must positively assure a presumptive heir, that he is undone without recovery, unless he gets his adversary out of the way; and that he has no other resource, than to be beforehand with the tyrant, with regarding the fair promises, or submissions, which danger might extort from him. You see, that the managers of that intrigue in Sweden made use of this machine. Our Pontus, who was the principal director, bethought himself of a fine stratagem, which was, to stir up to that enterprize the duchess, who was to be queen, in case it should succeed; well knowing, that ambition causes more violent motions in the heart of a woman, than in a man. See in what manner he spoke to her. 'Madam, all the court wonders, that my lord your husband does not pity this miserable kingdom, where every body, being infinitely offended at, and weary of, the insolent cruelties and tyranny of the king his brother, he alone can easily remedy them. I do assure you, that all, both great and small, cast their eyes upon him, to put the crown upon his head, if he pleases to accept of it. He deserves it as justly as that barbarous prince, who, in the judgment of all, is unworthy of it. If my lord your husband pleases, it is easy to make him master of this kingdom, and to render him a great prince from a duke, as he is now, who undoubtedly cannot avoid either death or perpetual imprisonment; from which, both he and you have already been freed, as it were by a miracle, when you least expected it. I know for certain, from all the captains, that the six thousand Scotchmen, whom Eric keeps in his pay, are discontented, and desire no better than to change their master, for want of pay. Besides, it is certain, that the dukes Magnus and Charles, his brothers, with the greatest men in the kingdom, are extremely offended and grieved, that so great a king, as their brother, should

have married the daughter of a man, whose profession is odious, a wretched bum-bailiff. Therefore, madam, take this favourable occasion, which presents itself, by the forelock, for the good of the state, the quiet of the people and provinces, and the advancement of your dear husband and family (14).' Mr Oernhielm, who relates this discourse, confesses, that he finds nothing like it in the history of that nation; but he might have read them in Florimond de Remond, with the answer of the duchess: *These are fine discourses*, Pontus said she, *but difficult to be put in execution: however, be wise and discreet; I'll speak of it to the duke my husband* (15). Florimond declares (16), that he found these words in the manuscript memoirs of the ambassador of France, sent into Sweden in the year 1566, who was eye-witness of the strange changes which happened in that country (17). We must not forget the circumstance. Whilst all things were preparing to celebrate the nuptials, a report was spread among the people, that the destruction of the king's brothers, and of the grandes of the kingdom, was resolved upon. It was not known at first, whether that report was chimerical or well-grounded; but it became likely enough some time after, through the king's mad freaks; and, at last, the letters, which were written from all parts to his brothers, put it out of all question (18). 'Dum hæc parantur, manat in vulgus struendarum in Principes fratres Procereque Regni insidiarum rumor, verus an vanus, ab initio non satis sciebatur: Quem tamen similium vero mox fecerunt, ingenium Erici suspicax, insidum, in modum Euripii æstuans, & mobili semper ad obsequia præve consulentium. . . . Tot rebus adstruenda primo rumori fide.' These are commonly the preparatives towards revolutions; at first, news and reports are spread, and handed about from street to street, from town to town. There are speculative men at hand to lay a fire upon them; and at last, grave men to confirm them by their letters. I do not pretend to say, however, that this is always done with a design; for it sometimes happens, that such reports are both true, and confirmed by a laudable zeal for the public good: and I do even observe that it is so in the present case. Florimond de Remond was concerned in king Eric's justification, to render more odious the behaviour of Pontus de la Gardie, whom he treats very ill, because he looks upon him as one, who hindered Sweden from returning to the obedience of the Pope; yet, nevertheless, he relates a thousand abominable crimes committed by that king, and affirms that he advances nothing but what he had from very good hands (20). He quotes particularly (21) the letter, which

(14) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 17. He quotes an History of Sweden, in manuscript, written by Jolivet, advocate in the parliament, and bought of the author's son by count Magnus de la Gardie: It is in the library of Upsal.

(15) Florimond de Remond, *ubi supra*, pag. 497.

(16) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 496.

(17) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 494.

(18) Oernhielm, *ibid.* pag. 16.

(19) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 17, 18.

(20) Florimond de Remond, *ubi supra*, pag. 459.

(21) *Id. ibid.* pag. 499.

cardinal Hofius; but it is not known what affairs he treated on with the Pope (i) [D]. Nineteen months passed before he returned to Stockholm. He married, in January 1580, a natural daughter of the king of Sweden; and he was ordered, not many months after, to make an inroad into the dominions of the great duke of Muscovy, with all the troops he should find in Finland, and in the neighbouring provinces. He went upon this expedition in the quality of general (k); and his instructions were, among other things (l), to do no hurt to such Muscovites as should submit, and to allow the monks and nuns full liberty of conscience, without taking from them their images or other religious utensils [E]. He made himself master of the province of Carelia in a very little time (m). He was made (n) governor of Livonia and Ingria the following year, and continued his conquests upon the Muscovites with great success and prudence. He took from them the important place of Nerva, and several others, and (o) obliged them, in 1583, to agree to a truce of three years, without recovering any of the towns they had lost. During this truce, he bestowed his thoughts on the most effectual means to make his government prosperous. He was also (p) the second plenipotentiary of Sweden, in the conferences held at Pernaw, in the year

1585,

which the new king wrote to Charles IX. Now after that, does he not make himself ridiculous by concluding with these words? *But oftentimes false reports are raised against princes, to make them odious to their subjects, and stir up the latter to rebellion, as was done against Eric, who died miserably in prison* (22).

Mr Oernhielm has made a good reflexion: to wit, that a prince, who follows nothing but the dictates of his passions, without regarding what is due to God, and his subjects, deprives himself of the most necessary supports of his greatness: for he does not find in his people that loyalty, which might check those that attack him. *Prævenit adventum Ducum fama collecta in Regem exercitus, ad quam ille excitus, implorat opem civium, quorum plerique pertæsi acerbi regiminis, furdas obvertunt aures precanti, hilares, advenisse tempus, quo jurgi in dies ingravescentis leventur onere, antequam succumbant penitus interituri. Itaque subnixus ope paucorum, in quorum animis nondum obsoleverat Majestas sui Principis, congressuque eum pluribus ac fortioribus, non poterat non redigi ad angustias. Atque tum prætorum Regi adparuit, & favore civium, & successu succulentiæ potentie destitui potentes rerum, cum exultu reverentia Numinis, ex amplâ potestate usurpant nil præter truce quidvis in subiectos agendi licentiam. Id Erico Regi accidit. Quem solio sublimem vidit sol oriens, eundem occidens vidit provolutum ad aliena genua* (23). — *The king received news of the arms raised against him, before the arrival of the dukes; at which being alarmed, he implores the aid of the citizens; most of whom, weary of his tyranny, turn a deaf ear to his entreaties, rejoicing that the time was come, in which they should be eased of a burthen, which grew every day more heavy before they quite sunk under it. Relying therefore on the assistance of a few, who still preserved some loyalty towards their prince, and engaging with men superior in number and courage, he could not but be reduced to straits. The haughty monarch then became sensible, that kings deprive themselves of the only support of their royalty, the favour of their subjects, when, throwing off all regard to the deity, they employ their power only in oppressing their subjects. This was the fate of king Eric: the same person, whom the rising sun saw seated on a throne, the setting beheld groveling at another's feet.* The number of princes, that have been either assassinated or imprisoned for their tyranny, is so great; and, on the other hand, the number of those, that have been able to maintain their administration, and have not hastened the coronation either of a son, a brother, &c. by their violent conduct, is so very small, that one cannot sufficiently wonder, how there can be any, who do not take warning by those examples.

Ad generum Cereris sine cæde & sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges & sicca morte tyranni.

Few tyrants without blood resign their breath,
Or sink maturely in the arms of death.

As for the rest, the revolutions of states, whereby crowns are transferred from one head to another, have always been so frequent, that it is matter of wonder

they have not been more so: for, after all, the worst that, can happen, is to miss one's aim; whereas, if a man succeeds, he will find a thousand ways to defend himself against all imputations of injustice; and he will never want approvers, or alliances.

[D] *It is not known what affairs he treated on with the Pope.* Mr Oernhielm owns, that he could not find it out. *Quid Regis nomine cum Pontifice egerit non perinde liquet, cum regiorum mandatorum nihil ea de re videre contigerit* (25). He looks upon as a fable what father Maimbourg relates (26); that Pontus de la Gardie was instructed to treat with Pope Gregory XIII, about the reduction of Sweden to the obedience of the church, upon certain conditions; which where (27), I. That the nobility should freely enjoy the church-lands they were possessed of: II. That the bishops and priests should keep the wives they married: III. That the laity should be admitted to receive the sacrament in both kinds: IV. That divine service should be performed in the vulgar tongue. This is taken out of Florimond de Remond; who adds (28), that la Gardie, at his return, found the king alarmed being apprehensive, lest, by meddling with religion, these very men should take the crown, from off his head, who had placed it there: that poor king, not being able, or not daring, to restore intirely the catholic church, compounded with the Lutheran archbishops and bishops, who were the principal lords, by leaving them, during their lives, their wives, the communion in two kinds, and the mass in the vulgar tongue. The ecclesiastics might have been gained, since they were allowed their benefices; but these, who wore a sword by their sides, would not let go their holds. Thus that design came to nothing; not without suspicion, that la Gardie himself had put a stop to it, being particularly concerned, by reason of the great estate he enjoyed, through the favour of his master, whom he governed entirely.

[E] *Without taking from them their images, or other religious utensils.* This prohibition was necessary; for it had been ill observed before. *'Omniis autem vis omnis ac injuria abesse deberet à corporibus ac bonis ipsorum, qui se ritè huic Regno submittent, præcipuè verò ab his, qui peculiari solitoque ei genti ritu, etiam si à sacris penes nos receptis non nusquam recederent, sexu utroque incolenter montes, steria, quorum ornamenta, imagines, cæteramque sacram suppellectilem intacta inviolataque eis linqui præcipit, secus quam factum hactenus* (29). However, this order of the king's was not regarded; for they took out of the church of Carelgrod the images, statues, and priestly vestments, and transported them into Finland, for the use of the parishes there. The king was displeased with it, and threatened to punish with death, for the future, such as should violate his prohibition. Let us hear once more the Swedish historian. *Utcunque non probârit, quod, privato ausu, sculptas pictasque tabulas aris impositas, stolasque, quibus sacra peracturi sacerdotes amictiuntur, templo arcis Kexholmenfis detractas, nonnulli in vicinam Finlandiam, ad eorum, in quibus habitarent, paræciarum templa iis exornanda, aveli curaverint, quas reductas in sacrario templi arcis Viburgensis locari præcepit, donec ipse de eis aliter constitueret: interminatione mortis prohibens, ne quis regno se submittens ex hostibus, ulla adficeretur injuria, aut horum devictorum templis ac monasteriis ulla vel minima vis fieret* (30).

[F] *He*

(22) Ibid.
See X, ver. 112.

(23) Oernhielm, ubi supra, pag. 23.

(24) Tervetol.
See X, ver. 112.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid.

(q) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 213.

(r) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 214.

(s) In the article
TYPOT,
remark [A].

1585, with the ambassadors of Poland, about the peace between the two kingdoms. These conferences were soon broken up: After which, a negotiation was set on foot with the ambassadors of Muscovy, either for the prolonging the truce, or for a treaty of peace. He perished unfortunately in a river [F], during the course of these negotiations, the fifth of November 1585 (q). He was interred at Revel, where four years after they erected to him a marble tomb (r). His posterity is still very flourishing in Sweden [G]. I shall say, in another place (s), something relating to this Article.

[F] *He perished unfortunately in a river.* He and his colleagues had parted with the ambassadors of Muscovy, without having agreed upon any thing, save only a truce of fifteen days. He embarked on the river for Nerva; but, when the ship was come within half a league of that city, some pieces of cannon being discharged, a plank happened to start, and, the water getting in through that hole, the most timorous threw themselves on the other side, so that the ship was over-set: La Gardie was one of those, who were drowned (31). This is the account Mr Oernhielm gives of that accident. There is in that part of his book a marginal note, wherein the narrative of Father Maimbourg is censured. *As Pontus de la Gardie, these are that father's words (32), returning from his embassy of Muscovy, was ready to enter into the port of Revel, the capital city of the Swedish Livonia, of which he was viceroy, the bark, in the stern whereof he sat in an arm-chair, having struck with great force against a rock, the head was lifted up so high with the blow, that two of his gentlemen, who stood up before him, being thrown down, and falling on his chair, caused the stern to sink yet lower, so that they fell all three together in an instant into the sea, and were no more seen.* Florimond de Remond, the original author of this account, has added to it two falsities, which Maimbourg has not copied: 1. That la Gardie had a conference with the great duke: 2. That, having ended his negotiation, he put to sea with his ships. In the marginal note, Father Maimbourg is accused of not understanding geography: for he supposes, that, on the frontiers of Muscovy, there is a river, that goes down to Revel; which is false. He is blamed for saying, that Revel is

the capital city of Livonia; he should have said, of Esthonia: and he is blamed likewise for saying, that Pontus was governor of Livonia: for, says Mr Oernhielm, that province did not then belong to Sweden, having been conquered since by Gustavus Adolphus. Methinks this last censure is not reasonable, since Mr Oernhielm says expressly, that Pontus de la Gardie was made governor of Livonia and Ingria in the year 1581 (33). I should have been contented with censuring the word viceroy, which Maimbourg has borrowed from Florimond de Remond.

The article GARDIE, in the Supplement to Moreri, being taken out of Father Maimbourg, you will easily find in these remarks, wherein that is defective.

[G] *His posterity is still very flourishing in Sweden.* He left two sons and one daughter. JOHN DE LA GARDIE, the eldest son had none but daughters, who were very advantageously married. JAMES DE LA GARDIE, the younger brother, was made count (34), senator, and great confable of the kingdom, president of the council of war, &c. His eldest son, MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE, married the sister of Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, and was father to GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS DE LA GARDIE, senator of the kingdom, and president of the supreme council of Sweden. Gabriel Magnus's brothers had also great employments, and left children behind them. See the pedigree of that family at the beginning of our Pontus's life. The latter left two brothers in France, who were married; but their male issue is extinct (35).

(33) *Etiams vocatur
novo supreni
per Ingriam ac
Livoniam Gubernatoris titulo ac
munere loca
priora repetit.
Oernhielm, ubi
supra, pag. 178.*

(34) Maimbourg
and, after him,
the author of
the Supplement
to Moreri, are
mistaken in gi-
ving that quality
to Pontus de la
Gardie.

(35) Oernhielm
pag. 5.

(31) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 213. Confer
Thuanum, lib.
lxxxiii, pag. 57,
& Jolivet, apud
Oernhielm,
pag. 214.

(32) Maimb.
Histoire du
Lutheran. Tom.
II, pag. 260,
261.

(a) In the re-
mark [B].

(b) Taken from
a manuscript
memoir.

GARISsoles, (ANTONY) pastor and professor of divinity at Montauban, his birth-place, was a very eminent divine. He was born about the year 1587, admitted into the ministerial function at the age of twenty three, or twenty four, years, and appointed one of the ministers of the church of Puylaurens. He was settled in the professorship of divinity at Montauban in the year 1627, after having been appointed for that employment by several synods of his province, and charged particularly by a national synod, held at Castres, to go and exercise that function; which he discharged gloriously 'till the year 1650, in which he died. He composed a great many books, some of which have been published [A], and the others have most of them perished in the late persecution. He took a great delight in Latin poetry, and had the satisfaction to see in print the epic poem he had made, to sing the great exploits of Gustavus Adolphus [B]. I shall speak of it below (a). He was moderator in the national synod held at Charenton in the year 1645 (b) (§ a).

[§ a] On that occasion, they say, upon some misconduct of the famous Milletiere, Garissoles the moderator rebuffed that false brother with these terrible words of our Saviour: *That thou dost do quickly.* You take me then for a Judas, said Milletiere to him. Not entirely so, replied Garissoles; for Judas had the purse, but you seek for it. REM. CRIT.]

[A] *He composed many books, some of which have been published.* He published a volume of sermons, intitled, *La Voe de Salut—The way to Salvation.* His other printed books are in Latin; some theses of divinity; a treatise *De Imputatione primi peccati Adæ*; another, *De Christo Mediatore; The Explanation of the Catechism.* This last work was begun by Mr Charles, Mr Garissoles's colleague. It is to be observed concerning the book, *De Imputatione primi peccati Adæ*, that the author composed it by order of his synod, after he had had an amicable conference upon that subject with Mr Amyrault, in the presence of the national synod held at Charenton. Mr Amyrault did not defend his own opinions, but only those of Mr de la Place (1), who had desired him to stand proxy for him, and to explain and defend his sentiments before the assembly. Mr Garissoles, having dedicated his book to the four evangelical cantons, caused it to be presented to them by his eldest son, who was honourably received every where. A year after, they made a fine present to the father; to whom they sent four great

silver gilt cups, exquisitely wrought, accompanied with a letter in Latin, full of encomiums, and signed by the four syndics of the four cantons (2).

[B] *He saw printed the epic poem he had made for . . . Gustavus.* It is called *Adolphus*. The author had dedicated it to queen Christina, and to the five grandees of the kingdom; but he was obliged to alter the epistle dedicatory, because his eldest son wrote to him from Stockholm, that it would not be possible to present that work, unless it were dedicated to the queen alone. He therefore made a new epistle, addressed only to that princess, and so the poem was presented. *The queen received it in a most gracious and obliging manner, and shewed a great deal of civility to the author's son.* She told him, that certain people had endeavoured, more than once, to give her an ill opinion of the poem, and of the poet: *But that, having perused it, she was extremely pleased with it, and was filled with veneration and admiration for its author. These were her very words.* Gratius was suspected

(2) Taken from
a manuscript
memoir.

(1) See the ar-
ticle AMY-
RAULT, be-
tween citations
(2) and (b).

of having endeavoured to do that ill office, though, having been desired to give his opinion of that piece, even before it was printed, he had given a great character of it, as wanting little of being perfect. However, the book was greatly commended by the queen;

the author was honoured with a fine gold medal; and his eldest son had the expences of his journey largely repaid him (3). Note, that Mr Gariffoles made a poem on the coronation of that queen.

(3) Taken from the same memoir.

GARNACHE (FRANCIS DE ROHAN, LADY DE LA), was daughter of Renatus de Rohan, first of the name, and of Isabella d'Albret, daughter of John d'Albret, king of Navarre. She was consequently cousin-german to Joan d'Albret (a), mother of Henry the great. Neither such powerful and illustrious relations, nor the most ancient nobility of the house of Rohan, were able to secure her against the most grievous injustice, that can be done to a person of her sex. The duke of Nemours had promised her marriage, and thereupon had obtained all the favours he could expect from her: To be plain, he got her with child. When he was called upon to perform his promise, he laughed at it with the greater confidence, in that he saw, that Antony, king of Navarre, though first prince of the blood, had neither courage nor authority enough to force him to repair the honour of the lady. It was still worse, after the king of Navarre, who had some sort of credit during the triumvirate, was killed. The duke of Nemours, who had left France at the beginning of the troubles, because it had been discovered, that he had a mind to steal away the duke of Anjou, brother of king Charles IX (b), was soon recalled, and served successfully against those of the reformed religion: This, together with the death of the king of Navarre, encouraged him to press the court of Rome to declare his engagement void. He obtained all he desired (c): The just right of the lady Rohan was entirely oppressed, because she had declared herself for the Huguenot party [A]; so that she was forced to undergo the disgrace of being a mother, without being married, and the grief of seeing her faithless gallant enter into wedlock with the widow of the duke of Guise, and as much respected every where, and cared for by the ladies, as if he had been the honestest man in the world. All the comfort she had left, was the title of prince of Genevois, which she gave her son [B]; and as for herself, she was called the lady de la Garnache (d), or the duchess of Loudunois (e). She maintained herself dexterously in her estate during the civil-wars [C]. It is likely that Brantome speaks of her

(a) Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, son of John, and brother of Isabella d'Albret, was father of that Joan d'Albret.

(b) Le Labourer, Addit. à Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 808, Tom. II, pag. 34.

(c) Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX, Tom. II, pag. 34, ex Thuano, lib. xxxix.

(d) It is the name of a town in Poitou.

(e) This duchy was erected in 1579.

[A] She declared for the Huguenot party. If you will not trust d'Aubigné, we must strengthen his testimony by that of Thuanus. The clandestine marriage between the duke of Nemours, and Frances de Rohan, was again mentioned, but only with a design to cast the plaintiff, in hatred of her religion, and to put the other in a capacity to marry the dowager of Guise (1). Let us now hear Thuanus, Eodem tempore, that is, in 1566, his olim agitata inter Franciscam Roanam & Jacobum Sabaudum Nemorosium, & superflite Navarro qui Roanæ cognatæ patrociniabatur intermissa demum renovata, & prævalente hinc Nemorosii gratia, inde odio religionis protestantium cui Roana addicta erat, prægravante, interventu Pontificis decisa est, schedula Nemorosii de matrimonio præsentibus verbis contracto irrita pronunciata (2). — At the same time, the cause between Frances de Rohan, and the duke of Nemours, which lay dormant during the life of the king of Navarre, who favoured his kinswoman de Rohan, was again set on foot, and, through the duke's interest on one side, and hatred of the protestant religion, to which the lady de Rohan was addicted, on the other, was decided by the intervention of the Pope, who disannulled the duke's promise of marriage.

(1) D'Aubigné, Tom. I, lib. iv, cap. vi, ad ann. 1566.

(2) Thuanus, lib. xxxix, pag. 22.

[B] All the consolation, she had left, was the title of prince of Genevois, which she gave to her son. If I had followed Virgil's notions, I should have said, that that lady's grief for the infidelity of her gallant was alleviated by the son he left her; but it is a long time since our ladies are no more of the same temper with the Dido of that great Roman poet. That good prince's greatest sorrow was, that her perfidious lover went from her without leaving one of his race behind him; and, if she had had a little babe, or at least had found her self with child by him, her affliction had been a great deal less.

Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
Ante fugam soboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
Luderet Æneas, qui te tantum ore referret;
Non equidem omnino capta aut deserta viderer (3).

(3) Virgil, Æn. lib. iv, ver. 337.

Ob! that —

E'er from my sight for ever thou wert gone,
Thy kind embrace had blest me with a son;
Some young Æneas, in whose lovely face
His father's features fondly I might trace.
Some comfort in thy absence this would be,
Nor were poor Dido quite undone by thee.

Such a tender sentiment would now-a-days be exploded, even in a romance, it is so contrary to custom. The greatest sorrow of those kind-hearted ladies, to whom a gallant breaks his promise, is, not for having granted him more than they ought, but for not having been able to prevent the consequences. A big-belly, or a child, are such convictions of dishonour, as no chicanry can elude: they are speaking proofs, & luce meridiana clariores: they are witnesses without reproach, & omni exceptione majores. That is therefore the principal source of a lady's misfortune and despair, Quis est qui vellet pueri inasperi i miei martiri. And indeed, I believe, thus Brantôme speaks (4) of the ladies he had seen at court, that the best time they ever had, (I put it to their consciences) was, when they were maids; for they had their free will to be nuns, and votaries, as well of Venus, as of Diana; provided they could have been so wise and cunning as to know how to preserve their bellies from swelling. In some respects, it must be confessed, that the fate of the lady Garnache was pretty like that of Dido: for her gallant pretended, as well as Æneas, that he never intended to marry.

(4) Discours de Cather. de Medici, pag. 100.

- - - Nec conjugis unquam
Prætendi tædas, aut hæc in sœdera veni (5).
I never dreamt of marriage, witness heav'n!
Nor for such purpose to these shores was driven.

(5) Virgil, Æn. lib. iv, ver. 338.

[C] She maintained herself dexterously . . . during the civil-wars. I shall quote here no other author than d'Aubigné. We must add, says he (6), that the lady de la Garnache, sister to the duke of Rohan, held the town of la Garnache, and the castle of Beauvois on the sea, in neutrality, preserving her self by the submissions and artifices, which cannot

(6) D'Aubigné, Tom. III, cap. xlii, ad ann. 1587, pag. 65.

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adventure [D]. Mr Varillas has mentioned it at large, not without committing many faults [E]; some of which are so very gross, that one cannot but wonder at it.

'be blamed in her sex and condition. Her son (called the prince of Genevois, upon pretence of his mother's marriage with the duke of Nemours) having made himself master of la Garnache, by the help and contrivance of the servants, that depended upon him, hoped to make it a place of arms for his party, and thereby to provide for his own necessities. He attempted also upon Beauvois, by intelligence; but his mother, being an artful woman, he found himself her prisoner. The issue of all this was, that the king of Navarre, soliciting his liberty, obtained it, and, by the same means, the town, when the lady of the place, who was also called the duchess of Loudunais, saw the affairs of the country pretty favourable for the religion she professed; because, by this time, there were reckoned eight places, that 'held for the reformed.' He speaks at large of the siege of la Garnache (7); the Protestant garrison whereof was at last forced to surrender to the duke of Nevers. One may confidently reckon, among the *submissions and artifices* of that lady, the letters she wrote to her brother, when besieged in Lusignan (8). She did all she could to persuade him to accept of the honourable terms, which the duke of Montpensier offered him; but all in vain.

(7) Ibid. lib. ii, cap. xii, & xvi.

(8) Thuan. lib. lix, ad ann. 1574, pag. 99.

[D] It is likely that Brantôme speaks of her adventure. He says, that he has 'known a gentlewoman of high degree, who happened to be with child by a very brave and gallant prince . . . King Henry was the first who knew it, and was extremely troubled at it; for she was somewhat related to him . . . One night, at a ball, he danced with her the dance of the Torch, and afterwards made her dance, with another, the Gaillard, and other dances, wherein she shewed her disposition and dexterity better than ever, with her shape, which was very fine, and which she fitted so well that day, that her big-belly did not in the least appear; inso-much that the king . . . came and whispered to one of his most intimate familiars, those people are very wicked, and wretched, that have invented the report, that that poor lady was big with child . . . They have reported a falsehood, and are much to blame. Thus that good prince excused that fair and honourable lady, and said as much to the queen that night, being in bed with her: but the queen, not trussing to that, caused her to be searched the next morning, in her own presence, and found her to have gone six months with child; the lady confessing that all this had been done upon a promise of marriage. Therefore the king, who was very good-natured, caused the whole mystery to be kept as secret as could be, without exposing the lady, though the queen was very angry at it. They sent her, without noise, to her nearest relations, where she was brought to bed of a fine boy, who nevertheless was so unhappy as never to be owned by his supposed father; and the law-suit about it was long depending, but the mother never got any thing by it (9).' It is easy to know, by this account, the lady de la Garnache, who was maid of honour to Catherine de Medicis, when that accident befel her (10). She was not the only lady, who got a big-belly in that queen's service.

(9) Brant. Dames Gal. Tom. II, pag. m. 370.

(10) Brantôme, in the discourse of Catherine de Medicis, puts the lady de Rhoan at the head of the maids of honour, whom he had seen at the court of France.

(11) Varill. Hist. de Henry III, lib. v, pag. 13, & seq. Dutch Edit.

[E] Mr Varillas . . . has committed many faults. These are his words (11): 'James, first duke of Nemours, surnamed the fair and gallant knight, by way of excellence, had been in love with Frances de Rohan, who appeared at court under the name of Mademoiselle de Leon . . . He had given her a promise of marriage in due form. That lady added, that he had pronounced the matrimonial vow, and that the marriage had been consummated. No issue was come from it; and things still remained in an uncertainty, when Poltrot killed the duke of Guise. The duke of Nemours's passion for the duchess of Guise was presently rekindled, as soon as she was a widow, and he married her before Mademoiselle de Leon had taken all her measures to put a stop to it. Her relations, who had but indifferently assisted her before the infidelity of the duke of Nemours, grew incensed when they saw him married; and the king of Navarre, her second cousin, those of the house of Rohan, and all the other lords of the kingdom, that were re-

lated to them, let the duke of Nemours know, that, unless he gave satisfaction to Mademoiselle de Leon, he must fight them all in a single combat, one after another. This was a terrible extremity. And, though the duke of Nemours was one of the most valiant men in the world, it was not possible for him to satisfy so many persons, without losing his life at last in the quarrel. This made him use precautions, which for some years exempted him from fighting. . . . The duchess of Nemours was brought to bed of two sons . . . and the lady Leon took upon her to prove, that they were not legitimate. Things were prepared for a trial with great solemnity. The most famous professors of the civil-law in Europe were consulted, as well as the most celebrated lawyers of the parliaments of France; and the majority of them answered, that the question appeared difficult, and that the best way was to accommodate the matter. The quarrel about religion, which immediately followed the other about marriage, did but inflame it; for, on one side, the house of Rohan turned Calvinist. . . . The lady Leon was a younger sister of Bretagne, and by consequence had but a small portion. She loved expence; and it was by furnishing her wherewithal to maintain it, that the duke of Nemours had gained her esteem. They attacked her on that weak side; and the queen-mother offered her, that, provided she did not insist upon her pretensions, the town of Loudun, and its jurisdiction, should be dismembered from the royal demesne; and, if the whole was not worth fifty thousand livres a year, the adjacent lands should be bought, and added to it, to make up that sum; that the whole together should be erected into a duchy and peerdom: and that the patent should import, in express terms, that that duchy and peerdom should pass from the lady Leon to her issue, male and female for ever, supposing she had any; and, in case she had none, to all the males and females of the house of Rohan also for ever. Mademoiselle de Leon rejected at first the proposal of the queen-mother. . . . She was so teased by her relations, that she durst no more openly oppose an accommodation. But fresh obstacles were still raised, when they thought they had overcome the former. The parliament of Paris, who were to register the patent for erecting Loudun into a duchy and peerdom, made a scruple of it, alledging, that, to make a lawful settlement of a duchy and peerdom, there must be found an estate, of which the future duke and peer be incommutable lord; that is, that he should be so absolutely possessed of it, that none should have a right to deprive him of it; which could not be with respect to the lordship of Loudun, since it was of the royal demesne; and that whatsoever precautions should be taken to divide it from it, it would still be lawful for the king to re-unite it; and though his majesty should neglect it, he being but usufructuary of his kingdom, his successors would nevertheless be in a capacity to do it. It was difficult to confute this reason by an opposite one of equal strength: but the queen-mother would have over-ruled it by all her credit, and the authority of the king her son, if the change, which happened in the person of the duke of Nemours, had not hindered her. That prince . . . was afflicted with the palsy . . . and died, after having languished in his bed for two whole years (12). Every body compassionating his indisposition, the lady Leon superseded her prosecution, and the judges would never hear it mentioned, after the death of him, who had given ground for it. The king was extremely glad he had no more occasion to alienate his demesne, and to create a new duchy and peerdom upon so unworthy an occasion . . . And, having consented to the alienation of Loudun, out of meer complaisance to the queen-mother, he was glad he was dispensed with the performance of his promise by the death of the duke of Nemours.'

In the first place, I take notice, that the lady in question is called by Brantôme *Mademoiselle de Rohan* (13), not *Mademoiselle de Leon*. II. I have shewn (14) by the testimony of Thuanus, that the law-suit of the lady was definitively determined, to her prejudice, in

(12) He died at Anest, in the county of Fougere, the nineteenth of June, 1583. Hilarion de Coste, Elog. des Dames, Tom. I, pag. 79.

(13) Discours de Catherine de Medicis, pag. m. 100.

CENSURE of that passage of Varillas.

(14) In the remark [A].

in the year 1566. The promise of marriage, which she produced, was declared void. Mr Varillas knew it well enough, when he composed his history of Charles IX. See the words, which I quote in the margin (15), they positively declare, that the duke of Nemours's marriage with the duchess of Guise was preceded by the sentence, which made void the pretensions of the lady Rohan (16). Why then does he say, in this place, that, before this lady *had taken all her measures to put a stop to it*, the duke of Nemours had married the widow of the duke of Guise? III. How is it likely, that that lady renewed her prosecution after the birth of the two sons of the duke of Nemours by that widow? That marriage was concluded after the definitive sentence, which ruined the pretensions of the lady Rohan, and therefore nothing could be alleged against the issue of that marriage. IV. And therefore those consultations of professors in civil-law, and of lawyers, those solemn *Preparations for a trial*, touching the quality of the duke of Nemours's two sons, are meer chimeras. V. The quarrel about religion was not subsequent to the birth of

those two children; for that duke did not marry the dowager of Guise till after the law-suit with the lady Rohan had been determined in the year 1566, before which time there had been a most bloody war about religion. VI. The house of Rohan did not turn Calvinist after the birth of the duke of Nemours's two sons; for Mr Varillas remarks (17), that, in the year 1562, the viscount de Rohan embraced Calvinism, in hopes of marrying the heiress of Soubize. VII. That compassion, which, we are told, prevailed with the lady Rohan to supersede her prosecution against the duke of Nemours, who was sick of the palsy, is also another chimera. VIII. According to Mr Varillas, king Henry III did not erect Loudun into a duchy; the duke of Nemours's death exempted him from the performance of his promise. Nevertheless it is certain, that that erection was made in favour of the lady Rohan. IX. The most enormous fault of that author, is, his saying, that the duke of Nemours had no children by that lady. See, above (18), the passage of the Sieur d'Aubigné (19).

(15) *As soon as the definitive sentence was signified to the lady Rohan, the duke of Nemours married the dowager of Guise. Varillas, Histoire de Charles IX, Tom. II, pag. 31, ad ann. 1566.*

(16) See Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, pag. 76.

(17) Histoire de Charles IX, lib. III, at the beginning.

(18) In the remark [C].

(19) See also Le Laboureur, Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 808.

GARONNE, in Latin *Garumna*, one of the four great rivers of France. Papyrius Masso (a) will furnish you with several passages of the poets concerning this river. Add to that, the pretty and pleasant fiction of Messieurs Chapelles, and Bachaumont (b), about it's flux and reflux. I content myself to mark some faults of Moreri [A].

[A] I content myself to mark some faults of Moreri. I. He says, that the Garonne crosses the plain of Aran, in the county of Comminges. This shews he did not understand the Latin he copied; for these are the words of Mr Baudrand, whom Mr Moreri has falsely translated: *Oritur (Garumna) in montibus Auræ in Arania vallis Hispanicæ ditensis in confinio Aragoniæ.* Mr Baudrand does not speak of the plain of Aran, but of the valley of Aran, and says, that it belongs to Spain, in the borders of Arragon; but not that it is a part of the country of Comminges. II. He should not have said, that the Garonne passes through Rieux, but near Rieux. The Sieur Coulon has avoided that fault, by saying, that it runs along the *bishopric of Rieux in the county of Foix* (1). These last words are false, since the city of Rieux is not of the county of Foix; and that part of the diocese of Rieux, along which the Garonne runs, is not in the county of Foix. III. It is not true, that the Garonne receives, at Toulouse, the Little Lers, which runs into it far below that city. IV. He should not have forgot, that, a league above Toulouse, it receives a river much more considerable

than the Little Lers, I mean the river Ariège. *Inde patentes & fertiles campos rigans duobus milliariis à Tholosæ in vinculo* (2) *S. Crucis Aurigeram* (3) *fluvium excipiens, arenulis aureis intermicantem, jam suis aquis & externis valentior Tholosam Tellosagum Metropolim alluit*: These are Papyrius Masso's words (4). V. To say, as Mr Moreri does, that the Garonne comes near Bourdeaux, shews as if he would have the readers fancy, that it does not wash the walls of that city; which would be a most false imagination. VI. He says, *the Garonne and the Dordogne form one single channel of the Garonne, which passes by Blaye*: Which is a phrase so barbarous, that the most ignorant Walloon would have expressed the thing better. VII. He should not have said, that there is on the right side of the Garonne, and on the shore of Xaintonge, a town called *Marmande*, but a town called *Mortagne*. VIII. Instead of *Pavillac* and of *Soulac*, he should have said *Paulliac* and *Souillac*. The second and fifth faults are found in Mr Baudrand's Geographical Dictionary.

(a) In Descriptiones Franciæ per Flumina.

(b) In the relation of their travels.

(2) It should be *viculus*, a little village.

(3) The author does not well translate this word by that of *La Riege*.

(4) In Descriptiones Franciæ per Flumina, pag. 433. Edit. Paris. 1685.

(1) *Traité des Rivières de France, Part. I, pag. 475.*

GEDDICUS (SIMON), doctor of divinity, and minister at Magdeburg, is only known to me by the answer, he published, in the year 1595, to a little book, wherein the author pretended to prove, that women do not belong to human kind, *Mulieres non esse homines* [A]. This is much more happily expressed in Latin, than in

[A] *The author pretended to prove . . . mulieres non esse homines*. I have spoken elsewhere (1) of the great noise and storms, that were raised against poor Acidalius, who had given his bookeller a copy of that dissertation; and I have advertised my reader in that place, that I should speak here of that little book. I question very much, if Gediccus has understood the true intention of the author. He has bestowed great pains in making a formal apology for the fair sex; which shews he thought he confused a book, the principal design of which was to abuse the women: wherein, in my opinion, he has shewn no great penetration. The author of the Dissertation does not principally aim at the women; and it is only by accident, and very indirectly, that he abuses them. His principal design is to turn into ridicule the system of the Socinians, and their method of playing with the most formal and express texts of the word of God, touching the divinity of Christ. This has been observed long ago by a Journalist. These are his words (2): 'Why should not every body be allowed to convince themselves, that the Socinians make use of trifling and wretched cavils; and that it has been proved, that, by their glosses, one might elude all the passages of scripture, which prove that women are human creatures, I mean, of the same species with me. This was the subject-matter of a little book,

which was published towards the end of the last century, *mulieres homines non esse*; to which one Simon Gediccus, a minister in the country of Brandenburg, made a very serious answer, not being aware of the design of the author, which was to write a violent satire against the Socinians: For how can one turn them into ridicule, or mortify them more effectually, than by letting them see, that the glosses, whereby they combat the consubstantiality of the son of God, are sufficient to hinder us from proving by scripture, that women are humane creatures?' Cocheus made use of the same machine, but to very little purpose, against Luther. He wrote some books, wherein, after the Lutheran way, he pretended to prove, by passages of scripture, that Jesus Christ is not God; that God ought to obey the devil; and that the Blessed Virgin did not preserve her virginity. 'Cum Lutherani scripturis ad suas nugas aptatis luderent, Cocherus (3) in actis Lutheri anno 1527, se librum ex Scripturis male confertis confarcinasse testatur, ad probandum, quod Christus non sit Deus, additque anno 1528 se item simili arte ac scopo, scripsisse de obedientia Diabolo debita à Deo, & de B. Virginis integritate violata. Unde liquere volebat, nihil esse adeo sanctum, ad quod impugnandum non possent obtorqueri Scripturæ (4). — It being usual with the Lutherans to

(3) It is an error of the press, marked in the *Errata*. We must read Cocheus, or Cocheus. Mr Baillet, *Jugement des Savants*, Tom. I, pag. 103, not having perceived this error of the press, thought that Theophilus Raynaud had quoted one Cocher.

(4) Theoph. Raynaudus, de bonis ac malis Libris, Part. III, Erotem. III, n. 523, pag. m. 296.

(1) Above, in remark [C] of the article ACIDALIUS.

(2) *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 1695, pag. 102.

quote

in English; for as it is very ridiculous to maintain in Latin, *Mulieres non esse homines*, it is no less ridiculous, in our tongue, to aver, *That women are men*. That little book has been reprinted several times [B], and some people have maintained, in earnest, the position, which is to be seen in the title page [C]. I could not find queen Elizabeth mentioned in that book [D].

There are those who believe, that the author of the Ecclesiasticus has confuted the paradox, *That women have no souls*. If they were in the right, we must conclude, that the Italian Author, who has maintained that paradox, has revived a very obsolete chimera [E]. To make, in that sense, an old decrepit young again, is no very difficult

* quote the scriptures in proof of their chimerical notions, *Cocleus*, in the acts of Luther, ann. 1527, confesses, that he patched up a book with scraps of the scripture ill put together, to prove, that CHRIST is not GOD; and he adds, ann. 1528, that, with the same artifice and design, he had written concerning the obedience due from GOD to the devil, and of the violated honour of the Blessed Virgin. Whence he would make it plain, that nothing is so sacred, but the scriptures may be wrested to overthrow it.

The author, from whom I borrow these words, had just before given a great instance of the power of chicanry and cavilling: for he had shewn, that, if one should scan the creed, according to the principles of some critics, not one of it's articles could stand the test. He complains, that Petrus Aurelius had lately censured that example of chicanry (5); but I cannot approve his complaint, after having read in Mr Baillet what follows.

* Father Theophilus Raynaud . . . shews, that there is no book, how perfect and pious soever it may be, wherein a man may not find something to censure, right or wrong, when once he has undertaken to pervert all, and to find fault with every thing. But it was not very necessary, that he should give such sensible and effectual proofs, by endeavouring to persuade us that he understood, as well as any other, the art of tricking and cavilling, when he has published a loose and impious censure of the Apostles Creed; wherein, either himself, or he to whom he ascribes it, and whom he calls a *most Catholic and most learned man*, wrests, in effect, the sense of all the words of that Creed, to shew that every one of them is in some sense suspicious, dangerous, captious, impious, and heretical. That is indeed a specimen of what chicanry may produce: but I cannot well see what game that *most catholic* author had a mind to play, by playing thus with our profession of faith. I know not whether it was for the simple, and such as are easily offended, or for the pretended Esprits-forts (wits), that he wrote that piece; and whether he had a mind to serve the Socinians, or Deists (6).

(5) *Jugemens des Savans*, Tom. I, pag. 202, 203.

[B] That little book has been reprinted several times. The edition I make use of is of the Hague, 1638, in 12mo. I do not mark the others. I cannot positively tell whether the work, condemned by the congregation of the Index, at Rome, the eighteenth of June, 1651, is a translation of this. That work is intitled, *Che le donne non siano della specie de gl'huomini: Discorso piacevole, tradotto da Horatio Platta, Romano* (7).

[C] Some have maintained in earnest the position in the title. You will see the proof of it in this remark; tho' all the examples, I shall instance in, are not proper to shew, that that position was maintained in earnest. I believe with Vossius that Cujacius affirmed it only by way of jest (8): *Eoque cum Cujacius contenderet, mulieres non esse homines, credo a seriis animum remittens (prope amittens in tali negotio dixerim) paucillum voluit nugari, quod post magnam virum alius etiam nugandi praebebat occasionem.* That question was much debated in Holland, whilst Sorbier was there. Mr Beverovic, says he, has written a book of the excellency of women, upon occasion of a dispute about a thesis, advanced, in form of a paradox, by a student, who had a mind to exercise his wit; *mulieres non esse homines*. That dispute has passed from the schools into the conversation of the best companies, and much has already been written pro and con about it. At last Monsieur de Beverovic has entered the list, and has given us as gentle and learned a piece as can be written upon that subject. He has forgot nothing that could be said to the advantage of the fair sex; and he has

verified, by a thousand examples, what he has endeavoured to prove methodically, and by good reasons, that women were not inferior to men in any qualities, either of mind or body (9). I wish Vossius had made as sound a judgment of Aristotle's opinion, as of that, which Cujacius undertook to maintain: but such a thing was not to be expected from him; for Aristotle's authority was yet too much respected. That great philosopher has maintained a strange doctrine; that nature made no women, but when, through the imperfection of matter, it could not arrive at the sex which is perfect. Vossius (10) commends Cajetan for having owned this with respect to particular nature, and for having denied it with respect to universal nature. Therefore, in the judgment of those two doctors, human nature aims not at engendering women; it's design is always to get males; but because, if it should always compass that end, the universe would suffer too much by it, there is an universal nature, which remedies it. What a pitiful jargon! what an odd idea of wisdom! what strange philosophy here is! human nature would labour to preserve itself; and yet it should not aim at producing that being, without which it cannot be preserved. This is the grossest of absurdities, and nevertheless, there is an infinite number of physicians and philosophers, who have asserted, that nature makes females only when it is out of it's road; and so that it produces none, but by chance, by accident, by force. Let us hear this foolery in Italian: *Huomini sapientissimi hanno lasciato scritto, che la natura, percio che sempre intende, & disegna far le cose piu perfette, se potesse, produrre continuamente huomini: & quando nasce una Donna, è difetto, o error della natura, & contra quello, ch'essa vorrebbe fare: come si vede ancor d'uno, che nasce cieco, zoppo, o con qualche altro mancamento, & ne gli arbori molti frutti, che non maturano mai. Così la Donna si può dire animal prodotto à sorte, & per caso* (11).

The most learned men have left in writing, that nature, which ever aims at perfection, would always produce men; and that, when a woman is born, it is, as it were, by mistake, and an error of nature; as when any one is born blind or lame, or with any other natural defect, or like the fruit of some trees, which never ripen. Thus a woman is an animal produced by accident. What I find most strange, is, to see, that, in a council (12), the question was gravely put, whether the women were human creatures, and that it was not carried in the affirmative, but after a long debate.

[D] I could not find queen Elizabeth mentioned in that book. Here is what we find in the life of that queen, published by Mr Leti. 'I always looked with indignation, says he (13), upon a wretched book, intitled, *That Women are not of the same species with men*; wherein the author has the boldness to mention the example of that great queen, to laugh at those, who have commended her capacity for the management of affairs; and to say, that, during her reign, her favourites, her council, and the parliament, managed all the business, and that she only lent them her name.' It being likely, that there are other dissertations upon the thesis *mulieres non esse homines*, besides the treatise, which Gediccus has given himself the trouble to confute, it would be very rash in me to deny what Mr Leti says; for I own I have read nothing concerning that subject, except the book Gediccus has confuted. However I may say, that Mr Leti would have obliged his readers, if he had described the book (14), wherein he had read that slander against queen Elizabeth.

[E] That the Italian author, who has maintained that paradox, has revived a very obsolete chimera. A Spaniard

(9) Sorbier, in a letter to Guy Patin, written from Leyden about the year 1650. It is the sixty third. See page 437, of his letters in 4to.

(10) Ubi supra.

(11) Count Belthassar Castiglione, in his *Correggiani*, lib. iii, pag. m. 382.

(12) Held at Milan. See Polygamia Triumphantia, pag. 127, where you will find single words: Cum inter tot sanctos patres Episcopos quidam . . . statueret non possit nec debere mulieres vocari homines, res tantum est habitus, ut in timore Dei publice ibi ventiletur, & tandem post multas veritates hujus questionis disceptationis conclusio: tur quod mulieres sint homines.

(13) Tom. I, pag. 6.

(14) He should have mentioned in what language, country, and time, that book was printed.

(5) Non me late nuper Petrum Aurelium in hanc scripturam vomuisse plerique virulentis, quasi id sit illudere verbo Dei. Sed haec est plane frivola criminatio, hujusmodi enim ad hominem recriminationes à viris plus in non diffamili materia sunt seditio. Sic cum Lutherani, &c. The Sequel is in the body of this remark.

(7) See the Index of Alexander VII, n. 55, pag. 255.

(8) Vossius, de Orig. Idolol. lib. iii, cap. xlviii, pag. m. 984.

cult piece of work, and such as can be done without the help of Medea's art. However, this new author, not having been in a capacity to make use of the arguments of those, that are confuted in Ecclesiasticus, he may claim the honour of invention, in some respects. You will find below (a) a passage out of the *Mélanges d'Histoire & de Littérature*, by Mr de Vigneul-Marville.

* A Spaniard has said, that beasts have no soul: a Frenchman has said it also: but an Italian is gone beyond them, by maintaining, that women have no souls, and are not of the same species with the men: *Che le donne non babbino anima, & che non sieno della specie de gli huomini, e vienne comprobato da molti luoghi della Scrittura santa*: Which the author endeavours to prove by several passages of the holy scripture, which he adapts to his fancy. As long as this book was printed only in Latin, the Inquisition was silent; but, as soon as it was translated into Italian, they censured, and prohibited it. The ladies of Italy put various constructions upon that system: some were sorry for having no souls, and for being ranked so much below men, who, for the future, would use them little better than apes: others were indifferent upon the matter; and, looking now upon themselves as meer machines, designed to move their wheels so well, as to make the men mad. It was very reasonable to stop the course of that heresy, which is so very ancient, that the preacher seems to have confuted it, when he says, *that God had created for Adam a companion like unto him; and had given them both a tongue, eyes, ears, and, over and above all that, a soul, to think and govern themselves*. The author of the commentary upon St Paul's epistles, falsely ascribed to St Ambrose, says plainly, upon the eleventh chapter of the first to the Corinthians, that the women are not made

* after the image and likeness of God: *Feminas ad ad imaginem Dei factas non esse* (15). Touching this last question, see Gisbert Voëtius, in the third tome of the *Politica ecclesiastica* (16). He proves in few words, by three reasons, that the woman was made after the image of God; and answers the objection, which might be grounded upon a passage of St Paul (17). He confutes also (18) as briefly the false position, *mulieres non esse homines*; and observes that Aristotle's opinion, mentioned here above (19), was adopted by Thomas Aquinas, and by several other schoolmen, with the same modification, that we have seen (20) that Cajetan added to it. *An mulier sit duplex natura, erratum naturæ & mai occasione, & per accidens generetur, atque adeo sit monstrum?* Resp. Tale quid excidit Aristoteli lib. 2. de generat. animalium cap. 3. & lib. 4. cap. 2. Hanc opinionem adoptavit Thomas part. 1. qu. 92. art. 3. c. Genes cap. 94. Ejusque sequaces, *Viguerius Institut. cap. 21. §. 2. v. 4. Et Commentatores ad Thomam Summam Cajetanum, Medicus, Alagona, & Ferrarius* ad 3. c. Genes cap. 94. Insuper ex sententiis Bonaventura, Egidius, Richardus ad 2. dist. 20. Sed pænæ distinctionis emoliri putant crudam hanc opinionem, quod femina sit occasione, non per se, respectu agentis particularis . . . sed quod . . . sit per se ex intentione agentis universalis, & naturæ (21).

(a) In remark [E].

(15) *Mélanges d'Hist. & de Littérat. recueillis par M. de Vigneul-Marville, pag. 16, & seq. Rouen Edit. 1699.*

(16) Gisbert Voëtius, *Politica Ecclesiastica, Parte II, Lib. I, pag. 185, 186.*

(17) 1 Cor. xi, 7.

(18) Voëtius, ibi. pag. 179, 180.

(19) In remark [C].

(20) Ibid.

(21) Voëtius, ibi. pag. 181.

GELDENHAUR (GERARD), in Latin *Geldenbaurius*, a native of Nimeguen [A], held a considerable rank among the learned men of the XVIth century. He studied classic learning at Deventer, under very good masters (a), and went through his course of philosophy at Louvain so successfully, that he became qualified to teach that science there. It was in that illustrious university that he contracted a very strict friendship with several learned men, and particularly with Erasmus. He stayed some time at Antwerp, from whence he was called to the court of Charles of Austria, to be reader and historian to that prince (b): But, because he did not like to change often his habitation, and did not think it convenient to accompany him into Spain, he disengaged himself from him, and betook himself to the service of Philip of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht. He was his reader and secretary for twelve years [B], that is, till the year 1524, when that prelate died; after which he performed the same functions with Maximilian of Burgundy. He was sent to Wittenberg in the year 1526, to examine the state of the schools, and the church. He reported ingeniously what he had observed there; and owned, he could not disapprove a doctrine so conformable to the prophets and apostles, as that he had heard there: Therefore he renounced Popery, and retired towards the Upper Rhine. He married at Worms, and taught there the youth for some time: Afterwards he was called to Augsburg [C], for the same employment; and at last, in the year 1534, he went to Mar-

(a) Alexander Hegius, and John Osiendorp.

(b) See remark [B] towards the end.

(5) Paul Freherus in Theatro, pag. 114.

(6) Valer. And. in Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 273.

(7) Ordinis Cruciferorum Monachus. Id. ibid.

(8) Erasmi. Epist. xlii, lib. iii.

(9) Erasmus had said just before, *Sed heu tu, rem oppido novam ex tuis literis accipio. Nesciebam te tam virgineo pudore præditi ut ad me non ausu scriberes.* - Your letter informs me of a new thing. I knew not, that you were so bashful that you had not the courage to write to me.

(10) Casiri Carolo V à Paris fait. *Vossius, de Hist. Lat. pag. 614.*

(11) In vitis Theologor. Germanorum, pag. 92.

[A] He was a native of Nimeguen. He was better known by the name of his country, than by that of his family; for he was commonly called *Gerardus Noviomagus*: nor does Erasmus call him otherwise in the letters he wrote to him. König (1) mentions him only under the word *Noviomagus*. Some other Bibliographers (2), for want of examining things, have split one author into two, and distinguished Gerardus Geldenbaurius from Gerardus Noviomagus. La Popelinier's error is not less gross; Gerard de Noyon Noviomagus, says he (3), has written the history of Holland, 1530. Does he not seem to make *Noviomagus* his family-name? It is certain, at least, that he believes him to be a native of Noion in Picardy. We find a like mistake in the first tome of the Bibliothèque Universelle. Mr Matthæus Jæwus, that Eligius had already preached the gospel to the Frieslanders . . . and that he was the first bishop of Nimeguen (4). There are three errors in these words. The Latin word *Eligius* used to have been translated by that of *Elai*; and the term of *Noviomagus*, by that of *Noion*; for it was of Noion that St Elai was bishop. Nimeguen never was an episcopal see.

[B] His reader and secretary for twelve years. These are the words of the author, who has furnished me with this article (5); *Se ad Philippum Ultrajectinum præfulem contulit, eique à Secretis in Latina lingua, & in cubiculo à lectionibus fuit per annos XII.* I wonder Paul Freherus does not say, that Geldenbaur was employed in religious functions by that bishop, as we are assured by Valerius Andreas (6); *Philippo Burgundo, Episcopo Ultrajectino a sacris*. This is Valerius Andreas's expression, which Mr Moreri has translated by chaplain to Philip of Burgundy: and indeed there is no doubt but Geldenbaur, who was a monk, assisted his prelate in his devotions. Valerius Andreas is not the only author, that informs us of the monastical profession of Geldenbaur (7): for I find it in one of Erasmus's letters. *Quod si vera prædicas mea sententia nec aula dignus es, nec cuculla* (8): that is, *if it be true that you are of so bashful a temper* (9), *you are neither fit for the court, nor for the cowl*. Note, that this monk was also chaplain to Charles of Austria, if we may believe Vossius (10).

[C] He was called to Augsburg. Melchior Adam (11) relates, that, in 1531, the magistrates of that city having erected a school, which they called St Ann's,

sent

(c) Taken from Paul Freherus's *Theatrum*, pag. 214, where the manuscripts of the university of Marburg are quoted.

purg, where he taught history two years, and then divinity, 'till his death. He died of the plague, the tenth of January, 1542, being sixty years of age (c). He had been a Monk (d). His changing his religion, and some writings he published against the church of Rome, made him fall out with Erasmus [D], who speaks very ill of him; and who, instead of assisting him in his poverty, jested upon it [E], and called him a man of a feditious spirit: A reproach, which deserves no less to be taken notice of, than

(d) See remark [6].

sent for Geldenhour to be the master of it. See what I quote out of Erasmus, towards the end of the following remark.

[D] His changing his religion and some writings made him fall out with Erasmus. Read Erasmus's letter in *Pseudoevangelicos* (12), which he wrote to Geldenhour, whose name he changed into that of Vulturius. He blames him for having published scoffing books, which did but exasperate princes against Luther's followers. 'Parum erat evulgasse epistolam ad Spirense Concilium; non magno intervallo profluit nobis ridiculus ille Cometæ Caroli Cæsari dictus. Quum iterum te meis scriptis admonuisssem, ut à talibus joci temperares, qui & Principum animos ad vitam irritarent, & adeo nihil juvarent causam, à cuius victoria vestra pendet incolunitas, ut etiam gravissimè lædant, placidè quidem respondisti: sed perinde quasi te fuissem hortatus, ut simile quiddam iterum designares, ita rursus ad concilium Spirense, cui tum rex Ferdinandus præsidebat, missus est libellus, nomen Erasmi literis bene magnis prærens (13). — It was not enough that the letter was made public at the council of Spire; soon after came out that ridiculous Comet dedicated to The Emperor Charles. When I again admonished you, by letter, to avoid such jesting, which might exasperate the minds of princes, and, instead of serving, greatly injure the cause, upon whose success your own safety depends, you returned indeed a civil answer; yet, as if I had exhorted you to attempt the like again, another writing was sent to the council of Spire, in which king Ferdinand then presided, signed with the name of Erasmus in pretty large characters.' He blames him also for having prefixed the name, and some notes of Erasmus to some letters, the drift of which was to prove, that heretics ought not to be punished: which exposed Erasmus to the hatred of the court of Rome, and to the indignation of such princes as persecuted Lutheranism; for it was as good as to say, that Erasmus furnished the innovators with weapons to fight their enemies. That learned man could not bear, that any should do him that ill office; for age had made him a coward in that respect. His complaints against Geldenhour, and the Lutherans, are very bitter, and were answered in writings, which he thought very violent. He took Geldenhour to have been the chief promoter of them, and therefore he sticks not to compare him to the treacherous Judas (14). 'Sed nondum commigrarat Argentoratum, ille (15) mirabilis concitandæ seditionis, & mox turbatis rebus, alioque profugiendi artifex: ille qui loca ex omnibus epistolis meis ad calumniam idonea enotaret, moxque fingeret sibi librum à fratribus clam ereptum. Qui adeo flagrabat impotenti odio, ut hunc librum è mendaciis & conviciis non aliter contextum, quàm cento contextur ex pannis, non potuerit expectare, sed furtim emisit insulsiſſima scholia, & interim mihi scribebat blandas epistolas: Eram dominus ac præceptor, à quo libenter admoneretur, qui sine imagine mei non poterat vivere, qui proximis ad me literis etiam consolatus est me, hortans ut læto essem animo, contemnens rabulas loquaces & scribaces: denique jamdudum edita epistolâ meâ, quod me facturum scripseram, in suis ad amanuensum meum literis volebat mihi commendari, & interim hæc parabantur, tantâ arte mordacia, ut magis lædar laudatus, quàm convitiis affectus. Et hi se cum apostolorum sanctimonia conferunt, quum hoc Vulturii factum propius accedit ad exemplum Judæ proditoris, quàm CHRISTI. — This artist at raising sedition, and afterwards slipping his neck out of the collar, was not yet gone to Strasburg: He, I say, who marked the passages in all my letters, which might give a handle to calumny, and afterwards pretended that the book was stolen from him by his brothers: who was so maliciously set against me, that he could not wait for that book, that patch-work of calumny and lies, but published, underhand, most stupid comments; and, in the mean time, wrote complaint letters to me: I was, forsooth, his master and precep-

tor, whose admonitions he willingly received, he could not live without my picture, and, in his very next letter to me, he endeavoured to comfort me, advising me to be cheerful, and expressing a contempt both for talking and scribbling brawlers: lastly, after my letter was already published, he wrote to my amanuensis, recommending to me what I had declared in writing I intended to do; in the mean time all these things were carried on with such malicious cunning, that I was more injured by praises, than affected by calumnies. And these are the men, who pretend to apostolical sanctity, when this action of Vulturius comes nearer to the example of the traitor Judas, than of CHRIST. By this we learn, that Geldenhour was at Strasburg in the year 1530, where he shewed a very turbulent spirit; which however neither Melchior Adam nor Paul Freherus mention. Erasmus says in another place, that no man in Strasburg attempted any thing against him before Geldenhour came there. He wrote this when Geldenhour was professor of poetry at Augsburg: 'Argentorati nemo quicquam in mea molitus est, priusquam eò commigrasset Noviomagus, qui nunc agit Augustæ, profecteturque poeticam salario, ut aiunt, sexaginta florenorum (16).'

[E] . . . who instead of assisting him in his poverty, jested upon it. After having represented to him several things, which hindered him from relieving his friends in their indigence, he tells him, that poverty is no misfortune to those, who devote themselves to the purity of the gospel; that they ought to relieve one another; and that, by being contented with little, and reducing themselves to bread and water, they will always find wherewithal to live: 'Porro, quod significas tibi molestam egestatem, equidem nec tam sum inops, ut non possim; nec tam parvus, ut graver amiculo aureos aliquot impartiri; sed hæc benignitas quantum haberet momenti ad tuam egestatem sublevandam? Res mihi sanè mediocris est, minimumque superest meis necessitatibus: multum impendii requirit hoc corpusculum . . . jam bona pars mihi decidit in famulos, &c. . . . Verum postquam, mi Vulturii, induxisti in animum Evangelicam vitam profiteri, miror paupertatem esse molestam, quum beatus Hilarius, ubi non inveniet quod pro nullo solveret, gloriamdum duxerit, quod insciens ad tantam Evangelii perfectionem pervenisset. Gloriatur & Paulus, quod sciat abundare, & penuriam pati, quod nihil habens omnia possideat. Idem collaudat Hebræos quosdam Evangelium amplexos, quod rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio suscepissent. . . . Adde si Judæi non patiuntur inter ipsos esse pauperes, quanto magis convenit ut qui jactant Evangelium, fratrum inopiam mutua beniginitate sublevent: præsertim cum Evangelica frugalitas minime sit contenta. Si panis cibarius addit & aqua, non desiderant Attica bellaria qui spiritu vivunt. Nesciunt luxum, jejuniis pascuntur. Ipsi Apostoli confectis manu arillis famem sedasse leguntur. . . . Fortassis hic tibi videbor cavillis ludere, at aliis non idem videtur (17). — As to what you hint, that poverty is become burthensome to you, I am not so poor, that I cannot, nor so stingy, that I grudge to bestow a few pieces on my dear friend: but what will this bounty avail towards relieving your wants? My circumstances are but narrow, and I can spare but very little from my necessities: I am at no small expence in maintaining this body of mine . . . Then a good part goes in servants wages, &c. . . . But, my dear Vulturius, since you have resolved to profess an evangelical life, I wonder you should complain of poverty, when St Hilarius, not being able to pay the hire of a boat, valued himself upon arriving unexpectedly to so much gospel perfection. St Paul likewise boasts, that he knew how to abound and how to want, and that, having nothing, he possessed all things. The same apostle commends certain Hebræos, who had embraced the gospel, that they took the spoiling of their goods with joy . . . Add, that if the Jews suffer no poor among them how much more is it the duty of those, who profess the gospel, mutually

(16) Id. Epist. lxxvi, lib. xxx, pag. 1041, dated the fourteenth of December, 1531.

(17) Id. Epist. xlviii, lib. xxxi, pag. 2049, 2050.

(12) It is the 47th of the 31st book, dated Novemb. 4, 1529.

(13) Eras. Epist. xlviii, lib. xxxi.

(14) Id. Epist. ultima Libri ultimi, pag. 217, dated August 1, 1530.

(15) The following words testify sufficiently that he speaks of Geldenhour, which is confirmed by this passage out of the 52d letter of the 30th book: Quiddam G. N. e Brabantia profugus & ex amicissimo subito factus capitalis hostis novam regediam movit Argentorati, nebulo seditioni natus. Is est sicut nomine Vulturius. He speaks again of him in the 6th letter of the same book: Jam & Evangelici quidam, quorum magister scelerosus ille Gelirius miris technis hoc agunt, ut Cæsaris ac Ferdinandi animum in me attritent.

letters to me: I was, forsooth, his master and precep-

the care Erasmus took to deny, that he condemned the punishment of heretics [F]. Mr Moreri has committed some considerable faults [G]. Paul Freherus has not been

to relieve the wants of their brethren, especially since they are ready to refuse to their neighbours as soon as they shall be able to force them. *Non aliter hæc sacra constant.*

[F] A reproach, which deserves no less to be taken notice of, than the care Erasmus took, to deny, that he condemned the punishment of heretics. Erasmus's dispute with Geldenhour has made me take notice of two things with some surprise.

The first is, that, according to Erasmus, the exhorting princes, and men in power, to take away from the monks the great estates they possessed, and not to resist the gospel, was seditious and scandalous: 'Nisi forte non videtur seditiosum hortari Principes, ut facultates sacerdotibus ac Monachis adimant, ut bonos vestri similes conferant: aut non offenduntur illorum animi, quum audiunt, *Noli occidere innocentem, Noli tuo periculo recalcitrare Evangelio, Sine verbum Dei in tua ditione prædicari.* Hæc quid aliud sunt quam atrocissima convitia nondum persuasus, imò in diversum persuasus. Quos tu vocas innocentes, illi habent pro seditiosis & hæreticis; & quod tu vocas Evangelium, illis persuasum est esse doctrinam Satanae. Prius igitur erat illis persuadendum: Quod si non potes, aliis rationibus tractandus erat illorum animus (18). — *Unless, perhaps, you do not think it seditious to exhort princes to rob the priests and monks of their goods, and bestow them on good men like yourselves: or that their minds are not offended, when they hear, Kill not the innocent; spurn not at the gospel to your own peril; suffer the word of God to be preached in your jurisdiction. What are these but the keenest reproaches on those, who are not yet brought over, nay are persuaded of the contrary? Those, whom you call innocent, they consider as seditious and heretical; and what you call the gospel, they are persuaded is the doctrine of Satan. The first step therefore should have been to convince such persons themselves: if you failed of this, they should have been treated after another manner.*' It is what he represents to Geldenhour, who had published some letters addressed to princes, and written in that strain, which is censured in this place. This discourse of Erasmus is a true Janus, with a double face; for it is reasonable in some respects, but it appears unjust, when one views it another way. Those, who believe, that it is necessary to convert the world to a new doctrine, and to destroy reigning errors, must needs desire to be heard, and beg to have no violence offered them: and therefore they are unreasonable to demand, that those of another opinion be persecuted, dispossessed of their goods, and hindered from speaking and appearing in public. It seems therefore, that Geldenhour went too fast, in asking, that the estates of the monks should be taken from them; and that Erasmus had reason to tax him with rashness. We must suffer that to be granted to others, which we ask for ourselves; for every one pretends to maintain truth. To say to princes, who persecute us, that they oppress the kingdom of God, is certainly very abusive: It seems therefore, it would be better to soften one's stile, and not to suppose so positively the very thing, which is in question. We should, in the first place, make people relish our maxims and proofs; and if we could compass that, we might afterwards qualify our opinions, and those of our adversaries. Thus far Erasmus's observations appear very judicious: But when we consider on the other hand, that, unless we represent to the world, that they are undone without recovery, unless they reform, unless they cease to make war against God by opposing the reformers, we make no great progress, nor sufficiently excite the attention of the public; when, I say, we consider this, we find, that Erasmus acted too much the philosopher, and was ignorant of the small efficacy of reason, when weakly assisted by the passions. However it be, it does not seem very possible, that great revolutions in religion may be accomplished, unless people ask at first for themselves a toleration, which

they are ready to refuse to their neighbours as soon as they shall be able to force them. *Non aliter hæc sacra constant.*

The second thing I was surprized at, is to see, that Erasmus looked upon it as a black and odious calumny, to impute to him, that he had taught, that heretics ought not to be put to death. He confesses, indeed, that he has exhorted princes not to hearken rashly to the complaints of all sorts of divines and monks (19), and to distinguish errors; but he denies he ever maintained that heretics ought not to be punished with death, and complains (20), that those, who accuse him of that false doctrine, expose him to the resentment of princes, as if he had designed to take from them the sword, which God has put into their hands (21). — *Hoc atrocius est, quod nusquam id doco, non esse sumendum capitis supplicium de hæreticis, nec usquam adimo gladii jus Principibus, quod illis non ademit Christus nec apostoli.*

(22) ut peccant qui ob quovis errorem pertrahunt homines ad ignem: ita peccant qui in nullos hæreticos arbitrantur prophano magistratui jus esse occidendi. . . . nec ulla res erat quæ poterat illos magis alienare, quam si illis gladium excutiam & mactibus, easque sectas defendam, quas illi velut execrabiles radicibus evulsas cupiunt, & facerent, nisi rerum motus aliò vocaret illorum animos. — *This is the more flagrant, in that I nowhere teach, that heretics are not to be put to death, nor do I any where deprive princes of the right of the sword, which neither CHRIST nor his apostles have taken from them.*

As they are to blame, who drag men to the flames for every kind of error, they are no less, who think the civil magistrate has no power to put any sort of heretics to death. . . . nor could any thing more incense them against me, than to strike the sword out of their hands, and to defend those sects, which they wish to extirpate as execrable, and would do it, did not the unsettled state of affairs call off their attention to other things.

I wonder, that Erasmus, who was so well read in the fathers, did not know, that, during the three first centuries, they did loudly maintain the position, from which he is so solicitous to purge himself. They did not pretend, by that, to take from princes the power of the sword, which they hold from God; but meant only, that that power does not reach the errors of one's conscience, and that sovereigns have no commission from God to persecute religions. This is the true state of the question. All princes in the world own, that they have not the power of the sword against the true servants of God, or against orthodoxy, but only against the enemies of truth. It is upon this foundation that the heathen emperors punished the ancient christians, and that nowadays the inquisition puts Protestants to death. It is therefore altogether needless to prove to persecutors, that they ought not to put the faithful to death; for it is what they do not pretend to, and they are not such fools as to believe, that, by being deprived of that power, they lose any thing of their own.

The only question therefore is to know, whether they may punish those who serve God according to the dictates of their consciences? The fathers of the three first centuries have denied it: why then did not Erasmus dare to imitate them? And, what is still more surprizing (23), what is the reason that, within these few years, a minister of Holland has endeavoured to render those that are for toleration odious, because they rob sovereigns of one of their greatest prerogatives (24)? Does not this argue more malice and injustice than the heathens shewed against the fathers of the primitive church, whom they did not charge with that pretended attempt against the state? But, to shew the illusion of that minister, it is sufficient to ask him, why he takes from Catholic princes the power of the sword, with relation to Protestants? Why does he think that to be lawful in himself, which he condemns in others as high-treason? I speak in behalf of truth, will he answer: But it is what every body pretends to.

[G] Mr Moreri has committed some considerable faults. I. He should not have given to Philip of Burgundy the title of archbishop of Utrecht, but that of bishop; for Utrecht was not yet an archbishopric.

II. Marpur

REFLEXION on punishment of heretics.

(19) Tantum admonere locis alioque, ne sit hæc præceptum Principum severitas, nec facile præstantes quorumlibet Theologorum aut Monachorum delationibus. *Erasm.* Epist. xliiii. lib. xxxi. p. 2051.

(20) Ut lector parum exultaret meum esse sententiam, non esse in quaenam hereticum capitis animadvertere: easque res Cæsarem Ferdinandum, atque etiam Romanum Pontificem in meum caput irretiret. *Id. ibid.*

(21) *Id. ibid.*

(22) *Ibid. pag. 2052.*

(23) We must suppose, that in Erasmus's time they did not know as people have known since, the force of the proofs against persecution.

(24) See the Tableau du Socinianisme, Lett. viii.

(18) *Ibid. Epist. in Ploudange-lieu, pag. 2051. See also Epist. LIX. lib. xxxi. pag. 2107.*

(c) *Celebris Poëta, celebrior O-rator, celeberrimus Theologus (Lovanii) salutatus. Reinb. Loricius, Scholius in Apbthou, pag. m. 302.*

(f) *Geldenhaur, in Vita Philippi à Burgundia, circa fin. You will find that little poem there.*

so exact as he should have been [H]. I shall set down the title of some works of Geldenhaur [I]. He understood well poetry and oratory (e).

The emperor Maximilian judged him worthy of the bays, in the year 1517. This was after he had read with attention about twenty Latin verses made in his praise by Geldenhaur (f). Note, that this writer suppressed a truth in one of his histories [K]. The conditions, on which he was made historiographer, may sometimes be an occasion of lying [L].

There is, in the theatrum of Freherus a small contradiction, which I must not pass in silence. I have observed, that we find there, that Geldenhaur was not called to Marpurg till the year 1534; but I have not said, that we find there, in another place, that he taught at Marpurg from the year 1526 [M].

II. Marpurg is not the first town of Germany, where in Geldenhaur taught. III. He never taught at Wittemberg. IV. Nor was he murdered by robbers in 1542. Valerius Andreas has furnished Mr Moreri with half of these falsities. These are his words: 'Turpi Apollasia à Catholicis Belgis ad Germanos Marpurgenses transfugit: ubi postquam annos aliquot historiam explanasset, dum Wittembergam versus iter instituit à latronibus fisco securi capite misere perit, An. salutis c. d. x. l. i. die x. Januarii, ut refert Reinhardus Lorichius Hadamarius, scholius ad Apbthouii Progymnasmata. — By a scandalous apocryphy, he went over from the Catholics of Holland to the Germans at Marpurg; where after he had explained history for some years, as he was journeying towards Wittemberg, he died miserably by the hands of robbers, his head being split with an ax, on the tenth of January 1542; as we learn from Reinhardus Lorichius Hadamarius, in his comment on the Progymnasmata of Apbthouius.' There are several faults in these words: 1. Geldenhaur did not retire to Marpurg, when he abjured the Romish religion; for he did not go thither 'till after he had resided at Worms, Strasburg, and Augsburg; see nevertheless the remark [M]. 2. He did not take a journey to Wittemberg, after he had taught history for some years at Marpurg; for he went upon that journey in the year 1526, whilst he was yet a Roman Catholic, and in the service of Maximilian of Burgundy. 3. He did not die of the wounds he received from assassins, but of the plague, sixteen years after he had been set upon. 4. The author, whom Valerius Andreas quotes, says expressly, that Geldenhaur recovered of his wounds. If the words he has made use of (25) had been known, these falsities had been avoided; which shews how much it imports to consult the authors one has a mind to quote. Swertius (26) relates only this falsity, that Geldenhaur, going from Marpurg to Wittemberg, was killed by highwaymen, the tenth of January 1542.

[H] *Freherus has not been so exact as he should have been.* He ought not to have said, that Geldenhaur retired from the imperial court, *relictâ imperatoria aula*, and betook himself to the service of Philip of Burgundy, in the year 1512; for the court of Charles of Austria, which he left, was not yet an imperial court. It is a gross error in reckoning, to say, that a man, who goes to Marpurg in the year 1534, and dies there the tenth of January 1542, taught there history two years, and afterwards divinity nine years. *Historiam primum biennium, ac postmodum novennium sacras literas . . . interpretatus est.* This would be false, though we should suppose, that he began to teach divinity the first year.

[I] *I shall set down the titles of some works of Geldenhaur.* I take them from Valerius Andreas. *Historia Batavica cum Appendice de vetusta Batavorum nobilitate*, Strasburg, 1533. But Vossius mentions an edition of the year 1520 (27). *De Batavorum Insula Germaniae inferioris Historia*, Strasburg, 1532. *Vita Philippi à Burgundia Episcopi Ultrajectini*. See the following remark. *Catalogus Episcoporum Ultrajectinorum. Epistola ad Guilielmum Geldria principem gratulatoria de principatum suorum adoptione. Epistola de Zelandia. Satira octo*, printed at Louvain, 1515 (28).

(27) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. 654.

(28) Taken from Val. Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 273, 274.

[K] *He suppressed a truth in one of his histories.* This he did in the history of Philip of Burgundy, natural son of duke Philip the good. He did not forget to relate, that that bastard was so handsome in his youth, and so capable to fire a woman's heart, that some of that sex were so lustful and shameless as to run after him: but, instead of adding, that some of them found him so kind, as to have had three bastards by him; he

represents him as endowed with a maiden modesty, which was like to cost him his life. 'Moribus & conversatione ita compositus ut magis Parthenius quam Philippus appellari potuisset. Quare non tam amabat quam amabatur, lasciviores enim quædam matronæ in tantum eum, seposita omni verecundia, deperibant ut harum causa fere in vitæ periculum incidisset, nisi is qui ei mortem intentatus putabatur, occidit fuisset (29). — He was of so modest a behaviour, that he deserved the name of Parthenius, rather than that of Philip. Wherefore he was not so much a lover, as an object of love; for some lustful matrons, laying aside all modesty, were so fond of him, that upon their account he ran a risk of his life, had not the person, who threatened him with death, been killed.' Here follows the note Mr Matthæus makes thereupon: 'Nec exemplo delitutus, præsertim patris Philippi, suscepi spurius non paucos. Tres etiam ex una Philippum, Joannem, & Oliverium, ut observavi ex adversariis Gisberti Lappii à Waveren (30). — After the example of his father Philip, he had several bastards; three by one woman, Philip, John, and Oliver, as I have learned from the Adversaria of Gisbert Lappii à Waveren.' Let us learn from hence not to trust histories, written by domestics, that have received great favours. They suppress what is injurious to the memory of their masters. Let us confess nevertheless, that Geldenhaur does not pretend, that the chastity of his Philip was of long continuance; for he owns, that that bishop of Utrecht loved the fair sex; and that he treated with greater rigour drunken priests, than those that were lascivious (31). Note, that he was openly a Protestant, when he published that history (32), and that is altogether heretical, if we believe Valerius Andreas (33). Note also, that Suffridus Petri, who has taken from it the life of Philip of Burgundy, which he has inserted in his appendix of Beke, has left out all that was not favourable to the church of Rome. Mr Matthæus (34) makes this observation in the notes he has added to the new edition of that little book of Geldenhaur, inserted in his *Veteris ævi Analæta* (35).

[L] *The conditions on which he was made historiographer, may sometimes be an occasion of lying.* Philip of Burgundy charged Geldenhaur to make a collection of all the memorable things, that should happen, either in the diocese of Utrecht, or in the neighbouring countries, and to read both to him, and his counsellors, his collections every month. Geldenhaur obeyed that order, and was warned to alter every thing that was amiss in his narrative; which caution reached not only falsities, but also indifferences: that is, if he happened to mention any thing in such a manner as did not seem discreet to the prince's council, he was ordered to change it. Now how many truths are comprehended in that class of things? it must be owned indeed, that an historian may rectify a great many passages, when statesmen take the trouble to examine his writings; but, at the same time, there are some passages, whose publication they blame, only because they are true. 'Volut illi (Philippus Burgundus) per me notari si quid in sua ditione aut in finitimis regionibus memoratum dignum actum esset, sed ea conditione ut singulis mensibus quæ annotaram, ipsi & à consiliis prælegerem: quod cum facerem, admonebant si quid perperam, si quid parum confiderate scriptum audissent, id mutarem (36).'

[M] *Freherus says, that he taught at Marpurg from the year 1526.* Freherus relates (37), that the university of Marpurg was opened the first of July 1526, when professor Johannes Ferrarius Montanus was made the first rector, and associated among other colleagues

(29) Geldenhaur, in Philippo Burgundo, pag. m. 220. I make use of Matthæus's edition.

(30) Antonius Matthæus veteris ævi Analæta, pag. 243, 244.

(31) Ebricius præsertim qui cerevisia se ingurgitare solent, doctabatur, scortationibus minus infestus. Ipse enim in Venerum propensior inque adolescentularum amoribus ardentior erat. Geldenh. in Philippo Burgundo, pag. 230.

(32) At Strasburg, 1529.

(33) Libellus hic totus hæreticus est. Val. And. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 273.

(34) Matthæus, ubi supra, pag. 247.

(35) Printed at Leyden in 1697, tho' the title bears 1698.

(36) Geldenhaur, in Præfat. Opusculi illustratæ Germaniæ, auct. Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 654.

(37) Freher. in Theatro, p. 1047.

colleagues with Francis Lambert and Gerardus Noviomagus. This Francis Lambert died in the year 1530, as I have said in his article. This circumstance alone would suffice to shew the contradiction of Freherus; for Geldenhaur could not be professor at Marburg at the same time with Lambert, if he begun only to be so in the year 1534. But on what narrative of Freherus can we depend? I believe we ought to say that Geldenhaur was professor at Marburg in the year 1529, that he quitted his post to go to Worms, that he went afterwards to Strasburg, and next to Augsburg, and that lastly, through this professorial in-

constancy, of which I have spoken elsewhere (38), he returned to Marburg in the year 1534. On this footing, my first critical note (39) against Valerius Andreas Desellius is not good; but who would not have thought it so, since I founded it on a writer (40), who has cited the manuscript register of the university of Marburg? he has cited them likewise, where he says, that Geldenhaur was professor at Marburg in the year 1526. Is this to know how to make use of a book? note, that Melchior Adam knew nothing of this first professorship of Geldenhaur.

(38) In remark [G] of the article ALCIATVS (ANDREW).

(39) See the remark [G].

(40) i. e. Paul Freherus.

GELENIUS (SIGISMUND), born of a very good family at Prague [A], was one of the learned men of the XVIth century. He began very early to travel in Germany, France, and Italy, and learned easily the languages of those three countries. He confirmed himself, in Italy, in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and learned Greek there under Marc Musurus. As he returned to Germany, he passed through Basil, and made himself known to Erasmus, who conceived an esteem for him, and advised John Frobenius to make him corrector of his printing-house. Gelenius accepted the place, as troublesome and painful as it was; for he had many Hebrew, Greek, and Latin books to correct, which Frobenius printed. He discharged well that employment till his death, that is, during thirty years; and did not content himself with correcting the work of the Printers, but set up for a translator and a critic. Few learned men have translated so many works out of Greek into Latin as he [B]. He was a tall, bulky man. He had a good memory, a ready and subtle wit; was very seldom

[A] He was of a very good family. Let us see what Curio says about it: 'Gelenia familia antiqua & honesta, à cervis nomen traxit, quos ipsi Gelenos vocant, ita ut Latina lingua cervina dici possit. Patrem habuit summo apud regem loco & honore, hominem minime illiteratum, nam & Moriam Erasmus in patriam linguam convertit, & lepidum salumque opus cum suis communicavit. Matre ejus femina primaria & nobili, propter mulieris prudentiam & probatos mores, regina plurimum & familiariter utebatur. Talibus parentibus ortus Gelenius, parem quoque, hoc est, ingenuam & liberalem habuit educationem (1). — The Gelenian family, an ancient and honourable one, took its name from Stags (Cervi) which they call Geleni; so that in Latin it may be called Cervina. His father had a post of great honour under the king, a man by no means illiterate, for he translated Erasmus's Praise of Folly into his native tongue, and communicated that witty and satirical work to his countrymen. His mother, a lady of high birth, was in great favour with the queen, on account of her prudent conduct. Gelenius, sprung from such parents, had an education answerable to his birth, that is, an ingenuous and liberal one.'

[B] Few learned men have translated so many works out of Greek into Latin as he.] After having published a dictionary in four languages (2), he made notes upon Pliny and Livy, and published them. He translated the Jewish antiquities of Josephus, and corrected the other works of that author, by collating together several manuscripts. Afterwards he turned into Latin some homilies of St Chrysostom, and then the Roman history of Dionysius Halicarnassensis; the ecclesiastical history of Evagrius; Origen's work against Celsus; the works of Philo, and those of Appian. After that he undertook the translation of the works of Justin Martyr, and had translated most of them when he died. This is what I find in the preface of Curio before Appian. I do not find there any mention of what Gelenius had done upon Ammianus Marcellinus, a work, which Henry Valesius has much commended; these are his words (3): 'Erat quidem in utroque horum virorum (4) magna doctrina, ut scripta utriusque testantur. Sed in Gelenio major quidam ingenii vis, & judicium acutus fuit. Quod cum multi præclari labores illius viri testantur, tum maxime interpretationes Latine Dionysii Halicarnassensis, Appiani, Philonis item ac Josephi, Origenis & aliorum. Ex quibus apparet eum excellenti ingenio & singulari doctrina præditi fuisse. Sed & Ammiani Marcellini historie ab eo editæ id ipsum abunde testantur. In quibus plurima acutè & ingeniose emendavit; & insignem paginarum trans-

positionem, quæ in Mss. omnibus codicibus reperitur, & in Editione exstat Accursii, mira dexteritate restituit. Quamobrem ejus viri nomini libenter hoc laudis testimonium impertimus, neminem adhuc exstitisse, qui de historia Marcellini melius meritis sit. — Both these men were very learned, as appears from their writings. But Gelenius had a greater force of genius, and a more discerning judgment. This appears from many labours of that great man, but particularly from his Latin versions of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Appian, Philo, Josephus, Origen, and others. All these discover his uncommon abilities and learning. As does likewise his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus; in whom he has made several ingenious emendations, and, with wonderful dexterity, restored the remarkable transposition of pages, which is to be found in all the manuscript copies, and is extant in the edition of Accursius. Wherefore I willingly give this testimony of applause to so great a man, that no one has deserved better of Marcellinus's history.' Erasmus does not speak so well of Gelenius's performance upon Pliny; for, on the contrary, he gives a very ill character of it: 'Sigismundus Gelenius tuo nomini (5) dicavit Annotationes in Plinium jam tertio ab ipso castigatum. Sed mire imposuit illi codex manu descriptus, in quo sciolus aliquis è suo capite mutavit quicquid libuit, & quodam modo novum Plinium nobis dedit. Admonui, ne fideret illi exemplari, sed auditus non sum. Hermolaus non ausus est mutare lectionem Plinianam. Gelenius se putavit rem mirificam præstitisse, ego censo crimen esse inexpiabile (6). — Sigismund Gelenius inscribed to you his notes upon Pliny, now a third time corrected by him. But he was strangely imposed upon by a manuscript copy, in which some smatterer had made what alterations he thought proper, and given us as it were a new Pliny. I advised him not to trust to that copy, but he had no regard to my advice. Hermolaus would not venture to alter the text of Pliny. Gelenius thought he had done a wonderful thing; but I think it an unpardonable crime.' Here follows Mr Huët's judgment (7): 'In his quoque numeratur Sigismundus Gelenius Bohemus, quo vix quisquam pluribus hanc artem claris interpretis monumentis ditavit: disertus imprimis habitus est & elegans; audax in confringendis pluribus in unum periodis, vel disjungendis, sensus sibi non semper intellectos ad libitum recoquit. — Among these likewise is reckoned Sigismund Gelenius, a Bohemian, than whom no one has left more monuments of his skill in this science; he is esteemed particularly eloquent and beautiful; bold in connecting several periods into one, or in disuniting them, he makes alterations, where the sense is not clear to him.'

(5) That is, to Damian de Goetz

(6) Erasmus Epistolæ lib. xxx. pag. 1057. It is dated the 25th of May, 1535.

(7) Huëtius, de claris Interpretibus, pag. m. 225.

Pp

[C] He

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(a) See the remark [D].

(b) Taken out of the preface, which Cælius Secundus Curio has put before the translation of Appian.

seldom in a passion [C]; and cared neither for honours, nor riches [D]. He preferred, before the employments that were offered him elsewhere, the peaceful place he had at Basil (a), where he died [E] like a good christian, being fifty seven years old. He married in that city, and left behind him two sons and one daughter (b), of whose destiny I am ignorant. Some place his death in the year 1554 (c), others in the year 1555 (d). His edition of Arnobius has been much censured [F].

(c) Thuanus; Bucholcerus.

(d) Pantaleon apud Bucholceri Ind. Chron.

(3) Curio, ubi supra.

[C] He was very seldom in a passion. Curio expresses this in these words (3): 'Erat in eo animi lenitas mira, naturæque bonitas quædam, ut vix irasci posset etiam irritatus... cum nemine unquam similitatem gessit: rerum alienarum minimè curiosus, minime suspicax: sed antiqua non tamen stulta simplicitate præditus. — He had a wonderful mildness of temper, and a certain good-nature, which scarce suffered him to be angry, even tho' provoked... he had no resentment to any one; was by no means inquisitive into other mens affairs, nor at all suspicious; but endued with an ancient, but not weak, simplicity of manners.' This is the true character of a good man; which will appear yet more by the following remark.

(9) Id. ibid.

[D] He cared neither for honours, nor riches. I use Curio's words (9): 'Quanta vero continentia atque abstinentia fuerit, quarum illa in iis quæ ab sunt non expetendis, altera in iis quæ ad sunt, in nostraque potestate sunt, abstinendo, illa declarant, quod cum per tot annos tantopere in re literaria elaboravit, ex quo magnorum virorum gratiam est consecutus, nullas tamen divitias congessit, nullas reliquit, suppellectile domestica, victuque contentus. Bonis & doctis, si quos egere animadvertibat, largiebatur: felicibus & fortunatis non invadebat: calamitatibus aliorum afflictebatur: neminem contemnebat. Illud verò maximum continentia signum fuit: quod in Regis Bohemiae aulam magnis præmiis, & honoribus, quibusque vel cupidus & ambitiosus aliquis contentus esse potest, allectus renuit, hanc quietam & moderatam vitam ambitionis illis & turbulentis dignitatibus anteponebat. Omitto provincias bonas & literas & artes profitendi oblatas, quas nunquam ut susciperet adduci potuit, adeo tenax propositi, vitæque generis semel honestè suscepti, semper fuit. — How great his continence and abstinence were, the former of which virtues consists in not desiring what we have not, the latter in abstaining from what is in our power, appears in this, that, notwithstanding his many years learned labours, during which he acquired the friendship of great men, he was deeped up no riches, nor left any behind him, being satisfied with his private fortunes. He was bountiful to good and learned men, whom he observed to be in want: he envied not the happy and successful: he sympathized with the calamities of others; he despised no body. But the greatest instance of his continence, was, his refusing the great rewards and honours, such as were sufficient to satisfy avarice and ambition, by which he was invited to the court of Bohemia, preferring this quiet and humble life to ambitious and turbulent dignities. I omit the professorships he refused, so tenacious was he of his purpose, and the kind of life he had once

made choice of. Though Erasmus thought Gelenium worthy of a better fortune, yet he durst not wish him riches; being apprehensive lest plenty should cool that zeal, with which he saw him labour for the good of the commonwealth of learning (10) Gelenium, according to Thuanus, struggled with poverty all his life-time (11).

[E] He died at Basil. Mr Moreri has here made a notorious transposition. Sigismund de Ghelen, (thus he makes Thuanus speak) a native of Basil, died in Bohemia. Thuanus had said, that he was born in Bohemia, and died at Basil (12). Mr Moreri is in the wrong to say, that Gelenium has translated some homilies of Origen: he should have said, of St Chrysostom. Mr Teiffier is to blame not to mention it: he has been led into an error by those that have abridged Gesner (13). He has also corrected several homilies of St Chrysostom: these are Mr Teiffier's words (14), which import as if he had translated none: but if you do but look into father Labbe (15), you will find there several homilies of St Chrysostom turned into Latin by Gelenium.

[F] His edition of Arnobius has been much censured. Here is what Barthius says of it (16): 'Ingeniosissimus sed audacissimus, & nil prorsus sibi negans, Arnobii corrector Sigismundus Gelenium in eam editionem quam totam ad suum captum reformavit, aut transformavit potius, testatus neminem sibi unquam auctorem tantum negotii exhibuisse. — A most ingenious, but most bold, man, and who denied himself nothing: I mean Sigismund Gelenium, the corrector of Arnobius, in that edition of his, which he entirely reformed, or rather transformed to his own genius, assuring us, that no author had given him so much trouble.' Add to this passage that of the preface to Arnobius, of the Leyden edition, 1651. 'Arnobium quidem hunc primus Romanæ vulgaverat Franciscus Priscianensis Florentinus, sed una cum veteris manuscripti, quo usus fuerat, fœdis admodum erroribus, Sigismundus postea Gelenium editionem hanc corruptam solo ingenio, uti potuit, restituit. Sed ingenium ille fiducia malo exemplo usus, conjecturas suas textui inseruit, antiquas lectiones quo imperio eiecit, & Arnobium nobis effinxit, qui Arnobii speciem non referret. Hanc audaciam merito reprehendit Canterus. — Franciscus Priscianensis, of Florence, first published Arnobius at Rome, but together with the foul errors of the ancient manuscript he made use of. Afterwards Sigismund Gelenium restored this faulty edition by his own genius, as well as he could. But, depending too much on his own abilities, he inserted his conjectures in the text, rejected the old readings by his sole authority, and dressed up for us an Arnobius, but very unlike Arnobius. Canterus justly censures this rashness.'

FAULTS of Mr Moreri.

(10) Gelenium pro sua doctrina non vulgari, proque morum sinceritate dignus est lautiore fortuna, divitias vix ausum illi ostendere. Quid periculi inquis? Ne senior sit ad promovendam rem literariam. Multos natus ad instructionem impulerat. Erasmus, Epist. xxviii, lib. xxvii, pag. 1555.

(11) Cum egesset tota vita conflictus. Thuan. lib. xiii, pag. 271, ad ann. 1554.

(12) In Boemia natus Basilie decessit. Id. ibid.

(13) Chrysostomi homilias aliquot cum manu scripta Græcæ exemplaribus contulit, emendavit, supplevit. Epist. Biblioth. Gesner. pag. 753.

(14) Teiffier, Elog. Tom. I, pag. 90. Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Censura Autorum, pag. 459, is in the same error.

(15) De Script. Ecclæ. Tom. I, pag. 531, & seq.

(16) Adversus lib. xlii, cap. 3, apud Blount, ibid. pag. 460.

GENTILIS DE BECHIS, a native of Urbino, and canon of Florence, was preferred to the bishopric of Arezzo the twenty first of October, 1473. The Florentines were very glad of it, and sent him often upon embassies to the courts of princes; particularly to Charles VIII, king of France, to condole with him upon the death of the king his father, and to congratulate his accession to the crown (a). He got a reputation by his eloquence, which he shewed in the Latin orations he pronounced in several places of Italy. He had a share in the education of Leo X. He applied himself also to poetry. Some critics speak of his productions with contempt, and cannot forgive him the barbarous Latin words that crept into his works, nor bear, that the best of his pieces should contain the phrase *præstare obedientiam*. We shall see the proof all this in a passage of Alcyonius [A]. The speech, in which that

(a) Taken out of Ugheili, Tom. I, of the Italia sacra, pag. 790.

[A] The proof of all this is in a passage of Alcyonius. I take it out of a dialogue, wherein Julius de Medicis, one of the interlocutors, speaks thus to the legate John de Medicis, who was afterwards Pope Leo X. 'Memini etiam operam te dare Gentili præfule Aretino homini, ut suis temporibus politoris humanitatis laude florentissimo. Sed nihil etiam melior ille fuit quam Politianus, id quod cum ex aliis mo-

nimentis ejus perspicere potest, tum ex orationibus quas in diversis Italice locis complures habuit. In illis enim multa verba ex trivio arrepta videntur, multæ quoque elocutiones barbaræ & agrestes occurrunt, sententiæ autem multæ pueriles ac imprudentes sunt. Nonnulli tamen eam in primis orationem honorifica laude prosequuntur, quam habuit apud Alexandrum VI. Pontif. Max. Legatus populi Florentini

that phrase is found, is that, which he made to Pope Alexander VI, upon his embassy of obedience. Some pretend, that the great desire he had to harangue upon that occasion, was one of the reasons, which obliged Peter de Medicis to hinder the people of Italy from paying that duty to the new Pope all together, and by a single deputation [B]. Gentilis was sent to Charles VIII (b), at the time of the expedition of Naples, and settled the conditions, which the Florentines were to observe in that nice situation of the affairs of Italy.

(b) Ughelli, *ubi supra*.

(*) Petrus Aleyonius in Medice Lepros Posteriori, circa fin.

* Florentini paulo post quam ille sacris Christianis publice praefectus est. Verum hanc quoque non satis dignam video quae iterum legatur; in ea enim minus eleganter expressit id quod homini exprimendum erat elegantissime, hoc est causam cur Romam venisset, quae erat ut per illum populus Florentinus se conferret ad auctoritatem Pontificis Maximi. Ille autem in hoc sensu reddendo plebeiam elocutionem usurpavit, quae est obedientiam praestare, quam ob rem id genus orationes tempus, ut alias multorum oblivione obruit. Feruntur quoque ejusdem versiculi faciliore quidem musa facti, sed sine cultu & Latinae puritatis nitore (1). — I remember that you study Gentilis, a Florentine, and a bishop, a man of polite learning for his times. But he was nothing better than Politian, as appears both from his other remains, and from the orations, which he pronounced in several parts of Italy; for we find in them many vulgar words, many barbarous and rustic phrases, and many chiblistic and weak sentiments. Some however particularly extol that, which he spoke before Pope Alexander VI, a little after his election. But even that, I think, is hardly worthy a second reading; for in that, he has not elegantly enough expressed what ought to have been expressed with the greatest elegance, to wit, the reason of his coming to Rome, which was to acknowledge, in the name of the people of Florence, the Pope's authority. In expressing this, he made use of the vulgar phrase, obedientiam praestare, for which reason these kind of orations, as well as many others, will perish by time. He was more happy in poetry, but without attaining to the elegance and purity of the Latin tongue. These words contain a prediction, which time has verified; for the orations of that Gentilis are no more talked of, than if they had never been extant.

[B] The great desire he had to harangue, at the time of the embassy of obedience to Alexander VI, was one of the reasons why this duty was not paid . . . by a single deputation.] Lewis Sforza had caused a resolution to be taken, that the states of Italy should send to the Pope only one embassy of obedience, 'where' in the deputies of each prince and republic should be together, march each in his rank, have but one orator, and so well concert measures, that, if the new Pope had purposed to divide them, he might be disappointed in his hopes . . . (2). But Peter de Medicis, who had not dared to oppose that resolution, because he alone was of a contrary opinion, forgot nothing that he thought proper to hinder the execution of it. He had procured himself to be named chief of the deputation of the Florentines; his equipage was almost all completed; and, because none in Italy, except the republic of Venice, had more money than he, of which he was very profuse upon such pompous occasions, he was sure

of making a greater figure alone, than all the other ambassadors and deputies together. . . . He conceived, that, if his train marched with that of the other ambassadors, it would be eclipsed by the great number, and that none but critical eyes would distinguish it amidst that confusion: whereas, if he entered Rome, and went to his audience alone, both the good judges, and such as were but indifferently such, would equally do him justice. However it had not been impossible to work him out of that prepossession, if his friends had undertaken to do it. But one of them, that was most intimate with him, confirmed him, by another conceit, in his error, instead of curing him of it. This was one Scipio Gentile, a Florentine gentleman (3), and bishop of Arezzo, who had made himself very famous by polite literature, and his agreeable conversation. His birth and great estate did not make him proud, or less tractable; and his too great passion for eloquence was almost the only fault he had. He was but a mean orator; and yet he had so great a conceit of himself in that particular, that he would scarce yield to the matchless Savanarola. He had obtained, by his interest, from the republic of Florence, that he should harangue the Pope for them; and had afterwards composed his speech with all the application he was capable of. He had communicated it to John Picus Mirandula, Angelus Politianus, Marcellus Ficinus, and other wits of Italy, who, by their approbation, confirmed him in the opinion that it was a master-piece; so that nothing could vex him more, than being hindered from pronouncing it; which however must of necessity happen, if there was but one orator for all Italy, because the king of Naples, as the highest in degree of all the princes, would have the right to name him. That prince, who had in his capital city the most flourishing academy in Europe for the Belles Lettres, and of which the famous Sannazar was director, would not choose a person, that was not of that body to harangue his holiness. Whereupon Gentile, animated by his own interest, stirred up Peter de Medicis to that degree, that he made him solicit the king of Naples, for reviving the custom, that each particular prince and state of Italy should pay their duty by themselves to the Pope (4). This succeeded: the ceremony of obedience was performed by each prince and republic of Italy in particular, and the two Florentines found their account in it. The equipage of Peter de Medicis out-did all the rest in magnificence; and the speech of Scipio Gentile was so much esteemed, that it was prefixed to the collection of such sort of pieces (5).

This quotation may seem too long to some; but I do not doubt that several others will be glad to find here a full account of so curious a thing as this is.

(3) Ughelli does not give him that christian name: he only calls him Gentilis de Bechia; and says, he was a native of Urbino, and not a gentleman of Florence.

(4) Varill. *ubi supra*, pag. 163.

(5) *Id. ibid.* pag. 165, 166.

(1) Sertorio Quattronari, in Epistola ad Celsum Mollum, apud Leonardum Nicodemum, additio alla Biblioteca Napoletana, pag. 243.

(2) Lindanus in Dialectico, Dial. ii, pag. 150, & ex eo Prætorius in Elench. Heret. pag. 510, apud Nicodemum, *ibid.* pag. 244.

GENTILIS (JOHN VALENTINUS) (a), a native of Cosenza [A] in the kingdom of Naples, left his country for his religion, towards the middle of the XVIth century, and retired to Geneva, where several Italian families had already formed a congregation. There happened to be among those refugees of Italy some wits, who subtilized upon the mystery of the Trinity, on the words Essence, Person, Co-essential &c. George Blandrata, a Physician, and John Paul Alciatus, a Milaneze, were the chief of those innovators, with an advocate called Matthew Gribaud. The thing was treated without noise, and by private writings. Gentilis would have a share in those disputes, and contributed not a little to embolden those new Arians. This gave occasion to the Articles of Faith, which were drawn up in the

[A] He was a native of Cosenza. Some (1) have said, that he was not born in that town; others (2) make him a Neapolitan. Nicodemus confutes them invincibly, by the testimony of several grave authors, and by the subscription of Valentinus Gentilis; but he is mistaken,

when he fathers upon Theodore Beza the history of the punishment of that heretic. To be entirely in the right, he should have ascribed that work to Benedicinus Aretius, after having censured Quattronari, who ascribed it to Calvin.

[B] This

(a) See the remark [D] of the article GENTILIS (Sc 1210) towards the end.

the Italian consistory, the eighteenth of May 1558 [B]. They contained the most pure orthodoxy concerning that mystery, and exacted a promise in express terms, and upon pain of being accounted guilty of perjury, never to do any thing directly, or indirectly, that should oppose it. Gentilis subscribed those articles, and yet continued to spread his errors clandestinely: Whereupon the magistrates took cognizance of the thing, and committed him to prison. He was convicted of having violated his subscription, which he endeavoured to excuse from the suggestions of his conscience. He presented several writings, first to endeavour to palliate and maintain his opinions, and then to pacify Calvin, and to acknowledge and abjure his errors: In consideration of which, the magistrates of Geneva sentenced him only to undergo an *Amende honorable*, to throw his writings into the fire, and to promise not to go out of the city without leave. This sentence was executed the second of September, 1558. He was set at liberty a few days after; and, upon his petition, shewing his incapacity to give bail, he was excused from it; but they made him swear not to go out of Geneva without the consent of the magistrates. Nevertheless he soon fled away, and retired into the country, to Matthew Gribaud [C], his companion in heresy. He went afterwards to Lyons, and then wandered from place to place in Dauphiné and Savoy; and being safe no where, he returned to the village, whither he retired first, in the territory of the canton of Bern. He was soon known there, and put in prison; but he was set at liberty not many days after, and published a confession of Faith, attended with some proofs and some invectives against St Athanasius. He dedicated it to the bailiff, who had committed him, and made him very uneasy by such a dedication [D]. About the same time, he was imprisoned at Lyons for his doctrine; but, having had the cunning to shew, that he only opposed Calvin, and not the mystery of the Trinity, he was set at liberty. Blandrata and Alciatus, who left no stone unturned, in Poland, to plant their heresies, invited him to come to them, to be their fellow-labourer. They would have done more mischief than they did, if they had not differed among themselves, and if the king of Poland had not published, in 1566, an edict, by which he banished all strangers, who taught their new tenets [E]. Gentilis retired into Moravia, from whence, being gone to Vienna in Austria, he resolved to return into Savoy, where he hoped to find still his friend Gribaud; not to mention, that death had

[B] This gave occasion to the articles of faith which were drawn up in the Italian consistory, the 18th of May 1558.] The author (3) of the book I have quoted, and Calvin against Gentilis, speak only of the articles of faith of the Italian consistory, and name only five persons that signed them. They say, indeed, that Gentilis and five more, refusing to sign at first, signed afterwards, when they were called in private (4); but they do not say, that he was one of the seven, who chose rather to leave Geneva, than to set their hands to the articles, 'till the powerful solicitations of their countrymen had obliged them to return, and subscribe. It is Mr Leti (5), who, without mentioning the articles drawn up by the Italian consistory, mentions others much longer, which, according to him, were proposed to be subscribed before the council. These articles were only the confession of faith, which Calvin had lately drawn up, and which had been approved by the ministers, the syndics, the council of XXV, and that of CC, and the general assembly of the people. He names several that subscribed them; and, among the rest, Galeazzo Caracciolo, Cello Conte Martinengo, Massimiliano suo fratello Ministro della Chiesa. But as to the first, the account of his life informs us, that he was absent from Geneva, from the seventh of March to the fourth of October, 1558, in which interval the articles were subscribed, Gentilis imprisoned, &c. As for the two others, the same account informs us, that we must reduce them to one, that is to the minister. Now this Martinengo was dead before the subscribing of the articles was thought of. See the 262d letter of Calvin. Mr Leti adds, that seven persons refused to subscribe, and went out of the city: *Che in fatti si ritirarono dalla città e tra questi Andrea Ostellani, Marco Pizzi, e Valentino Gentile: quali vinti poi in breve dalle persuasive de loro compatrioti, si ridussero a sotto scrivere* (6). What he says might be true: but if it be so, are not the authors of other accounts much to blame, for having suppressed things so essential to this history? Dr Spon (7) does but partly agree with them: He says, that the council caused the suspected Italians to subscribe the general confession of the church: he owns that some of them left the city, but not that they returned to subscribe; nor does he put Gentilis among those that went out of Geneva. How comes history to be so full of variations? Is it because people delight to falsify

the memoirs they copy? Or is it because they do not take notice of the alterations they make in them?

[C] He retired into the country, to Matthew Gribaud.] Aretius says, that he retired in *Pagum Fargiarum*; and that that village is in the country of Gex, in *præfectura Gajenfi*. Which makes me believe, that there is an error in the passage of Lubieniecus (8), where it is said, that *Matthæus Gribaldus celeberrimus Jurisconsultus Patavinus* was *pagi Turgiarum dominus*. Instead of *Turgiarum*, I would say *Fargiarum*. The country of Gex was then possessed by the canton of Bern.

[D] He dedicated to the bailiff of Gex a Confession of Faith, and made him very uneasy by such a dedication.] That bailiff of Gex had demanded a Confession of Faith of Gentilis, that he might cause it to be examined by some ministers, and sent to Bern: Whereupon Gentilis got it printed, as if by the bailiff's order, and dedicated it to him (9). The *Bibliothèque* of the Anti-Trinitarians (10) says, that that bailiff, who had set Gentilis at liberty, at the desire of John Paul Alciatus, became suspected of heresy at Bern, because that Confession was dedicated to him; and that therefore he secured Gentilis as soon as he came within his reach: which he did, to remove those suspicions. Whether that be true or no, yet it is most certain, nothing more powerfully influences those, who would preserve or enlarge their dignities, than the desire not to be accounted heretics. If one should write the history of all the unjust proceedings, and hypocritical tricks, which spring from that source, how many strange things would be brought to light? Gentilis's Confession, and the pieces annexed to it, were printed at Lyons, though the title page bore Antwerp; and the bookseller was made to speak, in the preface, under the name of *Theophilus ad filios Eclesiæ*. In Gentilis's indictment, his lies were mentioned before his cheats (11). They found about him some other works of his own writing, when he was seized; but these were not printed. Aretius (12), and the *Bibliothèque* of the Anti-Trinitarians (13), mention them.

[E] The king of Poland published, in 1566, an edict of banishment against all strangers, who taught new doctrines.] Moreri has committed some faults in this place: I. He pretends, that Valentinus Gentilis was driven out of Poland towards the year 1562. II. That the edict, then published by king Sigismund Augustus, banished all heretics. All which is false. The

(3) Benedictus Aretius. See concerning his book, citation (b), in the margin of the text of this article.

(4) See Beza, in the Life of Calvin.

(5) Histor. Genevins, Tom. III, pag. 104.

(6) Ibid. pag. 117.

(7) Hist. de Geneve, ad ann. 1558.

(8) Hist. Reform. mat. Polonica, pag. 128.

(9) Aretius, pag. 99 & 46.
(10) Pag. 27. Vide etiam Histor. Reform. Polon. pag. 107.

(11) Aretius, pag. 46.

(12) Ibid. pag. 11, 12.

(13) Pag. 26, 27. FAULTS of Moreri.

had delivered him from the most dreadful adversary he had in those parts, I mean Calvin. But he brought himself into a snare; for the bailiff of the canton of Bern, who before imprisoned him, happened to be still in office, and did not fail to lay hands on him the eleventh of June 1566 [F]. The cause was carried before the magistrates of Bern, where it was under examination from the fifth of August to the ninth of September. Gentilis, being duly convicted of having obstinately, and against his own oath, oppugned the mystery of the Trinity, was sentenced to lose his head. He gloried in suffering for the honour of God the Father [G], and taxed his adversaries with Sabellianism (b). He held a particular opinion; for he believed, that, during the extent of eternity, God had created a most excellent spirit, which was incarnate, when the fulness of the times was come (c). I do not think, that this is the opinion of a Tritheist (d): But, no doubt, he held different opinions at different times.

(b) This article is extracted out of a Latin book, printed at Geneva by Francis Perrio, in 1567, in 4to. It contains, besides diverse dogmatical treatises, the History of Gentilis's condemnation, by Benedictus Aretius, a divine of Bern.

(c) See the remark [G], towards the end.

(d) He is so called in the Moreri, printed in Holland, in the article of John Paul Alciatus.

The edict was published in a diet called the fifth of March 1566 (14), and did not concern the Calvinists. Aretius would not have commended the king of Poland upon it, as he has done, if the reformed had been comprehended in it; and they were so far from being so, that they are accused of having promoted the publishing of that edict: 'Instigantibus adversariis Romano & Lemano spiritu ductis rex Augustus in Comitio Lublinski anno 1566, legem horrendi carminis in Anabaptistas, & Trideitas latam promulgari curavit, quæ intra mensum regni finibus excedere jussit. — At the instigation of their adversaries, actuated by the spirit of Rome and Geneva, king Augustus, in the diet of Lublin, in 1566, published a severe edict against the Anabaptists and Trideists, ordering them to leave the kingdom within a month.' Thus speaks Lubienicius, in the 194th page of his *Reformation of Poland*. III. There is no exactness in saying, in general terms, that Gentilis, going through Bern, had his head cut off there, about the year 1565. Father Maimbourg (15) has not entirely avoided an anachronism, with respect to Gentilis; for he makes him dispute at the conference of Petricow in 1566; whereas it was held in 1565.

(14) In Comitiis Pincovienibus, anno 1566, 5. Martii celebratis. Aretius, pag. 10. The History of the Reformation of Poland, pag. 195. says, that it was in Comitio Lublinski, anno 1566.

(15) Hist. de l'Arrianisme, Tom. III, pag. 356. Dutch Edit.

(16) Aretius, pag. 47, 48.

[F] The bailiff, who had formerly imprisoned him, happened to be still in office, and did not fail to lay hands on him, the eleventh of June 1566. It was at Gex, that Gentilis was arrested, and not at Bern. He was gone thither (16), to desire the bailiff to permit a public disputation, of which the scheme and conditions were found among the papers of that fugitive. He proposed, that the bailiff should give notice to the ministers and consistories in the neighbourhood, that if any one had a mind to maintain Calvin's doctrine against Gentilis, he should come to Gex within eight days, to dispute with him; on this condition, that he, who should not be able to prove his own opinion by the pure word of God, should be put to death, as a notorious impostor, and a maintainer of a false religion:

and that, if no body accepted the challenge, the bailiff and all the town-council should proclaim, that Gentilis's sentiments, touching the most high God, and his son Jesus Christ, were orthodox. The answer, that was made to the first overture of this dispute, was the imprisoning of the heretic (17).

[G] He gloried in suffering for the honour of God the Father. Aretius does not mention any other remarkable thing he said on his dying-day; but he relates elsewhere (18) the particulars I am going to set down: 'Gentilis de se ita & scripsit & loquutus est: quod esset patronus summi patris eminentiæ, & assertor gloriæ patris. Nec dubitavit etiam dicere, neminem adhuc (quod ipse quidem sciret) pro gloria & eminentia patris mortuum esse; prophetas, apostolos, pioque martyres pro filii gloria perfectiones, mortem & extrema quæque passos esse; eminentiam autem Dei patris nullos adhuc martyres habere. — Gentilis wrote and spoke of himself as a patron and assertor of the supremacy and glory of the Father. Nor did he scruple saying, that no one yet (as he knew) had died in defence of the glory and supremacy of the Father; that the prophets, apostles, and pious martyrs, had suffered persecutions, death, and extreme tortures for the glory of the Son; but that the superiority of God the Father had as yet produced no martyrs.' Let us mention here the opinion he professed in a synod of Poland: 'Sententia ejus quam in Polonia in Synodo Pincoviz ann. 1562, die 4. Novembris celebrata proposuerat, hæc fuit, Deum creavisse in latitudine æternitatis Spiritum quemdam excellentissimum, qui postea in plenitudine temporis incarnatus est (19). — The opinion, which he professed in Poland, in the Synod of Pincovia, held Novem. 4, 1562, was this: That God, in the extent of eternity, had created a most excellent spirit, which afterwards, in the fulness of time, was incarnate.'

(17) Ab prefato Gaiensi petit publicam disputationem: respondit ille, fiat quod justum est, & ad carceres duci jussit. Id. pag. 10.

(18) Pag. 27.

(19) Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar. pag. 25. Hist. Ref. Polon. pag. 107.

GENTILIS (ALBERIC), professor of the civil-law at Oxford, was the son of Matthew Gentilis, an Italian physician [A], descended from an ancient and noble family of the march of Ancona. That physician, having found some abuses in the church of Rome, and relished the good seed of the reformation, left his country, and retired into Carniola, with Alberic his eldest son, and Scipio the youngest but one of his seven children. Alberic was sent into England, where his great capacity procured him a good settlement, I mean, the place of professor of the civil-law in the University of Oxford, in the year 1582. He had taken his degree of doctor at Perugia, being twenty one years old; and, soon after, he was made a judge in the town of Ascoli; which employment he quitted, to follow his father in his voluntary banishment, and the dictates of his conscience. He composed several works [B], which gained him a great reputation. In some of his writings he does not entirely embrace the hypotheses of the

[A] He was son of Matthew Gentilis, an Italian physician. I have found something concerning him in a work of Scipio Gentilis. 'An vero Dæmones morborum causa sint, hæc questionem cum patre meo Matthæo Gentilis optimus & clarissimus, Matth. Durantius, Med. & Philos. præstantissimo proposuisset, edito libro ei respondit (1). — Whether devils are the cause of diseases; which question when my father Matthew Gentilis, a good and great man, had proposed to Matthew Durantius, physician and philosopher, he answered him by publishing a book on that subject.' Note, by the way, that the physician, who answered that question, was misnamed Durantianus by Mr König. He was called Durantianus (2).

(1) Scipio Gentilis, in Comment. in Apolog. Apuleii, pag. 260.

(2) See Lindenbrog renovatus, pag. 504.

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[B] He composed several works. He wrote three books de Jure Belli, which have done Grotius no disservice. He wrote also three others de Legationibus. His disputes about the absolute power of kings, the union of the kingdoms of Great-Britain, and the justice inseparable from resistance to kings, De vi civium in Regem semper injusta, shewed yet more clearly, that he was not for republican principles, than the ten disputes, of which he made a present to his son, that he might dedicate them, in the year 1607, to the earl of Pembroke, his patron. They are upon the titles of the Code, Si quis Imperatori maledixerit, ad legem Julianam de majestate. His books, De Juris interpretibus, & De Advocazione Hispanica (3), are not the least

(3) To apprehend the reason of that title, it is to be noted, that Alberic Gentilis was made perpetual advocate of all the causes which the subjects of Spain should have depending in England. See his epitaph in König's Bibliotheca.

the protestants [C]; for his dispute, touching the first book of the Maccabees, comes but little short of an indirect apology for those, who hold it for canonical. The same judgment may almost be made of the treatise he composed against those, who blame the Latin of the vulgar translation of the Bible. See the remark [C]. He died at London, the nineteenth of June, 1608, being fifty eight years old. He loved to that degree to improve in the sciences, that he did not seek less to instruct himself by conversation, than reading; and he has acquainted us in print, that his collections were full of a thousand things he had heard, as he talked familiarly with persons, who did not imagine, that what they said would be so honoured. The passage, wherein he speaks of this, deserves a place in our remarks [D]. See Mr König's Bibliothéque, and the funeral oration of Scipio Gentilis.

least of his works. I pass over the titles of several others.

[C] He does not entirely embrace the hypotheses of the Protestants.] Voëtius was very sensible of it. He relates, that John Howson, an Oxford divine, maintained, in a public disputation, the opinion of the Roman Catholics about the indissolubleness of marriage; that is, that adultery may indeed be a lawful reason to part with one's wife, but not such a reason as may justify the marrying of another. An English divine, called Thomas Pye, wrote against that tenet of John Howson, who defended himself, and composed an apology, printed at Oxford, in 4to, in 1606, with the disputation, and two letters, one from John Reynolds to Thomas Pye, the other from Alberic Gentilis to John Howson. Note, that Reynolds censured Pye, for having published certain things, which were not exact; but he persisted in the doctrine he had already maintained against Bellarmine, in an English book concerning divorce. Gentilis shuffled, and gave to understand, he knew not what to think about that question: though in his work, *de Nuptiis*, he had declared himself for the common opinion of the Protestants. Voëtius, having related all this, adds to it a reflexion, which highly deserves to be here inserted: 'Ille (Alb. Gentilis) in hac epistola haut obscure fatetur se fluctuare, quamvis antea in libro de Nuptiis affirmantem sententiam tradidisset. Sed nescio quomodo Albericus Gentilis vastæ eruditionis Reynoldianæ, & theologiæ ipsius tanquam nimis puræ & reformatæ in dogmatibus & in practicis, si non æmulum (de quo quidem ex singularium factorum gnaris, aliquid audisse memini) se ostendere, saltem suspectum se reddidisse videatur diatribis suis de vulgata versione, de actoribus fabularum, de abusu mendacii, &c. In quibus tam longè ac disciplina reformatæ, à moribus antiquis Academicæ Perusinae, ubi antea Jus professus erat, non abibat. Sed hæc in tantâ omnium imperfectione miseriæ humanæ pars non minima (4). — In this letter Gentilis plainly confesses, that he doubts; though before, in his book concerning marriage, he had laid down an affirmative opinion. But, I knew not how, Alberic Gentilis, in his dissertations concerning the Vulgate, the actors of plays, and the abuse of lying, if he does not openly rival, at least gives room to suspect that he emulates the extensive learning of Reynolds, and his divinity, as too pure and reformed both in doctrine and practice; and indeed

I remember to have heard so from persons acquainted with the particular facts. But, in those pieces, he did not depart so much, as the reformed discipline did, from the ancient manners of the university of Altdorf, where he had before professed the civil-law. But this is not the least among so many instances of human weakness.

[D] The passage, wherein he speaks of this, deserves a place in our remarks.] Here is what we read in one of his books (5): 'Quid de Oxoniensibus meis? vel repertoria mea testantur satis quantum ego capiam fructus ex eorum virorum & juvenum colloquiis, nam in illis ego descripsi non pauca, quæ dum minus id ipsi cogitant, disco tamen & asservo ex sermonibus familiaribus. — How much I profited by my acquaintances at Oxford, is plain from my table-books, in which I wrote down many things, which passed in conversation unknown to those, with whom I conversed.' He adds, what he had heard from his father, who had studied the civil-law under the professor Argenterius. That professor never slighted any thing he heard in conversation, but set down all that occurred, even from the meanest persons, in a book for that purpose. Tu non audisti aliquando à Patre de illustri præceptore suo Argenterio, qui ab anis cujusque ore solebat pendere, si forte aliud agendo excidisset homini aliud quod ipse diceret, nam & dicta hominum curabat reponi in sua quædam volumina, si quæ audisset non inepta? Lastly, Gentilis relates, that Alcinius learned, by the action of a peasant, the sense of a passage of Plautus, which he had not understood till then. Refert Alcinius * ex factis sui cujusdam villici se locum Plauti intellexisse quem non potuerat antea. God preserve us from such hearers, who would be detailed by all companies, if they were found out: for there are those, who, freely advancing whatever their memory suggests, would be very uneasy, if they knew, that, at parting, some of the company would go and write down in their collections all they have heard. A man finds a great misreckoning, both as to proper names, and circumstances of times and place, when he compares, with the books in his closet, the conversation of persons that have the largest memory, and speak without a premeditated design (6). Every one may know this by experience, and therefore ought to wish, that what he delivers in familiar discourse may not be writ down. Those, who with the contrary, ought never to speak unprepared.

(5) Dial. iii, de Juris Interpret. fol. 56.

* Lib. i, Pæterg. cap. xxi.

Those who write what is said in company are dangerous persons.

(6) The Scythians, the Moegians, &c. not to mention Guy Patin's letters, confirm this truth.

(4) Gilbert. Voëtius, Epistola Eccles. Tom. II, pag. 171.

(a) Provincie proceres . . . constituerunt illum Archiatrum propositis iis conditionibus, & ea erga ipsum munificentia ut quam ipse nec aspernari vellet, nec repudiare ulla ratione posset. Orat. funeb. Scip. Gentil. See also Alberic Gentilis, lib. iii, de Jure belli, cap. xlii. & lib. iii, de Legibus, cap. xiv.

GENTILIS (SCIPIO), brother to Alberic, and as famous a civilian as he, was born at Castello di Sangenesio, in Italy, in the year 1563. He was yet a child, when his father left his country and his wife to go elsewhere, to make open profession of the protestant religion. He did not go out of the house with his father; but, soon after, means was found to steal him from his mother, and under pretence of a walk, to carry him to his father, who had stopped to wait for him, as soon as he came to a safe place. We have already said, that he retired into Carniola, and sent his eldest son into England. As for Scipio, whom he loved very tenderly, he sent him to study in the university of Tubingen. He had wherewithal to answer those expences; for he had in Carniola the title of physician of that province, with a salary (a). The young man improved very much at Tubingen. He learned the Greek tongue under the famous Martin Crusius; and his wit was so happily turned to poetry, that Melissus, who was one of the best poets of Germany, acknowledged himself his inferior. He went afterwards to study at Wittemberg, and then to Leyden, that he might be nearer his father, who, having been obliged to leave Carniola for his religion, was retired into England to his eldest son. Scipio Gentilis improved much at Leyden under Hugo Donnellus, and Justus Lipsius; after which he went to Basil, and there took his degree of doctor of the civil-law in the year 1589. He went to Heidelberg some time after, where Julius Pacius, an Italian like himself, taught the civil-law. There arose a kind of emulation

emulation between them, which made Scipio resolve to go from thence to Altdorf, where, by the care of Donellus, who was there professor of the civil-law, he became his colleague in the year 1590; and when Peter Wenssenbecius was called into Saxony, our Gentilis filled his place of first professor. He was also made counsellor of the city of Nuremberg. All which places he discharged gloriously till his death, which happened in the year 1616. His method of teaching with clearness and brevity, and of mixing, with the thorns of the law, the flowers of polite literature; (for he was a great humanist) that method, I say, having been known, both by his lectures and the books he published, procured him the invitation of several famous universities [A]. But he preferred the post, he had in the university of Altdorf, to all the offers that were made him. He had lived in celibacy till the year 1612; but at last he underwent the conjugal yoke. The beauty and merit of a gentlewoman, originally come from Lucca, and daughter of Cæsar Calandrini, having captivated his liberty, he demanded her in marriage, obtained her, and had by her a son [B] and a daughter [b]. I give the titles of his principal writings [C]. He is mentioned in the letters of Bongars [D].

(b) Taken from his funeral oration, pronounced by Michael Piccart, professor of logic and metaphysics, at Altdorf. It is in the collection of Mr Witte.

[A] His method of teaching procured him the invitation of several famous universities. He was offered a professorship in France, at Heidelberg, and at Leyden; and what is more remarkable and extraordinary, Pope Clement VIII, to incline him to accept of a professor's place at Bologna, promised him liberty of conscience (1).

(1) Piccart, in Orat. Funerari Scip. Gentilis.

(b) It is the sixth: it was written in 1615.

REFLECTION upon the posterity of learned men.

[B] He had a son. We find in a letter of Vossius (2) to William Laud archbishop of Canterbury, that that boy's mother, not being in a condition to maintain him at the university, because of the losses she had sustained in the wars of Germany, endeavoured to get him a place in a college, either at Oxford or Cambridge. His friends were to present a petition for that purpose, and hoped that the memory of Alberic Gentilis would do his nephew some service. Vossius prepared the way for that petition; but I know not what became of it, or of that only son of Scipio Gentilis. I take notice, that it is the hardest thing in the world to find a lineal succession of most of the heroes of the commonwealth of learning. Generally things go well enough for the first generation. The second begins to grow obscure; the curious want some time to find it out: but the third or fourth are so confounded in the crowd, that they are no more distinguished. Therefore it could not be said of the posterity of those great men, what a Roman satirist has said touching his ancestors, and which he would have several noblemen say of theirs.

Quære ex me quis mihi quartus

Sit pater, haud prompte, dicam tamen: adde etiam unum

(3) Prof. Sat. VI, vs. 57.

Unum etiam, terræ est jam filius (3).

The fourth degree downwards is already in the dark. What shall I say of so many men illustrious by their learning, whose family is as obscure in the first degree downwards, as in the degree just before them? May not we say, that they are fires, which we see shine afar off in the middle of a dark night, without discovering any thing near them, by reason of the obcuri-

ty round them? See the remark [B] of the article BENSERADE.

[C] I give the titles of his principal writings. Here they are: *De Jure publico populi Romani. De conjugationibus libri duo. De Donationibus inter virum & uxorem libri IV. De Bonis maternis & secundis Nuptiis libri duo. In Apulei Apologiam Commentarius. De Jurisdicatione libri tres. Commentarius in Pauli Epistolam ad Philemonem. De erroribus Testamentorum.* His funeral oration, with the catalogue of his works, is in the collection of Mr Witte; but it is to be noted, that some writings are attributed to him in that catalogue, which belong to his brother; as, the treatise *De Jure Belli*, and that *De Legationibus*; and that there is no mention made of his book, *De antiquis Italiae Linguis*, nor of his notes upon Tacitus, nor of his *Quæstiones ad Africanum Jurisconsultum*. These three works are mentioned in his commentary on Apuleius's apology.

[D] He is mentioned in the letters of Bongars. If I remember well, he is generally denoted there by the terms of *Scipio noster*, or the like. The Latin tongue allows and approves of that expression; but the French translator is to blame in rendering it by *Monsieur Scipion*. This is owing to his ignorance; for, if he had known that the person meant was Scipio Gentilis, he had said *Monsieur Gentilis*, and not *Monsieur Scipion* (4).

Note, that the custom of naming people, in Latin, as well by their christian name, as by their family-name, occasions many mistakes; and I fancy it has led Mr Konig into an error, touching Gentilis the Arian: for he speaks twice of him, without perceiving, that it is still the same heretic. He speaks of him under the word *Gentilis*, and under the word *Valentinus*. In the first place (5), he only gives him the christian-name of *Johannes*; and supposes, that *Valentinus* is his country-burname. In the second place (6), he bestows upon him *Valentinus* as his family-name, and *Johannes* as his christian-name. The first occasion of this mistake probably proceeded from this, that there are books, wherein Gentilis is simply and barely called *Valentinus*, which was but one half of his christian-name.

(4) This fault is found in the edition of the Hague, 1695.

(5) Konig. Biblioth. pag. 341.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 826.

GENTILET (INNOCENT), a native of Vienne in Dauphiné (a), flourished in the XVIth century. He published some books of controversy, which made him esteemed by the Protestants [A]; for he exerted his learning, and shewed a great zeal against Popery. He was a civilian by profession; and some say, he was advocate in the

(a) Allard. Biblioth. de Dauphiné, pag. 114.

[A] He published some books of controversy, which made him esteemed by the Protestants. He did for them, what Quadratus, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Melio, Tertullian, and some others, had done for the christians of the primitive ages; I mean he wrote an apology: which he dedicated to the king of Navarre, who was afterwards king of France. The epistle dedicatory is dated the fifteenth of February 1578. The edition, which he published ten years after, was much improved, and well corrected: and it is to be noted, that he published that work both in Latin and French. This is the Latin title: *Apologia pro Christianis Gallicis Religionis Evangelicæ seu Reformatæ, Quæ docetur hujus Religionis fundamenta in sacra Scriptura jacta esse, ipsamque tum ratione, tum antiquis Canonibus, comprobari.* The edition, which I make use of, is the se-

cond, printed at Geneva by James Stoer, 1588, in 8vo. He is there described thus, *Autore INNOCENTIO GENTILETO Jurisconsulto clarissimo, & amplissimi Senatus Provinciae Delphinensis præside.* The work, which he intitled, *Le Bureau du Concile de Trente: auquel est montré qu'en plusieurs points iceluy Concile est contraire aux anciens Conciles & Canons, & à l'autorité du Roy*, was printed in the year 1586, in 8vo. He dedicated it to the same king of Navarre, and dated the epistle the twelfth of July 1586. He names himself barely *Innocent Gentilet, a civilian of Dauphiné*. He published the same book in Latin, the same year, with the title of, *Examen Concilii Tridentini: in quo demonstratur, &c.* There have been several editions of that work: the last, if I am not mistaken, is that of Gorcum in Holland in 1678. Mark these

(b) See the remark [B].

(c) See the remark [A].

(d) See the same remark.

(e) Allard, ubi supra, pag. 115.

the parliament of Toulouſe (b). I have ſeen in the title of one of his books, that he calls himſelf preſident in the parliament of Grenoble (c). He tells us in a preface (d), that he was in exile, by reaſon of the edicts that had been publiſhed in France againſt thoſe of the reformed religion. Some affirm, that he had been Syndic of the republic of Geneva; and that he diſguiſed himſelf under the name of Joachimus Urſinus Anti-Jefuita [B], in the title of ſeveral books which he publiſhed. I believe Mr Allard is miſtaken, when he affirms (e), that VINCENT GENTILET [C], *his ſon, Counſellor, and then Preſident in the Chamber of the Ediſt of Grenoble, wrote the Antimachiavel in 1573, a Remonſtrance to King Henry III, ſeveral Rules about Polity; and that he tranſlated the book of the Republic of Switzerland of Joſias Simlerus*. I wonder we have ſo few particulars about the life of a perſon, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf both by his writings and employments; and I cannot ſufficiently admire, how it came to paſs, that thoſe, who

(1) Gentillet, epistle dedicatory prefixed to the Bureau du Concile de Trente.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Voëtius, Polit. Ecclief. Tom. IV, pag. 271.

(4) Placcius de Anonymis, pag. 60.

(c) Baillet, Tom. II, of the Anti, pag. 131.

(6) Placcius de Pseudonymis, pag. 275.

these words of the epistle dedicatory (1): *Seeing therefore, great SIR, that those, who carp at your declaration, ground altogether their opinion upon that council of Trent; I thought my duty for your service, and for my country, did sufficiently command me to employ the leisure, which the edict, called of Re-union, makes me enjoy in my exile, in shewing that foundation of theirs.* The declaration he speaks of, is that, which the king of Navarre had caused to be published every where, that he would stand to the decision of a free council, about the differences in religion that were in France (2). That declaration was published in 1585, the same year, in which the edict of Re-union was made. From whence we may conclude, that Gentillet did not set about that work before that year; and consequently that Voëtius is mistaken, when he says (3), that that book was published in Latin in 1556, under the title of, *Historica relatio & nullitas Concilii Tridentini*. He adds, that it was published at Amberg in the year 1615. Note, that, in 1556, the council of Trent was not concluded.

[B] Some affirm, that he had been syndic of the republic of Geneva; and that he disguised himself under the name of Joachimus Urſinus Anti-Jefuita.] Pray, consider these words of Mr Placcius (4): *ANTIMACHIABELLI nomine vulgo insigniuntur commentario rum de regno . . . libri tres . . . qui citantur sub nomine Innocentii GENTILETI Jcti Delphinatis olim Tolſanæ curiæ Advocati, dein Genevenſis Reip. Syndici.* — The three books of the commentaries 'De Regno . . . cited under the name of Innocent GENTILET, of Dauphiné, formerly advocate in the parliament of Toulouſe, and afterwards syndic of the republic of Geneva, bear the title of 'ANTIMACHIABEL.' To prove this, he quotes Draudius, pag. 1169, and 1144, of the *Bibliotheca Classica*; Voëtius, pag. 124, 209, 211, 218, of the first volume of the *Theological Thesaurus*; Pellerus, pag. 505, of the *Politicus ſcleratus impugnatus*; Conringius, in the preface to his edition of the *Prince of Machiavel*; and Keckerman, in the first chapter to the *Conſilium de locis communibus*. Of these five authors, I have been able to consult only the three first; and I find nothing in them, that says, that Gentillet ever pleaded in the parliament of Toulouſe, or had any employment in the republic of Geneva. It is even to be noted, that Pellerus calls him, *Juriſconſultus Delphinensis*; which may make one believe, that Gentillet was a native of Holland, not of Dauphiné. Mr Baillet observes (5), that it is the common opinion, that the author of the *Antimachiavel* was an Huguenot of Dauphiné, named Innocent Gentillet, who was at first a pleading advocate in the parliament of Toulouſe, and afterwards syndic of the republic of Geneva (§ a).

[§ a] At page 43. of the *Citadin de Geneve*, we find among the famous civilians, who have delivered their oracles in Geneva, Innocent Gentillet; but it is not said, that he had any post there. REM. CRIT.]

As for Joachimus Urſinus Anti-Jefuita, Mr Placcius (6) mentions five books, which have been published under that false name. The first is intitled, *Concilii Tridentini Historica Relatio, & nullitas solidæ & ex fundamento demonstrata*, and was printed at Amberg in the year 1615, in 8vo. The second is intitled, *Apologia pro Christianis Gallis Religionis Reformatæ*, at Geneva, 1598, in 8vo. The third, *Stupenda Templi Jeshuitici*: divided into three parts, and printed at Francfort, and at Amberg, in the year 1610, in 8vo. The title of the fourth is, *Floſculi blaſphemiarum Jeshuitarum, ex tribus Concionibus ſuper beatificatione Ignatii Loyolæ habitis deſcripti, unâ*

cum Sorbonnæ Pariſienſis Cenſura. Which was printed in 1612, in 4to. The fifth was printed at Amberg in 1611, in 8vo, and is intitled, *Hispaniæ Inquisitionis, & carniſcinæ ſecretiora, ubi præter illius originem . . . exemplis illuſtrioribus tum Martyrum, tum articulorum, & regularum inquisitionum in fine adjectis per Joachimum Urſinum Anti-Jefuitam de Jeshuitis qui Inquisitionem Hispanicam in Germaniam & Bobemiam vicinam introducere moliantur, præſentem*. Vincent Mollerus, burgomaster of Hamburg, and great-grand-father of Mr Placcius, had marked with his own hand the name of Innocent Gentillet in the first of those five books; which, together with some other reasons, inclined Mr Placcius to believe, that it was the true name of the pretended Joachimus Urſinus (7). Mr Baillet (8) has followed that opinion, and (9) ascribes to the same Gentillet a work, which was printed at Francfort in 1612, under the title of, *Antijehinus, hoc est ſolida confutatio errorum quos olim Arriani, &c.* I have not a sufficient number of books to clear all this.

[C] I believe that Mr Allard is mistaken, when he affirms, that VINCENT GENTILET [C]. He remarks (10) in the first place, that the examination of the council of Trent is a work of Innocent Gentillet; an author, says he, who lived under Henry III; and then he adds, that Vincent Gentillet, his son . . . wrote the *Antimachiavel*, in 1573. This clashes with the custom of chronologists, who, when they mark the ages of illustrious men, put some distance between the fathers and the sons, the masters and disciples; tho' it frequently happens, that the time of the reputation of the one concurs with the flourishing state of the other. The writer of the *Bibliothèque de Dauphiné* has not followed that rule: for he puts the father under Henry III, and places higher, under Charles IX, the writing of the principal book of the son. This error is less than that I am going to mark. It should have been said, according to the general opinion, that the *Antimachiavel* was the production of Innocent Gentillet, and not the production of his son. I do not find any bibliographer, who has mentioned this Vincent Gentillet, son of Innocent; and it is certain, that la Croix du Maine (11) ascribes to Innocent Gentillet all the works, which Mr Allard specifies as the writings of Vincent. It is true, La Croix du Maine is mistaken pag. 97. in the christian name; for he has put Francis instead of Innocent (12). The office of *preſident in the chamber of the edict of Grenoble*, which he bestows upon that writer, confirms me in the belief, that he had in view our Innocent Gentillet, who, as we have already seen (13), took the title, at the head of the apology for the reformed, of *ampliſſimi Senatus Provinciæ Delphinensis Præſis*. I conjecture, that he was made president of the chamber of the edict at Grenoble, when those sort of courts were granted to the Huguenots, in each parliament in 1576 (14); which intitled him to the quality of president in the parliament of his province. We have seen (15), that the edict of Re-union occasioned his exile; and I add here, that Poſſevin (16) has observed, that the Calvinist author, who had writ against Machiavel, had taken sanctuary at Geneva: which is another proof that Mr Allard is mistaken, in ascribing, not to the father, but to the son, the work against Machiavel. The French translator's preface before the book of Joſiah Simler, about the republic of the Swiſſes, says nothing that may incline us to conjecture, that he might be our Gentillet: and yet I could easily believe him to be the author of that version. Some ascribe

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 276.

(8) Baillet, Tom. I, of the Anti, pag. 197.

(9) Id. Tom. II, pag. 31.

(10) Allard, Bibl. de Dauph. pag. 114, 115.

(11) In the Biblioth. Française pag. 97.

(12) Keckerman, apud Placcium, de Pseudonymis, pag. 60, has committed the same fault.

(13) In the remark [A].

(14) Mezeris, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. V, pag. 212.

(15) In the remark [A].

(16) Poſſevin, Bibl. lib. xv, cap. v.

who have given us an account of the authors of his province, could not fill up six lines concerning him, without committing several faults.

ascribed it to him, according to La Croix du Maine. It was printed at Paris, in the year 1578 (17) (§ 3), for James du Puis, with the king's licence, dated the sixteenth of August 1577, and at Antwerp in 1580 in 8vo. Simler had published that work in Latin in 1576, and died some months after.

I will speak elsewhere (18) at large of the Antimachiavel of Gentillet. [§ 3] From an edition in 8vo, of the year 1577, without the name of the place, for Antony Chupin, and Francis le Preux. REM. CRIT.]

GERGENTI, a town of Sicily, formerly Agrigentum, or Acragas. I only mention it, in order to correct Mr Moreri's faults [A]. His omissions would require a long

[A] I mention it only to correct Mr Moreri's faults.

I. It is not true, that that town took its name from mount Agragas. Stephanus Byzantinus, who relates three other etymologies, makes no manner of mention of that. Several towns of Sicily were named from their rivers (1); and this was one of them, according to the first of the three opinions (2) mentioned by that author. It is certain, that it was built upon the river Acragas (3); but, according to the third opinion (4), both that river and the town were so called by reason of the goodness of the soil. I omit the second opinion, according to which the town owed its name to Acragas, son of Jupiter and Altherope. II. It is not true, that Virgil mentions the mountain Acragas; for the two verses, quoted by Moreri, signify visibly no more than a town seated on a hill.

The verses are,

Arduus inde Acragas ostendit maxima longe
Mœnia, magnanimum quondam generator equo-
rum (5).

High Acragas at distance thence appears,
With wide extended walls; famed for the breed
(In ancient annals) of the generous steed.

III. It had been necessary to have named the author, who has said, that the Ionians, led by Gellus, or Gelo, laid the first foundation of Agrigentum; for that author must be an apocryphal one, since Cluverius was not acquainted with him, or did not think him worthy to be quoted. It had been better to have let alone that Gellus, or Gelo, and have said, with Thucydides, that the inhabitants of Gela sent a colony to Acragas one hundred and eight years after the foundation of Gela (6). Now, since Gela was built, jointly, by Antiphemus the chief of a company of Rhodians, and by Entimus the leader of a company of Cretans; and since they settled there the laws of the Dorians (7); I had rather take Agrigentum for a Doric colony, than for an Ionian colony. Thucydides, who marks the time and names of the founders, is, in this place, to be a little more credited than Strabo, who contented himself to say, in a loose manner, that Agrigentum belonged to the Ionians (8). I do not think he has said it above once, and I am certain he has seldom mentioned that town: and therefore I reckon for the fourth fault, these words of Moreri: it is for that reason that Strabo commonly calls it the Ionian Agrigentum. Before we go further, I take notice, that Polybius mentions Agrigentum as a colony of the Rhodians (9). A gross fault has crept into Cluverius, which his abridger has not mended. We find in that author (10), that the inhabitants of Gela founded Agrigentum in the XCIXth olympiad. He should have said XLIX, not XCIX. For this is Cluverius's computation: he places the foundation of Syracuse in the second year of the XIth olympiad. Forty five years after, according to Thucydides (11), Gela was founded by the Rhodians and Cretans; and, according to the same author, those of Gela sent a colony to Agrigentum, one hundred and eight years after their town had been founded; therefore they sent it in the XLIXth olympiad. V. He should not have quoted Ælian touching the luxury of the Agrigentines in their houses and meals, without saying that he quotes Plato: for a witty saying from Plato (12) has, without comparison, more weight, than from Ælian. VI. It is not true, that Diodorus Siculus informs us, that Alcæmon ruled at Agrigentum after Phalaris, and that Alcander, Theron, and Thraideus, were the successors of Alcæmon. VII. Nothing clashes more with the rule of an exact narrative, than to join together the time, when the town of Agrigentum was taken by the Carthaginians, and the time, when it became a part of the Roman commonwealth; for the state of the Agrigentines underwent many considerable changes after the Carthaginians had plundered them in the fourth year of the XCIIIrd olympiad, till the Romans got possession of that town. They became masters of it during the second Punic war; but they were not so, when they took Syracuse: for, even after the taking of that city, the Carthaginians, who were masters of Agrigentum, cut out work enough for them (13). VIII. He should not have applied to the time, when it was subdued by the Romans, the magnificent description, which Diodorus Siculus has left us of it: for that description concerns the flourishing state of the Agrigentines, when the Carthaginians attacked them in the XCIIIrd olympiad. The town recovered from the dismal condition, into which that war had reduced it: nay, we find, that its forces were formidable at several times (14), after the sacking it underwent, when it fell into the hands of the Carthaginians in the year that I have marked before; but it is confounding the times, to say with Moreri, that it was one of the most flourishing cities of the Roman empire, being large, fair, and extremely populous, when the Romans drove from thence the Carthaginians, and settled there themselves. IX. Empedocles the philosopher, and Empedocles the poet, are but one and the same man; and therefore Moreri should not have made of them two illustrious Agrigentines. X. Cicero did not mention the temple and statue of Hercules, that were to be seen at Agrigentum, as one of the finest works of antiquity. At most, he only speaks so as to the statue; and as for the temple, he contents himself to say, that the Agrigentines look upon it as a very holy place. Hercules templum est apud Agrigentinos non longe à foro sine sanctum apud illos & religiosum (15). As to the statue, he says, that it was one of the finest he ever saw in his life; but he owns he was no good judge, and that, in that matter, he had much more employed his eyes, than his understanding (16). If Mr Moreri had had any discernment, with respect to things that strike a reader most, he would have added a very singular circumstance concerning that statue; to wit, that it had been so often devoutly kissed, that its lips and chin were somewhat worn out by it. Rictus ejus ad mentum paulo sit attritus, quod in precibus & gratulationibus non solum id venerari, verum etiam osculari solent (17). XI. Pliny has not said, touching the salt of Agrigentum, what Mr Moreri ascribes to him; but only, that it bears the fire, and flies out of the water. Mr Moreri has forgot the latter of these two properties, and has but ill related the first; for he pretends, that Pliny says, that that salt melted in the fire. If he had a mind to mention that, he should have had other vouchers than Pliny; for the words of that writer (18), Agrigentinus (sal) ignium patiens (19) ex aqua exilit, signify only, that that salt crackled in, and flew from the water; but that it bore the fire without crackling in it. If Mr Moreri had quoted either Solinus, or St Augustin, he needed not have feared any censure. These are Solinus's words: 'Salem Agrigentinum si igni junxeris, dissolvitur ustione: cui si liquor aquæ proximaverit, crepitat veluti torreatur (20). — If you apply Agrigentine salt to the fire, it melts by the heat; if to water, it crackles as if in the fire. St Augustin alledges that Phenomenon to the incredulous, who rejected all miracles in religion, as soon

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(17) See the translator's preface.

(1) Derris apud Steph. Byzantin.

(2) Thucydides, lib. vi, and Aristarchus, apud Scholiasten Pindari in Od. ii. Olymp. are of that opinion.

(3) See Polybius, lib. ix, cap. vii; Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii, cap. xxxiii; The scholiast upon Pindar ex Aristarcho, ubi supra; Thucydides. lib. vi.

(4) Polybius, apud Stephanum Byzantin.

(5) Virg. Æn. lib. iii, ver. 704.

(6) Thucyd. lib. vi, circa init.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Strabo, lib. vi, pag. 187.

(9) Polyb. lib. ix, cap. vii.

(10) Sicil. Antiq. lib. i, cap. xv, pag. m. 108.

(11) Ubi supra.

(12) Diogen. Laertius, lib. vii, in Empedocle, ascribes to Empedocles what Ælian attributes to Plato.

(18) In the remark [E] of the article MACHIAVEL.

(13) See Cluverius, ubi supra, pag. 112, quoting Livy. lib. xxiv, & xxv.

(14) See Cluverius, ibid. quoting Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvi, & xlii.

(15) Cicero, in Verrem, Act. vi, cap. xlii.

(16) Ibi est ex ære simulacrum ipsius Herculis quo non facile quicquam dixerim me vidisse pulchrius: tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intelligo quam multa vidi. Id. ibid.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Plin. lib. xxxi, cap. vii, pag. m. 807.

(19) Morsinus, in Antigon. pag. 188, conjectures that we must read impatiens. Fuster Hardwin, in hunc locum Plinii, rejicit that conjecture.

(20) Solinus, cap. v.

a long discourse; for he has forgot the most curious things that might have been said of Agrigentum [B].

as divines could not explain them. He alleges to those unbelievers several natural things, of which the philosophers could give no reason; and he begins with the singularities of the salt of Agrigentum. 'Agrigentum Siciliae saltem perhibent cum fuerit admotus igni velut in aqua fluere; cum vero aquae velut in igne crepitare (21). - - - It is reported of the Agrigentine salt, that when it is held to fire it melts as if in water, and, when put in water, crackles as if in fire.' Note, against those that would apologize for Mr Moreri, that there is a great difference between melting in the fire, and bearing the fire, without crackling in it. I say nothing of his false quotations (22): I shall only observe, to conclude this remark, that there are a vast number of other articles in Moreri's dictionary, which are no less faulty than this.

[B] He has forgot the most curious things that might have been said of Agrigentum. I have already reproached him with passing over in silence, both those devout kisses, which had thinned the lips of the brazen Hercules of the Agrigentines, and one of the wonderful properties of the salt of Agrigentum. He is no less to blame, for saying nothing of the properties of the lakes, that were near the town, whose water was as salt as that of the sea; but men did not sink in it, and even those, that could not swim, did float upon it like wood. Περὶ Ἀκράγαντα δὲ λίμναι, τὴν μὲν γούσιν ἔχουσι θαλάττης, τὴν δὲ γούσιν διὰ πορὸν ἔδδ' ἡ γὰρ τοῖς ἀκοιμήτοις βαπτίζονται συμβαίνει, εὐλὼν τρόπον ἐπιτολάσσιν. Apud Agrigentum lacus sunt gustu marino, natura plane diversa: nam & natandi inscit in iis lignorum in morem supernatant (23). How many singular things might he not have taken out of the thirteenth book of Diodorus Siculus, concerning the lu-

xury of the Agrigentines, their riches, and the expense one of them was at for the entertainment of strangers? he should not have forgot, that that part of the city, which served for a fortress, was built before the taking of Troy: that it was built, I say, by Dædalus the most able engineer of all antiquity. He fortified the place so well, that three or four men were able to defend it: which made king Cocalus resolve to reside there, and to lodge there all his treasures (24). I would not have omitted the violent zeal of the Agrigentines against those, whom the prætor Verres had sent to the temple of Hercules, with orders to carry away the statue. They forced the guards of the temple, and were a whole hour in removing that Hercules by strength of arms and machines. But, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, the Agrigentines had time to arm themselves, and to drive the satellites of Verres out the temple. As soon as the alarm was given, every body got up; and even old men, and infirm people, found strength enough to go to the rescue of Hercules. 'Ex clamo more fama tota urbe percrebuit, expugnari deos patros, non hostium adventu, neque repentino prædonum impetu: sed ex domo atque cohorte prætoriam manum fugitivorum instructam, armatamque venisse. Nemo Agrigenti neque ætate tam affecta, neque viribus tam infirmis fuit, qui non illa nocte eo nuncio excitatus, surrexerit, telumque, quod cuique fors offerebat, arripuerit (25). This great zeal did not hinder the inhabitants from turning that adventure into a jest: for they said, it ought to be added to the other labours of that God. 'Nunquam tantum mali est Siculis quin aliquid faceret & commo- de dicant, velut in hac re: aiebant in labores Herculis non minus hunc immanissimum Verrem, quam illum aprum Erymanthium inferre oportere (26).

GIFANIUS (OBERTUS), was a learned humanist, and a great civilian. He was a native of Buren in Gelderland. He studied at Louvain and at Paris, and was the first that settled the German library at Orleans. He took, in that city, his degree of doctor of civil-law, in the year 1567, and went into Italy in the retinue of the ambassador of France; after which he removed into Germany, where he taught the civil-law with so much capacity, that he gained a great reputation. He taught it first at Straßburg, where he was first professor of Philosophy: Afterwards in the university of Altdorf, and at last at Ingolstadt. He renounced the Protestant religion to embrace the Romish. He was invited to the Imperial court, and honoured with the office of counsellor, and referendary to the emperor Rodolphus. He died at Prague the twenty sixth of July 1609 [A], being above seventy (a) years old (b), if we may believe some authors; but some others, who are better informed, place his death in the year 1604 (c). He had acquired an estate; for he was a good economist [B]. He is accused of a notorious breach of trust, with respect to Fruterius's manuscripts [C]; and he, placed in the catalogue of plagiarists

(21) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxi, cap. v. See also cap. vii.

(22) He cites Pliny, lib. xxxi, c. He should have said, cap. vii. He should have cited Thucydides, at lib. vi, and not at lib. v, and Cluverius, in Sicilia Antiqua, and not in Descript. Ital.

(23) Strabo, lib. vi, pag. 129.

(a) Seventy five, according to de Witte, in Diar. Biograph.

(b) Taken from Valer. Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 703.

(c) Thuan. lib. cxxxi, pag. m. 1041.

(1) The twenty fifth according to the Diarium Biographicum of Witte.

(2) Athen. Belg. pag. 587.

(3) Bibl. Belg. pag. 703.

(4) Scaligerana, pag. m. 94.

(5) Ibid.

[A] He died at Prague the twenty sixth (1) of July, 1609. Swertius (2) and Valerius Andreas (3) say so; but I know not how to reconcile it with the Scaligerana, where Gifanius's death is mentioned. An Italian Jesuit was present at his death; and, having plundered several of his papers, is gone to Rome (4). Now how could Scaliger say this, when he died the twenty first of January, 1609? To remove this difficulty, it may indeed be supposed, that a false report was raised of Gifanius's death, upon which Scaliger went; or that the compilers of the Scaligerana have inserted in it several things, which they never heard Scaliger say; which may be observed in other places of that compilation. But the surest way was to say that Swertius and Valerius Andreas are mistaken, having not followed Thuanus, who has placed Gifanius's death in the year 1604.

[B] He was a good economist. I have no other proof for it than these words of Scaliger (5). 'He was counsellor to the emperor; and, because a married man must keep house, he sent his wife back to Nuremberg. He was worth 25000 ducats, and yet lived in a garret. Liberis utebatur ut servis.' This is beyond good husbandry: it is downright stinginess.

[C] He is accused of a notorious breach of trust, with respect to Fruterius's manuscripts. Fruterius, one of the great wits of his age, was at Paris, in the year 1566, with some other Flemings, Janus

Douza, Obertus Gifanius, Janus Lernutius, &c. and died there the same year, being twenty five years of age (6). He had already collected a good number of critical observations, which, at his death, he recommended to Gifanius: who acted fraudulently, and suppressed them as much as he could; nor did he restore part of that trust till after the complaints of Janus Douza. Read these words of Thuanus (7): 'Is (Fruterius) in puriore literatura cum excelleret, & jam multa commentatus esset, prope morte præpeditus omnia ea Gifanii judicio ac fidei commisit, qui pari fide minime usus creditur, vixque lite à Jano Douza mota exorari potuit, ut pauca quæ ex tanta jactura, velut ex magno naufragio exiguæ tabulæ supererant, sint publicata. Read also these verses of Douza:

Adfuit ille quidem, fateor, læstique refedit
Ante pedes, sed non ut amici impendere, verum
Vulturis officium valido male posset amico:
Ut vel continuo patuit, cum Fraterius jam
Deficiens illi manuum monumenta suarum
Subjicienda operis prælorum traderet, atque,
Hæc mea sint, Fanni, tibi, diceret, ut tua, curæ (8).

Cloze by the bed, where sick Fruterius lay,
Sat Fannius, watching, vultur-like, his prey.

(24) Diodor. Sicul. lib. iv.

(25) Cicerro, in Verrem, Orat. VI, cap. xliii.

(26) Id. ibid.

(6) Thuan. Hist. lib. xxxviii, ad ann. 1566.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Douza, Sat. II, pag. 330. Edit. 1609.

writers [D]. His quarrels with Lambinus made a noise in the republic of letters

*The sage, as fainting he approach'd his end,
Entrusts his papers with this faithless friend:
Preserve my works, he cried, when I am gone,
And guard these labours, Fannius, as your own.*

Douza was so angry with Gifanius, upon the account of that dishonesty, that he forgot nothing to bring him to reason; and even implored the assistance of Gifelinus, to oblige the thief to restore the manuscripts.

Quid tamen hæc, Gifeline, juvant, si Fannius hæres
Se premere æterna tot bona nocte cupit?
Ille cupit: sed tu genio communis amici
Assertor venias, injiciæque manus.
Tunc ego damnatus voti, de more sacro
Prima quidem Nemesis dona, secunda tibi.
Scis etenim quàm me mendaci læserit ore,
Dum pia pro caris Manibus arma gero (9).

(9) Id. Epist. iii,
pag. 412.

*Yet what avails, my Gifelin, our care,
If Fannius, faithless Fannius, is his heir?
Who vain would bury in eternal night
Works, worthy of the day, and everlasting light.
But thou, prevent so undeserv'd an end,
And from oblivion snatch our common friend.
My solemn vow, perform'd, shall set me free,
And altars rise to Nemesis, and thee.
His slanderous tongue no longer shall prevail,
Nor, in our friend's defence, our pious warfare fail.*

The *tamen* of the first verse relates to a place, where Douza says, that Gifelinus was the first that had exclaimed against Gifanius's dishonesty.

At quota virtutum pars est tamen ista tuarum?
Majus opus Fanni non tacuisse dolos,
Verbaque Frutericæ prima injectisse favillæ,
Nec dubium factis exhibuisse fidem.
Non mihi Fruterium reddendo plura dedisses:
Hoc quoque Fruterium reddere pæne fuit (10).

(10) Id. libell.
pag. 411.

*Small credit from such acts to virtue springs;
Fannius expos'd more lasting honour brings.
Scarce had you merited a nobler prize,
(Such glory in detecting falsehood lies)
Restoring lost Fruterius to our eyes.*

He relates, in his second satire, what he had done for the memory of the deceased, and against Gifanius.

Suspèctum ex illo cæpi observare, quid esset
Demum acturus, at ille vaser malè dissimulare,
Nec de se quicquam promittere, donec aperto
Spes mutata metu nos extorquere subegit
Editionis opus. mirum, quas perfidus hic se
Venterit in facies, primum civilia jura
Causari: mox commentaria sequepedali
Cæsar's ingeminare sono, & cui nomen Agelli
Ipse adeo primus vult restituisse videri.
Postremo, ipse meas postponere res alienis
Nec volo, nec possum, nec debeo, dicere. quid te
Longa ambage moror? cessi inde, nec ulterius mî
Cessandum ratus, Haud falles tamen improbe, dixi.
Nec mora, & archetypum exemplar clam nactus, &
apta
Tempora, dum sese miratur Fannius, & spe
Crescentem tumida inflat utrem, præeunte fideli
Verba Syro, à capite ad calcem loca quæque notando
Descripti sapiens. hinc tempestatis origo,
Hinc illæ lachrymæ (11).

(11) Id. Sat. II,
pag. 132.

*Suspected once, I kept him in my eye;
But he nor promise made, nor wou'd deny.*

*What shapes he, Proteus-like, at first put on,
The publication of the work to shun?
He quoted Codes, the comment and the text,
With lofty tone; th' Imperial Edicts next,
And last Agellius; so he wou'd restore
The name, which Aulus Gellius was before.
Shall I neglect my own affairs, he cry'd?
Then, peremptory, our request deny'd.
What's to be done? Repuls'd, I took my leave,
Resolv'd he shou'd not thus our hopes deceive,
And, whilst elate with pride he swell'd, I brib'd
His servant, and the manuscript transcrib'd.*

[D] He is placed in the catalogue of plagiarists. See the collection of the learned Thomasius about that sort of people. You will find in it (12) Gifanius loaded with all the reproaches you have just now read, and with several others. You will see there also these verses of Douza:

Tu præter omnes alpha legulejorum
Burene quem inter bustuarios Verres,
Plumis adornatum & colore furtivo,
Autumnitas Pontana nobilem fecit,
Notisque Transrhæna inusta frons Gallis (13).

(13) Douza, Ode
in Felles Litera-
rias, pag. 619.

*You, before all, chief of the gown'd tribe,
Burenus, whom amidst funereal swords-men,
Adorn'd with plumes, and colours not your own,
Fruterius' Autumn render'd eminent,
And the French brand on the Transrhæne front.*

You will see them, I say, accompanied with this note.
• Autumnitas Pontana idem est quod Fruteriana, sumebat enim Fruterius nomen Pontani, ut se Brugis (Pont, Bruke) natum significaret: vide Reliquias ejus pag. 134. Notæ autem Gallæ sunt quas Dionysius Lambinus Gallus Giphanius quamquam suam potius quam Fruterii causam agens, tum initio coram auditoribus suis, tum postea in præfat. ad lectorem • Lucretii tertium editi inussit. — The Autumnitas Pontana is the same as Fruteriana; for Fruterius took the name of Pontanus, to signify, that he was born at Bruges (Pont, Bruke): see his Remains, p. 134. As for the Notæ Gallæ, they signify the brand, which Dionysius Lambinus, a Frenchman, fixed on Gifanius, both at first before his auditors, and afterwards in his preface to the reader of the third edition of his Lucretius; in which he vindicated himself, rather than Fruterius. You will find there likewise, that Gifelinus repented his having lent his Prudentius to Gifanius; who stole from Gifelinus the best things he found in it.

Atque utinam tantum scires mea vulnera, nec te
Lusisset plagis improbus ille suis.
Illa dies nocuit, qua te sibi credere primum
Nobile Prudenti nomine suavit opus.
Te quoque tunc animos vasa sub vulpe latentes
Suspicio, & Geldram perdidicisse fidem (14).

(14) Douza,
Epist. iii, pag.
412.

*O! that my injuries had prevented thine,
And thou escap'd the plagiarist's mine.
That day, when, unsuspecting of a snare,
You trusted your Prudentius to his care;
That fatal day, his practise'd cunning gave
My friend the sad experience of a knave.*

When Douza writes in prose, he is more moderate, and even spares the name of his adversary: but however, he says, that Gifanius had adorned his Lucretius with the spoils of Fruterius: • Nec dubium quin de Giphanius intelligendum sit, quod lego apud Valer. Andream, pag. 629. Bibl. Belg. notavisse Janum Douzam ad Triumvires amoris, quæ in Lucretium adfesta Fruterius habuerit, iis non parùm adjutos fuisse, qui post Lambinum auctorem illum Collectaneis illustrarunt. Utique enim in Lucretium habentur collectanea Giphani (15). — Nor do I doubt, that Gifanius is meant in what I read in Valerius Andreas, de Plagio Literar. Bibl. Belg. p. 629. that Janus Douza gave notice to

(15) Thomasius
de Plagio Literar.
pag. 196.

the

letters [E]. The occasion of his falling out with the formidable Scioppius, was a punishment,

'the triumvirs of love, that they, who, after Lambinus, adorned Lucretius with miscellaneous notes, were not a little assisted by what Fruterius wrote on that author. For we have the collections of Gifanius on Lucretius (15).'

(15) Thomafius, de Plagio Literario, pag. 196.

[E] His quarrels with Lambinus made a noise in the Republic of Letters. Lambinus did not content himself with complaining in his public lectures, that Gifanius had robbed him; but shewed his resentment upon it, in his preface to his Lucretius, when he printed it the third time. Here follow the verses concerning the invectives he made in his reading-desk.

Nec libet antiquam plagii renovare querelam:
Quod te, felicem quondam, Lambine, cerebri,
Et vidi & pleno memini posuisse theatro
Parifis, tunc cum miserandus & hostibus ipsis
Fannius introrsum detractâ pelle pateret.
Indignum scelus, & nullo satis igne piandum (16).

(16) Douze, Sat. I, pag. 336.

No more of that: already Fannius stands
Convict, and punish'd, Lambin, by thy bands;
When publicly, at Paris, you expos'd
His plagiarism, and all his frauds discover'd.

Read these verses of the second satire:

- - - Non ut ineptus

Fannius hic Fidentini genus, & plagii olim
Convictus, Lambine, tibi, cum fronte recta
Furtivis risum movit cornicula plumis (17).

(17) Id. pag. 338.

Not like this Fannius, plagiarist convict;
When, like the daw, her borrow'd feathers gone,
He stood unmask'd, the laughter of the town.

(18) Ego autem nunquam abducar ut eum nominatim describam. Lambinus, Pref. tertia edit. Lucretii, apud Thomafium, pag. 197.

Gifanius, without being named in the preface (18), is treated there like a dog: the most abusive language is there given him. 'Pag. xxvi. ipsi Gifanius est quidam omnium mortalium, qui unquam fuerunt, qui sunt, qui erunt injulissimus, audacissimus, impudentissimus. p. xxx. audacem vocat, arrogantem, impudentem, ingratum, petulantem, insidiosum, fallacem, infidum, nigrum. pag. seq. unum ex omnibus mortalibus nulla re magis, quam feritate, importunitate, contumacia, superbia, audacia, confidentia & impudentia excellentem (19). — Pag. 26. Gifanius is to him, of all men, that ever were, are, or will be, the most unjust, most daring, and most impudent. pag. 30. he calls him impudent, arrogant, ungrateful, fawcy, treacherous, deceitful, unfaithful, black. page the following, the man of all others excellent in nothing more than in savageness, importunity, contumacy, pride, confidence, and impudence.' The foundation of this abusive language, is, that Gifanius had plundered, in the Lucretius of Dionysius Lambinus, what he thought best in it, and had condemned the rest, without acknowledging from whom he had borrowed what he had. 'Omnia fere, quæ in eo Lucretio recta sunt, mea sunt: quæ tamen iste aut silentio prætermittit, aut maligne laudat, aut sibi impudenter arrogat. Sic unde reprehendendi ansam arripere potest, ibi mihi petulantissimè insultat, in eo me improbius infestatur (20). — Almost every thing in that Lucretius, that is right, is mine; which yet he either takes no notice of, or praises like an enemy, or impudently arrogates to himself. Thus, wherever he can have a handle for reproof, there he most saucily insults me, and most unreasonably inveighs against me.' Nevertheless, it is true, he acknowledged in his preface, that Lambinus's commentary had been very useful to him: 'Dionysio autem Lambino & Adriano Turnebo duobus Franciæ ornamentis quantum debeatur præmi, quippe qui de hoc gravissimo scriptore optime sint meriti, oratione mea quidem nequeam adsequi. Neque sanè viri illi præstantissimi à me id ut faciam expectant aut volunt, satis inclaruit eorum industria & eruditio incredibilis. Hoc tantum vereque testatum relinquere possum ac debeo, illorum maxime laboribus & solertia adjutum esse in his cujusque modi Emendationibus ac Notis comparandis (21).

(19) Thomafius, ibid.

(20) Lambinus, pag. xxix, apud Thomaf. ibid. Note, That I have verified the quotations of Lambinus's preface alleged by Thomafius.

(21) Gifanius, Pref. in Lucret. fol. m. ** 2.

I cannot express how much I am indebted to

those two ornaments of France, Dionysius Lambinus, and Adrianus Turnebus, who have deserved the best of this most excellent writer. Nor do those worthy men expect or desire it of me; their own industry and incredible learning are too well known. This alone I can and ought to acknowledge, that I was chiefly assisted by their skillful labours in compiling these emendations and notes.' Here are a great many commendations; but they came too late, and could not cure the wound made in the preceding page; wherein it was said, that the public was now presented with a Lucretius much better than that of Lambinus; and that, for all Lambinus's erudition, the public had not yet the true Lucretius. Gild that pill with encomiums as long as you please, and you will never take away its bitterness. It will ever preserve its ill taste, and set choler, and all other bad humours, in motion. Here is the whole passage, which, taken altogether, is disobliging.

Tandem Dionysius Lambinus libros manu descriptos complures felicissimè nactus; adjutus etiam doctiss. virorum, in iis præcipuè Adriani Turnebi, & Joh. etiam Aurati opera, ipse incredibili diligentia & eruditione præditus, à pluribus iisque turpissimis mendis Lucretium liberavit. Sed quia tam sædè effec contaminatus, uti adhuc præstantissimus poeta nomine tantum fuerit notus; illi recusantibus medicinam adhibere eruditus viris, ut si desperatus esset ac depositus: efficere ille quamvis doctus & diligens (quod pace viri doctiss. dictum velim) non potuit, ut purum ac merum haberemus Titum. Nos igitur etiam id quoque præstare non potuimus, spero tamen id nos consecutos, ut multis jam partibus melior & emendatior in hominum manibus esse possit optimus Romani sermonis auctor (22). — At length, Dionysius Lambinus, having luckily met with several manuscripts, and being assisted by some learned men, particularly Adrian Turnebus, and John Auratus, being himself likewise a person of incredible diligence and learning, corrected many shameful errors in Lucretius. But, as that author was so very incorrupt, that he was known to be a most excellent poet only by name, the learned refusing to administer physic to one given over, as it were, and buried, this critic, with all his learning and diligence, could not give us a true and genuine Lucretius. Therefore, though the same was out of my power likewise, yet I hope I have given the world a much better and more correct edition of this best of Latin poets. I know not, any more than Thomafius, whether Gifanius defended himself against Lambinus (23); I only know that he complained of it to Muret (24), and had recourse to recrimination. He pretended, that his corrections upon Cicero and Cornelius Nepos had been pirated by Lambinus, whom he also accused of a shameful lie. Lambinus, says he, boasted of the friendship of all the Flemings, who studied at Paris, except Gifanius, and named a dozen of them, whose very names he had not known, had he not used an artifice. These are Gifanius's words: 'De Lambino, quæ hæc dicitur: in quem ut omnia pulchrè conveniant, accipe & aliud ejus stratagemata. Cum Lutetie thyrsus, non Lucretianum illum, sed suum in me quater instituisset, (ego interim domi virgam tam pueriliter peccanti minitabar,) primâ concione dixit, cum Belgis omnibus familiaritatem sibi esse, me unum sibi malè cuperet: protulitque duodecim ferè Belgarum nomina, qui tunc ibi agerent studiorum causa, (conferenda sunt cum his, quæ scribit Lambin. ad Læt. tertie ed. Lucret. p. xxxi, xxxii.) Multi ex his admirari hanc publicam testationem & citationem. quod illum ne salutassent quidem, me autem uterentur familiarissimè; imo eo ipso tempore epigrammata in illum partim proscriptissent, ad me accurrerunt, & acumen Lambini, arteque ejus oratorias mihi exposuerunt. Mirantibus omnibus, unde eorum nomina collegisset, intervenit mox ejus convictor Bruxellensis, qui scrupulum illum nobis exemit: se namque rogatum & coactum fuisse Lambino petenti domi aliquot Belgarum nomina dicere, causâ ignarum. Atque ita res in risum abiit (25). — To shew you, that Lambinus is consistent with himself, here is another of his stratagemata. Being at Paris, and resolving to shake the Thyrsus, not Lucretius's, but his own, against me; (in the mean time I threatened this childish offender with the rod, at my own house) the first bargain he made,

(22) Id. ibid. fol. ** verso.

(23) Quid Douze, quid Lambino ipsi ad istas accusationes responderit Gifanius, fateor ignorare me Thomaf. pag. 198.

(24) Thomafius, pag. 199, 200. He's down all the passages of the letters from Gifanius to Muret, and Muret's answers.

(25) Gifanius ad Muretum, Epist. lxxviii, lib. i, inter Epistolæ Mureti apud Thomafium, pag. 200.

punishment, which he deserved by *Lex Talionis* [F]. That affair is curious enough. You will find the title of most of his works in Moret's dictionary, where, by a ridiculous mistake, Hubert Giphani, and Obertus Giphanius, are mentioned as two distinct persons.

'made, he said, that all the Dutch, except myself, wished him well; upon which he produced the names of about twelve Hollanders, who then studied there; many of them were surprized at this public appeal, since they had not so much as saluted him, but had been intimately conversant with me; nay, at that very time, they had partly written epigrams against him, and had run to me, and showed me the wit and oratory of Lambinus. While they were all wondering, whence he had their names, comes in one, who had boarded with him at Brussels, and informed us, that Lambinus had pressed him, he knew not why, to dilate to him the names of some Hollanders, and so the whole was turned into laughter.' It is a melancholy consideration, that polite learning cannot keep those, who profess it, from the disorder of passions!

Muret was not the only man, whom Gifanius made the confident of his complaints: for there was lately published a letter, which Gifanius wrote to Theodore Canterus in the year 1567, wherein we find these words (26): 'Præterea nostri quemadmodum me compilarit, meque tractarit Lambinus in Æmilium Probum, cujus rei testes habeo epistolas Mureti, quas & tu jam divulgatas videre potuisti, & Puteani cujus auctoritate Lambinus abutitur inviti, &c. — You know besides, how Lambinus, in his comment on Æmilii Probi, plundered me; for the truth of which I appeal to the letters of Muretus, which you may have seen in print, and those of Puteanus, whose authority Lambinus abuses, against his will.' Gifanius wrote to the same Canterus, in the year 1567, what follows (27): 'Ille qui ea fulmina in me jactat anne ut divini est Ludovici Carrion, quem mihi nomen amicitissimum putavi. Certe eum esse indicavit Dn. Bombergus. Sic Lucretiana mea ubique vapulant, sed tua & tui similitum amicitia fretus vana illa fulmina esse judico. — He, who darts this thunder at me, is he not, as I guessed, Lewis Carrion, whom I looked upon as my friend. Bombergus has plainly shown, that this is he. Thus my labours on Lucretius suffer on all sides; but relying on the friendship of you, and such as yourself, I despise their thunder.'

I shall say, by the way, that Scaliger is not very proper to make us believe, that Gifanius was not a plagiarist. Gifanius, says he (28), was learned; his Lucretius is very good: I sent him since some good remarks upon Lucretius, which he has kept, and says, he has not received them, and designs to publish them as his own. . . . He had stolen from L. Fruterius his Agellius, which was ready for the press.

[F] The occasion of his falling out with the formidable Scioppius, was a punishment, which he deserved by *Lex Talionis*. Scioppius, having obtained from Conradus Ritterhusius, at whose house he lodged at Altdorf, a letter of recommendation to Obertus Gifanius, professor at Ingolstadt, insinuated himself into the favour of that professor; and, having free access to his house, he found means, upon a certain day, to visit the library, during the absence of it's master, and to take out of it a manuscript of Symmachus. He copied also as much as he pleased out of a work in manuscript of Gifanius, and found in it materials to set up for a critic; and, when Gifanius loudly complained of it, the plagiarist called him a thousand names. This is what Scaliger's friends relate against Scioppius. In ædes primum, mox in animum, postea in Bibliothecam absentes penetravit Giphani, cui MS. Symmachi codicem subduxit: libros vero observationum lingue Latine, invito domino percurrit, & ex iis quæ voluit sartim sublegit. E quibus partim, emendationibus Plautinis, quas & Camerarii membranis descriptas in suo Ritterhusius codice adnotarat, partim etiam reliquis schedarum Modii, quas ab am- plissimo Velfero, summo literarum patrono accepe-

rat; duos illos, quibus primum innotuit, libellos corrasit. . . . Quod quidem plagium cum passim vocæ passim literis testaretur Giphanius, in præceptorem suum & doctissimum hominem erupit hæc vîpera, & quæcunque undique poterat convitia in eum contor-

lit (29). Here is what Scioppius answers: I. He quotes two passages in his works (30), wherein he acknowledges his obligations to Gifanius, for the communication of Symmachus's manuscript. II. He confesses, that those two passages were but a jest (31); for, adds he, Gifanius never let me see but once that manuscript; and when I desired it of him a second time, he answered me: *Str; for a man to ask of me my Symmachus, is the same as if he should ask my leave to lie with my wife: Symmachum à me petere perinde est atque uxorem meam utendam postulare* (32). III. That Gifanius, who had stolen that manuscript at Venice, out of the library of cardinal Bessarion, would neither publish it himself, nor suffer others to publish it.

Erant autem libri ille Symmachi ex Bessarionis Bibliotheca Venetiis furto Gifanii sublati (velut Wolf gangus Zundelinus indicium Scioppio fecit) quem ille neque ut ederet, neque ut Ritterhusio id perenti edendum daret, ullis precibus aut muneribus induci potuit (33). IV. That Scioppius, least the public should be so long deprived of that treasure, was extremely kind to Gifanius, and invited him often to supper; but that all this was to no purpose, though that professor loved mightily to eat and drink at his friend's house. Scioppius ne literarum studiosis liber ejusmodi diutius deberetur, Giphanium creberrime ad cenam vocando demulcere (vix enim ullam diem toto anno elabi sibi Gifanius sinebat, quin foris cœnaret, ac plerumque Menelai Homerici exemplo in vocatus amicus condiceret) & Symmachi copiam ab eo impetrare studuit, sed frustra (34). V. That, seeing this obliquity, he associated himself with three civilians, to get secretly that manuscript; and that, having made use of it, he put it in it's place again the next day. VI. That the subtilty, with which he guessed where that manuscript lay hid, surpasse all the cunning of the critics that have commented upon Symmachus. Unica illa conjectura sua quo loco Sym-

machi codex in Gifanii Bibliotheca situs foret, omnium Criticorum quotquot ei scriptori operam navarunt ingenium & acumen longè superavit (35). VII. That it is false that he stole that manuscript, since he kept it but one night, that others might have the benefit of it. Rem quoque malo furto acquisitam possessori suo nequaquam subduxerit (velut tu mentiris) sed usum ejus unius noctis lubricatione cum aliis communicavit (36). VIII. As for the other manuscript, he owns, he had it in his hands, through the means of Gifanius's Amanuensis; and that he took the best things out of it, tho' not with a design to arrogate them to himself, since he suffered several lovers of fine Latin to write out copies of it (37).

IX. He pretends he has publicly acknowledged the benefit he received from that work. De observationibus Grammaticis fateri puta Scioppium cum præfatione disputationis de injuriis ita Giphanium alloquitur: Ego multa ex te quamvis infesto & invito didici. I do not wonder Gifanius fell into such a passion; for who could bear such tricks? Scioppius owns enough to persuade his readers, that he was not an honest man. The worst of all for Gifanius was, that people laughed at his anger. Hoc ut rescivit Giphanius, tantum non in furem redactus est, omnibusque viris doctis etiam amicis suis deridiculo fuit (38).

I have heard the illustrious Mr Grævius say, that he had seen, in the hands of Frederic Gronovius, a letter from Philip Pareus, by which Gronovius was informed, that the manuscript of Gifanius's observations fecit. Ibid.

it would thereby be easy to discover Scioppius's plagiarisms.

(29) See the *satire*, Hercules tuam fidem, where there is an appendix, intitled, Vita & Parentes Gaspar. Scioppii, pag. 145, 146.

(30) The preface to his *Verisimilia*, and the fifteenth letter of his *Suspense Lectio- nes*.

(31) *Ista Scioppium non serio sed joco tantum scripsisse Oporinus Grubinius Amphib. Sciopp. pag. 130.*

(32) Ibid.

(33) Ibid.

(34) *Ib. pag. 146.*

(35) Ibid.

(36) *Ib. pag. 147.*

(37) Cum et Giphani amanuensis librum illum observationum attulisset, cum istem Jurisconsultis, amicis suis, operas partitus intra paucos dies quidquid in eo minus pervigilatum esse videretur, descriptis, & passim postea aliis lingue Latine studiosis, etiam sacris illi Guldinasto deferri fecit. Ibid.

(38) Ibid.

GILLES (PETER) minister of the reformed church of la Tour in the Vale of Luserne, composed, by order of his superiors, an Ecclesiastical History of the Churches of
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the Vaudois, and published it at Geneva, in 1644, in 4to. He was then seventy three years old. He had already published other works [A].

[A] He had already published other works. I have said elsewhere (1), that the prior Marco Aurelio Rorencio published, in 1634, an apology for a piece he had written in 1632. Our Peter Gilles refuted this apology by a work, intitled, *Considerations on the Apologetical Letters of the Sieurs Marco Aurelio Rorencio, prior of Luferne, and Theodorus Belvedereus, Prefect of the monks* (2). The other replied by a Latin work, intitled, *Turris contra Damasum, id est Tutela Ecclesie Romanæ contra Calcinislarum incuriones objecta considerationibus cujusdam Ministri P. Gillio subscripti edificata cum propugnaculis à Fr. Theodoro Belvedereensi, &c.* This work was printed at Turin, in 1636, and refuted soon after by the Sieur Gilles, who replied

(1) In the article RORENCIO.

(2) See his History of the Vaudois, pag. 540.

likewise to another book, which the same monk had published in Italian, under the title of *Lucerna della Cbristiana Verità per consolar la vera Chiesa e la falsa pretesa Reformata*; he replied to it, I say, by an Italian work, intitled, *Torre Evangelica*, divided into forty eight chapters, the contents of which he gives in his History of the Vaudois (3). He does the same with regard to his answer to another Italian book, which Belvedereus dedicated to *Mess. de la propaganda*, to inform them of the state of the reformed churches of the Vaudois, and of their order, doctrine, and ceremonies, insinuating obliquely at the end, that they ought to be exterminated (4).

(3) Ibid. pag. 542, & seq.

(4) Ibid. pag. 545, & seq.

GIOACHINO GRECO, known under the name of the CALABRIAN, played at Chefs so skillfully, that it cannot be thought strange, that I consecrate to him a little article. All those, who excel in their profession, to a certain degree, deserve that distinction. This gamester did not find his match any where: He went to all the courts of Europe, and signalized himself there at Chefs in a most surprizing manner. He found famous gamesters at the court of France, such as the duke of Nemours, Mr Arnaud, colonel of the Carabineers, Chaumont, and La Salle; but, though they pretended to know more than others, none of them was able to play with him; nor could they cope with him all together. He was at Chefs a bravo; who fought in all countries some famous knight, with whom he might fight, and break a lance; and he found none whom he did not overcome. A wit made some Verses upon that subject (a) [A]. See above, the article BOI.

(a) Taken from a letter, inserted in the *Mercur Galant* for the month of Decem. 1693.

[A] A wit made some verses upon that subject. Most readers would be angry with me, if I should acquaint them with this, without producing the verses themselves. I must therefore transcribe them.

A peine dans la carriere
Contre moi tu fais un pas
Que par ta demarche fiere
Tous mes projets sont à bas.
Je vois dès que tu t'avances
Ceder toutes mes defenses,

Tomber tous mes champions,
Dans ma resistance vaine
Roi, Chevalier, Roc, & Reine
Sont moindres que des Pions (1).

As soon as in the field thou mov'st a step,
Thy dauntly march confounds my wbole design:
I see, at thy approach, my men dismay'd;
My knights and bishops make but faint resistance;
My rock, and even the queen, forsake their king.

(1) From the letter inserted in the *Mercur Galant*, Dec. 1693.

GIRAC (PAUL THOMAS SIEUR DE): See THOMAS.

GLAPHYRA, wife to Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia, procured kingdoms for her two sons by her beauty. She flourished at the same time with Marc Antony. There are historians, who do not expressly say, that she was dishonest, but content themselves to give us implicitly to understand it [A] by relating what Marc Antony did for her sake: But Dion, without any softening calls her a leud woman [B]. It is indeed very probable, considering the temper of Marc Antony, that he did not give crowns for the bare satisfaction of obliging a handsome woman; and that he received from Glaphyra all the acknowledgments, which a voluptuous man is capable to wish and exact. The noise of this intrigue spread as far as Rome; and Fulvia, Marc Antony's wife, would fain have engaged Augustus to revenge the infidelity of her husband. Her desires in this matter were so violent, that she threatened Augustus with a declaration of war, if he did not use her, as her husband used Glaphyra: But Augustus slighted that threatening, and chose rather to expose himself to an open war, than to be Fulvia's gallant. This is at least what he would have the world think of him: For he composed upon it an epigram, which Martial has inserted in his poems [C]. I know not by what fatality Glaphyra's husband did not find

[A] There are historians, who do not expressly say that she was dishonest; but content themselves to give us implicitly to understand it. Appian is the man I have in view: see how he speaks, when he relates what Marc Antony did in Asia, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius: *Dilectiones quoque civitatum ac regum ex arbitrio suo composuit, Sissinnæ Ariarathique in Cappadocia, prælato Sissinna in Glaphyræ matris formosæ gratiam* (1). It was in the 713th year of Rome, that Sissinna was made king of Cappadocia, upon the exclusion of Ariarathes. He did not long enjoy that crown: for we are going to see, that, in 718, Ariarathes reigned in Cappadocia.

(1) Appian. lib. v, de Bell. Civil. pag. m. 392.

[B] Dion . . . calls her a leud woman. It is when he speaks of the change of government, which was made by Marc Antony in several provinces of Asia, in the year 718. Amyntas, who had been secretary to

Dejotarus, was put in possession of Galatia, and of some parts of Lycaonia and Pamphylia. Ariarathes was turned out of Cappadocia, and Archelaus put in his place: Archelaus, I say, who was descended from the Archelai, who had made war against the Romans, and son to the courtizan Glaphyra. *Ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἔτι τῶν πατρὸς μὲν πατρὸς, ἐκ τῶν Ἀρχελαῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιστοιχοῦντων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς ἑταίρας Γλαφύρας ἐγγεγέννητο.* Archelai vero hujus genus paternum deducebatur ab Archela's qui contra Romanos belligeraverant, mater autem ei erat scortum Glaphyra (2).

(2) Dio. lib. xlix, pag. 469. D.

[C] Augustus composed upon it an epigram, which Martial has inserted in his poems. If I insert it here, it is only after I have taken out of it the most scandalous words (3).

(3) Martial Epig. xvi, lib. xi. See the remark [F] of the article L'ECORIS.

find in Cæsar the same support, which her sons had in Marc Antony. I have already said, that he was high-priest of Bellona, which was a considerable dignity. Cæsar bestowed it upon a great lord, named Lycomedes [D], who founded his pretensions upon good titles. Where was Glaphyra at that time? If she had pleaded her husband's cause before Cæsar, she had made it appear, that Lycomedes's pretensions were ill grounded: And the judge, I suppose, had been too well bred, not to declare himself for a priest, who had so handsome a wife. I should be glad to know, what reason a wit had for saying (a), that the Glaphyra of Augustus's epigram was the player Cytheris. We shall see, in the following article, that Glaphyra pretended to be descended from the kings of Persia.

Cæsar's Augusti lascivus livide versus

Sex lege, qui tristis verba Latina legit.

Quod . . . Glaphyram Antonius, hanc mihi pœnam

Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti . . .

Fulviam ego ut . . . quid si me Manius oret

Pœdicem, faciam? non puto si sapiam.

Aut . . . aut pugnemus ait. Quid quæ mihi vita

Carior est ipsa mentula? signa canant.

Ablois lepidos nimirum Auguste libellos

Qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui.

Father Noris imagined that Augustus made that epigram against Marc Antony, and with an intent to reproach him with that unlawful commerce (4): but the blow is not at all levelled against Marc Antony, but against his wife Fulvia; and, indeed, it is the cruellest blow that satire can strike against a woman. I make the less scruple of taking the liberty to mark that small mistake of the learned library-keeper of the Vatican, because he would be glad to say, that he has not examined that sort of verses, and takes a pride in mistaking them. His error is infinitely less, than that of Farnaby, who has found, in those verses, a protestation of Augustus, that he preferred chastity before life. We shall see, in the article LYCORIS, that some people pretend, that the courtesan Cytheris is meant in Augustus's epigram.

[D] Cæsar conferred her husband's dignity upon a

great lord, named Lycomedes. I have already said,

in another place (5), that Hirtius calls him Nicomedes:

let us quote his words: 'Id (Bellona templum) homini

nobilissimo Nicomedi Bithynio adjudicavit, qui regio

Cappadocum genere ortus propter adversam fortunam

majorum suorum mutationemque generis jure minime

dubio, vetustate tamen intermisso, Sacerdotium id

repetebat (6). — He adjudged the temple of Bel-

lona to Nicomedes, a noble Bithynian, who, being de-

scended from the kings of Cappadocia, claimed that

priesthood, by an undoubted right, which, thro' the

misfortunes of his ancestors, had lain long dor-

mant. These words intimate, that there were some

disputes, before Cæsar, touching the possession of that

benefice. Now since Strabo asserts, that Lycomedes

enjoyed it after Archelaus, it may seem, that the dis-

pute was between them two. This is the opinion, of

Father Noris, who made no difficulty to affirm (7), that

Archelaus enjoyed the pontificate of Bellona, till

Cæsar took it from him, in the year 707, to bestow

it upon Lycomedes. According to this supposition, it

may be asked, where were, then, Glaphyra's charms;

and why did she not make use of them against Ly-

comedes's demands? her beauty was undoubtedly more

powerful at that time, than in 713: for that is not

a fruit, that grows better by coming to maturity.

Did her husband hide her, and rather chuse to lose

his priesthood, than expose his wife to the dangerous

courtship of Cæsar? it is what I know nothing of.

GLAPHYRA, grand-child to the former, was the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Her first husband was Alexander, the son of Herod and Mariamne; and being proud and infatuated with her nobility, she no way contributed to maintain an union in the family, into which she was married: A family, whose divisions rendered Herod the most unhappy and most criminal of all fathers. Glaphyra boasted at every turn, that her father traced his origin to Temenus (a); that her mother descended from Darius, the son of Hyftaspes; and that therefore her noble birth set her above the rest of the ladies at court. She looked down with contempt upon the sisters and wives of Herod; and reproached these, that their beauty, not their birth, had raised them to the rank they held. Nothing was more apt, than such discourses, to set Herod's family in a flame: And it is certain that this pride of Glaphyra was one of the first causes of her husband's death. She rendered him odious, and increased the desire they had to destroy him by calumnies and artifices (b). When Herod caused Alexander to be tried for his life, Glaphyra was examined as an evidence: Her answer deserves to be related [A]. After Alexander's execution, Herod sent back Glaphyra to her father Archelaus, and kept with him the two sons Alexander had by that woman (c). Josephus pretends, that she was married again to Juba king of Libya; and that, after the death of this second husband, she returned to her father; but it is easy to prove that to be false [B], if it be meant of Juba king of Mauritania. It is certain, that Archelaus,

[A] Her answer deserves to be related. She underwent the interrogatory before her husband, who was fast bound, like a son, who had conspired against his father's life. That spectacle grieved her extremely, and made her fetch most lamentable groans. Her husband being pressed to confess, whether his wife was an accomplice in the attempt, answered, that he was not the man, that would keep any thing secret from a wife, by whom he had children, and who was dearer to him than his own life. Thereupon she protested her innocence, and declared, she would not scruple to tell a lie, if thereby she could contribute to save her husband's life though with the loss of her own; but that otherwise she would confess all. The husband made then his confession, and said, they had both no other design, than to go to Archelaus's court, and from thence to Rome (1).

[B] It is easy to prove that to be false. Josephus mentions that marriage of Glaphyra with Juba king of Libya, as a thing certain (2); adding, that Juba was dead, when Glaphyra was married to Archelaus. Here is a demonstration, that this cannot be understood of the king of Mauritania. Juba, king of Mauritania, was not dead (3), when Strabo composed his sixth book. Now Strabo composed it in the reign of Tiberius (4); therefore Juba was not dead, when Archelaus, Herod's son, married Glaphyra, since he married her during his prosperity, and consequently before the year of Rome 759, which was that of his disgrace: for it was then, that Augustus confined him to Vienna. Augustus lived seven or eight years after that. It may be proved, that Strabo wrote his sixth book about the fifth year of Tiberius? for in the fourth book (5), he takes notice, that Tiberius and Drusus

(2) Nouveaux Dialogues des Morts, Part II, Dial. iv, pag. m. 25.

(6) Hirtius de Bello Alexan. r.

(7) In Cœnoscis. Plan. pag. 225.

(a) I suppose she meant him, who was one of the three chiefs of the Heracleids, on their return into Peloponnesus; so that she pretended, that her father descended from Hercules.

(b) Ex Josepho de Bello Jud. lib. 1, cap. xvii.

(c) Id. ibid. cap. xviii, & Antiq. lib. xvii, cap. 1.

(2) Antiquit. lib.

xvii, cap. xv, de Bell. Jud. lib. 1, cap. xii.

(3) Strabo, lib. vi, pag. 198.

(4) Ibid. pag. 199, quæ est ult. time lib. vi.

(5) Pag. 142;

lib. vi.

Drusus

(d) Id. Antiq.
lib. xvii, cap. xv,
& de Bell. Jud.
lib. ii, cap. xi.

(e) Id. Antiq.
lib. xvii, cap. vii.

laus, the son of Herod, fell so passionately in love with her, that in order to marry her, he put away his own wife (d). It is said, that, Glaphyra lived not long after her return into Judæa, by reason of a marriage so opposite to the Jewish laws; and history mentions a dream, which presaged her death [C]. The two sons she had by Alexander, her first husband, renounced betimes the Jewish religion (e); because, I suppose, Archelaus, their grand-father by their mother's side, sent for, and took care of them. One of them was called Alexander, and the other Tigranes: I shall say something of their adventures in the remarks [D]. If we may trust the chronology of some modern authors [E], we must rank the two Glaphyra's amongst the women, who preserved their beauty to old age.

(6) Calvisius
places that expedition in the
738th year of
Rome; and Augustus's death in
the year 766.

(7) Dio, lib. iv,
ad ann. 759.

(8) Tacit. Ann.
lib. iv, cap. v.

(9) Ibid. cap.
xxiii.

(10) See Strabo,
lib. xvii, pag.
570.

(11) Crenatoph.
Pisan. pag. 238.

(12) Noldius de
vita & gestis Herodiani, pag. 190.

(13) Pag. 185,
& seq.

(14) Pag. 185.

(15) Ad ann.
759.

(16) Joseph.
Antiq. lib. xvii,
cap. ult. See also
de Bello Jud.
lib. ii, cap. xi.

Drusus had subdued the Norici thirty three years before (6). It would be needless to remark after this, that Dion (7) mentions king Juba as a prince, that was alive the same year, in which he places Archelaus's banishment. It may be gathered from the fourth book of Tacitus's Annals, that Juba died about the tenth year of Tiberius; for that historian mentions him (8) as a man who was living in the 776th year of Rome; but, in the following year, he speaks of the reign of Ptolemy, son of Juba (9). The seventeenth book of Strabo was composed soon after the death of the same Juba (10); and therefore it is plain, that Josephus would be grossly mistaken, if by the king of Libya, whom he mentions as second husband of Glaphyra, he had meant the king of Mauritania. Father Noris (11) would clear Josephus but from part of his mistake, supposing he had reason to conjecture, that Glaphyra was put away by Juba. What Josephus declares concerning the death of the second husband, as antecedent to the marriage of Archelaus and Glaphyra, would still be false: but after all, this divorce is nothing but a meer supposition. Noldius (12) supposes a thing, which is, perhaps, less uncertain, to wit, that Josephus meant, by Juba king of Libya, a king, who had nothing to do with the Romans, and whose widow Glaphyra was, when Archelaus fell in love with her. That author maintains (13), that Libya is taken for all Africa in general, or for certain parts of Africa in particular; but that, in this last signification, it never comprehends Mauritania: from whence he takes occasion to censure (14) Sigismundus Gelenius, who has translated *Regem Mauritanie*, the words used by Josephus in speaking of Juba king of Libya, *Ἰὺβῆς Διόγουρος*. He censures yet more strongly father Salian, who thought that Juba was killed in the fight, mentioned by Dion (15) in his fifty fifth book. It is the battle, in which the Getuli, who had revolted, and refused obedience to Juba, gained the victory. That Jesuit observes, in order to support his opinion, that Juba was then dead; that his widow was returned to her father's house, and that she had married a third husband, viz. Archelaus, ethnarch of Judæa. He quotes Josephus, but he should have remembered, that the same year, wherein the Getuli gained the victory, mentioned by Dion, Archelaus was banished by Augustus. It is therefore true, that Juba was still alive, the year, wherein Archelaus was banished beyond the Alps; and consequently it is false, that his widow was Archelaus's wife: for it would be absurd to suppose, that he married her but a few days before his disgrace, which happened in the ninth or tenth year of his ethnarchy: So that the very passage, which father Salian has quoted out of Dion, suffices to convince him of a blunder.

[C] *Mention is made of a dream which presaged her death.* I mention it with the moral reflexions, which the historian has added to it (16). 'As she was with her last husband Archelaus, she dreamed, that Alexander came to her, and that she embraced him for joy. But Alexander reproached her, saying; Glaphyra, thou hast made good the common proverb, *that women are not to be trusted*. I married thee a virgin; I have made thee a mother to our common children: and now, having quite forgot our love, thou hast been taken with the desire to marry a second husband. Nor hast thou been contented with putting such an affront upon me, but hast dared to lie with a third husband, creeping basely and impudently into my family: and canst thou now bear my brother Archelaus to be thy husband? As for me, I shall never forget thy former love; and I shall free thee from such a reproach, by making thee mine, as thou wast before. Having declared this dream to some women her familiar acquaintance, she died soon after. I thought this story deserved to be recited, and that it was

not impertinent in this place, wherein I speak of those kings: and, besides, this example is particularly remarkable, since it contains a most certain proof of the immortality of the soul, and of divine providence. If these things seem incredible to any man, let him enjoy his own opinion: but at the same time, let him not endeavour to make those disbelieve it, who, by such examples, are incited to the study and practice of virtue.'

[D] *I shall say something of the adventures of her two sons in the remarks.* Tigranes was king of Armenia, and died without issue (17). Josephus says only, that the Romans accused him: he should have added, that Tiberius caused him to be put to death (18). Alexander, Tigranes's brother, had a son called Tigranes, on whom Tiberius bestowed the kingdom of Armenia. This Tigranes had a son, named Alexander, who married Jotapa, daughter of Antiochus, king of Comagene, and who obtained from Vespasian a kingdom in Cilicia. Let us add, to this narrative of Josephus, the supplement which Tacitus furnishes us with. 'Advenit Tigranes à Nerone ad capessendum imperium decessus, Cappadocum ex nobilitate, regis Archelai nepos, sed quod diu obses apud urbem fuerat usque ad servilem patientiam demissus (19). - - - Tigranes arrived, being pitched upon by Nero to assume the crown: he was of the Cappadocian nobility, grand-son of king Archelaus, but, through his long continuance at Rome as an hostage, sunk to the patience of a slave.' There is reason to believe, that the Romans did not support Tigranes against the Parthians, who demanded Armenia for Tiridates. Tacitus does not mark precisely the degree of consanguinity of that Tigranes, with respect to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (20). This Archelaus was not his grand-father, but his great grand-father, since that Tigranes was son to one Alexander, whose father was another Alexander, and his mother Glaphyra daughter of Archelaus.

[E] *If we may trust the chronology of some modern authors.* Noldius proves against Tacitus, that Archelaus was not the grand-father, but the great grand-father of that Tigranes on whom Nero bestowed Armenia: He proves it (21), I say, first, by the testimony of Josephus; and secondly, by the decrepitude, wherein that Tigranes must have been, if he had been Archelaus's son; for, in such a case, he had been son of Alexander. Now Herod put to death his son Alexander soon after the battle of Actium, and consequently Tigranes must have been born towards the 724th year of Rome, and must have been near ninety years old, when he was sent into Armenia. This is the consequence Noldius ought to have drawn from his hypothesis, which however he has not done, choosing rather to reason thus: since Tigranes's father was put to death soon after the battle of Actium, Tigranes must have been born towards the middle of the age of Augustus, and so he could not have been fit for business in the reign of Nero. The first consequence is not according to the rules of exact chronology. Augustus died in the 766th year of Rome, being seventy six years old; the middle of his age was, therefore, the year 728. Now can an exact chronologist say, that a man, born about the year 728, is the son of a father, that was put to death soon after the battle of Actium? The other consequence is much better: Armenia was given to Tigranes by Nero, in the year 813. Therefore, if Tigranes was born in the year 728, he must have been eighty five years old when he went to Armenia. But let us shew Noldius, that he has built upon a false supposition. The death of Alexander, son of Herod, could not happen soon after the battle of Actium; for that unfortunate prince left two sons. It may therefore be supposed, that his wife was twenty years old, when he died: she must then have been born about the 704th year of Rome, and Archelaus her father's birth must fall towards the year

(17) Joseph.
Antiq. lib. xviii,
cap. vii.

(18) Ne Tigranes
quidem Armenia
quondam potius,
ac tunc reus no-
mine regio sup-
plicia civium ef-
fugit. Tacit.
Annal. lib. vi,
cap. xli, ad ann.
788.

(19) Id. Ibid.
lib. xiv, cap.
xxvi.

(20) See the re-
mark [E].

(21) Eum prae-
ter Josephum.
Ant. x. x, c. p.
vii, ipsa rerum
series ostendit.
Quo pacto enim
Tigranes, nepos
circa tempus
medium Augusti
natus (pater non
multo post victo-
riam ad Actium
ab Herode inter-
fectus) sub Nerone
agere aut pati
potuit? quo pro-
fecto tempore na-
tura eum aut le-
nio ita multave-
rat, ut rebus ge-
rendis aptus tum
haud esse potue-
rit, necdum ita
arduis & pericu-
latis. Noldius
ubi supra, pag.
367.

year 684; and so he would have been eighty five years old when he died. Now this is not at all likely, because the historians, that have mentioned his death, have designed, thereby, to cast an odium upon Tiberius; and yet they have not mentioned the circumstance of Archelaus's old age, which circumstance was very proper to render the emperor's cruelty yet more horrid. Add, that, if Archelaus was born in the year 684, his mother must have been near fifty years old, when she raised such a violent passion in Marc Antony. The proof of this is easy: Archelaus was not her eldest son, and therefore we may reasonably suppose, that she was about twenty years old, when he was born. Now it was in the year 713, that Marc Antony gave the kingdom of Cappadocia to Sisinna son of Glaphyra. It would have

been an uncommon sight indeed to see a grand-mother, whose grand-daughter was already nine or ten years old, hold in her chains, by the charms of her beauty, the sovereign disposer of crowns and sceptres (22). Augustus would have had here a fair occasion to write satirical epigrams upon Marc Antony, and to turn him into ridicule. On the other hand, since Glaphyra, Archelaus's daughter, was not married to Archelaus, Herod's son, till after Herod was dead, she might have been able to kindle a violent love, when she was fifty years old. Let us therefore rectify Noldius's chronology, by saying, with father Noris (23), that Alexander, husband to the last Glaphyra, was not put to death till after the 742d year of Rome.

(23) Cenotaph. Elish. pag. 153, & seq.

(22) The reader will find, in this Dictionary, remark [G] of the article A. A. GON (JOAN of); and remark [F] of the article CYRUS, some instances of women, whose beauty has lasted long: but nevertheless he must not draw from thence consequences to maintain chronological hypotheses, which are otherwise uncertain.

GLEICHEN. A very singular adventure is related concerning a German count of this name. He was taken in a fight against the Turks, and carried into Turkey, where he suffered a hard and long captivity, being put upon ploughing the ground, &c. But thus happened his deliverance: Upon a certain day, the daughter of the king (a) his master came up to him, and asked him several questions, whilst she was a walking. His good mien and dexterity so pleased that princess, that she promised to set him free, and to follow him, provided he would marry her. He answered, *I have a Wife and Children. That is no Argument*, replied she, *the Custom of the Turks allow one Man several Wives*. The count was not stubborn, but acquiesced to these reasons, and gave his word. The princess employed herself so industriously to get him out of bondage, that they were soon in a readiness to go on board a vessel. They arrived happily at Venice. The count found there one of his men, who travelled every where to hear of him. He told him, that his wife and children were in good health: Whereupon he presently went to Rome; and, after he had ingenuously related what he had done, the Pope granted him a solemn dispensation to keep his two wives (b). If the court of Rome shewed itself so easy on this occasion, the count's wife was not less so; for she received very kindly the Turkish lady, by whose means she recovered her dear husband, and had for this concubine a particular kindness (c). The Turkish princess answered very handsomely those civilities; and though she proved barren, yet she loved tenderly the children, which the other wife bore in abundance. There is still at Erford a monument of this story to be seen (d) [A]. A very worthy gentleman (e), who told me this story in the year 1697, seemed very much surprized, that the Protestant writers, when they are obliged to answer the reproaches touching the permission the reformers gave to a Landgrave of Hesse, do not instance in the dispensation granted by the Pope to count de Gleichen, and desired to know my thoughts thereupon [B]. He told me, That du Val has mentioned this adventure in his description of Germany (f). In the year 1227, says du Val, a count of Gleichen obtained leave from the Pope to have two wives at once. If this story be true, we have in it a great instance of the triumph and power of love [C]. An abbot, who kept a correspondence by letters with count

(a) Fila Regis
sub quo serviebat
Comes. Hendorf.
ubi infra.

(b) Re ordine
narrata literis à
Pontifice impe-
tratis, quibus ei
concederetur
utramque societate
conjugem.
Id. ibid.

(c) Summo amore
pellicem, cuius
opera carissimum
maritum rece-
pisset, prosequi-
tur. Id. ibid.

(d) Taken from
the Theatre
Historicum of
Andrew Hendorf,
pag. 535, of the
fifth Edition,
printed at Franc-
fort, 1633, in
8vo.

(e) Mr Pallardy,
a French minister
(e), at Delst.

(f) Pag. 205,
Paris Edit. 1668.
The author of
the Polygamia
Triumphatrix,
pag. 156, says,
that this count
Gleichen was of
the crusade of
Frederic II, in
1217. But this
expedition was in
Bussy,
1228.

[A] There is still at Erford a monument of this story to be seen. These are Hendorf's words: 'Hujus rei monumentum Erphordie etiamnum existat: in quo ex utroque latere Comit uxores adsunt. Regina marmorea coronâ ornata: Comitissa sculpta est: nuda & infantes ad ejus pedes reptantes (1). - - There is still at Erford a monument of this story; in which the count is placed between two wives. The queen is adorned with a marble crown: the countess is engraved naked, with children at her feet.'

[B] And desired to know my thoughts thereupon. If my memory fails me not, my answer amounted to this: first, that this passage was somewhat obscure, and uncertain; and secondly, that it would signify nothing to alledge it, unless either the Pope's brief, or the testimony of some cotemporary author, or the consent of the Romish writers, could be produced. Hendorf is almost the only author that vouches for this story (2): now he quoting no body, and being but a compiler, whom the learned never much esteemed, and also a Protestant, the Roman Catholics would not fail to reject his testimony. They would ask, out of what records or annals he has taken that passage? and since he quotes nothing, they would pretend, that he has no other ground for it but an hearsay, or uncertain and even fabulous traditions; such as many illustrious families industriously propagate, concerning the manner how their ancestors were freed from bondage in the times of the crusades. In short if they denied the fact, what could one answer to them? the monument at Erford can prove nothing: for after all, does the figure of a man between two

figures of women clearly signify polygamy? May it not as well signify, among other things, two successive marriages, or two marriages contracted between a husband and two living wives, but the latter of which marriages was declared void? are there not abundance of ridiculous stories, which people endeavour to prove by monuments of stone? thus some pretend to prove, that a certain countess of Holland was delivered of 365 children at once: a thing, which all good historians make a jest of, and evince to be a fallacy.

[C] We have here a great instance of the triumph and power of love. That is, the daughter of a king, ready not only to renounce the sublime advantages of her condition, to follow a slave to the world's end, but actually a fugitive, after having overlooked dangers, to which her design exposed both her own life, and that of the prisoner, with whom she was in love. She did not engage her self by degrees in a slight so surrounded with dangers, so disadvantageous, so scandalous; no, she fully resolves upon it the very first time she sees the slave. *Ut vidi ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error* (3), might she have said, like many others. How true is what is said in an opera;

Bacchus revient vainqueur des climats de l'Aurore,
Il traine apres font char mille peuples vaincus;
Il meprisoit l'amour, mais l'amour est encore
Un vainqueur mille fois plus puissant que Bacchus.

Bacchus returns victorious from the East.
A thousand conquer'd nations grace his triumphs;

T t

Whicb

(1) Hendorf.
Theat. Exemol.
pag. 535, Edit.
1633.

(2) Simon Com-
lant, who has in-
serted this story
in his translation
of Camerarius's
Historical Meda-
lions, Tom. II,
lib. ii, cap. xiv,
pag. m. 124,
quotes only Hon-
dorff's Theatre.
(3) The author of
the Polygamia
Triumphatrix,
pag. 156, hath
quoted Dr. Fer-
milin, & Zeiler,
Cœterum Interis
Germ. Precessi-
onis in Theatr.
Scene. But these
three authors, or
a thousand more
of that stamp,
can give no
weight to this
story.

(3) Virgil. Eclog.
viii, ver. 41.

Buffy, had heard something of this story, but was ignorant of the true state of the case [D]. For the rest, the author of the fifteen comforts of matrimony seems to suppose, that it happens pretty often, that a woman marries again, upon the false supposition of her husband's death [E]. The Journal of Hamburg will furnish me with a good supplement to this article [F].

*Which makes him slight the power of Cupid's darts:
But soon he feels the greater force of love.*

I know not whether the lady de Ville-Dieu has romanized the story of our count de Gleichen. This had been a fine subject for her pen; and as dry as Hondorf's narrative may seem to be, she would have made something very pretty of it. Note, that the triumph of love, in this particular, regards only the fair sex; for certainly the count did not marry another wife upon the score of love, but because, being a gentleman, he was weary of being a slave, and of tilling the ground. But let us observe also, that the action of that Ottoman princess is not by much so black as that of Nisus's daughter, or that of the daughter of Pterelaus (4). Nay, perhaps, it is somewhat more excusable, than that of Minos's daughter. And indeed it was much more prosperous than the treason of these three princesses, and of several other like victims of love, ornaments of Venus's triumphant chariot. Nevertheless, do not allow the advantage to the male sex; for certainly there are a great many more men, that marry their maids, than women that marry their footmen.

[D] An abbot had heard something of this story, but was ignorant of the true state of the case. This is what he wrote to the count de Buffy Rabutin, the twelfth of June, 1674 (5). 'I was the other day with Madam de —, and as they talked of Mr de — who presented a petition to the Pope, praying he might be allowed to marry another wife; they said that the holy see had once done that favour to a German count, who, not having enough of one wife, was permitted, for the salvation of his soul, to marry a second. Madam de —, who was before nodding and falling asleep, awaked at the hearing of this, and said, sighing, *that there were no such husbands now-a-days.*' It manifestly appears that he confounds things, and that of two adventures he makes but one: he blends together what concerns the count of Gleichen, and what regards a landgrave of Hesse, and knows not the circumstances of either. The permission, which he pretends was granted by the holy see to a German count, was not grounded on the insufficiency of the wife; nor was that, granted to a landgrave of Hesse, founded on the same reason (6), tho' Thuanus says so. I would not warrant that the abbot has better observed the rules of history, as to the jest and sighing of Madam de —, than the rest. He invented, perhaps, that reflexion himself, and wrote it nevertheless as an historical passage to count Rabutin, to end his letter with a diverting stroke. However it be, I happened the other day to be in company with a gentleman, who has been married these five or six years, and I took notice, that, after he had been told that part of the abbot's letter, he said, almost sighing, *that if there were no such husbands now-a-days, there were yet fewer wives like that of the count.* I wish he had made another reflexion, viz. that that lady supposed without reason, that our age falls short of the former times: which is false. Husbands of that stamp were always very scarce, and as scarce in preceding ages as in the present.

[E] The author of the fifteen comforts of matrimony seems to suppose, that it happens pretty often, that a woman marries again on the false supposition of the death of her husband. For this is the thirteenth comfort of matrimony. 'A gentleman, says he (7), who has lived with his wife in great delight and sports five, or six, or eight years, more or less, has now a mind to acquire honour, by feats of arms . . . it happens that he goes beyond sea to follow chivalry . . . having first, with deep regret, taken leave of his wife, who expresses all the sorrow imaginable; but he is a man that loves honour, and so nothing can detain him . . . Away he goes, and recommends his wife and children, (whom, next to honour, he loves beyond any thing in the world) to his intimate friends. Now it happens, that, as he crosses the sea, he is taken by

the enemy, where, by ill fortune, or otherwise, he continues three or four years, or more, so that he cannot return home. His lady, all the while, is in great affliction; and now she happens to hear, that he is dead, whereupon she is wondrous sorrowful: but she cannot always weep; and, by God's blessings, her grief is so allayed, that she marries again to another, with whom she takes her delight, and has soon forgot her husband, whom she loved so well, and her dear children. The dalliances, kisses, and embraces, she had with her husband, are passed and forgotten; and who should see her sport with this last husband, would say, that she loves him more than she ever did the other, who is a prisoner, or in some other strait, for his prowess. Her children, which the good man loved, are discarded, and their estate spoiled and wasted; and so they dally and sport together. But fortune so orders it, that the good gentleman her husband returns, being grown old and decayed; for he was not at ease, for two, or three, or four years, that he was a prisoner; and, when he comes near his country, he enquires after his wife and children: for he is greatly afraid lest they be dead, or in any other great strait. And you may well imagine how many times the good man has thought of them amidst the anguish of his confinement; and has often been uneasy about them, whilst his wife made herself merry; and perhaps, at that very time that the good man was thinking of her, and praying God to preserve her, he, whom she had lately married, held her in his arms, out of harm's reach. Now he is told that she is married, and so you may imagine how concerned he is at such a piece of news. . . . And, being come into his own country, and finding the thing to be true, if he be a man of honour, he will never take his wife again; and the other, who had married her, and has sported with her, will leave her. And so she has lost her honour, and perchance will lose her senses to boot. The good man shall ever live in sorrow; his children shall in some measure be disgraced for the fault of their mother: It shall not be lawful for either of them to marry again, as long as the other is alive.

[F] The journal of Hamburg will furnish me with a good supplement to this article. Mr Dartis, speaking (8) of a novel of Mr le Noble, intitled, *Zulima*, or, *Pure Love*, observes, that the first notion of this romance was taken from a memoir among the archives of the house of Gleichen, which descends from a prince of Westphalia, the chief hero of this historical novel. He was called Eberard, and, having been taken in the battle of Joppa, which the Sultan Noradin gained over the Christians of the crusade, he was so happy as to inspire with love the daughter of that Sultan. She helped him to break the chains of his slavery, went with him into Europe, and was his second wife after the death of her, whom he had married some time before the crusade. Mr le Noble cites, as an indisputable witness of the truth of this story, the tomb, where lie the ashes of this prince, and his two wives. It is still to be seen, says he, at Herford in Westphalia, where he resided. On this foundation it is that he has built a pious love-intrigue, which aimed first at the conversion of a Sultane's, and afterwards ended in her marriage with the Westphalian prince. He says in another place (9), that the writers of romances are obliged to follow history, when they tell in a preface the foundation of their fictions. Yet this, adds he, is what Mr le Noble has not done, in the advertisement, which he has prefixed to his *Zulima*, as will appear by the extract of a letter, which I have received from a good hand on this subject. It is this. 'It appears evidently from what you have said of Mr le Noble's little book, that he has confounded all. Eberard, duke of Westphalia, is a personage absolutely unknown to history; and, if he lived in the time of Noradin, a Saracen prince of the XIIIth century, how could he be author of the counts of Gleichen, who pretend to have received their earldom from Charlemagne, and who at

(4) See the article AMPHITRYON, in the text, between citations (c) and (d).

(5) Lettres du Comte de Buffy Rabutin, Tom. I, pag. 114, 115; Dutch Edit.

(6) See the remark [2.] of the article LUTHER.

(7) Les quinze Joyes du Mariage, pag. 154, & seq. Rouen Edit. 1596. The title says, that this book was extracted from an old manuscript copy written four hundred years before.

(8) Journal de Hambourg, Aug. 26, 1695, pag. 142.

(9) Journ. de Hambourg, Sept. 30, 1695, pag. 219, 220, 221.

least are older than the wars beyond sea? The family of the counts of Gleichen is extinct, and I believe, what they pretend to fetch from their archives is as fabulous as the rest of the little romance. It is true, however, there is a tradition, confirmed by some modern chronicles, which imports, that a count of Gleichen, bringing with him from beyond sea the lady that freed him, and meeting again his first wife, found the means of keeping them both in good un-

derstanding with each other, and with the consent (they say) of the church; which is not very probable. We may hold it for certain, that there is no monument of a duke Eberhard of Westphalia, neither at Erford, nor at Herforder. The counts of Gleichen were neighbours of Erford in Thuringia, and had nothing common with Herforder in Westphalia.

GOLDAST (*a*) (**MELCHIOR HAIMINSFELD**), a native of Bischoff-zell (*b*) in Switzerland, and a Protestant according to the confession of faith of Geneva, was a very learned man in the XVIIth century. His family was not rich [*A*], and he never raised himself; so that he made himself more known by the great number of books he either composed, or of which he was the editor, than by his public employments. A collection of letters, printed in the year 1688 [*B*], shews that, in the year 1598, he lived at Bischoff-zell. That, the following year, he lodged at St Gall, in an honest man's house, named Schobingerus, who declared himself his patron. That the same year he went to Geneva, and lodged in Lectius's house [*C*], with the sons of Vassan, whose preceptor he was. That he was still at Geneva in the year 1602, where he complained of his miserable condition. That the same year he went to Laufanne, because he could live cheaper there than at Geneva. That he returned soon after to Geneva. That, upon Lectius's recommendation, he was preferred to be secretary to the duke of Bouillon. That he was not long in that place; for he was at Franckfort in February 1603. That he was tutor in a private family, at Forteg, in the year 1604; That, in the year 1605, he lived at Bischoff-zell; where he complained he was not safe [*D*] by reason of his religion, which rendered him very odious, even to his relations. That he was at Franckfort in the year 1606.

That

[*A*] *His family was not rich.* This appears by some letters of Conradus Ritterhusius, at whose house Goldast had boarded. Goldast was gone from thence without paying his landlord; and, after his return into his own country, a long time passed before he discharged that debt. Ritterhusius complained of it (1), and represented, that the butchers, bakers, and brewers, had pressed him so hard, that he had been forced to take up money at interest, to be rid of their persecutions. He added, he hoped that Goldast would remit to him both the principal and interest; and that Taurillus, and some others, did the same by such of their boarders as went upon trust. His letter is dated the twenty fourth of August, 1598. The following year, Stuckius (2) wrote to Goldast, that Ritterhusius complained that he had not received the fifty two florins of gold, which were due to him; wherefore he exhorted the debtor to discharge that debt speedily; which if he failed to do, his mother should be acquainted with it. A letter of Ritterhusius (3), dated the eighth of September, 1599, informs us, that he was paid, and did forgive the interest; but that Goldast having left several debts unpaid at Altdorf, several scandalous stories were handed about concerning him. However, this is not an argument that Goldast was not nobly born; which, as Scaliger tells us, he pretended to be (4): for a man may be a gentleman, and yet not have wherewithal to pay for his board. Scioppius observes, that Goldast put before his name a particule, which was peculiar to the nobility: 'Fratribus quidem certe hoc uno nomine nobilior, quod illi se tantum Heiminsfeld, hic autem Heros noster pro consuetudine pleræque nobilitatis ab Heiminsfeld cognominat (5) — In this alone more noble than his brothers, that, whereas they called themselves barely Heiminsfeld, this our hero, after the manner of the nobility, assumes the stile of ab Heiminsfeld.' But here is a pregnant proof of Goldast's poverty. When he printed any books, he sent copies of them to the magistrates of cities, and to the consistories, who commonly sent him a present somewhat above the value of the book; and his friends thought they did him no small service, when they procured him such sorry rewards; however, that mean commerce helped him to subsist. A minister, called David Lange, wrote to him from Memmingen, that the magistrates of the place sent him, in the enclosed, *unum nummum aureum*, and the consistory another, for his book (6).

[*B*] *A collection of letters.* Here is the title of them: *Pitrorum clarissimorum & doctorum ad Melchiorum Goldastum epistolæ, ex Bibliotheca Henrici Guntheri Toulernarii J. C. editæ. Francofurti & Spira 1688. in 4to.*

[*C*] *He lodged in Lectius's house at Geneva.* He was one of the professors of the academy. The collection of letters, I have mentioned, contains one (7) very sharp against him. Lectius complained, that when Goldast and his pupils left his house, they had not made him a handsome present: but Goldast complained on the other hand, that they had been obliged to pay for a hundred things without any manner of justice; such as stoves, benches, locks, keys, &c. It must be owned, that those, who keep boarders in universities, are too often guilty of fordid avarice. When they are not professors, there is no great harm; but what a disgrace to learning, what a shame for the character of professors, when they are so fond of filthy lucre!

[*D*] *In 1605, he resided at Bischoff-zell, where he complained (8) he was not safe.* Scioppius says, that Jodocus Mezlerus, vicar to the abbot of St Gall, had told him, that Goldast was committed to prison at St Gall, upon account of theft. He added, that Goldast had asked leave to buy a small estate near St Gall, where the Lutheran gentlewoman he designed to marry might have liberty of conscience; and that, as for himself, he would not stick to be a Roman Catholic. 'Commodum eas literas legeram cum officii causa visum ad me venit D. Jodocus Mezlerus illustrissimi Principis & Abbatis S. Galli vicarius, istumque Melchiorum adhuc vivum probeque sibi notum esse affirmavit. Idque ut credibilis faceret præter alia hoc quoque de eodem narravit, exposuisse cum sibi in sermone, in quanto apud Sangallenses periculo semel versatus fuerit cum illi furti nomine in carcerem se compesissent: petiisse etiam ut prædiali cuiusdam in Sangallensi territorio emendi ab Abbate potestas sibi fieret, ita tamen ut uxori, quam ducere in animo haberet, Lutherane religionis libertas salva esset: nam seipsum quidem Catholicum fore futurum. His ego auditis cæpi de ipso non desperare futurum ut sato aliquando fratris utatur, & sublimè potius quàm bumi patiscat, cum præsertim nemo, qui faciem ejus viderit, non confestim patibulo dignum judicet. Interim nos velut Ciceronem Vatini morte nuntiata, cuius parum certus dicebatur auctor, respondisse legimus, usura fruemur (9). — I had just read those letters, when Jodocus Mezlerus, vicar of the most illustrious prince and abbot of St Gall, came to pay me a visit, and affirmed, that that Melchior was still alive, and well known to him. And to convince me farther of it, he gave me this account of him, that he had heard him say in conversation, in what great danger he once was at St Gall, being imprisoned there for theft; that he had petitioned the abbot for leave to purchase a small seat in the territory of St Gall, yet so as that the wife, he intended to marry, might have

(a) By the Latin letters, that were written to him, it appears, that he was indifferently called Goldast, or Goldastus, or Goldastus, or Goldastus. His fore names were latinized, Melchior, or Melor Heiminsfeldus, or Heiminsfeldus, or Hamersveldus, or Hamersveldus, or Hamersveldus.

(b) In Latin, Episcopo-Cella. Moreri is much mistaken, in making him a native of Heiminsfeld.

(7) It is the 56th.

(8) See the tenth letter of the collection.

(9) Scioppius in Oporini Grobini Amphot. Sciopp. pag. 108.

(1) His letter is the third, in the collection printed in 1688.

(2) His letter is the ninth of the same collection.

(3) It is the eleventh of the same collection.

(4) Goldastus pretends to be nobly born, and names his house near St Gall. Scaligerus, pag. 95.

(5) Oporini Grobini, Amphot. Sciopp. pag. 111.

(6) See the 131st letter of the collection.

That he married, and staid there till the year 1610, in miserable circumstances [E], being disappointed in the hopes his friends gave him of a good settlement [F]. The collection, I speak of, ends there. Goldast had already published many books, which he continued to do till his death [G], which happened on the eleventh of August, 1635 (C). Scioppius had ordered, that they should publish, in his *Scaliger Hypobolimus*, that Goldast had been broke upon the wheel; but, finding that to be false, he caused it to be left out. We shall see, in the remarks, how he gets off [H], though

not

(c) Witte, in
Diario Biogra-
phico.

(10) Hem qui
tibi omnium il-
lorum, quæ de
Scioppio nati-
bus, vita, studiis
ac fortuna in Sa-
tyram & confu-
tationem tuam
conjecisti, auctor
fuit. *Ibid.*
pag. 111. See also
pag. 332.

(11) It is the
27th of the
collection.

(12) See the
214th and 217th
letter of the
collection.

(13) A German
Jesuit, who
wrote several
books against
Goldast.

(14) Scaligerani,
pag. 95.

(15) *Ibid.* pag.
254, at the word
Melchior.

* have liberty to profess Lutheranism, but that himself should make no difficulty of being a Catholic. When I heard this, I began not to be out of hopes, that he might, one time or other, meet with his brother's fate, and not on high rather than on the ground; especially since every one that sees him must presently judge him worthy of a gibbet. In the mean time, let us, as Cicero is said to have replied, upon the uncertain news of the death of Vatinius, enjoy the usury.' Scioppius is exceptionable in this particular; both because he was a very slanderous, abusive, man, and because he looked upon Goldast as one, who had furnished Scaliger with materials to write the satire, intitled, *Munsterus Hypobolimus* (10). Apply this to the remark [H].

[E] He continued till 1610, at Francfort, in miserable circumstances. This appears by a letter (11), which was written by Quirinus Reuterus, director of the college of Wisdom at Heidelberg; wherein he exhorts him to come and board in that college.

[F] . . . disappointed in the hopes his friends gave him of some good settlement. They negotiated at the court of the elector Palatine, to procure him the office of counsellor to his electoral highness in the year 1608. The 191st letter mentions this as concluded, but, in the 194th letter, Lingelheim says, that that business went backwards; and, in the 209th, he informs us, that it had absolutely miscarried. The elector of Mentz offered, then, an employment to our Goldast. The latter asked Lingelheim's advice (12), who, knowing him to be in great necessity, and having nothing to offer to him, did not absolutely dissuade him from accepting those offers; but only represented to him in what slavery he would infallibly be, in a place, where the Jesuits were masters.

[G] He continued to publish books 'till his death.' Let us give here a catalogue of his principal works. *Alamannicarum Rerum Scriptores vetusti*, three volumes in folio. *Monarchia Imperii Romani, seu de Jurisdictione & Potestate Imperatoris & Papæ per varios Auctores*, three volumes in folio. *Constitutionum Imperialium tomus quatuor*, in folio. *Suevicarum Rerum Scriptores veteres*, at Francfort 1605 in 4to. *De Juri-bus ac Privilegiis Regni Bohemæ, & hæreditaria Regiæ familie successione*, libri 6. cum appendice, in folio. *Consultatio de officio & jure Electoris Bohemæ in conventibus Electorum Romani Imperii. Rationale Constitutionum Imperialium. Statuta & Rescripta Imperialia. Politica Imperialia. Catholicon rei monetariæ seu Leges monarchicæ generales de rebus nummariis & pecuniariis. Digesta regia seu Constitutiones Imperiales de SS. Eucharistia. Apologia Principum Germaniæ pro Henrico IV Imperatore contra criminationes Gregorii VII. Replicatio pro Cæsarea & Regia Francorum Majestate & Ordinibus Imperii contra Gretserum* (13). *Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imaginum. Paradoxon de honore Medicorum, & obiter de honore Theologorum & Jurconsultorum. Sibylla Francica, seu de admirabili Puella Joanna Lotbaringa exercitus Francorum ductrice sub Carolo VII. Dialogi duo de querelis Franciæ & Angliæ, & de jure successionis utrorumque Regum in regno Franciæ. Centuria Epistoliarum Philologicarum diversorum hominum*, at Francfort 1610 in 8vo. *Emendationes in Petronium. Notæ ad paræneticos Scriptores veteres.*

This last work was not much esteemed by Scaliger. He quotes old authors in his *Pereneticæ*, says he, speaking of Goldast (14). He has trifled too long with these old words. There is nothing that is good for any thing in these *Parænetici* Melchioris. It were well, indeed, if he had published these old records; for thereby one might learn something relating to gentlemen's houses. Melchior has some manuscripts, sed infimi ævi. I did prostitute my self by writing to Melchior, since he is such a man (15). It is not necessary to advertise the reader, that most of the works, which Goldast published, are productions, of which he was not the author; for the titles of them sufficiently shew,

that he did but reduce them into one body, or took them from the libraries, where they were only in manuscript: wherein he shewed himself the most indefatigable man in the world. Conringius gives him great commendations. 'Vir, says he (16), editis antiquis Germaniæ monumentis tam bene de patria meritis, ut absque dubio Athenienses illum in Prytanæo aluissent, si quidem illud in ævum incidisset. Cum (17) primis in Germania certius meliusque hoc studiorum genus (de jure publico Imp. Germ. agit) incensum fuit initio hujus sæculi auctore MELCHIORE GOLDASTO, cui nemo Germaniæ rebus illustrandis par fuit, nec forte erit quispiam, & vero illius ductu paulatim cepit apud nos solito exquisitor Reip. cognitio. . . . A man, who deserved so well of his country by publishing the antiquities of Germany, that the Athenians would certainly have maintained him at the public expence, if he had lived at that time. This kind of study (viz. of the public law of Germany) was chiefly encouraged in the beginning of this century, from the example of MELCHIOR GOLDAST, who exceeded every body in illustrating the affairs of Germany, and who taught us a more accurate knowledge of the constitution.' However, he charges him with unfair dealing, in certain respects (18): 'Sunt hæc omnia (examinat nonnulla ex libro III. Constitutionum Imperialium) illaudabili facinore perquam tamen GOLDASTO familiari effecta, quo nomine eum ex merito acerrime increpavit Wendelinus, c. 2. de l. Salica. . . . All these (some things in the third book of the Imperial Constitutions) are counterfeited, by an uncommendable fraud, but very much practised by Goldast; for which Wendelinus, in his second chapter of the Salic law, censures him as he deserves. He is not the only man, that complains of Goldast on that account. 'Qui noverit quam multas suspectæ fidei merces pro veris erudito orbi obtulerit GOLDASTUS, cui cæteroquin diligentæ laudem non negamus, in re cui aliunde fides fieri non potest, vix ejus solius auctoritate sibi aliquid plane persuaderi patietur (19). . . . Whoever is acquainted with the many pieces, of doubtful credit, which GOLDAST has imposed upon the learned world (a man, who otherwise deserves the praise of diligence), will scarce depend upon his single authority in a matter which is capable of no other confirmation.'

[H] We shall see . . . how Scioppius gets off.] Two gentlemen of Franconia, who had boarded with him at Altorf, at Conradus Ritterhusius's house, payed him a visit during their stay at Rome. He enquired after their common friends, and, among the rest, after Goldast, one of their fellow-boarders at Altorf: whereupon they told him, that that wretch had been broke upon the wheel, and afterwards burned, for having committed a horrid murder. 'Eum videlicet superiori anno cum Bullionio Duce, cui interpretis operam dederit, Geneva in Germaniam profectum, cum Argentiniæ in familiaritatem Centurionis cujusdam pervenisset, qui in contubernio suo puellam nobilem, domo paterna abductam pro secutuleia muliere & concubina circumducebat, audito eum jam satietate illius captum mille aureos ei, qui ab illa se liberaret, polliceri, avidè conditionem quod pretio inhieret, arripuisse, & ita digressio Centurione non procul ab urbe in ipsa via regia . . . miscellam obrunasse (20).' He had contracted a friendship, said they, with a certain captain, who began to be weary of a gentlewoman he had carried away from her relations, and who promised a thousand crowns to any one that should rid him of her. Goldast accepted the offer; and, soon after, he murdered that woman in the middle of the high-way near Strasburg, and, having stripped her, returned into the city. He was seized in the inn where he lodged, as he was unripping the cloaths of that woman, and clapped in Goal; and, within seven days, he was sentenced to be broke alive upon the wheel, and burnt.

(16) In Prefat. ad Tacitum de moribus Germanorum, apud Magrum Eponymolog. pag. 393;

(17) Id. in Dedicat. Exercitationibus de Rep. Imp. Germ. præmissi, apud eundem Magrum, *Ibid.*

(18) Idem, cap. vii, de O. J. G. apud eundem, *Ibid.* pag. 394.

(19) Mauriti. de Matricola Imperii, n. 2. apud eundem Magrum, *Ibid.*

(20) Oporin. Grubinius in Amphitheatro Sciopp. pag. 104.

not without speaking very ill of Goldast. The conduct of the latter, with respect to Justus Lipsius, cannot be approved [1]; for he published under his name an oration,

burnt. 'Septimo tandem post die capitis condemnatum & summo supplicio, tanquam parricidam affectum, hoc est membratim pæne rota contusum & comminutum, & inde lignis infelicibus ustulatum' (21). Scioppius immediately wrote down this story, that it might be inserted in the work, which he was then printing in Germany against Scaliger; and he thought he wanted no other apology of revenge against Goldast (22), with respect to the ill office he thought he had received from him: for he pretended, that Goldast had published, under the name of Scioppius, a commentary upon the *Priapeia*, of which he, Scioppius, was not the author. The letter he wrote, touching that pretended tragical end of Goldast, was followed by another five months after (23), wherein he acquainted his friend, that the story, which the two german gentlemen had told him, concerned a brother of Melchior Goldast. The Sieur Charles Fugger, president of the imperial chamber at Spire, had sent to Scioppius an account of the barbarous action and punishment of that brother of Goldast. This is what he wrote to him: 'Sebastianus Heiminsfeld, dictus Guldenast, natus Cellæ Episcopi in Turgovia die sexta Junii anno 1603, propterea in carcerem conjectus fuit, quod pridie feminam quandam, Dorotheam de Gries, Bambergæ aut Herbipoli, quemadmodum ipse retulit, natam, quam diebus aliquot hac illac circumduxerat, bene mane non longe ab hac civitate priusquam patefacta essent portæ, Satanæ instinctu cultro immaniter obrunxisset, & omni vestitu usque ad lineam intertalam spolasset, ac postquam aliquantum de via regia eam provolverat, in civitatem portis commodum apertis ingressus in hospitium publicum diverteret, ubi & captus mox, factumque quæstioni subiectus, & sponte etiam sua confessus die 10. ejusdem mensis Rotæ supplicio affectus fuit. (24). — Sebastian Heiminsfeld, called Guldenast, born at Bischoffzell in Turgovia the sixth day of June in the year 1603, was imprisoned for the murder of one Dorothea de Gries, born, as he himself said, at Baimberg or Wurtzburg, whom he had carried up and down with him for some days; whose throat he cut, early in the morning, not far from the city before the gates were opened, and stripping her to her shift, and throwing her a little out of the road, returned into the city, and went to an inn, where he was taken, and, having confessed the fact, was broke on the wheel, the tenth day of the same month.' Scioppius learned, not long after, from Jodocus Mezler, vicar to the abbot of St Gall (25), that Melchior Goldast was alive; whereupon he wrote to his friend, that he must not print what he had sent him, concerning the punishment of that man: 'Hoc à te pro amicitia nostra peto, ut si adhuc est integrum illa supplicii de monstro illo sumpti mentio ex Scaligero meo Hypobolymæo circumscribatur. Sin autem, quod veretur, hac ipsa mea epistola ad calcem libri illius adjuncta totius gestæ rei ordinem palam omnibus declarari cupio (26). — I beg of you, by our friendship, if the mention of the punishment of that monster be not yet put to the press, that you would strike it out of my Scaliger Hypobolymæus: but if it be, as I fear it is, I desire that this letter of mine, added at the end of the book, may clear up the whole matter to every body.' This second letter is dated the third of March, 1607, and thereby we may convict the two gentlemen of having mistaken the time: for in the beginning of November 1606 (27), Scioppius wrote to his friend that they had told him, that Goldast had been executed the year before, *superiori anno*. Now Goldast's brother was broke upon the wheel the tenth of June 1603 (28). They reported also, that, when Goldast murdered the gentlewoman near Strasburg, he travelled through Germany with the duke of Bouillon, whose secretary he was. This does not agree with a letter, which Goldast wrote to Mr Schobinger, his patron, in February 1603 (29). He was no longer with the duke of Bouillon; and yet the murderer of the gentlewoman, being interrogated by his judges in the month of June, 1603, said that Melchior Goldast, his brother, was in the duke of Bouillon's service (30).

[1] Goldast's conduct, with respect to Justus Lipsius, cannot be approved.] Scioppius, who was a great amplifier, was not ashamed to say, at the time he thought that Goldast had been broke upon the wheel, that the principal crime, which had brought that horrid punishment upon him, was his having fathered upon Justus Lipsius a speech, of which he was not the author. 'Hujus ego non minus facti, quam supplicii atrocitatem cum animo meo recogitans, nullius magis sceleris, quam quod orationem illam, de qua Lipsius Cent. IV. Epist. LXVIII. ad consules ac senatum Imperialis oppidi Francofurtensis scribit, ejusdem Lipsii nomine præscriptam minime Helvetica simplicitate, sed actu plusquam Punico & vere Genevensi malitia Turguri edendam curasset, penas ab eo expeditas & sumptas esse judicavi (31). That speech was intitled, *De duplici concordia Literarum & Religionis*, and was published in 1600. It was pretended, that Justus Lipsius had pronounced it at Lena, the thirty first of July, 1574. It was not printed at Leyden, as the title has it, but at Zurich, by John James Frisius (32). A hundred printed copies of it, being sent to the fair of Francfort, were all bought up by Plantin, who denied that piece to be of Lipsius, and threatened, that both the printer and the true author should repent it (33). The bookseller of Zurich sent an account of these things to Goldast, and desired him to prove, that the speech was made by him, whose name it bore. A professor of Zurich gave Goldast notice of Justus Lipsius's threats, and told him, that the contexture and thread of the speech shewed Lipsius to be the author of it: *Nos quidem ex filo orationis conjicimus omnino ejus esse (34)*. This was the judgment of the learned of Zurich: the taste of those of Paris was quite different; for they did not find in it Lipsius's style. *Lipsii oratio nova nobis visa fuit, nec in ea Lipsii stylum sine monitione tua unquam agnovissemus (35)*. Justus Lipsius's threats were not vain; for he applied himself to the magistrates of Francfort, who ordered that speech to be struck out of the catalogue of their Fair (36). He thanked them for it, and shewed them, by many reasons, the imposture of those who had fathered it upon him. He maintained, among other things, that he was not at Lena the thirty first of July, 1574, and that he was gone from thence the first of March (37). Goldast was covered with shame; for there were few equitable men, who were not persuaded of Lipsius's innocence in that respect.

Inulsum illam, & vix latiale orationem de duplici concordia literarum & religionis Jenæ, ut valunt, habitam, jam olim falsimoniam esse meram, edita epistola ipse ostendit, & nuper supposititii ipsius factus parens Melchior Haiminsfeldus, Goldastus se prodidit (38). In a late letter, he plainly shewed, that the imposture, and scarce Latin, oration on the double agreement of learning and religion, said to be delivered at Lena, was a mere cheat; and not long ago Melchior Haiminsfeld Goldast discovered himself to be the true father of the foundling. But there are men so obstinate, that they will never own themselves to be in an error, and are proof against the most pregnant reasons. Some men of that temper did obstinately maintain, that Lipsius had pronounced the oration, which Goldast ascribed to him. Read what follows: 'Justi Lipsii nomine (39), de duplici concordia literarum & religionis, editas Orationes (40), non esse ipsius, sed Melchioris Goldasti, Miræus in vita Lipsii pag. m. 67. refert. Carolus etiam Scribanus Jesuita, cap. ult. defensionis posthumæ, Lipsii operibus in folio præfixæ, aliquot jam ante mensibus, quam Orationes istæ habitæ perhibentur, Lipsium Jenæ discessisse, audacter scribit: sed vide refutationem hujusce mendacii factam à Sagittario in Lipsio Prologo, Francofurti 1614. edito. — Miræus, in the life of Lipsius, page 67, relates, that the orations on the double agreement of learning and religion published under the name of Justus Lipsius, were not his, but written by Melchior Goldast. Also Carolus Scribanus, the Jesuit, in the last chapter of his Posthumous defence, prefixed to the works of Lipsius in folio, confidently writes, that Lipsius had left Lena, some months before those orations were said to be delivered; but see a consultation of this falsehood by Sagittarius, in

(31) Ibid. pag. 105.

(32) See Struckius's letter to Goldast, in the collection before mentioned, citation (29): It is the 18th. See also Lipsius, Epist. lxxviii. Centur. ad Germanos & Gallos.

(33) John James Frisius gave Goldast notice of all this. His letter is in the collection.

(34) Waserus, Epist. ad Goldastum. It is the 38th of the collection.

(35) Vassius, in the thirty first letter of the collection, written from Paris to Goldast, the 23d of September 1600.

(36) See the 68th letter of Lipsius, Centur. ad Germanos & Gallos, pag. m. 700.

(37) Ibid. pag. 702.

(38) Miræus, in vita Lipsii, citæ faciem, pag. m. 35.

(39) Placcius de Pseudonymis, pag. 219.

(40) The plural number should not be used; for there was but one oration.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Ibid. pag. 106.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Ibid. pag. 109, 110.

(25) See the remark [D].

(26) Oper. Combin. pag. 109.

(27) The second letter of Scioppius was written five months after the first, Ibid. pag. 100.

(28) Sebastianus Melchioris fratris germanus ac fuerit qui Argentorati anno 1603 a. 6. 10 Junii et exasperatum homicidium de homicidio affectus, tunc quodque superius de eadem in nota, ubi in notato eodem, quotidiano pressio affo, in eum, bene ad scilicet tollit corvæ accipit. Ibid. pag. 107. See, above, citation (24).

(29) See the collection of letters written to Goldast, printed in Germany in the year 1588.

(30) Amphitodes Scioppius, pag. 100.

V O L. II.

(d) See the remark [G], citations (9) and (10).

of which he himself was the author. It appears, that people complained of his capricious humour [K], and of his dishonesty (d).

in his Lipsius Proteus, Frankfurt, 1614. I do not pretend to deny Justus Lipsius's inconsistency in point of religion.

[K] Complaint was made of his capricious humour. When his patron Schobinger advises him to go to Laufanne, if he could live cheaper there than at Geneva, he adds this restriction: 'Modo à crebris migrationibus in posterum ablineas, quæ neque à

re, neque pro existimatione tua morositatis nefcio cuius suspectum te apud nonnullos fecere, qui id mihi Tiguri nuper objecerunt (41). — So that for the future you abstain from frequent change of place, which, to the prejudice of your character, hath rendered you suspected of a kind of churlishness in the opinion of some, who have made this objection to me at Zurich.

(41) See the 88th letter of the collection printed in 1688. It is dated from St Gall, Feb. 1622.

GOLIIUS (JAMES), Mathematic and Arabic professor in the university of Leyden, was born at the Hague in the year 1596, of an ancient and considerable family [A]. He had a strong inclination for learning, and a vast genius; for he not only studied the languages, philosophy, the Greek and Roman antiquities, divinity and physics, but he also studied the mathematics with great application. When he was twenty years of age, he left the university of Leyden, where he had made a great proficiency, and retired to a country-house (a), being resolved to spend two years there, without minding any thing but his studies; but, following them too hard, he soon fell sick, and was obliged to desist. He was so taken with the works and lectures of the learned Erpenius (b), that he followed him entirely. He took a journey into France with the dukes de la Trimouille, which occasioned his being called to Rochelle to teach Greek. He did not long enjoy (c) that employment; for the civil-wars, which ended in the taking of that town, made Golius desirous to return to Holland. Not long after (d) he followed the ambassador, whom the States sent to the king of Morocco; and made a good use of the advice given him by Erpenius [B], to get an entire knowledge of the Arabic tongue. He seemed so curious and well-informed of the sciences and customs of the Arabians, that he rendered himself very acceptable to the learned and courtiers. He also received several marks of favour from Muley Zidas, king of Morocco [C]. He furnished himself with several books unknown to the Europeans; and, amongst others, with the annals of the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, which he resolved to translate. He also made a great many collections concerning the history of the Serifs. By these means he brought to Erpenius a thousand valuable things, which had been of great use to that learned professor, had not a contagious disease swept him away a short time after. Golius, not considering the danger to which he exposed himself, did his dear master all the good offices imaginable during his sickness, and attended him till he expired. He was chosen his successor in the professorship of the Arabic (e), according to the advice, which the deceased had given some time before his death; and he so learnedly discharged his employment, that the incomparable Erpenius was not missed (f). But, whilst he so well satisfied others, he was not satisfied with himself; for he thought many things were wanting in him, which he could never acquire but in visiting such places as were near the fountain-head. He therefore asked his superiours

leave

(a) Situate near Naaldwijk. It belonged to his father.

(b) He was Arabic professor at Leyden.

(c) One year only.

(d) In the year 1622.

(e) In the year 1624.

(f) He in Sparta oranda jam satisfaciebat omnibus, haudquam sibi nemo non rectorum in Golio Erpenium, & corpus tantum hominis, non virtutem Professoris mutatum credere: ipse non credulus illis omnia in sefe requirere, & licet haudquam arrogaret sibi magistri formam, tamen ne huc quidem contentus esse. *Joh. Fridericus Gronovius in Orat. Funerari Jac. Golii, pag. 15.*

[A] He was of an ancient and considerable family. It came originally from Leyden, where FRANCIS GOLIIUS, great-grandfather of him we now speak of, was an alderman, about the year 1458. CORNELIUS and GILBERT GOLIIUS, his grandsons, were senators of the same city. They were sons of THEODORIC GOLIIUS, who, having married two or three wives, procured to his descendants several degrees of relation with a great many good families. Another THEODORIC GOLIIUS, son to the former, was father of our James. He enjoyed a considerable employment (1), and was one of the burghers of Leyden, who contributed most to preserve the city, during the siege so famous in history. His wife, the mother of our professor, was called Anne Hemelar (2), and had a brother, for whom I design an article (3), wherein I shall speak of PETER GOLIIUS, brother of James.

(1) Fendorum Hollandicæ acurior. *Gronovius in Orat. Funerari Jacobi Golii, pag. 6.*

(2) Ex oratione funerari Golii habitæ à Gronovio.

(3) Look for HEMELAR (JOHN).

[B] He made good use of the advice given him by Erpenius. He charged him, amongst other things, to enquire into the origin of certain proverbs, and upon what custom, or inclination of the people, were grounded several Arabic words or expressions, which he understood only by conjectures; and which he thought he might have got well explained, if he had been in the country, where that language is spoken. But let us make use of the description, which we find of all this, in the book I quote: 'Intellexerat (Erpenius) unum sibi deesse quod terras, in quibus viget atque in usu habetur Arabismus, non incoluisset, non accessisset. Quam enim multa in promptu haberet verba, proverbia, vocabula, quæ quid significarent, divinabat magis & suspicabatur quam noverat, quod de rerum formis, hominum actionibus, locorum ha-

bitu, unde & ubi illa nata essent nunquam oculis judicasset, hoc præcepit, inculcavit, innoxio nostro, ut quicquid ejusmodi five natura illic, five ars, five consuetudo nobis ignarum peperisset, aut introduxisset, diligentissime observaret, accurate describeret, annotaretque una cum signato cujusque nomine, & si noceretur, causis nominum (4).

[C] He received several marks of favour from Muley Zidan, king of Morocco. He had brought to him a letter from Erpenius, very well written, and had very luckily recommended himself by his agreeable carriage. *Nec privata tantum humanitate, sed & Imperatoris ipsius Mulei Zidani, (quam & literis Erpenii purissimo sermone scriptis, & suo lepore atque honestate promeruerat) clementia, cumulatissime præstitit (5).* This is all we find thereupon in his funeral oration. We may add to it a very curious supplement, taken out of a relation in manuscript, which Colomies had perused, and of which he has published something that concerns Golius. I transcribe the whole passage, tho' thereby I fall into the troublesome necessity of repeating something of what is to be seen in Moreri's dictionary. 'Mr Golius, whom I saw at Leyden, where he was an Arabic professor in the room of Mr Erpenius, was very learned in the languages, and in the mathematics; but his wit was superiour to his learning. He got great credit by the voyage he made into the Levant in the year 1622, and particularly to Morocco, with an ambassador from the States, and a gentleman of the horse belonging to the prince of Orange. Being come to that city, they went to pay their respects to the king, who was called Mouly Zidan, and who received them, with their presents, very graciously.

(4) Gronovius, ubi supra, pag. 13, 14.

(5) Ibid. pag. 14.

(12) The letters patents, which Frederic Henry prince of Orange granted him, are dated the 30th of Nov. 1655.

(13) He was a monk. See the article HEMELAR.

leave to make a voyage into the Levant (g). He stayed a year and a half at Aleppo; after which he travelled into Arabia and Mesopotamia, and came by land to Constantinople. His learning and prudence procured him, every where, both friends, and what was necessary to make his travels amongst those barbarous nations turn to account. He met with Turks, who gave him leave to search into fine libraries (D). In a word, he left so good a name behind him, that it was very useful to his brother (b), who some time after undertook the same voyage. Our Golius returned four years after to Leyden, with a fine collection of manuscripts, and the remembrance of many curious things (i). Having re-assumed the thread of his former lectures, he soon saw himself called to make some of another nature [E]; for he was made professor of the mathematics, in the room of Willibrord Snellius. He very worthily filled these two employments during forty years. And, although they might take up the whole time of a laborious man, yet he found leisure to compose some valuable works, which have been published [F]; and to undertake others, which would not have come short of

(1) Quadriennis circumacto cum inestimabili quibuslibet publicis superbi rarissimorum librorum thesaurum mentis ac pedore condiderat, huc regressus intermissa docendi munia repetiit. Gronovius, ubi supra, pag. 19. The catalogue of the manuscripts he brought, has been printed more than once.

graciously. He shewed himself particularly well pleased with the present, which Mr Erpenius had sent him, and which was a great Atlas, and a New Testament in Arabic, in which he read often afterwards. The ambassador of the States happening to be uneasy, because he was not dispatched, was advised to present a petition to the king, which Mr Golius drew up in the Arabic character and language, but in the style of the Christians; a thing extraordinary in that country. The king was much surprised at the beauty of that petition, both as to the character, the language, and the style; and having sent for the Talips or writers, he shewed them that petition, which they admired. He called immediately for the ambassador, whom he asked who had drawn up that petition. The ambassador having told him, that it was Mr Golius, disciple and envoy of Mr Erpenius, he had a desire to see him, and spoke to him in Arabic. Mr Golius answered him in Spanish, that he understood very well what he said to him, but that he could not answer him in Arabic, because he could not pronounce the gutturals. The king, who understood Spanish, received his excuse, and having granted the ambassador's petition, caused him to be speedily dispatched. I owe all these particulars to the Relation of the late Mr le Gendre, a merchant of Roan, who happened to be then at Morocco. Mr Briot keeps a copy of it, which he did me the favour to communicate to me at Paris. Let us add one word more concerning Mr Golius. He was brother to Peter Golius, who was also very learned in the oriental languages; who translated from Latin into Arabic the treatise of *The Imitation of Jesus Christ* of Thomas à Kempis; and who, being turned friar of the order of the bare footed Carmelites, took the name of father Celestine of St Lidwine. These two worthy brothers were nephews to a canon of Antwerp, named Hemelar, who has published a fine book of medals, which is very scarce (6). I with the *Mélanges Historiques* of Colomies were a volume in Folio.

(D) He met with Turks, who gave him leave to search into fine libraries. The Turks are not so destitute of books as people imagine. See what Dr Spon has related (7), and add to it this passage of Gronovius: Simul cum Legato (8) in Asiam transit (Golius) Præfeto orae propontidos amantissimos hortos cum amplissima Bibliotheca eis cedente: in quo secessu in Historicorum & Geographorum Arabum scripta aut ignorata adhuc, aut involuta se ingurgitavit. Ut rediit, & memoriam lectorum per occasiones in sermonibus apud Megitanas ostendit, ita obfuscescit audientes, ut purpuratorum principis dignatione proximus cum eo egerit, Imperatoris diplomate ornatus ac tutus omne Imperium obiret, ac situs locorum rectius quam vulgo sit in tabulis depingeret: ille gratiam fecit prætexto Sacramento quod Ordinis dixerat, sed & periculi magnitudinem cogitans (9). — He passed over with the ambassador into Asia, the governor of the Propontic coast, giving them the liberty of very fine gardens, and a well-furnished library: in which retirement he buried himself in the study of the Arabian geography and histories, hitherto unheard of, or never perused. Upon his return, recollecting what he had read, occasionally in conversation with the great men, he so astonished his hearers, that he was offered the emperor's commission and safe-guard to travel over

the whole empire, and take a more exact, geographical survey of it than had hitherto been done. He declined the offer on the pretence of the oath he had taken to the States, but, in reality, in consideration of the dangers he must have run. This passage deserves to be quoted, since it may acquaint my readers with the particular esteem the Turks had for Golius at Constantinople, and the offers they made him of an authentic commission, whereby he should have been created geographer to the Grand Seigneur. The skill Golius had in physic, and the remedies he gave, without taking any money for them, procured him many presents and friends. They offered him great advantages, to engage him to settle in the Levant. Philarchi & reguli Arabum admiserunt eum familiariter, & ob Medicinæ experimenta suspexerunt, quodque mercedes reculeret donis plurimis & pretiosis affecerunt: majoribus, ut secum maneret, sollicitatum (10). — The princes and governors of the Arabians conversed freely with him, and greatly respected him for his skill in physic; and, as he refused all rewards, they loaded him with many valuable presents, and tempted him with greater to stay among them. These are very glorious things for a Christian.

[E] He soon saw himself called to make some lectures of another nature. I have purposely followed Gronovius's narrative, to convince my readers by an instance how nicely a man ought to examine things, if he would be thoroughly acquainted with what is necessary to clear a fact. This is related in such a manner in the funeral oration, that there is no body but will conclude, that Snellius died after Golius's return; and that Golius was not made professor of mathematics, till after he had discharged for some time the functions of his other employment after his return to Leyden. But whoever believes that, will be in an error. Snellius died in the year 1626, and Golius returned from the Levant in the year 1629, and during his voyage was chosen to succeed Snellius; of which he received the news at Constantinople.

[F] He composed some valuable works, which have been published. He published the History of the Saracens, written by Elmaceus: a work which is partly owing to Erpenius, who had begun the translation of it. That history, Golius completed what was wanting. He published the life of Tamerlane, composed in Arabic by a famous author; as also the *Astronomical Elements* of Alferganus, to which he added a new version, and learned commentaries. His *Lexicon Arabicum* is a most exact work (11). He illustrated with notes and additions the Arabic grammar of Erpenius, and added to it several pieces of poetry, taken out of Arabic poets, and chiefly out of Tograi and Ababolla. Tho' he was 54 years old when he began to study the Persian language in good earnest, yet he got such a mastery of it, that he composed a very ample dictionary of it, which was printed at London (12). He could have composed another of the Turkish language. He had such a genius for languages, that, having begun late to learn that of the Chinese, he made such a progress in it, as to be able to read and understand their books. It is no small matter even to know the figures they make use of in writing; for they have near eight thousand of them (13). The Chinese Atlas, to which he made some additions, shews the progress he had made in that language.

[G] . . . and

(11) Non parva molis, sed immensæ atque infinite curæ & industria. Ibid. pag. 20.

(12) It is inserted in the *Lexicon Heptagloton* of Castellus.

(13) Quot rarissimum, annis jam vergentibus Sineni etiam lingue difficultas, & nisi quis inter ipsos retatem exipiat, ingenio humano inexcussibili attenderat, & ad octo millibus signorum quibus pro vocibus utuntur satis affuerat, ut libros illorum non aere legere atque intelligere posset. Gronovius, ubi supra, pag. 20.

of those, if he had lived to put the last hand to them [G]. What is most commendable in his works, is the zeal, with which he applied himself to make his knowledge of the tongues subservient to the propagation of the faith among the infidels [H], and to the comfort of the Christians, who groan under the tyranny of the Mahometans. He had an intercourse of letters with the most learned men of Europe (k); and was very much esteemed by his sovereigns (l). His constitution was so very strong [I], that he always enjoyed a perfect health. He died the twenty eighth of September 1667, after having gone through all the degrees of the university, and being as much esteemed for his virtue and piety, as for his learning. He made a right judgment of things; for he deplored the method, with which disputes about religion are commonly managed [K]. He left two sons, of whom I shall say something in the remarks [L].

(k) Gronovius names several, and, among the rest, Cartellus. See in the life of that philosopher by Mr Baillet, Golius's friendship for him.

[G]... and undertook others, which would not have come short of the former if he had put the last hand to them.] He designed to have published a second edition of the life of Tamerlane, the text of which would have been printed with the vowels; and he would have added to it a translation, and a commentary, full of illustrations on several intricate passages of the oriental history. This work wanted but little of being delivered to the printer. He had begun a geographical and historical dictionary, relating to the countries in the Levant, in quo omnia locorum & hominum per Orientem nomina explicarentur. He had promised a long time a new edition of the Alcoran, with a translation, and a confutation of it. He designed to give a catalogue of all the Persian books, that are in Europe, and a treatise of the dialects of the Persian language. He would chiefly have examined the dialect, which is accounted the best, and which has obtained that title by the most authentic sentence that can be required in that kind of privileges. See the margin (14), where you will find a remarkable passage. Never did the Greeks or Romans, or any of the nations, that have most cultivated learning and eloquence, do so much for their languages, as the kings of Persia: neither the academy della Crusca, and such like it, nor that, of which cardinal Richelieu was the founder, come near that assembly of sages, whom the kings of Persia called together, for the admission or exclusion of words.

[H] He applied himself to make his knowledge of the tongues subservient to the propagation of the faith among the infidels.] We may reckon, for a proof of his zeal, the particular care he took to cause the New Testament to be printed both in literal and and vulgar Greek. The States were pleased to be at that expence in favour of the Grecians. Nemo tanto studio, labore, gratia ob consulas & præturas & imperia contendit omnemque lapidem movit, quam ille ut Novi Fœderis sacratissimæ tabulæ, simul uti scriptæ sunt, simul ut in ἑλληνιστῶν (ut appellant) seu Græcæ linguæ vulgarem tradidit, formis vulgarentur: atque id magnificum atque divinum munus Potentissimorum Liberi Belgii Ordinum beneficio, gemens sub barbaricæ intolerabili iugo genti libertatis & elegantie inventrix acquireret (15). He took care to disperse, among the Christians of the Levant, an Arabic translation of the confession of faith of the reformed, and of their Catechism and Liturgy; for there are Christians in those countries, who make use of the Arabic tongue in divine service. He employed in this translation an Armenian, who understood vulgar Arabic, and such phrases as are consecrated to religion, and who knew how to adapt Golius's style to the capacity of every body: for if Golius alone had made that translation, his expressions might have been too sublime and learned. He entertained that Armenian at his house two years and a half, and promised him the same pension, which the States had granted to the Archimandrite, who turned the New Testament into vulgar Greek. However he did not know whether the States would be at that expence, neither did he propose the thing to them till the work was completed: and then they not only made good his promise, but likewise made him a fine present (16). I shall not defer mentioning what I have to say concerning another present. He was their interpreter in ordinary for the Arabic, Turkish, Persian, &c. tongues; which was worth an annual pension to him. I suppose the functions of that employment gave no great interruption to his other labours; but, as often as they had occasion for him in that capacity, they treated him with great civility, and upon a time presented him with a gold chain, and a very fine medal (17).

(14) Et libellus de variis lingue Persicæ dialectis, præsertim de omnium purissima, quam jussu magnorum regum omnibus ex partibus regni concilio coacto sapientes moroso verborum delectu probant, & aula recepit. Ibid. pag. 21.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Gronovius, d. pag. 22, 23.

Ibid.

[I] His constitution was very strong.] He had preserved himself sound by a constant temperance, and forbearance of voluptuousness (18). At the age of seventy years, he walked on foot all the space of ground, which is between the Maë and the Wahal, at a place, where he was forced to march fourteen hours (19).

[K] He deplored the method, with which disputes about religion are commonly managed.] These are the expressions of the author of his funeral oration: 'Religionem, perinde ut rempublicam, factionibus geri dolebat. Speciem quandam externam sibi circumdedit multis sufficere, quam vita & actiones confutarent. Inter dissentientes, de mediis quoque rebus atque indifferentibus, nullam turpem rationem vincendi: calumnias, artes malas, pias fraudes vigere. Nusquam moderata consilia, zelum, qui furor sit, vocari. Partim Scripturam S. tractare potius ut ingenium inde quam salutis curam nutriant. Theologice præferre, ut nomen scientiæ atque auctoritatis. Ergo missa in discrimen veritate, quamvis satis & excellenter doctos esse consilet, tam secure de illa transigere. Hos in Theologia philosophari, ad disputandum modo, atque ut magni & conspecti sint, Theologos (20) — He was grieved, that religion,

no less than the state, was carried on by factions, that many were satisfied with an outward show, which their lives and actions confuted; that, among disputants, even about indifferent matters, no way of obtaining the victory was thought scandalous; that calumny, base arts, and pious frauds flourished; that moderate counsels were no where to be found, and that what is rage was called zeal; that the scripture was handled more to exercise the wit, than to provide for salvation; that divinity was professed only as carrying the name of science and authority; that truth was in danger whilst its advocates, however learned, were careless of its interests; and that they philosophized in religion chiefly for the sake of disputation, and acquiring the reputation of eminent divines. This is one of the five or six reflexions, that Gronovius has selected, among many others, which Golius was heard to make during his last sickness (21). All men of sense will agree, that his choice is judicious; for, of all things in the world, the abuses here in question deserve most to be deplored: yet, nevertheless, people are so hardened, and so little affected with that disorder, that we ought to conclude, that none but persons of an exquisite judgment can think, in that matter, as our professor did. The church is divided into factions and cabals, just like commonwealths: into factions, I say, which either triumph, or are oppressed, just as in commonwealths: not in proportion to the goodness or badness of the cause, but in proportion to the great or little use people can make of all manner of devices (22). Such a church is certainly an object of compassion, and a matter of affliction. Another thing, which Gronovius has collected, is, in my opinion, very judicious. Golius, who had lived so long, seen so much, travelled so far, had found nothing more scarce than a Christian worthy of that name. He had seen mankind every where plunged in vice, every where in disguise (23). Travellers observe an infinite variety amongst men: in a day they are transported into another country, where they find another language, other habits, other customs; but notwithstanding those infinite variations, all nations are alike, and agree in this, that there are but few honest men every where, and that forbidden pleasures are commonly practised.

[L] He left two sons, of whom I shall say something in the remarks.] They both studied the civil-law, and were admitted advocates. The elder was called Theodore,

(17) Taken from his funeral oration, pronounced by J. Frid. Gronovius. The dates were wanting in it every where; I have been obliged to supply them in the margin.

(18) Idem pag. 28.

(19) Septuaginta natus annos continent quatuordecim horarum Vahalem inter & Mosam ambulatione iter perces conficit. Ibid.

(20) lb. pag. 30.

(21) lb. pag. 30.

(22) Nullam turpem rationem vincendi; calumnias, artes malas, pias fraudes vigere. Ibid. pag. 30.

(23) Vana esse omnia, & fœceta, totumque orbem inundatum & immersum vitiis. Ibid. pag. 29.

dore, and was admitted into the council of Leyden in the year 1659. He was chosen burgomaster of the same city three times, and exercised there once the office of great bailiff, which is the first in the cities of Holland. He was also deputed to the college of the admiralty at Amsterdam. He died in the year 1679,

being then burgomaster. His brother MATTHEW GOLIUS, a very honest and most learned gentleman, dean of the court of Holland, died at the Hague in Sept. 1702. Their mother was of a very good family (24). She lived twenty four years very lovingly with her husband (25).

GOLIUS (THEOPHILUS) professor of Ethics at Strasburg, where he was born in the year 1528 (a), and died in the year 1600 (b). He composed in Latin an Abridgment of Ethics, taken from the ten books of Aristotle *ad Nichomachum*, and an Abridgment of Politics, taken from the same Aristotle. He dedicated the first of these two works to Baron de Tanberg, the first of September 1592. My edition of them both is of Strasburg, *typis Josiæ Ribellii hæredum* 1621 in 8°. I have not seen his Greek Grammar. Mr König mentions it (c).

(a) König, *Bible* pag. 352.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) *Id. ibid.*

GOMARUS (FRANCIS), professor of divinity, was born at Bruges the thirtieth of January, 1563. His father and mother, who had embraced the Protestant religion, retired into the Palatinate, in the year 1578, in order to profess it quietly, and caused him to study at Strasburg under the famous John Sturmius. He was under the discipline of that good old man about three years; after which, he went to pursue his studies at *Newshad*, whither the professors of Heidelberg were retired (a). He took a journey into England towards the end of the year 1582, and heard, at Oxford, the lectures in divinity of John Raynolds, and, at Cambridge, those of William Whitaker. He took his bachelor's degree in the month of June 1584. He spent the two following years at Heidelberg (b), where the university had been restored. The Dutch congregation at Francfort called him to be their pastor in the year 1587, and enjoyed his ministry from that time till 1593, when they were entirely dispersed by persecution. He was called to Leyden, to be professor of divinity, in the year 1594. He accepted that offer; but before he went to take possession of his place, he went to Heidelberg, to take his doctor's degree. He exercised quietly that professorship, till he had for his colleague James Arminius, in the year 1603, a man, who soon broached his Pelagian tenets [A], and made himself the head of a party in the university. Gomarus stood up against him with great zeal, not only in the schools of Leyden, but also in the presence of the states of the province. They two disputed twice in the assembly of the states of Holland, in the year 1608, which was continued by five against five the following year. The success of these disputes was not such as the churches wished (c); but nevertheless it served for something, to wit, to discover Arminius's Pelagianism. That professor, who was sick, made use of that excuse to break off the conferences, and died some time after. His adversaries employed all their industry to hinder Vorstius from succeeding him; but not being able to effect it, it happened that Gomarus, to avoid having such a colleague, resigned his post, and retired to Middleburg, in the year 1611. He was minister there, and made public lectures, till the year 1614, when he was called by the academy of Saumur to be professor of divinity. He exercised that employment four years; after which he retired to Groningen, to be, there, first divinity and Hebrew professor. Here he found a fixed station, to which he firmly stuck till his death, that is, till the eleventh of January 1641. If he absented himself twice, it was not to allow himself any relaxation, but to be one of the judges of Arminius's cause in the synod of Dort (d), and to revise the translation of the Old Testament (e). He married three wives, and had children only by the second [B]. He was a very learned man, particularly in the oriental languages. His works were printed at Amsterdam, in folio, in the year 1645 (f) [C]. If it be true, that he answered Barnevelt,

(a) The elector Palatine had driven them away, because they were not Lutherans.

(b) The elector Lewis, persecutor of the Reformed, being dead, in 1583, prince Casimir his brother had the administration of the electorate, and restored the Reformed.

(c) See the remark [A], & citation (1).

(d) In the year 1618.

(e) At Leyden, in 1633.

(f) Taken from his life in the collection of those of the professors of Groningen.

(1) Degenera Pelagiana clem, palam, voce, scripto quæque capit, ac familiaris in Academia duces. Vita Gomari inter Professores Groningenses, Filas, pag. 76.

(2) The 10th of the second part.

(3) Socrates quidem non eo quod ecclesie opibus, ut pro dignis erroribus ac schismatibus orthodoxa veritas & concordia in ecclesia collectetur: non tamen ulla, cum doctrina larva Adversarii Pelagianism palam eruditur foris. Vita Gomari, pag. 77.

[A] It was not long before Arminius spread his Pelagian tenets. I advance this, as a translator of him, who composed Gomarus's life (1); though, for the rest, I do not pretend to warrant he is in the right: for I know, that Arminius did not own his opinions to be like those of Pelagius, nor even like those of the Semi-Pelagians. See Grotius's treatise, intitled, *Disquisitio an Pelagiana sint ea dogmata quæ nunc sub eo nomine traduntur*. It is in the third volume of his theological works. See also one of his letters (2). When therefore you read, in Gomarus's life, that this advantage, at least, resulted from the conferences held with the Arminians, that they were manifestly convicted of teaching Pelagius's tenets (3), do not presently believe, that they were forced to own that, and that the judges of the conference pronounced, that they had been sufficiently convicted of it. The terms of that author ought to signify no more, than that Gomarus pretended he had produced good proofs for his charge against Arminius.

[B] He had children only by his second wife. She was called Mary Leremite, and was a gentlewoman both by her father's and mother's side. He married

her at Francfort (4), and had by her one son, and two daughters. The son died before his father, and left children behind him. The younger daughter was married to David de la Haie, minister of a Walloon church. This remark, and several others of this nature, which will be found in this dictionary, are made in favour of many good souls, which are known to be very inquisitive about the relations of pastors and learned men. If there be readers, that care little for these things, as undoubtedly there are but too many, they are desired to remember, that an author is not obliged to say nothing but what they like; for, in a work like this, a man is obliged to please, sometimes one sort of people, sometimes another. Let this be said once for all.

[C] His works were printed at Amsterdam, in folio, in the year 1645. That is, several treatises, which had been published at divers times, were collected into one volume. His *Anti-Costerus* was printed in the year 1599, and in 1600. His *Lyra Davidis* was published a long while before his death. Lewis Capel wrote against that work. * Non ita pridem vir Cl. & Doctiss. *thus Rivet speaks* (5), Franciscus Gomarus Psalmos,

(4) He had also married his first wife in the same city. He married the third at Middleburg; wherefore it should not have been said, in the first Tome of the *Anti*, pag. 125, that he married at Leyden, before he went to Middleburg.

(5) Prolegom. in edidit

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‘*edidit Lyram Davidis, in qua putavit se ad metra Horatiana & similia Davidis Plalmorum versus ita exegisse, ut veram poetices Hebraice rationem inveniret.* Sed Ludovicus Capellus animadversionum libello totum illud D. Gomari opus obelo transfigere conatus est, ut inde lector discat vix inter doctos de eo posse convenire, neque labore parum utili se ultra figat. — *Not long ago, Francis Gomarus published his Lyra Davidis, in which he had so reduced the verses of David's Psalms to the metres of Horace and others, that he thought he had found out the true measure of the Hebrew poetry.* But Lewis Capel, in a book of remarks, endeavoured to overthrow that whole work of Gomarus; whence the reader may see, that even learned men cannot agree among themselves in that point, and may learn not to tire himself with a fruitless labour.’

[D] If it be true that be answered Barneveldt, as Grotius relates, one cannot excuse his great prepossession. Barneveldt made a short speech to those two antagonists before the states of Holland, wherein he declared, he thanked God, that those controversies did not concern the fundamental articles of the Christian religion. Whereupon Gomarus, having obtained leave to speak, protested, that be would not appear before the throne of GOD with Arminius's errors. We find this

particular in Grotius's letters (6). It is also to be found in the preface, that was printed before the acts of the synod of Dort. I question whether there be, now-a-days, any sticklers for Gomarus, so passionate, as to maintain, that he had reason to answer Barneveld as he did. The heat of dispute, and the untoward influence of professorial emulation, made him strain things too high, and confounded his judgment. For now-a-days the most rigid Calvinists do not scruple to own, that the five articles of the Remonstrants are no fundamental heresies; and they give sufficiently to understand, that the schism might soon be made up, if the conduct of Arminius was not fallen into new errors, a thousand times more pernicious than those, which set Gomarus and Arminius against one another. Therefore those, whose heads have not been heated by the personal quarrels, which exasperated Gomarus, do not believe, like him, that a man shall eternally be damned for believing the five articles of the Arminians. It is therefore to a personal animosity that we must impute the untoward opinion of that adversary of Arminius

The untoward opinion of that adversary of Arminians,
 that No body may contradict what I advance, I am
 going to produce a proof, which, though founded only
 on a single witness, has yet all the force of a good
 confutation; since that witness is no other than Mr
 Irenæus, the most intractable man in the world, with
 respect to the Arminians. Mr Arnauld thought he
 wrote an unanswerable book against the Protestant
 dissenters, when he published his *Remercement de la
 sainte Église*. He grounded all his proofs on the tenets of
 the Synod of Dort, and supposed, that so great an as-
 sembly would not have enforced the profession of those
 upon whom excommunication, if they had not
 done upon them as fundamental. Mr Jurieu an-
 swered him a hundred good things, and confounded
 him by maintaining to him, that that synod had
 looked upon, as articles necessary to salvation,
 which were in question in the disputes of the Remon-
 strants. He said, in particular, touching that of
 the Luthers, one of the chief points of the dis-
 pute, since the decision of the synod, *the Lutherans
 any other communion, are free, either to de-
 not to admit that tenet. I say, they are free
 not but that men always sin, when they reject
 sacred, important, and clearly established by
 as that is. But we do not hold it to be such
 excludes from grace, and destroys faith* (8).
 Irenæus, that those, who live in the communion
 of the Remonstrants, are at liberty not to submit
 to the decision of the synod of Dort in that
 to have particular sentiments about that
 do not take upon them to dogmatize and
 : and that, though such ministers, as go
 the perseverance of true saints, are not
 send the pulpit, and are even driven from the
 Calvinists, yet the latter do not there-
 banish them from the body of JESUS

For the rest, if we may credit the English author of some letters published by the Arminians, Gomarus was a very passionate man. See the letters of those gentlemen, in the pages 548, 565, &c. This emboldens me the more to reject the temerity and malicious conjecture of those, who would pretend, that he did not believe, that Arminius's tenets did lead to hell; tho' he affirmed it, to justify the opposition he made against those tenets: for he had reason to fear, that the states of Holland would tell him, that it was not worth the while to make such a noise, if Arminius's opinions did not hinder people from being saved. The best answer, that could be made to that objection, was, to say, that one could not stir too much, nor implore with too much ardour the authority of the magistrates, against those doctrines, since they were sufficient to cast into hell all such, as should suffer themselves to be infected with them. Grotius observes, that Gomarus, in a conversation they had together about the Arminian controversies, called Arminius's opinions profane and impious, and inveighed against him, but without saying any thing about predestination. 'Cum multa acriter in Arminium deceret, impiaque & profanas vocaret ipsius opiniones, tamen de predestinatione vix quicquam locutus est. Sed primum in illam maxime sententiam invecsus est, quæ justificationis obiectum aut materiam statuit fidem, iustitiam autem Christi causam meritorum justificationis ejus quæ est ex fide

(10). He principally insisted on the matter of justification; though most members of the states of Holland had determined, that, as to that point, the dispute of Gomarus and Arminius was almost nothing but a dispute of words (11). If there was artifice in not insisting much upon predestination, it was also an artifice to insist upon it; which second artifice was that of Arminius. He took notice, that the tenet of absolute reprobation might easily bear an odious construction; and that his doctrine, as to that point, was more plausible and popular; wherefore he shewed himself on that fair side (12). It is the general custom of pleaders; they always show the fair side of the cause. Mark well what Grotius relates, at the end of that letter. Uytenbogaard had foreseen, even from the year 1608, the success of those disputes, (*viz.*) that Calvin's doctrine should triumph in Holland, as it triumphed at Geneva in the time of Calasio, a man who was so severely persecuted, and reduced to such straits, as to be obliged to turn wood-cleaver to get a livelihood. 'Cum tantis præjudiciis res agatur, & singulares Doctorum opiniones, in mentes discipulorum semel irreperentes, atque auditu temporis, & alius tunc inquirendi negligentia ac specie, tacito Ecclesiæ consensu receptæ, liberam magnorum ingeniorum sedulitatem auctoritate sua jugulent, neque minus in Ecclesiis, quam in aliis confessions vincat majorem pars meliorem, non alium fæ eventum rerum Arminianarum sperare, quam Castellionis fuerit, qui pressus impotentia adversariorum eo redactus sit, ut vir non in

doctus & perpetuæ famæ ligando sibi victum quæret (13). — When parties run so high, and the particular opinions of doctors, insensibly creeping into the minds of the scholars, and, through length of time, and a neglect of inquiring further, being received with a tacit consent of the church, baffle, by their authority, the free enquiries of learned men; and when, no less in the church, than in other assemblies, the greater part conquers the better, the Arminians can expect no other event of things, than was Cassiodorus's, who, through the persecution of his adversaries, was reduced, though a learned man, and desirous of perpetual fame, to get his living by cleaving wood.

E] *Meurhus* has led *Moreri* into some mistakes, who has placed (14) *Gomarus*'s birth in the year 1562, and, said, he went into England before he went to Germany. These two faults are easily perceived. One reads the narrative I have given, which is, without comparison, better than that, which Mr. *Moreri* has followed; since it is taken out of a book, written at Groningen, where *Gomarus* was a professor twenty two years: out of a book, I say, composed of *Gomarus*'s death, and with the help of more memoirs, than those, which *John Meurhusius* has used.

(15) Mr Baillie
Tome I, of the
Anti, pag. 127

having followed
Mourfius in this,
ought to have
said, by a neces-
sary consequence,
that Gomar was
died seventy nine
years old, since
he died in the
year 1641. The
truth is, he
wanted a few
days of seventy
eight years, the
day of his death.

[F] The

shameful [F]. They have most of them been marked in the edition of Holland. I forgot to say, that Scaliger had no great esteem for our Gomarus [G].

[F] *The faults Moreri has committed of himself are shameful.* He says, that Gomarus's father carried him into England. Meursius says no such thing; and the author of the lives of the professors of Groningen says expressly the contrary: to wit, that Gomarus's father retired into the Palatinate, and sent his son to Strasbourg. Moreri pretends, that Arminius taught a particular doctrine at Leyden, when Gomarus was called thither; which is a great anachronism: for Gomarus had been ten years a professor at Leyden, when Arminius began to teach there. But the most strange mistake of our author, and the most inexcusable in a French priest, who ought to think himself called to the conversion of the Huguenots, is, the having believed, that the tenet of *Irresistible and Inamissible Grace*, was an error, into which Gomarus fell, by being carried somewhat too far by his passion. What a profound ignorance is this! Is it not a doctrine, which

has ever obtained in the communion of Geneva, from Calvin to this present time? If Gomarus differed from the rest, it was in his explaining himself harshly, according to the hypothesis of the Supralapsarians. See the advice that Vossius gave him (16).

[G] *Scaliger had no great esteem for our Gomarus.* Read this passage of the Scaligerana. 'If any body should ask Gomarus and Snellius, whether this age will produce greater men than the preceding, they will undoubtedly answer, yes; because they think themselves to be the most learned. Gomarus is of Bruges: that is the reason he is learned. He has a fine library, and a great many Ramists: for he is a great analytic, which is the mark of a Ramist. He thinks himself the most learned divine. He has no more skill in chronology, than I in coining false money (17).'

(16) Vossius, Epist. cæcævi, pag. 362. Edit. Londenensis, 1693.

(17) Pag. m. 95.

GOMBAULD (JOHN OGIER DE), one of the best French Poets of the XVIIth century, was born in Xaintonge, at St Just de Lussac, near Broüage (a). One may see in Moreri's Dictionary, that he not only was admitted into the French academy, from the beginning of the institution of that society, but likewise that he was one of the little assembly of wits, which preceded that institution, and occasioned the foundation of that illustrious academy. One may see, in the same dictionary, some other curious things concerning Mr Gombauld, which I shall not repeat, contenting myself to mention such passages as are not to be found there. Therefore I shall say, that he was a Protestant [A], a gentleman, and a younger son by a fourth marriage, as he used to say in jest, to excuse himself for not being rich. That he was tall, well shaped, and looked like a man of quality. That his piety was sincere, his probity above slander, and his life unblameable. That he had a noble and upright soul, a lofty mind, less fruitful than judicious; a quick, fiery, and passionate temper, tho' he seemed to be grave and composed. That, after he had studied most sciences at Bourdeaux, under the best masters, he came to Paris, about the latter end of the reign of Henry the great, where he was soon known and esteemed (b). He was none of the last, nor the meanest of those, who made verses on the death of that great monarch (c). He was very much esteemed by Mary de Medicis, and no man of his condition had a freer access to, or was more kindly received by her. She allowed him a pension of twelve hundred Crowns. And, being as great an enemy to needless expences, as he loved to live handsomely, and to spend what was necessary, he raised a pretty considerable stock out of what he saved, whilst he was in plenty; which proved very beneficial to him, when the civil and foreign wars lessened, and at last dried up, the springs,

(a) Pelfin, Hist. de l'Acad. Française, pag. m. 339.

(b) Preface to the treatises and letters of Mr Gombauld, concerning religion. Mr Colomieu, in his Bibliothèque Choix, pag. 155, of the second edition, observes, that Mr Conrart is the author of this preface.

(c) Ibid.

[A] *He was a Protestant.* This is what the continuators of Moreri have not mentioned: perhaps they were ignorant of it: but perhaps also they would not have mentioned it, though they had known it. However it be, such an omission is a fault; for, unless we see in an historical dictionary, printed in France, and composed by Roman Catholics, that an author did not profess the established religion, we are apt to suppose, that he did profess it, especially if we find (1), that he was in honourable posts, such as to be a member of an academy of wits, founded by a cardinal, who was first minister of state: that he was appointed to examine and settle the statutes of that new society; and that he furnished memoirs concerning them. Therefore, to prevent the reader's imagining, that Gombauld was a Roman Catholic, it should have been expressly said, that he was not so, but a Huguenot; though, if they pleased, they might have added their reflexions as to his misfortune in that respect. The books, that author published, were little proper to let the world know, that he was a good Protestant; but this has sufficiently appeared by some posthumous treatises, printed in Holland, in the year 1678. They are, *Discourses about religion*; and these Gombauld esteemed more than any of his other works. He had composed them out of a mere motive of charity, with a design to make the truth known to those, that were in an error, and to confirm, in the sound belief, those that were born in it, or had embraced it. He commonly complained of two things: first, that the generality of those, that wrote about these matters, made too voluminous books, wherein they heap'd proofs upon proofs, and authorities upon authorities, without much minding either order or clearness. And secondly, that they persuaded themselves, that learning and elegance were incompatible. To shew, that they were mistaken in that, he composed his *considerations on*

the Christian religion, when he was yet in the vigour of his age; and shewed indeed, that a man may be at once nervous and clear, concise and full, solid and elegant: Having communicated that piece to several of his friends, and even to some of the Romish communion, it was approved and valued by all, which encouraged him to write afterwards the treatise of the Eucharist; and another, which he addresses to one of his friends, under the name of Aristander. As for the letters, he wrote them when he was more advanced in years, except that to a student of divinity, which bears almost the same date with the *considerations on the Christian religion*. His greatest passion was to publish these writings, because he was persuaded, that they would be useful; and perhaps few lay-men expressed so much zeal for the glory of GOD, and so much love for their neighbours, as he did. The serenity of his zeal appears by his books; but, if it be considered that he had scarce any thing to live upon but what he received from the court, it will be no wonder, if he did not publish them in his life-time. In order to prevent the loss of them after his death, if they should fall into the hands of persons of a different religion from his, he put them, in his latter years, into the hands of one of his old friends, whose faithfulness and affection were well known to him, and made him promise not to part with them, and to get them printed as soon as he should find an occasion for it (2). One may easily perceive,

(2) Preface to Gombauld's treatises and letters.

(1) This is found in Moreri.

' springs, which afforded him a plentiful maintenance. At first, his pension was brought
' down from twelve hundred crowns to eight hundred, and from eight hundred to four
' hundred, where it rested till his death; nor was he paid, ever since the war of Paris,
' but by the good offices of some potent and generous persons [B], to whom he had
' the honour to be known, and by whom he was protected, among whom the duke and
' dukes of Montausier ought to be first named. He was also for some years gratified
' with a pension by Mr Seguier, chancellor of France. He always enjoyed a good
' health, to which his frugality and oeconomy did very much contribute. But, one day,
' as he was walking in his chamber, which he used to do, he fell, and got such a hurt
' in his hip, that, ever after this accident, he was forced to keep his bed the greatest
' part of the time, till he died, being almost an hundred years old, if a date, written
' with his own hand in one of the books of his closet, was the true time of his birth; as
' he told one, who never said any thing of it till after his death, because Gombauld had
' imparted his age to him as a secret [C]. None had more constantly attended the
drawing-room

zealous. Gombauld had nothing to maintain himself, but the pension he received from the court of France; nor could he be paid, but by using the interest of a great man to overcome a thousand difficulties. That great man's credit would have been ineffectual, if Gombauld had published books of controversy; and consequently the publishing of them would have reduced the author to great straits. Were it not therefore too rigid a thing, to condemn his cautious prudence, and to think it strange, that he should put off the impression of those books till after his death? How many people would have laughed at him, if he had lost his pension for having published his controversial treatises? They would have said, that he strained charity; and that, since he wanted his pension more than his brethren wanted his books, he should have moderated his zeal, and contented himself with being a posthumous author. This ingenious epigram of the poet Gombauld is very judicious.

Plaise au Roi me donner cent Livres,
Pour acheter Livres & vivres:
De Livres je m'en passerois,
Mais de vivres je ne scaurois (3).

(3) See Gueret, pag. m. 171, of La Guerre des Auteurs.

Give me, great monarch, pounds five score,
For meat and books . . . I ask no more.
Or . . . keep the books, and give me meat . . .
For some folks read, but all folks eat.

[B] His pension was brought down . . . to eight hundred crowns, and then to four hundred . . . nor was he paid . . . but by the good offices of some generous persons.] There were two inconveniencies in it; for such a successive decrease of a pension must needs very much distress and vex a wit: besides, Gombauld was obliged to make many visits, and to be troublesome to others, and fatigue himself to get that small part he was reduced to. How often was he obliged to have recourse to the intercession of the Muses, and to extort some verses from them, in order to soften the intendants of the Finances, or to beg recommendations, or to thank those, who had been moved at last with the pathetic description of his necessity? If you read the best poets, you will find in them many such verses. But, though Gombauld was in very sad circumstances, his condition was still less deplorable than that of many other wits, who were always sent away with empty hands. No man was ever more liberal to them, than cardinal Richelieu; his ministry was a golden age for the French Muses: but his death was like a dreadful storm of hail, that falls upon a plentiful crop; which is rather to be ascribed to the confusions, in which the kingdom happened to be involved, than to the different genius and inclinations of those, who succeeded him. The pensions were suppressed, lessened, or ill paid; which made many people murmur and sigh. I shall only mention Scudery's complaints, which are to be found in the verses he composed upon Scarron's Virgil Travesty.

Quand tu souffres qu'on te voye,
Tu ressuscites ma joye;
Tu rétablis ma raison:
De l'humeur qui m'assassine,
Ton livre est la medecine,
Et le seul contre-poison.

2

Je te jure par Hercule,
(Serment de l'antiquité)
Que ton Heros ridicule
M'a presque effuscié.
Aussi pour ses assistances,
J'appends comme des potences,
Et mes chagrins, & mes soins:
Et tout ce qu'un miserable
De l'Esperance inexorable,
Endure & souffre le moins.
J'appends (dis-je) dans le Temple
De VIRGILE TRAVESTY,
Mille chagrins sans exemple,
Dont je me trouve investy:
Oüy, par ce grotesque Énée,
J'incague la Destinée
Qui me met à l'abandon:
Et j'offre mon Ordonnance,
Et mes Brevets sans finance
A la burlesque Didon (4).

When you appear, again I live,
Reason returns, my joys revive:
Thy book's my humour's sole relief,
The counter poison of my grief.

By Hercules, renown'd in war,
(Oath of antiquity) I swear,
Thy hero travesty'd has stole
The secret anguish of my soul.
For this I'll hang up all my cares,
My disappointed hopes, and fears,
All that I feel of grief and misery
From an inexorable treasury.

I to temple I will hang 'em high,
Offerings to VIRGIL TRAVESTY.
Be but grotesque Æneas by,
My destiny I dare defy.
My unpaid pension freely I do
Here dedicate to burlesque Dido.

We may therefore conclude, that Gombauld was none of those, who were in the worst circumstances: he only lost two thirds of his pension, and he received the third part for a great many years, by taking care to implore the assistance of his patrons. He died a Jubilant pensioner, and more than a Jubilant one (5); for the yearly gratifications he received lasted about fifty years. A very remarkable circumstance: for if the court of France does readily grant pensions, and pays them punctually during the first years; it is as ready to take them off, and to convert the funds, upon which they are assigned, into more pressing uses. New-comers crowd in daily, and the court is willing to satisfy them without new expences; that is, by applying to them what has already served for others, who are supposed to have enjoyed it long enough. The old pensioners are the most odious; they are obliged to ask with the greatest and most submissive patience, and are denied with the least scruple.

[C] He died, being almost an hundred years old . . . he had imparted his age to a friend as a secret.] What an odd thing is this! A man of good morals, and

(4) Scudery, in his ode to Scarron, prefixed to the Virgil Travesty.

(5) See the article BENSERADE, remark [O].

zealous

drawing-room of Mary de Medicis, and Anne of Austria, during the regency of those two princesses. But he was still more careful to go to Rambouillet-house (d) [D], and he did it with more pleasure. He died in the year 1666. I shall put in one single remark what I have to say concerning his writings, and what the best judges have thought of them [E].

(d) Taken from the above-quoted preface.

zealous for his religion, makes a mystery of the year of his birth: he reveals, with much ado, this great secret to a friend; but, at the same time, he so earnestly in-treats him to say nothing of it, that his friend thinks himself obliged to be silent about it, till after the death of his confidant. One could scarce bear this in a maid or a widow, though no body takes it ill, that they should be desirous to conceal their age (6). But this, and a thousand other instances shew, that what seems to be a meer oddness, an extravagant weakness, and an old woman's childishness, is nevertheless grounded upon a reason, that is specious, and has a kind of solidity. Gombauld was not a sorry rhimer, or a meer versifier: he was an excellent poet, and had been very much esteemed by persons of the greatest quality (7). He had constantly attended the assemblies of the ladies, and consequently he had got the habit of gallant conversation. When he happened to be among women, he still remembered the stile he used in his youth; he praised them, he flattered them. He could still act the part of a wit, and of a gallant; but, to perform that part with a greater decorum, it was necessary, that they should know nothing of his great age. He printed a large collection of epigrams in 1657; and therefore he might have feared, that, if people should come to know that he was ninety years old, they would think it strange, that he should desire a licence for such a book, and present his friends with it. He might have feared, that Mr Daillé, and the other ministers of Paris, would censure him for minding still such trifling things at an age so far advanced. However, he is not the only man, who has been guilty of such a weakness: we shall see hereafter (8) another instance of it in a grammarian, stuffed with Greek, who should have been more free from it than a court-poet.

[D] He went carefully to Rambouillet-house. The author of the preface calls it, *The charming place, whither all the persons of quality and merit of that time used to resort* (9). It was, says he, a kind of a contracted and choice court, less numerous, but, if I dare say so, more exquisite than that of the Louvre; because none was allowed to come near that temple of honour, where virtue was revered under the name of the incomparable Arctice, but such as deserved her approbation and esteem.

[E] I shall put in one remark what I have to say concerning his writings, and what the best judges have thought of them. The history of the French Academy (10) informs us, that, in 1652, Gombauld had not yet published the tragedy; intitled, *The Danaides*, nor the tragi-comedy, intitled, *Cydippe*, nor three books of epigrams, nor many other poems, and letters and discourses in prose; but that his *Endymion*, and his *Amarante* a pastoral, and a volume of poems, and a volume of letters, were printed. The abbot de Marolles observes, in a book he published in the year 1657, that Mr Gombauld had lately put out an excellent collection of epigrams (11); and (12) that his *A-conce* (13), and his immortal *Danaides*, wherein there are such fine verses, were not as yet printed. We find, in the preface to the posthumous treatises, that the tragedy of the *Danaides* has been printed, and that the author left not only a tragi-comedy of *Cydippe*, but also *wherewithal to make a new collection of verses, especially of sonnets and epigrams, which have not yet seen the light, because they are in the hands of some persons, who have little knowledge of these sorts of things*. Note, that the *Endymion* is written in prose:

It was printed in 1624, and reprinted in 1626. It is a kind of a romance.

The critics are divided in their opinions about his poetry. Some pretend, that he excelled in the making of sonnets; and that it was his lot and the share of Parnassus which fell to him. *Let us mind such things as we have a natural genius for* (they are Gue-re's words (14); *let us keep to that kind of work, for which we have a talent: we must not envy the glory of those, whom we cannot imitate*. Let Desportes write elegies, Theophile stanzas, Gombauld sonnets, and Maynard epigrams: others extend Gombauld's dominion farther: they will have it, not only that he reigned over the sonnets, but also that he conquered the empire of the epigrams over Maynard. 'Gombauld, the great Casuist, and law-giver of the country, caused very pretty sonnets to come from the island of the same name. He drew also from the Epigram-matic Mountains three troops of light-horfe of a small size; but which fought with a wonderful quickness, and had very dangerous darts, which they shot with an admirable dexterity. He had made use of them to dismember the principality, which pre-sident Menard had usurped before (15).' The abbot de Marolles is contented to place Menard, Bautre, and Gombauld, among the French poets, with whom our Neighbours cannot dispute the pre-eminence, as to epigrams, and who are little inferior to the ancients (16). Mr Boileau does not at all value the sonnets of our poet.

(14) Guere, ubi supra, pag. 138, 139.

(15) Foretiere, Nouvelle Allegorie, pag. 56, 57, Paris, 1658, in 8vo.

(16) The abbot de Marolles, ubi supra, pag. 246.

Un Sonnet sans défauts vaut seul un long Poëme.
Mais en vain mille Auteurs y pensent arriver,
Et cet heureux Phenix est encore à trouver.
A peine dans Gombaut, Maynard, & Malleville
En peut-on admirer deux ou trois entre mille.
Le reste aussi peu lû que ceux de Pelletier,
N'a fait de chez Sercy qu'un faut chez l'Epicien (17).

(17) Boileau, Art. Poétique, Canto II, vers. 94.

A faultless sonnet is a perfect piece.

In vain a thousand authors hunt this ground;
The happy Phenix yet is to be found.

In Gombaut, Maynard, Malleville, . . . who you please . . .

Scarce two or three, amidst a thousand, please:

The rest as little read as Pelletier,
From Sercy make one leap to the Grocer.

(18) Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poët. Tom. V, pag. 25, 26.

Here follows the judgment of another critic, which I shall set down in M. Baillet's own words (18).

'M. Rousseau says *, that few poets have, in their latter days, applied themselves to epigrams, which are commonly made up of such turns and flashes of wit, as become rather a young man than a poet worn out, and far advanced in years. But he adds, that Mr Gombauld may be excused for having done it in the latter part of his life, because most of his epigrams are rather a censure upon the lives and corrupt manners of his time, than gallant verses made for the ladies.' Mr Rousseau supposes what is very uncertain, that Gombauld's epigrams were the last work that he applied himself to. It is a very doubtful thing, to say no worse; for, though they are the last book of poetry published by Gombauld (19), he might have composed them in his youth (20).

* Rousseau, Sentim. sur quelques livres qu'il a lus, pag. 74.

(19) This I say, not knowing exactly in what year the Danaides were published.

(20) I mean, that he began early to make some, to which he added others every year, as occasion offered.

GONET (JOHN BAPTIST), a Dominican frier, born at Beziers, was a doctor of the university of Bourdeaux, where he taught divinity. He caused the famous Provincial Letters of Montalte (a) to be approved there, whereby he incurred the indignation and hatred of the Jesuits. He published several works [A], wherein he shews, that

(a) That is M^s Pascal.

[A] He published several works. His theology, intitled, *Clypeus Doctrinae Thomisticae*, was first printed at Bourdeaux, in sixteen volumes in 12mo, in the year 1666, and then at Paris, in five volumes, in folio, VOL. III.

in the year 1669. This last edition was enlarged with several prefaces and dissertations, and is much more correct than the first. The Spaniards say it is too short, and call it a very pretty *Compendium of Divinity*.

(b) Taken from a memoir, sent from Paris.

(c) I think it was his Introduction to History.

(1) The *Journal des Savans* of March 30, 1665, contains a very good extract of it.

(a) See the particulars of it in Brantome's *Mémoires*, Tom. III, pag. 326, & seq. Father Anselme, whom Moreri transcribes, has only abridged Brantome.

(b) At Epinal, the 26th of July, 1594.

that he excelled in School-Divinity, and that he was but indifferently versed in what we call Positive Theology. He retired to Beziers about the latter end of his life, and died there the twenty fourth of January, 1681 (b). Mr de Rocolles, who had praised him in one of his books (c), prefixed to a new edition a letter of thanks, which he had received from that frier, who assured him that he would return the compliment upon the first occasion.

nity. He published, at Bourdeaux, in 1664, a little book, intitled, *Dissertatio Theologica de probabilitate* (1). His *Manuale Thomistarum*, printed at Beziers, in 1680, age (2). in six volumes, in 12mo, is his last work. He left a course of philosophy to be printed; but it is thought to be too prolix, and not suited to the genius of our

(2) Taken from a memoir sent from Paris.

GONTAUT (ARMAND DE) baron de Biron (§ a), was made a marshal of France in the year 1577. He had been great master of the ordonnance from the fifth of November 1569; and, before that, he had gone through all the military offices (a). Of all the noble actions, that made him so illustrious, there is none, for which he deserves so many praises, as his constant fidelity to king Henry III, who did not love him [A], and to Henry IV, who had openly separated from the Romish communion. After the death of Henry III, none did so much contribute to secure the crown for Henry IV [B], and therefore he was very much lamented by that prince, when he was killed at the siege of a town in Champagne (b), before the League had been subdued. He dissuaded the

[§ a] Mr Bayle might have added, that Biron, the father, followed the duke of Anjou into the Low-Countries; that he was at Antwerp, when that prince endeavoured to take the town, and that he was presently suspected to be one of the chief authors of the design; but that afterwards, after the retreat of the duke of Anjou, a letter from Biron to the duke, in which he dissuaded and even detested the enterprize, being found in the cloaths of that duke, brought the citizens of Antwerp, from hating Biron, to esteem and love him. This is what Busbequius tells us, in the nineteenth letter of his French Embassy. REM. CRIT.]

[A] Henry III, who did not love him.] He incurred his indignation (1) because he opposed the peace that was made before Rochelle in the year 1573. Henry III, who was then but duke of Anjou, had besieged that place several months, and found no better expedient to retire with honour, than to make a treaty of peace; for the continuation of the siege was dangerous, and contrary both to the queen-mother's desire to see again the duke of Anjou, and to the design he himself had to go and take possession of the kingdom of Poland: and therefore his mother, and he, were very willing, that the besieged should be brought to an accommodation. 'Biron did what ever he could to dissuade the king and queen from hearkening to any composition, and engaged upon his life to take the town within a month, or five weeks at farthest, without losing or venturing any thing but making a good blockade: but his advices and letters proved ineffectual at that time. . . . When Biron saw, that he could not prevail with the king and queen, and the king of Poland, he took another course: He wrote to the cardinal of Lorraine, and to some of the chief members of the council, and desired them to prevent the raising of the siege, and the making of a peace; assuring them that, if they would but let him act, the city of Rochelle would be more subject to the king in six weeks time, than ever it had been. The cardinal, who was a shuffling man, began to carry on secret practices, and to tamper with the council, in order to dissuade the king and queen from such a capitulation and peace. They importuned their majesties, and particularly the queen, to such a degree, that she found no other way to put an end to their solicitations but to write to the king of Poland by the abbot de Gadagne, whom she trusted entirely, and to inform him of the secret practices of Biron, advising him to talk big to him. The king of Poland, being informed of this, wrote some haughty and threatening letters to the cardinal, and other members of the council, who advised such a thing. Those letters, written with his own hand, were so severe, that they were all amazed at it, and proceeded no farther. As for Biron, one morning, as he attended the king in his wardrobe, where the council met that day, the king of Poland took him to task, and said him as soon as he saw him, come hither, spark, I am informed of your doings: you take upon you to carry on secret practices against me, and to write to the court: I have almost a mind to run you through the body, and to kill you upon the spot; or rather to appoint some commissioners to enquire into your life, and examine what you have done against me, the king, and his dominions,

in order to have your head cut off. How dare you oppose my will? I know who you are. Were it not for the king, and for me, you would be a very inconsiderable man. How come you to forget your self? you set up for a pretending man. You will take Rochelle, say you, within a month or six weeks, and are resolved to have the glory of it, to my prejudice. You have already too much exposed my honour. . . . You made me stay five months here; and now that I may retire with honour, you oppose me; and you are for staying longer, to triumph over me. I will teach you to set up for a great captain at my cost (2). Biron excused himself in a submissive manner (3), and 'ever after the king of Poland carried himself very coldly towards him, even at his return from Poland (4). But he gave him a kind reception (5) when Biron waited upon him in August, 1575, being sent for by the queen-mother, at the request of the duke of Guise, who would have no other captain with him but Biron, and Strozza, to maul Thore (6), and all his reiters. Biron behaved himself very well in that war; and though it has been said, that he would have sided with the league, if the thirty thousand crowns that 'were offered to him, had been put into his hands, it is more probable, that he rejected all those proposals (7). However it be, the king had no better and more faithful servant than he, during that war. . . . The duke of Guise, being dead, he waited upon the king very seasonably, who was very glad to see him. He assisted his master in a very critical time; for the greatest part of the kingdom was bent against him, by reason of the duke of Guise's murder (8).'

[B] None did so much contribute to secure the crown for Henry IV.] Let us hear Brantome again (9). After the king's death, having had a long time a great interest with the soldiers, both French and foreigners, who all loved and respected him, he drew them over in such a manner, that the king of Navarre succeeded the late king with an unanimous consent, which was the noblest exploit that ever he did. . . . So that every body believes, that the marshal made him king, as he told him once in a reproachful manner: for the Catholics would have forsaken him, because he was a Huguenot, and the Huguenots were not strong enough to set him on the throne. But by the industry of the said marshal, they were brought to obey the new king, though a Huguenot, if not out of a good will, at least to revenge the death of the late king, who had been unjustly murdered. But this was not all; for there was a necessity to maintain him, and to conquer the towns, wherein he was

was not sent (1) Brantome's *Mémoires*, Tom. III, pag. 326, & seq. Father Anselme, whom Moreri transcribes, has only abridged Brantome.

(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

(a) Brantome, *Elog. de Maréchal de Biron*, in the third Tome of his *Mémoires*, pag. 340.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

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(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.

king from following the opinion of those, who advised him to retire to a safe place by sea [C]; and had he done nothing else, he would deserve very great praises. He was a man of little religion; but he was rather a Protestant than a Catholic [D]. He was so much suspected by the inquisitors, that he was put in the list of those that were to be massacred on St Bartholomew's day [E]; but as he lodged in the Bastille, being

but half a king; which the marshal did so effectually, that he helped him to recover some good and strong towns, to win the battle of Yvry, and to get out of Arques and Dieppe, as I shall shew in the king's life. Afterwards, as he was taking a view of the town of Espernay, his head was shot off by a cannon-ball. There was a blot in his fidelity to Henry IV; but it was of no long continuance. He looked upon himself as the most necessary man, and was really so after the death of Henry III, and thinking, that, in such a confusion, the kingdom would be torn to pieces, he came to fancy, that he might get one of them; and, entering into the cabinet, and hearing several people murmur, he took Sancy aside, and told him, that he desired to be made sovereign of the county of Perigord, as a reward for his services. Sancy, being unwilling to discourage him, went immediately to the king, and acquainted him with it. The king charged him to give Biron all the encouragement imaginable; and Sancy managed him with so much address and dexterity, that, working upon his generosity, he obliged him not only to desist from his pretension, but also to profess never to suffer, that any part of the kingdom should be dismembered for any body whatsoever (10).

[C] He dissuaded the king from following the advice of those who persuaded him to retire to a safe place by sea.

The duke of Mayenne, having obliged that prince to raise the siege of Rouen, and to retire towards Dieppe, endeavoured to follow him so close, that he might have no way to escape but by sea.

The king's captains, and even the Protestants (11), . . . knew not well how to get out of the danger they were in, and were very much concerned for the king's safety, on which the welfare of the kingdom depended: so that in a council held the fifth

of September (12), most of them were of opinion, that he should leave his troops intrenched in good posts, . . . and take shipping immediately, in order to retire into England, or to Rochelle, lest he should be invested both by sea and land. . . .

Their opinion was supported by so many strong reasons, that the king himself began to waver, when marshal de Biron, who had heard this discourse with contempt, being sorry that it made a greater impression, than it should have done, spoke with an angry tone, and told the king, &c. I do not set down his speech, which may be found in

Mezerai: It is so well turned, and so full of strong arguments, that it is no wonder it had the desired effect. Henry IV, having heard it, resolved to hold out in his post. He was attacked in it, and the enemies were gloriously repulsed. Biron was in the right to say, 'that as things stood then, to go out of France, only for twenty four hours, was to leave it for ever.' A prince must not expect to succeed in such a concurrence, if he tells his generals, 'take care of my crown, and I will take care of my self.'

[D] He was rather a Protestant than a Catholic.

His being suspected of being a Protestant was the reason why he was not made a knight of the order, in the beginning of the civil-wars. 'It is to be ob-

served, says Brantome (13), that the chief reason why that honour was not conferred upon him, and why they made no great account of him, was, that he was looked upon as a great Huguenot: nay, it was said at court, that he had got two of his children baptized by Protestant ministers, which was then abhorred by the great captains, such as the king of Navarre, messieurs de Guise, the constable, and the marshal de Saint Andre, and by every body. For this reason Biron was looked upon with an evil eye; so that he resolved to quit the court, and to retire to his house. He would have done it, had not du Perron, afterwards marshal de Retz, spoke for him to the queen. They made him stay and he went to the army without any employment; but, they having quickly discovered his merit, he was made an assistant to the great marshals de camp. The duke of Guise began to like him, though he dropt now

and then some words that favoured of a Huguenot. He had much ado to forbear it; but he took care not to discover openly his affection to that party. He acquired at last so great a capacity in his post, that there was a necessity to make use of him

(14). He was twice unfortunate in the third civil-war, and very much blamed by the king's brother, who was the general; and it was said in the army,

(they are Brantome's words) (15), that he had threatened to run him through with his dagger. Biron

was obliged to excuse himself as modestly as he could; for if he had raised his voice never so little, the king's brother would have run him through, so

great was his passion against him. He reproached him with being a Huguenot, and a favourer of that

party; and told him, that he had been wanting to his duty, on purpose to bring a disreputation upon him, and to have him and his whole

army destroyed. Tavannes, who was a very haughty man, spoke also to him, and told him, that he was a pretending man, who would meddle

with every thing, and a Huguenot; and that he seldom went to mass and when he did, it was only for a shew. Biron was upbraided with all these

things in council, and obliged to buckle to, and hold his tongue. After the Paris massacre, the

king sent him into Xaintonge (16), to bring Rochelle to his obedience either willingly or by force. The town was besieged. Biron was (17) 'unfortunate in

that siege; for, though he performed the duty of a great captain, and of an excellent master of the

artillery, and received a musket-shot, yet the greatest part of the besiegers were of opinion, that he kept

correspondence with the besieged, and that he, and his creatures, acquainted them with every thing that

passed out of the town. This is a great mistake; for, if he had taken that town, he would have been made

governor of it, and put in possession of the most important place of France. He was an ambitious

man; and therefore I leave you to judge whether he would have missed the opportunity of taking

such a town. Besides, it is certain, that, if his advice and that of Strozza, had been followed,

that town would have been taken gradually, as we have done at last (18). He was, doubtless,

suspected of keeping intelligence with the Rochellers, because, they looked upon him as a Huguenot; and therefore I have added this passage of Brantome to

those, which you have seen before. I shall confirm all those passages by these words of Mezerai taken from the elogy of our Biron (19). As for his religion, he was a little inclined to the new reformation. [A], citat. (2).

A tutor, whom he had in his younger years, imbued him with those principles; and his wife, who made an open profession of the Protestant religion, France, Tom.

kept him up in those opinions (20): so that he favoured the Protestants underhand, except when

the king's service required the contrary; and, his heart speaking through his mouth, he often dropt some satirical jests against the ceremonies of the church of Rome: which made several people sus-

pect, that he kept off the king's conversion; for the king, by reason of the great services he had done him, after the death of Henry III, relied

entirely on him, and was wholly directed by his councils, though sometimes he was offended at his haughtiness.

[E] He was put in the list of those, that were to be massacred on St Bartholomew's day. Biron had been made use of, to bring the queen of Navarre

to the court of France, with the prince her son, who was to be married to Charles the ninth's sister. Biron brought that prince, attended with the flower of

the Huguenots, who, thinking to domineer and govern the world, met there with a tragical end.

Those, who escaped, blamed Biron, and laid the whole fault on him, saying, that he had wheedled and amused them, to bring them to the slaughter. . .

But, notwithstanding all those suspicions and calumnies, it is certain, that he was in great trouble, during that massacre; and it was well for him, that he

(10) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. III, pag. 829.

(11) Mezerai, Ibid. pag. 822.

(12) 1589.

(13) Brantome, vol. I, pag. 323.

(14) Ib. pag. 330.

(15) Ibid. pag. 332.

(16) Biron was to his obedience either willingly or by force. The governor of it, and of the country of Anjou.

(17) Brant. ubi supra, pag. 337.

(18) Add to the suspected of keeping intelligence with the Rochellers, misfortune, he had in that siege, the severe reprimand, which he received from the king of Poland, above, in remark [A], citat. (2).

(19) Mezerai,

Histoire de

France, Tom.

III, pag. 1026.

(20) I wonder he

said nothing of

his mother, who,

according to

Denique in Agin-

neni apud Annam Bonvil-

liam, Armani

Bironi famosi

Illius ducis ma-

triam, toto eo

tempore tutus

receptus fuit.

Thuan. lib.

xxxiii, pag. 671,

ad ann. 1592.

great master of the ordonnance, he knew how to defeat the ill designs of the murderers. The reason, why he was suspected to favour the Huguenots, is very glorious to him [F]. There never was a man of his quality, who had a more universal knowledge [G]. He was well qualified, not only for all sorts of military offices, but also for negotiation. He loved books, and the conversation of learned men; and used to write down in his table-book whatever he thought worthy the taking notice of. He was too passionate, and too much given to drinking [H]. He had another fault greater than those two, and which often proves very prejudicial to princes; for he neglected the opportunities to give the enemy a decisive blow [I]. He was afraid, that the war would be too soon ended, and that the court would send him home without any employment. It is said, that, after he had laughed at the predictions of those who calculate nativities, a thing, with which the court of France was then infatuated, he became so credulous, as to believe, what those men told him, concerning the kind of death

had a great deal of courage and bravery; for he immediately retired into his arsenal, and planted several guns at the gate and other avenues, and was ready to make a brave defence; so that, some troops of Parisians, who never had any thing to do with such a warlike man, coming near the gate, he spoke to them boldly, and threatened to fire at them, if they did not retire. They immediately went away, and durst no more come near him, nor do any thing against him. He was certainly put in the black list, as well as the rest; and he told me so himself, at his return from Brouage; for he was my friend, and related to me, and we had a long talk about the massacre. It was said, that Tavannes, and the count de Retz, who did not love him, had him put in the list of those, that were to be massacred (21). Mezerei informs us, that Biron sheltered some of his friends in the Bastille. These are his words (22): 'The Montmorency's, Cossé, and Biron, had been put in the list; but the absence of the marshal de Montmorency, who was at Chantilly, saved the life of his three brothers. The intreaties of the fair Chateau-neuf, mistress to the king's brother, saved Cossé, who was her relation; and Biron, great master of the artillery, having planted some culverins over the gate of the arsenal, stopt the fury of the murderers, and sheltered some of his friends; amongst others James, second son of the lord de la Force, who being then but 10 or 12 years of age, had cunningly hid himself betwixt the bodies of his father and his eldest brother, who had been killed in bed, where they three lay.'

[F] *The reason, why he was suspected to favour the Huguenots, is very glorious to him.* I shall use the words of one of our best historians (23). 'Biron seemed to have been inclined to the new opinions, ever since he had been in esteem with the late king of Navarre. Nevertheless he shewed himself a good Catholic all the rest of his life; and whenever the war broke out against the Huguenots, he behaved himself with as much courage and fidelity as any body else. But the reason why they thought he did not hate the Huguenots, was because he could not approve, that they should break the faith that was given them; and because, when the last Edict of Pacification was patched up, he gave the queen to understand at several times, that it had been more becoming the king's majesty to carry things to the last extremity (24), than to make a treaty, which he knew was not to be observed. For this reason, and because he was a man of a sincere probity, the queen-mother, and the Guises, put him in the black list: at least he believed it, and always kept a lively remembrance of it.'

[G] *There never was a man of his quality who had more universal knowledge.* 'He had an universal knowledge of the art of war, and of state-affairs: he understood and managed them as well as any lord in France; and therefore the queen-mother, upon any important occasion, never failed to send for him, whether he was at home, or elsewhere, and intirely depended upon him. He himself used to say, in a drolling way, that he was a clever fellow, consulted upon all occasions. He said nothing but what was true; and the queen and he agreed very well in all things relating to war or peace. He had been a great lover of books, and continued to love them ever since his younger years. He was very curious and inquisitive, and

had always a table-book about him, in which he writ down whatever he saw, or heard, that deserved to be taken notice of: which occasioned a kind of a proverb at court; for when any body said any thing, he was told, you have found that in Biron's table-book. Nay, king Henry's jester would sometimes swear by the divine table-book of Biron And I have seen several people wonder, that, tho' he had never been employed in great affairs with any foreign state, or sent upon an embassy, as Lanfac, Rambouillet, the marshal de Retz, and others, had been; yet he knew more than they, and might have taught them many things relating both to foreign and domestic affairs (25). Let us add to this passage some lines out of the encomium, which Mezerei bestows upon him. 'He had a quick and penetrating wit, a ready Elocution, a persuasive discourse, and a noble and warlike soul. He was quick, laborious, and bold, desirous to learn, very exact, and no less skilled in the intrigues of the court and among the ladies, than brave and valiant in war He gloried in having an universal knowledge, and to understand negotiations as well as the art of war. He meddled with every thing, and kept himself busy, when they gave him nothing to do. He pretended to be a perfect master of geography and history, and delineated plans and maps with his own hand; saying, that it was one of the things that belong to a great captain, to shew upon paper what he can do in the field (26).

[H] *He was too much given to drinking.* Mezerei says only (27), 'that he loved jesting and good cheer; that he slept but little; and ate a long time at table, drinking till he was merry.' But there is a repartee, ascribed to Henry IV, which carries the thing further. 'One day the duke of Savoy was praising the noble actions and great services, which the two Birones, father and son, had done him. The king answered, that, indeed, they had served him well; but that he had much ado to moderate the drunkenness of the father, and to restrain the mad fits of the son (28).'

[I] *He neglected . . . to give the enemy a decisive blow.* Brantome relates (29), that it was said, that, if Biron 'had been willing to push on,' he would have done more mischief to the king of Navarre. This belongs to the time, when Biron commanded in Guienne under Henry III. Upon another occasion, that is, when the duke of Parma was at Candebec, Biron reproved his son for representing to the king, that, if his majesty would give him four thousand arquebusers, and two thousand horse, he would hinder the enemy from passing. 'Hereupon (they are Brantome's words) the marshal gave a severe reprimand to his son in the king's presence, and told him, that he was a fine spark to do such a thing, and found so many difficulties in it, that the design was broke off. Afterwards he told his son in the evening, that he knew very well he would have succeeded, or have been killed in it; but that such an enemy of the French nation must not be routed all at once. For, said he, when they are overcome and undone, kings make no account of their captains and military men; and therefore the war ought to be kept up, and cultivated like a piece of ground; otherwise those who have ploughed it will starve, if they let it lie waste (30). Mezerei expresses this in a stile more nervous and polite. 'Marshal Biron was looked up, on as a man, who raised factions, to shew his ability,

(21) Brantome, ubi supra, pag. 335.

(22) Mezerei, Atque Chronol. Tom. V, pag. 257, 158.

(23) Id. Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 267, ad ann. 1572.

(24) Some wonder, that none of the ministers of state of Lewis XIV durst tell him the same thing, when he went about to publish so many arrests against the Protestants. They were obliged at last to come to open force. To what purpose then so many law-schicanes. See the Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, Novemb. 1685, pag. 1263, about the method of persecuting, which Mary queen of England made use of.

(25) Brantome ubi supra, pag. 336.

(26) Mezerei, Hist. de France, Tom. III, pag. 1026.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Peresixe, Hist. de Henri le Grand, ad ann. 1603, pag. m. 320.

(29) Ubi supra, pag. 330.

(30) Ibid. pag. 368.

death with which they threatened him [K]. Notwithstanding his fatigues, his wounds, and his great age, he was still a very vigorous man; and we are told a remarkable thing of the strength of his stomach [L]. He left many children; the eldest of which shall be the subject of the following article.

(31) Mezeraï, *ibid.* supra. See also Davila, *lib.* xiii, pag. m. 800.

(32) In the *Entretiens* for la Cabale chimérique, pag. 191.

[K] He became so credulous as to believe the kind of death, which the Calculators of Nativities threatened him with. The following passage is to be found in the large history of Mezeraï. 'A certain person, who was very well acquainted with Biron, told me a remarkable thing of him. That marshal had all along laughed at the predictions of the astrologers, whom the great curiosity of queen Catherine de Medicis had brought in great request at court; but, some time before he died, some of those predictions having had their accomplishment, he gave as much credit to them, and became as superstitious in that respect, as he had been incredulous before, so far as consult the fortune-tellers. One of those men having foretold him, half a year before that siege, that he should be killed by a

cannon-ball, it made such an impression upon him, that he confessed to his friends, whenever he heard a gun go off, he could not forbear trembling for fear, and bending his head. At that time (33), hearing a bullet whistle, he slept aside to avoid it; but it fell out unluckily that he went to meet it, and so he fulfilled a prediction, which perhaps had not come to pass, if he had laughed at it (34). This historian is more exact, than I thought, in relating such things.

[L] They tell a remarkable thing of the strength of his stomach. Let us hear Mezeraï once more (35). 'He had been in many sieges and bloody actions, and commanded as general in seven battles, wherein he received as many wounds: and though he was broken with fatigue and wounds, and above sixty eight years old (36), yet he enjoyed such a vigorous health, that the surgeons, who opened his body, to embalm it, found no meat in his stomach, though he had been killed but an hour after supper; which shews, that he had a great deal of natural heat, since the digestion was so quickly made (37).

(33) That is, when he was killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Epemai.

(34) Mezeraï, Tom. III, page 1024.

(35) *Ibid.*

(36) Davila, *ibid.* supra, says, that he was just entering upon his sixty fifth year.

(37) Dupleix, *Hist. de Henry IV*, pag. 93, says, that it was an hour after he had got a good dinner, and that he was fifty eight years of age.

GONTAUT (CHARLES DE) duke of Biron, the son of the foregoing, was one of the greatest captains of his time; but he had the fault to speak of his own exploits with an intolerable pride. He learned the art of war early, under marshal de Biron his father, who omitted nothing to raise him, or make him appear worthy of preferment [A]. He was made admiral of France in the year 1592, and, having resigned that office in 1594, he was made marshal of France, and governor of Burgundy. The king erected the barony of Biron into a duchy and peerdom in the year 1598, and immediately sent the new duke to Brussels upon a magnificent embassy, to make the archduke swear to the peace of Vervins. He was sent into Switzerland in January 1602 [B], to renew the alliance with the cantons. He had been in England the year before, to compliment queen Elizabeth in the king's name; and he received extraordinary honours from that great queen. What she did upon this occasion has not been faithfully related [C]. Every body knows the tragical end of the marshal and duke of Biron.

He

[A] His father omitted nothing to raise him, or to make him appear worthy of preferment. In 1580

(1) He was leading his army towards L'Isle en Jourdain, four leagues from Toulouse. Davila, *Hist. de Hen. III*, pag. 12.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Pierre Matthieu, *Hist. de la Paix*, liv. 9, pag. 218.

(4) Croyet, *Chronol. Septentrion*, fol. 319, verso.

(5) *Ibid.* fol. 319, verso.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.* fol. 319.

(8) Father Anselme, pag. 197.

(9) Matthieu, *Hist. de la Paix*, liv. 9, pag. m. 211.

rel with Dampierre, marshal de camp, made him quit his post, and procured it for his son, who enjoyed it in the quality of marshal de camp general: and, because the young man knew not how to discharge the duties of that post, his father laboured for him day and night, and gave him all the glory of it; which brought the said baron into such a credit and reputation in the army, that the marshal his father having been killed with a cannon-ball at the siege of Epemai, the king made him admiral. When Mr de Villars came into the king's service, he resigned his place of admiral, and was made marshal of France (10). I shall conclude this remark with a passage of Mezeraï (11). 'The Catholics were not so sorry for the death of marshal de Biron, as the king was, who expressed more grief for it, than for any other loss, that he had sustained; and his grief would have lasted longer, had he not believed, that the baron's son, being bred up by him, would be able to do him as great services; so much the more, because he had all the experience of his father; but he had not yet his cunning and his ill maxims.'

[B] He was sent into Switzerland . . . in 1602. De Vic and Silleri had much ado to renew the alliance; and, when they thought they had overcome all obstacles, they perceived, that all was spoiled by the emissaries of Spain and Savoy: but marshal de Biron, who arrived at Soleure, 'with a great retinue and a magnificent equipage, brought the treaty to a happy conclusion. His sumptuousity, his martial discourse, and the glory of his noble exploits, which the Swiss had been often witnesses of, made no small impression upon such a warlike people; and the great sums that came after him made an end of the work. . . . That solemnity was concluded with a noble entertainment, wherein he preached up the king's grandeur, and the power of France. This was not the least of his services (12).'

[C] What queen Elizabeth did upon this occasion has not been faithfully related. A great many historians say, that queen Elizabeth affected to shew him the head

(10) Discours Historique de la Fortune des Favoris, depuis François I, jusques à Louis XIII, inferé in Le Laboureur's Additions to Coste's *Mem. de Hen. IV*, pag. 114. It has been since reprinted by the title, *Mem. de Mr de Beauvais Nangis*.

(11) *Hist. de France*, Tom. III, pag. 126.

(12) Mezeraï, *Abregé Chronol.* Tom. VI, pag. 257, ad 1602.

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He was beheaded the thirty first of July, 1602, for joining with the duke of Savoy in a horrid conspiracy against the state [D]. He behaved like a madman upon the scaffold [E]. He was not yet forty years of age (a). He was a man of a boundless ambition; and, tho' he had no religion [F], he appeared superstitious, in order to revive

(a) Matthieu, *Hist. de la Paix*, lib. iv, pag. 218.

head of the earl of Essex, to have an opportunity to tell him by what motive she had been induced to punish so severely the rebellion of that ungrateful man. They add, that she told him, the king of France would do well to punish traitors in the same manner (13). Some say, that she shewed him the earl's head from the windows of her palace; others will have it, that she did it, going over London-bridge. But this cannot be true, since the queen was at a country-house all the time marshal de Biron was in England. Duplex (14) made use of this observation to confute what has been said by so many other historians; and Leti has done it likewise (15): but he is mistaken, when he says, that Henry IV did not send Biron to London, till after his return to Paris (16); for he sent him thither from Calais.

I do not pretend to deny, that the queen discoursed in such a manner about the earl of Essex; but, instead of saying that she did it, shewing the earl's head to the duke of Biron, those historians should have said, as le Grain does (17), that she spoke those words in her closet, shewing him the picture of that lord. It is a shameful thing, that the French relations, and even those that were written by the best historians of those times, should be stuffed with so many fables. Camden has all the reason in the world to laugh at them for saying, that the queen shewed the head of the earl of Essex to the marshal de Biron; for it was buried with the body. *Quod quidam Gallici scriptores prodiderunt eam cranium Essexii inter plura damnatorum, in intimo Larario, vel (ut alii scribunt) palo affixum, Bironio & Gallis ostentasse, ridicule vanum est. Illud enim una cum corpore consepultum* (18). He says the queen was then at a country-house, which he calls Basingum. Bassompierre (19), who accompanied marshal de Biron, calls it Basing; correct therefore Duplex, who calls it Vignes. He has committed many other faults, for which Bassompierre takes him up. Here is one of them. The queen gave the French a royal entertainment, sung along with it. Bassompierre refutes this in these words (20): 'She gave no royal entertainment to the French; only she defrayed the expences of marshal de Biron and his company, all the time he was at Laning (21); and one day, marshal de Biron being at Basing, my lord Corbain brought him, with four or five of us, into her chamber through a back-door, to surprise her when she was singing.'

[D] He was beheaded for joining with the duke of Savoy in a horrid conspiracy against the state.] This was none of those petty conspiracies designed only to keep a king busy, that he may not disturb his neighbours. It is affirmed, that the duke of Savoy and Biron had agreed to dismember the kingdom, to erect as many sovereignties in it, as there were provinces, and to put all those petty princes under the protection of Spain. The duke of Savoy was to have for his share the Lyonnais, Dauphiné, and Provence, and Biron the duchy of Burgundy, to which the Spaniards were to add Franche Comté, as a portion for a daughter of their king, or for a daughter of the duke of Savoy, whom they promised to marry to him (22). I shall take occasion from hence to observe a great difference between the passions of sovereign princes and those of private men. Any gentleman would certainly take it as a great affront, if one of his neighbours should offer to corrupt his servants, and engage them to betray their master. He would quickly send him a challenge, or at least seek an opportunity to end the difference sword in hand. But princes are contented to punish the traitors, and continue to keep correspondence with the seducer. Henry IV bore very patiently this hostility of the duke of Savoy; no rupture ensued upon it, and they remained, in all outward appearance, as good friends as they were before. See hereafter (23) a passage of Brantôme concerning the quarrels of great men (24).

[E] He behaved like a madman upon the scaffold.] All the historians of that time tell us at large what he did and what he said, during his trial, till he was executed. I shall only set down what I find in a letter of Mr Gillot to Scaliger (25). 'You have heard of the

marshal's death, who has been executed in the court of the Bastille, by the king's favour, and not in the Greve. He has all along refused to discover his accomplices, and has said nothing but what is in his process. He is dead, very ill affected to the king and his country; which he shewed, by praying to God, that he would have mercy upon his soul, and the king's: and then he said, quick, quick, make haste, and would not suffer himself to be bound, swearing, that he would strangle the executioner with his teeth. The executioner did not come near him: he himself tied his handkerchief about his head, and then untied it, swearing most horribly, that they should take care not to put him into a fury, and that he would spoil one half of those that were there; and desiring the musqueteers, that were in the court, to shoot him. Is there no honest fellow among you, said he, that will shoot marshal de Biron, that he may not die by the hands of these rascals? He complained to the chancellor himself of the severity of that sentence. You may well believe, that his death was necessary to France. I can assure you, that he is dead, like the man spoken of by an Italian poet:

Biafremando se ne fuge l'alma con grand cordoglio,
Come nel mondo vifle pieno d'ira & d'orgoglio.

The soul, where rage and madnes wont to dwell,
Furious, breaks loose, and seeks the shades of bell.

These two verses are very like those, that are to be found at the end of Orlando furioso:

Beflemmiando fuggi l'alma sdegnosa,
Che fu si altera al mondo, e si orgogliosa (26).

See the proud soul, which boild with vengeful ire,
Indignant quit the limbs, and to the shades retire.

When he was told, that he could expect no pardon, he did so furiously inveigh against the king, that the historians durst not mention the words that he made use of. 'The duke of Biron . . . having given up himself to grief and fury, spoke first, and said what ever a man, overcome with grief, can utter, telling the chancellor in a reproachful manner, that he had been all along more inclined to condemn him, than to save him: and, upon this occasion, he added some words, the memory whereof is forbidden, and which cannot be mentioned with impunity. But princes are little concerned for the satirical strokes of their subjects, who seldom fail to suffer for it (27).'

[F] Though he had no religion.] I will quote hereupon this passage of Victor Cayet (28). 'He often laughed at all religion. One day, the baron de Lux, his trusty friend, told him, that a capuchin, attending his uncle, archbishop of Paris, when he was dying, had made use these words: When God sees, that a sinner will not repent, and rejects his grace, he brings him into prosperity; every thing falls out according to his wishes; he fills him with the joys of this world. To which the marshal answered, I should be glad to be thus forsaken. There are a great many such sayings related of him, which shew that he had little religion; but I omit them, not to cast a blot upon his memory.' This historian had said a thing in the foregoing page, which deserves so much the more to be mentioned in this place, because we learn from it, that Biron was brought up in the reformed religion. The passage runs thus: 'He often laughed at the mals, and at those of the pretended reformed religion, with whom he had been bred up from his younger years. For when he was eight years of age, Madam de Brisambourg (29), his aunt by the father's side, who was of the pretended reformed religion, conceived such an affection for him, by reason of his briskness and pleasant humour, that she begged him of his mother, who granted her request, for they were both of the said religion.'

(26) Compare with this the words of Virgil: Illi solvuntur frigore membra, Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbra. The hero with a groan expires, His soul, indignant, to the shades retires. Æneid. lib. ult. ver. 951.

(27) Matthieu, *ibid.* lib. v, pag. 340.

(28) Chronologie Septennaire, fol. 319.

(29) Brisambourg is near St John d'Angely.

(13) Peter Matthieu, *Gayet, &c. Mémoires, Abrégé Chronolog.* Tom. VI, pag. 249, says, that she showed him the head of the earl of Essex. Thouanus, lib. cxxvi, pag. 943, says, that she spoke those words, as they were looking upon the heads, set upon the Tower of London.

(14) Hist. de Henry IV, pag. 300.

(15) Histoire d'Elizabeth, Tom. II, pag. 495.

(16) *Ibid.* pag. 485.

(17) Le Grain, *Decade de Henri le Grand*, pag. m. 782.

(18) Camb. Hist. Eliz. Part. IV, pag. m. 820, ad ann. 1601.

(19) Bassompierre, *Observat.* sur Duplex, pag. 82.

(20) *Ibid.* pag. 83.

(21) A house near Basing.

(22) Mezerai, *ubi supra*, pag. 237.

(23) In the remark (I) of the article P.O.I. TIERS.

(24) It is to be found in the 329th page of the second Tome of his *Dames Galantes*.

(25) Epîtres Françaises à Scaliger, pag. 248.

vive the league [G]. He did not forget what his father told him, that a general ought to keep up the war as long as he can, because in time of peace he is no necessary man, and must live in his country-house (b). This was the reason why he did not give the necessary orders, during the siege of Amiens, to hinder the arch-duke from throwing succours into that place. He would not have been sorry it had been relieved, because it would have retarded the peace. He could hardly bear, that Henry IV should have a share in the glory of good success; and he threatened the historians who did not indulge his vanity [H]. I can scarce believe what is said of his learning [I]. What is reported of

(b) See a discourse concerning favourites, in Le Laboureur's Additions to Castellan's Memoires, Tom. II, pag. 135.

religion. His mother gave him willingly to his aunt, to have him brought up in that religion, which was done accordingly: and from that time his aunt Brisambourg made him her only heir. She had a vast estate; for she had been married thrice, and had no children by any of her husbands; and they left her great jointures and legacies, which were all adjudged to her, so far as to dispose of them as she should think fit. Camden says, that marshal de Biron laughed at the earl of Essex for suffering death with a Christian disposition: as if such a resignation became only a parson, and not a soldier (30).

(30) Lilec hanc pietatem ut nihilillo quam vito bellicoso dignorem Bironem de illi prophand substantant. Camdenus in Annot. Part. IV, pag. 305.

(31) Abrégé Chronolog. Tom. VI, pag. 209, ad ann. 1599.

[G] He appeared superstitious (§a), in order to revive the league. Mezerai observes (31), 'that, after the loss of Douvrens and Cambray, the nobility and the army looked upon him as the only deliverer of the state. At his return from the siege of Amiens, he grew fond of the love of the inhabitants of Paris; and, when he went into Flanders, to make the arch-duke swear to the peace, the Spaniards, knowing his vanity and ill disposition, bestowed such great encomiums upon him, that they filled his head with wind, and his mind with ill designs. From that time, and even before, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people, and affected to appear zealous for the Catholic religion, so far as to use beads, and to be admitted into fraternities, as if he had designed to revive the league, which he had destroyed with the sword.' He had not forgot how far the city of Paris had supported the duke of Guise in his ambition; and he was not ignorant, that the chief reason of their great fondness for that duke, was, because he made it his business to extirpate the Protestants. He thought therefore, that there was a necessity for him to make a show of bigotry, in order to strengthen the impressions his valour had made upon the inhabitants of that populous city. It was with this prospect that he affected to hate the Huguenots. Here is the sequel of the passage which I have quoted out of Mr Gillot's letter (32). 'I must tell you, that his whole conduct favoured of the spirit of the league. He had promised and sworn not to speak with any Huguenot, and to shun their conversation; and that he might keep his oath, he would not see his mother, when he went into his province; and he turned out his old servants, and those of his father, *Sacramento illo obligatus, (to keep his oath), to the count de Fuentes.*'

(32) Estreches Frayssines à Scalliger, pag. 249.

[§a] The facetious narrative concerning Monsieur Saint Biron. B. ii. ch. 8. of the *Confession of Sancy*, might have been brought in here. REM. CRIT.]

[H] He could scarce suffer that Henry IV should have a share in the glory of good success, and be threatened the historians who did not flatter his vanity. The king and the marshal were jealous of one another. The king was not always willing to acknowledge, that the marshal deserved the glory, which he ascribed to himself, and spoke freely about it to the duke of Savoy (33), who, through a very malicious craft, put him upon that subject, to report some things to the marshal that might exasperate him (34). When the marshal was told of them, he uttered the most abusive words, that his resentment would afford him, against the respect he owed to the king. . . . He made very blunt and inconsiderate repartees; for he could not bear the least reflexion upon his valour, which he valued above all things. And, when he happened to give an account of his life, he mixed with it malicious stories of every body, without so much as sparing the king (35). He told him sometimes (36), that he would not have any French historian to say, that any body had done such or such a thing but he (37). Having seen a discourse of Peter Matthieu, about the causes and consequences of the long wars between the house of France and the house of Austria; and, fancying that the author did not speak of him so often, nor so gloriously, as

(33) Whilst that duke was at the court of France in the year 1600.

(34) Peter Matthieu, Hist. de la Paix, liv. III, pag. m. 449.

(35) Ibid.

(36) These words were spoken and heard at the siege of Amiens. Id. ibid. pag. 452.

(37) Ibid.

he wished, he complained of it to chancellor de Believre; and discovered his resentment more openly to de Vic, ambassador in Switzerland, with hard words and great threatenings against the author (38).

Note, that he had a kind of ambition like that of Achilles. This hero would not suffer, that any other Greek should kill Hector; he would have all the glory of it.

(38) Idem. lib. ix, pag. 238.

Λαοίων δ' ἀνένευ καρήατι δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
οὐδ' εἴα ἕμεναι ἐπὶ ἑκτοὶ σικρὰ βέλεμνα,
μή τις κῦδ' ἀερίτο βαλὼν, ὃ δὲ δεύτερος
ἔλθοι.

Populis autem innuebat capite nobilis Achilles,
Neque sinebat mittere in Hectorem acerba tela,
Ne quis gloriam auferret jaculatus, ipse vero posterior
veniret (39).

(39) Homeri Iliad. lib. xxii, ver. 205.

Notwithstanding the great authority of Homer, the ancients did not approve this character of Achilles. This we learn from Plutarch (40): 'Achilles himself is blamed with great reason, as not behaving himself like a wise man, but like a hardy young fool, transported with an eager desire of glory; for in the heat of the battle he made signs to the Greeks not to meddle with Hector, as Homer says:

Left that their darts his glory should abate,
And, when the blow was given, himself should come too late.

[I] I can scarce believe what is said of his learning. Balzac tells us a very curious thing (41). Besides the two Frenchmen, says he, whom I have alleged (42), I must mention a third, whom I had forgot, and you will never think of; I mean the late marshal de Biron, a man, who breathed nothing but fire and slaughter, and of whom Torquato Tasso said, in the person of Argante,

(41) Balzac, Entretien IV, towards the end, pag. m. 72, 73.

(42) He had been speaking, pag. 71, of Mr de Givry and Mr d'Urfe, who were two eloquent and learned men, and knew how to write in prose and verse.

Impatiente, inefforabil, fiero,
Ne l'arme insatiable & invitto, &c,

Impatient, fierce, inexorable,
Untired in arms, unconquerable.

One of our friends, who knew him, gives us the following account of him. The king sent marshal de Biron to queen Elizabeth, calling him in his credential letters, *The most cutting instrument of his victories.* The marshal acquitted himself worthily of that employment; for his parts answered his great courage. It has been said elsewhere, that he had a mind to be accounted a brutish man, in order to comply with the foolishness of the age; but it is certain, that, besides his natural endowments, he had a great deal of knowledge. He gave an instance of it at Frefne; where the king walking in a gallery, and asking of some masters of the requests the meaning of a Greek verse engraved upon a piece of marble, he explained it immediately, and then went away, being ashamed to be a more knowing man than the masters of the requests of that time. I am apt to believe, that this passage does not belong to the son, but to the father; for the father loved learning, and learned conversations, and used to write down in his table-book whatever he heard that deserved to be taken notice of; and therefore it is likely, that he found the explication of that Greek verse in his pocket-book. However, I will not be positive: You will see, in the following remark, a passage, which is the cause of my uncertainty. Mr de Perefixe (43) says, that Biron, the son, was very ignorant, and extremely fond of the predilections

(43) Histoire de Henry le Grand, pag. m. 374.

(c) See the remark [F].

(d) He lost above five hundred thousand crowns in one year. Mazarin, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. VI, pag. 270, ad ann. 1602.

of his reminiscence deserves to be mentioned [K]. He was at first brought up in the Protestant religion (c). He was a great gamester (d); but little given to women, and other bodily pleasures (e). Henry IV had a mind to make him his son-in-law [L]; and it is said, he boasted, that he had saved his life [M]. I shall only take notice of two faults of Moreri [N].

of astrologers, diviners, geomancers, and such like cheats. For the rest Balzac's dealing upon this occasion is somewhat unfair: he uses one of the tricks of proud writers: he dares not name his author, hoping that the readers will think he has found this passage in a book unknown to every body else; and yet it is to be found in a common book, viz. in d'Aubigné's history (44). I have made, elsewhere (45), the like remark.

(44) In the third volume, book v, chap. xii, pag. 668, 669.

(45) In the remark [C] of the article CAVALCANTE, at the end.

[K] What is reported of his reminiscence deserves to be mentioned.] I have already said, that he was brought up by his aunt, the lady Brissambourg: to which I add here, 'that he had no inclination for learning, but only for war: wherefore marshal de Biron, his father, who was a Catholic and a very warlike man, took him from his aunt, carried him for some time along with him into the provinces of Xaintonge, Aunis, and Angoumois, and had him instructed in the Catholic religion . . . thus Charles de Biron, being unqualified for learning till he was sixteen years of age, got such a skill in the art of war, that he found nothing impossible. His father was well pleased with it. What I am going to mention is very wonderful. Whilst he was at Brissambourg, he was taught history by one Manduca, a learned man of Malta; and though he made no progress in it, yet he has since alledged many historical facts admirably well, though naturally he was no great talker (46).

(46) Cayer, ubi supra, fol. 319.

(47) Le Laboureur's Additions to Castelnau's Memoirs, Tom. II, pag. 132.

(48) That is, against the person of Henry IV.

[L] Henry IV had a mind to make him his son-in-law.] This I have read in the additions to Castelnau's memoirs; and I think the reader will not be displeased to find, here, the following passage, which is full of curious things (47). 'If the duke of Biron did not conspire against his person (48), it cannot be denied, that he conspired against his state, and designed to divide it into several parts, and to deliver it up to the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, his pretended father-in-law. The king was the more exasperated at him, because he loved him so well, that he intended to make him his son-in-law, by marrying him to Catherine Henrietta his daughter, who was afterwards duchess of Elbeuf; the better to secure the crown to the duke of Vendôme, whom he designed to legitimate by his marriage with the duchess of Beaufort. A few days after the death of that lady, his mistress, he discovered this design of his at Fontainebleau to the Sieur du Vair, counsellor of state, in a private conference; and having imparted his grief to him, he desired to know what he thought of it. S. I. R. said du Vair, if your majesty was duke of Tuscany, of Mantua, or of Urbino, (Italy affords many instances of cruelty, especially in the establishment of sovereignties, which generally have been tyrannical in the beginning) I should think, that, by destroying all your relations, and their friends, you might set illegitimate children upon the throne; but being a gracious king of France, and careful to tread in the steps of your predecessors, your majesty would have run the hazard of losing your kingdom, and even your life. You are mistaken, replied the king; The French nation use themselves to every thing. The king, having lost the opportunity of placing the duke of Vendôme upon the throne, had a mind to make him the greatest man in the kingdom; and was still resolved to marry this duke's sister to the duke of Biron. But the latter, either because he did not think the match good enough for him, or because he was un-

willing to be engaged by authority in a marriage which could not satisfy his ambition as before, suffered himself to be foolishly flattered with the hopes of marrying the daughter of the duke of Savoy, who was descended by her father and mother from Francis I, and the emperor Charles V. . . . The same Mr du Vair, in his return from the court to Provence, by the way of Dijon, had a long conference with the duke of Biron's secretary; and having intimated to him, that he was a little surprized, that a lord of his age, who was so great a man, and had so great an interest, did not marry, the secretary gave him a hint of his design by this answer: these great men suffer themselves to be brought into such high enterprizes, that they hardly know themselves. Indeed, this duke of Biron, who was a proud and haughty man, and of a very untractable temper, was only pleased with difficult and almost impossible things. He envied the grandeur of other men; and his jealousy of the duke of Montmorency, by reason of his office of constable, reached Louise de Bados, his wife. Thinking to succeed the constable, he proposed to marry his wife (49), and the thing was agreed upon between that lady and him, if their fate had permitted it; but they died both of them in the flower of their age, and the constable survived them.'

[M] . . . and boasted that he had saved his life.] I have read this in a history of Henry IV, written by G. Soffi. That author (50) brings in this prince, saying; though I am a king, I have saved the life of one of my soldiers: had it not been for me, he had been killed before my eyes: I have seen that great warrior turning his back to the enemy. What the king said was true enough. As Biron was pursuing Farnese in the frontiers, there happened an accidental fight on horseback, in which the enemy, having recovered their strength, attacked Biron, and run his horse thro' with a lance. At Fontaine Française, he received several wounds in a rencounter, and his eyes were almost blinded with the blood that issued from a wound in his head. The king brought him off from those two dangers. Peter Matthieu gives us a clearer account of that matter. He has served me well, said the king; but he cannot deny that I have saved his life three times. I brought him off from the enemy at Fontaine Française, so wounded, and so stunned with his wounds, that, as I had acted the part of a soldier to save his life, I acted that of a marshal, in order to make a retreat; for he told me he was not in a condition to think of it, and to serve me (51). The following words are to be found in the margin of that historian. 'At the fight of Fontaine-Françoise, the king rescued marshal de Biron from the middle. One of his majesty's servants told him, that he exposed himself too much by running thus among the enemies. It is true, answered the king; but if I do not do it, marshal Biron will take advantage of it as long as he lives.'

[N] I shall only take notice of two faults of Moreri.] He says, that the barony of Biron was erected into a duchy and peerdom, after the marshal's return from his embassy in England, which is false (52); for the erection was made three years before that embassy. He adds, that Biron, having lost his office of admiral, and having some small reasons to be discontented, plotted against the state. This is likewise false; for he voluntarily laid down the post of admiral in 1549, and was amply rewarded for it.

(49) The author of the *Discours Hist. de la Fortune & Dignité des Faveurs*, inserted in the *Additions to Castelnau's Memoirs*, has these words: The king, to reward the said marshal for his services, made him a duke and peer, gave him great pensions, and wanted only for the constable's death, who was very old, to give him his place.

(50) Baskin, pag. m. 462.

(51) Matthieu, *Hist. de la Paix*, lib. iv, pag. m. 286.

(52) This fault is in Father Anselme, *Hist. des Grands Officiers*, pag. 211.

GONZAGA, (CECILIA DE) was one of the most virtuous and learned women that lived in the XVth century. She was instructed in polite learning by Victorinus of Feltri, and made a wonderful progress; for, if I am not mistaken, what we read in a book of Ambrosius Camaldulensis ought to be understood of her [A]. Her mother,

[A] What we read in . . . Ambrosius Camaldulensis ought to be understood of her.] If you read his *Hodegopicon*, you will find (1), that Victorinus Feltrius taught polite learning at Mantua, with great re-

putation, and instructed the children of the lord of that place: This was John-Francis Gonzaga. He had a daughter about eight years old, who understood the declensions and conjugations of the Greek tongue,

(1) Pag. 34.

mother, Paula Malatesta, a lady most eminent for her virtue, learning, and beauty, inspired her with a contempt of the world [B], and made her desire to be a nun. This desire was too strong to yield to any oppositions. Cecilia harangued her father, who was against her renouncing matrimony, and with substantial reasons demonstrated to him the justice of her design (a). I have said elsewhere (b) what books she was advised to read, when she was engaged in a religious life. Mr Joly has been guilty of some mistakes [C].

(a) See the remark [B], citation (7).

(b) In the article CONRARUS.

tongue, whereof she gave a proof before the most learned Ambrosius, general of the Camaldoli, when he passed by the city of Mantua in the year 1432. *Principis filiam octo ferme annorum ita imbuerat (Victorinus Feltrius) ut legeret jam & scriberet, Græcæque & nomina & verba inoffense declinaret non sine admiratione nostrâ.* These are Ambrosius's words in the account of his travels, that is, of the visits he made to many houses of the order, of which he was general. What follows, must, I think, relate to a later journey. I take it from Mr Joly (2): *What is said of another girl, in the life of Ambrosius * general of the order of the Camaldoli, is much more remarkable: Ambrosius, being sent by Pope Eugenius IV to the council of Basil, came to a castle called Gorda, in the territory of Mantua, where he found two children, one a boy of fourteen years of age, who repeated before him two hundred verses he had composed, with such a grace, that he did not believe Virgil pronounced the sixth book of his Æneid before Augustus with a better: It is not said who this youth was: but as to the girl, we have the following account of her †. He saw also the prince's daughter, (that is the duke (3) of Mantua's) about ten years of age, who wrote Greek to elegantly, that Ambrosius would have desired no more in any learned man.*

I believe the same young lady is meant in both these journeys, and that it is she, who is the subject of this article.

Note, that Victorinus Feltrius was a very famous man. This is what Leander Albertus says of him in his description of Italy (4): *'Illustrantur Feltrium in genia quedam nobilia, nominatim Victorinus memoria nostrorum avorum linguæ Latinæ, quæ tam diu perierat, reductor ac instaurator. Feltria was famous for some great wits, particularly Victorinus, in the memory of our grand-fathers, the restorer of the Latin tongue, so long lost.'*

[B] Paula Malatesta . . . eminent for her virtue . . . inspired her with a contempt of the world. Leander Albertus praises her very much, and declares, she was celebrated by all the authors of the time. *'Paula, Francis primi Gonzagæ Mantuani Marchionis conjux, non solum excellenti formæ pulchritudine (venustissima quippe totius Italiæ habebatur) sed etiam multis virtutibus, literis, prudentia, sanctitate, quæ decorata (5). — Paula, wife of the first Francis Gonzaga, marquise of Mantua, a lady not only of an excellent beauty (for she was esteemed the handsomest woman in Italy) but of many virtues, learning, prudence, and sanctity.'* Speaking elsewhere of the same Francis Gonzaga, promoted to the marquise of Mantua by the emperor Sigismund, the twenty second of September, 1433, he says, *'Uxor rem habuit lectionissimam feminam, religione, sapientia, pudicitia, literisque decoratam Paulam Malatestam, ab omnibus illorum temporum scriptoribus ob singulares virtutes mirifice laudatam (6). — His wife was a most extraordinary lady, for religion, wisdom, chastity, and learning: her name was Paula Malatesta, praised for her singular virtues by all the writers of that time.'* Who could chuse but praise so incomparable a woman? She passed for the handsomest in all Italy, and yet she despised all the ornaments of the body, and omitting expences upon jewels and finery, she laid out a great deal upon building and repairing of churches, feeding the poor, and marrying young women, &c. She inspired our Cecilia with the same spirit, as Matthew Bossius informs us (7). *'Habuit Mantua Paulam Gonzagam illustrem foeminam univerſa Italia celeberrimam; quam si dixerò, corporis cultum contempniffe, omnem suam rem in ædificandis instaurandisque delubris, in pauperum Christi necessitatibus, in locandis nuptiisque tradendis virginibus, quæ quidem maxima sunt, erogasse, si nihil unquam illam omiſſiſſe, quod ad veram humilitatem culmenque virtutis conducit, si omnis denique ingenioli mei vires in ejus laudibus expendam, parum dixiſſe me profecto semper*

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agnoscam. Primam Paulam, cujus modo mentionem fecimus (8), imitata Cæciliam virginem suam filiam literarum peritissimam suo educatu, suæque imitatione ad tantam sæcularium ornamentorum, ut ita dixerim, nauscam perduxit, & ad religionem inflammavit, ut apud patrem primum Mantuæ Marchionem vincere ejus propositum cupientem, causam constanter tiffimè agere non sit verita. — Mantua bad Paula Gonzaga, an illustrious lady, famed over all Italy; of whom if I shall relate, that she despised drests that she spent her estate in building and repairing churches, in supplying the necessities of Christ's poor, in placing out and marrying virgins; that she omitted nothing, which can conduce to true humility and consummate virtue; if, lastly, I should exert the whole force of my little abilities in her praises, I shall always acknowledge that I fall short of her desert. In imitation of the first Paula, whom I have just mentioned, she inspired her virgin daughter Cecilia, a very learned maid, by the force of education and example, with such a disrelish of worldly ornaments, and such a religious zeal, that she was not afraid to plead her cause strenuously to her father, the first marquis of Mantua.' These words are taken from a discourse, that Matthew Bossius (9) inscribed to cardinal Bessarion, exhorting him not to suffer the women of Bologna to re-assume their ornaments.

[C] Mr Joly has been guilty of some mistakes. I will not abridge his discourse, because many will be glad to learn what I should leave out. Upon a due consideration of those times, says he (10), we may say, they were more fruitful in learned women, than others, though ignorance was then very great among the men. For in the end of the XVth century, we hear of a Paula Gonzaga, daughter of the marquis of Mantua, a nun; of a Baptista, widow of the lord of Arimini; of the daughters of John Ferrusini, a Milanese civilian, whom Margaret their mother took as much care to & cii. have instructed in the Greek and Latin tongue, as since Sir Thomas More has done with his of Iſta No-garola of Verona, whither cardinal Bessarion going on purpose to visit her, said, She was a virgin more divine than human; of Violanta, widow to the prince of Cesena, and afterwards a nun of the order of St Francis, all mentioned by Matthew Bossius & also a Veronese, and regular canon of St Austin. This is committing more than one fault, to say, that the learned woman, named Paula, mentioned by Matthew Bossius, lived at the end of the XVth century, and that she was the daughter of the marquis of Mantua, and a nun. She was of the house of Malatesta; and since her husband was the first marquis of Mantua (11), she cannot be placed at the end of the XVth century; for this marquis died in the year 1444 (12), having had many children by her. If it were true, that he married her in the year 1410, as Mr de Marolles (13) affirms, Mr Joly's error would be more manifest. Add to this, that Matthew Bossius observes, that she disposed her daughter Cecilia to a religious life: he does not say, that she entered upon it, finding herself a widow. I have not this author's letters, and so I cannot say, whether the learned Baptista be there found to have been married to the lord of Arimini. I only know, that he does not say it in the other work, cited by Mr Joly. I know moreover, that she was of the family of Malatesta, which governed at Arimini (14). However, I am very certain, that this lady had a great credit throughout the whole city; for her example, her exhortations, and her orders, obliged the women of Arimini to modesty of dress, and to leave off their long trains. Such a reformation is not the work of a lady of an indifferent authority and merit. It is one of the most difficult enterprises that can be undertaken. However, let us see at large the noble eulogy, that Matthew Bossius has given this Christian heroine, the Baptista insignem Ariminensem solum habuit singularem humilitate, pariter & literarum studiis præditam, quæ adeo animi ornamenta corporalibus prætulit, ut nihil

(8) A little before he had mentioned Paula, the mother of Blesilla and Eustochium, so famous in the writings of St Jerome.

(9) He was of Verona, and a regular canon. I have given his article.

(10) Joly, Voisage de Hollande. I pag. 163, 164.

* See Dames Illustres de la Coſte, pag. 721.

† In Recupérationibus. Fecula-nis, ad Bessarion, Card. de honesto Cultu Feminarum. It. Ep. iii, & cii.

(11) Bossius affirms it in the words before quoted, citation (.)

(12) Volater. lib. iv, pag. 113. Leand. Albertus, ubi supra, pag. 608. The latter is mistaken in his calculation: He mentions an Inscription, which proves, that this marquis was above twelve years of age in March 1407. (Volateranus, ubi supra, says he was 14.) and then places his death on the twenty third of October, 1444, and says, he lived fifty four years. The abbé de Marolles, Mémoires, Tom. I, pag. 427, agrees with him in these two numbers.

(13) Marolles, ibid. Tom. I, pag. 427.

(14) Fuit & Baptista singularis formæ, sapientie, honestatis, eruditionis mulier. Leand. Albert. ubi supra, pag. 456.

* nihil

(1) Joly, Avis Chrétiens & Mœurs pour l'Institution des Enfants, pag. 347, 348.

* Lib. iii, Histor. Camaldoli, lib. cap. xxiv, Aureo Augustino Florentino Monacho Camaldolensi, Edit. Florentine, 1575, in 4to.

† The author of that history says, that Ambrosius had mentioned this in the thirty fifth of his epistles.

‡ Atſuit puella quippe Principis filia, decemque fœmæ, Græcæ adhibere scribens elegant, ut tantum in quolibet à se eruditio homine Ambrosius declaravit.

(1) The lords of Mantua were not yet dukes: they had not had that title till the year 1530.

(4) Pag. m. 749.

(5) Leand. Albert. Deſcript. Italiæ, pag. 456.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(13) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 603.

(15) Matth.
Bosius, de im-
moder. Cultu
Feminae, pag. 327.

nihil unquam prætermisisse visa sit, quod ad prin-
cipis aut præsentis, aut futuræ decus & ornamentum
ullo pacto potuerit attinere. At cæteris suis rebus
gestis omisiss, invenio illam etiam vivente viro nedum
humili habitu incessisse, verum cæteras concives &
populares hortatu suo imperioque temperatissimis or-
namentis, brevissimisque vestium caudis utas fuisse
(15). — *Arimini produced the famous Baptista, a
lady of singular humility as well as learning; who so
far preferred the ornaments of the mind to those of
the body, that she seemed never to have omitted any
thing, which might in the least contribute to the ho-
nour and credit of a present or future princess. But,
omitting her other actions, I find, that, even during
the life of her husband, though she herself appeared in
no mean garb, yet the rest of her fellow-citizens and*

country-women, by her advice and authority, wore the
most moderate ornaments, and the shortest tails to
their gowns.' Volaterranus (16) has mentioned the
learning of this lady, and observed, that Leonard Arc-
tin, and many other authors, dedicated some books to
her. Let it be observed, that I do not deny, that
there was a nun named Paula Gonzaga; I only say,
that it is not she that Matthew Bosius has spoken of:
he was dead, before she took the habit of a nun. She
lived but in the XVIth century, and I do not find,
that any author praises her, but on the account of her
being a most devout nun. See Hilarion de Coste, at
the 707th page of the first tome of the *Elogies of illu-
strious ladies*, where he says, there was a design to can-
onize her.

(16) Volater-
Commentar.
Urban lib vi,
pag. 203.

GONZAGA (ELEONORA), daughter of Francis II, marquis of Mantua, and
wife to Francis Maria de la Rovere, duke of Urbino [A], in the XVIth century,
made herself famous by her excellent qualities. She discovered a great constancy in
her ill fortune, and a great moderation in her prosperity. She always loved her hus-
band, and was his faithful companion in his disgraces [B]. But, *above all virtues she
cherished chastity*, which she made very apparent by her severity against women of
a bad life [C]. She had five children, two sons and three daughters. Guido Ubaldo
de la Rovere, her eldest son, was duke of Urbino; the younger was duke of Sora,
and cardinal. Hippolyta, the eldest of the daughters, was married to Antony of Ar-
ragon, duke of Montalto. Julia, the second, married Alfonso d'Est, marquis of Mon-
tecchio. Isabella, the youngest, was married to Alberic Cibo, prince of Malespina,
and marquis of Massa (a).

(a) Taken from
Hilarion de
Coste, *Eloges des
Dames Illustres*,
Tom. I, pag.
544, & seq.

[A] *She was wife to Francis Maria de la Rovere,
duke of Urbino.* He was nephew to Julius II, and
son to that John de la Rovere, to whom Sixtus IV
gave the principality of Sora and Senegaglia, and who
married Joan de Montefeltro, daughter of Frederic de
Montefeltro, duke of Urbino. Our Francis Maria,
the issue of this marriage, became duke of Urbino after
the death of Guidobaldo de Montefeltro, his uncle by
the mother's side, who left no issue (1).

(1) See Leander
Albertus, De-
script. Ital. pag.
m. 445.

[B] . . . and was his faithful companion in his
disgraces.] Leo X, having made Laurence de Medicis
his nephew, duke of Urbino, divested Francis Maria de
la Rovere of this duchy. This was the misfortune, in
which Eleonora shewed a great constancy in adversity,
under the injurious blows of fortune, which her husband
received, whilst for some time he was deprived of do-
minions; which never made her abate of her usual ge-
nerosity, or entire fidelity to her husband, keeping him
company, and comforting him in his misfortune, in
which, as a woman of honour, she would always bear a
share (2). They were restored to their duchy after
the death of Laurence de Medicis (3). The husband
died in the year 1538 (4). Paul Jovius greatly praises
him (5).

(2) Hilarion de
Coste, *Eloges des
Dames Illustres*,
Tom. I, pag.
545.

(3) Leand. Al-
bertus, ubi supra.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Paulus Jovius,
Elog. Bellica
Virt. Illustr.
lib vi, pag. m.
497.

[C] *She shewed her love for chastity by her severity
against women of a bad life.* For she would neither
see at her house, nor have any familiarity with wo-
men of quality, who were the least suspected or re-
ported to have defiled the honour of their sex by the
disorder of their conduct; and she was a mortal ene-
my to all those, who gave themselves up to the infa-
mous pleasures of debauchery, banishing many from
her dominions, and severely punishing those wretched
old women, who, after having lost, in their youth,
shame and honour, conscience and reputation, think
of nothing continually, at the end of their days, but

how to ruin and destroy young, filly, and unadvised
maids. And therefore she is worthy of an eternal
remembrance, for never being sparing of her money
in rescuing all the innocent abused doves out of the
talons of the hawks, and consecrating them to the
altars, where afterwards they have done wonders in
point of virtue (6). This was filling up all the du-
ties of a virtuous princess, which she could not be
said to have done, had she contented herself with an
exact observation of her conjugal loyalty. This may
suffice for the generality of women, but not for those
women, who are of the first rank. They are indis-
pensably obliged to stamp a mark of infamy on in-
triguing women, by manifest testimonies of their indig-
nation. This stain is a more effectual lesson, than the
most eloquent sermons of a pious preacher; and it is
certain, that the corruption of a court, that proceeds
from womens galantry, is a blot upon the life of a
sovereign prince, though she be never so chaste and
virtuous; for if she excluded from her familiarity wo-
men of ill fame, if she denied them admittance to her palace,
if at least she mortified them by marks of coldness and
censures, whilst she expresses her esteem and affection
for chaste women, she would infallibly produce a re-
formation of manners. Whence we may conclude,
that, if galantry walks barefaced, it is a sign, that the
chief lady makes but little outward distinction betwixt
those that give occasion to scandal, and others of an
unblameable conduct. See what has been said in ano-
ther place (7). If it be said, that this connivance is
not to be attributed to want of zeal for the propagation
of chastity, but to a certain good nature, that will not
suffer the torrent to be opposed with the necessary vi-
gour; I will still maintain, that this softness of tem-
per, or good nature, is a great fault on the like oc-
casions.

(6) Hilarion de
Coste, ubi supra,
pag. 546, 547.

(7) In the re-
mark [M] of
the article
LOUIS XIII.

GONZAGA (ISABELLA DE), the wife of Guido Ubaldo de Montefeltro (a),
duke of Urbino, deserves to be reckoned amongst the most illustrious ladies. One of her
panegyrist calls her *a woman, for her goodness, integrity, courage, and nobleness, more
divine than humane* (b). She had such a chastity, as deserves to be admired: but some
circumstances are told of it, that appear fabulous; for it is said, that, after she had lain
two years with her husband, though he had done nothing of what they call conjugal
duty, she remained fully persuaded that nothing was wanting to her marriage [A], and that

(a) And not de
la Rovere, as
Hilarion de
Coste says, pag.
637, of the first
Tome of his
*Eloges des Dames
Illustres*.

(b) Joseph Bette-
si, delle Donne
Illustre, apud Hi-
larion de Coste,
ubi supra. See
also Christofano
Bronzini della
dignita, e nobilita
delle Donne,
Giornata quinta,
pag. 116.

[A] *After having lain two years with her husband,
though he had never performed the conjugal duty, she
was fully persuaded, that nothing was wanting to her
marriage.* I will use the words of Hilarion de Coste
the Minime: 'She was one of those, the apostle speaks
of, who are married, as if they were not; for either
by reason of her tender age, or the simplicity of

her temper, she lived for two years together in so
profound an ignorance of the sacrament she was en-
gaged in, as to think other married women came was
like her's: in this resembling the wife of the antient
Hiero, who complained not of her husband's stink-
ing breath, thinking that the breath of all other men
was as strong. But age, by a secret and not insensi-
ble

that all other husbands were like her's. At last she was undeceived, and her husband himself confessed his infirmity to her, when he perceived she understood the nature of it [B]; but she nevertheless continued her tender affection to him; she comforted him, and never complained, nor revealed the state of her marriage to any body. Nevertheless, this secret came to be publicly known [C], and then she was strongly solicited to think of another match: it was made appear to her, that she might very easily get her marriage declared null; and they represented many other forcible considerations to her: but nothing moved her [D]. She was troubled, that her husband's impotency was known, and nothing but the death of the duke could part them. His death cast her almost

ble lesson, having taught her what neither the most barbarous nations nor the most stupid women are ignorant of, our corrupt nature being but too much inclined to sensual pleasures, or whether the free company she kept, as a married woman, with women in the same state, taught her things she did not know, her ignorance went off (1). It is not probable, she had been so long ignorant in such an affair as this. Most of this monk's readers have doubtless said, that a maid of so great innocence, as to the theory, must be taken for one that is but five or six years old. Indeed there reigns a very bad custom in families, whether it cannot be prevented, or whether it is hoped it will be of some use, or whether a secret providence suffers it for the temporal good of the universe. When children come to a certain age, they are told of nothing but mistresses and sparks. Little girls, are told, that, if they do not mend their faults, they shall never have a husband. They are promised the conquest of a galant, provided they do such or such a thing (2). An hundred promises and threats of this kind are continually offered them. The housemaids, landresses, seamstresses, and chamber-maids, &c. go much farther: they whisper to them the meaning of all this. A thousand occasions naturally offer themselves. Marriages are made from time to time amongst their neighbours and relations. There is a curiosity to go to church to hear the ceremony of the nuptial benediction, which frequently happens: and this affords an ample subject of conversation, both aloud, and with a low voice, for the mysterious instruction of the little female novices. This instruction is especially given in the interval of the preliminaries to the wedding, or rather between the contract and the wedding-day. By this means the theory of matrimony comes to be well known before a woman be marriageable. But put the case, that a maid could be secured from secret conversations, in which the servants and other women love to satisfy, or even prevent the curiosity of nature: put the case, I say, that a maid should be delivered to an husband, as ignorant in the theory, as in the practice, could she long remain so? Is there not another universally prevailing custom? Are not the new brides asked a thousand questions the next day? If their mothers, out of decency, forbear to question them, do they not employ other women? Can the aunts, cousins, friends, &c. forbear to be inquisitive? It cannot therefore be imagined, that our duchess of Urbino should have been two years after her marriage in the ignorance, that this Minime imputes to her.

[B] *Her husband himself confessed his infirmity to her when he perceived that she knew the nature of it.* We will go on in the words of the same Minime (3): 'The duke her husband, perceiving, that the duchess of Isabella had discovered his infirmity, was forced to declare to her his impotency in very modest terms, testifying by his discourse the great affliction it was to him to see himself incapacitated to leave heirs to his dominions; and that, if this came to the knowledge of his subjects, he should be less beloved. Upon this melancholy discourse, the prudent and virtuous Isabella, with a joyful and serene countenance, began to comfort him, exhorting him to bear this disgrace with a perfect resignation to the will of God: that many kings and great princes had been, and were at present, under that affliction; and that it is commonly better to have no children, than to have wicked and vicious ones; the old proverb being generally true, *Filii Heroum nauxæ*, that is, Heroes beget nothing but monsters, ungrateful and unnatural children, fatal incendiaries, and the ruin of their families, estates, commonwealths, and fathers that beget them: that, for her part, she would not be concerned for it, and that it would not in the least abate her love and affection: that she would preserve

her virginity to the grave, that, whilst a defect of nature hindered him from enjoying what was designed him, no body else should ever possess it, and that no body should ever know any thing of the matter.'

[C] *Nevertheless this secret came to be publicly known.* Hilarión de Coste (4) having made an exclamation against those, who say, that women cannot keep a secret, adds, 'that the duchess of Urbino more faithfully kept her secret and promise to her husband than he did, having lived fourteen years with him without ever discovering the defect of her marriage by any complaint: for the first years, she concealed it through youth and ignorance, and afterwards out of honour and virtue, and the obligation of secrecy. Not only the people of the duchy of Urbino, and the inhabitants of the fine city of Pesaro, but even the most intimate and familiar domestics, and the principal lords of their court, were ignorant, that this defect and barrenness proceeded from the duke; on the contrary, they rather attributed it to the duchess. Nor had it ever been known, if the duke himself had not told it, when, being driven out of his dominions by Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, he came to wait on our king Lewis XII, who was then in his duchy of the Milanese, and city of Milan, to whom he had recourse to be restored to his dominions; but not obtaining his desires, because the king was in league with Pope Alexander VI, father of the duke of Valentinois, and feared the hatred of the house of Borgia against him and his family, he gave them hopes of parting with his wife, and becoming an ecclesiastic; affirming he had never consummated the marriage, by reason of his impotency; and, being asked by the king, he certified the truth of it. Thus this secret, being revealed by the husband, was divulged through all the territories of Urbino and Italy, where the meanest people knew, that Ubaldo de la Rovere (5), duke of Urbino, was only a man in face, or that if he was a man, he could not be ranked among husbands; and all the world admired the constancy and modesty of his prudent and chaste princess Isabella Gonzaga: her constancy, because, tho' she might have had her marriage declared null, yet she would not, chusing rather to be silent, than to pollute her lips: her modesty, by that heroic act of it, having lived above twenty years, without being ashamed of having such a husband.'

[D] *She was strongly solicited to think of another match. But nothing moved her.* Here the monk strains his throat, and lifts up his voice like a trumpet (6). 'What a wonderful chastity of a woman! what an incredible constancy! what a perfect and unparalleled virtue! thus to live twenty years with an husband in the same house in the same palace! here is a true pattern of chastity, and a demonstrative proof, that the spirit and virtue have more power than the flesh and sensuality; and that conjugal faith and affection prevail over the inferior lust, and the brutish part. How few others would have thus concealed the secret, I do not say for fourteen years, but for fourteen months, which she kept, not twenty months, but twenty years, and even to the death of her husband, without voiding the marriage: when, being intreated, importuned, and almost forced by all sorts of powerful persons, that were her relations, to separate from her husband, for a thousand urgent considerations they laid before her, she would never hearken to them; but, on the contrary, constantly maintained, that the fault lay not in him, taking it ill to have it said otherwise; and she was much concerned when the truth of the story came to light. O most faithful and chaste princess! let thy example dazzle the eyes of those women, who, led by

(1) Hilarión de Coste, *Elog. det Dames illustres*, Tom. I, pag. 697, 698.

(2) See the New Letters against Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, pag. 665, 664.

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 698.

(4) *Ibid.* pag. 699.

(5) He was not of the house de la Rovere, but of that of Feltri, or Montefeltro.

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 700.

(c) Taken from
Hilarion de
Coste, *Eloges des
Dames Illustres*,
Tom. I, pag.
697, & seq.

almost into despair, and her affliction had like to have proved truly mortal [E]. Note, that she was married twenty years (c). The exclamations of a Minime, who has praised her, are pardonable considering the rarity of the thing; but he might have been a little more moderate without transgressing the rules of a good Rhetorician. Our Isabella spent the rest of her days in a glorious widowhood. She was aunt to Eleonora Gonzaga, whom she married to a nephew of Julius II, that is, to Francis Maria de la Rovere, who succeeded her husband in the duchy of Urbino. By that you will see at what time she lived; and, if you read *Il Cortegiano* of Balthasar Castiglione, you will see her very much praised; and you will see, that the court of Urbino was then very polite. I will mention what Peter Bembo said of this duchess [F].

(7) *Eloges des
Dames Illustres*,
Tom. I, pag.
701.

‘by the spirit of sensuality, without grounds, or with the least pretence and frivolous reason, break a marriage concerted by the consent of relations, and celebrated in the face of the church, procuring I know not what dispensations under pretence of misunderstandings, which will only serve as a chain to drag them to damnation; whilst you, a young, beautiful, and noble lady, who might have lawfully procured a divorce, have shewn your marriage to be rather a match of the mind than of the body.’ After this he observes four great subjects of admiration in her *victory over herself* (7). 1. *Through abundance of courage and virtue, she never separated from her husband, tho’ she might lawfully do it.* 2. *The affection she had for her husband made her renounce the common and reasonable desire of all married people of leaving children behind them. . . . which ought to be the more admired in this great princess, because she saw the direct line of a sovereign house end in her husband.* 3. She had the prudence to accompany him every where, that she might not manifest this prince’s imperfection. The fourth wonder is, that, considering the liberty of a person of quality, and the numbers of men she conversed with, she preserved her virginity entire. The circumstances of the fourth point are confirmed by Balthasar Castiglione, who says, that the court of Urbino was full of gentlemen accomplished in body and mind, who spent all the day in exercises suitable to their condition, and, after supper, met at the duchess’s chamber, whilst the duke, who went early to his repose, by reason of his distempers, was in bed. Erano adunque tutte l’hore del giorno divise honorevoli & piacevoli esercitii, così del corpo, come dell’animo: ma perché il S. Duca continuamente per la infirmità, dopo cena assai per tempo se n’andava a dormire, ogn’uno per ordinario dove era la S. Duchessa Elisabetta Gonzaga, a quell’hora si riduceva (8). I will relate what he observes of the duke’s infirmity, which gives reason to believe, that Hilarion de Coste has followed some writers who have too much exaggerated things. Observe well what I am going to say. The duke was very well made, vigorous, and nimble (9); but, at twenty years of age (10), he grew so prodigious gouty, that he could not move himself. He married, doubtless, before he was reduced to that condition; which makes it highly probable that he consummated the marriage. Tis true, the same author informs us, that the duchess was solicited to separate from her husband, since her marriage was a state of widowhood; which is a sign she was taken for a maid; for an impotency, succeeding the accomplishment of marriage, is no just cause of divorce. ‘Non posso piu tacere una parola della Signora Duchessa nostra, la quale essendo vivuta xv. anni in compagnia del marito, comme vedova, non solamente è stata costante di non palesar mai questo a persona del mondo, ma essendo da suoi proprii stimolata da ufcir di questa viduità, elesse piu presto patir effluio, povertà, & ogni altra forte d’infelicità, che accettar quello, che a tutti gli altri pareva gran gratia, & prosperità di fortuna: & sequitando pur Messer Cesare circa questo, disse la Signora Duchessa, Parlate d’altro, & non intrate piu in tal proposito, che

(8) The count
Balthasar Castiglione, in his
Cortegiano, B. i,
pag. m. 10.

(9) Non essendo ancora il Duca Guido giunto alli xx anni, s’infermo di poagere, Jequali con atrociissimi dolori procedendo, in poco spatio di tempo talmente tutti i membri gli impedirono che ne stare in piedi ne mover si potea: & così restò un de i piu belli, & disposti corpi del mondo deformato & guasto nella sua verde età. B. B. Castiglione, *il Cortegiano*, B. i, pag. 8.

(10) Odaxius, in this prince’s Funeral Oration, says, that it was at twenty one years of age.

(a) This excuses me from saying, that she lived in the XVth century.

‘affai d’altre cose havete che dire (11). — I cannot omit a saying of our duchess, who, having lived fifteen years in the company of her husband, as a widow, not only persisted in not declaring this to any person in the world, but, being solicited by her relations to take advantage of this widowhood, chose rather to suffer exile, poverty, and every other misfortune, than to embrace this, which to every one else appeared great good luck: and, being solicited upon this head by Mr Cesar, she bid him say no more of it, but talk of something else.’ You see in these words an admirable instance of that lady’s modesty; she would not be praised; she turned off the conversation, whenever any body went about to shew the merit of her continence.

Note, that Christoforo Bronzini, who made this lady’s encomium, says the same things, and with the same exclamations as this Minime. See the *Giornata quinta* of his dialogues *della dignità e nobiltà delle Donne* (12).

[E] Her affliction had like to have proved truly mortal. Father Hilarion de Coste finds himself at a loss how to give proofs of the love and prudence she expressed in mourning for her husband; for . . . as long as he was alive she never gave way to her tears . . . least her affliction expressed by them should cause another in him; but, as soon as ever he was dead, she indulged her grief, which made her fall upon him, crying out, O my dear husband, why will you leave me thus, and whither do you go? Having spoken those words, she fainted away, and lost her speech, and remained as it were half dead: some believed her truly dead, having much ado to recover her spirits; so that they lamented at once the death of both. But GOD was pleased, that she should come to herself again, by degrees, opening her eyes and lifting them up towards heaven: afterwards she cast them upon those about her, and by way of complaint and reproach told them; how troublesome you are to me? why do you use me so cruelly, as to hinder me from following my most honoured lord and husband? why will you not suffer me to be his companion in death; with whom I have spent the best of my life? what a wretched creature am I; he must go, and I must stay behind! No, no, I can never be persuaded to it, I must follow him. As soon as she had uttered these complaints, her eyes, like two fountains, gushed out with tears, and no other answer could be got from her for two days together, refusing to sleep or eat, but that she could not survive her husband (13).

[F] I will mention what Peter Bembo said of this duchess. The author of the tract, entitled, *De Matrimonio Literati*, an calibem esse an verò nubere conveniat (14), alledges the great merit of some women, and does not forget this. ‘Quid de Elizabetha Gonzaga? says he, quam Bembo ita laudat ut lapideum eum esse dicat qui non unam ejus festinulam culam omnibus Philosophorum ambulationibus & disputationibus anteponat. — What shall we say of Elizabetha Gonzaga? whom Bembo so far commends as to say, he must be as stupid as a stone, who does not prefer one sitting of her to all the walkings and disputations of the philosophers.’

(11) Id. Balth. Castig. lib. lib. iii, pag. 452.

(12) That book was printed at Florence in 1625, in 4to.

(13) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, pag. 703, 704.

(14) It has been printed several times: It is in a collection of such like pieces, printed at Utrecht in the year 1606. It is also to be found in the book, intitled, *Baudii Amorei*.

GONZAGA (JULIA), duchess of Traietta, and countess of Fondi, was the wife of Vespasian Colonna. After the death of her husband, she took for her device, ‘an amaranth, which the Botanists call *Love-flower*, with this motto, *non moritura*, designing to express, that her first love should be immortal. The wonder is, that her husband was old; that she was in the flower of her age, and in so great a reputation for her beauty, that Soliman, emperor of the Turks, had a desire to see her. To this end, he sent Barbarossa, king of Algiers (a), and his lieutenant-general, with a powerful army, to Fondi, where she made her usual residence: but he succeeded not in his design;

design; for, tho' this general arrived by night, and took the town by storm, the fair and chaste Julia fell not into the hands of the Barbarian. Whether she had notice given her of the danger that threatened her, or whether she was divinely inspired, she fled barefooted upon the first noise she heard; and, to save her honour, exposed her life to a thousand dangers (b). This lady was suspected of Lutheranism (c). *Thuanus, Francis Billon, and other authors, praise her for her learning, which made her esteemed by the most learned men in Italy (d)*. The reason why she did not marry again is considerable [A]. One may very well question, whether she acted the part of a step-mother without retaining some faults of it [B]. We shall see how Brantome has related Barbarossa's adventure [C].

[A] *The reason why she did not marry again is considerable.* After her husband's death, she was courted by the greatest lords of Italy, who could not induce her to a second marriage; because she said, that, if her second husband should prove good, she should be in perpetual fear of losing him; and if he should prove bad, it would be a grievous thing to bear; and that, having had a good one, she would never remove from her heart the affection she bore him (1). She was very fortunate in not having her eyes tempted by a charming object; for in that case her dilemma would have been quickly destroyed. In vain did Dido say:

Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam;
Ante, pudor, quam te violo, aut tua jura resolvo.
Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit, amores
Abtulit; ille habeat secum, servetque sepulchro (2).

Let earth, disparting, snatch me from the light,
Or thunder drive me to the shades of night;
Immediate death be wretched Dido's fate,
Ere, modesty, thy laws I violate.
My love, which one dear object only knew,
Is still to my Sisyæus' memory true.

The noble carriage (3) and the merit of Æneas had already made an impression and renewed the traces (4). She could not withstand a second match, and forgot her fine resolutions. Generally speaking, Julia Gonzaga's dilemma may be turned another way; for it may be said, if my second husband be an ill one, I shall not be afraid of losing him; if he be good, he will make me very happy; besides, they, who have lost a good husband, may alledge this argument: I have sped so well in marriage, that I am willing to re-enter into the state I have so much reason to commend. They, who have lost a bad husband, may say; there is reason I should try whether I shall be more happy in a second choice than in the first: I ought not to die without endeavouring to mend my self.

[B] There is room to doubt, whether she acted the part of a step-mother, without retaining some of the faults of it. It is a very difficult part: the wisest heads find it a hard task to come off well; there is a certain fate, that possesses mothers-in-law with a great deal of ill humour. Be that how it will, the monk I have cited informs us (5), that *Vespasian Colonna* had by his first wife (6) a daughter named *Isabella*, whom our *Julia*, her mother-in-law, designing to marry to *Lewis Gonzaga* her brother, opposed *Pope Clement VII* (who had a mind to marry her to *Dom. Hippolito* his nephew, who was afterwards cardinal) and the emperor *Charles V.* who had seized on her, to marry her to *Dom-Ferdinand Gonzaga*; and by her courage and industry, she accomplished her design. But did she consult the inclinations of the young lady? that

is the question. Perhaps *Isabella Colonna* would have rather chosen the match proposed by *Clement VII.* or by the emperor, than her step-mother's. Is not this to act like a step-mother, to force the inclination in such a point as this?

[C] We shall see how Brantome has related *Barbarossa's* adventure. There is such another story, which was told me in the town of *Fondi*, near *Naples*, and which is in every body's mouth in that country, about *Signora Livia (7) Gonzaga* who had married *Afcario (8) Colonna*: she was reckoned the finest woman in Italy of her time, and was in such repute, that the fame of her beauty reached the *Levant*, (I have often seen her picture as a widow, which confirms it), and *Constantinople*; for which reason *Ariadan Barbarossa*, who was general of the *Grand Signor's* sea-forces, having first, with a very solemn pomp, (as it is written) passed the straits of *Messina*, and coasted along *Calabria*, committed great ravages there, and about *Naples*, and made an attempt upon the town of *Fondi*, and came there by night so opportunely and unexpectedly, that, landing two thousand *Turks*, they scaled the walls, and took the town, and seized upon the castle, where the lady *Livia Gonzaga* was asleep in bed; who, hearing the alarm, was so surprized, as to start up in the fright, and had only time to leap out of the window in her shift; which she did so seasonably, escaping through the mountains, that the *Turks* entered her chamber just as she was escaped out of it. They say, that *Barbarossa* designed her for a present to the *Grand Signor*, and that the enterprize was made on that account; and that, when he found he had missed of her, he was like to run mad: but the lady's ill-fortune would have it, that, thumping *Scylla*, she fell into *Charybdis*, falling in her flight amongst the banditti of the kingdom; and she was known by some and not by others. I therefore leave you to judge, whether such a dainty bit, when in the power of those famished wretches, was not actually tasted by them: some believe it, and some not. But whatever oaths she made, she could not be believed, since so noble a morsel could never escape such people without being polluted. The most cleared, and who understand these matters, and have had a taste of them, can but too well speak of them: thus you see how easily men and women damn themselves by their oaths; for even the finest queens and princesses, if they should fall into such hazards, would be no more spared than others, since a great beauty carries no passport along with it, and love in that case uses its authority without respect of persons; and yet they will protest and swear, that their greatness dashed the insolence of those who would attempt them, and God knows (9).

Varillas (10) has taken from this book of Brantome all that he has said of the adventures of *Julia Gonzaga*.

He is mistaken as to the time: he places this in the year 1537, whereas he should have followed *Paulus Jovius* (11) who speaks of it under the year 1534.

GONZAGA (LUCRETIA) is one of the most illustrious women of the XVIth century. She heightened the nobility of her extraction by the brightness of her parts, and by her learning [A] and the delicacy of her pen. The wits of that time failed not to

[A] She heightened the nobility of her birth by her learning. There is no learning in her letters; but yet we may perceive by them that she was a learned woman: for, writing to *Robertel*, she declared that his commentary had made her understand many obscure passages of *Aristotle*, and the poet *Æschylus*.

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Egli è gran tempo, che vi sono affezionata per i beneficii che mi sento haver ricevuto dai vostri divini componimenti, i quali m'hanno illuminato l'intelletto in molti oscuri luoghi, & di *Aristotele*, & di *Eschilo* dove il vostro nobil ingegno s'è molto affaticato (1). She laughed at doctor *Lewis Picco*, her cousin, because

B b b

cause

(c) *Convidiosus* quod cum sectariis in Germania, & in Italia cum *Victoria Columna* Marchionis *Piscarii* vidua, & *Julia Gonzaga*, lectissimis aliquot feminis, de pravitae sectariis suspensis, amictum coluisset. *Thuanus*, lib. xxxix, circa init.

(d) *Hilarton de Coste*, Vies des Dames Illustres, Tom. II, pag. 97.

(7) It should be *Julia*.

(8) I call him *Vespasian* in the text of this article: it was his true name.

(9) Brantome, Vies des Dames Illustres, pag. 282.

(10) *Varill. Hist. de François I.* lib. viii, pag. m. 347, ad ann. 1537.

(11) *Paul. Jovius*, Hist. lib. xxxii, fol. m. 255.

(1) Lettere della Signora *Lucretia Gonzaga* da *Casaulo* pag. 73.

to praise her [B]. She wrote such fine letters, that they were eagerly collected for the press. I have seen the collection of them, which was published at Venice in 1552. They inform us, that her marriage with John Paul Manfrone was very unfortunate. He was a man who did not deserve her by his wealth; she married him against her will, being but fourteen years of age (a). She easily comforted herself for not living with him in all the figure her quality required. We cannot see a finer piece of morality, than what is to be found in a letter she wrote to a monk (b), who lamented her being married to such a mean country 'squire [C]; but she was very much concerned and dis-

consolate

(a) See her letters, pag. 251, 254.

(b) It written to Father Bandel; and it is to be found in the 61st page.

(2) The letter she wrote to him is in the 50th page.

(3) Ibid. pag. 53.

(4) Ibid. pag. 52.

(5) Ibid. pag. 67.

(6) It is in the 50th page. See also page 161.

(7) Molto meglio havrebbe fatto trasportando nel Panegirico della Sig. Marchesana tutti i bei concetti, & tutte le scelte parole che destinate al Panegirico composito per illustrare il mio nome oscuro. Ibid. pag. 30.

(8) It was the marchioness de Padula, of the house of Cardonna. Ibid. pag. 31.

(9) Ibid. pag. 140.

(10) Ibid. pag. 215.

(11) Ibid. pag. 76.

(12) Ibid. pag. 131.

(13) A memoir imparted to me by Mr de la Monnoye.

cause he taught his daughter astrology; but understanding the great service, that Sulpitius Gallus had done to the Romans, and Pericles to the Greeks, by their skill in astrology, she had a mind to learn it, and intreated Lewis Pico to instruct her in that science (2). One of the things she studied most was rhetoric (3). It appears also, that she learned a great deal of logic from Bandel her master (4), and that he read Euripides to her (5).

[B] The wits of that time failed not to praise her.] Hortensio Lando was her most zealous and best panegyrist. He made a very fine encomium on this lady. See the letter (6), in which she modestly thanked him and represented to him (7), that it had been better for him to keep his ingenious thoughts, and his fine expressions, for a panegyric upon the Signora Marchesana (8). I say this to make known the name of another very famous lady of that age. The same author dedicated to our Lucretia his dialogue, *Del temperar gli affetti d'ell'animo* (9). There was a great correspondence by way of letters betwixt her and him: he wrote to him above thirty that have been printed. To say something of that in the 215th page, we find there Hortensio Lando a little censured for his violent discontent at his poverty. She blames him for being afflicted at a thing, the advantages whereof she reckons up to him. 'Essendo voi persona

dotta; & tanto bene esperta nei mondani casi; mi maraviglio che di sì strana maniera vi attristiate per la povertà; quasi non sappiate la vita dei poveri esser simile ad una navigazione presso il lito: & quella de ricchi, non esser differente da coloro che si ritrovano in alto mare: à gli uni è facile gittar la fune in terra, & condur la nave à sicuro luogo; & à gli altri è sommamente difficile, &c. (10). — When I consider your learning, and experience in worldly affairs, I am surprized to see you so dejected with poverty, as tho' you knew not, that the life of the poor was like sailing near the shore, and that of the rich like tempting the deep: the one easily gets safe to land, the other with great difficulty &c. Jerome Ruscelli was one of this lady's panegyrist. This appears by a letter she wrote to him, which begins thus: 'Insieme col panegirico fatto da non so cui; in mia commendatione, hò ancho letto la bella & prolissa lettera che per voi vi si è aggiunta; nella quale, m'havete ritratta col pennello della vostra faccenda, tale, quale io doveri essere per haver quella perfectione che non hò (11). — Together with a panegyric by an unknown hand: I have this day read the fine, long, letter you have added to it, in my praise; in which your eloquent pen has drawn me such, as I ought to be, to be mistress of this perfection, which I have not.' Read also the other letter she wrote to him (12). A memoir which I have from good hands, informs me, 'that Bandel dedicated to her one of his novels, viz. the twenty first of the second part. He tells her towards the end; Spero ben tosto darvi del mio il libro de le mie Stanze tutto composito in vostra lode, ove vederete come io mi sforzo à farvi immortale; — I hope very soon to present you with my book of stanzas, wholly composed entirely to your praise, in which you will see the pains I take to render you immortal. And it is upon those stanzas that Julius Cæsar Scaliger, a great friend to Bandel, made a sorry epigram, intitled, *de Bandelli amoribus Thufca lingua decantatis* (31). Perhaps the reader will not be displeased to find it here.

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Maxime Phœbigenum, cui Thufco æqualis Homero
Lydia Mæonio nectare vena fuit:
Unde tibi ætherios immensi numinis haustus
Largus opum pleno pectore spirat amor?
Tantus eras vates, tanta est Lucretia. An ipsum
Hoc illi dederas: an dedit illa tibi?

Dum cælo imponis, transcendes sidera. Sic te
Dat Dea, tam rari carminis esse Deum (14).

Greatest of Phæbus's sons, whose numbers flow
With Nectar, such as Homer's only know,
Say, how is thy exalted fancy fir'd,
By love's soft influence alone inspir'd?
So bright a nymph we in thy numbers see,
Mad'st thou her fair, or she a poet thee?
Thy verse, that bids to heav'n thy mistress rise,
Lifts thy own fame above the starry skies;
And fair Lucretia, deis'd by thee,
Repays her poet with divinity.

See, in the nymphs of the same author, the piece intitled, *Pro Diva Lucretia Gonzaga Pyrrbi filia canit Talaris* (15), and, in the Heroids the epigram (16) it is in the intitled, *Lucretia Pyrrbi Gonzaga* F (16). But especially see the *Rime di diversi autori in lode di donna Lucretia Gonzaga*, printed at Bologna in the year 1565, in 4to. Here is another passage of Matthew Bandel (17), from which we may learn the name of Lucretia's mother, and some other particulars. Thus he speaks: 'A la molto illust. e virtuosa Heroina la S. Isabella Gonzaga di Poccino, dedicating to her the 57th novel of the first part. Essendo troppo al mondo manifestato il debito e obbligo che io ho a la felice e honorata memoria del valoroso S. Pirro Gonzaga, e de la gentilissima S. Camilla Bentivoglia, vostri honoratissimi padre e madre che tanto m'amavano, e tutto il di con nuovi beneficii m'obligavano, e mentre vissero, furono da me (secondo le debolissime forze mie) sempre tenuti in quella riverenza che io seppi la maggiore, come ne le Stanze mie si vederà che io in lode ho composte de la vostra nobilissima Sorella dal mondo riverita e da me santissimamente amata, la Signora Lucretia, le quali in breve saranno publicate, ove ancora vederete il nome vostro essere celebrato. — To the illustrious and virtuous heroine, Isabella Gonzaga di Poccino Is being too manifest to the world how much I am indebted to the happy and honourable memory of the brave Peter Gonzaga, and the most noble lady Camilla Bentivoglia, your very honoured father and mother, who shewed me such repeated marks of their favour, and whom I shall always hold in the utmost reverence, as my stanzas testify, which I composed in honour of the most noble Lucretia, your sister revered by the world, and whom I most affectionately loved; which stanzas I will soon publish, once more to celebrate your name.'

[C] A monk . . . who lamented her being married to such a mean country 'squire.] Thus I think I may translate these Italian words: 'Ho inteso che la riverenza vostra molto si è maravigliata che i miei maggiori mi maritassero mai in huomo di sì poche facultà, il quale m'haveste à condurre in una poco amena villuccia, & farmi habitare in una torre poco degna degli Avoli onde ne sono secondo la carne discesa; & per quanto appare dalle vostre scritte à mia sorella, assai ve ne dolette (18). — I am informed that your reverence is surprized at my marriage with a man so much beneath me, who may conduct me to a place unworthy my birth and ancestors; and by what appears in your letter to my sister you cannot sufficiently lament it.' But, lest the reader should have wrong notions of John Paul Manfrone, I must observe, that he was a much more considerable man than this monk thought. A letter of his wife's informs us, that he had had good posts in the Venetian army, and that he had built magnificent palaces. The following passage contains some other circumstances of his life. 'Ve ne supplica tutto il territorio Vicentino, donde egli ne trahe l'origene: ve ne priega la Città di Padoua, dove egli fanci- uo

(14) Jul. Cæsar. Scaliger in Farragine, pag. 174; prime paris Poëmatum, Edit. 1594.

(15) It is in the 278th page of the

(16) It is in the 377th page of the same part.

(17) It was imparted to me by Mr de la Monnoye.

(18) Letters of Lucretia Gonzaga, pag. 61.

consolate for the conduct of her husband. He was very brave and haughty (c), and did some actions that went not unpunished. The duke of Ferrara had him carried away, and detained him many years in a severe prison (d). By the process he formed against him, he found him worthy of a capital punishment; but he was merciful, and would not put him to death (e). Our Lucretia laboured as much as possible to procure his liberty. She endeavoured to soften the duke of Ferrara by a very moving letter (f). She implored the intercession of Paul III (g), of Julius III (h), of the sacred college, of the emperor, of the king of France, and of all the other potentates of Christendom. She had recourse to the assistance of the court of heaven by her prayers, and those she caused to be put up in all the convents and churches; and, when she saw that nothing would do, she formed a resolution of addressing the great Turk (i), and writ to him a flattering and respectful letter (k), beseeching him to seize the fortrefs, in which her husband was confined, and to do no other prejudice to the Christian states. She most humbly thanked the duke of Ferrara (l) for sparing the life of a prisoner whom the judges found worthy of death [D]. But she was desirous to have his clemency carried farther. Her husband was not set at liberty; nor was she permitted to visit him: they could only write to one another (m); which did not satisfy her: and therefore she used her utmost endeavours to obtain his enlargement; but all her pains proved ineffectual. He died in prison (n), having expressed in his disgrace so great an impatience, that people thought he was beside himself (o). The answer his widow made to those, who proposed another match to her, deserves our admiration [E]. Of four children she had (p), there remained only two daughters (q), whom she put into convents (r). All the productions

ullo essendo diligentemente studiò: ve ne priega il Polesino, dove molti anni praticò, & palazzi, & giardini con grande arte edificò: ve ne priega tutto il distretto Mantouano, dove sposandomi ben fanciulla, si imparentò: ve ne priega finalmente tutto il Senato Vinitiano, il qual hà fin dalle fascie per condottiere & fedelmente, & honoratamente sempre servito (19). — The whole territory of Vicenza, whence he drew his birth, petitions your holiness in his behalf: as does the city of Padua, in which, when a youth, he diligently studied: the Polesin, in which he practised many years, and built palaces and gardens with great art, joins in the petition: so does the district of Mantua, in which being very young, I was contrasted in marriage to him: lastly, the whole senate of Venice, in whose armies he served faithfully and honourably, becomes a petitioner to your holiness in his favour. These are the reasons his wife made use of to engage Paul III to intercede for him.

[D] She thanked the duke of Ferrara for sparing the life of a prisoner, whom the judges had found worthy of death. To understand perfectly the circumstances of this trial, we must see the history that Antony Brasavolus (20) has published of it. We find, in the epitome of Gesner's Bibliothéque, that the three first books of a volume of physic, written by Brasavolus, contained Historiam capiti & supplicio afflicti Pauli Manfroni propter infidias adversus duces & quomodo dux ei vitam donaverit, sed in carcere retinuerit (21). — The history of Paul Manfrone, taken, and to be punished, for plotting against the duke, and how the duke gave him his life, but kept him in prison.

[E] The answer of his widow to those, who proposed another match to her, deserves our admiration. I confess they did not observe decorum; they made too much haste; for they proposed the thing within less than a month after the burial of her husband. Widows, never so wanton and fond of marriage, would express some repentment against those, who should talk to them so suddenly of a second husband. Decency, custom, the formulary of the style of conversations, require an appearance of affliction for some time, and a seeming averseness to a second marriage; and, as those, who should think to ingratiate themselves by too early advices of matrimony, would have but an ill opinion of a widow's continence, it is requisite, that they should be answered with airs of indignation. I confess therefore, that those, who so hastily advised our Lucretia Gonzaga to a second husband, did not well observe the ceremonial. But I find, in her answer, I know not what that does her a great honour, and which does not resemble the artificial language of la Fontaine's young widow (22). 'Appena hò rasciutto le lagrime che giorno è notte mi sono con larghissima vena piovute da gli occhi: à fatica hò posto termine ai singhiozzi & ai sospiri: ne anche è compiuto il mese che l'infelice mio consorte è stato sepolto, & voi già mi parlate di rimaritare?

'non sapete voi casta non esser mai stata istimata, ch' due state si è maritata? Didone anchora presso di Virgilio, chiama sotto nome di colpa le seconde nozze, & voi con tanta istanza mi ci invitate? nò nò, io non voglio più sentire de fi fatti cordagli: ne altro marito intendo più di volere che GIESU CRISTO (23). — Scarce have I dried up the tears, which have, day and night, trickled plentifully from my eyes: with difficulty have I put an end to my sighs and groans: nor is it yet a full month, since my unhappy husband was buried: and do you already talk to me of marrying again? Know you not, that second marriages are deemed unchaste? Dido, in Virgil, calls such matches by the name of A Crime: and do you so earnestly invite me to it? No, no, I will think no more of such troublesome matters, nor will I have any other husband than JESUS CHRIST.

The remaining part of the letter turns upon the design of devoting herself for the future only to JESUS CHRIST as her husband. Our Lucretia goes too far in affirming, that a woman was never reckoned chaste that married again: but it is certain, that those, who would never marry again, and who lived in an unblameable widowhood, have always been more admired. We have seen our widow's answer to Orsola Pellegrini, who advised her to think of a second match, and that within the first month of her mourning. Let us see now how she answered Andriana Trivulcio, who did much better observe decorum; for he gave her not his advice till towards the end of the first year of her widowhood. Lucretia declared to him, that she wondered, when she had been so unhappy with her husband, that any one should propose to her to come again under the conjugal yoke, from which God had delivered her. Know, said she, that I would not do it, though I could meet with a husband wiser than Lælius, handsomer than Nireus, and as rich as Crassus. It is better to hear her in her own language (24).

'Non mi posso veramente pensare che fantasia vi sia venuta in capo, di procacciarmi marito, non essendo anchora consunto il cadavero di chi già prima à se di legittimo nodo mi legò, ilquale, mi hà fatto sentire tanti affanni, che se divina forza non mi haveffe aiutata, non haurai potuto mai resistere à tanti guai. Io dico finalmente mi hà restituito quella libertà, che m'era stata occupata dalla fraterna volontà, dandomi marito contra mia voglia: & voi, non so da qual spirito guidata, cercate di condurmi un'altra fiata sotto'l marital giogo: ponete pur il vostro core in pace, & pensate ad altro: che non ritoglierei marito s'egli fusse più savio di quel Lelio, che hebbe el titolo del savio, s'egli fusse più bello di Nireo, & s'egli possedesse le facultà di Crasso. — I cannot imagine how it came into your head to propose another husband to me, before the dead body of him, to whom I was first lawfully joined, be consumed; in whose lifetime, I underwent so much anxiety, that had I not been supported by heaven, I could never have born up against so great misfortunes: GOD, at last, has re-

(m) Ibid. pag. 200, 201.

(20) An eminent physician of Ferrara.

(21) Epitome Bibl. Gesneri, pag. 65.

(22) It is the tale, which Mr. de la Fontaine gave to the first book, pag. 257, of the second volume. Edit. of Paris, 1678.

(23) Lucretia Gonzaga, ubi supra, pag. 213.

(24) Ibid. pag. 214.

productions of her pen were so much esteemed, that the very notes she writ to her domestics

stored me to liberty; yet you, guided by I know not what spirit, would once more put me under the marriage yoke: set your heart at rest, and think of something else; for I will never take another husband, be he wiser than Lelius, who was surnamed the wise, be he handsomer than Nireus, or richer than Crassus. Thus you see a widow very different from that of la Fontaine. She talks at the end of the year as if it were the first day; and therefore these four verses cannot be applied to her:

Entre la veuve d'une année

Et la veuve d'une journée

La différence est grande. On ne croiroit jamais

Que ce fust la même personne (25).

(25) La Fontaine, ubi supra.

The difference is full great, I ween,

Between a widow of a day,

And her, whose widow-hood has seen

Twelve moons of mourning waste away.

COLLECTIONS relating to second marriages.

(26) Daillé, de l'emploi des Pères, liv. ii, cap. iv, pag. m. 381.

* Id. Epist. x, ad Furiam, Tom. I, pag. 89. D. & 101. C. Ut non tam laudanda sis, si vidua perseveres, quam execranda si id Christiana non servas, quod per tanta secula Gentiles feminae custodierunt. max, pag. 90. C. Canis revertens ad vomitum & sus lota ad volutabrum luti.

† Id. Epist. xi, ad Ageruch. Tom. I, pag. 101, C. tot. Hæc brevi sermone perfrinxit, ut ostendat adolescentulam meam non præstare monogamiam generi suo, sed reddere, nec tam laudandam esse si tribuat, quam omnibus execrandam si negare tentaverit.

(27) Remark [E].

(28) It is legitimate in the best manuscript.

(29) Valerius Maximus, lib. ii, cap. i, n. 3.

I think myself obliged a little to soften the criticism I have made on this lady's thoughts, when I have said that there was an excess in her expressions. This excess may be excused by supposing, that our Lucretia had a little too respectfully espoused the maxims of St Jerome. The wisest critics observe, that this great saint has carried this matter too far. Here is a passage of Mr Daillé (26). *I omit what at every turn he speaks reproachfully, both against marriage in general, and against second marriages in particular, using sometimes such harsh expressions, that, though he used all the cautions to explain them, that are to be found in his epistle to Pammachius upon this subject, yet it seems impossible to free them from the sense of Tertullian, condemned by the church as contrary to the honour of marriage, and the authority of scripture. For example, how is it possible to mollify what he writ to a lady named Furia* *. That she will not be so commendable for remaining a widow, as she will be execrable by marrying again, not observing, though a Christian, what many women of her family had observed, being heathens: *a thing which he repeats in the following epistle, exhorting Ageruchia to the same design* †; and he brings some scandalous comparisons, applying to those, that marry again, the proverb St Peter uses to another purpose, a dog returning to his vomit, and a swine to her wallowing in the mire. *Is not this clearly to reckon second marriages amongst filthy and polluted things?* If you desire to know farther what relates to the modesty, which St Jerome ascribes to the female ancestors of Furia, read the article CAMILLA (27). I add, that the virtuous Lucretia Gonzaga was dazzled with the glory that surrounded, even among the heathens, the women that did not marry again. And so she concluded, that those women were not reputed chaste, that took a second husband. She had, doubtless, read the words I shall presently quote out of a heathen writer; from which we learn, that a crown of chastity was decreed to the women, who had been married but once, and that repeated marriages were looked upon as a sort of corruption. *Quæ uno contentæ matrimonio fuerant, coronâ pudicitie honorabantur. Exultabant enim eum præcipuè matronæ sincera fide incorruptum esse animum, qui post depositæ virginis tatis cubile in publicum egredi nesciret: multorum matrimoniorum experientiam, quasi illegitimæ (28) cujusdam intemperantiæ signum esse credentes (29).* I believe also she had read, in Tertullian, what privileges the heathens granted to women who had married but once. *Monogamia apud Ethnicos in summo honore est: ut & virginibus nubentibus univira prouba adhibeatur, & sic auspicii initium est. Item in quibusdam solemnibus & auspiciis, ut prior sit univiræ locus. Certe Flaminia non nisi univira est.* — *Monogamy is in high esteem among the antients; inasmuch, that, when a virgin is married, they assign her a woman, that has been but once married, to perform the ceremony of bringing her home to the bridegroom's house. Likewise, on some solemn occasions, the precedence is given to the once-married woman. Flaminia is certainly of that number.* Lippius alleges this passage of Tertullian in commenting on the place, where Tacitus observes, that Pollio's daughter was

preferred to the daughter of Fonteius Agrippa, for this reason alone, that her mother had never any more than one husband. The question was about the election of a vestal. *Prælatâ est Pollionis filia non ob aliud quam quod mater ejus in eodem conjugio manebat. Nam Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat* (30). Lippius does not mention all the privileges spoken of by Tertullian: he does not say, that no women, but those who had observed monogamy (31), were permitted to put a crown on the head of *Fortuna Muliebris* (32). I say nothing of the epitaphs, whereon the epithet Univira was carefully remembered, in honour of the women, that did not marry twice; which shews, that this conduct was looked upon as a thing deserving immortality. Libanius's exclamation informs us, that this conduct was admired, amongst other reasons, because few instances of it were to be seen. This sophist, hearing, that St Chrysostome's mother was forty years old, and had been a widow twenty, cried out, *Good GOD! what women are there among christians* (33)!

The author of the news from the Republic of letters, says somewhere, that a certain encomium, which had been lately bestowed upon marriage, was built upon reasons that prove too much; and which destroy a notion that has been very common even amongst those, who, for political reasons, cast a kind of blot upon celibacy. This notion is, that a widow, who marries not again, is more esteemed, all other things being equal, than one that does. If we had not a vast number of authorities for this, the bare words of Virgil, which he makes Dido speak, would teach us what was the judgement of the ancients: (*Æneid. IV. 28.*)

Ille meos primus qui me sibi junxit, amores

Abstulit. Ille habet secum fervetque sepulchro.

*My love, which one dear object only knew,
Is still to my Sicæus' memory true.*

It must be granted, that the ideas of virtue are more favourable to the men, who marry a second time; yet it is certain, that such marriages have been subject formerly, and are still, to canonical penalties; and if we believe the learned civilian, who has written the *Rights of the queen*, the devolution, which takes place in some countries, was established only to bridle the incontinence of widowers, and to hinder them from marrying again, to the great prejudice of their children by the first wife (34). What he says of Dido was not unknown to the illustrious lady, who makes the subject of this article. I do not know whether she ever read the passage of Pausanias, which I have cited in the article GORGOPHON, or the reasons alleged by Plutarch, why the nuptials of virgins at Rome were never celebrated on festival-days, nor those of widows on work-days. According to Varro, the reason of this custom was, because nothing was to be done unwillingly on festival-days. *Ἐορτῇ μὴδὲ λυπημένους ποιεῖν μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην. Festo die nihil cum molestia & coactione agendum* (35). Now, added he, a widow marries again with pleasure, but a maid with reluctance. *Λυπημέναι μὲν αἱ παρθέναι γαμήναι, χαίρουσαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες. Virgines nubere tristes, mulieres autem cum letitia* (36). This thought would be unworthy of this learned man, if we took it literally; we must say therefore, that he spoke only of appearances. His meaning, no doubt, is, that festival-days, being designed for public rejoicings, mirth ought to appear in every face during those solemnities. Since then the laws of decorum oblige maids to appear serious and pensive on their wedding-day (37), and widows are dispensed with that affected grimace, maids are not married on festival-days, &c. Let us mention another reason alleged by Plutarch. He says, that marriage being honourable to maids, and scandalous to widows, the marriage of the former ought to be celebrated in the presence of many people; but, on the contrary, widows ought to desire to be married in the presence of few people; and for that reason they chuse a day, when the people mind other shews. *Ἡ μάλιστα οὔτε ταῖς μὲν παρθένοις, καλὴν μὲν γὰρ*

(30) Tacit. Ann. lib. ii, cap. lxxvii.

(31) That is, who had had but one husband.

(32) Fortune muliebri coronam non imponebat nisi univira. Tertull.

(33) Βαβὰλ. ὁ Θεὸς, εἰς τὰς Χριστιανὰς γυναῖκας εἰς τὴν ἀνιδυμίας αἰσθάνεται. Chrysost. Orat. I, ad viduas juvenem.

(34) Novelles de la Repub. des Lettres, Sept. 1685, Art. III, pag. 968, 969.

(35) Plot. in Quest. Roman. pag. 289, A.

(36) Id. ibid.

(37) It was without doubt the custom of Rome; and the same thing is still practised in several countries.

metics were collected [F]: you will find many of them in the edition of her letters; and you will find likewise many marks of her virtue and piety. Her reprimands to some leud, covetous, or proud women, are very fine [G], and deserve to be read, as well

γων, ταῖς δὲ χήραις αἰσχρὸν πολλῶν ὄντων γαμεῖσθαι (ἡλωτὸς γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος γάμος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἀπεικταίῳ ἀισχύνοται γὰρ ἂν ζώντων τῶν περτέρων ἐτέρης λαμβάνωσιν, ὁδύονται δὲ ἂν ἀποθανόντων ὅθεν ἡσυχία χαίρουσι μᾶλλον ἢ θορύβοις καὶ περιστομαίσι· αἱ δὲ ἔορται πεισπῶσι τὰς πολλὰς, ὥς τοῖς τοῦτοῖς μὴ σχολάζειν. Aut quia decori est virginibus nuptias earum multis præsentibus peragi, idemque viduis dedecori? primæ enim nuptiæ optandæ sunt & in præcio: secundæ votis recufandæ, quod vel cum turpitudine nubunt vivente priore marito, vel cum læstu, si sit mortuus. Itaque viduæ ad suas nuptias quiete magis gaudent quàm frequentia hominum & tumultu: felicitatis porro multitudinem ad se trahunt, neque nuptiis vacare patiuntur (38). — Or is it because it is an honour to virgins to be married in the presence of many, but to widows a disgrace? For the first kind of marriages are desirable and esteemed: the second to be scorned, because, if the first husband be alive, they marry with disgrace; if dead, with grief. For this reason, widows, when they marry, chuse privacy rather than a concourse of spectators: now festivity shows draw the multitude to them, and suffer them not to attend on weddings. I thought it requisite to cite the whole passage of Plutarch, because, in the substance which I have given of it, I have not represented the whole force of the expressions and circumstances, whereby he shews how little those women were esteemed, who married a second time. If you add to this the answers that were made by some illustrious ladies, when they were told of marrying again (39), you will excuse the strained expressions of our Lucretia.

Call to mind the answer of another lady of the house of Gonzaga (40).

[F] The very notes she wrote to her domestics were collected. They have even inserted what she wrote to her footman, to chide him for not readily obeying dame Lucia, who was her house-keeper (41); and what she wrote to this Lucia, forbidding her to be so parsimonious, and commanding her to laish a disobedient fervent-maid till the blood came. See *Livia non vi è obediante alzatele in capo i drappi & datelene tante che le carni si facciano livide & il sangue le scorra fino alle calcagna* (42). I do not know whether Mr Montreuil followed this example, when he inserted in the collection of his letters, what he wrote to his butcher (43); but I think this kind of notes might have been omitted without any prejudice to our Lucretia. I am of another opinion as to those, which acquaint us how carefully she applied herself to marry her servants. This is very glorious to her memory. It is one of the good qualities a great lady ought to be mistress of, and at the same time it is a virtue seldom practised among great people: for if a lady is ill served, she turns away her maids and waiting women, &c. without rewarding them; and if she is well served, she keeps them as long as she can, without procuring them a marriage, that might deprive her of the good services they do her. None are more inexcusable in this respect, than the ladies of great retinue and equipage; for they may easily know, by the familiarity between their domestics of different sexes, that to marry them would be to do them a great pleasure. The greatest watchfulness of mistresses, their severity, exhortations, censures, cannot prevent the familiarity and private correspondence of servants, and other stronger engagements, the scandalous consequences whereof do but too often appear. This most evidently shews what ought to be done to recompence the service they have received. We may therefore justly blame the ladies, who do not imitate our Lucretia, and praise her for her affection and generosity to those of her sex, who served her. She was so kind as to write to Cornelia Giannotti, that she had found her a young, rich, prudent and handsome husband. She exactly described to her his perfections; that he had a great deal of wit, was modest in his discourse (44), polite in his carriage, industrious, grave, civil, &c. Thus much for the soul. She forgot not what concerned the body: she is very particular in her description of it. 'Vengo hora alle qualità corporali, says she, lequai sono: mi parute degne di contemplatione, perche egli

è piu tosto robusto, che delicato, non molto grande ma thorofo, d'occhio vivacissimo; di largo petto; di fianco rotundo; di gamba suelta, di fronte ampia; di capo tondo, & ricciuto, ne aggiugne al ventesimo anno (per quanto si dice) (45). — I come now to his bodily perfections, which seem to me worthy of consideration, because he is rather robust, than delicate, not very large but braveny, of most lively eyes, of a wide chest, round hips, a fine leg, a broad forehead, with a curled head of hair, and, they say, scarce twenty years old. This shews that she made a choice like a good mistress, and a good friend. At another time, having found an advantageous match for one of her women, she immediately wrote to her the happy news; and advised her in the first place to give thanks to God, and in the next place to keep herself neat, that, when the galant came to visit her, he might not take her for the kitchen-maid. 'Rallegrati Giulia, & alza le mani al cielo, poi che mentre non stata alla fiera di Rovigo, ti hò trovato un marito di tal qualità che ogn'uno che lo conosce lo giudica laborioso . . . ponti adunque in ordine, perche io penso ch'egli se ne verra con noi alla Fratta; fa che non ti ritrovi con i capegli scarmigliati, col viso tinto, & con le mani impastriate come se tu fussti la cuoca (46). — Rejoice, Giulia, and return thanks to heaven: I have found you such a husband, that whoever sees him will judge him to be a pains-taking man. . . . Put your self therefore in order against he visits you, and take care he does not find you with your hair about your ears, and your face and hands greasy, like any cook-wench. She did such another piece of service to one of her sister's women (47).

[G] Her reprimands to some leud, covetous, or proud women are very fine. Read what she wrote to a woman, who, to excuse her wanton life, urged, that her resistance was to no purpose (48). Amongst other counsels, she advised her to eat and sleep but little, to avoid idleness and lascivious discourses, to abstain from lawful pleasures, to study the holy scriptures, and to apply herself to prayer. I do not wonder, says she, that you have not the power to resist sensual pleasures, since I do not perceive that you are sufficiently cautious of avoiding those things, that prompt you to luxury. The temptations of the flesh are like the Sirens. We must keep at a distance from them, if we would not be caught by them (49): *Non ti vego porre alcuna diligenza per sibiuar quelle cose che alla libidine incitar ti possono, & è ben ragione che chi ama il pericolo perisca nel pericolo. Sono le tentationi carnali simili alle Sirene, dalle quali pochi ne scampano se non si allontanano* (50). This, by the bye, is a very common illusion. People complain, that they cannot withstand some temptations, though they oppose them with all their strength, as they say. But can they be said to oppose them, who feed upon the finest dishes, who make all sorts of visits, who seek for the most agreeable conversations, &c.? It is so easy a transition from lawful to unlawful pleasures, that he cannot be thought to design a good life in earnest, who does not renounce many innocent conveniences. *Raffrenati etiam dai leciti piaceri* (51). — Refrain even from lawful pleasures, is what should be said to the voluptuous, as our Lucretia said to the leud woman here mentioned. This leud woman had a sister, who led the same life: Lucretia wrote to her a long letter (52), full of reasons most likely to convert this creature. She expresses herself with admirable life and eloquence against the brutishness of this vice. Nor is she less eloquent in censuring an old finner, whom she turns into ridicule: 'Oh bella cosa, che per tutta la città vostra si dica, che non vi possiate per vecchiezza che vi habbia soursiunguto distogliere dalle libidinose schifèzze . . . Fra tutti i mostri, niuna cosa è piu mostruosa di un vecchio libidinoso. Contemplate almeno allo specchio i canuti capegli, la canuta barba, la fronte rugosa, & la faccia smigliante ad un cadavero (53). — What a fine thing it is, for the whole town to cry out, that old age itself cannot cure you of lust . . . Of all monsters a libidinous old man is the greatest. Do but look in the glass, and contemplate those grey hairs,

C c c

(38) Ibid. Plat. viid.

(39) See the remark [F], of the article PORCIA.

(40) See GONZAGA (1) u. 118, citat. (1).

(41) The letter is at page 125. See also a letter she wrote to her butler, page 122.

(42) Ibid. page 217.

(43) See the article PAYS, remark [B].

(44) Dalla sua bocca non u'ci mai parola (non dico vergognosa) ma ne pur leggiere è licentiosa. — He never uttered (I do not say an impudent) but even a light or wanton expression. Letter, etc. page 221.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid. page 143.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Ibid. page 292, 293.

(49) See what is said in the article FONTENEAUD, remark [M] and [N].

(50) Ibid. page 293.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Ibid. page 224, & 163. See also what she wrote to some other leud women, page 128, 166.

(53) Ibid. page 293.

well as those, which she wrote to a priest who addicted himself to venereal pleasures [H]. It is likewise edifying to read what she wrote to a mother, who wanted to be comforted for not having been able to persuade her daughter to choose a cloyster rather than marriage (s). She, in a few words, displays the most excellent common places the Protestants make use of to exalt the dignity and sanctity of marriage. Let us not forget, that she was daughter of Pyrrhus Gonzaga, and that she had brothers and sisters (t).

(s) Ibid. pag. 34, 35.

(t) Ibid. pag. 37.

'bairs, white beard, wrinkled forehead, and complexion of a dead man.' What she writ to a man, who, far from finding the cure of his disorders by marriage, grew more lascivious by it, is no less forcible. 'Io mi credevo, che voi vi foste maritato, perche il matrimonio vi haveffe ad essere il rifugio della vostra incontinenza: ma per quanto s'intende, gli vi è piu tosto stato un sprone, & uno incitamento alla lussuria (54). — 'I thought you had married to avoid incontinence; but I find marriage has proved to you rather a spur and incitement to wantonness.' If she would have censured all those, whom neither old age nor marriage cure of that vice, she must have written more letters than would have made two volumes in folio. As to covetous or proud persons, whom she endeavours to reclaim, see the pages which I quote (55).

(54) Ibid. pag. 293.

(55) Ibid. pag. 29, 129, 174, 232, 104.

(56) Ibid. pag. 297.

[H]. . . Nor do those less deserve reading, which she wrote to a priest, who addicted himself to venereal pleasures.] See in what manner she talks to him (56): 'Egli è pur forza che posposto ogni rispetto, io vi

scriva, io vi ammonisca, & vi faccia rauvedere dei vostri sporchi falli, voi sacerdote d'IDDO, tutto consacrato alle cose divine, non vi vergognerete toccare la putrida carne di una meretrice, con quella bocca, con laquale, ricevete il corpo del nostro Signore; & non vi vergognerete trattare sì odiose brutture con quelle istesse mani, con lequali celebrate quello ineffabile misterio ministrandovi gli agnoli? Oh come non si patono insieme, farsi quel medesimo corpo, & spirito con IDDO, & un medesimo corpo con la malvagia femina. — I cannot forbear writing to you, and admonishing you, concerning your leud behaviour: you, who art one of GOD's priests, who ally dedicated to divine things; are you not ashamed to touch the rotten flesh of an harlot, with that mouth, with which you receive the body of our Lord; and are you not ashamed to handle such odious filth with those very hands, with which you celebrate the ineffable mystery, in administering to your flock? Oh! how can the same body and spirit serve GOD and an harlot?

(a) Πρώτηρον δὲ καθέστηκεν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ ἀποθανόντι. Χρηστέον. Cum ante sanctum & solemne feminis fuisset, priore viro mortuo, secundis nuptiis abstinere. Pausanias, ex versione Romuli Amselii, lib. ii, pag. 64.

(b) Id. lib. iv, pag. 112.

(c) Id. lib. ii, pag. 64.

(d) Id. ibid. pag. 81.

GORGOPHONE, daughter of Perseus and Andromeda, was the wife of Perieres, son of Æolus, and king of the Messenians in Peloponnesus. Out-living her husband, she married Oebalus, and was the first woman that took a second husband; for, before her, her sex religiously abstained from second marriages (a). This innovation cannot be so great a blot on her memory, as that of Lamech was, who married two wives at the same time. Yet it is a blot, whenever history observes, that a person was the first, who introduced a relaxation in the practice of rigid morality. The relaxation of Gorgophone's children was much more to be condemned; for they fell into incest. She had two sons by her first marriage, viz. Aphareus and Leucippus. By the second venter, she had a daughter called Arena, who was Aphareus's wife. This Aphareus permitted his son to reign with him jointly at Messena; but he reserved the chief authority to himself. He built a city, which he called Arena, from his wife (b). Gorgophone was buried at Argos, her native country (c). She had by her second marriage a son called Tyndarus, the father of Helena (d). I believe Plautus took her for the grand-mother, and not the aunt, of Amphitryon [A].

(1) Amphitr. Act. IV, Scen. IV, ver. 49.

(2) Apollodorus, lib. ii, p. m. 97.

[A] Plautus took her for the grand-mother . . . of Amphitryon.] His words are these (1). Ego idem ille sum Amphitruus, Gorgophones nepos, imperator Thebanorum. Madam Dacier makes this note upon it. 'I have never observed, that the word nepos, among the ancients, signifies nephew, but always grand-son: yet I believe, that Ovid used it in the same sense as Plautus does here; for Gorgophone was the daughter of Perseus, and sister of Alcæus, and consequently Amphitryon's aunt.' For my part, I cannot be persuaded, that Plautus used the word nepos in any other sense than that of grand-son. We do not certainly find, that this word had any other signification before the decline of the Latin tongue; and therefore all the spectators and readers of the Amphitryon directly understood a grand-son by the word nepos. What probability is there, that the poet would thus impose upon them, in making him Gorgophone's grand-son, who was only her nephew? I know indeed, that, according to Apollodorus's genealogy (2), Amphitryon is but the nephew of Gorgophone; but I know likewise, that all the genealogies of the fabulous ages have been differently related: and it is very likely, that Plautus had read

some authors, who made Amphitryon Gorgophone's grand-son. Let us remember, that she had two husbands, and children by each: perhaps it has been said, that she had a daughter, who was Alcæus's wife, and Amphitryon's mother; which would not be more strange, than what we read in Apollodorus (3), viz. that Electryon married Anaxo his niece, daughter of Alcæus. If Electryon married his brother Alcæus's daughter, Alcæus might have married the daughter of his sister Gorgophone. Add to this, that the authors, that remain, are not agreed about Alcæus's wife, who was Amphitryon's mother. Some (4) will have her to be Menœceus's daughter, and that her name was Hipponome. Others (5) say, that she was called Lysidice, and that she was Pelops's daughter. Others (6), lastly, make her the daughter of Guneus, who was of Pheneum in Arcadia, and call her Laonome. What hinders but other writers, who were not lost in Plautus's time, might say she was Gorgophone's daughter (7)? To conclude, we need not wonder, that Amphitryon gloried on the stage in this genealogy; for the bare name of Gorgophone raised the idea of Perseus, the conqueror of the Gorgones, from which action his daughter took her name (8).

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Pausan. lib. viii, pag. 243.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Confer quæ infra, in the remark [F] of the article TELEBOES.

(8) Pausan. lib. ii, pag. 64.

GORLÆUS, (ABRAHAM) born at Antwerp in the year 1549, became famous by his curiosity in collecting medals, and other like monuments. He was particularly fond of the rings and seals of the ancients. He collected a prodigious quantity of them, as appears by the book he published in 1601 [A]. Seven years after, he

[A] The work he published in 1601.] The title of it is: Dactylothece, seu Annulorum sigillarium quorum apud priores tam Græcos quam Romanos usus ex ferro, ære, argento & auro Promptuarium. This was the

first part of the work: the second was intitled, Variarum Gemmarum quibus Antiquitas in signando uti solita Sculptura. What makes me say, that this work was printed in the year 1601, though I know that Swertius

he published a collection of several medals. He pitched upon the town of Delft for the place of his residence, and he died there the fifteenth of April 1609. It is not true that he had a place in the mint [B]. Some say, that he never studied the Latin tongue; and that the learned preface, prefixed to his *Daëtyliotheca*, was written by another man [D]. His executors sold his cabinet to the prince of Wales (a). It is not always safe to depend on his medals, if we may believe the Scaligerana [E].

(a) See Swertius Athen. Belg. pag. 87.

(1) Swertius, Athen. Belg. pag. 87.

(2) Val. Andr. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 1.

(3) It says, that he was then in his fifty second year.

(4) At Leyden, for Vander Aa, 1695.

(5) In Prefat.

(6) Biblioth. Bibliothec. in Mantissa antiquariae Supplementi, pag. m. 341.

(7) Biblioth. Belg. pag. 1.

(8) In allegio ad Lectorem.

(9) Ubi supra, pag. 87.

(10) Gronovius, in Prefat.

Swertius (1) and Valerius Andreas (2) say it was printed at Nuremberg in the year 1600, is the date of the epistle dedicatory. The author dedicated his book to the elector of Cologne, the first of October 1601. Besides, the print of the author, prefixed to the book, is of the same year (3). Lastly, Mr Gronovius, who has published a new edition of it (4), observes (5), that it was printed the first year of this century. The edition of this book in Thuanus's library is of Leyden 1605. In that of Mr le Tellier, archbishop of Rheims, it is of Antwerp, 1609. Father Labbé (6) mentions the edition of Leyden 1650: perhaps his printers have made 1650 of 1605, by transposing figures: but, however, the Leyden edition exceeds all the rest, as containing not only a greater number of figures, but also a short and very learned explanation, which Mr Gronovius has added to it.

[B] It is not true, that he had a place in the mint at Delft. Valerius Andreas has here made a very notable blunder. *Abrahamus Gorlaeus*, says he (7), *Antwerpiae natus, celebri emporio, Delphis Batavorum exivit in Collegio III. virorum monetariorum.* He affirms two things: one is, that there is at Delft a body composed of three directors of the mint: the other is, that Gorlaeus was one of those three men: neither of which is true. This error was occasioned by these words of Gorlaeus (8). 'Nescio quo fato in antiquorum numismatum *Συναγωγῇ* de lapsus, reique dulcedine affectus totum me tradidit huic contemplationi; & tanquam in Collegium III. virorum Monetariorum cooptatus, nihil præter nummos veteres somnio — Falling, I know not how, into the study of ancient coins, and being pleased with the thing, I gave myself wholly up to that contemplation; and, as if I were one of the three mint-masters, I dream of nothing but ancient coins.' Swertius (9) understood very well the meaning of these words, and has quoted them in the author's sense; but Valerius Andreas has perverted them: he does not say, that Gorlaeus applied himself to the search of ancient coins, like a man who had been one of the *Triumviri* of the mint; but he represents him as being actually possessed of that employment. Mr Gronovius enquired into the reasons that induced this antiquarian to leave his own country, and to retire into Holland for the rest of his days, and what employ the magistrates of Delft gave him, but could find out nothing about it. 'Ipsam Gorlaeum cognoscere familiaris cupivi, & quæ causa illum induxisset patriam Batavia mutare, præsertim quum dissona de eo memorarentur, sic ut ibi quoque mori & sepeliri novem annis post voluerit. Ipse in præfatione postrema videtur se describere eum qui publicis quotidie distringeretur muneribus, & qualia ista fuerint resciscere non magis potui, quam id ipsum quod modo dixi (10). — I desire to be better acquainted with Gorlaeus, and to know what induced him to leave his native land for Holland, especially since there are such different reports concerning him, inasmuch that, nine years after, he desired to die and be buried there. In his last preface, he seems to describe himself as one, who was daily embarrassed with public affairs; but of what kind they were, I

could never learn.' What is certain, is, that Gorlaeus describes himself as a man whom public employments hindered from studying as much as he desired. Cæterum says he (11), cum illud præstare quod a nobis ipsi exigimus, ejus sit verius qui in umbratica rerum contemplatione & desidia literarum torpescit, quam qui publicis quotidie distringitur muneribus, aliis relinqueamus quod optari possit, nobis quod ad nominis nostri exultationem publicamque utilitatem sufficere reservabimus. — But since the performance of what I require of myself demands leisure and literary indolence, but is inconsistent with the daily avocations of public business, I leave that to others, and reserve myself for the care of my own reputation and the public good.

[C] Some say that never studied the Latin tongue. Peireskius said this, speaking of the conversation he had with Gorlaeus at Delft. The words of his historian deserve to be set down. 'Quo loco narrare solebat rem memoratam non indignam, nempe Gorlaeum, cum aliis Latinæ linguæ non studuisset, intellexisse tamen libros omnes circa rem nummariam Latine conscriptos; eodem modo, quo Forcatulus omnes circa rem Mathematicam: tantum valet improbus labor ex desiderio quidpiam noscendi vehementissimo profectus (12). — Upon which occasion, he used to relate a memorable thing, to wit, that Gorlaeus, tho' he had never studied the Latin tongue, yet understood all the books of coins written in that language: in the same manner as Forcatulus understood all books of Mathematics: such is the force of industry, arising from an eager desire of knowledge.' This would be a thing somewhat singular, and perhaps it would be more to Gorlaeus's glory, than his want of scholarship would be shameful to him. Is it not a sign of a great genius, to be able to understand a Latin book, merely by being skilled in the subjects it treats of? Plutarch says somewhere, that, having studied the Roman history in Greek books, he, thereby understood the language of the Latin historians. Gorlaeus might have said, that the knowledge of medals, which he had acquired, let him into the notions of the Latin authors, who had written upon that science. But this story of Peireskius cannot be reconciled with what Swertius says, who was intimately acquainted with Gorlaeus (13). A school-fellow of Andrew Schottus went, no doubt, to the college. Mr Gronovius (14) urges this argument against what Gassendus says.

[D] The learned preface at the head of his *Daëtyliotheca* was written by another. Cunæus says, that *Ælius Everhard Vorstius* was the author of it: this he says in Vorstius's funeral oration. A learned German (15), who has written concerning rings, affirms the same thing.

[E] It is not always safe to depend on his medals, if we believe the Scaligerana. There we find these words (16): Gorlaeus casts medals: he has sometimes shown me some of them; but I discovered, that they were not ancient; ever since he has shewed me none but what were true: he is a good man. This, and the rest of the passage, shews, that Scaliger reckoned Gorlaeus among the forgers of false medals.

(11) In 2. Montoad Lectorem.

(12) Gassendus in Vita Peireskii, lib. ii, ad ann. 1606, pag. m. 265.

(13) Mihi familiaris; liberalibus studiis à primis adolescentiæ annis delectatus, condiscipulum habuit Andream Schottum Soc. Jesu Presbyt. Swert. ubi supra.

(14) In Prefatione.

(15) Kirchmannus, cap. iii, de Annulis, pag. 13. Edit. Ludg. Bat. 1672.

(16) At pag. 97.

G O R L Æ U S, (DAVID) a native of Utrecht, lived in the XVIIth century. He published some books of Philosophy (a), in which he departed from the common opinion of the schools. Regius, a disciple of Descartes, being brought into trouble for a thesis concerning the union of the soul and body, alledged that he had used Gorlaeus's own words. This did him no service; and gave an opportunity to Voëtius, professor of divinity, to blast as much as possible Gorlaeus's opinions [A].

[A] Voëtius . . . blasted as much as possible Gorlaeus's opinions. You will find the history of all this in Mr Baillet (1). He tells us, that Regius had maintained, amongst other things: * That from the union of the soul and body there results, not a real, but only an accidental being . . . it was enough for

Voëtius, that this was not agreeable to the usual language of the schools, to declare Regius an heretic, and to proceed to the degrading of him. It was in vain for Regius to excuse himself, by saying, he was not the author of this way of speaking, but Gorlaeus, in whose writings he had found it

(a) Exercit. Philosophicæ, anno 1620, in 8vo. Item Idea Physicæ, Koenig. Biblioth. Vat. & Nov. pag. 335. See Sorel, pag. 248, of his book, intitol'd, la Perfection de l'Homme.

(1) Vie de Descartes, Tom. II, pag. 145, 146, ad ann. 1641. * Ex mente & corpore non fit unum per se, sed per accidentia.

in the very words used in the disputations. Voëtius had it decreed, in the name of the faculty of divinity . . . That the students should avoid Regius's lectures, as doctrines pernicious to religion. A few days after, Voëtius printed some theses; to which he added three corollaries. *The first* thereof was this: the opinion of the atheist Taurellus, and of David Gorlaeus, teaching, that man, made up of a body and a soul, is a being *per accidens*, and not *per se*, is absurd and erroneous. *The third* was this: the philosophy, that rejects the substantial forms of things, with their proper and specific faculties, or their active qualities, and consequently the distinct and specific natures of things, such as Taurellus, Gorlaeus, and Basson, have endeavoured to introduce in our days, is inconsistent with Moses's physics and all that the scripture teaches us. This philosophy is dangerous, favourable to scepticism, proper to destroy our belief concerning the rational soul, the procession of the divine persons in the Trinity, the incarnation of JESUS CHRIST, original sin, miracles, prophecies, the grace of our regeneration, and the real possession of devils.

This manifestly shews the power of custom and prejudices. It is a weight that drags us whither the interest of our cause forbids us to go. For what can be said more contrary to the interest of those fundamental doctrines of religion (2), than to maintain, that they stand in need of the doctrine of the schools, concerning the distinction of *ens per se*, and *ens per accidens*, and the nature of forms that constitutes the species of bodies? *Ens per se*, and *ens per accidens*, are inexplicable phrases, a meer jargon of the Spanish logicians, which signifies nothing: and as to substantial forms, what is said of their nature,

(2) I mean those that are specified in the third corollary.

and the way of their production and destruction, is so absurd and incomprehensible, that they cannot be set up for doctrines necessary to religion, without dangerously exposing the sublimest truths of the gospel, and filling the general course of nature with so many mysteries, that religion will have no prerogative over nature. It is certain, that the most profound mysteries of the gospel are at least as easy to comprehend, as the doctrine of forms, and the nature of the *ens per se* of the schools.

This reflexion affects Voëtius but in a remote and indirect manner; for if we read his whole corollary, we see, that the reason of his apprehending so much danger to the doctrines of the gospel, from the rejection of forms, is not that rejection itself, but the motive of it (3). He observes, that the principal reason of those, who deny them, is the inexplicable manner of their production; and then he shews, that, upon the like foundation, it is to be feared the mind of man will proceed to deny mysteries, &c. This alters the state of the question, and puts the dispute in a capacity of being more easily ended. It is but explaining the misunderstanding, and shewing the disparity. As for those, who condemn the rejection of forms in it self as prejudicial to religion, I repeat it, they deserve to be made acquainted with what I have said before.

You will find in the remark [E] of the article HEIDANUS, something concerning the inexplicable difficulties of the peripatetic doctrine about substantial forms. But, to see this in it's whole extent, you need only read the first volume of Hadrian Heereboord's theses, from the 125th page to the 148th; where he enforces the profound and subtil reasonings of William Pemble, who has written in English upon this subject.

(3) Quidquid sit de summa rei, quam Philosophorum disquisitioni relinquimus, hoc unum saltem hypomena studiosis nostris subijcimus: Achillei argumenti istius, quo formas explicate conatur, coniecturam suspicam habent; quæ est hæc, negatur essentia & existentia formarum, quia eorum origo seu modus originis incertus est, aut explicari non potest, sic ut patrum formarum & sibi & aliis in eo satisfaciant. Hoc periculo axiomaticæ semel habito proclive erit vanitati, scepticismo & petulantie humani ingenii, disputare, non dei animam rationalem, &c.

GOSELINI (JULIAN), born at Rome in the year 1525, was, at seventeen years of age, secretary to Ferdinand Gonzaga, viceroy of Sicily. He continued so when that viceroy was made governor of Milan. He had the same post under the dukes of Alba and Sessa, who were successively governors of that state after the death of Gonzaga. The duke of Sessa took him with him to the court of Spain, where Gofelini made himself so acceptable by his address and prudence, that the duke was told he would do well to employ only this negociator in his affairs with the king. Gofelini was gratified at the same time with a pension for life of 200 crowns *per annum*. The marquis of Pescara, who succeeded the duke of Sessa, had the same consideration for Gofelini, and the same confidence in him as his predecessors: but things altered strangely under this marquis's successor, the duke of Albuquerque. He treated Gofelini in such an odd and barbarous manner, as had like to have cost him his life and honour at once. However, the end of this persecution was honourable to this secretary. He dexterously warded off the blow, and managed himself with that prudence during all this heavy storm, as to make it turn to his honour. He got again into that employment under the marquis of Aimonte, and the duke of Terranova, who were governors of the Milaneze, and whose secretary he was, to their great satisfaction. Amongst many good qualities, he is said to have been a pacifier of quarrels, and to have had a very particular talent for it. The thing deserved to be observed on his epitaph, *Titulo res digna sepulchri*: nor has it been forgotten (a). The affairs of the secretaryship, which took him up above forty years, hindered him not from publishing several books [A]. He died at Milan the twelfth of February 1587, being near sixty two years of age (b).

(a) Componentis discordiis nato.

(b) Taken from Ghilini, Teatro d' Huomini Letterati, Part. I, pag. 134. See also Prosp. Mandosio Bibl. Roman. pag. 25.

[A] He published several books. These are the titles of some of them: *Rime: Discorsi: Lettere: Ragionamento sopra i Componenti del Borgbesi: Dichiarazione di alcuni Componenti: Vita di Don Ferdinando Gonzaga: Trè Congiure, cioè de Pazzi e Salviati contra i Medici, del Conte Giovan Luigi de' Fieschi contra la Republica di Genova, &c. d'alcuni Piacentini contra il loro Duca Pietro Luigi Farnese*. He also wrote Latin verses and letters, and translated into Italian a French book, intitled, *A true account of things that happened in the Netherlands since the arrival of Don Juan of*

Austria, &c. Varillas, doubtless, did not know, that Gofelini had written the conspiracy of the count of Fiesque, since, in giving the reason of his treating of this conspiracy, he names (1) but four authors, who have published the history of it, Hubertus Folietta, Agostino Mascardi, Madam de Seuder, and cardinal de Rets. He acknowledges, that they are incomparable each in their kind; but that the two first ascribe too much to France in that project, and the two latter do not ascribe enough to it.

(1) In the preface to the History of Francis I.

GOSSELIN. I know three authors of Normandy, who have born this name. WILLIAM GOSSELIN, a native of Caen, lived in the XVIth century, and studied mathematics [A]. JOHN GOSSELIN lived in the same century. He was

[A] WILLIAM GOSSELIN applied himself to the mathematics. This appears by the work, he published at Paris in 1577, with this title: *De Arte magna, seu de occulta parte numerorum quæ est Algebra & Almucabala vulgo dicitur libri quatuor, in quibus explicantur æquationes Diophantis, & regulæ quantita-*

was of Vire, and was the king's library-keeper. He applied himself very much to astrology [B], and died very old by an extraordinary accident. We shall see what Scaliger said of him [C]. ANTONY GOSSELIN was of Caen, where he was Regius Professor of history and eloquence, and principal of the college du Bois. He published the history of the ancient Gauls in Latin, in 1636. He was mistaken in a great many things, as Mr Bochart shewed in some observations he composed upon that work; but he would not publish them, fearing to displease the friends and relations of the author. They have been inserted in the last edition of his works.

tis simplicis & quantitatis surdæ. He added some demonstrations and inventions of his own to his French translation of the arithmetic of Nicolas Tartaglia, an Italian author. This version was printed at Paris in 1577 (1), and at Antwerp by Plantin, the year following (2).

[B] JOHN GOSSELIN applied himself very much to astrology. Witness the book he published at Paris, in 1577, intitled, *Historia imaginum celestium nostro sæculo accommodata in qua earum vicinities seu habitudines inter se atque stellarum fixarum situs & magnitudines explicantur.* Six years before, he had published, *La Main harmonique, ou les Principes de Musique antique & moderne, & les propriétés que la moderne reçoit des sept Planètes*; as also, *Ephemerides, ou Almanach du jour & de la nuit pour cent ans commençans en l'an 1571* (3). He printed, at Paris, in 1582, a table of the reformation of the year, and

a French version of the Gregorian calendar (4). Note, that Vossius (5) has made no mention of these two authors. It is a sign he had not heard of them.

[C] He died very old We shall see what Scaliger has said of him. Gosselin the king's library-keeper is dead, being burnt to death: he fell into the fire, and, being alone, by reason of his age, could not get up again, which is a common fate to old people. Mr Casaubon will succeed him. Gosselin suffered no body to go into the library; so that Mr Casaubon finds unexpected treasures there (6).

From this passage two things may be inferred: one is, that John Gosselin died about the beginning of the XVIIth century: the other, that his place was given to Casaubon.

GOUDIMEL (CLAUDIUS), one of the most excellent musicians of the XVIth century, was massacred at Lyons in 1572, because he was a Protestant. The Protestant Martyrology makes mention of him [A]. D'Aubigné is mistaken in placing him amongst those, who were murdered at Paris on St Bartholomew's day [B]. Varillas has not committed this fault; but he is to blame for believing, that Goudimel and Claudin the younger were one and the same person [C]. He makes a curious observation against those who excepted not so skillful a musician out of the massacre [D]. If notice

[A] The Protestant martyrology makes mention of him. In these words (1): 'Claudius Goudimel, an excellent musician, and whose memory will live for ever, for what he has so well done upon David's Psalms in French, the greatest part whereof he has set to music, in the form of motets, of four, five, six, and eight parts; and had not death prevented it, he would have quickly completed the whole work. But the enemies of God's glory, and some wicked persons, who envied the honour he had acquired, have deprived the lovers of Christian music of such an happiness.'

[B] D'Aubigné is mistaken in placing him among those, who were murdered in the massacre of Paris on St Bartholomew's day. After having named many eminent persons killed in the Paris massacre, he adds: 'Goudimel, an excellent musician, and Perrot a civilian, were all thrown out at the windows, and dragged along the streets, and cast into the river, at the instance of the duke of Montpensier, who had joined with those we have spoken of, to cry out, kill, and that they had attempted upon the king's life (2).' If he had consulted Thuanus, as he has in other cases, he would have avoided this mistake. For this is what Thuanus says in that place of his history, wherein he mentions the massacre of Lyons. 'Baudem fortanum expertus est Claudius Goudimelus, excellens nostra ætate Musicus, qui Psalmos Davidicos vernaculis versibus à Clemente Maroto & Theodora Beza expressos ad varios & jucundissimos modulationum numeros aptavit, quibus & hodie publice in concionibus protestantium ac privatim decantantur (3). — The same fate attended Claudius Goudimel, an excellent musician of our time, who set the Psalms of David, translated into metre by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza, to various and most pleasing tunes, which at this time are sung both publicly and privately by the Protestants.'

[C] Mr Varillas . . . is to blame for believing, that Goudimel and Claudin the younger were one and the same person. We shall see in the following remark, that he has done it. To confute him, I must alledge here a notable fact concerning this Claudin, which will inform us, that he was alive nine years after the Paris massacre. I have found this fact in the commentary, that has been printed with the life of Apollonius Tyastus, translated into French. I shall set down the words of the commentator (4): 'It was also by these

two Phrygian and Subphrygian tunes, that Timotheus made an experiment of his skill in the person of Alexander, by the former making him run to arms, as he was at table, and by the latter bringing him back to his former tranquillity. I have sometimes heard the Sieur Claudin the younger say (5), (5) The author who, without disrespect to any one, far exceeded all the musicians of the preceding ages; that an air, marginal summa-ry, *He Chyprien* of Claudin the younger, the son of all the musicians, (6), in the time of Henry III, king of France and Poland, of happy memory, whom God absolve; which, as it was sung, made a gentleman take his sword in hand, and swear aloud, that it was impossible for him to forbear fighting with some body. Whereupon they began to sing another air of the Subphrygian mode, which made him as peaceable as before; which I have had since confirmed by some that were present: such power and force have the modulation, motion, and management of the voice, when joined together, upon the minds of men (7). (7) Id. ibid. To conclude this long annotation: If one would have an excellent experiment of these twelve modes, let him sing, or hear sung, the Dodecachorde of Mr Claudin the younger, of whom I have spoken above; and I assure myself he will find in it (8) He com- all those figures and variations managed with so much danted at Lyons. art, harmony, and skill, as to confess, that nothing See Thuanus, can be added to this master-piece, but the praises that ubi supra, pag. 1083, who taxes all the lovers of this science ought to bestow upon Mandelot with this rare and excellent man, who was capable of car-bale hypocrisy in rying music to the utmost degree of it's perfec-pretending to dis-approve the mis- sion, if death had not frustrated the execution sacre, and to pu- nish the authors of his noble and profound designs upon this subject.

[D] he makes a curious observation upon those, who excepted not so excellent a musician out of the massacre. These are his words: 'Mandelot (8) vainly attempted to prevent the massacre of thirteen hundred Calvinists at Lyons, and especially the incomparable musician Goudimel (9), so well known by the name of Claudin the younger. His greatest crime was the composing the noblest airs to Marot's and Beza's Psalms, which were sung in the Protestant congregations; and in his punishment no regard was had to the Roman law, which indulged those that were eminent in their profession, because the public, by taking them off, lost incomparably more than it gained by the example of their punishment (10).'

(1) Taken from Du Verdier Van-Privas, Bibl. Franç. pag. 473.

(2) La Croix du Maine, pag. 147.

(3) Taken from Du Verdier Van-Privas, ubi supra, pag. 708.

(4) La Croix du Maine, pag. 230.

(5) In his book De Scientiis Mathematicis.

(6) Scaligeriana, pag. m. 97.

(1) Book x, fol. 757, ad ann. 1572.

(2) Hist. Universelle, Tom. II, liv. i, chap. iv, ad ann. 1572.

(3) Thuanus, Hist. lib. III, pag. m. 1084.

(4) Artus Thuanus, Comment. sur la Vie d'Apollonius Tyastus, liv. i, chap. xvi, p. 282.

(5) I defy Varillas to cite any author, who says, that Mandelot was particularly desirous to save this musician's life.

(10) Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX, lib. ix, pag. 471, 472, of the Paris edition, in 12mo, 1684.

(a) They are in Latin, and well written.

had been taken how Goudimel wrote his name, it had not been so disguised, as it has been [E]. There are some of his letters (a) printed amongst the poems of Melissus; his intimate friend. He there writes himself Goudimel. Melissus made some verses upon the sad destiny of his friend. I shall set down the epigram, in which it is observed, that Goudimel would have found more humanity amongst the waves of the Ægean sea, as heretofore Arion, than he found in his native country [F]. I believe this musician was of Franche Comté [G].

(11) Girac, Replique à Colhar, §. xxvi, pag. m. 235.

* Hinc apparet ratio ejus quod passim juris utriusque Interpretes adnotant, scilicet, penam esse vel remittendam vel minuendam delinquenti ob infamiam ejus peritiam, seu ex eo quod artifex sit celestis magnique nominis, &c. Covarr. lib. ii. Var. Rej. cap. ix. n. 6. Vide Jul. Clar. Sent. lib. v. §. fin. qu. 60, n. 26, & alios.

(12) Polit. Eccl. Tom. I, pag. 334.

(13) Jeremiah de Pours, Divine Melodie du St Psalme, liv. ii, cap. xli, pag. 381.

(a) So Thuanus calls him, lib. xxxvii, pag. 769; but Andreas Schottus, Biblioth. Hispan. pag. 300, and Ribadeneyra, Vita Ignatii, lib. i, cap. iii, call him James. It was he who had a mind to visit Ignatius Loyola.

(1) Biblioth. Hispan. pag. 300.

(2) Teiff. Elog. Tom. I, pag. 291.

The indulgence of the Roman law, which Varillas speaks of, will excite the curiosity of a great many readers. They will look upon it as a very remarkable particular: but as they know he has imposed much, even in point of history, the principal object of his studies, they will not think him very worthy of credit in a matter of civil law, which was not his province. Wherefore, to set them at ease, I will give them a better authority, that is, the testimony of a man of much more learning, who has cited two very grave authors. See then what Girac has observed against Colhar (11). Our doctor offends a-new against the rules of the civil-law, he who pretends sometimes to discuss matters of right. It is absolutely false, that an artist deserves so much the more to be punished, as his work shall be admired, and charm the beholders. All the interpreters of the civil-law maintain the contrary; and it is a practice frequently observed by princes and sovereign courts, to give those their life, who excel in any art, though they deserve to lose it for the crimes they have committed.*

[E] If notice had been taken how Goudimel subscribed, his name had not been so disguised as it has been. Thuanus calls him Gaudimelus: Gisbert Voëtius (12), Gaudimellus: Varillas, Gaudinel: Jeremiah de Pours, Guidomel. The same Guidomel set to music the Psalms of David, printed at Paris by Adrian le Roy and Robert Balaard, in the year 1565. He also composed nineteen spiritual hymns, printed at Paris by Nicholas du Chemin, in the year 1555 (13).

[F] I shall set down the epigram, in which it is observed, that he would have found more humanity among the waves, than . . . in his own country. It is at the seventy ninth page of a book, intitled, Melissi Schediasmata Reliquia, and was printed in 1575, in 8vo. It contains several pieces of poetry upon Goudimel, which are not Melissus's.

Prensus ab externo si Goudimel hoste fuisses
Vestor in Ionio Musice clare mari;
Ille tibi vitam vel non voluisset ademtam,
Lenitus cithara carminibusque tuis;
In tutos aliquis vel, sicut Ariona, Delphin
Tergore portasset te quasi nave locos.
Audivere tuos Galli moduloseque probantur
Indigenæ, decori quis tua Musa fuit:
At datus es letho, licet infons, inque cruenti
Stagnanteis Araris præcipitatus aquas.

GOVEA (ANDREW) (a), in Latin Goveanus, a native of Beia in Portugal, was principal of the college of St Barbara [A], at Paris, in the XVIth century, where he educated three nephews, who became famous for their learning. The king of Portugal allowed them wherewithal to maintain themselves at Paris. MARTIAL GOVEA, the eldest of the three, became a good Latin poet, and published a Latin grammar at Paris. ANDREW GOVEA, his younger brother, taught, first grammar, and then philosophy, in the college of St Barbara, and was at last made principal of this college in the room of his uncle: and, because he acquitted himself well of that employment, he was invited to Bourdeaux, to exercise the like function in the college of Guienne. He went thither in the year 1534, where he discharged his duties with an exactness very advantageous to youth [B]: this engaged John III, king of Portugal, to send for him back into his kingdom, to set up a college at Coimbra, like that of Guienne. Govea left Bourdeaux in the year 1547, and took with him some learned men fit to instruct

[A] He was principal of the college of St Barbara. This is the right translating of Andrew Schottus's Collegii Barbarani præfatus (1), and not principal of the college of Barbarini, as Mr Teiffier renders it (2).

[B] ANDREW GOVEA . . . discharged his duties with an exactness which was very useful to youth. This may be seen in Buisin's preface prefixed to Gelida's letters, printed at Rochelle in 1571. Ubi quædam egerit, quem se gesserit (Andreas Goveanus)

Proh scelus indigenum! nam barbarus hostes in
hostem
Barbaricum LANIIS mittor esse solet.

Hadst thou been ta'en by foreign foes a prey,
Sweet lyrist, sailing in th' Ionian sea,
Thy song had given thee life and liberty.
Or, like the fam'd Arion heretofore,
A dolphin's back had born thee safe to shore.
France rank'd thy muse her ornaments among,
Each Gallic ear delighted with thy song.
Yet thou to death, unmerited, wast sent,
Thrown into Arar's stream, thy punishment.
From Frenchmen this . . . thy countrymen . . .
bear!
Barbarians to their foes less cruel are.

I would forgive the Latin poets, what cannot be excused in the historians, viz. the leaving out, changing, or adding, of some letters to Goudimel's name, it being a very harsh word in Latin poetry.

[G] I believe that this musician was of Franche Comté. I guess so, because his birth-place was situated upon the Doux, a river that runs by Bezançon.

Goudimel ille meus, meus (cheu!) Goudimel
ille est
Occisus. Testes vos Arar & Rhodane,
Semineces vivosque simul violenter utrique
Absortos vixi plangere gurgitibus.
Sequana cum Ligeri flevit, flevitque Garumna;
Præcipue patrius flevit amara Dubis.

My friend, my Goudimel, is dead and gone:
Witness ye streams of Arar and the Rhone!
Fast as ye roll'd the carnage to the deep,
I saw ye boil the cruel slaughter weep.
The Dubis, Loire, Garumna, and the Seine,
Were seen in mournful murmurs to complain.

I have found these verses at the seventy ninth page of the Melissi Schediasmata Reliquia.

& quomodo ab rege suo in patriam fit revocatus. Connimbricentis scholæ instituendæ gratia, quæ similis esset Bordigalensi, in præfatione Bofini in epistolâ Gelidæ cognosci potest (3). — Where, during his abode, how he (Andrew Govea) behaved, and how, he was recalled by his king into his own country, in order to regulate the school of Coimbra after the example of that of Bourdeaux, may be seen in Buisin's preface to the epistles of Gelida.

(3) Elio Vinet, Epist. ad Schottum, in Biblioth. Hispan. pag. 475.

[C] He

struct youth [C]. He exercised the same office at Coimbra, as he did at Bourdeaux (b). He designed to return to Bourdeaux, after having spent two years in putting the college of Coimbra in a good method; but he died before that time (c) in June 1548, being fifty years of age, or upwards (d). He was a priest and a preacher [D], and never printed any thing (e). ANTONY GOVEA, the youngest of the three brothers, was the most famous of them all. See, in Moreri, what Thuanus (f) says of him: it would be needless to repeat it. I shall only observe, that if it be true, as Thuanus affirms, that Govea read the civil-law at Grenoble (g) [E] to a numerous auditory, the author of the *Bibliothèque de Dauphiné* should not have said, *he practised in Grenoble, and read in the university of Valence*. There is another reflexion to be made upon Thuanus's narrative [F]. By way of supplement to Moreri, I shall say, that Govea studied the civil-law at Toulouse in 1539; that he had before that been a teacher at Bourdeaux, in the college,

(b) Ex Ella Vi-
neto, Epist. ad
Schottum, in
Biblioth. Hispan.
pag. 475.

(c) Schottus, in
Biblioth. Hispan.
pag. 613. See
also Thuanus,
lib. xvii, sub fin.

(d) Vinetus, ubi
supra.

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Libi xxxviii,
pag. 769, 770.
ad ann. 1565.

(g) Gratianopoli
jus civile magna
auditorum frequen-
tia professus est.

[C] He took with him some learned men fit to instruct youth. George Buchanan, and Patrick Buchanan his brother were of the number; and so were Nicolas Grouchi, William Guereute, Elias Vinet, Arnoul Fabricius, John la Cotte, James Tevius, and Antony Mendez (4).

(4) Schottus,
Bibl. Hispan.
pag. 617.

[D] He was a priest and a preacher. I do not know whether Beza deserves credit, when he makes him doctor of the Sorbonne: I do not believe it: however, it will not be improper to set down his words.

(5) Hist. Eccles.
des Eglises, lib.
i, pag. 28.

It came to nothing at last, says he (5), except that a poor servitor was delivered into the hands of Ant. drew Govea, a Portuguese, principal of the college, doctor of the Sorbonne, (commonly surnamed *Sinapivorus*, that is, Mustard-Eater) to be lashed. Beza had been speaking of Aymon de la Voye, a Protestant martyr, burnt at Bourdeaux, in the year 1541, and of some scholars who were taken the next day, being suspected of having stuck up a paper, which was found fastened to the post.

[E] If it be true . . . that ANTONY GOVEA taught . . . at Grenoble. Having not the books I want, I leave abundance of things in uncertainty: they, who have left them so, having all sorts of libraries at hand, are more to be blamed than I am: however, the uncertainty I am in will move some readers to make a full enquiry into the matter. I do not scruple to repeat this remark, because I am persuaded, that this dictionary will be read by piece-meal; and therefore it is necessary to mention this more than once.

Andreas Schottus might satisfy me concerning what I have read in Thuanus about Govea's being a professor at Grenoble, were it not that, in the very place, where he declares, that Govea taught in that city, he writes inaccurately. Here is the whole passage (6).

(6) Andr. Schot-
tus, Bibl. Hispan.
pag. 401.

Caducei jus annos aliquot magno concursu docuit, & Valentie Delphinatus anno à Christo nato 1555, ad tit. de vulgari & pupillari substitutione dictabat. Tolose 6. antea anno Andree natura atque animo fratri, beneficiis vero parenti librum de jure accre-

(7) Paul Frehe-
rus, transcribing
this in his
Theatrum, pag.
249, says, anno
1555, and notes
it the beginning of
a paragraph.
They are true
gross mistakes.

scendi inscripsit. Gratianopoli ad legem Falcidiam quæ perdifficilis est dictabat anno 1566 (7). Quarto post anno uxorem ibi domum duxit, ex eaque liberos sustulit Petrum & Mansfredum, quorum illum Petrus Bertrandus Cadurcorum Episcopus in baptismatis fonte suscepit. The natural meaning of these words, is, 1. that Govea taught the civil-law at Cahors, before he taught it at Valence; that is, before the year 1555. 2. That he taught at Grenoble in the year 1566, and married there in 1570. 3. That the bishop of Cahors was godfather to the eldest of his sons. These three things appear so disordered, that they offend an exact reader. Good sense teaches, that Govea was professor at Cahors, when he desired the bishop of the place to be godfather to his son: but, according to this account, he taught at Cahors before the year 1555; and therefore what does Schottus mean, when he says, that Govea was a professor at Grenoble in 1566, and married there in 1570; and that the bishop of Cahors was godfather to his eldest son? have not I reason to distrust Father Schottus? a German civilian, who has reprinted at Leipzig the lives of some civilians, increases my mistrust; for he makes a very solid objection against these words of that Jesuit, *Gratianopoli ad legem Falcidiam . . . dictabat 1566*. The objection is this: 'Videtur hic Schottus temporis rationem minus rectè observasse, fieri enim non potuit ut prælectiones suas ad L. Falcidiam anno decimum 1566 habuerit Goveanus Gratianopoli, qui eadem jam an. 1560. Michaëli Hospitalio Francie

Canclario inscriperat (8). — This Schottus seems to have been mistaken as to the time; for Govea could not have read his Prælectiones ad L. Falcidiam in the year 1566, at Grenoble, having inscribed them long before, in 1560, to Michaëli Hospital, chancellor of France.'

Note, that Stephen Pasquier affirms (9), that Antonius Goveanus taught the civil-law at Grenoble, and died there. He is out at least as to the last fact. I have just read, in the twelfth letter of the second book of 1560, that Govea was professor at Grenoble. 'Ei (Cujacio) Valentia succedet Gribaldus, pulchrum sane p. ubi ipse & Lorientus conjuncti fuerint, & habuerint Gratianopoli vicinum Goveanum, qui utroque est longe scelerator. — Gribaldus will succeed Cujas at Valentia, where he and Lorient will be colleagues, and have Govea for their neighbour at Grenoble, who is wickeder than them both.'

(8) Frider. Jac.
Cickherus, in
Not. ad Vitus
Clariss. Juriscon-
sultorum, pag.
202, 233. Edit.
Lipf. 1686.

(9) Pasquier,
Recherch. livr.
ix, chap. xxxvii,
pag. m. 898.

[F] There is another reflexion to be made upon Thuanus's narrative. These are his words (10): 'Ab

(10) Thuan.
lib. xxxviii, pag.
769.

Emilio Ferreto qui Avenione jus civile docebat, cum Lugduni privatis studiis intentus desideret (Antonius Goveanus) ad illius perplexæ scientiæ professionem evocatus est. — Antony Govea, being intent upon his private studies at Leyden, was called from thence by Emilio Ferretus, who taught the civil-law at Avignon, to be professor of that intricate science. The sequel of the discourse shews, that Ferretus did not advise Govea to study the civil-law, but to teach it; and this is clear enough from the words I have quoted. According to those words of Thuanus, Govea was invited to Avignon by Ferretus, to teach the civil law. Upon this, two difficulties arise: one is taken from this, viz. That Thuanus, having said, that Govea quickly got the true way of explaining the civil-law, for which he was so admired, as to provoke the jealousy of Cujas, adds, *Igitur Goveanus Tolose primum, dein Divione Cadurcorum, post Valentia & Gratianopoli jus civile magna auditorum frequentia professus est*. The substance of which narrative is therefore this: Govea, being invited by Ferretus to Avignon to teach there the civil-law, quickly became an excellent interpreter of it, so far as to raise the jealousy of the great Cujas. He therefore taught the law first at Toulouse, then at Cahors, afterwards at Valence and Grenoble. May not one ask this great historian where he has left Avignon? does he not manifestly contradict himself? should he not have said, that Govea taught first in that city? the second difficulty lies in this; that, in the *Bibliothèque de the Spanish writers*, where there is an abridgement of Govea's life taken from his own writings, it is said indeed, that he taught the civil-law at Cahors, Valence, and Grenoble; but as to Avignon and Toulouse, it is only said, that he studied the law in those two places with great application. 'Juvenis natu grandior tres fere annos in Juris civilis studio operam dedit Emilio Ferreto Avenione proficenti, suæ memoriæ facile principi; quemque parentem alterum appellare lib. 2 de Juris dictione non dubitat: neque ex eo tempore à Jurisconsultorum libris longius unquam oculos dimovit. Tolosæ mox tanta in studio assiduitate, tantaque est usus contentione, ut majore non posset (11). — When he grew to manhood, he studied the civil-law almost three years under Ferretus, professor at Avignon, a man of the greatest abilities, and whom he does not scruple to call another father in his second book *De Juris Dictione*; and from that time he diligently studied the civilians. Afterwards he pursued his studies at Toulouse with

(11) Bibl. Hispan.
Schottus, pag.
300.

(b) Ex Epist.
Eliæ Vineti,
ubi supra.

(c) See the re-
mark [I].

(12) Guichenon,
Hist. de Savoye,
Tom. I, pag.
678.

(13) Andreas
apud patrum
Grammaticum
primum, mox
Philosophiam
professus, ab eo-
dem scholæ illi
tandem præfectus
fuit. Vinetius, in
Bibl. Hispan.
pag. 475.

(14) Illie (Lute-
tie) Antonium
Goveanus vidit
primum an-
Christo nato
1542, quum do-
ceret apud pa-
trium. *Id. ibid.*

(15) The plain
meaning of this
is, that he was
accused at Gre-
noble, and at Va-
lence; but it is not
at all likely, that
this accusation
should have been
renewed in another
place. It seems
the author ex-
pressed himself
wrong. He
meant, that
Govea was ac-
cused in one of
these two towns.
He should have
expressed himself
without any equi-
vocation; and he
should have told
us, whether he
was prosecuted at
Grenoble or at
Valence.

(16) Allard,
Bibliothèque de
Dauphiné, pag.
218, 219.

(17) Calvinus in
Tractatu de Scan-
dalis, in Volu-
mine Tractatum
Theologicorum,
pag. 90. col. 1.
Edit. Genev.
1611.

(18) In the par-
liament of Bour-
deaux, and not of
Toulouse, as it is
affirmed in the
Prima Scalligera-
na, pag. 36. See
Mr Menage's
Anti-Baillet,
Tom. I, p. 262,
wherein he sheweth
that this counsellor's name was
Brian de Pallée.

college, whereof his brother was principal; that, in 1542, he taught at Paris under his uncle [G]; that, some time after, he returned to Bourdeaux to his brother; that he continued his abode in that city after his brother was gone to Coimbra (b); that he was reckoned an atheist by some people [H]; and that it is not probable he died in 1565, as Thuanus affirms (i); nor in 1595, as Nicolas Antonio says. This last author has not been perfectly exact [I]. Nothing can be said more glorious to Antony Govea, than

the greatest application. A famous historiographer of Savoy (12) would confute the narrative of many writers, if what he says was true, that, in the year 1559, the duke of Savoy set up an university at Mondevins, and, amongst other learned men, made Antony Govea professor there.

[G] In 1542, he taught at Paris under his uncle. When Andrew Govea the nephew went to Bourdeaux, in 1534, he had been for some time principal of the college of St Barbara at Paris, in the room of Andrew Govea his uncle (13). And therefore, since the latter was principal at Paris in 1542 (14), we must conclude, that he resumed his post, when his nephew went to Bourdeaux; which Elias Vinetius should have observed in express words, to make his relation more intelligible.

[H] He was reckoned an atheist by some people. He was a counsellor at Grenoble: he read lectures in the university of Valence, and wrote some books in those two towns; where (15) he was accused of having spoken ill of the deity; and he was obliged to vindicate himself, which he did in an excellent discourse, that was formerly in manuscript in the library of Ennemond de Rabot d'Illins, first president in this parliament; upon which de Gordes, the king's lieutenant in this province, took occasion to become his protector. This liberty of speaking made Calvin call him an atheist in one of his works (16). If the work, out of which I have taken this passage, contained two or three volumes in folio, the author might be excused for using a loose citation; but it is a book of 224 pages in 12mo. The author might therefore have taken the pains to look for the place, where Calvin speaks so ill of Govea, and he would have given great satisfaction to his readers by citing it; for he would have saved them the trouble of perusing eight or nine volumes in folio. I will not be guilty of that fault, as large as my work is; but I shall quote Calvin's words, and mark the page where they are to be found. Agrippam, Villanovanum, Doletum, & similes vulgo notum est tanquam Cyclopum quospiam Evangelium semper fastuose spreverit: Tandem eo prolapsi sunt amentie & furoris, ut non modo in Filium Dei execrabiles blasphemias evomerent, sed quantum ad animæ vitam attinet, nihil à canibus & porcis putarent se differre. Alii (ut Rabelæus, Deperius, & Goveanus) gustato Evangelio, eadem cœcitate sunt percussi. Cur illud? nisi qui sacrum illud vitæ æternæ pignus, sacrilega ludendi aut ridendi audacia ante profanarant (17)? - - - It is notorious, that Agrippa, Servetus, Doletus, and such like, always treated the gospel with the utmost contempt. At length they came to such a pitch of madness, that they not only poured forth execrable blasphemies against the son of GOD, but thought themselves, as to the life of the soul, upon a level with dogs and swine. Others (as Rabelais, Desperiers, and Goveanus) having tasted of the gospel, were struck with the same blindness. Why so? unless because they had before sacrilegiously and contemptuously profaned that sacred pledge of eternal life? We learn from these words, that Govea was a scoffer, and that at first he approved the reformation. This matter of fact is little known. See here the two verses against Govea, concerning his want of faith.

Antoni Goveane, tua hæc Marrana propago,
In cœlo & cellis non putat esse Deum.

Govea, thy Jewish race a GOD deny
Both in the cellar, and the sky.

They served for an answer to this distich, which he had made against a counsellor (18):

Dum tonat, in cellas propero pede Vallius imas
Confugit: in cellis non putat esse Deum.

When thunder rumbles in the skies,
Down to the cellar Vallius flies.
There, to be sure, he's safe: why so?
He thinks there is no GOD below.

You will find these four verses in the first Scalligerana, with some other things that are to Govea's honour. Goveanus doctus erat vir, & valens dialecticus, optimus poëta Gallicus, nec enim Hispanum judicaveris, adeo bene Gallice loquebatur. - - - Govea was a learned man, an able Logician, and a good French poet; for you would not take him for a Spaniard, he spoke French so well. In the second Scalligerana, the atheism, of which Calvin accuses Govea, is called a calumny: Goveanus fuit doctus Lusitanus. Calvinus vocat illum Atheum cum non fuerit; debebat illum melius nosse. - - - Govea was a learned Portuguese. Calvin calls him an atheist, when he was not one: he ought to have known him better.

[I] Nicolas Antonio has not been perfectly exact. He affirms (19), that Antony Govea taught the civil-law at Toulouse, about the year 1539; but Elias Vinet deserves more credit, who had a most intimate acquaintance with Andrew and Antony Govea, and was desired by Andrew Schottus to send him the history of them. He only says, that, in the year 1539, Antony Govea studied the civil-law at Toulouse (20). Every one sees the difference between studying, and teaching the civil-law. Nicolas Antonio adds, that Govea was professor a little after at Paris, and at Bourdeaux, and that at last he fixed at Cahors, where he taught the civil-law with a wonderful reputation; which, reaching as far as Turin, moved the duke of Savoy to invite him into his service, offering to make him master of the requests and his counsellor. Cadurci demum substitit juris civilis antecessor in summo laudis atque eximiationis loco positus. Quod cum prospexisset ab ipsa Augusta Taurinorum Sabaudia Dux, &c (21). There are many mistakes in this account. Govea's name was heard of from a nearer place, after he had left Cahors: he read in the duke of Savoy's neighbourhood, at Valence in Dauphiné; and it was not in Quercy that this prince's offers were made to him. Besides, the princess Margaret (22), sister to Henry II, and wife to the duke of Savoy, recommended him to her husband. Now, as she was a learned woman, she always desired to know, who they were that distinguished themselves in France by their parts and learning. Nicolas Antonio pretends, that Govea was still alive in the year 1595; for, says he, Telsauro, the younger, makes an honourable mention of him under this year, in the nineteenth questio forensis. If I had that book, I should perhaps discover, that this commendation was not bestowed upon that Govea I am speaking of, but upon his son; and, though I could not discover it, I should however believe, that Govea did not live till 1595; for Vinetius, who died in 1587 (23), speaks of him as of a man that was dead (24). Nicolas Antonio, having falsely supposed, that Govea was alive in 1595, censures Elias Vinetius (25), who believed that he died at sixty years of age. This censor's reason is, that Govea taught the civil-law at Toulouse in 1539. He is in the right to infer from thence, that Govea, being suppositum alive in 1595, died older than Vinetius believed. This consequence is not so strong, if we suppose, that Govea studied the civil-law in 1539; yet it is strong enough, because Vinetius observes that Govea had been a teacher at Bourdeaux, before he studied the civil-law at Toulouse. A teacher of a class is commonly above twenty years old; and so Govea would have been at least seventy seven years old in 1595: You will ask me, what I have then to say against Nicolas Antonio? Is not Vinetius justly beaten at his own weapons? I answer, no: for since he died in 1587, he could not suppose that Govea was alive in 1595; and it is only upon this supposition that Ni-

(19) Nic. Antonio,
Biblioth. Hispan.
Tom. I, pag. 97.

(20) Literæ ante
professum est quum
ego qui veni in
Christ. 1539 quo
tempore Toloin
iam operam juris
Epist. ad Schot.
in Bibl. Hispan.
pag. 475.

(21) Nic. Antonio,
ubi supra.

(22) Thuanus,
lib. xxxviii,
pag. 770.

(23) Thuanus,
pag. 137.

(24) Qui Tauri-
nis decessisse
ferunt libellorum
gister. Vinetius,
ubi supra.

(25) He calls him
wrong, Elias
Vinetius: Schot-
tus's Bibliotheca
Hispanica con-
tains the same
fault.

what Ronfard said of him (k). Several of Govea's writings have been published both upon philology and the civil-law. Some maintain that he excelled the great Cujas in parts [K]. I will say something of MAINFROI GOVEA, his son [L].

cholas Antonio's censure can be well grounded. It is certain he did not know when Vinetus died; his censure is an undoubted testimony of it: nor did he know, that Thuanus has bestowed an encomium upon Govea; for had he known it, he would have cited that place, and not another, wherein that great historian speaks of him only occasionally (26). Besides, Thuanus having placed Govea's death in the year 1565, Nicolas Antonio would not have failed to take notice of that mistake, which, according to him, is an egregious one. Many people, and amongst others Mr Allard, at the 119th page of the *Bibliothèque de Dauphiné*, and Mr König, at the 356th page of the *Bibliotheca vetus & nova*, follow Thuanus therein; but Andrew Schottus is none of them, since he asserts, at the 301st page of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, that Govea taught at Grenoble in the year 1566, and got children there after the year 1570.

[K] Some maintain that he excelled the great Cujas in parts. Antony Faber pretends, that Govea and Cujas were the two most excellent civilians of their age; but with this difference, that Govea had a happier genius, and, that, trusting too much to his parts, he did not think that labour was either honourable or necessary; whereas Cujas, of a less penetrating genius, laboured like a man, who was persuaded, that, by dint of application, those things might be discovered, which nothing can conquer but the strength of wit. They that understand Latin will be pleased to see in what manner Antony Faber has pronounced this judgment. *Tulit ætas nostra maximos in Jurisprudencia viros; non paucos, sed præcipuos, si quid mei ingenii est, (cæterorum pace dixerim) Anton. Goveanum & Jac. Cujacium. Illum ut mihi quidem videtur, multo feliciore ingenio ad Jurisprudenciam natum: sed qui naturæ viribus tam consideret, ut diligentia laudem sibi non necessariam, minus etiam fortasse honorificam putare videretur. Hunc contra minus lucido præstantique ingenii acumine, sed qui assiduò labore ea quoque se adsequi posse crederet, quæ solis*

ingenii nervis parari queunt (27). Cujas himself was much of this mind: he would have given Govea the precedence, if he had observed him to be as studious, as he was ingenious. *Adolescens (Cujacius) Antonii Goveani Jurisconsulti ingenium admirabatur, sed indigentia hominis notata, nihil deteritus est, deteritum iri se dicens à jure tractando, si homo Lufitanus tanto ingenio, tamque subtili, labores civilium studiorum serio suscipere ac sapere voluisset (28).*

Paquier gives the pre-eminence to Cujas above Govea. 'Taking a review, says he (29), of the three classes of those that have written upon the civil-law; in the first, I highly value Accursius amongst the glossators; in the second Bartolus . . . and amongst those of the last, which I call humanists, I give the first place to our Cujas, who, according to my judgment, never had, nor has, nor perhaps ever will have, his equal. And, in the midst of the latter, I see none that has written in more elegant language than Govea and Duarenus, for the little they have left of their works; and of these two, I give the precedence to Govea.' I do not understand how Duarenus can be said to have written little, when his works make a large folio (§ 2).

[(§ 2) Duaren has not written near so much as Cujas. This is what Paquier would say, not in lib. 9. ch. 10. p. 902. but lib. 9. ch. 39. p. 902. of the edition of 1643. REM. CRIT.]

[L] I will say something of MAINFROI GOVEA, his son. He was born at Turin, and got a good faculty of writing both in prose and verse. He understood polite literature well, and the civil and canon law; and got the esteem of the duke of Savoy, his master, who honoured him with a counsellor's place in the senate of Turin, and in the council of state. He died in 1613. We have his *Consilia: Notæ & Animadversiones in Opera Julii Cæsar: Carmina: Oratio funebre nelle morte di Filippo II Rè di Spagna* (30).

GOULART (SIMON), a native of Senlis, and minister of Geneva, was one of the most indefatigable writers of these latter times [A]. When he did not put his name to a book, he denoted it by these three initial letters, S. G. S., which mean *Simon Goulart Senlisien* (a). It is by this mark father Labbe (b) believes with reason that he discovered him to be the author of the marginal notes, and summaries, in Nicetas Choniates's Annals, of the Geneva edition, in 1593. Goulart died at Geneva very old, in 1628 [B]. The ordinary date of his epistles dedicatory is from *St Gervais*, which is the name of part of Geneva. If we did not know, that he dated in the same manner the letters that he did not design for the public (c), we should doubtless believe, that he did it, because this date did not make his compositions suspected by the Catholics, as the name of Geneva would have done. He had a very extensive knowledge of books; for which reason Henry III desiring to know the author, who disguised himself under the name of Stephanus Junius Brutus, to vent a very republican doctrine, sent a man on purpose to Simon Goulart, to be informed of it; but Goulart, who knew all the mystery, would not discover it, for fear of exposing those that were concerned (d). Scalliger

[A] He was one of the most indefatigable writers of these latter times. This appears by the multitude of books he adorned with notes and summaries (1), or comments, or which he turned into French, or wrote of his own. Du Bartas's weeks are one of the books, upon which he has commented. He did not content himself to translate Camerarius's historical meditations into French, but added many thing to them. He made a great collection of admirable and memorable stories. La Croix du Maine will inform you of many French translations written by Simon Goulart; that of the history of Portugal (2); of the chronicle of Carion; of some tracts of Theodoret; of John Wierus's books concerning the imposture of devils. Add to this the version of all the works of Seneca, published at Paris, in two volumes, in 4to in the year 1590. The same author writ several tracts of devotion and morality, and upon the affairs of his time. D'Aubigné praises the latter; for, giving the titles of some books of this kind, he goes on thus: 'To which I will add the several learned, patriotic, and cogent writings, which Simon Goulart, of Senlis, has written on several occasions; a writer

'fit to write history, if his profession had permitted him to write without judging (3).'

I have observed in the margin, that Simon Goulart added notes and summaries to Amiot's *Plutarch*. I must farther say, that he added to them some parallels, upon which Varillas passes no favourable judgment. 'As ingenious, says he (4), as was Simon Goulart, of Senlis, minister of Geneva in our father's time; and as diligent as he was to add to the French Plutarch the comparisons that are wanting in the Greek, there is but one that is good, which is that of Alexander the Great with Julius Cæsar.'

[B] He died very old, in 1628 (§ 2). We learn from a letter that he wrote to Scaliger, the seventeenth of October 1606 (5), that he was then at the end of his sixty third year. There are few that have been in the ministry so long as he: for he succeeded Calvin in the year 1564 (6).

[(§ 2) Simon Goulart died at the age of eighty six years, and had preached seven days before his death. This is what D'Aubigné says, in the last page of his *Opuscula Miscellanea*, where we find the ecology of this minister. REM. CRIT.]

Ecc

[C] Scaliger

(25) I grant, that in that place he bestows a more exquisite encomium upon him occasionally, than when he speaks of him as professed; for he reckons him among those learned men who live in colleges, and are so happy as to have no manner of pedantry. Buchanan, Turnebus, and Muret, are the three others whom he places in that number, according to Ronfard's opinion. See, above, edit. (26) of the *critica* BUCHANAN.

(27) See the *historia* lib. 9. cap. 39.

(28) See the *historia* lib. 9. cap. 39.

(a) In the catalogue of the Bodleian library, he is called Simon Goulartus Senlisienus Sylvestri. The word *Senlisienus* has been put between the two last words.

(b) De Scripturis. Exercit. Tom. II, pag. 765.

(c) This he did to all Plutarch's works, translated by Amiot.

(d) Written by Olivier.

(27) Antonius Faber, in Prefat. lib. vii, & seq. Conjectur ad Petrum Fabrum apud Leichherum in Not. ad Vitas Clariss. Jurisconsultorum, pag. 200.

(28) Papyr. Masso in vita Cujacii, pag. 300, 301.

(29) Paquier, Recherch. lib. ix, chap. 2, pag. 902.

(30) Taken from Ghilini, Teatro, part. II, pag. 189.

(c) See the letters he wrote to Scaliger, in the collection published by James de Reves, at Har-dewyck, 1624.

(d) See his funeral oration, pronounced by Mr Trenchin, professor of divinity.

(3) D'Aubigné, Hist. Univers. Tom. III, lib. iii, cap. xxiii, pag. m. 401.

(4) Varillas, Hist. de Louis XI, liv. xi, at the beginning, pag. m. 3, 8, 359.

(5) It is the 52d of the third book in the collection of James de Reves.

(6) Spon, Hist. de Genevæ, pag. m. 263.

liger esteemed him much [C]. A son of Simon Goulart was minister of the Walloon church at Amsterdam, and earnestly espoused the Arminian interest [D].

[C] Scaliger esteemed him much.] 'Mr Goulart... has succeeded well upon his Cyprian. He is a fine man, who has learned every thing of himself; and who began the Latin tongue late, when I was at Geneva. It is said, that his son pleases his church. I like Mr Goulart's performance upon his Cyprian: I have read it throughout. His sermons were very perspicuous. He has castrated Montagne's works; *Quæ audacia in scripta aliena! Non putassem Goulartium, quod serius incæpit, tam bene posse scribere, ut scit* (7). I shall now speak of his son.

(7) In Scaligeranis, pag. m. 97, 98.

[D] One of his sons espoused the Arminian interest.] Being provoked by a young minister, his colleague, he preached one day against those, who say, that, by virtue of the decrees of reprobation, some children, who die at the breast, or in their mothers womb, are damned eternally. He was suspended for it in 1615 (8). He was one of the Remonstrant ministers, who, for refusing to subscribe to the synod of Dort, were turned out of their places, and expelled the country. He retired to Antwerp; from whence he wrote some letters, that have been inserted in the collection, which I cite in the margin. He wrote one to his father in March, 1620 (9), in which he mentions a book, which he had printed two years before,

(8) See the Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ & Theologice, pag. 414. Edit. in fol.

(9) It is the 174th of the same Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ, &c.

with this title: *Examen des opinions de M. F. Bassecourt* (10) *contenues en son livre de disputes, intitulé, Election éternelle & ses dependances*. He retired into France after the end of the truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards, and staid some years at Calais, from whence he went into the country of Holstein. There is one of his letters (11), which gives no good testimony to the ministers, with respect to the wars of religion, which prevailed in France at that time. According to Mr Witte, he was born at Senlis (12), and died at Fredericstade in 1628, at fifty two years of age. Mr Mollerus, who thought he was of Geneva, before his reading the second Tome of the *Diarium Biographicum*, changed his notion, when he knew that Mr Witte made him a native of Senlis: *Senlisensem Silvaneum esse rectius forte tradit vir clarissimus Henr. Wittenius* (13). I think Mr Mollerus's first opinion the more probable of the two; and as he observes, that Mr Witte ascribes to Goulart the son, the works he should have ascribed to Goulart the father; he might have said, that probably the time of the death of the one has been confounded with that of the other (14). See what he afterwards observed in his book *De scriptoribus homonymis*, at the 678th and 679th pages.

(10) He was a minister, who had been a monk.

(11) It is the 424th. See page 696.

(12) Senlisensis, Silvaneus, Witte, *Diary Biograph. Tom. II, pag. 35*. There should be five between those two words. Mr Mollerus, *ubi infra*, quotes them without a comma.

(13) Mollerus, *Epilogus ad Hist. Chrift. Cimbr. part. II, pag. 223*.

(14) Witte places the death of Goulart, the son, on the nineteenth of March, 1618.

GOULU (NICOLAS), in Latin *Gulonius*, the son of a Vine-Dresser near Chartres [A], was made Regius Professor of the Greek tongue in the university of Paris, in the year 1567 (a), in the place of John Daurat, whose daughter he had married. He translated from Greek into Latin, Gregentius's dispute against Herbanus the Jew (b), which Giles de Noailles, ambassador of France in Turkey, brought from Constantinople. This version, together with some notes of Nicolas Goulou, was printed with the Greek text at Paris in the year 1586. A collection of several pieces of this professor had already been printed in the same city, in 1580 [B]. He had two sons, John and Jerom, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Magdalen Daurat, his wife, was a learned woman. Her epitaph shews, that she understood the Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish tongues. Mr Menage (c) affords me all these particulars. We shall see in the articles of Nicholas Goulou's sons, or in the remarks of this article, what remains to be observed concerning his works. It is somewhat probable, that d'Aubigné meant him in the eighth chapter of the first book of his *Baron de Fénéste*. The place is very satirical [C]. Some wonder, that Daurat did not oblige his son-in-law to change his name of Goulou [D].

(a) Du Breul, *Antiq. de Paris*, pag. 565.

(b) Menage, *Rem. sur la Vie d'Ayraud*, pag. 252, & 501.

(c) Ibid.

[A] He was the son of a vine-dresser near Chartres.] William du Val, who, in his catalogue of the royal professors, says that Nicolas Goulou was of Limoulin, has committed a fault; and perhaps has done it by considering, that Daurat, who had given Nicolas Goulou one of his daughters, and his place, was of that country. Goulou himself declares, before some Latin poems, which he published, that he was of Chartres (1).

(1) Menage, *Remarques sur la Vie d'Ayraud*, pag. 251, 252.

[B] A collection of several pieces of this professor had been already published.] Namely, the translation of Apollinaris's Greek paraphrase upon the Psalms: a paraphrase in Greek verse upon the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, the Song of Zachary; an hymn of Jesus Christ; and a preface in Greek verse upon Apollinaris's paraphrase. This book was unknown to the last continuator of Gesner's epitome, and to Du Verdier Vau-Privas, who made some additions to that epitome. And it does not appear in the catalogues of Draudius, nor in that of Oxford, nor in that of Thuanus, nor in that of the archbishop of Reims.

[C] The place is very satirical.] For the honour of the learned Magdalen Daurat, I could wish, that either Nicolas Goulou had been married twice, and that the four following lines concerned his other wife; or that d'Aubigné was not mistaken about the country of him he mentions: for this would prove, that this satire does not concern Nicolas Goulou. However it be, it is thus he speaks: 'There was, at Paris, a native of Loudon, and a learned man, called le Goulou: he was mad, when his wife took to board those that studied the law: he would only have little boys: upon this, four verses were made, the sense whereof is well worth the rhyme.' They are these:

Du Goulou savant ne prend guerres
Les barbus pour Pensionnaires;

Il choisit les petits enfans,
Mais la Goulouë les veut gaudes.

Goulou to board will ne're take in
Youths with a beard upon their chin;
Children alone be'll entertain;
But Madam Goulou will have men.

That which might make one suspect, than John Daurat's son-in-law is not here meant, is, to see, that he is not styled professor, or Greek reader; which probably d'Aubigné was not ignorant of; and he was not a man, who on such an occasion would be wanting to characterize a man. Let us therefore leave the thing undecided. Du Verdier Vau-Privas did not know this man's christian name. 'Daurat says he (2), had a daughter, whom he married to G. Goulou, a public reader of the Greek tongue, with whom he had some debate; and, speaking of him, he called him *mon Goulou*, (my glutton).'

[D] Some wonder that Daurat did not oblige him to change his name of Goulou.] I borrow this remark from Mr Baillet. 'This same Daurat, says he (3), who seemed to be ashamed of, and disgusted with, the name of *Dysnemandi* (dine-early), made no scruple to marry his daughter to another learned man, named Goulou (glutton); which name denotes something still baser than that of *Dysnemandi*, and which is not much better than *Lurco* among the Latins. After what he had done for his own name, there is reason to wonder he did not make it an article in the contract of his daughter's marriage, that Goulou should change his name; and that he was willing, that not only his son-in-law, but also his grand-children, should preserve that name, and render it immortal to posterity, without taking any farther liberty than that of changing it into Latin by the word *Gulonius*. Doubtless there is reason to wonder at it: for on one hand, the practice

(2) Profopogræ, phie, Tom. III, pag. 2576.

(3) Auteurs déguilés, pag. 156.

of metamorphosing one's name was common at that time amongst the learned; and, on the other, it must needs be somewhat unpleasant to bear a name, which excites certain ideas, and occasions a thousand silly allusions. It is very probable, that, when families began to distinguish themselves by proper names, some persons were called by a name that suited them for certain defects. This is in all likelihood the reason why, in all countries, some families bear the name

of blind, crooked, and black. Upon this score, Du-rat should have been displeased with a name that made people think he was descended from a starveling, and that his son-in-law had not a better original. I omit the scurvy jests, that the poets of Balzac's party grounded upon the name of his adversary Father Goulou. See the *Vaticinium Galateæ de exitu Pantophagi*, prefixed to Mr de la Motte-Aignon's answer (4).

(4) Compare with this what you find in remark [A] of the article FEU-ARDENTIUS.

GOULU (JOHN), son of him I have been mentioning, had not perhaps more merit than his father, though he made more noise. He was born at Paris the twenty fifth of August 1576 (a), and, being admitted an advocate, he designed to exercise that profession in the parliament of that city; but he had the misfortune to be at a stand the very first time he pleaded a cause [A]; and it is thought, that this disgrace made him resolve to leave the world, and turn monk. He chose the order of the Feuillants, and was admitted into it in 1604. He was so much esteemed in his order, that he had always some office in it, and at last was made general [B]. His religious name was that of Dom John of St Francis. As he understood Greek, he applied himself to translate into French Epictetus's Enchiridion, Arrianus's Dissertations, some tracts of St Basil, and the works of Dionysius the Areopagite [C]. He added to this last translation an apology for the works of this Dionysius. He also revised the Latin version his father had made of the tracts of St Gregory Nyssen against Eunomius, and published it. It is in the edition of St Gregory Nyssen (b), procured by Fronto Ducaeus (c). Father Goulou, not contented with making translations, engaged also in controversy, and wrote a book against that, which Du Moulin had published concerning the call of pastors [D]. We have also his life of Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva; and his funeral oration of

(a) St Romualdus Theaur. Chronol. ad ann. 1629.

(b) Labbe, de Script. Eccles. Tom. I, pag. 382.

(c) At Paris, 1615.

Nicolas

[A] He had the misfortune to be at a stand, the first cause he pleaded. My voucher is one of Father Goulou's enemies, viz. Mr de la Motte-Aignon,

(1) Réponse à Phylarque, pag. 74 & seq.

(2) Ibid. pag. 75.

(3) Ibid. pag. 80, 81.

(4) Relation à Mennandre, part. I, pag. m. 309.

(5) In the 47th epigram.

REFLEXION on the crime of false quotations.

(6) Balzac, Œuvres diverses, Dis. xiv, pag. m. 377.

(7) This is grounded upon a conceit, that Goulou falsified and altered what he cited out of Balzac. See, concerning that fault, the *Avis au petit Auteur des petites lettres*, which came out during the controversy about the chimera of Rottens, in 1691, and 1692.

celeberrimus inter Jurisconsultos tunc temporis eminere possit. We must not deprive an elogy of the privilege of being subreptitious, but we should not extend it so far as to make it obreptitious.

[B] He chose the order of the Feuillants: . . . He was made general. They, who say he was twice general (8), did not consult his elogy in the second edition of his Dionysius the Areopagite (9). This elogy informs us, that, from the time of his novitiate, he had always some employments in the order; and that at last he was raised to the first, which he exercised for six years; after which he was made counsellor, and assistant to him that succeeded him. From whence it appears, that la Motte-Aignon is mistaken, when he says (10), that Dom John Goulou has been these three years general of his order. He wrote this in 1627, or in 1628. Father Goulou died in the beginning of 1629, being no longer in the office of general, which he had exercised six years: the conclusion is evident. An author of Livonia (11) says, that this father was general of the congregation of the order of Cîteaux: he should have said, of the congregation of the Feuillants, which is a branch of the order of Cîteaux.

(8) Mr Menège is one of them, Remarg. sur la Vie d'Agraut, pag. 252.

(9) It came out in the year 1629, in 4to. Father de Vifch has inserted that encomium in his Bibliotheca Scriptorum sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, pag. 220.

(10) Pag. 72.

(11) Witte, Diss. Biographic. in Append.

[C] He applied himself to translate into French Epictetus's Enchiridion . . . and the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. I have not named each translation according to its time; but here they are in better order. The first was that of Dionysius the Areopagite, which was printed in 1608, and reprinted in 1629, and in 1642. The second was that of Epictetus: it came out in 1609, and it appears by the licence, that he undertook it for queen Mary de Medicis. The third was that of St Basil's homilies upon the Hexameron, which was printed in 1616 (12).

(12) Ex Biblioth. Cisterciens. Caroli de Vifch.

[D] He wrote a book against that, which Du Moulin published concerning the call of pastors. I find a great difference betwixt the monk St Romuald, and la Motte-Aignon; not only with respect to the quality of this answer, which the latter despises, as much as the other commends it; but also with respect to the time, in which it was written. It was in the life-time of Francis de Sales, if we believe the monk: who tells us (13), that this prelate, having read the book of the Call of Pastors against Du Moulin, judged, that Father Goulou was the only person fit to succeed in the labours of cardinal du Perron against Heresy. But la Motte-Aignon pretends (14), that this father officiously undertook this answer after the death of Coiffeteau; and he admires how he should presume to think himself a proper combatant to succeed the great Coiffeteau against Du Moulin. Francis de Sales died some months before Coiffeteau; and therefore he had not seen Father Goulou's answer, if

(13) Theaur. Chronol. ad ann. 1627.

(14) Pag. 91, 92.

(d) It is he, whom Balzac calls Dom André de St Denys, in the letters he wrote to him after they were reconciled. See the remark [C] of the article BALZAC (JOHN, &c.)

(e) The fifteenth letter of the first Tome.

Nicolas le Fevre, preceptor to Lewis XIII: but it is said he never recited it [E]. To speak the truth, he got no great reputation by those pieces; but he was engaged in an affair in the year 1627, that made him extremely talked of [F]. A Feuillant, who went only by the name of Brother Andrew (d), had made a small collection of thoughts, whereof he believed Balzac had only been the transcriber. Those, who envied Balzac's glory, so mightily cried up this piece, which was only handed about in manuscript, that it gave occasion to the Apology, which Ogier, his good friend, published, in which Brother Andrew was very severely treated. The copy that was sent to Father Goulu, who was then general of the order, was taken for a challenge, which put him into a furious passion. He published two volumes of letters against Balzac, wherein he horribly inveighs against him. He gave himself the name of Phyllarchus, that is to say, *Prince des feuilles*, *Prince of the leaves*, as his adversaries rendered it; and it is not to be doubted, that he had in view his quality of general of the Feuillants, when he disguised himself under this false name. To have a right notion of his animosity, one need only consider, that he did all that lay in him to engage the whole world in the ruin of Balzac, and gave him up to all the rigour of the secular power: nay, he attempted to engage the women in the punishment of this adversary. He directed his speech to them, using the flattering words of *handsome ladies* (e); and declared, *That if they had never so little courage, they were obliged to put out Balzac's eyes with the points of their needles*; or, in case of mercy, to submit him to the same punishment the court ladies designed to inflict on John de Meun; which was that of the lash. The zeal of Father Goulu, who thus, in a book, raised all the world against an author, whose whole fault consisted in using some thoughts, that were insipid, too free, and too immodest, and in not repressing the heat and exaggeration of a growing imagination; this zeal, I say, that came from the press, was not the most mischievous. That of his emissaries, who as far as his jurisdiction reached, and wherever they could set foot, vented, in conversation, a thousand disadvantageous things against Mr de Balzac [G], according to the custom of bigots [H], was much more dangerous. Then it was that Father Goulu's

if it was undertaken at the time specified by la Motte-Aigron. But that you may know on which side the mistake lies, I ought to inform you, that Father Goulu's book against Du Moulin came out in 1620, and Coëffeteau did not die till 1623.

[E] We have . . . his funeral oration of Nicolas le Fevre . . . but it is pretended, that he never recited it. La Motte-Aigron positively affirms it; and therefore we must read with some caution what is said in Moreri's dictionary, in the article of Nicolas le Fevre, that John de St François, a Feuillant, made his funeral oration. Mr Balzac (15) cites a passage of it, which is in a very high-flown style, and somewhat harsh. It was printed the first time in 1612. The author put his name only to the second edition in 1616. The third edition was enlarged with two tracts (16).

(15) Relat. à Menandre, part III.

(16) Bibliot. Cisterciens. Caroli de Vifch.

[F] He was engaged in an affair in the year 1627 that made him extremely talked of. This is the epoch of Balzac's and Father Goulu's difference; for that which incensed the latter, was, the apology published for the former, and printed off the eighth of April 1627. The first volume of Phyllarchus's letters, which came out the same year, is chiefly levelled at Mr Balzac; but the apologist is also attacked in it from time to time. This shews, that Menage and Peter Borel are mistaken, in saying, the one (17), that prior Ogier answered Father Goulu's books against Mr Balzac, in a book, intitled, Mr Balzac's apology; the other (18), that Des Cartes very seasonably recommended Mr Balzac, in opposition to Father Goulu, in the year 1625, to cardinal Barberini, legate in France. It is certain, that prior Ogier's book was published before Phyllarchus's letters, and that, in 1625, Balzac had no controversy with Father Goulu.

(17) Remarques for la vie d'Ayraud, pag. 252.

(18) Vitæ Cartesii Compend.

(19) Richelet, vie des Auteurs François, prefixed to a collection of letters, pag. 42.

Richelet has committed the same fault as Mr Menage. Father Goulu, says he (19), inveighed more against Balzac; for he wrote a very severe criticism upon his writings, which might have given some trouble to that eloquent man, if Mr Ogier, a young ecclesiastic, had not writ an apology, wherein he shewed, that the good father was in the wrong. We should, in matters of fact, follow the advice, which Des Cartes gives with respect to philosophical speculations, examine every thing afresh without any regard to what others have written concerning it: but it is infinitely more convenient to stand to the testimony of others; and this is what prodigiously multiplies the assertors of falsities.

[G] His emissaries . . . vented in conversation a thousand disadvantageous things against Mr Balzac.]

The proof of this is to be found in the Relations to Menandre. You there see (20), that, in all the places subject to the general of the Feuillants jurisdiction, Balzac was now called the monster; and that he was known to the novices and lay-brothers only by that name. You there find Balzac's complaints against the inventions and artifices of calumny. 'Nothing has been omitted, says he (21), to give credit to my adversary, and to destroy my reputation. A school difference is become an affair of state; and a sport about syllables and words is grown into a general war of wits. Many stories have been spread to my prejudice, and many more to the advantage of my enemy. All voices have been canvassed; all France has been solicited for him. He has neither wanted orators, nor poets, nor parasites, who have preached him up, and sung him, and drank to his victory in good companies. . . . (22) Not to speak of the practices carried out of the kingdom, and of the monstrous picture that has been made of me in all the courts of christendom; you need only know what happened at Paris in the first heat of the war. For three months together, several men of his faction went out every morning, two and two, being ordered to do me ill offices in all the districts of the vulgar, and every where to spread their slanders, with a design to raise the populace upon me, and move them to treat my person, as their superior has treated my book. . . . To strengthen their crew, they have been in quest of men, condemned by the public voice; men, famous for their debaucheries and scandalous lives; known all over the kingdom by the ill opinion they entertain of the Christian faith, and the contempt they profess of our holy mysteries. They have offered to this set of people; who can believe it? but it is true, however, that they have offered them their protection against the Jesuits; and that they have emboldened them against the alarms of their conscience, and the threatenings of the laws: 'It is true, that they promised them their favour and testimony, in case they should be accused of impiety, or of any other capital crime, provided they would join with them on this occasion, and declare war against me, under the banner of my adversary.'

(20) Balzac, Oeuvres diverses, pag. 310. Rouen, 1638, in 8vo.

(21) Ibid. pag. 336.

(22) Ibid. pag. 339.

[H] . . . according to the custom of bigots.] This is their method. Some of them write libels, which others set off in conversation; and there are no cavils, but by this means they convert into good reasons with abundance of people. It is a scene that is acted in all countries: such people are so well known, that it has been no difficult thing to paint them to the

(b) Scriptis suis
mirum quantum
adulteratam elo-
quentiæ purita-
tem revocaverit,
conservaverit,
illustraverit.

(f) See Sorel's
Bibliothèque
Françoise,
chap. vii.

(g) Menage,
Remarques sur la
Vie d'Ayrault,
pag. 252. St Ro
muald, Journ.
Chronol. Tom.
I, pag. 24.

(23) Madam. des
Houlières Mr de
la Bruyère, the
abbot de Vil-
liers. &c.

(24) Balzac, ubi
supra, pag. 337
338.

(25) Ibid. pag.
pag. 309.

(26) Ibid. pag.
342, 343.

(27) Ibid. pag.
316.

(28) Réponse à
Phyllarque, pag.
71, 322.

(29) Above, in
remark [L] of
the article AC
CIUS.

(30) Pag. 101.

(31) Pag 72.

(32) It is at
page 243, of the
Paris Edit. 1651,
in 12mo.

(33) Thus Ovid,
Metamorph. lib.
iii, ver. 503,
brings in Hecuba
speaking of
Achilles, who
desires, that Po-
lexena may be
sacrificed.

(34) Ad ann.
1629.

(35) Réponse à
Phyllarque, p.
318.

(36) Ibid. pag.
322, 324.

(37) Ibid. pag.
328.

(38) Homer.
Iliad. lib. xi,
ver. 635.

(38) Homer.
Iliad. lib. xi,
ver. 635.

(38) Homer.
Iliad. lib. xi,
ver. 635.

F f f

№ 10

*Nestor (what others would effect with pains)
Alone, with ease, the goblet's weight sustains.*

We find, in the eleventh book of Athenæus, a long explication of Homer's verses relating to this cup; but, far from meeting with any thing in it that favours la Motte-Aigron, I have found in that author, that the thing is not to be understood as if no Greek could have lifted the cup, but that no old man like Nestor could have done it. Hercules, who was a great drinker (39), had a very great cup; but I do not observe, that it required three men to carry it. Statius allows but two.

(39) Macrobius, Saturn. lib. v, cap. xxi.

*Huic pretium palmæ gemini cratera ferebant
Herculeum juvenes. Illum Tyrrhinus Heros*

*Ferre manu sola, spumantemque ore supino
Vertere seu monstri victor, seu Marte, solebat.* (40) Stat. Theb. lib. vi.

*An huge Herculean cup, the victor's mead,
Two youths bring forth, and sweat beneath the weight.*

*This erst Alcides, when from toilsome war,
Or slaughter'd monster, he return'd, was wont
Singly to lift, and quaff the liquor off.*

Many things might be said concerning Hercules's cup, which was of that prodigious capacity, according to some, as to have served him for a vessel upon the sea (41); but all this would be foreign to the purpose (42).

(41) Macrobius, ubi supra.

(42) I speak of it in the remark [D] of the article HÉRCULES

(a) Menage, Remarques sur la Vie de Ayrault, pag. 254.

(b) Du Breul, Antiq. de Paris, pag. 565.

GOULU (JEROME), younger brother of the foregoing, was Regius Professor of the Greek tongue in his father's place; whom he succeeded at eighteen years of age (a), in the year 1595 (b). He was afterwards physician of the faculty of Paris. I speak of his children in a remark [A]. It has been said in the elogy of the general of the Feuillants, that he resigned the professorship of the Greek tongue to his younger brother [B].

[A] I speak of his children in a remark. His wife was Charlotte de Monantheuil, daughter to Henry de Monantheuil, dean of the faculty of physic at Paris, and Regius Professor of mathematics. From this marriage proceeded, amongst other children, NICOLAS GOULU, who wrote a book of elogies on the Goulus; JAMES, steward of the king's household, known by the name of Mr de Monantheuil, and Martha wife to Renatus Labitte, advocate in the parliament, grand-nephew to that James Labitte, judge of Maienne, who made an index to the books of the civilians, and who has been honourably mentioned by Cujas, in the first chapter of the fourth book, and in the fifteenth chapter of the fifth book of his observations (1).

(1) Menage, Remarques sur la Vie d'Ayraul, pag. 254.

(2) Apud Carol. de Vitch, Bibl. Cisterc. pag. 220.

[B] The general of the Feuillants resigned the professorship of the Greek tongue to his younger brother. These are the first words of that elogium (2). 'Inter Gallos doctrina illustres Joannes Gulonius annu-

rari meretur, quem Nicolaus pater (Joannis Aurati gener ac in regia Græcæ linguæ professione successor) singulari naturæ bonitate præditum adolescentem non vulgariter & adeo felici successu instruit, ut ab Academiæ Parisiensis curatoribus dignissimus sit judicatus, qui sublato è vivis parente literarum ejus professionem susceperet; sed in fratrem se minorem muneri istius functionem paternam pietate transmisit. . . . John Goulu deserves to be ranked among the learned men of the French nation, whom his father Nicholas (son-in-law of Joannes Auratus, and successor in the royal professorship of the Greek tongue) educated with such success, by reason of his uncommon genius, that the curators of the university of Paris thought him the most fit person to succeed his father in his professorship: but he, with a paternal piety, delivered over that employment to his younger brother.

GOURNAI (MARY DE JARS, DE), adopted by Michael de Montagne [A], and famous for her learning. See, in Moreri, what family she was of, and several other circumstances of her life. I have not much to add to it. We find in the Perroniana, a very disobliging touch upon this gentlewoman [B]: The occasion of it was a satire,

[A] She was adopted by Michael de Montagne. She expressed no less respect and zeal for this father by adoption, than for her true one. You will acknowledge this, if you consider well what she says in the preface to Montagne's essays. She caused this book to be printed in the year 1635, and dedicated it to cardinal de Richelieu. The preface she added to it deserves to be read, and will particularly please those, who love the history of books, and editions. The judgment she made of Montagne's first essays, and the affection she expressed for Montagne, upon the bare esteem she conceived for him long before she saw him, put that author upon many reflexions, and occasioned the adoption. He esteemed her from that time and foretold she would be capable of the finest things (1).

(1) See Montagne's Essays, lib. ii, cap. xvi, at the end, pag. m. 606.

(2) Pasquier, in the second volume of his letters, book xviii, pag. m. 384, 385.

Pasquier acquaints us with some circumstances of this kind of adoption. 'Michael Montagne, says he (2), left two daughters; one that came from his marriage, heirs to all his estate, who is well married: the other his daughter by adoption, heirs of his studies; both of them most virtuous ladies: but I cannot conclude my letter without speaking more particularly of the second. She is Madame de Jars, related to many great and noble families of Paris. She never intended to have any other husband than her honour, enriched with the reading of good books, especially the Lord Montagne's essays; who, in 1558, making a long stay at Paris, she came on purpose to visit him, to be personally acquainted with him. Besides, Madame de Gournai, her mother, and she, brought him to their house at Gournai, where he was three months, in two or three several journeys, with all the civil treatment that could be desired. At last, this virtuous

lady, hearing of his death, crossed almost all France, by the help of passports, as well by her own desire, as that of the widow and daughter of the deceased, who invited her to come and join her tears and lamentations with theirs. The story is truly memorable.'

[B] We find in the Perroniana, a very disobliging touch upon this lady. I set down the passage at length. As Mr Pelletier was telling him (3) one day, that he had met Mademoiselle de Gournai, going to petition the lieutenant-criminal (4), to prohibit 'La Défense des Beurrieres, (a Vindication of the Butter-women) because therein she is called a strolcher, and one that has served the public; he said, I do not believe the lieutenant will order any one to seize her body; for few would take that pains; and as for what is said, that she has served the public, she has done it so privately, that it is only guessed at. To shew the contrary, she needs only put her picture to her book; which is the answer I once made to Mademoiselle de Surgeres, who desired me, at Mr Rets's, to prefix an epistle to Ronfard's works, to shew that he did not love her in a dishonourable way. I told her, instead of this epistle, you need only prefix your picture to them. I am certain, Mrs de Gournai would have taken this railery for the greatest affront: for, though nature had amply made amends for the faults of her face, by the perfections of her mind; so that, if she had been despised for her body, she had a ready and glorious consolation, yet there is no probability, that she was ever so humble as to renounce the esteem of her bodily agreeableness, so much as reason required. I question whether the virtue of the greatest saints would be proof against so desperate an affront as this.

(3) That is criminal du Perron.

(4) Methinks the prohibition of books belongs to the lieutenant-civil.

satire, wherein she was brought in, and which was one of the sequels of the Anti-Coton [C]. There was also a libel published under the title of Anti-Gournai (a). Notwithstanding cardinal du Perron's biting railery, he had an esteem for this learned gentlewoman. He is in the list of those, who have praised her [D]. She was regularly paid the little pension granted her by the court (b); and she always lived unmarried. She was very well received, when she waited upon the princesses [E]. She had done well not to write against the partisans of the Anti-Coton. A person of her sex ought carefully to avoid such quarrels. Satisfactions are a sort of rustics, who observe no measures (c): They attack women in the most sensible part. She was represented, not only as older than she was [F], but also as a woman of a bad life (d). There were published much at the same time two stories, which are but little alike, concerning Mr de Racan, and Mrs de Gournai [G]. I wonder Moreri should say, that her books did not come out till after her death (e).

(a) See the remark [C], at the end.

(b) See the remark [D].

(c) Rustica progenies nascit habere modum.

(d) See the remark [C].

(e) See the remark [D].

viz. To silence the calumny of those satirical wits, who say you have not preserved an exact continence, you need only shew your self or your picture. It is certain, that cardinal Perron carried the insult beyond all bounds; and I believe the gentlewoman would have been more willing to have had no learning, and very little wit, than to pass for a person so void of handsoneliness, as to preserve her virginity, only because she could find none that would take it.

[C]. Occasioned by a satire, wherein she was brought in, and which was one of the sequels of the Anti-Coton.] This satire, in the Perroniana, is called *La Defense des Beurrieres* (the Defence of the Butter-women). I could easily believe this was not the true title, and that it should be called *Le Remercement des Beurrieres* (the Thanks of the Butter-women); for I have read a satire (5) intitled, *Le Remercement des Beurrieres de Paris au Sieur de Courbouzon Montgomery*, in which are these words at the beginning (6): And particularly by the noble defence of the Fathers Jesuits, which, following the steps and memoirs of Mrs Gournai, who has always well served the public, you have published a week ago. Some pages after, we read this (7): Not long ago (it is a butter-woman, who speaks to the Sieur de Courbouzon) some awkward people went about to interlope upon your market, and to rob you of your custom, as one Peletier, and Mrs Gournai, a maid of fifty years of age, who have pretended to publish defences for the Jesuits, as having an interest in the cause, under pretence they have been recalled and re-established at the request and solicitation of the pension-general of Venus. To which if we add a passage which I put in the margin (8), I think it will be manifest, that all the complaints Mrs Gournai designed to make to the judges, concerned the *Remercement des Beurrieres*. For the rest, what I have cited from this satire shews, that Mrs de Gournai

(9) published some pieces for the Jesuits, and against the Anti-Coton. Here is the title of the piece, that is ridiculed in the *Remercement des Beurrieres*: *le Fleau d'Ariflogiton, ou contra le Calomniateur des Peres Jesuites, sous le titre d'ANTI-COTON, par Louis de Montgomery Sieur de Courbouzon*. We may affirm a thing, which Mr Baillet does not affirm (10), viz. that the author of the *Fleau d'Ariflogiton* appeared under his true name. Mr Baillet thinks, that Courbouzon's piece came out after the *Fleau d'Ariflogiton* (11), whereas they are both one and the same. The adversaries of the Jesuits were not contented with insulting our maid in the *Remercement des Beurrieres*, but they wrote a book against her, which they intitled, *Anti-Gournai*. Mr Baillet speaks of it, but not in giving the list of the pieces that came out on occasion of the Anti-Coton (12): nay, he does not seem to have known, that this gentlewoman was concerned in that Anti.

[D] Cardinal du Perron . . . is in the list of those who have praised her.] To prove this, I will set down a very long passage, which concerns her, in the memoirs of the abbot de Marolles. They, who shall think I might have been contented to transcribe part of it, are such as are not curious to know the particulars of the lives of illustrious persons. It is not for such readers that I write. I make this declaration once for all. 'This honest maid, (thus it is the abbot de Marolles speaks concerning our Mrs Gournai) whom I have always very much esteemed, and whom I have frequently visited, had a candid and generous soul. The beauty of her mind was greater than that of her body; and the knew abundance of things, which are not common to persons of her sex. We have several books of her writing, both

in prose and verse, that are collected into one volume, which she printed in her life-time, and intitled, *Prejens de la Demoiselle de Gournai*. They, who attempted to jest upon her, had no reason to boast of it. Many great persons have praised her, both in her life-time, and since her death; and, amongst others, Michael de Montagne, Justus Lipsius, cardinal du Perron, cardinal Richelieu, Mr Coppean bishop of Nantes, Mr de Rochepois bishop of Poitiers, Mr Seguier chancellor of France, and the superintendants, who always carefully paid her a little pension, which the king allowed her; and she refused a larger, for the keeping a coach, which I know was offered her by cardinal Richelieu. Many learned men did also frequently visit her; and the good lady reckoned, in the number of her best friends, Mr de la Mothe le Vayer, the prior Ogier, and his brother, and Messieurs Haberts, Cerisai, Le stoile, Boisrobert, de Revol, Colletet, Malleville, all well known in the republic of learning; and, if I mistake not, she did me the honour to place me

among them (13). [E] She was very well received, when she waited upon the princesses.] The same abbot de Marolles says so, speaking of the duke of Retelais, eldest son to the duke of Nevers. 'Mrs Gournai, says he (14), was one of his great diversions, and though he was of a galanting temper, yet there was no lady but he would leave to discourse with her, whether he saw her at his sister's, or whether he found her at Madam de Longueville's, his aunt, or at the countess of Soisson's, whom he visited sometimes. [F] She was represented as older than she was.] See, printing the first edition of her works.

[G] There were published two stories, which are but little alike concerning Mr de Racan and Mrs Gournai.] The first is to be found in the *Menagiana* (15), and the Paris in 1633; other in the *Recueil des bons mots* (16). The first represents Mr de Racan and Mrs de Gournai, as two persons, who very frequently visited each other, and spoke their mind very freely, when they disliked each other's verses; which, amongst authors that are friends, is the very top of familiarity. But, on the contrary, the second story is wholly adapted to persuade us, that there was an ill understanding betwixt them. It goes under the name of one of Boisrobert's good stories, and is called, *the three Racons*. It is pretended, that this gentlewoman desiring to know the marquis de Racan, there was a wit, who persuaded him to give her a visit; but, when he knew the day and the hour, he had the malice to send to this gentlewoman, some time before, a person of the court, pretending to be the marquis de Racan. When this visit was over, he went himself to Mrs de Gournai, and called himself the marquis de Racan. He was received, and expressed to the lady a great surprize, that any one should have Colfe, who the confidence to assume his name, to pay her a visit. As soon as he was gone, the true Racan arrived. Mrs de Gournai had immediately notice of it: she was a Gascon (17), and something choleric in her temper; she flew into a passion at the sight of this third Racan, and without waiting till he spoke to her, *Must I see nothing but Racans all the days of my life?* said she in a rage; and arming herself with a slipper, she vigorously charged him, and drove him out of her chamber, without hearing him speak, giving him all the ill language her anger could suggest; and that she was not a Gascon, get;

(13) *Memoires de l'Abbe de Marolles*, pag. 58. ad ann.

(14) *See also*

(15) *Printed at*

(16) *Printed at*

(17) *I do not*

think this is

true. I wonder

that Hilario de

Colfe, who

speaks so much

of her, Pies des

Dames illustres,

Tom. II, pag.

does not say

what she: she

was of. The

passage of Paf-

quier, above, in

the remark [A],

seems to me to

prove, that she

was not a Gascon,

get;

When Mr Menage supposes, in his *Requête des Dictionnaires*, that Mrs de Gournai was extraordinarily concerned for the disgrace of the old words, which the gentlemen of the French academy suppressed, he did not make use of a fiction; for it is very true, that this lady was very angry at this change of language [H]. I do not know whether any

verbes

(18) Recueil des bons Contes & des bons Mots, pag. 158, Dutch Edit.

(19) Pag. 138 of the first Dutch Edition.

(20) Costar, défense de Voiture, pag. 274.

(21) It was Racan.

(22) Printed at Paris in the year 1695.

(23) Sorel, de la connaissance des bons livres, pag. m. 418, 419.

gest: which so surprized the poor marquis de Racan, that he could not answer a word, but got away in haste, thinking that this learned lady was run mad (18). I could easily believe this to be a fable; and I chiefly judge so, because of the assault of the slipper. Probably it was either a meer invention, or a flourish of Boissier, to make a jest both of Racan and this learned lady. However, this adventure is very inconsistent with the great intimacy, mentioned by Menage, between that learned lady and the marquis de Racan. The following passage is to be found in the Menagiana (19). 'The marquis de Racan one day visited Mrs de Gournai, who shewed him some epigrams she had made, and asked his opinion of them. Mr de Racan told her, they had nothing good in them, and were without any wit. She answered, he ought not to take notice of that, because they were epigrams after the Greek fashion. They went afterwards to dine together at Mr de Lorme's, a physician. A dish of soup being brought in, that was not very good, she, turning to Mr de Racan, told him, Sir, this is a bad soup: madam, said he, it is a soup after the Greek fashion.' I shall observe, by the by, that this story has undergone the alterations usual to stories of this nature: the circumstances of it are prodigiously diversified. Read this passage of the *defence de Voiture* (20). 'Some body translated once, for one of our poets (21), who did not understand Greek, some epigrams of the *Antologia*. . . . He found them so flat and insipid, that, dining the next day at a prince's table, where a soup was brought in, that tasted of nothing but water, turning to one of his friends, who had seen those epigrams with him, here is, said he, a true soup after the Greek fashion.'

Note, that the story of the three Racans has been inserted in the continuation of the Menagiana (22); and so it is supposed, that Mr Menage contradicted himself sometimes in his conversations.

[H] She was very angry at this change of language. Here follows a passage, in which Sorel takes notice of an omission of Father Bouhours. 'To speak of a person, who was very angry at that time with this suppression of words, he should have mentioned good Mrs de Gournai, whom Aristus, one of the interlocutors in the dialogues in question, places amongst the illustrious and ingenious women. Certainly she well deserved it. But I would still place, above her learning, her generosity, goodness, and other incomparable virtues. It must however be owned, that she always kept some resentment against the new authors of her time; but she had reason for it; for some of them took a particular delight in exposing her. Those, who formerly saw her, know that she was in a violent passion, when she mentioned the new band, or the new cabal, and that it was her foible. She might afford matter enough for discourse about the language, both on account of what she was heard to say, and of what she has written about it. Those, who are not old enough to have conversed with her, must have recourse to her book, intitled, *Les Avis & les Presens de la Demoiselle de Gournai*. There are in it many chapters concerning the French language, and amongst others, the chapter of Diminutives, and some about poetry, in which she would revive the words compounded in imitation of the Greeks, and keep up Ronfard's language, without any exception (23). Let us see how Menage has described the passion of this lady. He at first mentions the proscription of these noble words:

... Mout, ains, jagoit,
Ores, adonc, maint, ainssi-foit,
A-tant, si que, piteux, icelle,
Trop plus, trop mieux, blandice, isnelle,
Picea, sollir, illie, ainçois.
As being bad French:

And then he feigns, that the dictionaries declare, in their request, that

... Bien que telle outrecuidance

(Soit dit sans votre reverence)

Fist préjudice aux Supplians

Vos bons & fideles Clients;

Et que de GOURNAY la Pucelle,

Cette savante Demoiselle,

En faveur de l'Antiquité

Eust notre Corps sollicité

De faire ses plaintes publiques

Du décri de ces mots antiques:

Toutefois, &c.

Though such presumption (with reverence be it spoken) does a prejudice to your petitioners, your good and faithful clients; and that the learned Madam Gournay, in favour of antiquity, has solicited our body to make it's public complaints against the decrying these ancient words: Nevertheless, &c.

Doubtless, many persons said, that Mrs de Gournai, being affected with the distemper of old people, condemned the reformation of the language, only because it was the production of young authors; or because she could not approve of it, without owning, that, at her great age, she wanted to go to school again. Doubtless, they applied to her what Horace said of some people, who fancy that their taste is the only rule of what is good, or that it were a shameful thing for them to yield to new-comers, and to confess, in their old age, the vanity of the studies of their youth.

Vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit tibi, ducunt;

Vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, & quæ

Imberbes didicere senes perdenda fateri (34).

Or that they like their own opinions best;

Or that they scorn, when aged, to submit

To greener years, and less experienc'd youth.

But, all things duly considered, this gentlewoman was not so much in the wrong as is imagined; and it were to be wished, that the best authors of that time had vigorously withstood the proscription of many words, which have nothing of harshness in them, and would serve to vary the expression, to avoid verses, consonancies, and ambiguities. A false delicacy, which was too much indulged, has very much impoverished the French language. The best writers complain of it; even those, who are least in want of words, and whose fruitful genius is able to supply that defect. See the reflexions of Mr de la Bruyere (25). Some of them bestow a thousand blessings on the bishop of Meaux, the bishop of Nîmes, and such other authors of the first rank, when they see them use words beginning to grow obsolete. This re-inflates, and makes them young again; at least it is a barrier against prescription, and may be opposed to the cavils of the Purists. Our language is very much indebted to the writers, who say certes in prose, and expose themselves for that word in their works (26). The same observation might be made with respect to other very convenient words, which the false delicacy of some wits, or the caprice of custom, have deprived, and daily deprive us of. The cause of the evil does not wholly lie in the inconstancy of living languages, which the antients have experienced, and very well described.

... Mortalia facta peribunt;

Nedum sermonum stet honos & gratia vivax:

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque,

Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,

Quem penes arbitrium est & jus & norma loquendi (27).

When mortal labours fall a prey to time,
Can language plead exemption from decay?

2

Custom,

(34) Horat.
Epist. i. lib. II.
ver. 83.

(25) La Bruyere,
Caractères de ce
Siècle, in the
chapter concerning
some vices, pag.
635, & seq. of
the eighth edition
of Paris.

(26) La Bruyere,
ubi supra.

(27) Horat. de
Arte Poet. vult.
68.

verses were made in praise of her cat; but I am persuaded, that the wits would have made many poems upon that subject, if her mistress had been young and handsome. It was a cat, whose fidelity has been immortalized by the abbot de Marolles [1].

*Custom, the sovereign arbitress of speech,
Old words revives, and antiquates the new.*

There is I know not what conspiracy in the matter, which proceeds, not so much from the readers, that are authors, as from those, that are not. The latter give themselves the pleasure of criticising, without knowing what trouble there is in composing. Those, that are sensible of it, are more indulgent to words. I except two sorts of authors: the young, and those who write but a little piece in two or three years. A young author, who hardly reads any books but such as are the newest, calls fine language only the terms and expressions he finds in them. Wo to every word, and phrase, which he finds elsewhere: this is a word of the old court, says he; it begins to grow obsolete. As for a writer of half a page a day, he has not time to be sensible of the trouble occasioned by the suppression of abundance of expressions, which were good in the reign of Henry IV, and Lewis XIII. For which reason he pretends to be disgusted at all the words, that are suspected of being old. But, if he were to compose a long work, and at a quicker rate, he would not be so squeamish: the difficulties of the task, the intri-

cacy of the repetitions, the almost unavoidable necessity of rhiming in prose, &c. would discover to him the prejudice that is done to authors by impoverishing the language they make use of.

[1] *She had a cat, whose fidelity has been immortalized by the abbot de Marolles.* He did the same service to a linnet of his landlady. 'A linnet, says he' (28), that did belong to the most worthy and most virtuous Mrs Belleville, in whose house I lodge at Paris, lived with her above fourteen years; and, tho' it were never so fine weather, this little bird never attempted to fly away, when it's good mistress put him out of his cage on her chamber-window. Mrs de Gournai's Pailion (which was the name of her cat), for the space of twelve years that she lived with her, never went out of her chamber one night, to run upon the gutters and tiles, like other cats. If this gentlewoman had had such galants as Catullus, her cat would have been celebrated as much as Lesbia's sparrow. Note, that the abbot de Marolles forgets not this sparrow, nor Melior's parrot (29), nor Stella's pigeon (30). To these examples we may add Madam des Houlières's spaniel (31).

(28) Marolles, Suite des Mémoires, pag. 98, 99.

(29) See Statius, Silv. iv, lib. ii.

(30) See Martial, Epigr. viii, lib. i.

(31) See the first Tome of the Mercure Galant, 1672, pag. m. 83, 103.

GRAIN (BAPTIST LE), master of the requests in ordinary to Mary de Medicis, queen of France, has writ some pretty good histories [A]. He was born about the Year 1563 (a). He does not express any bitterness against the Protestants; on the contrary, he declares strongly for the edict that was granted them [B].

[A] *He wrote some pretty good histories.* We have two decads of his. The first is the history of Henry the great: the second is the history of Lewis XIII, from the beginning of his reign to the death of the marshal d'Ancre in 1617. 'In some parts of it, he has given us some particulars, that are not to be found elsewhere; and it is thought this history was impartially written, as by a true Frenchman.' This is what Sorel (1) says concerning the first decad. As to the second, he says (2), 'that this history having been published in the time, and during the credit of those, whom the historian speaks of, what happened before is very much cried down. The marshal d'Ancre, and those of his party, are very ill treated. Even the good servants of the queen-mother are not spared, which formerly made this book sought for, by some out of curiosity, and by others with a design to suppress it. It is especially observed, that as to what concerns the bishop of Lussan, who was afterwards cardinal de Richelieu, this author

'mentions a letter of his directed to the marshal d'Ancre, which is said to be written in very submissive terms.' There is good reason for saying so (3).

[B] *He declared strongly for the edict that was granted to the Protestants.* See the seventh book (4) of the decad of Henry IV, where you will find a fine apology for this prince, on account of the edict of Nantes; an apology, I say, supported with examples and reasons. D'Aubigné took care to insert the substance of it in his history (5). Le Grain had not changed his principles, when he writ his decad of Lewis XIII; for he there (6) apologizes for the letters patents (7), wherein his majesty declared, that he meant not to comprehend his subjects of the pretended Reformed religion in the oath and protestation made at his coronation, OF EMPLOYING HIS SWORD AND POWER FOR THE EXTIRPATION OF HERESIES. These two fine passages in favour of toleration are found in a book of Colomies (8).

(a) See b's Decad of Henry IV, lib. i, pag. 80. Edit. of Rouin, 1633, in 4to.

(3) See Le Grain, liv. x, pag. 411, ad ann. 1617.

(4) Pag. m. 74.

(5) Tom. III, livr. v, chap. ii, pag. m. 631.

(6) In the eighth book, pag. 299.

(7) They were registered in the parliament the fourth of August, 1616.

(8) Intitulé, Rome Pro testante, pag. 65, & seq.

GRAMMONT (GABRIEL DE), a French cardinal, in the XVIth century. I speak of him only to correct some faults of Mr Moreri [A].

[A] *I speak of him, only to correct some faults of Mr Moreri.* I. The interview of Clement VII, and Francis I, at Marfeilles, was not in 1552, but in 1532. II. Cardinal Grammont was not rewarded with the bishopric of Poitiers, for having persuaded the Pope to that interview; for he was possessed of that bishopric, when he left France, to go and negotiate with Clement VII. III. These words, *the king gave him the archbishopric of Bourdeaux and Toulouse, which he was going to take possession of*, ought to be censured, since they naturally signify, that both these bishoprics were bestowed at the same time upon this cardinal. But this is false. Besides, we know not which of those two archbishoprics he was going to take possession of. Mr Moreri's phrase does not determine it. IV. It is not true, that this cardinal died before he took possession of the archbishopric of Toulouse: for he did it by proxy, the twenty seventh of October 1533, and in person, the fifteenth of March following. V. The

castle of Balura is a chimera; he should have said the castle of Balma: the cardinal died there, the twenty sixth of March (1) 1534, according to du Bouchet. This castle belongs to the archbishops of Toulouse, and is but half a league distant from the city. VI. If the cardinal was seized with a hectic fever, it was not when he went to take possession of the archbishopric: Moreri should have said, that his journey to Rome brought upon him a long distemper, of which he died, eleven days after his taking possession. Does a man die of a hectic fever in so few days? What surprises me is, that Catel (2), one of the authors quoted by Moreri, supplies me with the correction of all the faults before-mentioned. What is this man thinking of, to quote authors whom he never saw? Catel corrects a fault of John du Bouchet, concerning the name of the castle (3); and therefore Moreri might have certainly known it's true name.

(1) Moreri says, the twenty fourth of March.

(2) Mémoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc, livr. v, pag. 945.

(3) Du Bouchet says, that the cardinal died at Abalme, a place belonging to the archbishopric, two leagues from Toulouse.

GRAMOND (GABRIEL BARTHOLOMEW DE), in Latin *Gramondus*, president in the parliament of Toulouse, and son to the dean of that parliament [A], composed

[A] *He was son to the dean of the counsellors of the parliament of Toulouse.* The name of the dean of the counsellors was BARTHOLOMEW DE GRAMOND. He was a man of great probity, and perfect

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posed an history, that is esteemed [B]. I have read, in a German author, a remarkable fact, which I very much doubt of [C]; but, if it were true, it would be very much to president de Gramond's glory. Patin's letters do not confirm what the German author says [D].

(1) Gramond. Histo. Gallie, lib. iii, pag. 213; ad ann. 1619.

(2) It is the name of those, who preside in the town-house of Toulouse.

(3) Tacit. Ann. lib. i, cap. xiv.

(4) Id. ibid. lib. vi, cap. xxxiii.

(5) And not to the year 1639, as Moreri says.

(6) Note, that it is very much quoted by the German authors. See, among others, Pellerus in his *Pelliculus sceleratus impugnat*.

fect integrity. His son gives him this character, in relating an action, more becoming a courtier, than a senator zealous for good discipline. He says (1), that Mr de Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, would have his wife to be received, in all the towns of his government, with such honours as had never been used. He desired in particular, that the magistrates of Toulouse would send armed men to meet her. His proposal was often rejected; and it was represented to him, that plays, dances, and music, are a proper pomp for a woman's reception; but the military honours ought to be reserved for those, who have a jurisdiction over arms. Bartholomew de Gramond was of another opinion, viz. that the dukes of Montmorency should be received in the way that her husband desired; he was deputed to the Capitouls (2) from the parliament, and persuaded them to comply with the desire of the governor of the province. This happened in 1619. We find here no footsteps of the ancient Roman gravity. Our historian had done more for his father's glory, if he could have said, that the deputy of the parliament confirmed the Capitouls in their resolution to reject the innovations, which the duke of Montmorency required of them for his dukes. This conduct had bespoke him a man, who had made good use of Tiberius's counsel *moderandos foeminarum honores* (3), and of the speech of Severus Cæcina, a Roman senator, in the reign of that emperor. It was rejected, but is it to be wondered at? Rome had lost all its fine maxims. Note, that this senator gave his vote, for not suffering the governors of provinces to bring their wives with them (4). He gave very solid reasons for it.

[B] He composed an history that is esteemed.] It contains, in French books, the transactions of France, from Henry the fourth's death, to the year 1629 (5). It was printed at Toulouse in the year 1643. Foreigners have thought it worthy of their presses both in Holland and Germany (6). I make use of the edition of Mentz in 1673, in 8vo. This author's style is a little too concise, and not natural enough; but it shews, that president de Gramond was master of the Latin tongue. He had published, at Toulouse, in the year 1623, the particular history of the war, that Lewis XIII made with his Protestant subjects.

GRAMONT (SCIPIO DE) lord of St Germain, and secretary of the king's chamber, was a native of Provence. I have said elsewhere (a) that he saw at Rome the funeral honours of Mr de Peirefc, and that he died at Venice some time after. He wrote some Books [A], and, among others, one intituled *Le Denier Royal: Traité curieux de l'Or & de l'Argent*. Naudé speaks of this work with praise [B]. It is in 8vo, printed at Paris in the year 1620.

[A] He wrote some books.] He published at Paris, the Art of Consequences, in 8vo, in 1614; of the nature, quality, and wonderful prerogatives of the Point in 8vo, 1619. His Abridgment of Artifices, treating of several new inventions, and especially of a secret and exquisite means of understanding and learning any language whatever, even Latin and Greek, in one year, was printed at Aix in Provence, in 1640, in 8vo.

[B] Naudé speaks of his Denier Royal with praise.] These are his words: 'Quoniam res ipsa (vestigialium impositiones) plerumque à necessitate dependet, aut Principum voluntate, quæ leges non admittunt, inde est, quod pauci admodum reperti sunt, qui de illis Politicum quidquam monere voluerint. Quare unicuique tantummodo proferam Scipionem Gramontium;

[C] I have read, in a German author, a remarkable fact, which I very much doubt of.] Christian Funceus says, that the president de Gramond, following Thuanus's footsteps, in his boldness to speak the truth, and discover the faults of the government and of great men, got many enemies, and was not safe in his own country. 'In eo Thuanus par quod intrepide dicat, quid sentiat, non dissimulans gravissima aulæ & magnatum peccata, indeque idem quod Thuanus, fatum expertus. Simul enim ac prima pars historię prodit, multorum incurrit odia: ita ut vix Tholozæ tuto vivere potuerit. Quare non prodit tenus hac, nisi pars prima: si altera succederet, opus esset incomparabile, vel non nisi cum ipsa antiquitate comparandum. Arcanissima enim reip. Gallicæ auctor pene traverat (7).' Mr Gravelot, advocate of Nîmes, who was very much acquainted at Toulouse, and whom I consulted upon this particular, answered me several things, but nothing, whereby it appeared that he had ever heard of such a thing.

[D] Patin's letters do not confirm what the German author says.] Guy Patin is so far from representing Mr de Gramond as a martyr for the truth, that he calls him a base flatterer. I believe he strains things, and that at the worst, the German writer's extrem would be less vicious than Patin's. However, here are Patin's words: 'I have the history of Mr de Gramond, president of Toulouse, that you speak of. I have often discoursed with him, whilst he was in this city. He was a good old man, but he had a weak and bigotted soul. He was very desirous to get some memoirs, in order to carry on his history to the late king's death: but cardinal Mazarin would not give him that employment. He is lately dead at Toulouse (8). His book is very indifferent, and infinitely below Thuanus's history. It is full of falshities and flatteries unworthy of a man of honour. When it was printed off, and ready for sale, Mr de Gramond caused fifteen leaves to be reprinted, the better to flatter cardinal Richelieu, who was then at the highest pitch of favour. This good man thought there were no words strong enough to praise him: but he got nothing by it; for the cardinal died soon after (9).'

(7) Chr. Funceus, Tom. I, Orbis Imper. pag. 443, apud König, Bibl. pag. 358.

(8) We may conclude from thence, that König, who places his death in the year 1672, is mistaken; for that letter of Patin is dated the fifteenth of September, 1654.

(9) Patin, letter xc, Tom. I, pag. 365.

(a) In remark [C] of the article PEIRESC.

ex cujus Nummo Regio, Gallicè quidem edito, plurima depromi possunt, quæ rem ipsam præclare illustrent, simulque legentium animos reficiant dulci pabulo variæ lectionis, & gravissimæ diversarum observationum varietate (1). — Because the thing itself (the imposition of taxes) often depends on necessity, or the will of princes, which admits not of law; thence it is, that but few political writers are found on that subject. I shall therefore produce only one, viz. Scipio Gramont; from whose Denier Royal, published in French, many things may be taken, which excellently illustrate the matter, and at the same time refresh the minds of the readers with a great variety of learning and observations of different sorts.

(1) Naudé, Bibl. Politic. cap. xiii, pag. 543, Edit. Crennæ.

GRANDIER (URBAN), curate and canon of Loudon, burnt alive as a magician, was the son of a royal notary of Sablé, and was born at Bovère near Sablé. He was a good preacher, which made the monks of Loudon envy him at first, and at last hate him, when he pressed the obligation of confessing to one's curate at Easter. He was a handsome man, agreeable in conversation, and neat in his cloaths, which made him

him suspected of being beloved by the women, and of loving them [A]. He was accused, in 1629, of having lain with women in his own church. The official of Poitiers condemned him to resign his benefices, and to live a penitent. He appealed from that sentence; and, by a decree of the parliament of Paris, he was referred to the presidial of Poitiers, which declared him innocent. Three years after, some Ursuline nuns of Loudun were thought by the common people to be possessed [B]. Grandier's enemies immediately spread the report, that it was by his means, and accused him of magic: Which seems very odd; for if they believed he could send the devil into peoples bodies, they should have been afraid of provoking him [C]; they should have used him kindly

(1) Tom. XX, pag. 743.
[A] He was suspected of being beloved by the women, and of loving them.] The *Mercuré François* (1) says that Urban Grandier was a majestic and stately man, who had some reading and good parts, and besides was endowed with some natural and acquired perfections; but that, by a reduplication of extraordinary vices, particularly whoring and lewdness, he had . . . prostituted the honour of his character; and that his intention was, in canvassing for the place of ghastly father of the Ursulines, to make a dishonest seraglio of their convent, and as many filthy concubines as there were handsome virgins. The letter of Dr Seguin, a physician of Tours, says (2), that even Grandier's partisans acknowledged, that he lived in a debauchery, that was a downright impiety, profaning the most holy things, and openly abusing the religion he preached with great reputation. I have said, in the text of this article, that he was accused of having lain with some women in his own church. Mr Menage, who relates it, says only, in the notes, that he was accused of adultery; he does not say, that it was with the wife of a magistrate of Loudun. It is Monconis (3), who says this, upon the credit of the superior of the Ursulines. The relation, published in Holland, in the year 1693, does not permit us to doubt of the lewdness and pride of this priest.

(2) Ibid. pag. 777.

(3) Voies, Part. I, pag. 9.

(4) Remarques sur la Vie de Guillaume Menage, pag. 340.

A n observation upon the knowledge of tongues in those that are possessed.

(5) *Mercuré François*, Tom. XX, pag. 777.

(6) *Entretien* xvi.

accused of magic . . . the devils he corresponded with must needs have been meer black-guards in Lucifer's troops. They must have been less learned than those of Loudun, who had not studied so far as the third class, as one of cardinal Richelieu's courtiers said. They must needs be of the order of those ignorant devils, who, in Theodoret's orations, commit faults in the number, and the language, and offend against the measures of verse, and the rules of syntax (7). Here follow some proofs of the ignorance of the devils of Loudun. *Mais* being ended, *Barré* came up to the mother superior, to give her the communion, and to exorcise her, and, holding the sacrament in his hand, spoke to her in these words; Adora Deum tuum, Creatorem tuum; worship thy God, thy Creator: being pressed she answered, Adoro te, I worship thee, Quem adoras, whom dost thou worship? said the exorcist to her several times. *JESUS CHRISTUS*, replied she, making motions as if she had suffered violence. *Daniel Drouin*, assessor in the provostship, could not forbear saying somewhat loud, here is a devil, who does not understand concord. *Barré*, changing the phrase, asked her, *Quis est iste quem adoras?* who is he, whom thou worshipping? he hoped she would say still *JESUS CHRISTUS*; but she answered, *JESU CHRISTE*. Upon which many present cried out, this is bad Latin. *Barré* confidently maintained she had said, Adoro te *JESU CHRISTE*; I adore thee, O *JESUS CHRIST* (8).

Here is a very sharp railery against the Capuchin director of Martha, who was said to be possessed. It was reported, that she had two devils in her body, one called Belzebub, and the other Ashtaroth. The judges of Angers examined them in Greek and Latin. Belzebub, in a passion answered, 'that if he pleased, he could answer as well in Greek as in Latin. The Capuchin, to afford him an excuse, said, Belzebub, my friend, there are some heretics here, and that is the reason why you will not speak. They spoke Latin to Ashtaroth, who excused himself upon his youth (9a). Belzebub excused himself, saying, he was a poor devil. Hereupon there was a great dispute betwixt those on the bench, whether devils were bound to go to school. The civilians maintained, that it was the proprium in quarto modo of demoniacs, to speak all languages, as he of Cartigni in Savoy, who was tried in sixteen languages; by the same token, that the ministers of Geneva durst not exorcise him. Those of Angers were bolder. They begun thus: *Com-mando tibi ut exeat Belzebub & Ashtaroth, aut ego augmentabo vestras penas, & vobis dabo actiores*. The second time he said; *Jubeo exeat super penam excommunicationis majoris & minoris*. And at last being in a great passion he added; *Nisi vox exeat, vos relego & confino in infernum centum annos magis quam Deus ordinavit* (9). I doubt not but this is an invention of the author.

[(9a) An allusion to these words of Lucifer to Persephonas.

Ashtaroth, ne parle jamais:
Tu es encore trop novice.

Ashtaroth say nothing;
You are yet too young. REM CRIT.]

[C] If they believed he could send the devil into peoples bodies, they should have been afraid of provoking him.] Mr Menage was so fond of this thought, that, after he had used it in the life of William Menage (10), he inserted it in his notes upon that life. They accused Grandier, says he, of magic, the ordinary crime of those who have none, and which,

(7) See the *Nouv. de la Republ. des Lettres*, March 1684, pag. 103, of the second edition.

(8) *Histoires des Diables de Loudun*, printed at Amsterdam 1693, pag. 57.

(9) Confession Catholique de Sancy, livr. i, chap. vi.

(10) De Malin-cio fingit se afflic-tiri (Armandus Richelius) nam ut ver: Apuleius & ipse maleficio reus postulat, id genus crimen non est ejus ac-cusare qui credit, accusare enim eo crimine is eum timet, quem vi-cantimum

teritur. Menage, in *Vita Guillimi Menagii*, pag. 8.

kindly, for fear he should possess them with a legion of devils. However they accused him of magic. The Capuchins of Loudun, his great enemies, thought it expedient, in order to succeed in their accusation, to strengthen themselves with the powerful authority of cardinal Richelieu. To this purpose, they wrote to Father Joseph, one of their fraternity, who had a great interest with his eminence, that Grandier was the author of a libel, intituled, *La Cordonnere de Loudun* [D] (the shoemaker's wife of Loudun), which was very injurious to the person and birth of cardinal Richelieu. This great minister, amongst many perfections, had the fault to prosecute with the utmost rigour the authors of the libels printed against him: So that, suffering himself to be persuaded [E] by Father Joseph, that Grandier was the author of *La Cordonnere de Loudun*, he writ immediately to Mr de Laubardemont, counsellor of state, his creature, who was commissioned by the king to demolish the fortifications of Loudun, to inform himself carefully of the affair of the nuns; and gave him sufficient intimations, that he wished the destruction of Grandier. Mr Laubardemont made him a prisoner in December 1633, and, having taken ample information of the matter, he went to concert the business with the cardinal. Letters patents were issued out, the eighth of July 1634, to bring Grandier to his trial. These letters were directed to Mr Laubardemont, and to twelve judges of the courts in the neighbourhood of Loudun, all indeed honest men, but all credulous persons, and for that reason chosen by Grandier's enemies [F]. The eighteenth

(a) Mr. Menage, *Remarques sur la Vie de Guill. Menage*, pag. 342, is mistaken in saying the Stl.

which, according to the excellent thought of Apuleius, who was formerly accused of the same crime, is not believed by the accusers themselves; for if a man was truly persuaded, that another could kill him by magic, he would be afraid of provoking him by accusing him of that abominable crime. But tho' this argument seems to be very solid, I am of opinion, that there have been some people, at all times, who believed those guilty, whom they accused of magic: for, in the first place, we must not too much rely on men's acting consequentially; besides, it is generally believed, that, when the judges have laid hold on a magician's cause, he can do no more mischief. Lastly, it is believed, that a magician will not venture to attempt any thing against his accusers, since this would be furnishing proofs against himself.

[D] They wrote to Father Joseph . . . that Grandier was author of a libel, intituled *La Cordonnere de Loudun*.] This libel is so intituled, because a shoemaker's wife was introduced speaking in it. Mr Menage takes the fooleries, that this satire is stuffed with, for a strong proof, that Grandier did not make it (11); and he heard Mr Bouillaud say, that it was certain Grandier was not the author of that libel (12). Mr Bouillaud, a native of Loudun, had been familiarly acquainted with him (13). See, in the relation printed at Amsterdam (14), with what artifice this satire was made use of, to destroy Grandier.

[E] . . . Cardinal Richelieu suffering himself to be persuaded.] I have read somewhere, that he promoted this farce, in order to intimidate Lewis XIII, and keep him more subservient to his designs, by these stories of sorcery, with which they stunned his ears. This is not probable, tho' it must be confessed, that the sublimest Genius's are commonly such as least neglect the occasions, that seem most ridiculous and absurd. I speak of those great genius's, who govern a state. Their great penetration makes them discover secret springs, where one would think there are none; because they know better than other men what use may be made of a trifle; because they are better acquainted with the weakness of mankind, and know better what the ignorance and weakness of some, and the malice of others, can produce. We must not therefore argue thus upon all occasions: such a thing is so absurd, so mean, so extravagant, that a man of sense and judgment would never mind it; and consequently it is false, that such a minister of state made use of it, invented, or supported it. The author of the history of the edict of Nantes observes (15), that many people looked upon the comedy, that was played for many years by the Ursulines of Loudun, to be an affair of religion. I be-

lieve he means, that those people fancied this farce was acted in order to undermine the edict of Nantes. He pleasantly relates the ridiculous answers made by those nuns. Note, that he says, that Grandier governed the convent of the Ursulines; but, in the errata, he corrects it, by saying, that he sometimes visited the nuns. This last fact is no more consistent, than the other, with the relation published in 1693. In the 25th page of it you will find these words: *It is at least certain, that those nuns had lived seven or eight years at Loudun, without ever being visited by him: and, in the year 1634, when they were confronted with him, it appeared that they had never seen him.* Father Tranquille has also maintained it in one of his books, and that the curate never meddled with their affairs.

At this very moment I call to mind, that it is in the Sorberiana that I read what I said at the beginning of this remark. The passage is curious. We there find, that Mr Quillet challenged the devil of those nuns, and nonplussed him, and that all the devil's craft was confounded; that Mr Laubardemont (16) was offended at it, and issued out a warrant against Laubardemont. Quillet, who, perceiving, that this mummery was carried on by cardinal Richelieu, to intimidate the late king (17), who was naturally very fearful of the devil, it signifies Hen-

thought it was not safe for him to be at Loudun, or in France, and went into Italy (18). Naudé confirms what concerns the disgrace of this challenger. These are his words: 'Duncan and Quillet having opposed the imposture of the nuns of Loudun, the former was reprimanded for it, and severely threatened by cardinal Richelieu; and the latter was forced to go and serve the marquis de Cœuvre at Rome (19).'

[F] The judges were all chosen by Grandier's enemies.] The reflexion, that Mr Menage makes upon this, deserves to be set down: *It is to be observed, says he (20), that no innocence can be proof against the choice of judges: let an accuser abuse the judges, and he will cause all the Jesuit's bishops to be burnt by Molinist judges, and all the Molinist bishops by Jesuit judges.* Here is a subject for reflections (21). The attorney of the commission, called Deniau, counsellor in the presidial of la Fleche, wrote a tract concerning the devils of the nuns of Loudun (22), to vindicate the sentence of the commissioners.

[G] Upon the deposition of Alhtaroth.] This appears from the second verbal process of the exorcist (23). There were three possessions: during the first, the devils, except one, refused to tell their names: they only answered that they were enemies of God. During the second and third, they discovered their names

(11) Grandier non esse tot inep- tie quibus fecit argum. *Id. ibid.*

(12) Menage, *Remarques sur la Vie de Guill. Menage*, pag. 343.

(13) *Ibid.* pag. 341.

(14) Pag. 99.

(15) Tom. II, livr. x, pag. 538, ad ann. 1634.

(16) It should be as if he had been offended at it, and issued out a warrant against Laubardemont.

(17) This ex- pression is bad: king (17), who was naturally very fearful of the devil, it signifies Hen-

(18) Naudé, *Dial. de Mâcon*, rat, pag. 310.

(19) See some- thing like it in *Jesuit judges*. Here is a subject for reflections (21).

(20) Menage, *ubi supra*, pag. 342.

(21) See some- thing like it in *Jesuit judges*. Here is a subject for reflections (21).

(22) Menage, *ubi supra*, pag. 342.

(23) The attorney of the commission, called Deniau, counsellor in the presidial of la Fleche, wrote a tract concerning the devils of the nuns of Loudun (22), to vindicate the sentence of the commissioners.

the crime of magic, sorcery, and possession happening by his means in the persons of some of the Ursuline nuns of Loudun, and other secular women mentioned in the process: For the reparation of which crimes he was condemned to an amende honorable, and to be burnt alive, with the magical pacts and characters being in the rolls, together with the manuscript book, by him written against the celibacy of priests [H], and his ashes to be scattered in the air (b). Grandier, having heard this terrible sentence without any commotion, desired to have the guardian of the Franciscans of Loudun for his confessor: He was doctor of divinity of the faculty of Paris. They refused him, and offered him a Recollect, whom he would not make use of; saying, that he was his enemy, and one of those, who had most contributed to his ruin. They persisted in their resolution to give him no other confessor than this Recollect, and he persisted in his refusal; and so he made only a mental confession to God: After which, he went to the place of execution, and died very constantly and christianly. As he was upon the pile, a great fly (a kind of a drone) happened to buzz about his head. A monk, present at the execution, who had read in the council of Quieres (c), that the devils are always at hand, when men are dying, to tempt them (d), and who had heard say, that Belzebub signifies in Hebrew the god of flies, cried out immediately, that it was the devil Belzebub that flew about Grandier, to carry his soul to hell; upon which a very pleasant song was made. The devil's-craft of Loudun lasted a Year longer after the death of Grandier. Theophrastus Renaudot, a famous physician, and inventor of the French-Gazette, made an encomium on Grandier, which was printed at Paris in loose sheets. This is taken from Menage (e), who vindicates our Grandier, and calls the possession of those nuns a chimæra [I]. Nay, one would think that he designed to deny in general

(b) See the twentieth Tome of the Mémoires François pag. 771.

(c) Apud Castellanum.

(d) Certum est quia ad omnes homines quando egrediuntur de corpore, veniunt Diaboli & ad justos & ad peccatores. A letter of the fathers of that council to Lewis king of Germany.

(e) In vita Guillelmi Menagii in the remarks upon that life.

names and dignities, and accused Grandier by name. It is remarkable that they answered in French, though the exorcists spoke to them in Latin. But it is much more remarkable, that their testimony should have been admitted in a court of justice, and made a proof in a trial, wherein a man was condemned to be burnt alive. Were they ignorant of what our Saviour says of the devil (24)? Seguin's thoughts are very singular. *It seems, says he (25), that it is not so much the judgment of men, as of GOD, who sent the devils from hell for the confusion of this wretch: for it is a wonderful thing how the devils rise up against him, and forced him to acknowledge, that they were his accusers. I leave it to the Sorbonne to determine, whether any exceptions should have been admitted against them, speaking from GOD and giving evident proofs of the truth, which they were forced to utter. It astonishes one to think, that Christian judges should reject the exceptions made against such witnesses; for it is matter of faith, that they are the fathers of lies. It were in vain to say, that the force of exorcisms hindered them from lying; for the experience of the contrary had been lately seen. The second verbal process imports (26), That so many exorcisms had been practised, and indefatigably continued, so many fasts, orations, and prayers had been made, that the master-devil and his associates having promised to strike the magician so violently, and in such a part of his body, that it would be as visible as painful; and moreover, having acknowledged that he yielded to the almighty power of GOD, and declared that he would retire from this monastery for ever; at last, on the thirteenth day of October 1632, he departed from the body of the said mother superior, and notified his departure by seven phlegms which she spit a great way: likewise the devil of sister Clara departed from her body; and afterwards all the nuns remained undisturbed, every thing was quiet, and the whole nunnery enjoyed a holy peace. But they kept not their promise; they impoled upon the exorcists: from the twentieth of November, of the same year 1632, most of the nuns found themselves molested and disturbed by evil spirits (27).*

[H] The manuscript written by him against the celibacy of priests. Mr Menage, who heard Mr Bouil- laud say, that there was no proof, that Grandier was the author of this book (28), does not disown, that it was found among his papers (29). He adds, that this book was not ill written, that it was dedicated to a woman, and that it ended with these verses:

Si ton gentil esprit prend bien cette science
Tu mettras en repos ta bonne conscience.

If your fine sense takes this science right, you will
Lull your good conscience to rest.

Doubtless he had this from Seguin's letter, inserted in the *Mercurius Francicus*; but, perhaps, he should not have

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concealed what is added there, that Grandier confessed, upon the rack, that he writ this little book. This physician is not to blame for saying (30), that this little book makes one suspect that Grandier was married. Note, he goes on, That it is dedicated to his dearest concubine, whose name is every where omitted as well as in the title. . . I cannot forbear telling you, continues he, that this tract seems to me very well done, and very coherent as far as the conclusion, which is wrong, and discovers its venom. There is nothing in it tending to magic; it seems rather, that the contrary might be inferred from it, if we had not otherwise sufficient proofs of. He had been saying a little before: As for the rest, he was a man of a very resolute and strong mind; and Mr President told me, he admired him at his trial, and regretted his loss. The funeral oration of Scævola Sammarthanus, made at Loudun by Grandier, is printed amongst the works of Sammarthanus (31).

[I] Mr Menage . . . calls the possession of those nuns a chimæra. He thinks it very probable (32) that they were only tormented with the suffocation of the matrix; and he says (33), that Grandier deserves to be added to Gabriel Nauvê's catalogue of great men unjustly accused of magic. However, he confesses (34), that he heard the superior of the Ursulines of Loudun say: 'that, when she was delivered from the devils that tormented her, an angel engraved upon her hand JESUS MARIA JOSEPH F. DE SALLES, and that she shewed him her hand, on which those words were really engraved, but lightly, and like those crosses we see on the arms of the pilgrims, who have been in the Holy Land. He heard her say farther, that the angel engraved first, on the upper part of her hand, the name of Francis de Salles; that this word removed lower to give the precedence to those of Joseph and Maria, and that all three removed lower still to make room for that of Jesus.' He has done well not to say in express words, that he took this for an imposture; the reader understands it well enough. But Monconis (35) leaves no room to doubt of the cheat; for which reason it will not be amiss to relate here what he says of it. He went to visit this superior of the Ursulines, the eighth of May 1645, and because she made him wait to speak with her above half an hour, he suspected some artifice. He desired her to shew him the characters, which the devil she was possessed with had imprinted upon her hand, when he was exorcised (36); she did it: 'he saw, in letters of a blood-colour upon the back of her left hand, beginning from the wrist to the little finger, Jesus; below, drawing towards the shoulder, Maria; lower, Joseph; and lower still in the fourth line, F. de Salles. She told him all the villainies of the priest Grandier, who had been burnt for sending the devils into the convent; and how a magistrate of the town, whose wife he had debauched, had complained of it to her, and that they agreed to

(30) *Mercurius Francicus*, ibid. pag. 779.

(31) Menage, *Remarques*, pag. 346.

(32) In Vita Guillelmi Menagii pag. 82.

(33) *Remarques*, pag. 339.

(34) Ibid. pag. 344.

(35) See *Tiercelot*, chap. xlii, of his *Travels in the Levant*.

(36) *Voisages* Part I, pag. 2, & 9.

(36) According to Menage, it was an angel who imprinted these characters, when the possession was over.

(24) St John, viii. 44.

(25) *Mercurius Francicus*, ibid. pag. 771, 772.

(26) *Mercurius Francicus*, ibid. pag. 751.

(27) Ibid. pag. 752.

(28) *Remarques*, pag. 343.

(29) The author of the History of the Edicts of Nantes, who says, in his notes, that Grandier had published that piece.

(f) *At Amsterdam, 1695, in 12mo. It has been translated into Dutch.*

neral all that is said of magicians [K]. This were to get out of one difficulty by another [L]. Since the composition of this article, *the History of the Devils of Loudun* has been printed in Holland (f); and it appears manifestly by that book, that the pretended possession of the Ursulines was a horrid contrivance against the life of Grandier. This relation is extremely curious, and attended with all the pieces relating to that trial. I found one thing in it, at which I was a little surprized, with respect to the great outcries that were made against Father Cotton [M].

We

'impeach him, notwithstanding the strong inclinations
'this miscreant gave her by his conjurations, from
'which the mercy of God preserved her. At last,
'Mr de Monconis took leave of her, and desired to
'see her hand again, which she very civilly gave
'him through the grate: he observed to her, that the
'letters were not so red as when she came, and that
'those letters seemed to peel off, and all the skin
'of her hand to rise, as if it had been a thin skin of
'starch-water dried up: with the end of his nail,
'by a gentle touch, he took off part of a leg of the
'M; at which she was very much surprized, though
'the place remained as fair as the other parts of the
'hand. He was satisfied with this. I do not in the
least question it. The discovery of such a notable
forgery, which had infatuated so many people,
was an inestimable treasure to such a man as he. The
new history of the devils of Loudun will inform
you; 'that, when the wrinkles of old age had
'made the hand dry and lean, the drugs, that were
'used to mark those names anew, being no longer
'able to imprint them; the good mother said then,
'that God had granted her prayers, and suffered
'those names to be defaced, which were the occasion
'of abundance of people coming to trouble and
'importune her, and withdraw her frequently from
'her acts of devotion (37). You will there find

(37) *Histoire des
Diables de Lou-
dun, pag. 469.*

(38) *Ibid. pag.
394.*

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) *Mercur
François, ubi
supra, pag. 749.*

also, that Cerisantes had the art of marking a name
upon his hand (38), and that the queen's maids, in
1652, laughed at the engravings of the Ursulines (39).
[K] *Nay, one would think that he designed to deny
in general all that is said of magicians.* In effect, he
laughs at the first scene of this horrible tragedy, and
draws from it some proofs for Grandier's justification.
That first scene consisted in this, that one of the nuns,
being by night in her little, but most chaste, bed (40),
perceived a spectre resembling their deceased confessor,
and which owned, that it was he himself, and that
he was returned to impart very extraordinary things.
The spectre said, it would appear to her the same
hour the night following; it failed not to appear,
and received the same answer as at first, that she
could not treat with it without the privacy of her
superior. Hereupon this spectre took Grandier's per-
fect shape. 'He talked to this nun of love-affairs,
'solicited her with addresses equally insolent and
'lascivious. . . . She struggles, no body assists her;
'the torments herself, no body comforts her; she calls,
'no body answers; she cries out, no body comes;
'she trembles, she sweats, she faints, she invokes the
'holy name of Jesus; at last the spectre disappeared.
I own, with Mr Menage, that this is proper enough
to clear Urban Grandier as to magic; but not to jus-
tify him in other respects. Could not he, without
being obliged to the devil Cedon for opening the door
(41), gain the door-keeper and get into this nun's
chamber, pretending to be a ghost and disguising him-
self with a mask resembling their late ghostly father.
This nun's story seems to intimate the accomplishment
of the venerable act. Mr Menage says also (42), that
no man of sense will believe, that Grandier had the
power of disposing of devils at his pleasure, to send
them to torment innocent virgins consecrated to GOD.
In fine, he praises the prudence and justice of Lewis
XIV, 'who has stopped the course of the proceedings
'against those, who are accused of magic and witch-
'craft, having commuted the penalty of death into
banishment, with respect to many persons condemned,
'by a decree of the parliament of Rouën, to be
burnt, as guilty of this crime; and having afterwards,
'by a decree of his council of state, the twenty sixth
'of April 1672, ordained, that, through all the pro-
vince of Normandy, the prisons should be opened
'to all persons, that were detained for the same
crimes; and that, for the future, such as should be
'accused of it should be judged according to the
declaration, which his majesty promises, by this

(41) *It is said,
that the third
time the nuns
were possessed, he
came in, in the
night, through a
door, which the
devil opened to
him. Mercur
François, ubi
supra, pag. 762.*

(42) *Remarques,
pag. 341.*

'decree, to send into all the jurisdictions of France,
'to regulate the proceedings that are to be observed
'by the judges in the trials of magic and witch-
'craft.'

[L] . . . *It is to get out of one difficulty by another.*
It is certain, that the most incredulous and subtle philo-
sophers must needs be puzzled with the phenom-
ena relating to witchcraft. But, as to Grandier, I do
not know but we might apply to him what Olympias
said upon the sight of a mistress of her husband, whom
she found extremely handsome and witty: *let no body
suspect her any longer of witchcraft, for all her enchant-
ments are in her person* (43). The curate of Loudun
was a handsome genteel man, and a fine speaker; and
this probably was the magic, with which he tempted
the superior of the Ursulines (44), and subjected the
nuns to violent and lascivious ardors (45). The vow
of continence and devotion not being sufficient to
remove this disorder, it was believed to be superna-
tural. This imagination spared self-love the shame
of cherishing so long a criminal passion. They there-
fore believed themselves bewitched; all the machine
was out of order: and, for the honour of that so-
ciety, the first advances were not to be retracted.
There is nothing more dangerous for people, that
believe their good reputation to be necessary to the
church, than to make a false step. This mother-su-
perior of the Ursulines might perhaps be sincere at
first; but she was not so, when she received Monconis's
visit; and yet she must carry on the farce to save
what was past. Those, who perfectly knew the little
town of Loudun, when those devil-crafts first began,
might have explained them better than can be done at
present.

(43) *See the re-
mark [I] in the
article APU-
LEIUS, where
I have set down
the Greek words
of Plutarch.*

(44) *Monconis,
ubi supra.*

(45) *Mercur
François, pag.
761.*

Within a few months after I had composed what
I have now said, I heard, that a man of that country
was printing an exact relation of this adventure, at
Amsterdam. I have found in it the confirmation of
what I had conjectured, with an explication of the
particular and personal passions, which occasioned this
strange mummery; and if we believe the author of
the relation, the superior was never in earnest.

[M] . . . *great outcries against Father Cotton.*

He set down upon a piece of paper several questions
he meant to propose to a woman possessed with the
devil. Amongst other questions, this was one: *what
is the most proper passage of scripture to prove purga-
tory* (46)? The Protestants joined with a great num-
ber of Catholics in crying out against this impious
curiosity, and insulting both the father confessor of
Henry IV, and the whole order of the Jesuits. Yet
it is certain, that this confessor did but follow herein
the practice of his church, excepting some questions
he would have offered concerning political affairs.

Did not the exorcist of Loudun ask the devil (47), *(47) Histoire des
Diables de Lou-
dun, pag. 371.*
*Which was the best means, by which a creature de-
parted from GOD might return to him? Did he not
ask him (48), whether since his fall he had ever tasted
the pleasures of divine love? . . . And whether is
the strongest bond that sustains men to the creature?*

(48) *Ibid. pag.
372.*

. . . (49) *Whether there was any body in hell, who
had had a great relish of the divine love upon earth?* 373.

(49) *Ibid. pag.
373.*

The devil answered at large these questions, and even
discovered many secrets of his politics, and the means
to overthrow them. These things have been not only
practised at Loudun, but are the current style of the
exorcists, as the Protestant divines object to the Roman
Catholics. 'Si quis attente legerit nupera exorcista-
'rum scripta, ut Monachi Michaelis historiam Ludo-
'vici Gaufridi & obsessarum mulierum, non satis mi-
'rari poterit impietatem & stoliditatem hominum, qui
'judicium controversiarum fidei à demonibus expof-
'cunt, eos fingunt penitentiarum prædicatores, eos adi-
'gunt, ut preces ad Deum fundant, & omnia reli-
'gionis & pietatis externa munia obeant (50). So
that the particular hatred against the Jesuits was Tom. III, pag.
622, 623.

Father

GRANDIER. GRAPALDUS. GRASSIS. 215

We find in the life of a Jesuit, who was one of the exorcists of the nuns of Loudun, several particulars upon this subject. I will mention two things out of it, one of which is very surprizing [N].

Father Cotton, which is not censured when others make use of it. I do not speak of the Protestants. A respect of persons will always prevail among men.

[N] I will mention two things, one of which is very surprizing. I know them only from Mr Cousin's extracts. Here is what I have read in his *Journal des Scavans*, in the place where he mentions the life of Father Seurin (51). Upon occasion of this father's conflict with the devils, the author of his life (52) proves at large the truth of the nuns of Loudun being possessed by the devil, especially by the testimony of two of the greatest wits of this age. The one is cardinal Richelieu, who sent exorcists to Loudun, maintained at the king's expence; and the other my lord Mountagu, who, having seen the devils go out of the body of the mother of the Angels, was perfectly convinced of it, and discoursed of it with Urban VIII, when he abjured his heresy, and made

profession of the Catholic faith before him. What I am going to say is much more extraordinary. You will see there a man, who redeemed Jesus CHRIST; that is, who, to rescue him from the hands of the devil, gave up himself to the devil. Read these words of the journalist (53). 'When Father Seurin exorcized the nuns of Loudun, the devils declared, that two magicians had seized three hosts, to prophane them. Father Seurin fell to prayers, to obtain the deliverance of his master's body, and consented, that his own body should be submitted to the power of the devils, in order to redeem it. The offers were accepted, and the exchange performed. The devils took the three hosts out of the hands of their agents, and put them at the foot of the Pyx of the holy sacrament that was then exposed; and one of them entered into the body of the father, who remained possessed, or obsessed, the greatest part of his life.'

(53) *Journal des Scavans*, ubi supra.

(51) *Journal des Scavans*, May 9, 1689, pag. 311, Dutch Edit.

(52) His name is Henry-Maria Boudier.

GRAPALDUS (FRANCIS MARIUS), a learned man, lived in the XVIth century. He was of Parma; and, when his country, being freed from the French yoke, was restored to the obedience of Julius II, he was chosen chief of the embassy that was sent to that Pope (a). His eloquence and fine shape recommended him to that employment (b). He excellently harangued Julius II, and published some verses upon the subject of his speech. The Pope crowned him with his own hand, with great solemnity, in the Vatican. Grapaldus, encouraged by this poetical crown, put himself upon writing a great many verses, which have been printed (c). The work, in which he shewed his learning most, is that, wherein he describes all the parts of a house [A]. He died of a retention of urine, being above fifty years of age (d).

(a) Jovius, in *Elogiis*, cap. lxix.

(b) A præstanti facundia & insigni corporis proceritate legationis princeps. *Id ibi.*

(c) Ex eodem, *ibid.*

(d) *Id. ibid.*

[A] The work, in which he shewed his learning most, is that, wherein he describes all the parts of a house. Paul Jovius passes this found judgment on it. 'Sed multo uberius, says he (1), & latius ingenii famam propagavit, edito libro de paribus ædium, quo per optimis disciplinis perornatum diligenti cultura ingenium demonstravit. — But he acquired a much greater and more extensive character by the book he published on the parts of a house, in which he dis-

(1) Jovius, in *Elog. cap. lxi.*

covered a fine genius improved by learning.' This book has been often printed. The first edition is that of Parma by Antony Quintianus. I do not know the year, but only that the author put out a second seven years after: it was larger than the first (2). Gesner mentions only the editions of Basil in 1533, and 1541, in 4to. That which I use is of Dort in 1618, in 8vo.

(2) See the ad. partition to the reader.

GRASSIS (PARIS DE) is very much to be blamed for a cheat he put upon the public. He composed an epitaph upon a mule [A], which he caused to be engraved on a piece of marble, and afterwards hid it in the earth in his vineyard. Some time after, he ordered some trees to be planted in the place where this marble was buried; and when they came to tell him of the discovery of this inscription, he gave it out for a thing that had been foretold concerning his mule. The thing was only laughed at for some time, and the marble was little taken notice of; but some years after it grew considerable, and passed for an antique with abundance of people [B]: Infomuch that Thomas Porcacchi inserted this epitaph in a book, as a genuine piece of antiquity (a). Paris de Grassis is not the only person, that laid such snares for antiquarians [C]. I believe,

(a) Ex Museo Italico Mabillonii, Tom. I, pag. 176.

[A] He composed an epitaph upon a mule. He pretended, that one Publius Crassus had erected this monument to his mule. DIS PEDIBUS SAXUM is the beginning of that inscription.

[B] This epitaph passed for an antique with abundance of people. Father Mabillon affirms it. 'Viris eruditus non nullis facum fecit, says he (1), opinantibus id esse antiquum Thomas Porcacchius inter alios hoc epitaphium pro genuino, & antiquo habuit in libro Funeralium: immo Alexander VII in Adversariis suis notat id repertum fuisse prope sanctum Petrum. — Several learned men were deceived by it, taking it for an antique Among others, Thomas Porcacchi took it for genuine and antient in his book De Funeralibus. Even Alexander VII, in his Adversaria, observes, that it was found near St Peters.' He tells us, that Sebastian Maccius relates the story of this imposture in his collection of antient inscriptions, which is in manuscript in cardinal Chigi's library. Maccius had this from Annibal de Grassis, bishop of Jaccenia (2).

(1) Mabillon, in *Museo Italico*, Tom. I, pag. 176.

(2) Ut Maccius refert ex Annibale de Grassis Bononiensi Jaccenæ Episcopo, *Id. ibid.*

1505, three stones were found near the cape of Roco de Sintra in Portugal. There was upon those stones a Latin inscription in old characters, containing this prophecy:

Sibylla vaticinium occiduis decretum,
Volventur saxa literis, & ordine rectis,
Cum videas Occidens Orientis opes.
Ganges, Indus, Tagus, erit mirabile visus,
Merces commutabit suas, uterque sibi.
Soli æterno, ac Lunæ decretum.

This was taken for a Sybilline oracle (3), and some learned men tried their skill in explaining those verses; but at last it was discovered, that Cajado, a Portuguese poet, was the author of them, and that it was he, who had buried those stones, and taken his opportunity to have them dug out. 'Fraudem detexit Castor par Varrerius: Scilicet, quo tempore Emmanuel Lusitanæ Rex, per Vascum Gamam, navigationes in Indiam Orientalem feliciter tentasset: Ulyssesponē vixit Hermicus Cajadas, poeta celebris, Angeli Politiani discipulus (4): hic tria marmora literis antiquis, hoc vaticinium continens, incidi, & clam circa

(3) Hos versus Sibyllinis esse Valentinus Moranus, Jacobus Navorch, Ferdinandus Loez in suis Historiis Indiarum Orientalis, sibi & aliis persuaserant. Jo. Eusebii Nierembergii de Origine Sacra Scriptura, lib. iii, cap. iii, and Politianus, *Disput. Tom. IV*, pag. 696.

(4) Nicolaus Antonius, Biblioth. Hispan. Tom. I, pag. 433, says, that Cajadas, at his arrival in Italy, found, that Politian was dead.

(5) See Gräfinwinckel, de jure Præcedentiæ, pag. 263, 320, 329.

(6) See Naudeus, Bibliograph. Polit. pag. m. 42.

(7) Montan. Legat. Belg. ad Japon. pag. 15, apud Lomeierum de Biblioth. pag. 366, 367.

(8) Neirembergus, ubi supra.

believe, to say by the by, that this is the same man, who, in the beginning of the XVIth century, was master of the ceremonies under many popes, and bishop of Pefaro, and brother to cardinal Achilles de GRASSIS. His journal was cited in the writings on the dispute concerning the precedence between the republic of Venice and the duke of Savoy (b). His *Ceremoniale* is printed and esteemed (c). He expressed a great zeal against a plagiarist; for it is he whom president Cousin speaks of, in a passage which I shall set down [D].

‘circa oppidum Syntra, leviter terrâ tegi curavit. Postquam verò, tractu temporis, aliquam antiquitatis speciem contraxissent, amicos quosdam, in villâ suâ, circa quam hæc marmora occultata erant, convivio excipit; quibus strenuè epulantibus nunciat villicus, foissores marmora, ignotis literis inscripta, invenisse, procul dubio thesaurum eo loco desessum esse. Advolant omnes, inveniunt lapides, mirantur vaticinium, non sanè foliis inscriptum: Rex, hujus fraudis conscius, stuporem tamen simulat, versus aulicis describendos tradit, ipsa verò marmora, tanquam sanctiora καμψα, in gazophylacio religiose servat (5).

— Caspar Varrerius detected the fraud: For, at the time when Emanuel, king of Portugal, sent Vasco Gama, with success, on a voyage to the East-Indies, there lived at Lisbon one Hermicus Cajado, a famous poet, and a disciple of Angelus Politianus: this man got three marbles engraved with ancient characters, containing this prophecy, and had them privately buried a little way under ground, near the city Syntra. But after that, through length of time, they had contracted an appearance of antiquity, he invited some friends to his country-house, near which these marbles were hidden; and, during the banquet, his steward brought word, that certain marbles, inscribed with unknown characters, had been dug up, and that there was certainly some treasure buried there. Away run the company, find the stones, and wonder at the prophecy, not written indeed on leaves. The king, who knew this cheat, yet seemed astonished, orders his attendants to copy the verses, and lays up the marbles as great curiosities in his Museum. There are those, who say, that Cajado hoped by this trick to insinuate himself into the favour of his king, and squeeze some money out of him. Postea tamen compertum eisdem confictos & impositos fuisse à quodam Hermo Charado Lusitano, qui illos marmor inscripserat, defoderatque ut situ humoreque terræ aliquantulum deformati, vetustatis indicium exhiberent: rursusque per mercenarias operas refoderat, ut hoc tam nobili atque peregre regio antiquitatis monumento, Regis (Lusitanie, Emanuelis) gratiam, avidè in Orientis opes intenti, pecuniamque aucuparetur: ut testantur Cæsar Orlandus & Caspar Varrerius, quos refert Ortelius in theatro magno Tab. 5. novi orbis, & ab eo mutatus Malvenda lib. 3. de Antichristo cap. 16. Tornellus in annalibus 2. tom. anno mundi 3043. num. 7. pag. 48. (6). — It was afterwards discovered that they were not genuine, but the contrivance of one Hermus Cbaradus a Portuguese, who had inscribed them on marble, and buried them, that, being a little deformed by lying in the moist earth, they might pass for antiques; and that he had afterwards dug them up, that, by so noble a monument of antiquity, he might gain the favour of Emanuel, king of Portugal, who was then eagerly intent on the riches of the East, and might squeeze some money out of him; as we learn from Caspar Orlandus, & Caspar Varrerius, &c.

[D] It is he, whom president Cousin speaks of, in a passage, which I shall set down. Christopher Marcel, nominated to the archbishopric of Corfu, having recovered a copy of a book written by Augustin Patricius, under the pontificate of Innocent VIII, concerning the rites of the Romish church, printed it at Venice in 1516, and dedicated it to Leo X, without mentioning Augustin Patricius the true author of it, who had been master of the ceremonies at Rome from the time of the pontificate of Pius II, his uncle, who gave him the surname of Piccolomini, to that of Innocent VIII, under which he corrected the Roman pontifical, and composed that *Ceremoniale*. Paris de Grassis, who was master of the ceremonies under Leo X, had no sooner seen this Venice edition, but he made his complaint of it to his holiness, as of a crime that could not be expiated but by fire, that should consume the author and the copies. The Pope, who had licensed that edition, pretended to take fire upon the remonstrance of this

zealous master of the ceremonies, and ordered a congregation to examine the affair. But notwithstanding the diligence of Paris de Grassis, many new editions of that book came out soon after, at Cologne, and elsewhere (7).

This is what we find in Mr Cousin's extract of the second volume of the *Museum Italicum*. I have consulted this second volume since the first edition of my dictionary, which convinces me, that Ovid had a great deal of reason to say, that it is best drinking at the fountain-head,

Gratius ex ipso fonte bibantur aquæ (8).

I have found, that Paris de Grassis's passion against the archbishop of Corfu proceeded not so much from his ascribing to himself a book written by another man, as from his divulging, even with alterations, such ceremonies as ought to remain concealed. He remonstrates in a letter to Leo X (9), that he has been master of the ceremonies near sixteen years; and that he should think himself inexcusable, if he should quietly suffer them to be corrupted, and published, and his predecessors robbed of their due praises. He does not dissemble, that one of his grievances consists in this, that the publication of those things lessens their veneration, and exposes to contempt, what the veil of secrecy and mystery made venerable. ‘Quemadmodum iusti cuiusque principis est curare, ne quisquam suo jure fraudetur: ita, si diligenter insperimus, ad quempiam alium non magis spectat quam ad Romanum Pontificem, ne sacræ suæ ceremoniæ maculentur, neve aliqua in parte alterentur, ac præsertim ne corrumpantur: sed & quod omnium principum est, ne prolata in vulgus velut profuturæ pontificalium sacrorum exultationem minuant, flocci faciant, & contemnantur (10). — As it is the duty of every just prince to take care, that no one be deprived of his right, so, if we carefully consider it, no one is more concerned, than the Pope, to see that religion be not prophaned, nor its ceremonies in any respect altered, or corrupted: but, which is incumbent on all princes, to take especial care, that, by being made public, they do not expose the ceremonies of the pontificate to the contempt of the vulgar.’ He alleges the example of the ancient Heathens, who would not suffer the mysteries of the gods to come to the knowledge of prophane men. He instances particularly in the conduct of the old Romans, and king Tarquin, who caused Marcus Tullius to be thrown into the sea, as a punishment for giving the book of the sacred ceremonies to be transcribed. Our de Grassis desired, that the archbishop of Corfu's book should be burnt with the author, or at least that the author should be punished as should be thought proper. The Pope thought it a reasonable demand, and promised to have it examined in the next consistory.

Hanc epistolam cum in manibus Papæ dedissem, legissetque libenter & avide, & acceptasset rationes & argumenta in ea per me allegata; versus ad cardinales aliquos, qui sibi forte adhærebant, dixit me rationem habere super petitionibus meis: & librum ceremoniarum nuper impressum omnino comburi simul cum falso auctore, sicut postulassem, aut saltem ipsum auctorem corrigi & castigari omnino debere prout præsentibus videretur. Itaque ad primum consistorium rem & causam differre (11). — The Pope, having received from me this letter, and having eagerly read it, and approved the reasons and arguments alleged by me in it; he turned to some cardinals, who stood near him, and said to them, that my petition was reasonable, and that the book of ceremonies lately printed, together with their counterfeit author, deserved to be burnt, as I had desired; at least that the author ought to be corrected and chastised, as should seem proper to those present: he therefore referred the matter to the next consistory. We do not know what was the issue of this affair, there being some sheets wanting in de Grassis's *Ceremoniale*, in the

(7) Journal des Scavans, March 7, 1689, pag. 141, 142, Dutch Edit.

(8) Ovid. in Epist. ex Pont. Epist. v, ver. 8.

(9) Written in the year 1517.

(10) Museum Italic. Tom. II, in Appendix, pag. 584.

(11) Id. Ibid. pag. 592.

(11) Ibid. in
Commentat.
pag. 6.

(12) Ibid. pag. 7.

(13) Quod si fa-
cerem aeterna
pudantur, de
sacra publica-
tione ceremonie,
juxta suum
est, ut omnis
opinio minister,
ut postica au-
dientia clauget
et necesse est
Ibid. in Append.
pag. 583.

(14) Ibid. pag.
588.

113
at 114
115

116
117
118

119
120
121

place where the narration was to be continued (12). Father Mabillon can hardly forbear laughing at de Grassi's great zeal; and it is with some pleasure that he observes (13), that the book of the archbishop of Corfu was not burnt. He says, that the judicious Catholics do not build their veneration for the Pope upon those occult ceremonies, but upon his quality of head of the church. However, it must be confessed, that this zealot for secrecy had reason to say, that it was to be feared, that, if the mysteries of the Roman Ceremoniale came to be divulged, the people would not have so right a notion of them (14). For it is usual to admire much more what is not known, than what is. Nay, he seems to be sorry that the pontifical is made public; which, says he, is the cause that, to the contempt of the priesthood, the ceremonies contained in that book fall daily into the hands of the profane; and the sectaries make use of it to ridicule our religion. *Sed utinam etiam illa quæ dixi, secretiora forent & magis recondita. Non enim ea quotidie ad profanas manus in sacerdotii contemptum, nec ad alienas sectas in nostræ religionis irrisum devenire videremus* (15). Be it how it will, we may very well say, that he is too

angry with the prelate of Corfu. He vilifies him at such a rate, that I question whether he conceived not as great an aversion for him, as they formerly incurred, that divulged the mysterious ceremonies of Ceres; a sort of people, that others were afraid to embark with in the same vessel, for fear of being involved in their deserved punishment.

Est & fidei tuta silentio
Merces. Vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaselum: sæpe Diespiter
Neglectus, incesto addidit integrum (16).

(16) Horat.
Od. ii, lib. iii.

And silence has its sure reward . . .
O may I never spread my sails
With him, who mysteries reveals!
For oft neglected Jove has sent,
Without distinction, punishment
On the profane and innocent.

GRASWINCKEL (THEODORE), a native of Delft, was a very learned civilian in the XVIIth century, which he made appear by several works [A]. He was not only well versed in matters of law, but also in the *belles lettres*, and Latin poetry. His merit was acknowledged; for he had good preferments at the Hague [B]. The republic of Venice made him knight of St Mark. He died of an apoplexy at Mechlen, the 12th of October 1666, at sixty six years of age, and was buried in the great church of the Hague, where his epitaph is to be seen, which is very glorious to him.

[A] He made it appear by several works. He published a book, at the Hague, in 1642, intitled, *De jure majestatis*, which he dedicated to the queen of Sweden. In which he lays down the principles most favourable to monarchs, and the most opposite to Buchanan's republican maxims. He took the part of the republic of Venice against the duke of Savoy, in the dispute of precedence: For he published a book in 1644, *De jure præcedentie inter serenissimam Venetam rempubl. & sereniss. Sabaudia ducem*, in which he confutes the dissertation published upon that subject in favour of the duke of Savoy. He had for a long time given proofs of his zeal for the republic of Venice. In the year 1634, he wrote an answer to the *Squittinio*, which he intitled, *Liberia Veneta, seu Venetorum in se aut imperandi jus*. In 1652, he wrote against one Burgus, a Genoese, who, as well as Selden, pretended, that the sea, no less than the earth, was subject to the dominion of some states. *Maris liberi vindicta adversus Petrum Baptistam Burgum Ligustici maritimi domini assertorem*, is the title of Graswinckel's work (1);

who, the year following, published a like tract against Welwood. I have also seen a treatise of his *De præludiis justitiæ & juris*, printed in 1660, in which he refutes a Portuguese Jesuit (2). He added a dissertation to it, *De fide hæreticis & rebellibus servanda*. I will not forget his *Strictura adversus Felsen*, nor his commentary upon Sallust, and upon a Spanish author, *De vita & nec Cassii* (3) & *Bruti*, nor his translation of David's psalms into heroic verse, nor his version of Thomas à Kempis (4) in elegiac verse, nor his poem in hexameter verse, in which he describes the life of Andrew Canterus, a native of Groningen, who was a prodigy of learning in his younger years. He also wrote some books in Dutch; The art of living well; a commentary upon the edicts of *Annonsi*; and two volumes in 4to (5), concerning the sovereignty of the states of Holland.

[B] He had good preferments at the Hague. He was advocate fiscal of the demesnes of the states of Holland, and recorder and secretary to the bipartite court, for the states-general.

(2) Called Ferdinandus Rebellus

(3) See citation (51) of the article BRUTUS (MARCUS JUNIUS).

(4) De imitatione Jesu Christi.

(5) They were printed after his death; one in 1667, and the other in 1674.

GRATAROLUS (WILLIAM) a learned physician, lived in the XVIth century. He was born at Bergamo in Italy; and he left his country, to go into Germany, in order to profess the Protestant religion. After some stay at Basil, he was invited to Marburg, to be professor of physic. But he staid there only a year; whether it be, that the Hessian air did not agree with him, or that he regretted the loss of the pleasures he had enjoyed at Basil (a). He returned to that town some time after [A], where he died at fifty two years of age. He wrote several good books [B]. It is said, that

(a) Nobilis hunc misit Cæsar Bassæ, sed anno Vix fœmæ exacta rursus eò rediit. Sive quod Hassiæ non possit vivere celo, Sive quod in vocis urbs Bassæ foret. Petrus Nigidius, apud Freber. Theatr. p. 1252.

[A] He died at Basil some time after. It is affirmed in the *Theatrum* of Paul Freherus, that he died the sixth of May 1562, for which the fourth part of John James Boissard's *Icones virorum illustrium* is quoted: they might also have quoted the *Diarium Historicum* of Reulnerus. The new edition of Vander Linden (1) places this physician's death in 1562. Konig places it in 1566, and Thuanus (2), and Bucholcer (3), on the 16th of April 1568. Two prefaces (4), with some little pieces, which Gratarolus, being at Marburg, dedicated, the 25th of August 1562, to the Landgrave of Hesse, prove that he did not die at Basil the 6th of May of the same year. It is a sad thing to find such a disagreement among authors about a thing of this nature, which might so easily be exactly known. I have observed the like variations about Gifanius. See the remark [A] of his article.

[B] He wrote several good books. These are the titles of some of them; *de Memoria reparanda, augenda, conservanda, ac de Reminiscencia*. The first edition, which is of the year 1554, has been followed by many others (5). *De prædicatione morum, naturarumque hominum sacris, & inspectione partium corporis. Prognostica naturalia de temporum mutatione perpetua, ordine literarum. De literarum & eorum qui magistratibus funguntur conservanda præservandaque valetudine. De vini natura, artificio, & usu, deque omni re potabili. De regimine iter agentium, vel equitum, vel peditum, vel navi, vel curru, seu rheda, &c. viatoribus quibusque utilissimi libri duo*. He published some books of other authors, and added to them something of his own. *Petri Pomponatii liber de causis occultorum affectuum, seu de incantatione, cum præfatione & glossis. Petri Apocensis libellus de venenis, ad manuscriptum exemplar correctus, cui adjecit multa ejus argumenti utilia. Correctiones & additiones in librum Italicum falso attributum Gabrieli Fallopio, cui titulus est secreta Fallopii*. He made a collection of several tracts concerning the sweating disease in England, and concerning baths, and a compilation of several books of alchemy (6). It cannot be denied that he was a public-spirited man, since he not only sought remedies, that might be useful to

magistrates,

(5) Vide Lindenium renovatum, pag. 376, 377.

(6) Id. pag. 377, & Paul Freher. in Theatro, pag. 1252.

(b) Taken from Paul Freherus, *ibid.*

that he excelled in the art of physiognomy (b). Beza wrote some letters to him, which are printed (c).

(c) *The 42d, and 45th.*

magistrates, but also those that are proper for all sorts of travellers. He did not forget studious men; for he endeavoured to enable them to preserve their health, and strengthen their memory. A man, who could

supply their necessities on this account, would deserve divine honours in the republic of letters, in which memory is almost as necessary as life.

GRAWERUS (ALBERT), born at Mesecow in the March of Brandenburg, in the year 1575, was in great esteem with the divines of the confession of Ausburg. He may be compared to those soldiers of fortune, who, going through all the military degrees, at last are advanced to the first posts. At first, he only taught school in Hungary (a) [A]; but, when Agria was taken (b) the Ottomans, he retired to Wittemberg, from whence he went to Isleben, to direct the school there: After this he was made dean of Mansfield (c); then he was admitted doctor of divinity in the university of Iēna (d), and, two years after, he was professor there in the same faculty. At last, in 1616, he obtained the superintendency of the churches of the country of Weimar (e). He died the 30th of November 1617 (f). He was the hottest divine imaginable; and never any man wrote with greater passion against those of the confession of Geneva. It is to him chiefly that the missionaries have recourse [B], when they design to shew the feuds, that reign betwixt the two Protestant communions. He was furious, not only in verbal disputes, but also in his writings [C]. They are numerous [D]; and most of them against the Calvinists. He also writ against the Socinians and the Romish church.

(a) First at Scepus, and then in 1597, at Caffovia.

(b) In the year 1597.

(c) In the year 1607.

(d) In the year 1609.

(e) Ex Spizelio, in Templo Honoris rectorato, pag. 39. See also Freherus's Theatrum, pag. 394, 395.

(f) Freher pag. 395. Spizelius Jura, 1616.

[A] At first he only taught school in Hungary. This is the idea we should form, by consulting only Spizelius; but, if you read the funeral oration (1), you will find, that the baron Gregory Horwath, having set up a new college at Scepus (2), made Grawerus rector of it, on the recommendation of Giles Hunnius, and that Grawerus taught there both philosophy and divinity.

[B] It is to him the missionaries have recourse. Father Adam, writing a book against Mr Daillé, produced I know not how many Germans, one Giles Hunnius, one Zephyrius, one Gibelin, one Philip Nicholas, and one Granverus (3), who are full of invectives against the Calvinists. He chiefly insisted upon a treatise of Grawerus, intitled, *The most absurd absurdities of the Calvinistical absurdities* (4). Here follows the prudent answer of Mr Daillé, but somewhat disobliging to the author I speak of in this article. 'They are angry brethren; we must excuse their passion, and comfort ourselves with the testimony that even their virulence gives to the goodness of our cause, in our controversies with them. Were they not in the wrong, they would not come to injurious language. It is certainly error that discomposes them. Truth has more gentleness and reserve, and is not used to fly out into such outrage. For, that Luther and his disciples were in a rage, when they writ those shameful and horrible things you have collected, is evident by the extravagance of their very words; as, to omit the rest, by this ridiculous title of one of their books, which you fail not to represent: *The most absurd absurdities of the Calvinistical absurdities*. A learned man would not speak so foolishly if he was in his right senses.' He concludes that chapter with these words: *Thanks be to God, they are not all so passionate as your Gibelins and Granveres. Some of them are more gentle and tractable; and the late Dr Calixtus, a divine of Helmstadt, the most learned of all the Lutherans of his time, has sufficiently shewn it in two or three books (*)*, which he published upon this subject (5).

Note, That Mr Daillé might have taxed the jesuit Adam with ill translating the title of our Grawerus's book. This is the true translation of it: *The Calvinistical absurdities more absurd than all other absurdities*.

[C] He was furious . . . in verbal disputes . . . and in his writings. He had a conference with Amling, in the year 1604, in the castle of Schochwitz; and he printed it with notes, which breathed nothing but his zeal for Lutheranism: *Veritatis Lutheranae amore notulis quibusdam aspersis evulgatum* (colloquium cum Amlingo). He never made such efforts in favour of his party as on that occasion. 'Singulari zelo & fervore spiritus sancti motus strenue & masculè adversus hostium quorumvis cohortes depugnavit, nec quicquam omisit quo veritatis cœlestis doctrina asserti pugnari queat, cum PRIMIS in gravissimo illo colloquio cum Amlingo habito (6). — Being moved (6) Spizelius, in Templo Honoris rectorato, pag. 41. by an extraordinary zeal, and the fervor of the holy spirit, he strenuously, and with manly courage, opposed whole legions of foes, and omitted nothing, which might assert and defend the heavenly doctrine of truth; ESPECIALLY in the conference he had with Amling.' Judge how much he inveighed against Sebastian Lamius, whom he convicted of Calvinism in a synod. *Quem admodum etiam in synodo Hungarico-Kesmarcensi anno 95 habita Sebastianum Lamium heterodoxia Calvinianæ convicti* (7). No doubt he accused him as a false brother, who, under the name of a Lutheran minister, hatched Calvinistical errors; which alone was sufficient to heat a man of a sedate mind: Besides, he disputed against him in a synod. The circumstance of the place was enough of itself to move his spleen. I must not forget, that he was called, *the sword and the shield of Lutheranism* (8).

[D] His writings are numerous. The bare titles will manifest the excess of his zeal. *Bellum Calvinii & Jesu Christi*, at Magdeburg 1605. *Harmonia præceptorum Calvinianorum & Photinianorum*, at Jena 1612, in 4to. I have already mentioned the *Abjura abjuratorum*, &c. His *Anti-Lubinus, hoc est Elementum paradoxorum & emblematum Calvinisticorum D. Eilhardi Lubini, de prima causa & natura mali*, at Magdeburg 1606, in 4to, is a book against the Calvinists, though Eilhard Lubin lived and died a Lutheran, as Mr Baillet affirms (9); for doubtless Grawerus suspected him to be of Calvin's opinion in some things. I omit the titles of his other books. You will find them in Spizelius (10), and in Paul Freherus (11).

(8) *Id. pag. 40v.*

(9) In the first

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rus (11).

GREGORY I, surnamed the Great, born at Rome of a patrician family, discovered so much ability in the exercise of the senatorial office, that the emperor Justin the younger made him prefect of Rome (a). He laid down this dignity, when he found, that it made him too fond of the world, and shut himself up in a convent [A], under

(a) Maimbourg, Histoire du Pontificat de St Gregoire le Grand, pag. 7, Dutch Edit.

(1) Maimbourg, Histoire du Pontificat de St Gregoire le Grand, pag. 7, Dutch Edit.

[A] He shut himself up in a convent. It was in that of St Andrew. He had founded it at Rome in his paternal house (1), and had given the government of it to Valentius, whom he took from a country mo-

nastery (2). He founded six other convents in Sicily, and sold the rest of his estate, and gave the price of it to the poor (3).

(2) Monasterio suo urbano Valentium ex Monasterio S. Equitii in provincia Valeria accitum præfecit. Grew, Hist. Literar. Script. Eccl. pag. 430.

(3) Maimbourg, ubi supra.

[B] He

the discipline of the abbot Valentinus (b). He was quickly taken out of it by Pope Pelagius II, who made him his seventh deacon, and sent him nuncio to Constantinople, to demand succours against the Lombards. He returned to Rome after the death of the emperor [B], and was for some time secretary to Pope Pelagius; after which he obtained leave to retire into his monastery (c). When he thought to enjoy there a quiet life, he was elected Pope by the clergy, the senate, and people of Rome; and, after using all imaginable means to avoid this dignity [C], he was obliged to accept it (d). It appeared by his conduct, that they could not have elected a more deserving person for that great post; for, besides that he was learned, and instructed the church by writing and preaching, he knew very well how to manage the tempers of princes for the temporal and spiritual interests of religion. The particulars of his conduct in this respect would carry me too far; and I am the more willing not to enlarge upon it, because every body may inform himself of it in a modern writer (e). But I shall observe, that our Pope undertook the conversion of the English [D], and happily effected it, by the assistance

(b) Others call him Valentinus.

(c) Maimbourg, pag. 73 & 8.

(d) He was installed the third of September, 590.

(e) Maimbourg, in the above quoted book.

[B] He returned to Rome after the death of the emperor. This emperor's name was Tiberius: He died the 14th of August 582 (4); which manifests a great fault of Mr Maimbourg. He says (5), that, though Gregory could obtain no succour, yet he proved very useful and serviceable to the church, since he composed, at Constantinople, his excellent book of morals upon Job, and by his learned conferences obliged the patriarch Eutychius to retract his errors concerning the resurrection. After which, continues he, his nunciature ending by the emperor Tiberius's death, who died at that time . . . he returned to Rome. He places these conferences in the year 586; he must therefore believe, that Tiberius did not die before this year, which is a gross error in chronology. Dr Cave places the same conferences and the death of this emperor in the year 586 (6). He has therefore committed the same fault. Baronius (7) places likewise this emperor's death in the same year: His false chronology was not known to Mr du Pin (8).

[C] He used all imaginable means to avoid this dignity. He wrote to the emperor a most pressing letter, in which he intreats him not to confirm his election, and to give orders for the immediate choice of another man of a greater capacity, strength, and holiness, than he (9); and, when he understood, that his letter had been intercepted by the governor of Rome, being persuaded that his election would be confirmed at the imperial court, he betook himself to flight, and went and hid himself in a cave in the midst of a forest, being resolved to live there . . . till, not knowing where to find him, they should proceed to a new election (10). He could never resolve to accept the papal dignity, till he understood from some heavenly signs, that it was God's will he should be Pope. It is said (11), that a dove flying before those that looked for him, led them the way they were to go; or, that a miraculous light discovered to them the place of his retreat. This very much resembles the adventure of the Magi who went to worship the new born Messiah. Mr Maimbourg's exclamation upon St Gregory's reluctance, is very judicious. 'A great example, says he (12), which ought to confound the furious ambition of those, who, having nothing comparable to the holiness, learning, and ability of this great man, who buried himself alive in the earth, to avoid the pontificate as a thunderbolt, do, by their scandalous intriguing, a kind of violence to the Holy Ghost, to raise themselves, against his orders, by ways purely human and uncanonical, to the highest place in the church'. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (13), in the extract of a book, intitled, *De Clerico penitente*. I ought not to forget another passage of Maimbourg, concerning St Gregory's answers to the letters he received from all parts (14), 'To let him know how much they shared in the joy, which every body exprefsed for his exaltation . . . He answered, that he was extremely sorry he had been taken from his solitude, to be engaged anew in worldly affairs. But, because experience has shewn in all ages (it is Maimbourg's reflexion) that the fine things, which a man of parts can speak and write, are not always a good proof of his integrity and virtue; and that many think and act quite contrary to what they preach and write; I shall not insert here what this great pontiff said of himself upon this subject in his writings.' But there is one thing, which equity will not allow me to omit: It is a fault of the famous Peter du Moulin, animadverted upon by

Mr Maimbourg. That no body may complain of my extenuating or amplifying the thing, I will use the animadvertiser's own words (15).

'The minister du Moulin, in a little piece he has written, under the false title of *The life of St Gregory I, surnamed the Great* . . . would make us believe . . . that this Roman pontiff was of a religion contrary to ours. But, not to give myself the trouble of confuting so wretched a libel, I shall only shew, to evince what credit he deserves, that he begins with the most horrible and grossest imposture that ever was. For thus he speaks, in the second chapter, pag. 9, to prove, against the testimony of Gregory of Tours, that St Gregory did not oppose his being created bishop. *Those, says he, who have written St Gregory's life, particularly Gregory of Tours, say, that he made some resistance; but this does not agree with what St Gregory himself says, in the fourth epistle of the first book, where he says, that he did not oppose his being made a bishop, and he cites in the margin these words; Sibi ut imponeretur episcopatus non resistisse. Let any one read that epistle, and he will find the quite contrary. St Gregory complains to his friend John, patriarch of Constantinople, that he had not, by his good offices, which he should have done him with the emperor, hindered the confirmation of his election; and he speaks in this manner: If we are commanded to love our neighbour as ourselves; why do not you love me as yourself? For I know with what earnestness you have declined episcopacy; and yet you did not interpose against the laying this same burden upon me.* St Gregory here complains in express words, that the patriarch did not oppose his being made bishop of Rome; and the minister du Moulin will have it, that St Gregory confesses in this place, that he made no resistance, ascribing to that holy Pope, what he himself says of the patriarch of Constantinople by way of complaint.'

[D] He undertook the conversion of the English.

He sent into England some monks of his monastery (16), under the conduct of Augustin their abbot (17), whom the bishops of France consecrated first bishop of the English nation, according to the power they had from St Gregory (18). Etheldred reigned then in England, and had married Aldeberga, or Bertha, daughter to Charibert king of France, a young princess of much wit, instructed in good learning, and very zealous for the Catholic faith (19). She disposed him to hearken to the Pope's missionaries. He ordered them to come into his presence, and would not hear them but in the open field, according to an ancient superstition of the people, that if they had a mind to use any charm, or secret enchantment, to deceive him, it might vanish away, and lose all its force in the open air . . . He heard them very calmly, and told them, that he was extremely well pleased with what they said; but that those fine things, especially the magnificent promises they had made him of an eternal life, not appearing to him very certain, he did not think it expedient to forsake what he had learned from his ancestors, to run after uncertainties (20). He permitted them to preach in his kingdom, and suffered all those, who liked their doctrine, to embrace it. He himself was converted (21). And, because the example of kings is commonly very powerful, either in good or ill things, most of the English embraced the Christian faith after him. And that, which complicated their conversion, was his gentleness and moderation. For he did

(15) Maimbourg, in the preface to his *Histoire du Pontificat de St Gregoire*.

(16) Viz. Of the monastery which he had founded at Rome, in his own house.

(17) Maimb. ubi supra, pag. 201.

(18) Id. ibid. pag. 206.

(19) Ibid. pag. 207.

(20) Ibid. pag. 208, ad ann. 597.

(21) Ibid. pag. 212, ad ann. 600.

(4) Chron. Alexandr. See Father Pagi, Dissert. Hypothesis, pag. 116, & Denis de Sainte Marthe, pag. 100, 101, of St Gregory's History.

(5) Ubi supra, pag. 3.

(6) Ubi supra, pag. 430.

(7) In Annal.

(8) Nouv. Bibl. des Auteurs Ecclesiast. Tom. V, pag. 102. Dutch Edit.

(9) Maimb. ibid. pag. 13.

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 10.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Pag. 14.

(13) For the month of February, 1685, pag. 179.

(14) Maimb. ubi supra, pag. 14.

(f) See the remark [D].

assistance of a woman (f), according to the usual course of revolutions of religion. His maxims concerning the constraint of conscience were not uniform, and he sometimes was very remiss [E]. And indeed it is very difficult to have rules for a thing so contrary to

(22) See the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres for February 1686, pag. 193, 201, against Maimbourg's comparison between the converting method of Ethelred, and that of Lewis XIV.

(23) Ubi supra, pag. 69.

* Constantia, Eufobia, Domitiana.

(24) Hist. du grand Schisme d'Occident, livr. II, pag. m. 183, speaking of the princeps of Wales, who protected Wickliffe. See also what he says in the same work, livr. iv, pag. 79.

(25) Maimb. Hist. du Pontificat de St. Gregoire, pag. 239.

† Dum quisquam ad baptismatis fontem non prædicatione, sed necessitate pervenit, ad pristinam superstitionem remansit inde deterius moritur, unde renatus esse videbatur. Lib. i, Epist. xlv.

(26) Maimb. ubi supra, pag. 240.

(27) Ibid. pag. 241.

‡ Quia sicut Iohannis definitio Judæos novas non patitur erigere Synagogas. Ita quoque eos sine inquietudine veteres habere permittit.

(28) Ibid. pag. 242.

(29) Ibid. pag. 243, 244.

did not force any body to renounce their ancient superstitions, having learnt from his teachers, that the service that is done to JESUS CHRIST ought to be voluntary (22). The queen mightily contributed to these conversions; for she not only disposed the king her husband to use the missionaries kindly, but also to become a convert. There have been few revolutions of religion, either for the better or worse, which women have not chiefly influenced. Maimbourg gives us some examples of it (23). We may say, that, as the devil formerly made use of the artifices of three empresses, the wives of Licinius, Constantinus, and Valens, to establish the Arian heresy in the east; so God, to assault his enemy with his own weapons, was pleased to employ three glorious queens, Clotilda, wife of Clovis; Ingonda, wife of Ermenigildus; and Theodelinda, wife of Agilolphus, to sanctify the west, by converting the French from Heathenism, and exterminating Arianism out of Spain and Italy, by the conversion of the western Goths and Lombards. In another work, he had only mentioned the services done by women to bad causes. As if it was the fate of every heresy, says he (24), as has been verified by an hundred examples, still to find its protection, and, if I may so express myself, its strength in the weakness of some princes, who, either out of vanity to procure herself honour, or out of illusion, thinking perhaps to merit by it, desires to become the head of a party, which, not being able to maintain itself, falls, and, at last, overwhelms her miserably under its ruins.

[E] He sometimes was very remiss. The inconsistency of his maxims manifestly appears in his not approving, that the Jews should be forced to be baptized, and approving the constraining of heretics to return to the church. St. Avitus, bishop of Clermont in Auvergne . . . going after his clergy, in a procession through the city, all the people that followed him . . . fell suddenly upon a synagogue of the Jews, and pulled it down, so that there remained nothing of it but the place all levelled, without so much as one stone upon another (25). The prelate, desirous to make use of so favourable an occasion, ordered the Jews to be told, that they must either be converted, or depart out of his diocese. Three hundred of them were converted, and the rest obliged to depart. This example was quickly after followed in Spain and Italy, and especially in Provence, where more still was done than he did. For, without endeavouring to bring them over to the Christian faith by holy instructions and good examples, they forced them to be baptized whether they would or not; which caused as many profanations of so sacred a thing, and as many sacrileges, as there were baptized Jews. St. Gregory, to prevent so great a mischief, wrote to Virgilius archbishop of Arles, and to Theodorus bishop of Marseilles, two very good men, commanding them to see, that the Jews should not be forced to receive baptism, for fear the sacred fountains, in which men are regenerated to a divine life by baptism, should be to them an occasion of a second death, more fatal to them than the first by apostacy. He had written, a little before, the same thing to the bishop of Terracina (26). He commanded him to leave the Jews the entire liberty of assembling in the place that was granted them for the celebration of their feasts (27). This is what he wrote some time after to the bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia. The laws, says he to him, indeed forbid the Jews to build new synagogues; but they permit them to possess the old ones without any molestation †. And he adds, what he said also upon occasion of the Jews of Marseilles, that they are to be won to the faith by preaching, and not by violence; that God will have the sacrifice of the mind and heart to be voluntary; and he adds, that such as are converted by force and necessity, return to their vomit, when they can (28). So far all goes very right; but here follows a strange distinction, which makes a monstrous medley in his system. (29) Not but that, according to him, there is in this a great difference betwixt infidels and heretics, especially at the beginning of heresies. For the latter ought to be treated

as rebels, traitors, and perjured people, who have violated their faith to God and the Catholic church, from which they are departed, by revolting against her, and attempting as much as in them lies, to destroy her. They may be forced to return to their obedience and duty; and, if they will not do it, they ought to be punished, according to the imperial laws, the holy fathers, and Calvin himself, who wrote a treatise upon this subject, to justify his conduct, with respect to Servetus, whom he caused to be condemned to the flames at Geneva. It is otherwise with Heathens, Jews, and Mahometans; and even with those heretics, who, being born in heresy, which they have received from their ancestors, have not been bred up in the church any more than those infidels. They ought not to be constrained directly and by main force, especially when they have been tolerated for some time. But St. Gregory teaches us, both by his doctrine and example, that it is good to constrain them indirectly, according to the gospel, which says, *Compelle intrare*; which may be done two ways; by a rigorous treatment of the obstinate; and by doing good to those that are converted. It is thus St. Gregory will have the Manichees to be persecuted who are obstinate in their heresy: and that he orders the bishop of Cagliari to raise the taxes of the peasants, and of those among the Heathens that belong to the church, and hold her lands, and still positively refuse to embrace Christianity: but, on the contrary, he will have the converted Jews to be eased of one third of what they are obliged to pay to the Roman church for the lands of her patrimony, which they cultivate in Sicily, that the others, being allured by the hopes of a like abatement, may more easily turn Christians; and to such as might suspect these interested conversions, he says, that, if these people are hypocrites, and not true converts, yet much will be got by it, in that their children at least will become good Catholics.

This might afford matter for a long discourse; but I shall content myself with some few notes. I. It is certain, that the alternative of conversion or banishment is very hard, and most proper to make hypocrites. For what will not people of an indifferent piety do, not to lose the delights of their native country? In a word, all those, who propose this alternative, condemn it as a tyrannical action, wherever they are exposed to it themselves; an evident sign, that they only judge of the justice of an action by the rule of their interest, *Quod volumus sanctum est*. II. This is giving the church a power, which she has not, to pretend, she can treat all those, that leave her, as temporal states treat rebels. The church can have none but voluntary subjects, and can never require an oath derogatory to the law of order, which will have us, at all times, and in all places, to follow the light of conscience; and consequently those who, to obey this light, break the faith, which they have given her, ought to be compared to those, who prefer primitive and absolute oaths, before posterior and conditional ones; for it would be an impious thing to engage in a formulary of faith, without presupposing it to be good: and thus all the oaths, by which men are engaged to the church, are conditional; but the obligation to the light of conscience is natural, essential, and absolute. What may be said of those, who, to obey their conscience, break their oaths to the church, is, that from understanding men they are grown ignorant. But is there any well governed state, that enacts any punishment against such as forget their learning, and only as fore-against those who get new notions, whereby they are persuaded, that what they took to be an error is a truth? We may therefore say, that, if the church had the power to punish, as rebels, such as forsake her, she might have a greater power than is exercised by the most despotic princes (30). She might punish as a capital crime the change of some ideas. III. It is no difficult thing to apprehend, that this is a chimerical distinction; for a man, who has been bred up in the church, could never renounce the power of leaving it, whenever his conscience should prompt him to side with another communion: and therefore he has as much

Est ipse monasterii fideliter veniens, hi tamen qui de illis non fuerint jam fidelibus habitantibus. Aut ipsi ergo, aut eorum filios lacramus. Lib. ix, Epist. vi.

SOME Reflexions upon the maxims of St. Gregory, concerning the constraint of conscience.

(30) That is, being considered as rebels, who are to be observed, that the foregoing, who possess the power to punish, do it only by virtue of their religion; and therefore, it is their religion that justifies the punishment: quod non notandum.

to reason. But, to make amends for it, his morals concerning the chastity of ecclesiastics were very rigid [F]: For he pretended, that a man, who had lost his virginity, ought not to be admitted to the priesthood; and he ordered the candidates to be examined upon that point. He excepted widowers from that necessity, provided they had been regular in their marriage, and had lived for a long time continent. He was also very severe with respect to calumny [G]. All things duly considered, he deserves the

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much right to follow that communion, as those that have been bred in it; for all the right of the latter consists in being persuaded that their religion is good.

IV. My maxims are so certain, that each party acknowledges the truth of them, when they do not suppose their own principle. A Jew is so far from calling a man, who forsakes Christianity to embrace Judaism, a traitor and a rebel, that he calls him a man faithful to God, to the truth, and to the true church: he calls none perfidious men, but such as renounce the Jewish religion. This is the way of all religions. V. As for the two methods of the *Compelle intrare*, I refer the reader to the Philosophical Commentary. I shall only observe, that the epistle of *Merchants of the word of GOD* (31) belongs peculiarly to those who use these two ways of converting (32); and that it is morally impossible but that sovereigns, who authorize them, must be put upon unjust and base measures (33).

VI. The reason why St Gregory would not have the Jews to be converted by force, is very good; because, said he, those, that are converted in that manner, return to their vomit, when they can safely do it. He was therefore very much in the wrong, to order that they should be converted, by over-rating the oblation, and discharging those, that turned Christians, from a third part of the tax; for it is manifest, that they, who are converted in that manner, return to their vomit, when they have it in their power. VII. And, if his reason for converting the Jews, by raising the taxes of the oblation, and moderating those of the converted, be good, he is to blame for disapproving the forcing them to baptism; for consider his reason: If they are not true converts, yet much will be got by it, in that their children at least will be good Catholics. May not the same thing be said with respect to those that are baptized by force? He cannot therefore be excused from a pitiful contradiction.

[F] His morals concerning the chastity of ecclesiastics were very rigid.] In the business of choosing a bishop, he principally recommended it to the electors to inform themselves, whether the person proposed was guilty of adultery, or meer fornication. 'Nay,' he would have them to ask him in private whether he had been guilty of that sin, admonishing him, that, if he was guilty of it, tho' no body knew it, and there was no proof to convict him, yet he could not in conscience receive orders; that, nevertheless, they should be given him, if he protested that he was free from that vice; but, if he confessed it, it should be gently represented to him, that he ought rather to think of a cloister to do penance, than of the priesthood, of which his crime, tho' secret, made him unworthy (34). This great pontiff understanding (35), 'That some ecclesiastics of Sardinia had committed that sin, after they had received orders, ordered not only that they should be deposed, without any hopes of being ever restored to the functions of their ministry; but also that, to prevent so great an evil, none should be admitted to sacred orders, and especially to episcopacy, without assurance, that they had always lived chastely, and even preserved their continency many years after they were separated from their wives, in order to be admitted to the priesthood.' The suffrages being divided at Naples in the election of a bishop, this Pope, without more ado, declared plainly that he could not approve John the Deacon (36), (37) because he had been well informed he had a very little daughter. What presumption, added he, is this in him, to aspire to episcopacy, when he is manifestly convicted, by this little child, of the small space of time he has preserved his continence? He caused it to be inviolably observed, according to the canons, 'that every ecclesiastic and beneficed man, whether sub-deacon, deacon, priest, abbot, or bishop, who should be guilty of impurity, if there were proofs of his crime, should be deposed, and put to penance in a monastery, and

incapacitated to be ever restored to his order and dignity. . . . Hearing that the abbot Secundinus, who was a very wicked man, had committed horrible crimes, he said, that, without seeking proofs for a judicial conviction, it sufficed that he himself, perhaps boasting of what this sort of debauches call a good fortune, had confessed, that he had sported with women, which had not hindered him from being an abbot; whereupon he caused him to be deposed (38). He treated in the same manner the bishop of *Dacelatina*, a city of *Illyricum*, at present called *Catara*; and he gave order to his metropolitan, that, if this wicked man, who had been justly deposed for having stained his character by this infamous vice, durst ever pretend, or even intimate by a single word, that he had still some thoughts of being a bishop, he should be confined to a monastery to do penance all his life time, and be deprived of the communion till his death. . . . What is very observable herein, is, that the bishop of Tarentum being not accused, but only suspected, of keeping a concubine since he was a bishop, he advises him very seriously, that, if he is conscious of this crime, tho' it were in secret, and he denied it, and there was no convincing proof against him, yet he is obliged in conscience to depose himself, and to forbear all sacerdotal functions. This will seem the more strange, because this bishop having committed another crime, which in the eyes of the world seems to be much greater, he inflicted a much lesser punishment on him. For this angry prelate having been disobliged by one of the poor old women, that were kept at the expence of the church, caused her to be beaten at such a rate, that she remained half dead. It is certain, that, if she had died a few days after she had been so cruelly beaten, he had been most severely punished, according to the rigour of the canons, as guilty of murder: however, because she died not till eight months after, St Gregory did not think, that her death was to be ascribed to the blows she had received, and contented himself with suspending him for two months. But for the sin of incontinence, which, by the laws of human justice, should be punished less rigorously than that other action so unworthy of a bishop, he declared to him, that, if he had committed it, tho' it could not be proved, it was absolutely necessary, for the satisfaction of his conscience, that he should leave his bishopric (39). Mr Maimbourg does not leave this subject without saying, 'that the rigour of the canons upon this point is not at present in use, and that a man is not obliged to follow St Gregory's opinion upon this case of conscience (40).'

[G] He was very severe with respect to calumny.] All that Mr Maimbourg says upon this subject seems so good to me, that, finding nothing useless in it, I shall not abridge it. He observes (41) first, that there is a very subtle oppression, †† and the more dangerous, because it is most difficult to be discovered, viz. Calumny, which the wisest of men, and even those, who glory in suffering joyfully the first (42), find so barbarous and intolerable, that they cannot binder their constancy from being spoken, be their minds ever so strong. After which, he goes on thus: 'I know that the †† civil and canon laws appoint punishments for this crime, so much complained of in the world; but they are not always well observed with respect to ecclesiastics, as St Gregory testifies, and especially in the communities, where calumny hardly meets with any rebuke, under pretence that the punishing of a false accusation would take away the liberty of bringing true ones, and discovering punishable faults to the superiors. Now this is what St Gregory could in no wise bear with, as appears by many of his letters. In effect, Epiphanius ††, priest of the church of Cagliari, having been falsely accused of some great crime by other Sardinian ecclesiastics, who had even brought the accusation before the Pope; he himself,

4. Qui post acceptum sacrum ordinem lapsus in peccatum carnis fuerit, sacro ordine ita careat ut ad altaris ministerium ulterius non accedat. Lib. ii, Epist. xxvi. Si Clericus fuerit a suo remotus officio, pro suis continuis legendis excelsibus in monasterium detrudatur. Lib. iii, Ep. ix. Lib. ii, Ep. xxviii, xlii.

† Hoc solum ad ejus damnationem potest sufficere, quod etiam ioc de se dicitur fuisse confessus quod a statu habitus sui in lapsum corporis ceciderit. Lib. ii, Ep. xxviii, Ind. 11.

(33) Maimb. ibid. pag. 354.

†† Si forte post depositionem suam invincunde ac mente perversa aliquid de episcopatu loqui, atque rursus ad hoc quibet aspirare presumptione tentaverit Lib. x, Ep. xxxvii.

(39) Maimb. ibid. pag. 355, seq.

(40) Maimb. ibid.

(41) Id. ibid. pag. 460.

†† Calumnia conturbat sapientem. Etl. cap. vii, ver. 8.

(42) That is, the unhappiest of being oppressed by the violence of those who govern.

†† Digest. lib. iii, tit. 2, Grat. cap. v. q. 6, cauf. 6, q. 1.

†† Lib. iii, Ind. 12, Epist. xxiv.

(31) 2 Cor. ii, 17.

(32) This puts me in mind of the true words of Erasmus: Nec mi autum polon, nec mi pretium detestis. Nec compungentes bellum, sed beligerantes. Grove me non gult, nec hanc reward, but thole. Who fight to conquer, not to trade in, furs. Otero, de Offic. lib. i, cap. xlii.

(33) See the New Letters against Maimbourg's History of Calvinism. Tom. I, pag. 205, & seq. and what is said of queen Mary's way of converting people in England. Nouv. de la Republ. des Lettres, Novemb. 1685, pag. 128.

(34) Maimb. ibid. pag. 351.

(35) Id. ibid.

* Sed ne unquam si qu ord. nisi fact. p. resat. providet debet q. les ordinantur, ut prim aliquid dicitur si viti. illo rum continens in annis p. viti. is fuerit. Et. Lib. iii, Epist. xxvi.

(36) One of the two, who had been elected.

(37) Maimbourg. ibid. pag. 353.

† Nam quod praesumptum ad episcopatum auctoritate, qui ad hoc longum corpus sui continentiam, filiola neta, convinctur non habere. Lib. vii, Ep. xi.

surname of Great: But he cannot be excused for prostituting his praises, to insinuate himself into the favour of an usurper [H], who had lately committed the most execrable parricide that history affords. It is a very remarkable instance of the slavery a man falls into, when he will maintain himself in great posts. If we compare his flatteries of the emperor Phocas, with those, wherewith he caressed a most wicked queen of France [I], we must acknowledge, that they, who forced him to be Pope, knew him better

* self had a mind to hear the cause thoroughly. And, as he found it was nothing but a meer calumny, wherewith they designed to oppress this priest's innocence, he sent him back fully absolved to his bishop, enjoining him to restore him to his order, and to deprive the accuser of the communion, unless he was ready to shew, by canonical and most evident proofs, the truth of his allegations. This is what the law * requires, which adds, that the false accuser of his brother ought to undergo the same punishment the accused would deserve, if he was found guilty. Here is something farther. Hilary, sub-deacon of the church of Naples, having brought a false accusation against John, deacon of the same church, which could not be maintained against many witnesses, who attested the deacon's innocence; the holy pontiff was very much offended, that Paschasius, their bishop, had not as yet punished the slanderer. Whereupon he gave order to the defender, Anthemius, to tell him from him, that he would have him first deprived of his office of sub-deacon (†), of which he was unworthy: secondly, that he should be publicly whipped: for this sort of correction was in use at that time to chastise clerks, as may be seen in St Austin (‡), tho' this custom has been since abolished: and lastly, that, having been thus chastised, he be sent into exile, that is, either into a monastery to do penance, or by the order of the magistrate, to whom alone it belonged to punish a criminal with banishment by the law of the state. And as he manifested his abhorrence of calumny, by punishing it so severely; so he kept strictly upon his guard, that he might not be overreached; and never believed any informer, till having examined the least circumstances of the accusation, and exactly heard both sides, he could not in the least doubt of the truth of it. He was moreover so much afraid of being deceived by the artifices of calumniators, that, when he could, he forbore giving his judgment about an accusation, referring himself to some other person, on whose sufficiency and probity he intirely depended.

[H] He cannot be excused for prostituting his praises, to insinuate himself into the favour of an usurper. The emperor Maurice's army, being revolted against him at the instigation of Phocas, marched towards Constantinople, and took it without any difficulty. The emperor was delivered to Phocas, who by an unheard of cruelty, caused five little princes, Maurice's children, to be murdered in his presence, before their father's eyes, whom that unfortunate father could not save (43). The nurse of the youngest had cunningly withdrawn him from the massacre, and substituted her own in his place; but Maurice, who perceived it, caused his own child to be returned to the executioners. (44). After this, the tyrant, more cruel than the wildest beasts, being no ways moved with so brave and generous an action, which melted all the affluents into tears, commanded this poor little innocent to be killed, and the bloody sacrifice of his cruelty to be perfected, by laying Maurice upon the bodies of his five children, as upon an altar, where he was inhumanly butchered. The eldest son of Maurice had been a little before sent to the king of Persia; but he was taken at Nicea, and beheaded. The cruel Phocas put also to death almost all the relations and friends of the emperor Maurice, and even the empress Constantina, and her three daughters, contrary to the promise he had made to the patriarch Cyriacus, that he would suffer them quietly to live in a monastery where they were. In fine, there was never so much innocent blood shed, nor so many miseries and misfortunes, as in his reign. . . . (45). And indeed there never was a more infamous tyrant than this wretched man, without virtue, birth, honour, and merit, horribly ill-shaped, abominably ugly, of a frightful aspect, appearing always in a fury when he spoke, drunken, lascivious, brutish, sanguinary, without any sense of humanity, being wholly a wild

beast in his look and humour, and having nothing of a man, but a very deformed shape; in a word, having all the ill qualities, which may be set in opposition to those, which the historians have extremely praised in Maurice (46). I have used Maimbourg's words, that nobody may say I have aggravated Phocas's crimes, to cast a greater blot upon St Gregory; and I will still use the same author's expressions, as to this Pope's flatteries, that I may not be accused of representing thing to his disadvantage. I confess, says that historian (47), that what I have been saying may offend those, who, after this, shall read the three epistles (†) which this holy Pope wrote to Phocas, and to Leontia his wife, when they knew at Rome what had been done at Constantinople, when he was crowned emperor there. For he seems in those three letters to rejoice, and to thank GOD, for his coming to the crown, as for the greatest advantage that could happen to the empire, and to speak of him in the most advantageous terms, as of an admirable prince, who would make it flourish again, by delivering it from all miseries wherewith it had hitherto been afflicted. And he thanks GOD, that the world, being delivered from so hard and uneasy a yoke, began to enjoy the sweets of liberty under his reign. Maimbourg gives the best colour he can to this strange flattery (48): he alleges several reasons for it; but he says nothing of the true one; which is, that Maurice had declared for the patriarch of Constantinople against Pope Gregory (49), in very nice disputes, such as are always the differences about authority, or superiority. The pope, overjoyed to be delivered from an emperor, who favoured the patriarch of Constantinople, loaded this new prince with praises, in order to obtain from him what he desired against his rival (50). There are hardly any examples of a virtue, that has been proof against the jealousy of authority, or the interest of a party. Tho' a prince be endowed with the noblest qualities, if he is withal contrary to a certain church, and is banished, or killed, the looks upon this as a heavenly favour, and respectfully kisses the human hand, that procures it, especially when this hand acts contrary to the other prince. In such a juncture, two contradictory propositions are found in the mouths of the clergy: the party, that loses it's patron, considers this loss as a horrid conspiracy of infernal powers; it cites both divine and human laws against the revolution: but the other side speaks of nothing but the wonderful ways of providence, the paternal care of heaven, and runs into political doctrines. But I question whether this prepossession was ever carried to such infamies, as those of St Gregory. What the bishop of Constantinople to file himself Occasional Patriarch, declaring that this Pope, who is so severe to a poor fornicating clergyman, and so terrible in his sentences thereupon, writes to Phocas, without so much as expressing his wish, that Maurice and his children had not suffered death. There are no men, that make greater outcries against the Sceptics than the clergy, and yet no men are more used to turn the rules of morality like a nose of wax, according to the reciprocal interest of their cause: (51) Maimbourg, which at the bottom is a most dangerous Scepticism. [I] A most wicked queen of France. It was queen Brunehaut. In all the letters this Pope writ to her, he bestowed upon her (52) all the praises that can be given to one of the most perfect princesses in the world, Francorum altissimus felicem, que sic bonis omnibus prestant merita; tam regnam, L. xi, Ep. viii. (53) Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Febr. 1686, pag. 196. (54) See Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 236.

* Cod. l. iv, & ix, tit de probat. leg. finali. Cum calumniator ad vindictam potest similitudo supplicii. Caus. 2, g. 8, c. 3.

† Lib. ix, Ind. 4, Ep. lxvi. Ut eundem Hilarym prius subdiaconum quo indignus fungitur prius officio atque verberibus publice castigatum faciat in exilium deportari, ut unus pœna multorum possit esse correctio.

‡ Qui modis coercitionis, & a magistris liberalium artium, & ab ipsi parentibus, & sepe etiam, injudiciali ab episcopis solet usurari. Arg. Ep. cxx.

(43) See Maimbourg supra, pag. 279.

(44) Ibid. pag. 280.

(45) Ibid. pag. 281.

(46) Ibid. pag. 182, ex Cedreno.

(47) Pag. 183.

† L. xi, Ep. xxviii, Ind. 6, & 45, 46.

(48) See loco Dr. C. i, Hist. Liter. Scrip. Eccles. pag. 437. expressis verbis: Anno 603, datus ad Phocem tyrannum literis imperium illi permissis flagitiose receptum gratulatus est: quin & si verum lateris fas sit adeo turpiter in hac re lapsus est Gregorius, ut sceleratissimo parricide excogitatis adulandi artibus blandiri, & in plissim principis Mauricii meritis acerrime debacchari non dubitaret.

(49) Maimbourg opus ii, pag. 124.

(50) Phocas secured the court care of heaven, and runs into political doctrines. But made a law, whereby he forced a fall! what blindness! what base condescension! a Pope, who is so severe to a poor fornicating clergyman, and so terrible in his sentences thereupon, writes to Phocas, without so much as expressing his wish, that Maurice and his children had not suffered death. There are no men, that make greater outcries against the Sceptics than the clergy, and yet no men are more used to turn the rules of morality like a nose of wax, according to the reciprocal interest of their cause: (51) Maimbourg, ubi supra, pag. 313.

(52) Prem. alit. gen. tibus gentem Francorum altissimus felicem, que sic bonis omnibus prestant merita; tam regnam, L. xi, Ep. viii.

(53) Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Febr. 1686, pag. 196.

(54) See Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 236.

better than he knew himself. They perceived, that he had all the policy and address, that are requisite to get powerful protectors, and to draw earthly blessings upon the church. It is very probable, that the zeal he expressed against the ambition of the patriarch of Constantinople, was ill governed [K]. It is not certain, that he caused the noble monuments of the old Roman magnificence to be destroyed [L], lest those, who came to Rome, should give more attention to the triumphal arches, &c. than to holy things. The same ought to be said of what is reported, that he caused a vast number of Heathen books [M], and particularly Livy,

to

vents, not forgetting to make a devout request for relics to the holy Father Maimbourg proves the exemptions, which are said to have been granted by this Pope to the pious queen Brunehild, to be fictitious; for it is this virtue St Gregory praises in her, and the like will ever be done to any one that is liberal to the church, the cully of those people, who sometimes are cullies in their turn. This puts me in mind of the answer that was given by a Carthusian to Philip de Comines. 'The body of John Galeazzo, a great and wicked tyrant . . . is in the Carthusian monastery at Pavia, near the park, higher than the great altar, and the Carthusians shewed it me, at least his bones, which smell as nature requires: a native of Bourges called him *saint*, and I asked him in his ear, why he called him *saint*, when he might see painted about him the arms of many towns he had usurped, to which he had no right? . . . he answered me softly, in this country, we call *saints* all those that are our benefactors' (54). This rule of these good monks is of all times and countries.

[K] The zeal he expressed against the ambition of the patriarch of Constantinople was ill governed.] This patriarch is honoured as a saint in the Greek church. He was called *John the Faster*. The surname, *Faster*, was given him, because he was a man of incredible abstinence, and prodigious austerities of life . . . (55). He did all that was possible to prevent his exaltation to the patriarchal throne (56). Pope Gregory gave him this testimony, *Quo ardore, quo studio Beatitudo vestra Episcopatus pondus fugere voluerit scio* (57). But when this great faster had sat for some time upon that fine throne, he was no longer master of his pride. Perhaps, he was tainted with this vice before he was made a patriarch: for it frequently happens, that, when corrupt nature cannot plunge men into pleasures, he makes it up by other faults, especially by the spirit of pride. Perhaps, the patriarchal dignity, by I know not what contagious fatality, inspired *John the Faster* with ambition. Be it how it will, this great dignity enabled him to give himself a free scope: he might colour his ambitions with the pretence of the rights of his patriarchate. Those, who pretend to an austere devotion, may more easily conceal their faults, when they are not in a post, which permits them to alledge the interests of the church, the glory of God, charity to one's neighbour, &c. But, when they are in possession of such posts, they may let loose many passions, and fully indulged them, under the sacred auspices I have mentioned. To return to *John the Faster*: he assumed the title of Oecumenical Patriarch: the Pope so resented it, that he forbade him, under pain of excommunication, to call himself so any more. *John the Faster* was so little moved with his threats, that he still retained that title. And he did it with that baughtiness, or rather affectation, that, in the acts of a synod, which he sent to Rome . . . he styled himself almost in every line Oecumenical Patriarch (58). This was the origin of a very great quarrel betwixt St Gregory and him. Many pretend this was only a dispute about words, and Maimbourg seems to prove it well enough. But he cannot do this without affording a terrible satire against the two principal prelates of that time, the bishop of Rome, and the patriarch of Constantinople: for can any thing be more ridiculous than the storms they raised, if it be true, that their dispute was only a vain question about a name (59)?

[L] It is not certain that he caused the noble monuments of the Romans to be destroyed.] It is certain he has been accused of it, as it appears from these words of Platina, who rejects this accusation. 'Neque est cur patamur Gregorium hac in re à quibusdam literarum ignavis potissimum carpi, quod suo mandato veterum aedificia sint disrupta, ne peregrini & advenæ

(ut ipsi fingunt) ad urbem religionis causa venientes pollubatis locis sacris, arcus triumphales & monumenta veterum cum admiratione inspicerent. Absit hæc calumnia a tanto Pontifice Romano præsertim: cui certe post Deum patria quam vita charior fuit (60). — Nor ought we, in this matter, to let Gregory be censured by the ignorant and illiterate, for ordering the buildings of the ancients to be demolished, lest travellers and strangers (as they pretend) coming to Rome on a religious account, should neglect places of devotion, and view with admiration the triumphal arches and monuments of the ancients. Be this reproach far from so great a Pope, who, certainly next to God, valued his country dearer than his life.' The same historian observes, that Sabinian, who succeeded Gregory, expressed a violent resentment against his predecessor, so far as almost to burn his books. Some inhabitants of Rome excited the new Pope to this, because, said they, St Gregory had mangled, or thrown down, the statues of the ancient Romans. Platina rejects also this accusation. *Paululum etiam abfuit quin libri ejus comburerentur, adeo in Gregorium irâ & invidia exarsit homo malevolus. Sunt qui scribant Sabinianum instigantibus quibusdam Romanis hoc in Gregorium molitum esse, quod veterum statuas tota urbe dum viveret, & obruncaverit & disjiceret: quod quidem ita vero dissonum est, ut illud quod de abolendis aedificiis majorum in vita ejus diximus (61).*

[M] He is accused of causing a vast number of heathen books to be burnt.] It is said, that the Palatine library, founded by Augustus, was reduced to ashes by St Gregory. I have read this no where but in Joannes Sarisberienfis, and therefore I give no great credit to it: these are his words. 'Si vero mathematicorum via esset usquequaque laudabilis, non tantopere pœnitisset magnum Augustinum se eorum consultationibus inclinasse. Ad hæc doctor sanctissimus ille Gregorius qui melleo prædicationis imbre totam rigavit & inebriavit ecclesiam, non modo mathesin jussit ab aula, sed ut traditur à majoribus, incendio dedit probatæ lectionis scripta, Palatinus

Quæcunque tenebat Apollo,

In quibus erant præcipua, quæ cœlestium mentem, & superiorum oracula videbantur hominibus revelare (62). — But if the method of the astrologers were every way commendable, the great St Augustine would not have been so sorry that he had consulted them. Besides, the most holy doctor St Gregory, he who edified the church with the eloquence of his preaching, not only banished astrology from court, but, as the tradition says, burnt the most valuable books of that science in the Palatine library; among which were those, which seemed to reveal the will of heaven to men.' He says in another place, that St Gregory suppressed profane books, to raise a greater esteem for the sacred ones. *Fertur beatus Gregorius bibliothecam combussisse gentilem, quo divinæ pagine gratior esset locus & major autoritas, & diligentia studiosior* (63). What is certain, is, that this Pope had conceived a great aversion for heathen books, as it appears from this passage of his history. Desiderius, archbishop of Vienna, was a man of an extraordinary merit, of admirable learning, and a shining virtue, to whom St Gregory wrote more than once with great commendations of him; and yet he found fault with his conduct, and sharply reproved him, as being guilty of a great crime, for spending his time in teaching some of his friends grammar and literature, and explaining the poets to them. He assures him, that this unlucky piece of news had given him so much trouble, that all the joy he had conceived upon hearing the success of his studies, and his great capacity, was changed into sorrow: *Because, says he, the praises of Jupiter and of CHRIST cannot*

(60) Platina, in Gregorio 4.

(61) Id. in vitâ Sabiniani.

(62) Joan. Sarisberienfis de nugis Curialium, lib. ii, cap. xxvi, pag. m. 104.

(63) Id. ibid. lib. viii, cap. xix, pag. 557.

† Quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt. Et quem grave nefandumque sit episcopis canere quod nec laico religioso conveniat ipse confiderat. Quis excreabile est hoc de sacerdote enarrari, tantum ita nec ne sit districta & veraci oportet satisfactione cognosci.

(54) Philip de Comines, Mémoires, liv. vii, pag. m. 451.

(55) Maimb. ibid. pag. 103.

(56) Ibid. pag. 106.

(57) Gregor. lib. i, Epist. iv, Ind. 9, apud Maimb. pag. 106.

(58) Maimb. ibid. pag. 109.

(59) See Neveu de la Repub. des Lettres, Febr. 1686, pag. 189.

to be burnt [N]. He died the tenth of March 1604. I will make no observation concerning his works, referring my reader to Mr du Pin, whose work is more common than this dictionary will be. I had almost forgot this Pope's zeal for the psalmody of the church [O].

(g) *A Benediction of the congregation of St Maur.*

(b) *At Rouen, 1697, in 4to.*

(i) *Who put out an edition of St Gregory's works, in 1675.*

The book which Dom Denys de Sainte Marthe (g) has published (b), intituled, *The History of St Gregory the Great*, was not come out, when I wrote this article. I have just now perused that history; and I should take it for a continual panegyric on this great Pope, if the author had not frequently interrupted his praises by many observations, wherein he explains things, illustrates matters of fact, or confutes some other writers. In his preface, he gives a catalogue of those, who have writ the life of St Gregory, in which he censures some faults of the minister Peter du Moulin, besides that, which we have seen in the remark [C]. He does not seem well pleased with Maimbourg [P]. He confutes cardinal Baronius as to what concerns St Gregory's having been a monk, and he opposes some notions of Mr Goussainville (i). What he observes against the centuriators of Magdeburg, is intermixed with false criticisms; we shall see it below [Q]. I do not find, that he blames Pope Gregory for any thing; he acts the

†† Si post hoc evidenter ea que ad nos perlati sunt falsa esse clarescent, nec vos nobis & secularibus litteris studere constituerit; Deo nostro gratias agimus, qui cor vestrum macularum blasphemis nefandorum laudibus non permittit.

(64) Maimb. ubi supra, pag. 263, 264.

(65) Volius, de Histor. Lat. pag. 98.

(66) Maimb. ubi supra, pag. 327.

(67) Ibid. pag. 330, & seq.

†† Scholam quoque Cantorum que hactenus eisdem institutionibus in S. R. eccl. modulari instruit. L. 10, c. xlv.

fid. de Eccl. c. lib. ii. 12. Pridicantandum ibi abstinere, sine in oculis assantur, canores tales Faciunt.

'be in the same mouth: consider what an unworthy and abominable thing it is for a bishop to sing such verses, as a devout and religious layman could not repeat with decency, and without doing injury to his profession. He adds, that tho' he has been informed from other hands, that it was not so, yet he cannot but lay it much to heart, and that he will make a more exact enquiry into the truth of it, because it is a horrid, and even execrable thing, to hear such a report of a priest and a bishop. But †† if, says he, at last, to comfort him, I can be fully satisfied that this report against you is false, and that you do not amuse your self with these fooleries of human learning, and worldly sciences, I shall give thanks to GOD for not suffering your heart to be defiled with the praises full of blasphemies, which those profane authors bestow on the most wicked men (64). Maimbourg did not fail to reflect upon himself after this narrative. See his words in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for September 1686, pag. 1034, and in Mr Seckendorf, pag. 4. of the first book of the History of Lutheranism.

[N]... And particularly Livy.] Antonius, archbishop of Florence, is the most ancient author cited for this by Volius. It is said, that Livy was thus treated, because he insinuates too much on the superstitious rites of the heathens. *At mirificus zelus fuit S. Gregorii, qui ut S. Antonius, & ex eo Jo. Hesselius, ex utroque Raderus ad Martialem tradit, Livium propterea combussit, quod in superstitionibus & sacris Romanorum perpetuo veretur* (65).

[O] I had almost forgot this pope's zeal for the psalmody of the church. (66) He especially applied himself to regulate the office, and the singing of the church: to which end he composed his Antiphony . . . (67). Nothing can be more admirable than what he did on this occasion. Though he had upon his hands all the affairs of the universal church, and was still more burthened with distempers, than with that multitude of business, which he was necessarily to take care of, in all parts of the world; yet he took time to examine with what tunes the psalms, hymns, orations, verses, responses, canticles, lessons, epistles, the gospel, the prefaces, and the Lord's prayer, were to be sung; what were the tones, measures, notes, moods, most suitable to the majesty of the church, and most proper to inspire devotion: and he formed that ecclesiastical music so grave and edifying, which at present is called the Gregorian music. He moreover instituted an academy of singers ††, for all the clerks to the deaconship

exclusively, because the deacons were only to be employed in preaching the gospel, and distributing the alms of the church to the poor; and he would have the singers to perfect themselves in the art of true singing, according to the notes of his music, and to bring their voices to sing sweetly and devoutly, which, according to St Isidore *, is not to be obtained but by fasting and abstinence. For, says he, the ancients fasted the day before they were to sing, and lived, for their ordinary diet, upon pulse, to make their voice clearer and finer; whence it is that the Heathens called those singers, bean-eaters. I question whether, at present, the singers would willingly submit to that method, to which they are not used. However, St Gregory took care to instruct them himself, as much a Pope as he was, and to

teach them to sing well. Joannes † Diaconus says, that, in his time, this Pope's bed was preserved with great veneration in the palace of St John of Lateran, in which he sung, tho' sick, to teach the fingers; as also the whip, wherewith he threatened the young clerks and the singing boys, when they were out, and failed in the notes. Here I must make an observation, against those, who cite authors without examining circumstances. The Walloon minister, who published a large book concerning the *Divine Melody of the Holy Psalms*, in the year 1644, did not trouble his head whether things were changed, or not, since Joannes Diaconus, who writ the history of St Gregory. Joannes Diaconus lived in the IXth century. He says, that the whip was still preserved, wherewith this Pope threatened the music scholars. But it does not follow, that we may use the present tense as he does, in relating this particular, and therefore the Walloon minister justly deserves censure. His words are these (68): *Gregory the Great, before cited, instituted a school of singers, and built them colleges, with a suitable revenue. His bed is still shewn at Rome, to this day, upon which he lay and sung, and the whip, wherewith he corrected his disciples, and the authentic antiphony.* Nauci. 94.

[P] Denys de Ste Marthe does not seem well pleased with Maimbourg. He says, that the History of St Gregory's Pontificate, published by this author, does not comprehend the whole life of that saint (69). He adds, that Mr Maimbourg mentions only some passages of his pontificate, which suited with his designs and views, neglecting all the rest, which nevertheless deserves to be known. I know, says he, in another place (70), that a famous writer, who has published the history of St Gregory's pontificate, and pretends to great impartiality, has blamed him for being so warm in a trifling matter. And yet I doubt not, but that, if St Gregory, or any other Pope, had pretended to style himself oecumenical patriarch; and if John, patriarch of Constantinople, or any other bishop, had opposed him in it, the same writer would have censured the Pope for it, as being an intolerable presumption and usurpation, and praised the generosity of the patriarch, of the bishop, and, in general, of any one, who would have opposed him: so dangerous it is to write a history with a prepossessed mind, which makes a writer as eager to intermix his opinions with the things he relates, as to relate those things with a perfect sincerity. This gives an ill idea of Maimbourg's probity.

[Q] What he observes against the centuriators of Magdeburg is intermixed with false criticism. Every body knows, that there is a great dispute betwixt the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, concerning the vows of celibacy; and one of the arguments alleged by the Protestants, is, that these vows are attended with many disorders, and works of darkness (71), unfruitful if you please in the gospel-sense, but most fruitful in another sense, since they give life to a vast number of human creatures. It is true, there are fruits that are not suffered to ripen: they are stifled as much as possible before their birth; which is done to conceal the first crime, but not without a second sin still more enormous than the first. This is what is said by the controversialists; and they add, that the discovery of these disorders has sometimes occasioned the revocation of the severe law of celibacy. Here follows

the part of an apologist every where, in the praises bestowed upon Phocas and queen Brunehauld,

* Centur. vi.
cap. vii.

follows a long passage of Denys de Ste Marthe. *I will not undertake to confute a story, mentioned by the centuriators of Magdebourg*, which destroys itself. They pretend, that St Gregory the Great, having made a decree to separate priests from their wives, was obliged to revoke it, because of the ensuing consequences. A little after this regulation, (say they) the Pope having sent some people to fish in a pond that belonged to him, instead of fish, they drew out six thousand beads of little children. Gregory therefore, knowing that these children were the fruits of the priests' incontinence, whom he had deprived of their wives, revoked his decree, and did penance for the sin he had committed in occasioning so many crimes. They add, that St Udalric, archbishop of Augsbourg, writ this to Pope Nicolas. This whole story is a confused heap of silly fables. For what reason did they chuse the Pope's fish-pond, rather than the Tiber, or other public places, to throw those six thousand beads of children in? What became of their bodies, which are not mentioned? Is it credible, that those, who killed them, and whose interest it was to conceal them, would have cut off their heads, and carried them within the precincts of the Pope's palace, to have their crimes quickly discovered? Were they not afraid they would float upon the water? How were they all agreed to carry those beads to the same place? For it is not said that any were found elsewhere (72). These are difficulties, which Baronius and Bellarmine do not offer in confuting this story of the Magdebourg centuriators. I know not whether they may have been invented by Denys de Sainte Marthe: he will give me leave to tell him, that if they may seem specious to those, who go no farther than the first impressions, they will appear destitute of solidity to those, who examine things attentively. It will be granted me, that, in matters of fact, those, who undertake to confute an adversary, ought to raise objections contrary to his design. Now let us see whether the objections of Father de Sainte Marthe are such. I think they would be solid, if Udalric, and those, who alledge his letter, pretended, that the murderers of those bastards cut off their heads, and threw them only into the Pope's pond. This assertion would be liable to the inconveniencies mentioned by the author; and it were a most difficult thing to alledge any probable reason against his several questions. But this was not the meaning of the centuriators, who only designed to relate what had been discovered in St Gregory's pond: and, if they said nothing of the Tyber, or other public places, it is not because they did not believe, that any bastards of the clergy had been thrown into them, but because they knew not, that the same crimes had been likewise discovered in those places, or because they were contented with the consequences, that might be drawn from what had been seen in the pond. They supposed it was an easy thing to draw this inference: six thousand children have been found in the Pope's Pond only; therefore the number of the children, who have been stifled, to prevent the infamy of their fathers and mothers, is almost infinite: for how many have been thrown into the Tyber, and into wells, and common shores? How many have been buried, &c? When a man says, that many medals or bones have been found in digging up the foundations of a palace, does he pretend, that it is the only place, where such things might be found? and because he says nothing of the other places, may one deny what he affirms? It is to be observed, that there was a particular reason to mention that pond, rather than the Tyber, &c. Rivers do not use to be drained, but ponds are drained from time to time, in order to take all the fish out of them; and then one may know whether any children have been thrown into them. To know the number of them, it is sufficient to count the heads, which are single parts of a child, and may be easily distinguished: which is the reason, why it was sufficient to mention the heads, in Udalric's epistle. Father de Sainte Marthe ought not to think it strange, that no mention should be made of the bodies. If commissioners had been appointed to inspect the pond, they might be blamed, if their verbal process did not contain more circumstances than Udalric's letter. It had been their duty to observe, whether any bones had been found, besides the heads; whether all the bodies were*

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without flesh: whether some were only half rotten, or half eaten, by the fish, and such like particulars: but an author, who alleges this discovery as an argument against the law of celibacy, need not insist upon so many circumstances; it is enough for him to say, in general, that six thousand heads were found. If what Father de Sainte Marthe affirms concerning the situation of that pond was true, it would be a considerable objection: but who told him, that this pond was in the inclosure of the palace? Would Baronius have omitted this reason, if it had been well-grounded? Would he have said only, that fish-ponds were not public, and that they were strictly looked after (73)? This is but a weak reason; for centinels are not placed in the night about a pond: care is only taken, that no fisherman may get into it without the owner's leave; but this will not prevent the throwing of a child into it.

Perhaps many controversies, engaged in the defence of the centuriators against Father de Sainte Marthe, would perhaps be contented with this apology. I know some, who would look no farther, and who, in a most insulting manner, would boast of having obtained a compleat victory over the monk, who undertook to confute this passage of those German authors. As for me, who think it an honour not to imitate (74) a conduct so contrary to sincerity, I declare, that Denys de Sainte Marthe has alledged some other arguments incomparably more solid than those, which I have refuted: for he adds (75), *but how can they have the impudence to say, that St Gregory grew remiss, in process of time, as to the continence of priests? Did ever any Pope express a greater zeal for the observation of it? One may know what he thought of the matter, by the answer he made to St Augustin, who proposed several difficulties to him: for, when he answers the second article, he excludes, in express words, the clerks, promoted to sacred orders, from the number of those, who are allowed to marry. The better to confound the heretical writers, who give credit to this fabulous story, I have already shewn, that Pope Nicolas I was dead before St Udalric was born, and that this holy man had been dead a long time before Nicolas II was made Pope.* Here are two good arguments against the centuriators: Baronius (76) and Bellarmine (77) made use of them with great advantage. The benedictin should have been contented with them; for mixing false reasons with good ones is the right way of multiplying replies and rejoinders in infinitum: an adversary, who meets with false proofs in his way, may easily keep up a dispute; and many persons of his party, who never read the works of the contrary party, will think that he has got a compleat victory. Which is the reason why things are never cleared with respect to many people, and why many others consider as matters problematical, such facts as most deserve to be rejected. It seems to me, that the story mentioned by the centuriators, and their Udalric, is altogether groundless; for, on the one side, there is no footsteps to be found, any where else, of the law of celibacy being revoked by St Gregory, and of his doing penance for it; and, on the other, it plainly appears from the writings of that Pope, that he never permitted priests to marry. His whole remissness consisted in not requiring that the sub-deacons, who had been ordained before the decretal (78) of his predecessor, should be obliged to part with their wives; but he forbade their being promoted to superior orders; and commanded, that the bishops should ordain no new sub-deacons till they had made them promise to live in celibacy (79). Therefore unless it be clearly made out, that St Gregory revoked the law of celibacy and did penance for it, and moreover if it be not clearly proved that there was an Udalric, bishop of Augsbourg, cotemporary with a Pope called Nicolas, those, who alledge the letter of one Udalric, and the six thousand heads found in St Gregory's fish pond, will never deserve any credit.

I shall make two or three observations more. I. The centuriators do not give a good turn to this story. These are their words: *Beatus Gregorius Magnus Papa primus aliquando suo quodam decreto uxores sacerdotibus ademit. Deinde paulo post cum idem Gregorius jussisset ex piscina sua pisces aliquot capi, piscatores pro piscibus sex millia capitum infantium suffocatorum repererunt.*

LII

(73) Com certum
fit piscinas illas
in quibus pisces
asservari solent,
non fuisse omni-
bus publicas, sed
optime custoditas.
Baron. ad ann.
591, n. 21, pag.
m. 29.

(74) Longe me-
discrepat istis
Et vox & ratio.
My voice and
judgment differ
wide from these.
Horat. Sat. vi.
lib. i. ver. 92.

(75) Sainte
Marthe, ubi
supra, pag. 207.

(76) Baron. ubi
supra, n. 19, 20,
21.

(77) Bellarmine,
de Clericis, lib. I.
cap. xxii, pag.
m. 1124, 1125.

(78) The decretal,
whereby Pila-
gus II ordered,
that all the sub-
deacons of Sicily
should part with
their wives.

(79) See Sainte
Marthe, ubi
supra, pag. 205,
206.

(A) See the remark [A] of the article T.R.A. JAN.

Brunchauld, the many fabulous miracles related by that Pope in his dialogues [R], and his unfettered principles about perfection for religion, &c. He is one of those, who deny, that St Gregory delivered the soul of the emperor Trajan from hell (k). If it were true, that part of this Pope's books was burnt after his death, and that they would have

repererunt. Quam eadem infantium cum intelligeret S. Gregorius ex oculis fornicationibus vel adulteriis sacerdotum natam esse; continuo revocavit decretum, & peccatum suum dignis penitentia fructibus purgavit (80). They suppose, that Pope Gregory made a decree against the marriage of priests, and that, not long after, he ordered some fish to be taken out of his pond, but that the fishermen found in it six thousand heads of children, instead of fish; whereupon the pontiff revoked his decree, and amended his fault by fruits worthy of repentance, being sensible that the murder of so many children proceeded from the priests incontinency. I repeat it again, this narrative is ill turned. It is supposed, that six thousand children were thrown into the Pope's pond in a very little time, and that the fishermen, who found the six thousand heads of those poor creatures, took no fish. This account is very absurd: so great number of children, drowned in the same place, requires many years (81), and would rather increase fish, than wholly destroy them. This story would look more probable, if it had been said, that St Gregory abrogated celibacy, which had been established a long time; and that he permitted the clergy to marry, because, having ordered his pond to be cleared, which had not been cleared for many years, six thousand heads of children were found in it. This account affords as many years as one can desire. I conclude, (which is my second observation) that the ill placing of circumstances (82) makes a matter of fact doubtful, unlikely, ridiculous, and absurd, tho' it be never so certain and true in itself; for, supposing it to be true, that six thousand heads of children were found in that place, Udalric, and the centurions, relate the thing so carelessly, as to make one doubt of it. I observe in the third place, that Theophilus Raynaud supposes, in a passage quoted by me in another place (83), that the heads were found in the well of Pope Gregory II; so that he mistakes both the place and the Pope. Bellarmine asks (84) how it came to be known, that the six thousand children were bastards of the clergy, and not of laymen; which is indeed an objection, but no perplexing difficulty. For, tho' Pope Gregory might think, that laymen had a share in the procreation of those children, he would have been sensible, that celibacy imposed upon the clergy occasioned a greater debauchery. It is certain, that lay-people destroy abundance of children to conceal their fault (85). Take notice, that Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, lived in the Xth century, and that the letter in question was printed in the book, intitled, *Orthodoxologia Sanctorum Patrum*, at Basil, in the XVIth century.

(80) Magdeburgensis apud Baronium, ubi supra, n. 19, pag. m. 27.

(81) Baron. ubi supra, n. 21, ad- judges this reason.

(82) Apply here these words. Nihil est, An- tipho. Quis male nar- rando possit de- pravari. The best story may be spoilt in the telling. Terent. in Phorm. Act. iv, Sc. iv, ver. 16.

(83) In the article BELLARMIN, remark [E].

(84) Bellarmine. ubi supra, pag. 1125.

(85) Confer quæ infra in the re- mark [C] of the article PATIN.

(86) Sainte Marthe, ubi supra, pag. 273.

(87) Du Pin, Bibl. des Auteurs Ecclesi. Tom. V, pag. 138, Dutch Edit.

[R] The many fabulous miracles related by this Pope in his dialogues. 'Some learned men, who do not approve the recital of so many miracles, doubt whether St Gregory is the author of those dialogues, because they do not appear to them worthy of so great a doctor (86).' Denys de Sainte Marthe, who speaks thus, solves the doubts of those learned men with very solid reasons, and shews that those dialogues are the works of St Gregory. Mr du Pin is of the same opinion (87); but he owns at the same time, that they do not seem to be worthy of the gravity and judgment of that holy Pope, being full of extraordinary Miracles, and almost incredible stories. It is true, he relates them upon the credit of others; but he should not have been so credulous as to believe them, and afterwards to publish them as matters of fact. . . . The stories mentioned in those dialogues, are frequently grounded upon a bare relation of some ignorant old men, or upon common reports. The miracles, are so frequent, so extraordinary, and often wrought for so inconsiderable reasons, that it is a difficult thing to believe them all. He tells some stories which can hardly be reconciled with the lives of those he speaks of; as the voluntary imprisonment of St Paulinus in Africa, under the king of the Vandals. Vi- sions, apparitions, and dreams, are more frequently met with in the dialogues of that Pope, than are in any other author. Hence it is, that he owns that Pope; but one may easily guess, that he does

about the latter end of his work, that more discoveries had been made in his time about the other world, than in all the foregoing ages. But I do not think that any body will warrant the truth of all those relations. Father Denys de Sainte Marthe acknowledges (88), 'that he would not warrant all the mi- racles and visions contained in those dialogues.' Nevertheless he does not blame that Pope. That holy man, says he, might relate some upon the testimony of persons a little too credulous. He thought they were not to be slighted by reason of the edifying things he observed in them. The prudent reader ought to examine what degree of certainty he allows them, and who are his authors. This monk plainly sets up for an apologist, who thinks, that St Gregory is not in the least to be blamed. But the work is, that the reasons he alleges to prove it are not solid; for if one may be allowed to publish a relation, because it contains some things that are edifying, how many fables may not one give out as true and pious histories? tho' a writer does not say in express words, this is matter of fact, no body ought to doubt of it; yet if he does not quote cotemporary and grave authors, but only an ancient tradition, he cannot be justified, and does not afford a sufficient preservative. He ought expressly and formally to say, I relate this as a thing doubtful, you are free to believe it or not, I have not a good authority for it: I say, he ought to express himself thus, that one may be sure he is not persuaded of the truth of what he says, and does not eagerly de- sire, that others should believe it. Any one, who relates a miraculous event, without intimating any thing, whereby it may appear that he doubts, or is willing others should doubt of it, does plainly shew, that he mentions it as matter of fact. It were in vain to say, that an historian is not allowed to sup- press whatever seems to him to be false, and that it is his duty to mention those which are well attested, tho' he does not believe them to be true; I say, such an objection would be insignificant, for it is no confusion of what I have laid down. What I assert concerns an historian, who does not intimate in the least, that he doubts of what he relates, or that he allows every body to disbelieve it. A good historian who mentions a thing, which he takes to be false, adds to it, it is said, or some other clause, which shews more clearly still what he thinks of it (89); (89) Equidem et therefore when he adds no such thing, it is a plura transcribo quam creco: nam nec adfirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec subducere que accepit. — In- them, and, if any one should tell them, that he does not believe them, they would take it as an affront, more than I be- and a piece of contempt. Now if these maxims are true, with respect to the writers of history, they are much more so with respect to a divine, who relates miraculous events in a moral book, or in a treatise of devotion, or, in general, in such a work of that Q. Curlius lib. of St Gregory. It ought to be supposed, not only ix, cap. i. See hereupon Fien- stromius's commen- tary, where you will find many such passages out of other historians. See also Tacitus's Annals, lib. iv, cap. xi, and the Maimbourg, liv. v, of the Histoire des Croisades, quoted in the Penfies Cometes, pag. 202. La Milla le Poyr, Dic- tionnaire sur l'Histoire, mentions several passages of Livy, whereby it ap- pears, that he is cautious in relating prodigies.

(88) Ubi supra, pag. 273, 276.

not

have been all destroyed, had it not been for an incident [S] much the same with that, which, in former times, prevented the Romans putting to death the senators, as having murdered Romulus (l), some persons would infer from it, that the glory of that Pope, and of some other ancient fathers, is like rivers, which, being very small at their spring, grow very large at a great distance from it. Something might be said against this comparison; but it is certain, generally speaking, that the objects of memory are of a very different nature from the objects of sight. The latter lessens in proportion to their distance, whereas the former do commonly increase, according as we are remote from their time and place (m).

(l) See Photarch, in the life of Romulus, pag. 35.

(m) Omnia post obitum fingit majora vetustas.

not believe it. He very much enlarges, to shew, that the extraordinary things, related in those dialogues, were very frequent at that time. One of his reasons for it is, that there were many heretics to be converted, and many Catholics, who did not believe the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead (90). It is an undeniable matter of fact, that, in St Gregory's time, many christians wavered in the belief of those two fundamental doctrines of our religion. He † is so humble as to confess, that he himself had formerly doubted of the resurrection: and therefore he makes it his business, in many of his homilies, to inculcate those truths into them. As there have been, at all times, many libertines, even within the pale of the Catholic church, there have always been many people whose interest it was, that there should be no future life, no resurrection and judgment, and therefore they easily believed it; for a corrupt heart will soon be attended with an erroneous mind. However it be, it is certain, that Italy, and particularly Rome, was full of such unbelievers in St Gregory's time. It were needless to prove it, after what has been said upon this subject by the last translator of dialogues, in his excellent preface. Gregory of Tours † mentions a dispute he had with one of the priests of his church, who maintained, that there was no resurrection to be expected. He also speaks of a deacon of the church of Paris, who pretended to be a man of great parts, and who fell into that error, disputing about it with great eagerness: from whence it may be inferred, that many others in France were engaged in that dangerous hereby. If any one reads the dialogues, he will find, that Peter, the deacon, knew many christians, who doubted of the immortality of the soul †. Was it not therefore becoming the mercy of God, that he should work miracles at that time, to help the weakness of those poor infidels? and is St Gregory to blame because he collected them? I shall only make two short observations upon this: One is, that, if those unbelieving Catholics questioned only whether the soul was immortal, and whether the bodies should be raised out of their graves, they argued very pitifully; for the truth of the gospel being once admitted, it is a ridiculous thing to raise any doubts about those two points. The other is, that perhaps there never were so many unbelievers, as in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries; I mean such unbelievers, as are not contented to reject the building, without destroying the foundation, but who reject both the foundation and the building. Besides, there were in those two centuries a great many heretics (9), who wanted to be converted. Miracles should therefore at least have been as frequent in these ages, as in that of St Gregory. From whence we may conclude, that the argument of Father Denys de Sainte Marthe proves nothing, because it proves too much.

[S] If it be true that part of that Pope's books was burnt . . . and that they would have been all destroyed, had it not been for an incident.] Joannes Diaconus, in the 69th chapter of the fourth book of St Gregory's life, says (92), that Italy was afflicted with a horrid famine the same year that Pope died. The poor, who had been partakers of the liberties of that common father of the faithful, not receiving the same assistance from Sabinian, his successor, because it was said, Gregory had consumed the wealth of the church by his prodigality, some persons were so passionate as to discharge their fury upon the works of that holy doctor, not being able to do it upon him, and burnt a great part of them.

But as they were ready to burn the rest, Peter the deacon, a disciple of that holy man, represented to them, that it was to no purpose to throw those books into the fire, in order to eclipse the memory of that Pope, whom they hated, because they had been already dispersed all over the world. He added, that it was a sacrilege to treat so unworthily the writings of that holy father, over whose head he had often seen a dove, representing the Holy Ghost, and familiarly conversing with him. Peter, in order to confirm the truth of what he said, went up to the lobby, holding the gospel in his hand; upon which he swore, that what he had been saying was true; adding, that he had begged of God to make him die on the spot, if he had spoken the truth. The thing happened according to his wishes; for he expired at that very moment without any pain, and was buried under the lobby, where this surprising thing came to pass. The author, who furnishes me with this passage, cannot believe, that any one would have steered such a rage against the works of such a bishop of Rome; and he observes, that cardinal Baronius rejects this story as a mere fable, grounded only upon a false tradition, because no author more ancient than Joannes Diaconus makes mention of it (93). Theophilus Raynaud opposes this opinion of Baronius in the following manner. He observes, in the first place, that the silence of Paterius, Isidorus, and Ildephonsus, is a negative argument, and that the strength of such arguments is insufficient, and weak, as every body acknowledges (94). In the second place, that the authority of Siebert, alleged by Baronius, cannot serve for a proof against Joannes Diaconus. That cardinal says, that Siebert positively denies, that any work of St Gregory was destroyed on such an occasion, all of them having been preserved at the request of Peter the deacon. The Jesuit Raynaud affirms, that Siebert says the quite contrary, in the 41st and 43d chapters of his book *De Viris illustribus*. He observes in the third place, that St Gregory had written some books, of which nothing remains. 'Præsertim cum idem Joannes sequenti capite 70. ex ipsismet Sancti Gregorii Epist. ad Joannem Ravennæ Subdiaconum, demonstrat, plerisque libros à Sancto Gregorio fuisse conscriptos, quorum nullibi extant vestigia; ut expositionis in Proverbia, & in Prophetas, & in libros Regum, neque enim pauca quæ habemus in 1. Regum, & Ezechielem, mensuram implent titulorum illorum (95). — Especially since the same John in the seventieth chapter which follows, demonstrates, from the letter of the same St Gregory to John sub-deacon of Ravenna, that Gregory wrote many books, of which there remain no traces; as, an Exposition on the Proverbs, the prophets, and the books of Kings; nor do the few we have left, on Kings 1. and Ezechiel, come up to the title of them.' He makes use, in the fourth place, of an argument ad hominem, grounded upon Baronius's confessing, that the writings of that great Pope run a great hazard; and that the mutineers not being able to vent their fury upon Gregory, who was dead, discharged it upon his books in the middle of the great place of Rome. It is certain, that Baronius, by owning such a thing, destroys his own assertion: for, then, what does it signify to say, no book of Gregory's was burnt? have we not a strong proof of the contempt or hatred of the Romans against that pontiff, since they resolved to burn his books publicly, which they were so obstinately bent upon, that nothing but a great miracle could prevent it (96).

* St Ephrem, deacon of the church of Edessa, declared, that he had seen a white dove on the forehead of the great St Basil, which seemed to suggest to him what he told the people. Ephrem. Orate in Basil. apud Coteler. Tom. III, Monum. Græc. pag. 59.

(93) Id. Sainte Marthe, ibid. pag. 614.

(94) Quod argumentum ab auctoritate negativa omnes agnoscunt esse insufficientes & enervæ. Theoph. Raynaud. de hinc de malis libris, n. 582, pag. m. 327.

(95) Id. ibid.

(96) Note, That John Rubens, in the life of Boniface VII, pag. 246, affirms, quoting Joannes Diaconus, that Pope Gregory was accused of bereaving the church of many books, effusi sanguinis de Malchi episcopi in custodia occisi, thesauri ecclesiæ dilapidati, doctrina non sanæ, contententibus, amulsi illius libros, tanquam reos hereticorum dogmatum, Vulcani debere tradi.

(90) Sainte Marthe, ubi supra, pag. 274.

† Multi enim de resurrectione dubitantes, sicut & nos aliquando fuimus. Hom. 26, in Evang.

† Hist. lib. x, cap. xiii, & xiv.

† Lib. iii, cap. xxxviii, & lib. iv, cap. iv.

(91) That is, according to the definition of Dom Denis de Sainte Marthe.

(92) Sainte Marthe, ubi supra, liv. iv, cap. vii, pag. 613.

(a) For though he was at last expelled from Rome by the emperor, he put the Pope, who succeeded him, in a capacity of triumphing on many occasions.

(b) The emperor Henry IV.

(c) See Maimb. Decadence de l'Empire, lib. iii, pag. 228, Dutch Edit.

GREGORY VII, called Hildebrand before he was raised to the papal see. Of all the Popes, who went about to increase the pontifical power, none has been so bold and successful in it as he (a). He was without doubt a wicked man; but it cannot be denied that he had the qualities of a great man [A], as well as some conquerors, who are otherwise guilty of many crimes [B]. He was born at Soana, a small town of Tuscany, and rendered himself so considerable in the monastery of Clugny, that he was made prior of it. He negotiated several affairs with, and for the Popes, and was at last raised to the pontificate in the year 1073. He resolved, without any loss of time, to deprive the emperors of their right of giving the investiture to the bishops; but, being afraid of meeting at first with unsurmountable obstacles, if it could be objected to him, that he had acted as a Pope, before his election had been approved by the emperor (b), he wrote to that prince in very submissive terms, and declared to him, that he would not be consecrated nor crowned, till he knew his will about it. The German bishops advised the emperor to disapprove that election; but the only thing they could obtain was, that he would get himself informed of the manner how it was made; and he approved of it, as soon as he heard the good answers his envoy received from Hildebrand. He had quickly occasion to repent of it; for the new Pope, in the first council he held at Rome, renewed the ancient decrees against Simonists, and such ecclesiastics as kept concubines [C]; and made a new one, whereby he declared both those to be excommunicated, who should receive the investiture of any benefice from a layman, and those who should give it. He excepted no body: Hence it was, that his legates declared to the emperor, who went to meet them as far as Nuremberg, that they had express orders to treat him as an excommunicated person, and not to confer with him, till he had received from them the absolution of the excommunication he had incurred for the crime of simony, of which he had been accused to the late Pope (c). He did what they desired of him; he received the absolution, and wrote to Gregory, that he would be always very submissive

[A] It cannot be denied, that he had the qualities of a great man. A modern author gives us the following character of him. 'He was a man of small stature, but he had a very great soul, a quick and penetrating wit, an undaunted courage, and never gave over his enterprises, whatever difficulty he met with in the execution of them. He was fiery, impatient, hasty, bold, and daring, too forward in the execution of his designs, and carrying things to the last extremities, without being afraid of the ill consequences that might attend his vigorous, but too violent, resolutions. He was, otherwise, a man of an unblameable life, notwithstanding all the calumnies of his enemies. He gave first the example of what he required from others; and was very learned, especially in the divine sciences; the laws, and the rules and customs of the church, as the historians, and even the Germans, who have no reason to favour him, acknowledge. Lastly, if his fiery and inflexible humour could have permitted him to temper his zeal with the noble moderation of his five predecessors . . . it is certain, that he would have prevented many evils, and the shedding of a great deal of christian blood, and the historians would have bestowed none but great encomiums upon him (1).' If you consider well

* Forma prepositi factus, quod verbo decuit, exemplo demonstravit. Otto Frising.

† Virum sacris literis eruditissimum, & omnium virtutum genere celeberrimum. Lamiert. Schafnab.

(1) Maimbourg, Decadence de l'Empire, liv. iii, pag. 220, Dutch edit. He quotes Willet. Maimb. lib. iii, de gent. Reg. Angl. Petr. Dam.

(2) Naudé, Apologie des Grands Hommes, pag. 577.

(3) When she left the temporal dominion, she got the spiritual ones. edes Roma tri, que patris honoris ita caput nro, quicquid possidet armis glorie tenet. er Aquila. lib. de In- & lib. ii, tione, cap. vi.

the following words of Naudé you will find in them the idea of a great man. He was one of the greatest pillars of the church, and, to speak of him sincerely and impartially, he was the first, who put her in possession of her franchises, and who freed the sovereign pontiff from the slavery of the emperors (2). Some may say, that purchasing liberty, shaking off the yoke, making one's self independant, and subduing one's own masters, are wicked actions; but they cannot say, that such things can be performed without noble endowments, and a great courage.

[B] . . . as well as some conquerors, who are, otherwise, guilty of a great many crimes. I am the more willing to use this comparison, because I am persuaded, that the conquest of the church was a work, that required no less courage and ability, than the conquest of an empire. The power the Popes have attained to is more to be wondered at, than the vast monarchy of ancient Rome; so that it may be said, that this great city was to be, in two different manners (3), the spring of the most sublime qualities, that are requisite for the foundation of a very great state. If this does not prove, that the Romans equalled other nations in moral virtues, it proves at least, that they had more courage and industry. It is an amazing thing, that a church, which pretends to have no arms but the spiritual ones of the word of God, and which grounds her rights only upon

the gospel, that teaches every where humility and poverty, should have been so bold as to aspire to an absolute dominion over all the kings of the earth; but it is still more amazing, that she should have been so successful in such a chimerical design. If ancient Rome, which pretended only to conquests and military virtue (4), subdued so many nations, it is a noble and glorious thing in the eyes of the world; but any one, who reflects upon it, will not wonder at it. It is a much more surprising thing to see new Rome, pretending only to an apostolical ministry, arrive to so great a power, that the greatest monarchs have been forced to submit to it; for it may be said, that there is hardly an emperor, who opposed the Popes, but found himself the worse for it at last. At this very day, the quarrels of the most potent princes with the court of Rome do generally end to their own confusion. We have so fresh instances of it (5) that I need not mention them. In the eyes of the world, such a conquest is a more glorious work than those of the Alexanders and Cæsars; and therefore Gregory VII, who was the chief promoter of it, ought to be placed among the great conquerors, who had the most eminent qualities. You will see in the remark [S] my answer to an objection, published against what I say here.

[C] He renewed the ancient decrees against simonists, and such ecclesiastics as kept concubines. No Pope had ever been so severe as our Hildebrand against the priests, who did not observe celibacy; and therefore he was very much hated. Here are the words of

Lambertus Schaffnabergensis: 'Pope Hildebrand, having called several synods of the bishops of Italy, ordered, that, according to the ancient canons, priests should have no wives, and those, who had, should part with them, or be deposed, admitting none into the priesthood, but such as should promise to live in perpetual continency. This decree being published all over Italy, he wrote to the bishops of Gaul, enjoining them to do the same in their churches, and that the priests should leave their wives, upon pain of excommunication. The whole faction of the clergy rose up immediately against that decree, saying, that it was heretical, and contained senseless doctrine, contrary to the word of God, which says, all men cannot receive this saying; he that is able to receive it, let him receive it; and likewise contrary to the apostle, who commands, that those, who cannot contain themselves, should marry, it being better to marry than to burn. They farther added, that this man, by a violent exaction, would have men to live like angels, and would occasion all manner of filthiness, by stopping the course of nature. These factious priests

(4) Extendit autem spirantia mollis sera.

To regere imperio populos Romanæ memento, (Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem, Parcere subjectis & debellare superbis.

Let minor souls the statue form with art: Conquest and empire are a Roman's part; Peace to dispose, to sway the giddy crowd, The humble slave to spare, but to chastise the proud.

Virg. Æneid, lib. vi, ver. 343.

(5) I write this in 1693.

submissive to him. Nevertheless he did not permit the legates to call a council; and he kept with him those ministers of his, who had been excommunicated by the Pope. For which reasons, and several others, the Pope summoned him to appear at the next Synod of Rome; in default of which, he threatened to excommunicate him. The emperor slighted his threatenings, and offered all sorts of indignities to the legates, who had been so bold as to threaten him; and he convoked a council at Worms, wherein cardinal le Blanc set up for an informer against Gregory. He charged him with so many crimes [D], that the assembly declared the election of that Pope to be void, and wrote to him letters full of injurious words, to acquaint him with their determination. Those, who presented the letters, did it with great brutality; and yet that Pontiff, who, notwithstanding his hasty and fiery temper, had a great command of himself, took them unconcernedly, and without saying any thing (d): But, the very next day, having imparted them to his synod, he pronounced (e) in a solemn manner an anathema against the emperor [E], and declared I know not how many prelates of Germany and Lombardy excommunicated. The latter were so little concerned at it, that they quickly assembled at Pavia, and excommunicated him. As he had foreseen, that his conduct would draw upon him very potent enemies, he omitted nothing to strengthen his party; and, in the first place, he brought over three princesses to his interest [F]; one of which, called Mathilda, adhered to him in such a manner as was much talked of [G]. Besides, he excited the Saxons

(d) Id. *ibid.*
pag. 236.

(e) In the year
1076.

Saxons

priests concluded, that, if he obstinately persisted in his resolution, they had rather renounce the priesthood, than forsake their wives; and he might then see where he could find angels to govern the churches, since he would not make use of men (6). Coëf-feteau adds, according to the testimony of Marianus Scotus, that many clergymen chose rather to be excommunicated by the Pope, than to part with their wives; but the Pope ordered, in a synod, that no Christian should bear the mafs of a married priest (7).

I shall observe a thing, which seems to deserve attention. *viz.* That the Popes have found it incomparably more difficult to bring the clergy of the northern countries under the law of celibacy, than those of the southern. When those of Italy and Spain had been for a long time subjected to that yoke, those of Germany, and other cold countries, held out still, and disputed the ground for marriage, *tantum pro aris & focis*: nay, I do not know but it may be said, that, in Luther's time, the concubinage of priests was more apparent and scandalous in Germany than in Italy. It ought not to be inferred from thence, that the inhabitants of the southern countries are more chaste: on the contrary it seems, that the northern priests chose rather to keep to certain concubines, than to disguise their incontinence by a vague leudness. They acted therefore with greater fairness, and perhaps they believed it was a less crime.

[D] Cardinal le Blanc charged him with so many crimes. In order to know his accusations, we need only read the sentence pronounced against the Pope by the assembly of Worms. I shall set it down as I find it in du Pleffis Mornai (8). 'Hildebrand, who calls himself Gregory, is the first, who, without our consent, against the will of the Roman emperor, appointed by God, and against the custom of our ancestors, and contrary to the laws, has invaded the papal see by his ambition, which he has made known for a long time. He will do any thing that comes into his head, *per fas nefasque*, whether it be lawful or unlawful. He is an apostate monk, who corrupts the holy theology by a new doctrine, adapts the holy scripture to his affairs by false and strained interpretations, disturbs the peace of the college, pollutes sacred things, and lends an ear to the devils, and to the slanders of the wicked, being at the same time a witness, a judge, and an accuser. He parts husbands from their wives, and prefers whores to honest women, fornication, incest, and adultery, to a chaste marriage. He sets the people against the priests, and the mob against the bishops; and would make every body believe, that none is rightly ordained, unless he begs the priesthood of him, or buys it, *ab ejus Auribus*, of his blood-suckers. He deceives, imposes upon, and bubbles the vulgar by a mere shew of religion. He handles the holy mysteries of religion, in *senatulo muliercularum*, among silly women: he dissolves the law of God, and encroaches upon the papacy and the empire. He is guilty of high treason divine and humane, desiring to deprive a sacred emperor and a good prince of his life and states. For these reasons, the emperor,

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the bishops, the senate, and christian people, declare him to be deposed, and will no longer leave CHRIST'S flock to the keeping of such a wolf.'

[E] He pronounced an anathema against the emperor. And, what had never been done yet by any Pope, he deprived him of the imperial dignity, and of his kingdoms of Germany and Italy; declared all his subjects absolved, by the pontifical authority, from the oath of fidelity they had taken to him; and wrote afterwards circular letters to all the bishops and princes of Germany, whereby he permitted them, in case Henry should obstinately persist in his revolt against the holy see, to proceed, by the same authority, to the election of another king, who might receive the imperial crown, and govern the empire justly, and according to the laws (9).

[F] He brought over three princesses to his interest. *Viz.* The empress Agnes his mother (10), the duchess Beatrix his aunt, and the countess Mathilda his cousin german. As for the empress, she might be of great use to him by her intreaties and remonstrances. And indeed she took a journey into Germany, with the legates that Gregory sent thither the first time; and the emperor promised to grant all the requests she made in the Pope's name, but performed nothing. The countesses Beatrix and Mathilda being very powerful in Italy, where they had vast estates, were able to assist him more effectually than the empress Agnes by her remonstrances, which Henry made no great account of. These two princesses, who were very devout, had a great opinion of Gregory's virtue, who was looked upon as a holy man, and very austere; nay, he was said to have revelations and extasies, with the gift of prophecy and miracles, which are powerful motives to make one a ghostly father. Afterwards they resolved to be entirely governed by him; and he, on his part, answering the confidence they reposed in him, took a particular care to direct them by his letters in the way to virtue, and expressed a great affection for them, and a mutual confidence: so that, when this great rupture between the Pope and the emperor divided the empire into two parties, they did not in the least waver, but openly declared for Gregory, and resolved to assist him with all their power, especially the countess Mathilda (11). I use the words of this Jesuit on purpose, lest the readers should suspect that I design to impose upon them by artificial translations. It must be confessed, that this Pope was a very cunning man, and that, notwithstanding his fiery and violent temper, he knew very well how to make use of the most effectual devices: he made sure of the female sex, and pitched upon the ladies, who had the greatest power.

[G] Mathilda adhered to him in such a manner as was very much talked of. A Pope, though never so peaceable and well-beloved, could not have avoided the satirical strokes of ill tongues, had he been so intimate with a lady, as Hildebrand with Mathilda. You may therefore judge, whether a Pope, so violent as he was, and who had many enemies, could avoid being defamed on account of the mutual affection between him and that countess. I shall set down another passage of a Jesuit, who cannot be suspected upon this occasion.

M m

The

(9) Maimbourg
ibid. pag. 237.

(10) That is,
mother of the em-
peror Henry IV.

* Lambert. Greg.
lib. i, Ep. lxxxv,
& lib. ii, Ep.
xxx.

(11) Maimb.
ibid. pag. 238.

(6) Lambertus
Schis. de reb.
Germanic. ad
ann. 1074, apud
Coëf-feteau, Ré-
ponse au Mythe
d'Iniquité, pag.
677.

(7) See the re-
mark of the article
MUTIUS
(HÉRODOTE).

(8) Du Pleffis
Mornai, Mythe
d'Iniquité, pag.
240. He quotes
Avent. Annal.
Bijor. liv. v,
Lambertus
Schis. de reb.
Germanic.
Carolus Sigonius
de regno Ital.
lib. ix. Autor
vixit Henric.

(f) His name was Rodolphus, and he was elected emperor by the Germans.

(g) Maimbourg, ubi supra, pag. 251.

† The eighteenth of April, 1076.

(12) He was Mathilda's husband.

† Lambert. Schafnab. Post cuius mortem Romani Pontificis lateri pene comes individua adhererebat, cumque miro coelebati affectu. Cumque magna pars Italie eius preter imperio, & omnibus que prima mortales docent, supra ceteros terrarum illius principes abundaret: ubicunque operam eius Papa indiguisse oculis aderat, & tantum patri & domino sedulum exhibebat officium.

† Unde nec evadere potuit in cessu amoris suspitionem, passim iactantibus regis auctoribus, & praeceptis clericis, quibus illicita, & contra scita canonum conjugia prohibebat, quod die ac nocte impudenter Papa ejus, &c. Sed apud omnes sanum aliquod sapientem luce clarius confabatur falsa esse que dicebantur. Nam & Papa tam eximie tamque apostolicæ vitam instituebat, ut nec minimum sinitrum rumoris maculam conversationis ejus sublimis amitteret, & illa in urbe celebris, &c. Lamb. Schafnab.

(13) Maimb. ubi supra, pag. 243.

(14) Du Pleffis, Myftere d'Iniquité, pag. 246.

(15) Coëffeteau, Réponse au Myftere d'Iniquité, pag. 675.

Saxons to a revolt; he made a league with the duke of Suabia (f); and dispersed several circular letters, which had a good effect; for he declared all those to be excommunicated, who should correspond with the emperor; he forbade all bishops to absolve him; and enjoined all princes to force him to submit to the holy see, or to proceed to the election of another emperor. What is very remarkable, is, that he durst maintain, that, in deposing him, he had only conformed to the practice of the court of Rome [H]. The league, that was formed in his favour in Germany, was so powerful, that, after a long deliberation, it was declared, that they ought to elect another king by the Pope's authority, who should give him the imperial crown (g). The emperor, notwithstanding his mean condescension to the confederate princes, could obtain but very hard conditions; which obliged him to go and beg the Pope's absolution; and, in order to obtain it, he was forced to submit to the most unheard-of indignities [I]. His excommunicated

The countess Mathilda finding herself alone, and being absolute mistress of her states, because the duchess Beatrix, her mother, died much † about the same time that the death of Godfrey (12) came to be known, resolved to be directed by Gregory more than ever, made him intirely master of her mind, her conduct, and estate; and therefore, according to the usual custom of those devout women, who would think themselves undone if they were far from their directors, for whom they have sometimes too great a fondness, she did whatever she could not to lose the sight of him †. She constantly followed him, and did him a thousand services with an incredible affection. She only asked by his orders, which she executed with a wonderful exactness: and though she was the greatest princess of Italy, she preferred to that title that of his most humble servant, and dear daughter, looking upon him as her father and master, for whom she expressed a great deal of respect, zeal, and devotion: though perhaps she did it with less prudence and discretion than she should have done, if I may say so, without pretending to lessen the honour that is due to the memory of so illustrious a princess. For, in short, the partisans of the emperor, and the enemies of Gregory, especially the clergy of Germany, whom he absolutely resolved to deprive of their wives, whom they had impudently married against the most holy laws of the church, took occasion from thence to inveigh against him in a strange manner, to accuse him of too great a privacy with that countess †, and to tell many scandalous stories of him, and such as cannot be credited in the least, as being contrary to truth, and the known virtue of both. And therefore the German historian, who lived at that time, and who relates this, adds, that all judicious persons, and such as were not blinded and prejudiced by an unjust passion, were fully sensible, that they were mere impudent calumnies, which, like thin clouds, so vanished away by the apostolical life the Pope led in the sight of all the Roman court, that those, who knew him, did not entertain the least suspicion of him (13).

I am obliged in equity to mention, in this place, a complaint of Coëffeteau against du Pleffis Mornai. That monk was angry with du Pleffis, because he quoted only the first part of a passage of Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis: And therefore she cannot avoid being suspected of incestuous love, since the king's friends gave out every where, especially the clergy, whom he forbade to marry contrary to the canons, that he spent nights and days in her embraces, and that she, being extremely fond of that Pope, would not marry again after the death of her husband (14). Du Pleffis goes no farther; whereupon Coëffeteau makes the following complaint. But, reader, what will you say, if I shew you, that this author, this grave historian, as he calls him, confutes this impudent calumny in that very same place . . . How then can be so unfair and so bold as to alledge it to defame his life and domestic conversation (15)? This monk makes too great a noise for a small matter: I confess, that du Pleffis had not done amiss, to observe by the bye, that Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis confutes this; but, after all, his chief design being to tell what judgment was made of Pope Gregory, it is not very strange, that he should quote only the words of that historian, whereby it appears, that many scandalous stories were told of that Pope. Note, that he calls this Lambert, abbot of Hirtzaw. His adversary reproves him for it, and says, he was only a monk at Hirtzaw; but they are both mistaken; for he was a monk of Hirsfeld in the diocese of Mentz.

I shall conclude with a thought of Father Maimbourg. 'Though, says he (16), those reports were plainly false; yet, because men, through a malignity natural to them, are more inclined to give credit to ill reports than to good ones, especially with respect to those, who are in some reputation for their virtue, it produced an ill effect, and did Gregory some prejudice. From whence the directors of consciences ought to learn, that the shortest conversations they have with devout women are always the best; and that long and frequent discourses with them are always more dangerous, than useful, to those of their profession.'

[H] He durst maintain . . . that he had only conformed to the practice of the court of Rome.] This shews how little those are to be depended on, who boast of doing nothing but in imitation of the ancients: the greatest innovators have been so bold as to boast of such a thing. We have here a very remarkable instance of it, which I shall set down in the words of a Jesuit, lest any one should be apt to think, that I exaggerate things (17). 'I find also, that Heriman, bishop of Metz, having proposed to Gregory, in writing, his difficulties upon this subject, and asked, among other things, what answer was to be made to those, who maintained, that the Pope could not depose the king, nor dispense his subjects from their oath of fidelity, as he had done in the last synod at Rome; he answered him plainly, and without any hesitation **, that he had done it very justly, according to the custom and practice of his predecessors, who had excommunicated kings and emperors, depriving them of their empire, and of their kingdoms. And yet Otho Frisingensis, a very learned and most holy bishop, and a man well affected to the Pope, and often commended by Baronius assures us, with great sincerity, that having been an exact †† reader of his stories, he had never found, that any Pope, before him, ever attempted such a thing (18).'

[I] He was forced to submit to the most unheard-of indignities.] He set out in the beginning of the winter, quemquam invenio ante hunc à Rotinno, and passed the Alps in the worst time of the year, being exposed to great inconveniences, which might raise compassion for a meer traveller, and much more for so great a prince, reduced to so miserable a condition Frising. Chron. lib. vi, cap. xxxv. (19). Nevertheless, his arrival in Italy gave some uneasiness to the Pope; and therefore Mathilda carried him to her castle of Canossa, that he might be safe whatever should happen (20). Many princes intreated him to absolve the emperor, but he continued a long time Select. Histor. Cap. Seculi xi & xii, Part. II, where he supposes, licitations of those princes, he told them at last, that he would absolve him, according to their desires; but upon was derived by condition, that, in order to make it appear to all the world that he truly repented of his revolt, he should first send him his crown, and all his other royal ornaments, to dispose of them at his pleasure; and that he should publicly confess, that, after what he had done, he was unworthy of being a king or an emperor. The princes threw themselves at the Pope's feet, beseeching him for God's sake to be contented with something more tolerable: and they obtained, with great difficulty, that he might come then, in GOD's name, if he had a mind to be absolved; but that, in order to obtain that favour, he must resolve to do whatever should be enjoined him for a penance (21). The emperor submitted to those terms (22). 'He went to the first gate of the castle, expecting with great submission what should be required of him. First, he was obliged to go in alone, and

(16) Ubi supra, pag. 245.

(17) Maimb. ubi supra, pag. 245.

** Lib. iv, Epist. xxv.

†† Lego & relego Romanorum regum & imperatorum gesta, & nunquam invenio quemquam coram ante hunc à Rotinno, vel excommunicatum, vel regnum privatum. Ono Frising. Chron. lib. vi, cap. xxxv.

(18) See Father Alexander, Cap. Seculi xi & xii, Part. II, where he supposes, licitations of those princes, he told them at last, that he would absolve him, according to their desires; but upon was derived by condition, that, in order to make it appear to all the world that he truly repented of his revolt, he should first send him his crown, and all his other royal ornaments, to dispose of them at his pleasure; and that he should publicly confess, that, after what he had done, he was unworthy of being a king or an emperor. The princes threw themselves at the Pope's feet, beseeching him for God's sake to be contented with something more tolerable: and they obtained, with great difficulty, that he might come then, in GOD's name, if he had a mind to be absolved; but that, in order to obtain that favour, he must resolve to do whatever should be enjoined him for a penance (21). The emperor submitted to those terms (22). 'He went to the first gate of the castle, expecting with great submission what should be required of him. First, he was obliged to go in alone, and

(20) Id. Ibid. pag. 255.

(21) Ibid. pag. 257.

(22) Ibid. pag. 258.

to

excommunicated friends were treated much in the same manner [K]. This made the Lombards less zealous for him; and he could not recover their esteem, but by expressing a great desire of revenging himself. The wars he had upon his hands in Germany, where Rodolphus duke of Suabia had been made king, prevented his attacking the Pope; but, having obtained great advantages over his rival, he shewed himself but little disposed to perform what Gregory required of him. Wherefore this Pope, in a council held at Rome in the year 1080, excommunicated and deposed him anew [L]. This last stroke brought things to the last extremities. The emperor called an assembly first at Mentz, and then at Brixen (b), wherein Gregory was declared to have forfeited the pontificate, and Guibert of Parma, archbishop of Ravenna, was elected in his room, and took the name of Clement III. This assembly, among other crimes, charged Hildebrand with magic [M]. The emperor, having gained two battles, one in Germany over Rodolphus, notwithstanding the Pope's prophecies [N]; the other, near

(b) It is a town in Tirol, between Trent and Innsbruck.

to leave all his attendants without doors to wait for him, and go back with him at his coming out from thence; which was certainly a very nice point, and no sovereign prince but he would have submitted to it. For, in short, he delivered himself, as it were, bound hand and foot, into the hands of those, who might have absolutely disposed of him as they pleased, and kept him prisoner in a place that was thought to be impregnable, and out of which his attendants had never been able to rescue him. Besides, when he got out of the first inclosure, they stopped him in the second; where he was obliged to lay down all the ensigns of the royal majesty, to pull off his cloaths, and put on a woollen tunic, like a hair-cloth (23), and to stay there bare-footed in the coldest time of the winter; (for it was about the latter end of January), and fasting from morning till night, imploring with deep sighs God's and the Pope's mercy. And what is most strange, is, that this poor prince was forced to continue in this sad and pitiful condition three days together, whilst the Pope could not be moved with tears and intreaties to admit him sooner into his presence, in order to comfort him: and the thing went so far, that as he himself confessed, boasting of his extreme severity in his letter to the princes of Germany, all those, that were with him, murmured at it, being amazed at his hard-heartedness; nay, some made no scruple to say, that such a behaviour was more like the barbarous cruelty of a tyrant, than the just severity of an apostolic judge. They are the very words of Gregory, mentioned by cardinal Baronius. . . . (24). That prince was like to lose his patience, about the end of the third day of so severe a penance . . . when the countess Mathilda undertook this business with more earnestness than before: and then Pope Gregory, who could not deny any thing to so great a princess, to whom he was so much indebted, resolved at last to receive Henry on the fourth day in the morning, and to reconcile him to the church upon these terms: *The he should submit to the judgment, which the Pope, in the time and place appointed for it, should give upon the accusations brought against him . . . and that, in the mean time, he should not exercise any act of sovereignty.* I omit the other conditions, which were all very severe.

[K] His excommunicated friends were treated much in the same manner. He did not use much more gently the German bishops and others, both ecclesiastics and laymen, who came a little before to throw themselves at his feet, in order to be absolved from the excommunication, which they had incurred. For, before he absolved them, he caused each of them to be shut up in little cells, as in prisons, and made them fast a considerable time, against the custom of their country, where, by reason of the cold, fasting is with more difficulty observed than in Italy (25). Fasting is without doubt one of the greatest mortifications, that can be laid upon the northern nations, especially upon rich people, who are used from their younger years to feed well, and to make long meals, where, if they eat a great deal, they drink still more. If the Christian religion had been first planted in that country, I do not think they would have sent into the east the same canons about abstinence and vigils, which came from the east to the northern nations. See the complaints, which were made against cardinal Alamandus (26).

[L] He excommunicated and deposed the emperor anew. By this thundering decree, he deprived him of

the empire, and of the kingdoms of Germany and Italy, absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance; and, what he would not do till then, confirms Rodolphus's election, to whom he sent a rich crown of gold, about which there was an inscription, contained in one verse, importing that CHRIST, who is the mystical stone, gave the diadem to Peter, and in the person of Gregory to Rodolphus. They are father Maimbourg's words (27). If it be true, that Gregory's father was a carpenter, we have here an instance, that men of the most lofty courage may be born among the dregs of the people. Can any body be more haughty than our Hildebrand was? did not he make it his business to humble kings, because, said he, they carried it too high, and he was resolved to bring down their pride by his severe usage. *Imperatoribus & regibus, ceterisque principibus ut elationes maris, & superbia fluctus comprimere valeant, arma humilitatis, Deo auctore, providere curamus: proinde videtur utile, maxime Imperatoribus, ut cum mens illorum se ad alta erigere, & pro singulari vultu gloria oblectare, inveniat quibus se modis humiliter, atque unde gaudebat, sentiat plus timendum* (28). — To humble the pride of kings and princes, we take care, by GOD's assistance, to provide the arms of humility: esteeming it useful to shew monarchs the way to humble themselves amidst their greatness, and discover to them the danger of the situation, they so much pride themselves in. Observe, that the Jesuit Maimbourg rejects what has been said of Gregory's father. These are his words. *What is commonly said, that he was a carpenter's son, and that playing with shavings, when he was but a child, he accidentally formed some letters out of them, which were so disposed as to make this verse of the Psalmist, Dominabitur à mare usque ad mare; He shall rule from one sea to another; is a meer story* (29).

[M] Among other crimes, they charged him with magic. This appears from the sentence pronounced against him. Du Plessis Mornai mentions it at large. And likewise, said he (30), in the year 1080, the bishops of Italy, Germany, and Gaul, met at Brixen in Bavaria (31), and condemned Hildebrand a second time as guilty of ambition, heresy, and sacrilege: *'Because, say they, he is a false monk, a magician, a diviner, an interpreter of dreams and prodigies, a despiser of the Christian religion, who has bought the pontificate, contrary to the custom of our forefathers, against the will of all good men, &c. A sworn enemy to the emperor and the empire, a corrupter of divine and human laws, teaching falsehood instead of truth, evil instead of good, &c. An instigator of all manner of wickedness, the abettor of a tyrant, a lover of discord between brethren, friends, and relations; occasioning divorces among married people; denying that priests, who have lawful wives, are true priests, and yet bringing fornicators, adulterers, incestuous people, &c. to the altars, &c. We, by the authority of Almighty God, declare him to have forfeited the pontificate; and if he does not voluntarily resign it, we ordain that he be for ever deprived of it. Sigonius, who also mentions this decree, uses these words, manifestum necromanticum, Pythonico spiritu laborantem: A plain necromancer, possessed by the spirit of Pytho'*

[N] The emperor gained two battles. . . . notwithstanding the Pope's prophecies. Hildebrand, in order to encourage Rodolphus and the Saxons, assured them, that he knew, by revelation, That a false king was

† Petra dedite Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

(27) Maimb. ibid. pag. 278.

(28) Greg. Epist. ad Heriman. Epist. Met. de Excom. Henr. IV, apud Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 259.

(29) Maimb. ibid. pag. 218.

(30) Mystere d'iniquité, pag. 244.

(31) Or rather in Tirol.

(23) Maimbourg adds, *sub Scissura et a brum in his hands, as submitting to be shorn and whipped.* Du Plessis, *Mystere d'iniquité*, pag. 243.

†† Ut pro eo multis precibus & lacrymis intercedentes, omnes quidem infirmam nostram mentis duritiam mirarentur, nonnulli vero in nobis non apostolicæ severitatis gravitatem, sed quasi tyrannice feritatis crudelitatem esse clamarent. Greg. lib. 10, Ep. xii, & apud Baron. ann. 1077, n. 17.

(24) Maimb. ibid. pag. 260.

(25) Id. ibid. pag. 259.

(26) Above, in remark (A), of the article ALAMANDUS.

* Conc. Rom. 7. c. 10. Concil. Hist. Paris.

(i) Consult the authors quoted by Maimbourg in his *Décadence de l'Empire*. I have made use of his narrative.

near Mantua, over the countess Mathilda's troops, resolved to go and settle his Anti-Pope at Rome. He effected it after many difficulties, and had the satisfaction of forcing his enemy to fly from Rome, and to retire to Salerno. Pope Gregory VII died there the 24th of May 1085 (i). It is no easy thing to give a particular account of his actions with any certainty; for, besides that the writers, who speak of him, confuse one another [O], it cannot be denied, that his enemies appear too passionate, and that what they say of his being a magician, looks altogether like a fiction [P].

However

(12) *Myſtère d'Iniquité*, pag. 244.

(13) *Réponse au Myſtère d'Iniquité*, pag. 692.

Gregor. Regist. lib. viii, Ep. vii.

(34) Rivet, Remarques sur la Réponse au Myſtère d'Iniquité, Part. II, pag. 382.

(35) *Ubi supra*, pag. 281.

Greg. lib. viii, Ep. vii.

* Lib. viii, Ep. ix.

(36) *Rodolphus* was killed in that battle.

(37) In the remark [K].

to die that very year, which he understood of the emperor Henry IV; and if it be not true, added he, I desire to be no longer Pope; nay, if it does not happen before St Peter's day. Du Pleſſis Mornai (32), who had this from Siebert, observes, that Rodolphus, depending on that oracle, renewed the battle four times, others say six times, and not only lost it, but also his right hand, wherewith he had sworn to the emperor, and also his life. Coëffeteau answers (33), that cardinal Baronius had prevented that calumny, and showed that Gregory never pretended to the revelations, his enemies fastened upon him; but only that he affirmed in general, trusting to GOD's mercy, and the justice of his cause, that GOD would destroy his enemies, and that his friends would shortly be uppermost; but without fixing any day, as he had been falsely charged with it by the schismatics. 'From whence, says Baronius, Gregory's enemies took occasion to calumniate him, and to call him a false prophet, as if he had foretold that Henry should quickly die, and many other things of that nature. Though, the truth is, he never pretended to say that by a prophetic spirit, but according to the usual course of things; for it frequently happens, that men reap according as they have sowed. And therefore Gregory, relying upon the justice of his cause, was confident that God would make it prevail; which, says he, all things duly considered, will be found to be true; for Henry and his adherents came to a miserable end.' The reply, that was made to Coëffeteau, was this: He should have considered, that Baronius says this, upon occasion of a letter written by Gregory to his fellow bishops, and other faithful; and it is true, that the words of that letter may bear such an interpretation. But this does not prove that the Pope did not speak otherwise elsewhere. And, indeed, the charge laid upon him concerns quite another thing, not contained in a letter, but spoken in a public sermon, which he preached in his pontifical habit. The words run thus: Do not look upon me hereafter as a Pope, but turn me out from the altar, if this prophecy be not fulfilled on St Peter's day. It fell out, that the assassins, who had been bribed, could not strike the intended blow, in order to fulfil the prophecy; so that, to justify himself, he pretended that his words were only to be understood of the death of the emperor's soul, because he had not been able to kill his body (34).

It is plain, that du Pleſſis's objection remains in its full force, since Coëffeteau's answer, taken from Baronius, is altogether insignificant. We may therefore affirm, that Hildebrand pretended to foretell things, which quickly proved false by the event. Mind these words of Father Maimbourg (35). He wrote circular letters to all the faithful, particularly to those of the province of Ravenna, to persuade them to engage in a confederacy with the Norman princes against the anti-Pope. He also wrote to the princes of Germany, and exhorted them to make war against Henry, promising all of them, that they should obtain a glorious victory. But it fell out unluckily for him, that the success proved quite contrary to what he had so confidently assured them of; for, three weeks after he wrote those letters, bearing date the twenty second of September, the armies of Henry and Rodolphus came to a furious engagement on the fifth of October, upon the banks of the river Elleſtre near Merſburg in Saxony (36). Here is a dilemma: either Hildebrand believed, that his prediction would come to pass, or he did not believe it. If he believed it, he must be called a false prophet; if he did not believe it, but only designed to encourage the rebels, he ought to be called an impostor, who, by an execrable policy, sacrificed the sacredness of prophecy, and the honour of the holy name of God, to his temporal interest. We have seen, in our days, some interpreters of the Apocalypse, who may be confounded by a like dilemma. Hildebrand's craft puts me in mind of the article DEJOTARUS (37). Those, who pretend to foretell things to come, take care above all

things to have a brazen face, and an inexhaustible source of equivocations, in order to explain events in their favour, though they be never so contrary to them. If the enemies meet with worldly prosperity, they say, they grow more obdurate, and that it is the true misery, that was foretold by them. See how Hildebrand applies to the death of the soul, what he ventured to foretell concerning the emperor's death. Of what use could it be to Rodolphus, that the emperor Henry IV should be damned after a certain number of years, if, before that, Rodolphus was to be killed in a battle gained by that emperor? what sense was there in foretelling the damnation of Henry IV, a prince, who was quickly to triumph over his rival? if Gregory VII had been a true prophet, that triumph would have been the first thing foretold by him. This I observe, to shew the vanity of that Pope's subterfuge.

[O] The writers, who speak of him, confuse one another. It is certain, that they run into extremes, some against Pope Gregory VII, and others against the emperor Henry IV. The modern historian, I have often cited, describes this so happily, that I rather choose to use his expressions, than my own. 'That (38) Maimboudi quarrel, says he (38), which divided all Europe, and armed one part of it against the other, did so prepossess and heat the authors, that wrote of it, that I may very well affirm, there never was seen so much animosity, bitterness, and rage, as appears in the works of those, who have undertaken to vindicate either of those parties, and who, by reason of their passion and prejudices, run into extremes. For, besides that they are not sparing of the most injurious words, against all the rules, I will not say of Christianity, but of common morality, and even humanity; some, after the schismatical cardinal Benno, revile in a most horrid manner the memory of Gregory VII, and represent him as the most wicked and execrable of all men: and others, on the contrary, will have it, that he had all the perfections requisite in a pontiff, and bestow upon him the greatest encomiums they can think of.' The better to judge of the historians of that time, it will not be improper to consider what was written for or against the league under Henry III, and Henry IV. How many false stories and calumnies were then published? I forbear alledging any instance of a later date; and I am persuaded, that those, who are most prepossessed, will grant me, that future ages would be very unjust, should they judge of our principal actors quite, by the libels daily printed on both sides, in which every body vents, with the utmost confidence, not what he knows, but what he forges and takes up in the streets. I write this in the year 1695.

[P] What they say of his being a magician has all the air of a fiction. Cardinal Benno says (39), that he learned magic of Theophilactus, who was renege. One day Pope Benedict IX, of Laurence his companion, of the archbishop of Meli, and of John arch-priest of San Giovanni Porta Latina, who was Pope Gregory VI, who, by conversing with devils, and the flying and singing of birds (40), pretended to know what passed in the remotest countries, the success of wars, and the death of princes. That, as long as they lived, even when they were Popes, he was the immediately chief minister and accomplice of their fascinations. The Porta Magiore. That, one day, coming from Alba, he left behind him a book of necromancy, he used to carry about him, which perceiving, when he came to the gate of the Lateran, he sent back two of his truly friends to fetch it, strictly forbidding them to look into it: but their curiosity prompted them to read it, and immediately the angels of Satan appeared to them in great numbers, who frightened them almost out of their senses, &c. That it was an usual thing with him, when he shook his sleeves, to send out fire and flames, and the like. Coëffeteau complains (41) of Du Pleſſis's et cetera. (41) *Ubi supra*, pag. 704.

However it be, I can affirm, that no Pope was ever so well or so ill spoken of as our Gregory VII. Many miracles are ascribed to him, and he has been placed in the catalogue of saints (k). It is said, that his body was found almost entire five hundred years after his death [Q]; and we may very well wonder at the uncertainty of history, when we read the apologies published by his favourers [R].

The
(k) See the Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans, April, 1689, pag. 166, 167, in the extract of the Acta Sanctorum Mail, Tom. VI, & VII, in which is the life of Gregory VII.

He forgets the best, says he: for Benno adds, that the wicked spirits urged those two servants to tell them why they had called for them, and given them so much trouble: command us quickly to do what you desire we should do, said those devils to the servants, otherwise we will fall upon you, and torment you. Whereupon the youngest said to them, pull down those walls quickly: pointing at the high walls of Rome, which was near: at the same instant those spirits threw down the walls of Rome, and the two young men, making the sign of the cross, returned to their master in a great fright. Coëffeteau will have it, that Du Pleffis was ashamed to insert this last story in his book, no author of that age having mentioned this overthrow of the walls of Rome. God forbid that I should suspect Du Pleffis of having designedly left out the most fabulous part of Benno's passage; but I dare say, he had not done amiss, if he had omitted his *Et cætera* upon such an occasion. His apologist charges Coëffeteau with a falsification. He should not, says he (42), have put in the margin, that no author of that age mentions the overthrow of the walls of Rome. Benno does not mention it neither: he only says of that young man, offendit illis muros altos vicinos Romæ, quos in momento maligni spiritus dejecerunt: that he showed them some high walls near Rome, which were immediately pulled down by those evil spirits: and therefore he said nothing of the walls of Rome, near which some old walls might fall down, though the historians do not mention it. The sincerity I pretend to does not allow me to declare against Coëffeteau: for I am persuaded he is wrongfully censured: *Muros altos vicinos Romæ* are the very walls of Rome, from which those two men were at a small distance, and not some other walls, that were in the neighbourhood of Rome. This is an instance of the equivocations of the Latin tongue. How many disputes do they not occasion?

Here follows the judgment Naudé made of cardinal Benno's narrative. 'I can hardly believe, says he,

that such strange things can be said of the most profligate man in the world, as this author relates of that Pope, and occasionally of Sylvester II, John XX, XXI, and Benedict IX, who, as he says, by virtue of his magic, made women run after him through woods and mountains, and foretold things to come. But these stories are nothing, if compared with what he adds concerning archbishop Laurence, who very well understood the language of birds, and Gregory VII, who threw the holy host into the fire, attempted upon the emperor's life, caused six Popes to be poisoned by his confidant Gerard Bratzus, and had so well learned magic of Theophylactus and Laurence, Sylvester's disciples, that he sent out fire by shaking his arms, and a thundering noise out of his sleeves. But this author is too full of such stories to be credited; and since he had a mind to slander the Popes, he should have done it with more modesty and judgment (43). Satirical writers should continually think upon these last words. They will do too much, and do not enough, *Ipsa sibi obstat magnitudo* (44): they discredit true matters of fact by mixing several false stories with them. It were better for them to leave out some things, than to add needless ones (45). The maxim, *dimidium plus toto* (46), should be their constant rule. Father Maimbourg (47) observes, that the calumnies, published against Gregory VII, came to nothing, because they were too venomous, too grossly invented by men blinded with passion, and highly improbable.

[Q] It is said, that his body was found almost entire five hundred years after his death. He was buried at Salerno in St Matthew's church, which he consecrated not long before he died. His body was searched for in the year 1573, and it was found clothed with pontifical ornaments. The following epitaph was added to it (48). 'Gregorio VII. Soanenfi Pont. Opt. Max. Ecclesiasticæ libertatis vindicæ acerrimo, assertori constantissimo, qui dum Rom. Pontificis auctoritatem adversus Henrici perfidiam strenuè tuetur, Salerni sancte decubuit, Anno Dom. 1085. 8 Kal. Ju-

lii. Marcus Antonius Columna, Marcellus Bononiensis, Archiepiscopus Salernitanus, cum illius corpus, quingentos circiter annos, sacris amictum, ac fere integrum reperisset, ne tanti pontificis sepulcrum diutius memoria careret. Gregorio XIII. Bononiense sedente, anno dom. 1578. pridie kalendas Quintilis. — To perpetuate the Memory of Gregory VII, of Soana, Pope, the most inflexible assertor of the immunities of the church, who, whilst he strenuously maintained the papal authority against the perfidy of the emperor Henry, died holily at Salerno, A. D. 1085, May 25. This epitaph was inscribed by Marc Anthony Columna, archbishop of Salerno, having found his body, after about 500 years interment, clothed in the pontifical habit, and almost entire: A. D. 1578. June 30. in the Reign of Gregory XIII. He was placed in the Roman Martyrology in the year 1584, and his festival was celebrated in 1595 (49).

[R] The apologies published by his favourers. He who most signalized himself for this Pope was a German Jesuit (50): he produces fifty holy and learned authors, as he calls them, who gave a good character of Gregory VII. Amongst whom he reckons Paulus Bernriedensis, and Gerocus, or Gerobus Reicherpergensis. Du Pleffis thought (51), that this Gerocus wrote the Life of Gregory VII, and has quoted some thing from him upon the credit of Aventinus. But he is charged with a double mistake: His adversaries maintain (52), 1. That Gerocus did not write that life, but only mentioned (53) several things relating to that Pope's quarrel with the emperor. 2. That he does not say what du Pleffis quotes him for. Gerocus's book, published at Ingoldstadt in the year 1611, is alledged in order to prove it. Rivet replies (54), that one is not obliged to depend on that edition, as being procured by the Jesuit Greiser, who perhaps left out what he thought fit. This Jesuit maintains (55), that the Words, ascribed to Gerocus, are Aventinus's. He talks in a very haughty strain against those, who shall be so bold as to doubt still of Pope's innocence, after his apology, and the pieces published by Sebastian Tegnagel, the emperor's library-keeper. 'Quid Benno & Sigebertus, Gregorii VII. calumniatores, si conferantur cum tot sanctissimis & doctissimis scriptoribus à parte Gregorii VII. stantibus, quorum in apologia pro eodem pontifice, quinquaginta protulimus, recitatis eorum verbis; ex quibus nonnulli interea integri in lucem venerunt, ut Paulus Bernriedensis, & Gerocus, seu Gerobus Reicherpergensis, ut tacem præclara illa antiquorum monumenta, quæ in defensionem Gregorii VII. jam olim scripta, nuper ex tenebris eruit vir clarissimus dominus Sebastianus Tegnagel, J. U. D. Cæsareus Viennæ bibliothecarius, quorum fulgore tam præcorum, quam recentium in Gregorium VII. convicia adeo obnubilantur, ut jam non nisi à noctuis, ululis, vespertilionibus & nycticoracibus, & si quæ sunt aliæ hujus generis caliginis patientes, lucis impatientes aves, conspiciantur (56). — What are Benno and Sigebert, the calumniators of Gregory VII, when compared with so many holy and learned writers, favourers of that Pope, fifty of whom I have produced, in my apology for him: Among whom, some have come to light entire, as Paulus Bernriedensis, and Gerocus, or Gerobus Reicherpergensis; to say nothing of those excellent remains of antiquity, which, having been formerly written in defence of Gregory VII, were lately brought to light by Sebastian Tegnagel, doctor of the laws, the emperor's librarian at Vienna: by the lustre of which, both ancient and modern, the calumnies against Gregory VII are so darkened, that, at present, they are visible only to owls, and bats, and such like birds of the night.'

Is it possible that Aventinus should be guilty of what is laid to his charge? It is affirmed, that, in order to abuse the Popes more maliciously, he pretended to have found in old books the satirical reflexions, he had himself forged. 'Quis vel obiter in Aventino versatus nescit, Aventinum sine fronte in pontifices maledicta jacere, & ne impudentiæ aculetur mentiris talia à veteribus vel dicta vel prodita de pontificibus, cum

(42) Rivet, Remarques sur la Réponse au Mythere d'Iniquité, Part. II, p. 193.

(43) Naudé, Apologie de Grégoire VII, p. 553.

(44) Florin, In Proemio See the remark [H] of the article ACHILLEA.

(45) The maxim of the civilians, Superfluum non nocet, cannot be applied here.

(46) See the remark [H] of the article ACHILLEA.

(47) Ubi supra, p. 290.

(48) See Father Jacob, Biblioth. Pontificia, lib. 1, pag. 93. It seems there are many faults in that passage, many words left out by the printer.

(49) Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans, April, 1689, pag. 166.

(50) James Gretserius.

(51) Mythere d'Iniquité, pag. 246.

(52) Coëffeteau, ubi supra, pag. 596. Greiser in Examine Mytherei Pleffis, pag. 356.

(53) Rivet, ubi supra, pag. 186.

(54) In primo libro de Investigatione Antiquitatis Christi.

(55) In Præloquis ad Gerobianum Syntagma. See his Examen Mytherei Pleffis, pag. 357.

(56) Gretserius, ubi supra, pag. 359, 360.

(1) Ever since
June 1699.

The anonymous writer of a book, intituled, *l'Esprit des cours de l'Europe* (1), which comes out monthly, has made a reflexion, which I shall examine. It concerns what I have said in the remark [B], concerning the Popes conquests. He thinks they were not so difficult as I imagine [S], and that one ought rather to wonder they have not been

(57) Gretserus,
ibid. pag. 355.

cum ipse ex hæretico suo cerebro omnia hujus generis exculperit, & quæ olim dicta vel scripta voluisset, dicta vel scripta fuisse, cynico prorsus ore affirmet (57). — *Who is there so little conversant in Aventinus, as not to know, that he impudently slanders the Popes, and, to avoid the charge of impudence, pretends, that such and such things were said of the Popes, when he himself forged all those things in his heretical brain, and whatever he would have to have been said or written, affirms to have been said or written, with the assurance of a Cynic?*

(58) Rivet of-
firms it, above,
citat. (54).

* Lib. de fide
Galica.

To prove this it is alledged, that he quotes Gerochus for some matters of fact, that are not to be found in the manuscript of that author. This seems to be a strong objection; but then Aventinus's favourers may say, that Gretser falsified his edition of Gerochus (58). It may be said in answer to Gretser, that it is not very likely Aventinus should have vented his own slanders under the name of an ancient author, since he might have found many ancient writers, who did not spare the court of Rome. It was but naming those authors: the zealous Papists take care to complain, that the enemies of the holy see, 'are daily busy in looking out for the proofs and calumnies, which they cannot find in good writers among the tombs and old shores of schismatics; and, as the civilian Michael Ritus has well observed *; 'Antiquos & manuscriptos libros in latebrosis lucis laboriose evolvunt, & ex fœtido pulvere auctores quosvis excitant, quos licentiose in ipsos Pontifices scripsisse deprehendunt. — They, with great pains, turn over ancient manuscripts in obscure holes and corners, and disturb the dust of old authors, whom they find to have written freely against the Popes. Witness the collection of Matthias Flaccius Illiricus, intituled, *Catalogus testium veritatis*, which cannot be better compared than with Poneropolis, a town built by Philip of Macedonia; for, as it was only inhabited by people banished for their crimes, and by villains, and in general by all the rascals of that country, so it may be truly said, that, excepting the passages corrupted out of the fathers and councils, that large catalogue is only stuffed with fragments and scraps of those, who formerly set up against the church, or were cut off from the body of it as rotten members; such as was, among a great many others, the false cardinal Benno (59).

(59) Naudé,
Apologie des
Grands Hommes,
pag. 551.

[S] The author of *l'Esprit des Cours de l'Europe* pretends, that the Popes Conquests were not so difficult as I imagine.] His reflexion may be divided into two parts: in the first, he pleasantly and ingeniously jests upon the Popes power; and in the second, he plainly and seriously affirms, that it was an easy thing for them to aggrandize themselves. The ingenious ironies, contained in the first part, are such, that an Ultramontane doctor might well be deceived by them, and seriously make use of them as good proofs; and therefore it will not be improper to bring them to a discussion. 'Is it not said, that every knee shall bow before the invisible head? how can the visible head want power to overthrow all his enemies? how could he miss confounding all those, who durst oppose him? the visible head acts only by the power of the invisible one: if the master is always victorious, the vicar must needs be so too. This miracle is an article of faith, nay, it is the great spring of religion: religion ought to subdue the body as well as the mind; no body denies it: It has a power over the whole man: since rewards are proposed to the material substance as well as to the spiritual one, both of them ought equally to undergo the yoke of the laws, and threatenings concern both of them alike. This principle being once overthrown, what would become of the holy inquisition? that divine tribunal would then have no other foundation but a barbarous cruelty, and all the arms of that sacred arsenal would have been forged in the fire of hell. The Pope is therefore master both of the bodies and souls; and because his authority over the conscience is unlimited, his power over the body ought to be invincible. Besides, did not the oeconomy of salva-

tion require, that power should be no less extensive than knowledge? what would it avail a head divinely established to know every thing, if he had not the power of disposing of every thing? It were to no purpose for that Hercules to crush the monsters of error, if he had not the right of destroying the monsters of impiety. This right takes in kings and princes, who, though they command whole nations, are nevertheless the subjects of the church. The Popes opposed those great subjects, whenever they revolted against that good mother: they made use of an infinite power against them; how then could they be worsted? this is the true unravelling of the glorious and wonderful success of the new Roman monarchy (60). This discourse, being seriously understood, would afford this argument, that as soon as the bishops of Rome were looked upon as the vicars of JESUS CHRIST, whose power over the body and soul is unlimited, they could not fail easily to establish their empire over the people, and even over the temporalities of sovereigns. A distinction will be sufficient to resolve this difficulty. Tho' it be supposed, that CHRIST established a vicar in his church; yet common sense and reason will teach us, that he established him, not as he is the supremum master and creator of all things, but as he is a mediator between God and men, or the founder of a religion, which shews men the way to salvation, and promises a glorious reward to the faithful, and threatens the impatient with severe punishments. If CHRIST had established a vicar upon earth, his power would be confined within those bounds; and the most that vicar could do, were only to determine which is the doctrine of salvation, and which is that of damnation. After having declared to men future rewards and punishments, after having instructed and censured them, he would be obliged to leave to God the execution of the threatenings, not only with respect to the torments of another life, but also with respect to the corporal punishments inflicted in this world. CHRIST himself acted in the same manner: he exactly conformed to the true spirit of religion, which consists in instructing and sanctifying the soul, and leading it to salvation by way of persuasion, without assuming the authority of corporally punishing the obstinate and unbelievers, who were so many; for it is not true, that in this respect the head and master of the church is always victorious (61). And therefore those, who were most fully persuaded, that the Pope is CHRIST's vicar, should have looked upon his pretending to a temporal jurisdiction, and to the authority of punishing the body, as an ill use he made of his vicarship. This should have naturally produced many obstacles to the conquests of the bishop of Rome. It is not useless to know every thing, tho' one has not the power of disposing of every thing. Religion needs only teach men what they ought to believe and practise: it needs only put them in a capacity of confuting error, and it is only in that sense that the authority of destroying the monsters of heresy and impiety belong to it. If men do not act according to the knowledge it affords them, it belongs to God to punish them for it as being without excuse: This is not the business of religion, nor part of the ministry established by JESUS CHRIST. I proceed to the second part of the reflexion of the anonymous writer.

(60) *l'Esprit des Cours de l'Europe*, Nov. 1699, pag. 663.

(61) See the remark [E] of the article XENOPHONES.

But, not to take such a high flight, and to speak more humanly, I find nothing that is very surprising in the Popes greatness. By the help of some passages of holy writ, they have persuaded the world of their divinity. Is this a new thing? Is it not usual with men to suffer themselves to be imposed upon in point of religion? above all things they love to deify their fellow-creatures, as Paganism makes it plain. Now if it be once supposed, that the Popes could easily establish the divine privileges of their office; was it not natural for people to declare for them against all other powers? for my part, I am so far from admiring their elevation, that I wonder they did not arrive at universal monarchy. The great number of princes, who have

been greater, than that they have been so great. I shall say something of a book lately printed

'have shaken off the Roman yoke, confounds me: when I enquire into the reason of it, I can only think of these two causes, which are very general and well known, that men do not always act according to their principles, and that this present life makes a deeper impression upon them, than the future (62).'

(62) L'Esprit des Cours de l'Europe, ubi supra, pag. 665.

Suppose, as this ingenious writer will have it, that the Popes could easily make the world believe they were Gods upon earth, that is to say, that being the visible heads of the church, they might authoritatively declare what is heretical or orthodox, regulate ceremonies, and command all the bishops of the Christian world: will it follow from thence, that they could easily set up their authority over kings, and bring them under their yoke without any difficulty? I confess I do not see this consequence. On the contrary, it seems to me, that, in all appearance, their spiritual authority would run a great danger by their attempting upon the temporalities of kings. The Athenians were told one day, have a care that your concern for heaven do not make you lose the earth (63). The Popes might have been told in a contrary sense, have a care, that your great desire of getting the earth do not make you lose heaven: you will be deprived of the spiritual power, if you pretend to usurp the temporal.

(63) See the citation of Erasmus, in the remark [F] of the article OLYMPIAS.

It is well known, that the most orthodox princes are more tender of their sovereignty than of religion: a thousand examples ancient and modern prove it: and therefore it was not likely they should suffer the church to invade their demesnes and rights; and it was likely they would rather increase their authority to the prejudice of the church, than suffer the power of the church to increase to the prejudice of their temporal power. Princes, who understand the art of reigning, have generally the gentry and the soldiery at their command; and when that part of their subjects remain faithful to them, they need not be afraid of the clergy; their troops will fight for them against all sorts of enemies. The army of Charles V made war against Clement VII. The troops of France fought against Julius II, for Lewis XII, and would have done the same for Lewis XIV, against Alexander VII, not long before the peace of Pilsa (64) delivered the Pope from the storm ready to fall upon him. I was at Mr Jusse's at Paris, in the year 1675, when a novelist affirmed, that the count de Vignori, governour of Triers, made this answer to the monks, who represented to him, that the convents he pulled down, to fortify the town, had been founded by Charlemagne; *I do but execute the king's orders, and, if he should command me to raise a battery against the holy sacrament, I would do it.*

(64) It was concluded in 1664.

Francis Mendosa de Corduba was not so passionate in the answer he made to a letter of the emperor, the thirtieth of December 1598; but he did not want much of it. He wrote to him, that if his imperial majesty was with his power on the one side, and the holy father the Pope with his excommunication on the other, commanding him once more to retire, he would not do it, since he had a master who had ordered him to perform his exploits, unless he was obliged by force of arms to do otherwise (65). We may add, that kings and emperors are able to bestow so many favours and noble rewards upon so many people, that they may easily bring over to their party many prelates and monks, and put them upon writing against the pretensions of the court of Rome. This paper-war, in all appearance, must needs be very prejudicial to the pontiffs, who usurp a temporal authority; for it is easy to shew, by several express texts of scripture, by the spirit of the gospel, by ancient tradition, and the practice of the first centuries, that the Popes have no manner of ground to pretend to dispose of crowns, and to share, in so many things, the rights of sovereignty. Nay, this may serve to bring into question their spiritual authority; and, being thus upon the defensive, as to that point, they must needs be reduced to great straits. Nay, the very articles, which the people came to believe by degrees, will run a great hazard. Besides, the clergy, whom the court of Rome will force to abstain from marriage, will be thereby disposed to serve their princes, which is no inconsiderable thing. Those, who cannot bear that yoke, are innumerable: the honest clergymen, who cannot live in celibacy, are most fond of marriage; for those, who are not conscientious, do not scruple to keep concubines. Celibacy is intolerable to a vast many people: marriage is to them the dearest and most precious of all the sacraments; and whoever should write a book on this subject like that of the *Frequent Communion*, would become as odious as Mr Arnauld, when he published, under this title, but on another subject, a work, which has made a great deal of noise. Therefore one should have thought, that princes and emperors would find great numbers of bishops, priests, and monks, well-affected towards them, and ready to serve them against the Popes zealous promoters of celibacy. Now what may not a prince expect, who, besides great armies, has so many clergymen at his disposal, who cannot be without women, and are extremely desirous of having wives and children?

But, in order to know, whether such conjectures about the obstacles, the Popes would meet in their way, would have been well grounded, we must have recourse to experience, and consult history; whereby it will appear, that those conjectures would have been right as to the obstacles, though perhaps wrong in pretending that those obstacles would prove insurmountable. Read du Pleffis's book, intituled, *Le Mystere d'Iniquité*, or *l'Histoire de la Papauté*, and you will find, in every chapter, the progress, and the opposition. The Popes cannot go forward, and get ground, but by overcoming the obstacles they meet with at every step. Armies and books, sermons, libels, and prophecies, have been made use of against them; nothing was left unattempted to put a stop to their conquests, and at last every thing proved insignificant. Why? Because they used all imaginable means to succeed in their designs. Their excommunications have been supported with arms and crusades, and by the tribunals of the inquisition: craft, violence, courage, and artifice, have concurred to protect them. Their conquests have cost the lives of as many men, or near as many, as those of the commonwealth of Rome. Many writers apply to new Rome what Virgil observes concerning the old.

Multa quoque & bello passus dum conderet urbem,

Inferretque Deos Latio (66)

(66) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. i, ver. 5.

TANTÆ MOLIS ERAT ROMANAM CONDERE CENTEM (67).

(67) *Id. ibid.* ver. 33.

Much suffer'd be in war.

Till settl'd, with his gods, on Latian ground:

So arduous was the task the Roman name to found.

Zipporah told Moses, *Surely a bloody husband art thou to me* (68); but if the church of Rome were the spouse of JESUS CHRIST, he might tell her with much more reason, *Surely a bloody spouse art thou to me.*

(68) Exod. iv, 25.

I think this sufficient to justify the propositions, which I inserted in the first edition of this dictionary, in the remark [B] of this article. I am still persuaded, that the power, the Popes have attained to, is one of the greatest prodigies of human history, and one of those things, which never happen twice. If it had never happened, I believe it would never be. Future ages would not afford a time so proper for such an enterprise, as past ages have been; and if that great structure should be destroyed, it were in vain to undertake to raise it up again. All that the court of Rome can do now, with the greatest policy in the world, is to maintain herself. Her conquests are at an end (69). She dares not excommunicate a crowned head; and how often is she obliged to dissemble her resentment against the Catholic party, who deny the superiority and infallibility of the Popes, and burn the books that are most favourable to them? If there was now an anti-papacy, I mean a schism, like those, which have been so frequent in former times, when a Pope set up against a Pope, and a council against a council;

(69) This must be understood in the sense of the school distinction, *interfectus*, and not *extinctus*.

infestisque obvia signis

Signa, pares aquilas, & pila minantia pilis (70);

(70) Lucan. *Phars.* lib. i, ver. 6.

Standards in hostile form 'gainst standards rais'd,

Eagles 'gainst eagles, piles to piles oppos'd;

She

printed with this title, *Histoire des amours de Gregory VII.* The history of the amours of Gregory VII [T].

She would not come off with honour, she would be confounded, and at her wit's end. Such a contrast, in such an age as ours, would prove destructive. Observe by the bye, in order to have a right notion of the great obstacles above-mentioned, that the Popes were obliged to make themselves masters of many general councils. This was a very difficult task; for the more numerous a council is, the more it is like a ship tossed with contrary winds, and exposed to the violent storms, thus described by Virgil:

Incubære mari, totumque à sedibus imis
Unâ Euræque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus; & vastos volvant ad littora fluctus.
Insequitur clamorque virum, stridorque rudentum.
Eripiunt sobitò nubes cœlumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis: ponto nox incubat atra.

(71) Virg. Æn. lib. 1, ver. 84.

Together, from their caverns, east and west,
And south, still brewing tempests in his breast,
Rush on the ocean with impetuous roar,
And roll enormous billows to the shore.
To' affrighted seamen dread th' impending wreck,
Whilst the tough cables in the tempest crack.
The gathering clouds, spread o'er the heavenly way,
Snatch from the Trojans eyes the light of day.
Night booms o'er the deep: loud thunders roll,
And the quick light'nings dart from pole to pole.

GREGORY (PETER), a native of Toulouse, taught the civil law first at Cahors, and then in the town, where he was born. He flourished in the XVIth century. He was a very learned man, and wrote some books full of great erudition [A]; but he does not appear very judicious in the choice of the things contained in them. What was said of his book *de Republica*, may be applied to all his works [B]. He was invited into Lorrain in a very glorious manner, to be professor of the civil and canon law at Pontamousson (a), where duke Charles had lately founded an university. See the margin (b). He discharged the duties of that place with great reputation, till the year 1527, in which he died [C]. He was buried in the convent of the nuns of St Clara (c). He understood the Hebrew tongue [D]. If Mr Colomiés had known it, he would have taken notice of it in his *Gallia Orientalis*.

(a) Decani titulo & cum summa potestate accitus est, atque in ea utrunque jus magna cum laude professus. Doujat. *Præf. Canon.* pag. 638.

(b) Mr Doujat places this in the year 1582; but Peter Gregory, in the epistle dedicatory of the *Syntaxis artis mirabilis*, dated from Lyons,

(c) I make use of the Francfort edition, 1599.

(d) See Doujat, *enot. Canonic.* 638.

[A] He wrote books full of great erudition. This any one may be convinced of, that will peruse never so little his book, intitled, *Syntagma Juris universi atque Legum pene omnium Gentium, & Rerum publicarum præcipuarum, in tres partes digestum, in quo divini & humani Juris totius, naturali ac nova methodo per gradus, ordineque, materia universalium & singularium simulque judiciorum explicatur.* It is a large folio, which has been reprinted many times (1). His other works are, *Syntaxis Artis mirabilis. De Republica, Libri XXVI.* Two volumes upon the canon-law: the first contains *Partitiones totius Juris Canonici, in quinque libros digestæ, Scholiis & Annotationibus illustratæ insar Syntagmatis totius Juris Ecclesiastici, quæ à methodo Partitionum Ciceronis Oratoriarum diversæ, Summam potius Hostiensis imitantur.* The second volume contains, *Commentaria & Annotationes in Decretalium præcæm. Ad Tit. de summa Trinitate & fide Catholica. De constitutionibus. De rescriptis. De electione enarratio. Ad Cap. conquirentes de officio & potestate Juris Ordin. Rei beneficiarum Ecclesiasticarum Institutione. Ad Tit. de Sponsalibus & Matrimoniiis. De Usuris libri tres* (2). He wrote against Charles du Moulin (§a), to shew, that the council of Trent ought to be received in France.

[§a] Under the name of *Ramundus Rufus*, if I am not mistaken, and for the reception of the council of Trent in France, against what du Moulin had written to the contrary in his *Consilium supra factio Concilii Tridentini*. The work of Peter Gregory was inserted, in 1682, in one of the last editions of Charles du Moulin's works, to introduce, as it were, into the world, this little piece, which made it's appearance for the first time in the works of this civilian. REM. CRIT.]

[B] What was said of his book *de Republica*. Gabriel Naudæus made the following judgment of it,

The steering of such a ship requires the utmost art and skill; and if the best working is sufficient to bring it into the designed harbour, it is a wonder.

[T] I shall say something of a book . . . with this title, *Histoire des Amours de Gregoire VII.* The whole title runs thus: *Histoire des Amours de Gregoire VII, du Cardinal de Richelieu, de la Princesse de Condé, & de la Marquise d'Urfé. Par Mademoiselle D**.* A Cologne chez Pierre le Jeune MDCC. Though the author uses the word *romance* in the first lines of the preface, he affirms, that these stories are all true, and might have been longer, if he had been willing to exercise his invention. This is the highest pitch of boldness: one may easily perceive it now by the meer reading of his book: but can any one say, that it will not be a difficult thing in future ages? Let us suppose, that such a book had been written in the time of Gregory VII; is it not very likely, that Aventinus or Flavius Illyricus, finding it in a library, would have made use of it as a true history? Would it not be quoted every day, as a genuine piece, in all controversial books? Do we know what will happen between the XVIIth and the XXVIIIth centuries? Perhaps ignorance and barbarity will prevail again, and then learning will be revived. Perhaps a thousand good books will be destroyed, and this will be preserved. Perhaps a curious person will find it out, and it will be accounted an invaluable piece of secret history, and a certain monument of cardinal Richelieu's amours, &c. People have been imposed upon by such books more than once, and it is likely will be so in future ages.

Novemb. 4.
1574. Allez him-
self professor of
law in the new
university of
Pontamousson.
That university
was founded, in
the year 1573,
by cardinal
Charles de Lor-
rain, if we be-
lieve Baudrand,
pag. 431, of the
second volume of
his *Geography*.

(c) Taken from
Doujat, ubi supra.

* Copiosior (Nicolao Biesio Medico Lovaniensi) extitit
Gregorius Tholosanus, ac magis ex arte scribens,
quia Jurisperitus: desiderantur tamen in eo modus,
quem sibi præscribere non potuit eruditione vulgari
luxurians; & majestas, cui non magis indulsit quam
judicio, dum omnia ingerit, & pauca digerit: cæte-
rum valde utilis est, & diversa in se continet, propter
quæ thesauri instar haberi possit, ubi meliorum au-
ctorum gemmas ac preciosas varæ doctrinæ supel-
lectilem possis invenire (3). — Gregory of Toulouse
was a writer of more scope and art, as being a civi-
lian, than Nicolas Biesius the civilian of Luuain:
yet the luxuriance of his erudition allowed him to set
no bounds to his writing: he wants likewise dignity,
which he no more consulted than judgment, crowding
in every thing, and digesting nothing: however he is
a very useful writer, and full of variety: upon which
account he may be looked upon as a treasure, in which
you may find whatever is most valuable in many
authors.

[C] The year 1597 . . . was that in which he died.] This I find in Mr Doujat (4); and, because he was this author's countryman, I rely more upon him, than upon Konig, who says our Gregory died in the year 1585. The Francfort bookseller (5) is not exact, when he says, in his epistle dedicatory of the first of March 1599, that, thro' the misfortunes of the times, he could not enjoy the presence and assistance of the author (6), when he reprinted the *Syntagma Juris universi*. Would he have spoken thus of a man in the year 1599, if he had known, that he had died in the year 1597? He could not be fully excused, by saying, that this book was some years in printing.

[D] He understood the Hebrew tongue.] Feltman, a civilian of Germany, says so; for he calls him, not only *virum omni studiorum genere excultissimum* (7), but also, *Hebræi Juris ac sermonis callentissimum* (8).

GRENAILLE

(3) Naudæus, *Bibliograph. Politica*, pag. m. 22.

(4) Doujat, ubi supra.

(5) Johnas Rhodius. He had removed from France to Francfort, as he says in the epistle dedicatory.

(6) Cum per in-
juriam temporis
ipsius auctoris
præsentia & ope
frui non liceret.
Idem Rhodius
Petri Fischeri
Bibliopole Fræ-
cofortensis iussu
for, Epist. Dedi-
cat. ad Archiepis-
copum Mogunti-
num. Cum ipsius
Auctoris præsen-
tia in hîce de-
plorandis Galli-
carum rerum tu-
multibus frui non
liceret Id præ-
fat. ad lectôr.

(7) Feltman
lib. 1, de tit. Ho-
nor. cap. xiii,
apud Magirom.
Eponymol. pag.
4-3.
(8) Ibid. cap. 1,
n. 3, apud eun-
dem ibid.

GRENAILLE (FRANCIS DE), born at Uzerche in the Limousin, in the year 1616, wrote a great many French books [A], that are very indifferent. He turned monk at Bourdeaux, and then forsook the order at Agen (a). He was made historiographer to the duke of Orleans. See the Sorberiana [B]. He prefixed his print to his books with a proud inscription [C]. He informs us in a preface (b), that he was accused of a state-crime, and found himself in danger of death.

(a) See La Guerre des Auteurs, pag. m 160, and the remark [C].

(b) That of the second son of the Sage résolu contre la Fortune.

[A] He wrote a great many French books. He published one upon another, *L'honnête Fille; l'honnête Garçon; l'honnête Veuve; l'honnête Mariage; l'honnête Maîtresse; la Bibliothèque des Dames; le Plaisir des Dames; le Sage résolu contre la Fortune* (1), *la Révolution du Portugal; le Théâtre du Monde; la Mode ou le Caractère de la Religion*.

(1) It is a translation of Petrarch. See the remark [C].

(2) Pag. 105.

* It should be Chateaucier.

[B] See the Sorberiana. There you will find these words (2): 'At that time there was at Paris one Grenaille, Sieur de Chatonnieres*, a native of Limousin, of twenty six years of age, who all of a sudden put out a prodigious number of books, some of which he intitled, *L'honnête Fille, l'honnête Veuve, l'honnête Garçon*, and others, *La Bibliothèque des Dames*. What seemed to me commendable in his book, intitled, *Le plaisir des Dames*, was, that, in all likelihood, a man of his age had kept in his closet, and avoided many debaucheries, to write books: but then there were but few good things in them, and what was good in them had been so often printed, that he could expect no great glory by repeating them. His style was insipid, whereby it appeared that the author wrote only for the sake of writing. That book, concerning the pleasures of the ladies, is divided into five parts, *Du Bouquet, du Bal, du Cours, du Concert, de la Collation*. — Of the Nef-

gay, the Ball, the Ring, the Concert, and the Collation. At first he handles this question, whether the nosegay adorns the breast, or the breast the nosegay? And he decides it in favour of the breast; being of opinion, that a certain influence proceeds from the two hemispheres of a lady, which revives the nosegay, and makes it not only more beautiful, but also more lasting.'

[C] He prefixed his print to his books with a proud inscription. Sorbiere goes on thus: 'He hopes that these fine thoughts will make him immortal; and it is the sense of the motto under his print prefixed to his book, *Hac mortales evadimus immortales*.' Gueret is still more severe upon him. 'I will spare, says he to him (3), your resolute Sage out of respect for Petrarch. I will also spare your relation of the Revolution of Portugal, upon condition that you will take away your picture from it, whose inscription is too vain for such an author as you are. Had you only mentioned your birth-place, and added to it, that you turned monk at Bourdeaux, and then forsook your order at Agen; one might bear with it: But you add, that you have made yourself immortal at Paris; which is an article altogether false, and, by Apollo's leave, it shall be struck out.'

(3) Guerre des Auteurs, pag. 168, 169. Dutech Edit.

GRETSEUS (JAMES), a very learned man, born at Marcdorf in Germany, turned Jesuit at seventeen years of age, in 1577. He was professor in the university of Ingolstadt for a long time [A]. It is said, that, notwithstanding his application to study, he was very constant at prayers, and that his great learning was attended with a wonderful modesty. The inhabitants of Marcdorf were very desirous to have his picture, in order to place it in the town-house; but, when he came to know, that they had made an earnest application to his superiors about it, he was sorry for it, and told them, that, if they had a mind to get his picture, they needed only draw the picture of an ass (a). To make themselves amends, they bought all his works for the use of the public. He never used his interest to procure some mark of distinction to his nephew, who was a student. He died at Ingolstadt the twenty ninth of January, 1625 (b). He was continually engaged in disputes with the Protestant writers, and in defence of his order. He wrote somewhat sharply against them; but he was answered in the same strain. He composed, or translated, a prodigious number of books [B]. Some authors have commended him very much (c). Cardinal du Perron acknowledged, that he was a man of parts; but this commendation of his was attended with a very uncivil clause, since it reflected upon a most illustrious and learned nation [C]. A modern author carried this incivility farther than that cardinal, and was justly censured for it (d).

(a) Indignatus ille est ubi reser-vari, monachique tum demum illos sum insinuat habituros si pictum in tabula suum haberent. Suetel, Biblioth. Script. 8. cat. pag. 369.

(b) Taken from Suetel, ibid.

(c) See the remark [B].

(d) See the remark [C].

[A] He was professor at Ingolstadt for a long time. He taught there philosophy three years, morality seven years, and school divinity fourteen years (1).

(1) Notan. Suetel. Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu, pag. 369.

[B] He composed . . . a prodigious number of books. The catalogue of them was published at Munich in 1674, in 4to, by George Heferus a Jesuit. It is a very exact catalogue; and it was printed from the author's original (2). I shall only set down the titles of some of his books. *De Sancta Cruce Tomi III. De sacris Peregrinationibus Libri IV.* Three apologies for the life of the founder of the Jesuits. The refutation of the history of the Jesuits. That history was written by one Hasenmullerus. *De Jure & More prohibendi Libros naxios Libri II.* *Controversiarum Roberti Bellarmini Defensio Tomi II*, in folio. *Basilicon doron, seu Commentarius exotericus in Serenissimi Magni Britanniae Regis Jacobi Praefationem monitoriam; & in Apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis*. Many books against Goldast, and, among others, one intitled, *Arnoldi Brixienfis in Melchior Goldasto Calvinista redivi-gera Descriptio & Imago* (3). Notes upon Thuanus's history. A treatise upon *Compelle intrare, an Heterodoxi ad fidem cogendi sint*. An answer to du Pleffis Mornai's book, intitled, *Le Mystère d'Iniquité*. This answer is more close, and less instructive, than that of Coëffeteau; but it was easier to reply to Coëffeteau, than to Gretser. The latter has unmercifully scanned the quotations, and the least chronological faults. I have mentioned, in another place, what he wrote in vindication of Gregory VII (4). Some authors of his

(2) Ex Notan. Suetel, ibid. pag. 372.

(3) See the title of a like work against Mr. Arnould, above, et. non 40) of the article ARNAULD (A. N. T.) doctor of the Sorbonne.

(4) In the article of that Pope, remark [B].

communion call him the scourge of heretics, and the terror of the calumniators of the Jesuits (5). He was well skilled in the Greek tongue, and published some grammatical pieces upon that language, and notes upon some Greek authors, as George Codinus Cuiopala, John Cantacuzenus, &c. I must not forget, that he procured the impression of several manuscripts.

[C] Cardinal du Perron allowed him . . . wit; but he added a very uncivil clause since it reflected upon . . . a nation. Gretser is very much to be com-

mended; he has a great deal of wit for a German (6) (§ 2). They are cardinal du Perron's words. Father Bouhours alledged this testimony, when he called in question the wit of the Germans. There was a Frenchman, who took the part of that injured nation, and criticized Father Bouhours in the following manner. 'It is in the same discourse the author puts this question, whether a German can be a wit? I think the possibility of it was never yet doubted of; and it is likely, the author is the first, that ever asked such a question. His answer is to it, that it is kind of prodigy, that a German should be a very witty man; whereupon he cites cardinal du Perron . . . But it does not follow from all this, that the author should have carried the thing so far as to make it a question, whether a German can be a wit; and it is the way to be treated with very ill language in German (7). In another place (8) he speaks thus: this is no great ornament, no more than his question, whether a

(5) Moenius Lethaeonum Dumitor, ac Mal-jeus Historicorum, & Calumniatorum Societatis Terror. Not. Suetel, ibi supra, pag. 368.

(6) Perroniana, pag. m. 163.

(7) Boibier Ducur, Sentences de Cleonthe sur les Extrêmes d'Arête & d'En-gene, pag. 91, 92. Bailets Edit.

(8) Ibid. pag.

O o o

German

(9) *Intituled, Vindicie nomi- nis Germanici contra quosdam Obtreclatores Gallos, Amster- dam 1694.*

(10) *For July, 1694, pag. 499, & seq.*

(a) *It is the 405th among the letters of the Arminians.*

(b) *Prefat. Dissertat. de Tortura.*

(1) *In the preface to his tract De Tortura.*

(2) *Revis, De- ventrie illustra- tie, lib. vi, pag. 626.*

(3) *Knig should have said, Gre- vius (John) ! Cui de tortura que- dam meditatus est ann. 1635. Besides, Grevius was no civilian. See his preface.*

'German can be a wit? I assure you, Sir, that some very wise persons have been offended at it, and told me, that, if the author of the *Entretiens* were more judicious, he would not have been so rude to a nation very much addicted to learning and war, by whom admirable discoveries have been made in the arts and sciences, as artillery, printing, and the sector; and who, besides, are most of them our friends, allies, and neighbours.' Cleanthes was not thought to have sufficiently vindicated the Germans; and therefore M. Cramer has published, upon that account, a fine apology for his nation, in a book (9) that came out last year. An extract of it may be seen in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans* (10). [(5 a) I dare almost assert, that this expression of cardinal du Perron is not so uncivil as it appeared

to Mr Bayle. What the French call *de l'Esprit*, (wit) is a certain talent for trifling things, or at most a kind of vivacity, which in general is little agreeable to the German gravity, and the serious character of that nation. When therefore this cardinal said of Grefter, that he had a great deal of wit (*de l'Esprit*) for a German, he seems to have meant no more, than that a German has seldom so much of this French vivacity, as Pather Grefter had, as much a German as that Jesuit was. I say as much of the question, *whether a German can be a wit?* no body denies the German nation the most refined good sense, the greatest sagacity, and the noblest fallies of genius; and, satisfied with this lot, she may look upon the French vivacity as no great prerogative. REM. CRIT.]

GREVIUS (JOHN), an Arminian minister, born in the duchy of Cleves, was deposed, and banished, for refusing to subscribe the canons of the synod of Dort; and because he did not keep in his exile, he was condemned to a perpetual imprisonment [A]; but, in the year 1621, he made his escape out of the prison. He began there a work, which he published afterwards [B], wherein he condemns the use of the torture. He pretends, that reason is for him [C], though the most general practice be against him. He gives an account of his deliverance in his letter to Vorstius (a). His imprisonment lasted a year and a half (b). He was admitted minister the tenth of May 1605,

[A] *He was banished . . . and because he did not keep in his exile, he was condemned to a perpetual imprisonment.* He says, that tho' he was separated from his flock, yet he continued to take care of it; and that his flock desiring he would give them the spiritual food, he thought himself more obliged to mind their salvation, than to obey the sentence of the magistrates, whereby he was forbidden to return into the country. He therefore returned into Holland, and had some private meetings at Campen, for the instruction of his flock. This thing came to be known; he was apprehended, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Thus the matter is related by him (1). I know no more of it: but I know, that, on this account, he must needs be looked upon as a truly honest man, who discharged his duty. I appeal to those, who maintain, that the ministers, who return into France, to instruct the Protestants privately, notwithstanding the prince's prohibition, do a very noble action. Observe, by the by, that persecution is inconsistent with the maxim, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris*: you punish such a one, and you blame those, who do the same.

Revis observes, in his history of Deventer, that Grevius had been minister of Heulden; and that he came to Campen in November 1619, where he preached eleven times in the houses of the Arminians (2).

[B] *He began there a work, which he published afterwards.* The title of it runs thus: *Tribunum reformatum, in quo junioris & tutoris justitie via iudici Christiano in processu criminali monstratur, rejecta & fugata TORTURA cujus iniquitatem, multiplicem fallaciam, atque illicitum inter Christianos usum libera & necessaria dissertatione aperuit JOHANNES GREVIUS Clivenf. quam captivus scripsit in Ergastulo Amsterodamensi.* This work was published at Hamburg in the year 1624 (3). It turns upon a very nice subject; for it seems one cannot be for the negative, without condemning a practice authorized by the laws of the state. The torture is practised in most countries; but it ought to be observed, that the sovereigns, who authorize it, and even will have it to be a considerable part of the proceedings in criminal causes, do not impose upon private men the necessity of believing the lawfulness of it. Many learned men at all times, and in all countries, have taken the liberty to shew the injustice of it. Our Grevius is one of them: his treatise is worth reading. Such as have the spirit of persecution should learn from hence, that they are in the wrong to vex and harass their enemies, under pretence they do not approve all the usages of their country, or all the principles of their governors. Subjects are indeed bound to obey the magistrates, but not to believe, that they act justly and at all times; and that of two usages, they have not sometimes pitched upon the worst. Nay one may be allowed to write against abuses

in a respectful manner, that the sovereign may reform them.

[C] *He pretends, in condemning the use of the torture, that reason is for him.* The author of the *Philosophical Commentary upon these words*, Compel them to come in (4), quotes a very fine passage of Michael de Montagne, wherein the two inconveniences of the torture are mentioned: one is, that those, who are able to endure the torments, do not speak the truth; the other is, that those, who cannot bear pain, confess things that are false. Montagne's words deserve to be set down here at length; however, I shall only direct the reader to the place, where they may be found (5). The same commentator observes, that Saintmar, who was beheaded at Lyons, in 1642, for high treason, 'died with great constancy, and expressed a great contempt for life; but, at the same time, seemed to be so afraid of the rack, that, if he had been put to it, it is very likely he would have confessed any thing.' It were an easy thing to collect many authorities and examples, to shew the injustice of the torture; for many modern authors have published collections upon that subject. See among others, Ramirez de Prado in the ninth chapter of the *Pentecostarchos*, Segla in thirty sixth annotation upon a decree of the parliament of Toulouse, and Rupert upon the fourth chapter of the seventh book of Valerius Maximus. I omit the civilians, who have wrote upon this subject, *ex professo*. Those authors do not fail to mention a passage of St Augustin (6), wherein the injustice of the torture is both strongly represented, and weakly excused. Ludovicus Vives, in his note upon that passage, openly declares against the use of the torture: but Leonard Coquæus, in his commentary upon the same words of St Augustin, condemns Vives's opinion, and says, that the fathers and the canon law approve, that the torments should be made use of, to extort truth from those, who are accused. Nor are these words of Quintilian forgotten: 'Sicut in tormentis quoque qui est locus frequentissimus, cum pars altera quætionem, vera fatendi necessitatem vocet, altera sapientiam caussam falsa dicendi, quod aliis patientia facili mendacium faciat, aliis infirmitas necessarium (7):

— *As in the case of the torture, which is a very common topic, when the one side calls the rack a necessity laid on the accused of confessing the truth; the other, the occasion likewise of saying what is false; because patience makes some easily guilty of a lie, and infirmity lays others under a necessity of being so.* Nor these of Ulpian (8). Statutum est non semper fidem tormentis, ne tamen nunquam adhibendam fore. Etenim re est fragilis (quæstio) & periculosa, & quæ veritatem fallat: nam plerique patientia, five duritia tormentorum, ita tormenta coactum, ut exprimi eis veritas nullo modo possit: alii tanta sunt impatientia, ut quævis mentiri, quam pati tormenta velint. Ita fit, ut etiam vario modo fateantur, ut non tantum se, verum etiam alios criminentur.

(4) *Tom. II, pag. 251, 252.*

(5) *Montagne's Essays, book ii, chap. v, pag. m. 61. See also the Menagiana, pag. 374, 375, of the first Dutch edition.*

(6) *Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xix, cap. vi.*

(7) *Quintil. Instit. Orat. lib. v, cap. iv.*

(8) *Ulpian. in lib. i, Sect. Quæst. de Quæst.*

1605, and that very day he preached his first sermon at Arnheim. This I find in a letter, which he wrote, in 1620, to Balthazar Brantius (c), who intreated him to forsake the party of the Remonstrants.

'minetur. — It is agreed, that we are not always to believe what is extorted by the rack, but not that we are never to give credit to it. The torture is a dangerous thing, and which sometimes deceives the truth: for many persons are so hardened against pain, as to despise the torture, and can by no means be brought to confess the truth: others are so unable to endure pain, that they will tell any lie rather than suffer the torture: hence it is, that they say and unsay, and accuse, not only themselves, but others.'

I have observed in another place (g), that the Cappadocians could stoutly endure the greatest tortments: the same has been said of the (10) Egyptians and Spaniards (11). Observe, that the torture is not practised in England; no not against those, who are accused of high treason. Barclay makes this observation in the fourth chapter of his *Leon Animorum*. To conclude, Grevius had a copious subject; and as the materials were plentiful, he knew how to make a good use of them.

(c) It is the 376th letter among those of the Arminians, Edit. 1684.

(g) In citation (10) of the article CAPPADO-CIA.

(10) *Ælian*. Var. Hiftor. lib. vii, cap. xviii. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxiii.

(11) See Rupert, in Valer. Max. lib. iii, cap. iii, pag. 218.

GRIBALDUS (MATTHEW), a learned civilian of Padua, left Italy in the XVIth century, in order to make an open profession of the Protestant religion; but, in imitation of some other Italians, who turned Protestants, he fell into the heresy of the Antitrinitarians. After he had been professor of the civil-law at Tubingen for some years, he left that employment, to avoid the punishment he had undergone, if he had been convicted of his errors. He was apprehended at Berne, where he would have been severely used, had he not pretended to renounce his opinions; and, because he returned to the mire, and openly favoured the heretics, who had been expelled from Geneva, and particularly Gentilis, whom he harboured in a feat he had not far from that town (a), he would have been sooner or later punished with death [A], if the plague, of which he died in September, 1564, had not prevented his being prosecuted for heresy. In a journey he took to Geneva, during Servetus's trial, he desired to have a conference with Calvin, but could not obtain it. Some time after, Calvin sent him word, that he would admit him to a conference; at which his colleagues, and three elders of the consistory, should be present. Gribaldus came to the appointed place, but went away hastily, when he saw that Calvin refused to give him his hand. He would not admit his excuse, that such a thing could not be done, till he and they should agree (b) as to the principles of religion, viz. the Trinity and the divinity of CHRIST (c). He was summoned to appear before the magistrates, to give an account of his faith; and because his answers were not satisfactory, he was ordered to leave the town. This is what may be inferred from the letter I quote (d). He wrote several books, which are esteemed [B].

(a) Erat Fargia rum Dominus. He was lord of Fargia. Beza, in Vita Calvini ad ann. 1555, & Bibl. Antitrinitar. pag. 17.

(b) Confer quæ Sylla erga Mithridatem, apud Plutarchum in Sylla, pag. 467.

(c) See the remark [C].

(d) It is the 238th letter of Calvin, dated the second of May, 1557.

[A] He would have been sooner or later punished with death. This is what I find in Beza: I shall set down his words, which prove many things I have advanced. 'Domi verò Serveti cineres pullulare cœperunt: cuius blasphemias favere deprehensus Mattheus Gribaldus, non incelebris Jurisconsultus quam Genevæ forte venisset . . . deductus ad Calvinum à quibusdam Italis, quos Patavii docuerat, recusante Calvino dextram illi porrigere, nisi prius de primario Christianæ fidei articulo, id est de sacra Trinitate & Deitate Christi inter eos conveniret, nullum postea locum ullis admonitionibus vel argumentis reliquit. Itaque quod ei jam tum prædixit Calvinus, grave nimirum Dei iudicium pertinaci ipsius impietati imminere; hoc reipsa postea expertus est, Tubinga primùm profugus, quò fuerat Vergerii favore introductus: Bernæ postea captus, simulatque abnegatione liberatus, ad ingenium postea rediens, & Gentilis illius de quo mox dicemus fautor & hospes, superveniente demum peste correptus, paratam sibi in terris supplicium anteverit (1). — At home, the ashes of Servetus began to spring up: for Matthew Gribaldus, a famous civilian, who was found to favour the blasphemies of that man, coming by accident to Geneva . . . was introduced to Calvin by some Italians, whom he had taught at Padua; but, upon Calvin's refusing to give him his hand, till they should agree upon the principal article of the Christian faith, the sacred Trinity, and the divinity of CHRIST, he left no room for any farther admonitions or arguments. This man afterwards experienced the judgment of GOD on his obstinate impiety, as Calvin at that time foretold him, being first banished from Tubingen, whither he had come by the favour of Vergerius; afterwards, being apprehended at Berne, and set at liberty upon a pretended recantation, but returning to the same sentiments, and

'openly favouring and entertaining Gentilis, whom I shall speak of presently, he was seized with the plague, and prevented the punishment prepared for him in this world.' It does not appear from these words, in what year Gribaldus died; but it is known, that he was no longer alive when Valentinus Gentilis went in quest of him into the territories of the canton of Berne, in 1566 (2), and it may be proved, that he died in September, 1564 (3). See, above, a passage of Languet at the end of the remark [E] of the article GOVEA.

[B] Gribaldus wrote several books which were esteemed. Here follow the titles of them. *Commentarii in legem de rerum misfura, & de jure filii*: they were printed in Italy (4). *Commentarii in Pandectas juris*, printed at Lyons. *Commentarii in aliquot præcipuos Digesti, Infortiati novi, & codicis Justiniani titulos atque leges utilissimis conclusionibus illustrati*, Francfort 1577 in folio. *Historia Francisci Spira (cui anno 1548, familiaris aderat) secundum quæ ipse vidit & audivit*, Basil 1550. *De omni genere homicidii*, Spire 1583, in 8vo. *De methodo ac ratione studendi in iure civilis libri tres*, Lyons 1544, & 1556. Probably it is in this last book he maintained, that a civilian ought to understand history; and that he shewed the mistakes into which some civilians are fallen through ignorance (5). He spent only eight days in writing that book (6).

Note, that Sledian confirms, that he was one of the spectators of the dismal condition the unhappy Spiera was reduced to, and that he wrote and published an account of it, *Multi præterea Spieram in eo statu viderunt magni omnis viri, & in his Mattheus Gribaldus, Jurisconsultus Patavinus, qui & rem omnem, quam ipse coram vidit & audivit, scripto complexus in lucem edidit* (7).

(2) Veluti transiente illum ad penam ipsius Christi manu in Sabaudiam ad suum Gribaldum venit (Gentilis). At illam pestem altera jam pestis sustulerat. Id. ibid. pag. 308.

(3) See the preface of Theodore Beza, before Calvin's Commentary on Joshua, pag. m. 24.

(4) See the Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum, pag. 18, and the catalogue of the Bodleian library.

(5) See Albericus Gentilis de Juris Interpretibus, fol. 54.

(6) Id. ibid. fol. 65.

(7) Sledian. lib. xi, fol. m. 590.

(1) Beza, in Vita Calvini, ad ann. 1555, pag. m. 376. See also the 238th letter of Calvin, pag. m. 440.

GRILLON, a gentleman of Provence, one of the most valiant men of his time, under the reigns of Henry III, and Henry IV. See his history in Varillas's preface to the history of Henry III. That historian calls him always Crillon, which is the true orthography of his name, though unknown to almost all other authors (§ a).

[§ a] This gentleman subscribed himself *Crillon* in conformity to the orthography of the ancient titles of his house; but, probably, he called himself *Grillon*, in like manner as, notwithstanding the etymology, we pronounce *gril*, *grotte*, *migraine*. REM. CRIT.]

GROPPER (JOHN) archdeacon of Cologne in the XVIth century, and raised to the purple by Pope Paul IV. See his article in Moreri's dictionary, and add to it, that he took it extremely ill, that Sleidan should endeavour to render him suspected of having once inclined to Lutheranism [A].

[A] He took it extremely ill, that Sleidan should endeavour to render him suspected of having once inclined to Lutheranism.] Sleidan affirms (1), that Gropper had

(1) Sleidan, lib. xv, fol. m. 367.

(2) That is to say, the Antididagma, of which I have spoken in the remark [C] of the article WIDA.

(3) Sleidan, lib. xv, fol. 367, verso.

always very strongly recommended Martin Bucer to Herman de Wida, archbishop of Cologne, who made use of the ministry of the same Bucer to establish the reformation in his dominions in the year 1543. But, as Gropper threw obstacles in the way of it, Sleidan would make him pass for a deserter, who, after having had an intimacy with that minister, strongly opposed him. *Hujus libri (2) fuit auctor, ut aiunt, & archiepiscopus Gropperus. Nam is, etsi Bucero fuerat admodum familiaris ante biennium in comitis Ratisbonae, quamquam inde domum reversus, vehementer eum non Archiepiscopo tantum, sed possum apud omnes prædicaverat, licet crebras ad eum dedisset & amicissimas literas; tamen, quum res esset in eum deducta casum, ab ejus amicitia se totum avertit, & principe relicto, cui fortunam omnem debebat, in adversariorum castra transiit (3).* As to the resentment of Gropperus, I am going to cite a copyist of Surius. 'Sleidan . . . would make us believe, that . . . John Gropper was an heretic, and that he had always greatly esteemed and recommended Martin Bucer. But this so valuable a man did plainly shew, that, what was said of him was meer calumny, in a book, which he dedicates to Charles V; and again in another place he witnesses, that Sleidan (whom he represents as maliciously ignorant of the affairs of the empire) has falsely lied in his history full of untruths when he says such a thing of him, and that Martin Bucer insinuated himself by little and little in the diocese of Cologne, not only without his knowledge, and that of all the Catholics, but even in despite of them; and in the same place he expressly calls Bucer a detestable wretch. In truth Sleidan would not have

said so injurious a thing, without receiving an answer 'had he not died before Gropper could answer him in writing, as he had resolved to do (4).'

Maimbourg does not deny, that Gropper, who was one of the three Catholic doctors, that conferred with Bucer and with two other Protestants, at the conference of Ratisbon, in the year 1541, had corresponded after that time with Bucer; but it is, adds he (5), 'because, this preacher of Strasburg, convinced by the reasons, which that excellent man produced in that conference, gave him room to believe, by the letters, which he wrote to him, that he was prepared to renounce Luther, as he had already done Zuinglius, and to return to the Catholic church.' However it be, the copyist of Surius observes, that Gropper, in his return from this conference of Ratisbon, 'cast his eyes on the books of Bucer, and, to prove the constancy of the man, he compared them with the articles, that had been agreed upon in the said conference. Then he met with an immense number of points directly opposite to those, which Bucer had admitted and approved in that conference; and nevertheless he remarked some villainous repugnancies of the said Bucer, errors, lyes, and blasphemies so great, that the Manicheans never uttered the like, that if any one desires farther information in this matter, he must read what the learned Eberard de Billy (6), has written, in defence of the judgment of the university and clergy of Cologne, against the calumnies of Melancthon, Bucer, and others, in which he will find this matter fully handled (7). Surius and his copyist alledge this, in order to have an opportunity of saying that Sleidan is a liar. They express great rage against him in this and an hundred other places.

(4) Du Plessis, Hist. de l'Eglise, Tom. II, fol. 475. See Surius, ad. ann. 1543, pag. m. 384.

(5) Maimbourg, Hist. de Luther, Tom. I, p. 260, Edit. of Holland.

(6) Everardus Billicus, or rather Billichius. He was a Carmelite.

(7) Du Plessis, ubi supra.

GROTIUS (CORNELIUS), in Dutch, *de Groot*, that is *the Great*, was born the 25th of July 1544, at Delft, where his family had been illustrious for the space of four hundred years [A]. He went there, through his school-learning; and then he was sent to Louvain, where he studied philosophy four years. He applied himself chiefly to that of Plato [B]. He learned also Greek and Hebrew, and even Mathematics. At twenty years of age he went to Paris, where he continued to study the *belles lettres* and philosophy, and was very well beloved by John Daurat, Regius professor. From thence he went to Orleans to learn the civil law; and when the professors thought he deserved to be admitted doctor, he was contented to take his licentiate's degree, to which he kept all his life-time. Being returned into his country, he betook

[A] He was born at Delft, Where his family had been illustrious for the space of four hundred years.] Here follow the words of the author I have quoted in the text of this article. 'Patrem habuit Hugonem

Grotium virum antiqua virtute & opibus pollentem, ex patricia Grotiorum familia quæ in repub. Delfensis totis quadringentis annis continuis illustris, etiam hucusque consulatibus & summis reipub. honoribus decoratur (1). — His father was Hugo Grotius, a man of great probity, and wealth, descended from the noble family of the Grotii, which, having been famed in the republic of Delft four hundred years, still continues to shine in the most distinguished posts of the common-wealth.' That author is not exact, and wants to be explained. His words do manifestly imply, that the ancient family of the De Groot's continued in the male line down to our Cornelius Grotius; which is not true: for about the year 1430, Dederic de Groot, burgomaster of Delft, and illustrious by many deputations, had but one daughter, who, marry-

ing Cornelius Cornetz, stipulated, that her children should go by the name of de Groot. Which began to be executed in the person of Hugh de Groot, the father of our Cornelius. The Cornetz descended from a French gentleman, who settled in the Low-Countries in the time of the dukes of Burgundy. See the passage quoted by me in the remark [E].

[B] He applied chiefly. . . to the philosophy of Plato.] The author of his elegy expresses it in this manner: (2) 'Philosophiam Platoniam, quippe quam solam inter humanæ sapientiæ sectas magis divinam (ut revera est) judicavit, adeo avide amplexus est, ut omnia Platoniorum scripta persecutus fuerit, memoriarum infixerit, ac per totam vitam manu ac mente volutaverit. — He was so fond of the Platonic philosophy, which he thought (as indeed it is) the most divine among the sects of philosophy, that he read over all the works of the Platonists, got them almost by heart, and was perpetually meditating upon them.'

(2) Ibid. p. 77.

[C] He

betook himself to the bar. The city of Delft made him counsellor and échevin at the same time; and because he gave several proofs of his virtue and learnings, prince William conferred upon him the office of master of the requests. He worthily discharged the duties of that office till the year 1575, when he was made professor in the university of Leyden, newly founded, where he taught philosophy for some years, and then the civil-law. He was so well pleased with that employment, that he would not leave it to be counsellor in the great council, though that office was offered him several times. He died in the year 1601, without issue. He left behind him some books concerning the civil-law, that have not been printed (a) [C]. He had a brother, whose name was JOHN DE GROOT [D], who was the father of HUGH DE GROOT, who makes the subject of the following article. They were both the sons of HUGH DE GROOT, the first of his family who went by that name [E], and who died in the year 1567 (b), being burgomaster of Delft the fifth time.

^a Taken from the book intitled, *Illustrium Hollandiæ & West-Frisiæ Ordinum Alma Academia Leidenfis, printed at Leyden, in 1614.*

(b) Ibid. in Jano Grootio.

(3) *Ediit Com. ad 4. libros institutionum juris civilis; item annotationem observationem feudalem. Kurr. Biblioth. vet. & nova, pag. 366.*

(4) *Swertius ipse in expressis verbis, Libros nullos edidit, sed elaboratos quosdam commentarios ad diversas Juris partes conscripsit. Meursius mentio non habet published or composed.*

(5) *He was burgomaster four times successively, before he was curator of the university, Acad. Leidenf.*

(6) Ibid.

(7) *Athen. Botav. pag. 205.*

(8) *Patrem habuit Joannem de Groot . . . ad quem exstant Lipsii epistolæ, illustris viri Jaci Douze versu, & non paucorum monumentis ejus nominis inscripta. Vita Grotii init. apud Batavianum, pag. 430.*

(9) *Lipsius, Edit. xvij. Centur. 1, Miscellanea.*

[C] *He left some books concerning the civil-law, that have not been printed.* The same author goes on thus: *Libros nullos edidit, sed elaboratos quosdam commentarios ad diversas Juris partes conscripsit. Inter quos Absolutissimum commentarium ad quatuor libros Institutionum juris civilis. Ad omnes titulos quatuor primorum librorum digestorum. Duos Tomos commentariorum & observationum feudalem. Singularem tractatum continentem quinquaginta differentias feudorum, à feudis Hollandicis. — He published no books, but wrote some elaborate commentaries on different parts of the civil-law; among which, one, which he intitled, Absolutissimum Commentarium, &c. Konig did not observe this; for he says, that most of those books were published by the author of them (3), and he quotes Swertius and Meursius, who say no such thing (4).*

[D] *He had a brother, whose name was JOHN DE GROOT.* Who, after he had gone through his school-learning at Delft, studied philosophy and the civil-law at Douay. He returned into Holland, as soon as the university of Leyden was founded; and lived, till the year 1582, in the house of his brother Cornelius de Groot, professor of the civil-law in that university. Afterwards he was made successively Schepen and Burgomaster of Delft, and curator of the university of Leyden (5); and did not scruple to be admitted doctor of law after he had been curator (6). *There are some of his works written with great politeness, if we may believe Moreri; but he is mistaken: He too much enlarges what Meursius had already too much amplified. These are Meursius's words (7): Pater (Hugonis) erat Joannes Grotius cujus exstant carmina, & Lipsii ad ipsum literæ, Doujaque versus, nec pauca aliorum monumenta ipsius inscripta nomini. The plain meaning of which is, That John Grotius had made some verses, which had been published. But since the whole passage of Meursius, is to be found in the life of Grotius, except these words, cujus exstant carmina (8), it is very probable that Meursius was mistaken upon that head. Besides, it is certain, that John Grotius understood poetry: Lipsius says so. *Negas agnoscere te Deas, idque carmine quod agnoscant ipse Deæ. . . . Carmen torum approbum, nec critica illi à me nota (9). — You deny, that**

you acknowledge goddesses, and that in a poem which goddesses themselves might acknowledge. . . . The whole poem is perfectly good, nor will I offer to criticise it.

[E] *HUGH DE GROOT, was the first of his family, who went by that name.* This I find in the life of Grotius, prefixed to his works, and among the lives collected by Dr Bates. The passage deserves to be set down at length. *Avus ei fuit ille Hugo de Groot qui ex illustri Cornetiziorum gente prognatus, primus Grotianum nomen in familiam suam transulit. Quippe cum circa annum trigessimum seculi decimi quinti in Diderico de Groot ejusdem itidem civitatis consule, & non paucis deputationibus satis claro, defecisset stirps masculina, filia ejus Ermgarda de Groot, domus satis opulentæ hæres, viro Nobilissimo Cornelio Cornetio, qui genus sum ex ea Cornetiziorum prosapia ducebat, qui sub Ducibus Burgundiæ ex Gallia in Belgium migraverant, nuptura, matrimonium non iniit, nisi factâ conditione, ne, qui ex eo nascerentur masculini sexus liberi, alio quam Grotiano nomine nuncuparentur; ita natus Hugo de Groot, ejus Hugonis, de quo loquimur, avus, vir supra quam ea tempora serebant, Latinarum, Græcarum & Hebræarum quoque literarum sciens. — His grand-father was that Hugh de Groot, who, being descended from the illustrious family of the Cornetiz, first introduced the Grotian name into his family. For the male line failing in Dideric de Groot, chief magistrate of the same town, and well known by his many deputations, about the year 1430 his daughter Ermgard de Groot, a rich heiress, being to marry the most noble Cornelius Cornetiz, descended from that branch of the Cornetiz, which, under the dukes of Burgundy, transplanted itself from France into Holland, articulated with him, that their male issue should bear the name of Grotius: from this marriage sprung Hugo Grotius, grand-father of that Hugo we are speaking of, a man of uncommon skill in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for the times he lived in.* It appears from the sequel of this passage, that this Hugh was burgomaster of Delft, and married Elselinge Heemskerck, a woman of a very noble extraction.

GROTIUS (HUGO), one of the greatest men in Europe, was born at Delft the tenth of April 1583. He made so early a progress in his studies, that he wrote verses before he was nine years of age; and at fifteen he had great skill in philosophy, divinity, and the civil-law: But he was still better skilled in the *belles lettres*, as he made it appear by the commentary he wrote at that age upon a very difficult author (a). In the year 1598, he accompanied the Dutch ambassador (b) into France, where Henry IV gave him several marks of his esteem. He took there his degree of doctor of laws; and, being returned into his country, he applied himself to the bar, and pleaded before he was seventeen years of age. He was not twenty four years old, when he was made advocate-general. He settled at Rotterdam in 1613, and was syndic of that town (c); he would not accept of that employment, but upon condition that he should not be deprived of it; for he foresaw, that the quarrels of divines about the doctrine of grace, which formed already a thousand factions in the state, would occasion many revolutions in the chief towns. He was sent into England in the same year, on occasion of the misunderstanding between the merchants of both nations, about which he had written something [A]. He found himself so far engaged in the affairs, which

(a) *Martianus Capella. See Mr Baillet, Écrivains celebres, pag. 231, & seq. where you will find the proof of Grotius's great learning before he was twenty years of age.*

(b) *It was the famous Barnevelt.*

(c) *The Dutch call him, who are interested with that office, Pensionaries.*

[A] *About which he had written something.* I shall set down Meursius's words. *Cum intelligeret navigationem in Indiam fœderaque ejus Orbis ingentia esse præsidia patris suæ, quo magis populares*

suos excitaret ad eas res magno animo suscipiendas, de jure commercii Indici libellum composuit (1). (1) *Meursius, — Being sensible, that the navigation and trade to the Indies, was of great service to his country, so he excited*

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(d) Ubi postquam ultra septuaginta annos fuit, tunc bonis uxoribus, asperantis iudicium largitionem, qui vicinos & quatuor in diem alios captivo totique ipsius familie assignaverant, studiis precipue impendisset, plurimisque ab eis qui custodie ejus preerant iniurias perpeffus fuisset, &c. -- Where being supported above a year and a half by his wife, who refused the scanty allowance of the judges, amounting to not more than four and twenty pence a day for himself and his whole family, after he had spent his time chiefly in study, and had suffered much ill usage from his keepers, &c. Vita Grotii, apud Batelium, pag. 423.

(2) Her true name was Mary Keyserbergen.

(3) Du Manier Memoires de Hollande, pag. m. 404. See the latter Ecclesiastical & Theological, pag. 654, & seq.

(4) Eorumque (non enim meorum) fuit elapsi essent in conquirendis infensissimis quousque, quibus iudicium munus tuto committerent. -- And seven of the nine months had been spent in looking out his most inveterate enemies, whom they might safely make his judges. Vita Grotii, pag. 423. See, in remark [F], of the article GRANDIER, what Menage says on judgement's made by select commissioners.

(5) Vita Grotii, apud Batelium, pag. 423.

which ruined Barneveldt, that he was arrested in August 1618, and condemned to a perpetual imprisonment, the 18th of May 1619, and to forfeit his estate. He was confined to the castle of Louvestein the 6th of June, in the same year. Every body knows how he made his escape [B], after he had been severely used above a year and a half (d). He retired into France, where he met with a kind reception at court, and had a pension assigned him. The Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to prepossess the king against him; but that prince did not mind their artifices, and gave a glorious testimony to the virtue of that illustrious refugee [C]. Grotius applied himself very much to study, and to compose books. The first he published, after he had settled in France, was an apology for the magistrates of Holland, who had been turned out of their places [D]. He left France, after he had been there eleven years, and returned into Holland full of hopes, by reason of a kind letter he had received from prince Frederic Henry; but his enemies prevented the good effects of it [E]; and therefore he was forced once more to leave his country. He resolved to go to Hamburgh, where he stayed till he accepted the offers of the crown of Sweden in the year 1634. Queen Christina made him one of her counsellors, and sent him ambassador to Lewis XIII. Having discharged the duties of that employment about eleven years, he set out from France to give an account of his embassy to the queen of Sweden. He went through Holland, and received many honours at Amsterdam. He saw queen Christina at Stockholm; and, after he had discoursed with her about the affairs he had been intrusted with, he most humbly begged of her, that she would

exile his countrymen to undertake those things with courage, he wrote a book, Of the right of commerce to the Indies. That tract was intitled, *Mare liberum, sive de jure quod Batavis competit ad Indiana commercia dissertatio*, and was printed in 1609. See Colomies's *Bibliothèque Choisie*, pag. 157.

[B] Every body knows how he made his escape. It was by the advice and artifice of Mary de Regelsberg (2) his wife, who having observed, that the guards, being weary of searching a large trunk full of books, and linnen to be washed at Gorcum, a neighbouring town, let it go without opening it, as they used to do, advised her husband to put himself into it, having made some holes with a wimble in the place, where the fore part of his head was, that he might breathe, and not be stifled. He followed her advice, and was in that manner carried to a friend of his at Gorcum; from whence he went to Antwerp in the usual wagon, after he had crossed the public place in the disguise of a joyner, having a rule in his hands. That artful woman pretended all the while, that her husband was very sick, to give him time to make his escape into a foreign country: but, when she thought that he was safe, she told the guards, laughing at them, that the bird was flown. At first there was a design to prosecute her; and some judges were of opinion, that she should be kept in prison instead of her husband: but by a majority of votes, she was released, and praised by every body for having, by her wit, procured her husband's liberty (3). Such a wife deserved not only to have a statue erected to her in the commonwealth of learning, but also to be canonized; for it is to her we are indebted for so many excellent works, published by her husband, which had never come out of the darkness of Louvestein, if he had remained there all his life-time, as some judges, appointed by his enemies, designed it (4).

[C] Lewis XIII gave a glorious testimony . . . of this illustrious refugee. Grotius preserved still an affection for his country, though he had been so ill used. This Lewis XIII admired; and doubtless it was one of the reasons, which moved that prince to reject the ill counsels of the Dutch ministers, who hated him, and endeavoured to make him odious to the court of France. Semper intentus patriæ & popularibus suis ubi quid negotii illis apud aulam eam esset, consilio, operâ, & quâ pollebat apud nonnullos Ministros regis gratiâ interfervire ac prodesse; quamvis non ignoraret, eos, qui ibi res Federatorum curabant, nihil intentatum relinquere, quo Regis animum ipsi infestum redderent, sed frustra laborabant apud Principem nihil ignorantem eorum, quæ annis cl. loc. xviii & cl. loc. xix in Hollandia acta erant; quin dixisse non semel fertur, mirari se virtutem hominis, qui tam malè in patria habitus, non desineret tamen ei, subditique ejus bene velle, imò quocunque etiam posset modo benefacere (5). -- Always ready to assist his countrymen, who had any business at court, by his advice, and his credit with some of the king's ministers; tho' he was not ignorant, that the States envied him no stone unturned to

alienate the king's affection from him; tho' they laboured to no purpose with a king, who knew every thing that had been transacted in Holland, in the years cl. loc. xviii and cl. loc. xix: nay he was often heard to say, that he admired the virtue of the man, who, notwithstanding the ill usage of his countrymen, ceased not to wish well to them, and even to serve them when ever he could. Grotius shewed, by his conduct, that he had made a good use of the noble examples he had read in the ancient Roman authors (6). See what I have observed in relation to Camillus (7).

[D] The first book he published was an apology for the magistrates of Holland who had been turned out of their places. The contrary party was very much displeased with that book. They thought Grotius made it appear, that they had acted against the laws, and they endeavoured again to ruin him; but the protection of the French court secured him against their attempts. Which may be seen more at large in the following passage (8). *Primum operum, quod post receptam libertatem edidit, fuit Apologeticus sive defensor, non tam sua, qui non potuerat peccare in exsequendis iis, quæ sibi à Superioribus suis mandata erant, quam eorum, qui legitimo modo creati, legitimo jure Reip. Hollandicæ annis decimo octavo & nono præfuerant. Quo comperto Federatorum Delegati, neque ignorantes suas in eo libro artes, illatamque Hollandiæ vim (9) detegi, cum nihil haberent, quo expressam in eo veritatem redarguere aut refutare possent, usitatâ jam diu violentiâ utentes, proscriptionibus eum persecuti sunt: quod brutum fulmen, cum per Christianissimi Regis tutelam, qui eum in fidem suam receperat, evanisset, nihil aliud eo actum est, quam quod, &c. -- The first work he published, after he was set at liberty, was an apology, or defence, not so much of himself who could not offend in the performance of those things, which his superiors required of him, as of those who, being legally created, presided legally over the commonwealth of Holland, in the years eighteen and nineteen, which being known, the delegates of the States, conscious that their arts, and the violence offered to Holland, were detected in that book, and not being able to deny the truth of what he had said, had recourse to their old violence, and pursued him with proscriptions: which impotent malice being disappointed by the protection of the most Christian King, nothing farther was done than that &c.*

[E] His enemies prevented the good effects of it. Prince Frederic Henry wrote a letter to Grotius in the year 1622, wherein he offered to serve him. It is printed at the end of Grotius's life: and, in all probability, that prince would have gladly restored that great man, had he not been told there was some danger in it. Here follows a Latin passage, wherein the whole matter is explained. *Mortuo Mauritio Araufionensium Principe, frater ejus Fredericus Henricus ad gubernaculum Reipublicæ admotus, non mitioris tantum regiminis, sed & pristinæ in administranda Republica libertatis spem dederat, ipsique jam pridem Grotio animi sui affectum per literas testatus erat, cre-*

(6) See the letter he wrote to Ercius Puteanus. It is the 388th letter among the *Epist. Ecclesiast. & Theol.* in fol.

(7) In the article CAMILLUS, in the text, between citations (d) and (e).

(8) Vita Grotii, pag. 424.

(9) We are told, pag. 423, in what that violence consisted. Delegates illi iudices dare, illegitimo modo accusare, indefensa damnare; Oldenbarneveldium septuagimum secundum ætatis annum agentem capitali supplicio plectere, reliquos duos ad perpetuos carceres mittere, & omnia eorum bona publicare: nitenibus contra vim auctoritatis sue inferri frustra clamantibus ipsæ Hollandiæ Ordinibus, donec optimis quibusque à numeribus suis dimittis, novissime in eorum loca contra leges impostis omnia pro libidine eorum agi cœpere qui istius novitatis auctores erant. -- The delegates appointed them judges, accused them illegally, and condemned them without board: they put to death Oldenbarneveldt, at seventy two years of age; the other

was they sent to perpetual imprisonment, and confiscated all their effects: and this notwithstanding the States of Holland opposed them, and cried out, that their authority was abused; till having removed the best part from their employments, and substituted others, contrary to law, in their places, every thing began to be at the beck of the authors of these new proceedings.

grant him his dismissal. He had much ado to obtain it; and that prince gave him several marks of her great esteem for him. He had many enemies in that court [F]. The ship, on board which he embarked, was violently tossed by a storm, and cast away on the coast of Pomerania. Grotius, being sick, and uneasy in his mind, continued to travel by land; but his illness forced him to stop at Rostock, where he died, in a few days, on the 28th of August 1645. His body was carried to Delft, to be buried among his ancestors (e). Notwithstanding his embassy, he published many books upon several subjects [G]. He engaged in an unpleasant dispute, having undertaken to reconcile theological controversies. A divine of Leyden (f), who was a native of France, wrote against him upon that account, and left nothing unattempted to make him suspected by the Protestants, and to exasperate the court of Sweden against him. That dispute afforded an instance of the truth of this maxim, *That the mind is deceived by the heart*. Grotius, being desirous to re-unite all Christians, looked upon it as a thing that might be effected; his desire did not permit him to see the unformidable obstacles, which the obstinacy of some private persons would easily raise, though there had been

(e) Taken from his life, prefixed to his theological works, printed at Amsterdam, in 1670, and in the collection, printed at London in 1681, and intitled, *Vitæ selectiorum aliquot virorum*.

(f) Andrew Rivet.

(10) Vita Grotii, p. 424.

debataturque à non paucis, quæsiturus sibi gloriam ex tanti viri tam injulæ damnati in integrum restitutione: sed ut plerumque apud animos eorum, qui Principum consiliis præstant, utilia honestis prævalent neque desistent qui ipsi ante oculos ponent, quam periculosum rebus suis foret, hominem, tam pertinaciter libertatis ac patriæ suæ amantem, iterum ad Republicam admittere, potentia suæ quàm exilium consilium maluit, & Proceribus super mansione Grotii, in Hollandiam reversi circa finem anni cl. lxxxi. deliberantibus, iis accessit, qui interdicendum illi in patria habitationem opinabantur (10). — Maurice, prince of Orange, being dead, his brother Frederic Henry, being at the helm of affairs, gave hopes, not only of a milder government, but also of restoring the ancient freedom in the administration of affairs, and soon expressed his friendship for Grotius by letter; and many thought that he aspired to the glory of restoring so great a man so unjustly condemned: but, as those, who manage the affairs of princes, have generally more regard to profit, than honour, and there were some, who represented to him how dangerous to his affairs it would be, to admit into the common-wealth one so fond of liberty and his country, he consulted his power rather than his reputation: and, when it was debated, whether Grotius, upon his return to Holland in the year cl. lxxxi. should be allowed to reside there, he sided with those, who voted, that he should be forced to settle in his own country.

[F] He had many enemies in the court of Sweden. The queen gave him no positive answer, when he asked leave to retire; which displeased some great men, who were afraid that she would keep him in her council. He perceived their discontent, and was so pressing to obtain his dismissal, that it was granted him at last. Neque dubitavit hoc unum sufficere ad irritandam invidiam illam, quam à principio adventus sui in nonnullis Regni Proceribus animadverterat. Quare, cum nihil minus propositum ei esset, quàm in ea terrarum parte habitationis suæ sedem figere, ubi non minus cum ingenio hominum tam male sibi volentium, quàm cum aëris inclementia luctandum quotidie foret, non destitit coram Regina, quoties ad eam accederet, dimissionem suam & veniam ad suos reverendi efflagitare (11). — Nor did he doubt that this would increase that envy, which he had observed in some of the nobles from his first arrival. Wherefore, as he designed nothing less than to fix his residence in that country, where he must daily struggle, not only with the tempers of men, who wished so ill to him, but also with the inclemency of the air, he perpetually solicited his dismissal, and leave to return to his own country, as often as he had access to the queen. Du Maurier says (12), that chancellor Oxenstern would have taken care to get Grotius deprived of his embassy much sooner, had he not been willing to vex cardinal Richelieu. This cardinal (13) struck off the pension of three thousand livres, which had been paid to Grotius for the space of ten years, which obliged that illustrious refugee to leave France. The author of that affront being informed, that Grotius was coming again with a noble character, was very sorry for it, and earnestly desired the court of Sweden to recal that ambassador, who did not love him, and whom he did not love. Oxenstern who was resolved to mortify the cardinal, refused to grant him his request; but, as soon as he heard that the cardinal

was dead, he ceased to protest the ambassador and even proved so unkind to him, that he was obliged to ask leave to retire, which was granted him. Du Maurier adds (14), that Grotius being not at all regarded in Sweden, left Stockholm without taking leave of the queen, or of any of her ministers, and was already come to the Dalles to take shipping; but the queen, having sent for him, presented him with twelve thousand Rixdollars. This does not agree with Grotius's life. See in the margin a passage out of the Menagiana (15). 'Mr Arnauld produces a letter, importing, that Grotius, being dissatisfied with the court of Sweden, tho' very well pleased with queen, left it, to return into France, where he was to be ambassador of Poland; that before he was far advanced in his journey, the queen urged him to come back; that he did it; and being set out again, &c (16).'

[G] Notwithstanding his embassy he published many books. Here I shall speak of the works of that author, in whatever time they were written or published.

During his stay at Paris, before he was ambassador of Sweden, he translated into Latin prose his book concerning the truth of the Christian religion, which he had writ in Dutch verse, for the use of the seamen, who travel into the Indies, that they might have some diversion in singing such a pious poem. Thus Du Maurier speaks of it (17). He is very much to blame for giving such a mean notion of the author's design; for Grotius aimed at a nobler end: he had a mind to enable the Dutch, who travel into the Indies, to promote the conversion of the infidels. Proposui enim mihi erat, omnibus quidem civibus meis, sed præcipue nauticis, operam navare utilem, ut in longo illo marino otio impenderent potius tempus, quàm quod nimium multi faciunt, fillerent. Itaque sumto exordio à laude nostræ gentis, quæ navigandi solertia ceteras facile vincat, excitavi eos, ut hac arte, tanquam divino beneficio, non ad suum tantum quantum, sed & ad veræ hoc est Christianæ religionis propagationem, uterentur (18). — My design was to write a work, which might be of use to all my countrymen, but especially our sailors, that, during their leisure of a long voyage, they might employ their time, rather than, as many do, mispend it. Beginning therefore with the praise of our nation, which excels all others in the art of navigation, I exhorted them to employ this science, as a favour from heaven, not only to their own profit, but to the advancement of the true, that is the Christian, religion. It is an excellent work, and the notes upon it are very learned. It was translated into English, French, Dutch, German, Greek, Persian, and Arabic; but I do not know whether all those translations have been published. The Greek was not printed in the year 1637 (19). In the year following Grotius mentions the Persian translation only, as a book, which the Pope's missionaries had a mind to publish. Liber meus de veritate Religionis Christianæ . . . qui Socinianus est Votianis adeo hic pro tali non habetur, ut studio Religiosorum Pontificiorum vertatur in sermonem Persicum ad convertendos, si Deus cepto annuat, ejus imperii Mahumetistas (20). — So far

is my book, of the Truth of the Christian religion from being thought a Socinian work, that the Roman Catholics have got it translated into the Persian

(15) Etiam Græcè versus est sed nondum editus. Grot. Etij. cccxi. Part. II, pag. 872.

(16) Ibid. Epist. ccccxlvi, pag. 281.

(11) Ibid. pag. 426.

(12) Memoires, vol. 1. suprà, pag. 412, & seq.

(13) Ibid. pag. 409.

(16) Calvinisme convaincu de nouveau, pag. 146.

(17) Ubi suprà, pag. 4-8.

(18) Grotius de Verit. Religionis Christianæ, pag. 3, Edit. Par. 1640, in 12mo.

none in the causes of the division. The calumnies, maliciously dispersed by his enemies, about his death, are irrefragably confuted by the relation of the minister, who attended him, when he was dying [H]. Those false reports are nevertheless revived from

'*san tongue, in order to convert, by the grace of GOD, the Mahometans of that empire.*' In the year 1641, an Englishman, who had translated that book into Arabic, was desirous, that his translation should be printed in England 'Fuit apud me his diebus Anglus vir doctissimus, qui diu in Turcico vixit imperio, & meum librum de Veritate Religionis Christianæ in Arabicum vertit sermonem; curabitque si potest, typis in Anglia edi. Is nullum librum putat esse utiliore aut instruendis illarum partium Christianis, aut etiam convertendis Mahometitis, qui sunt in Turcico imperio, aut Persico, aut Tartarico, aut Panico, aut Indiano (21). — A very learned Englishman was lately with me, who resided long in the Turkish empire, and translated my book of the Truth of the Christian Religion, into Arabic; and will, if he can, get it printed in England. This man thinks no book more useful, either for instructing the Christians of those parts, or even for converting the Mahometans of Turkey, Persia, Tartary, Barbary, or India.' That translation made by the famous Dr Edward Pocock, was printed at London in the year 1660, in 8vo. We shall see, in the article HENICHIUS, that Grotius has been taxed with plagiarism. There are three German translations of that work (22), two in prose and one in verse, and two French translations in prose. The last was made, and published at Utrecht, in the year 1692 (23); the other came out long before. I have seen two editions of it; one in 12mo, in the usual character, and the other in 8vo, in a letter like that of a writing-master: and therefore it is said in the title, that it was made at Paris, in the printing-house of the new letters invented by Peter Moreau, a writing-master at Paris. There is no date, neither in the title page, nor at the end of the epistle dedicatory. The author of that version dedicated it to Mr Bignon, counsellor of state, and put only an M to it to denote his Name: I have been told, that his name was Mr de Courcelles.

The incomparable work, *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, was published at Paris in the year 1625 (24). I shall speak of it at large in the remark [O].

As for the commentary, *De imperio summorum pontificum circa sacra* (25); the treatise, *De satisfactione Christi contra Fastum Socinum* (26); the notes upon the gospels (27); the *Pietas Ordinum Hollandiæ* (28); the dissertation, *De Cæne administratione ubi Passores non sunt, & an semper communicandum per Symbola* (29); the *Epistolæ ad Gallos* (30); I refer my readers to a book of Colomies, quoted in the margin, where they will find some curious particulars. Concerning the edition of the letters in folio, consult the first volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* and *Morbosius's Polybistor* (31). But as to the *Historia Belgica*, I refer to the remark [P]. Note that there is in the fourth volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (32), a large abstract of the treatise, *De Cæne Administratione ubi Passores non sunt, &c.* which was reprinted at London, with some other pieces, in the year 1686.

There are several mistakes in the following words of du Maurier: 'during that embassy, which lasted twelve years, Grotius published several books; among others, a Latin dissertation against la Peyrere (33), who had written a piece concerning the Pre-Adamites: that dissertation is intitled, *De origine gentium Americanarum Dissertatio*, wherein he says, That the nations of America are not very ancient; and that they came from Europe, either by a land-passage or being driven thither by a Storm: *Nisi, says he, quis Præ-Adamitas esse dixerit, ut nuper quidam in Gallia somniavit.* But one Læcius of the Low-Countries having written against him, he put out a second dissertation, intitled *De origine gentium Americanarum Dissertatio altera*, wherein he confutes Læcius at large (34). It is not true that Grotius wrote his dissertation *de Origine gentium Americanarum* against la Peyrere; nor is it true, that the book concerning the Pre-Adamites was then printed. The words, quoted by du Maurier, are not in that dissertation; but the following passage is to be found in his reply to Læcius: 'Cui conse-

quens est ut credatur . . . aut aliquos ante Adam fuisse conditos homines, ut nuper quis in Gallia somniavit. — The Consequence of which is, that we must believe . . . or that there were men created before Adam, as a certain person in France lately imagined.' I believe la Peyrere is hinted at in those words; but I maintain still, that the book concerning the Pre-Adamites was not yet published (35). Grotius was acquainted with that man's opinion; and therefore he said something of it occasionally. But this cannot be called a confutation.

[H] The calumnies of his enemies . . . concerning his death, are irrefragably confuted by the relation of the minister who attended him when he was dying.] That minister, named John Quistorpius, was professor of divinity at Rosloc. His relation (36) imports, that he went to Grotius, who had sent for him, and found him almost dying; that he exhorted him to prepare for death, in order to enjoy a more happy life, to acknowledge his sins, and repent of them; that, having mentioned to him the publican, who confessed himself a sinner, and begged God's mercy, the sick man answered, I am that publican (37); that he went on, and told him, he should have recourse to JESUS CHRIST, without whom there is no salvation; and that Grotius replied (38), *I place all my hopes in JESUS CHRIST alone*; that he repeated with a loud voice, in High-Dutch, the prayer, which begins thus: *Heer Jesu waabrer Mensch und Gott, &c.* (39); and that the sick man said it softly after him with his hands joined; that having ended, he asked him, whether he understood him; and his answer was, *I understood you very well* (40); that he continued to repeat to him some passages of the word of God, which dying people are usually put in mind of, and to ask him, *Do you understand me?* and that Grotius answered, *I hear your voice, but I do not understand every thing that you say* (41); that, after this answer, the sick man lost his speech, and expired soon after.

It would be ridiculous to call into question Quistorpius's sincerity: no reason of interest could move him to tell a lie; and every body knows, that the Lutheran ministers were no less displeased, than the Calvinists, with the particular opinions of Grotius (42); and therefore the testimony of the professor of Rosloc is an authentic proof; and, if such a proof is not sufficient in matters of fact, we make way for Scepticism, and it will be a hard matter to prove any thing. It is therefore an undeniable matter of fact, 1. That Grotius, being a dying, was affected like the publican mentioned in the gospel; he confessed his faults; he was sorry for them; he implored the mercy of his heavenly father. 2. That he placed all his hopes in JESUS CHRIST alone. 3. That his last thoughts were those that are contained in the prayer of dying people, according to the liturgy of the Lutheran churches (43). Now I do not think there is any prayer that contains more pious thoughts, such as a true Christian ought to have, when he is preparing to appear before God's tribunal, than that prayer.

The result of this is plainly; 1. that those who say he died a Socinian (44), would be too gently used, if they were only told, that they are guilty of a rash judgment; they deserve to be called calumniators. 2. That these words of du Maurier contain a fabulous story (45): 'I have been told, says he, that during his sickness, a Catholic priest, and several Lutheran, Calvinist, Socinian, and Anabaptist ministers, came to him, to persuade him to die in their belief: But whilst they discoursed of controverted points, and each of them endeavoured to prove that his religion was the best, his only answer was, *non intelligo*; and when they had done speaking, he told them, *bortare me ut Christianum morientem decet*; exhort me, as a dying Christian ought to be exhorted.' 3. That the report that was spread immediately after his death, that he refused to hear a minister, who had a mind to speak to him, is another lie (46). 4. That it is not true, that, when a Lutheran minister began to speak to him of his religion . . . the sick man answered only, *non intelligo*, giving him to understand by those words, that he did not like his discourse, and

(21) *Ibid.*
Epist. DXXXIV,
pag. 914.

(22) Scheffer, in
Suecia literata,
pag. 371, says,
that the German
translation of
that work, by
Valentinus Musculus, was printed
at Stockholm,
in 1651.

(23) By a French
refugee, called
le Jeune. He
died at Utrecht
some time after.

(24) See the
534th letter of
Grotius, Part II,
at the end.

(25) See Colomies's
Biblioth. Cosm., pag. 23.

(26) *Ibid.* pag.
160.

(27) *Ibid.* pag.
76.

(28) *Ibid.* pag.
117.

(29) *Ibid.* pag.
182.

(30) *Ibid.* pag.
186.

(31) Pag. 294.

(32) Pag. 93,
& seq.

(33) It should be
la Peyrere.

(34) Du Maurier,
ubi supra, pag.
417.

(35) See the
52d letter of
Sarravius, pag.
50, Edit. 1697.

(36) It is printed
among the
Epistolæ Ecclesiastica & Theologica, pag. 828,
of the 2do edition, 1684.

(37) Ego ille
sum publicanus.

(38) In solo
Christo omnia
spes mea est reposita.

(39) That is,
Lord Jesus, true
man and God.

(40) Probe intellectus.

(41) Vocem
tuam audio sed
que singula dicis
difficiliter intellego.

(42) Patin, letter
vii, pag. 31,
of the first
volume, says, there
was a report, that the
Lutherans were suspected
of having poisoned
Grotius, by reason of
what he wrote
concerning Anti-
christ, in the
Pope's behalf.

(43) You will
find it translated
into French in the
book, intitled,
*Sentimens de quelques
Theologiens de Hollande
sur l'Histoire Critique du
Pere Simon*,
pag. 397.

(44) See Patin,
ubi supra.

(45) Du Maurier,
ubi supra,
pag. 431.

(46) See Mr. Ar-
nould's book, in-
titled, *Le Calvinisme
convaincu de nou-
veau*, pag. 145.

from time to time; but none has been so excessive in his accusations as the author of the book, intituled, *L'esprit de Mr Arnauld* [I]. He was so bold as to say, that Grotius died like an Atheist. Several people wondered, that his grand-children did not demand satisfaction for such an injury; and that they appeared less sensible in this point, than Janfenius's relations, upon (g) slighter calumnies; but some wise persons highly approve their waving all juridical proceedings [K]. We have seen a very solid answer to

(g) See the beginning of the remark [K].

to

(47) Ibid. pag. 146.

(48) It contains a collection of several histories. See the Sentiments de quelques Theologiens de Hollande, pag. 402.

(49) See the Sentiments de quelques Theologiens, ibid.

(50) Stephanus Corcellius, in Praefat. Apologiae, praefata Amicis Davidis Blondelli de Johanna Papista, apud Marenum in Johanna Papista restituta, pag. 329.

(51) See the first volume of the Proposits defensio, pag. m. 123, & seq. Mr Arnauld wonders at Mr Duill's extraordinary civility, and excessive moderation, towards St Ambrose, of whom he only says, that he had a good nose, or was cunning, after he had laid down some principles, according to which he should have called him a cheat, an impostor, and a scoundrel.

(52) Esprit de Mr Arnauld, Tom. II, pag. 377.

(53) Ibid. pag. 388.

(54) This is not to be found in the letter produced by Mr Arnauld, pag. 145, of the Calvinist's conversion. It is an addition, and a falsification of the author of L'Esprit de Mr Arnauld.

'and that accordingly the minister went away (47).'
5. That there is a falsity in a little English book (48), wherein it is affirmed, 'that Grotius, being a dying, said, multa agenda, nihil egi, though I have undertaken many things, I am not a jot the better for it.'
6. That those, who 'soon after the death of that great man . . . spread a report that he had been 'thunder-struck (49), gave out a falsity more ridiculous still, than malicious.

I shall conclude this remark with a passage, wherein Andrew Rivetus, one of the most zealous adversaries of Grotius, is concerned. He gave out, that Grotius was dead, breathing out threatenings, and full of anger and bitter gall, without shewing any sign of repentance. However, says he, we will not judge another's servant. The caution contained in these last words seemed ridiculous to an Arminian professor, because good sense does not permit us to admit a principle, without admitting the consequences necessarily resulting from it; but eternal damnation is an infallible consequence of a final impenitence; so that it is but a silly artifice to say, such a one is dead without repenting of his heinous crimes; nevertheless I will not decide about his fate. This is what that professor says about it (50): I do not examine whether he is in the right. But here is the passage I have promised:

'Paulo apertius egit A. Rivetus, de illustri viro Hugone Grotio loquens: ἐμπνέων ἀπειρίας, inquit, & totus in fermento jacens, imo in felle amaritudinis, videtur ad plures abissos, nullo poenitentiae, quod sciamus, signo exhibitio, &c. Ubi nihil aliud superfluit, nisi ut adderet, Aeternum est deus salutis. Licet ad emolliendum tam inclementem sententiam, ita concludat: Sed tamen non judicamus servum alienum, qui Domino suo servit & cecidit. Sed quorum moderationis speciem praese ferre circa consequens, cum tota difficultas sit in antecedente? Ego contra, si mihi constaret, vel Grotium, vel Blondellum, in aliquo gravi delicto sine poenitentia obisse, non vereretur, est dolens, dicere, damnatus est. Non enim ipse sententiam ferrem, sed Deus in verbo suo, quod coelo & terra firmius est. — Andrew Rivetus dealt

'a little more openly, speaking of Hugo Grotius: Breathing out threatening, says he, and being wholly in a ferment, even in the gall of bitterness, he seems to have died, without shewing any sign of repentance, that we know of, &c. To which he had nothing to add, but that his salvation was desperate; though, to soften so harsh a sentence, he concludes; Yet we judge not another man's servant; to his own matter he standeth or falleth. But to what purpose this shew of moderation as to the consequent, when the whole difficulty lies in the antecedent? I, on the contrary, if I were certain, that Grotius, or Blondel, had died in some heinous sin, without repenting of it, should not scruple to say, though with grief, he is damned. For it is not I who pass the sentence, but the word of GOD, which is firmer than the heavens and earth. I have seen, in a book of Mr Arnauld, a like stroke against Mr Duill's regard for St Ambrose (51). But this is foreign to my purpose. I shall only say, that Rivetus advances a thing, concerning the pretended impenitence of Grotius, that is contradicted by the relation of the Lutheran minister. Marenius, who refutes the passage I have quoted, does not in the least disapprove Rivetus's conduct.

[I] No one was so excessive in his accusations, as the author of the book, intituled, *L'Esprit de Mr Arnauld*. He is not contented to say, that Grotius is a passionate Arminian, a Socinian, a Papist (52), things which are inconsistent in one and the same person; but he adds (53), 'that Grotius died without professing any religion, and without giving any answer to the person, who exhorted him upon his death-bed, but, non intelligo, I do not understand you (54), turning his back to him.' His only authority for it is Mr Arnauld, a man of whom he gives so hideous a character in that same book, that no equitable judges would fine a person, charged with murder, by twenty witnesses

like him. Can there be a more strange blindness? Must we not confess, that of all passions, the desire of slandering is most proper to make one act against common sense? But, laying aside such moral reflections, I shall only say, that it is manifest, the author of *L'Esprit de Mr Arnauld* affirms, that Grotius died an Atheist. To reject all manner of religion at the point of death, to die without professing any religion, and to die an Atheist, are three synonymous propositions: and therefore, if the accuser was to be prosecuted, the matter should be reduced to this question, DID GROTIUS DIE AN ATHEIST? The accuser does plainly assert it: he must therefore prove it; and it were to no purpose for him to prove, that Grotius was neither a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist, nor a Papist, nor an Arminian. Now is it not a horrid thing, that a man, who died in the manner mentioned by Quistorpius, should be accused of dying an Atheist? Is not the impudence of such a calumniator prodigious? Can any one that reads his book believe it, without calling to mind what he knows of the great corruption of men, and thinking of these words of the scripture, *The heart of man is desperately wicked* (55)? I have already said (56), that there is no reason to doubt of Quistorpius's sincerity; and I add, that the thing he witnesses is of such a nature, that he could not be deceived in it. He heard what Grotius answered him; he saw the motion of the lips and hands of his penitent, whilst he was repeating an excellent prayer. The ears and the eyes are authentic witnesses in such matters of fact. I confess, he did not know whether Grotius spoke with a low voice other things than those he (Quistorpius) spoke aloud: it is an objection, Mr Arnauld was not ashamed to propose (57): it does not deserve an answer: for, at this rate, one might doubt of the faith of all dying people.

[K] Very wise persons highly approve their waving all juridical proceedings. The example of Janfenius's relations, which some wished Grotius's family had followed, is one of the things that can best justify their contempt of that calumny. The Janfenists hoped to mortify Father Hazart, a famous Jesuit, who had said in one of his books, that Janfenius's father was a Protestant, and that Janfenius had been a professed Calvinist till he came to a certain age. They published very fine cases (58), to shew, that this Jesuit was a downright calumniator; and he was summoned with all the usual forms to give satisfaction for that injury by a solemn retraction. They applied themselves to the tribunals, to which it belonged, to decide that difference; but after many writings, and a great stir, they miscarried in their design. Father Hazart had such an interest, and invented so many cavils, that the proceedings of the plaintiffs came to nothing. This instance shews, that Grotius's descendants did well in not prosecuting the author of the calumny; for he would have invented as many cavils as Father Hazart, and would have been as powerfully supported, to avoid the punishment he deserved. He might have been prosecuted before the secular courts by the law, *Si quis famulum*. Complaints might have been made also to the ecclesiastical judges: But he would have had such powerful patrons, and so great an interest in the secular courts, that all the proceedings would have come to nothing. It had been worse still, if the ecclesiastical courts had been applied to: in which he never wants cavils to justify himself, and his friends use a thousand artifices to secure him from the least censure. The author of the *Thoughts on Comets*, could he obtain any satisfaction for a calumny very like this relating to Grotius? The accuser, heaping frauds on frauds, did he not always elude the just demands made on him by the accused, before their proper judges? What success had the ministers, who charged him with a false doctrine? Did they not find him superior to the laws of discipline, tho' they took never so much pains, and made his errors manifest? This is a new reason why Grotius's relations ought to be glad, that they did not prosecute him juridically.

(55) Jeremia. xvi. 9.

(56) In the remark [H].

(57) Calvinist's conversion, pag. 147.

(58) See the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, 1686, pag. 68, 209, 202, & 1314. Those cases have been reprinted in the eighth volume of la Morale pratique des Jesuites.

(b) I said this in 1697, but that minister is dead since.

(i) Borremans, Var. Lect. cap. III, apud Crenium, Animadvers. Philolog. & Hist. Part. I, pag. 19.

to that passage of *l'esprit de Mr Arnauld* [L]; and since the accuser made no reply to it, it is a plain sign that he has been convicted of calumny. Now this is a scandalous thing upon two accounts; for on the one side, he made no step in order to give satisfaction for so great an injury; and on the other, his ecclesiastical superiors never censured him for so plain a calumny, and never intimated to him, that they did not approve his publishing such books as *l'esprit de Mr Arnauld*. Caspar Brand, an Arminian minister of Amsterdam, is writing a life of Grotius (b): It will be large and very instructive: It is pity he does not write it in a language more generally understood than the Dutch. He will not fail to praise him for his memory, which was so good, that, being present at the muster of some regiments, he remembered the names of every soldier (i). A letter of Salmasius has been printed within these few days, wherein he is ill used [M]. He left behind him three sons, and one daughter

[L] *We have seen a very solid answer to that passage of L'Esprit de Mr Arnauld.* The apologist begins thus. 'But, Sir, what that author, and Father Simon, say of Grotius, is nothing, if compared to what the nameless author of the scandalous libel, intitled, *L'Esprit de Mr Arnauld*, says of him. It is true, he slanders every body in that book, and that the manifest lies, that are in it, ought to make one disbelieve every thing else. But, because some are so weak as to be imposed upon by his bold way of speaking, and because some of those, to whom you shew my letters, entertain an ill opinion of Grotius upon that account, you will give me leave to undeceive them here. Perhaps, they will not be displeased to find an author, for whom they have so great an esteem, guilty of the most horrid calumny that ever was. This will teach them, that one ought to suspect those, who appear so zealous for truth; and that sometimes a prodigious malice and detraction are concealed under that zeal, upon pretence of defending the church of God (59).' Afterwards, the apologist examines the four accusations one after another. I shall not dwell on what he says upon the first head (60): What he says upon the second runs thus (61):

Grotius, says our satirical author, in the second place 'a Socinian, as it appears from his enervating ALL the proofs of CHRIST's divinity. Sir, desire your friends to read Grotius's annotations upon the passages of St Mark and St John, which I have mentioned to you; and if they do not say, that it is an abominable calumny, I am willing to be accounted a most wicked calumniator. See also the DXLVIIIth letter among the *Litteræ Ecclesiasticæ & Theologicæ* (62). I should be too long, should I mention what he says upon the third head, both against the author of *L'Esprit de Mr Arnauld*, and Mr Arnauld himself. I shall only set down this passage out of it. 'When Mr Arnauld says something that is injurious to the reformed, the author of the libel exclaims violently against him, and Mr Arnauld is then an insincere man, an unfair accuser, an infamous calumniator; but, when he says something that may serve this satirical writer to inveigh against those, whom he hates, every thing is then right; it serves him to fill up his page, and to prevent his being placed among the little authors (63).'

I must not forget, that Mr Arnauld blames the Lutheran minister for not asking Grotius in what communion he would die (64). This is a material thing, says Mr Arnauld, 'with respect to a man, who was known to have had no communion for a long time with any Protestant church, and to have confuted, in his last books, most of the doctrines that are common to them.' Whereupon the apologist says (65), that Mr Arnauld, and the author of the libel, do wrongfully fancy, that a man has no religion, when he joins with none of the factions that condemn all mankind, and each of which pretends to be the only church of CHRIST. Grotius obtained from communicating with the Protestants, as well as with the Roman Catholics, because the communion, which was appointed by CHRIST as a symbol of peace and concord among his disciples, is accounted in those societies a sign of discord and division. . . . (66). Quistorpius acted the part of a wise man, in not asking him what communion he would die in, since he saw him dying in the communion of JESUS CHRIST, by virtue of which we are saved, and not by virtue of that of the bishop of Rome, or of the several Protestant societies.'

Without inquiring whether Quistorpius was in the right or the wrong, not to ask him such a question, I observe, that a man, who believes the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, but forbears receiving the communion, because he looks upon that action as a sign that one damns the other Christian sects, cannot be accounted an Atheist, but by an old dotting fool, who has forgot the notions of things, and the definitions of words. Nay, I go farther, and I maintain it cannot be denied, that such a man is a Christian. I allow you to say, that his believing all the sects, that receive the gospel, to be in the way to salvation, is an heresy; I allow you to maintain, that it is a pernicious and dangerous doctrine: notwithstanding which, can it be said, that those, who believe that JESUS CHRIST is the eternal Son of GOD, co-essential and consubstantial with the Father; that he died for us; that he was raised from the dead; that he sits at the right hand of GOD his father; that men are saved by faith in his death and intercession; that one ought to obey his precepts, and repent of one's sins, &c. I say, can it be affirmed, that such persons are not Christians? No man of sense can affirm it; but none would be more unreasonable, in asserting such a thing, than the author of *L'Esprit de Mr Arnauld*, since he published another book (67), wherein he shews, that all those, who believe the fundamental points, belong to the true church, whatever sect they may be of. I omit several other maxims advanced by him, whereby it appears, that one may be saved in all religions; as an anonymous writer (68) has demonstratively proved to him. I only mention such doctrines as he cannot deny, and according to which he ought to acknowledge, that Grotius, who believed the fundamental doctrines, without approving Calvinism, or Popery, &c. in every thing, was a member of the true church.

For the rest, we need not wonder, that Grotius was abused by a man, whose book is looked upon as a satire upon all mankind. 'Homo iste procacissimus in illo suo ARNALDI SPIRITU, universum genus humanum impetit, nec Sacris parcens nec profanis, nec Ecclesiastico, nec Civili Statui; Regem suum, Regem Christianissimum, singula Regiæ familiæ capita, familiares Ministrosque Regis tam sanctæ, tam impudenter carpit: ut vel in suo Hollandiæ asylo vix tutus ipse (69), tutum præstare id libri monstrum nequiverit (70). — This most slanderous author, in intitled, *Catholici Esprit de Mr Arnauld*, falls foul of all mankind, sparing neither things sacred nor profane, the church, nor the state: he attacks his prince, the most Christian king, every branch of the royal family and the king's favourites and ministers, so basely and impudently, that where it is affirmed, that this author speaks ill of all mankind, (71), and judge whether such an author could fail to meet Grotius in his way, there being some particular reasons, which made him angry with that great man: those, who know Rotterdam, understand me.

[M] *They have published a letter of Salmasius . . . wherein he is ill used.* Mr Crenius has published that letter in the first part of his *Animadversiones Philologicæ & Historicæ*, printed at Rotterdam in 1695. Salmasius wrote it to Sarrauius, the twentieth of November 1645. Not contented to prefer Vossius to Grotius, he undervalues the merit of the latter as much as he can: he hardly allows him to have an indifferent skill in philosophy, and makes him inferior to every body, as to the reasoning part. In *Philosophicis si disputandi solertia spectetur, vix medicis par est.*

(59) *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande*, pag. 390.

(60) *Viz. That Grotius was a violent Arminian.*

(61) *Sentimens*, pag. 392.

(62) *Epist. Præstant. Viror.* pag. 797.

(63) *Sentimens*, pag. 395.

(64) *Arnauld, Calvinisme convaincu*, pag. 147.

(65) *Sentimens*, pag. 398.

(66) *Ibid.* pag. 399.

(67) *Intituled, Le vrai Système de l'Eglise.*

(68) *Carus Læronius in Janua calorum relecta.*

(69) This is false.

(70) See the book, intitled, *Catholici Esprit de Mr Arnauld*, pag. 9.

(71) See, above, citation (59).

that is a work of one, who, like the devil, goeth about seeking whom he may devour, but, &c. *Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam démentée*, in the preface, pag. 173.

See also the *Cabale Creniæque*, pag. 281.

daughter [N]. The eldest son of one of his sons is Droffart (k) of Bergenopzoom. Grotius's book *de Jure Belli & Pacis* being a master-piece, and having received a very particular honour from the public, I ought to speak of it somewhat at large [O]. I shall

(k) A considerable office in Holland.

net unquam vidi qui minore cum vi ratiocinetur. A professor of Transilvania, adds he, who is writing against the book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, pretends to shew gross mistakes in every page of it; *adfirmavit se ostensurum esse nullam paginam vacare insignibus erratis*. Grotius, says he, is a mean critic; many of his notes upon the Old Testament are extremely childish; I would not put my name to such a work. *Scimus etiam in Critica quam infelix fuerit & ἀσχετος vir aliquin summus Grotius . . . Nollem meum nomen adscriptum esse adnotatis in Vetis T. nihil bis in multis puerilius invenio, & tanto nomine indignus*. How shall we reconcile this with Salmasius's letters to Grotius? There is one, in which he calls him *supereminentissimus*; and says, he had rather be like him, than enjoy all the wealth and glory of the sacred college. *Non solum Cardinalibus, sed etiam mihi rem minime gratam facis, qui me donec eo titulo, quo tu dignior, supereminentissime Groti. Quid enim te non sic appellem, cujus me multo similem malim, quam omnes purpurati illius gregis divitias & honores possidere* (72)? See the passage of Justus Pacius in the margin. I was asked not long ago, whether the letters, written by great men to an author, are like those, wherein they speak of that author to other persons? I answered, that they seldom spoke the same things in those two sorts of letters. When they write to an author, they commend his book; but when they write to others, they praise it but little, and sometimes find fault with it. If they themselves published their own letters, they would endeavour to suppress their double-dealing; but most times they come out after their death. If Salmasius had published the letter of the twentieth of November 1645, he would have suppressed those wherein he bestows high encomiums upon Grotius. He was no friend to him, as he made it appear when he wrote against him under the disguise of Simplicius Verinus (73).

(71) Epist. Salmasii, lib. i. p. 45.

(72) Grotius was already dead. See the book written in answer to that work of Salmasius. I mean Justi Pacii Revisionem justitiae; wherein Salmasius is answered for his inconsistency. Nihil pheniceum fuit seculi in tuis literis prædicantes, quid te igitur modo impellit vnum adeo in te benignum exanimato perferre, pag. 3. . . . What induced you to fall foul of one so much your friend, and whom you had extolled in your letters, as the planet of his age.

(73) Taken from the life of Hugo Grotius.

(74) Traité de l'ambassadeur, lib. ii. pag. 454. See also pag. 411.

(75) De Maurier, Mémoires d'Holande, pag. 410.

to be sent ambassador into France (76).⁴ Colomiés says (77), 'it is believed, that Grotius exhausted his parts upon that book, and that he might have said of it what Casaubon said of his own commentary upon Persius, in a letter to Mr Perillau his kinsman, which is not printed, in Persio omnem ingenii conatum effudimus; and indeed that work of Grotius is an excellent piece; and I do not wonder that it has been explained in some German universities. . . . Here follows the judgment, which Mr Bignon, that unblameable magistrate, makes of that book, in a letter to Grotius, dated the fifth of March 1632. I had almost forgot, says he, to thank you for your treatise *De Jure belli*, which is as well printed as the subject deserves. I have been told, that a great king had it always in his hands; and I believe it is true, because a very great advantage must needs accrue from it, since that book shews, that there is reason and justice in a subject, which is thought to consist only in confusion and injustice. Those, who read it, will learn the true maxims of the Christian policy, which are the solid foundations of all government. I have read it again with a wonderful pleasure.' They did not make the same judgment of it at Rome, where it was placed among prohibited books, the fourth of February 1627.

(77) Colomiés, Biblioth. choisie, pag. 128.

The memoir, which M. Chauvin has inserted in his journal (78), concerning the fate and importance of that work, is so fine and so curious, that I cannot forbear transcribing several things out of it. It informs us, that Grotius undertook to write that book at the solicitation of the famous Peireskian. He himself says so in a letter he wrote to him, when he presented him with a copy of that work. 'The subject of it was thought to be so important and useful, that it gave occasion to make a particular science of it; for the explication of which, some professors have been appointed on purpose in the universities.' Charles Lewis, elector Palatine, 'did so highly value that book, that he thought fit it should serve as a text to the lectures, concerning the law of nature, and the law of nations; and in order to expound it, he appointed Mr Puffendorf in his university of Heidelberg; and, in imitation of that prince, the like settlements have been made in other universities. . . . It does not appear that any body criticised or wrote against that book of Grotius, during his life. Some indeed are of opinion that Mr Selden wrote his book *De Jure Naturali & Gentium juxta disciplinam Ebraeorum* out of emulation. . . . The first author, who criticised Grotius, was Joannes à Felden, doctor of the civil law, and professor of the mathematics, at Helmstadt. He closely follows the three books of Grotius, and dwells upon such subjects as concern the civil law and morality. . . . He contradicts him every where.' His work came out in 1653, and was confuted the next year by Theodorus Grafwinckel. The public law, in 1663, Boeclerus's commentary upon the first book of Grotius, which he continued afterwards upon the seven first chapters of the second book; and besides, he has published five important subjects of the same book. . . . He does not follow all the opinions of that author, but differs quite from him upon several subjects. . . . In 1664, John Philip Mullerus, a civilian, reduced the three books of Grotius into tables. . . . In 1665, Janus Klenkian (79) published his institutions *De Jure naturali & gentium*, taken out of Grotius's book. In 1666, Gaspar Zieglerus . . . professor of the civil law at Wittemberg, put out his notes on the three books of Grotius. . . . He does not appear to be acted by a spirit of contradiction; nevertheless he departs from Grotius's opinions in a great many things. Grotius's younger brother (80) published, in 1667, *Enchiridion de Principiis Juris Naturalis*: that book is properly an introduction to the work *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, and was illustrated with notes, in 1675, by John George Simon, professor of the civil law at Léna (81). About the year 1668, David Mevius, vice-president of the supreme court of Wolfmar, undertook to compose a just system of the doctrine concerning the law of nature and the law of nations, and

(78) Journal des Savans, written at Berlin, pag. 220, & seq. in the year 1696.

(79) See the Journal des Savans, Jan. 25, 1666, pag. m. 80.

(80) William Grotius.

(81) He is professor in the new university of Hall, in the year 1690.

I shall also say something of Grotius's book concerning the history of the Low-Countries [P]. He wrote it in his youth, and according to Tacitus's style.

and published an introduction to it in nine considerations. He highly commends Grotius in his preface, and gives him the glory of being the first, who introduced the study of the law of nations, and explained it more solidly and learnedly than any one before him. His great work was to be made up of three parts: the two first were finished, and ready for the press; but he knew not, whether his great age, and his affairs, would permit him to make an end of the other. John Adam Osiander, professor of divinity in the university of Tubingen, published his observations upon the work of Grotius in 1671, and affected to criticize him, almost every where. The year following, Mr Puffendorf published his book *De Jure Naturæ & Gentium*, wherein he fully explains what had been omitted or lightly touched upon by Grotius: and some look upon his work as a large supplement to Grotius, and others, as a continued commentary upon Grotius. The observations of Henry Heniges upon Grotius came out in 1673. He follows the opinions of that author, and maintains them against those who wrote against them. About the same time, John George Simon reprinted Grotius's book with notes, particularly concerning the civil-law, and the law of nations. Sometimes he takes part with John à Felden against him. In 1676, Samuel Rachelius published his treatise *De Jure Naturæ & Gentium*, and Valentinus Velthem put out his introduction to Grotius's work in three volumes. John George Kulpis published also his remarks upon the same Grotius in 1682. Gronovius made learned notes upon the same book of Grotius in the year 1680. Mr de Courtin translated it into French in 1687. Mr Becman published it in 1691, *cum notis Variorum*, which he took out of the most famous authors who had written upon it, as Boeclerus, Zieglerus, Osiander, Puffendorf, Simon, Gronovius, and some others. It is further said, in Mr Chauvin's memoir, that in the year 1696, there came out a new edition of that book of Grotius in folio, with Mr Vandemeulen's commentary (82). It is to be observed, that this memoir serves as an introduction to an abstract, published by Mr Chauvin, of a commentary of *Job. Tesmarius* in *Hugonis Grotii de Jure Belli ac Pacis libros 3*, printed in folio at Francfort, in the year 1696, with the notes of Ulric Obrecht upon the same work of Grotius. Mr Tesmar, who died in the year 1693, had been twenty years upon that commentary (83). Mr Becman's work abovementioned was reprinted at Francfort on the Oder in 1699, in 4to. It is intitled; *Hugonis Grotii de jure belli & pacis libri tres, in quibus jus naturæ & gentium, item juris publici præcipua explicantur cum Annotationis Autoris ex postrema ejus ante obitum cura. Accesserunt excerpta annotationum variorum virorum insignium in totum opus. Edente Job. Christoph. Becmano*. Thus Grotius, fifty years after his death, obtained an honour, which was not bestowed upon the ancients till after many ages: I mean, that he has appeared *cum Commentariis Variorum*. I have just now read in a book of Mr Crenius (84), that Theodore Grafwinckel wrote the original of that book of Grotius, who dictated it to him, *ex ore dictantis Grotii se excepisse, eoque in ordinem demum redegit*. Christopher Arnoldus had this particular from Grafwinckel himself, and inserted it in a letter printed with those of Richter.

(82) It should be Vander Meulen. See an abstract of his book in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants*, Novem. 1695, pag. 123, & seq.

(83) Chauvin, ubi supra, pag. 316, 317.

(84) Thomas Crenius, Animadv. Parte V, pag. 204.

[P] I shall say something of Grotius's book, concerning the history of the Low-Countries. It contains an account of what happened in the Netherlands from the departure of Philip II. till 1608. It is divided into annals, and history: the annals comprehend five books: the history contains eighteen, and begins in the year 1588. Casaubon, who had read something of it in the year 1613, speaks well of it in a letter written from London to Thuanus (85). He observes, that there were twenty one books in that work: he did not reckon well; but perhaps the two last books were added to it since. The author did not publish that history; he only shewed the manuscript copy to Casaubon. It did not come out till after the author's decease, Grotius having had some reasons to keep it by him during his life. . . . (86). His wife refused the manuscript of that history to Sarrauius, though he offered her two thousand livres for it (87). It was printed at Amsterdam for John Blaeu, in the year 1657, in folio, and in the year 1658, in 12mo (88).

(85) Colomies Bibliothèque cholesie, pag. 24. Edit. 1699.

(86) Id. ibid.

(87) Ib. pag. 25.

(88) There is also an edition in 8vo. The edition in 12mo is very faulty.

Mr L'Heritier translated it into French (89). The French translation was reprinted at Paris in the year 1672, in folio. See the extract Mr Denys gave of it, in his seventh memoir concerning arts and sciences (90). Here follows the judgment of the author of the *Parrhasiana*. 'We may add to Polybius, a famous historian among the moderns, who, tho' he had been a great sufferer by the injustice of a great prince, relates his noble actions as carefully as any other historian, and speaks of him according to his merit, without saying any thing, whereby it may appear that he had reason to complain of him. I mean, the incomparable Hugo Grotius, who speaks, in his history of the Netherlands, of prince Maurice de Nassau, as if he had never been ill treated by him. This is a remarkable instance of impartiality, which shews, that it is not impossible to overcome one's passion, and speak well of one's enemies, as several people fancy, who judge of others by themselves (91).' The author, who observes this fine passage in Grotius's history, did it not out of flattery; for he blames him afterwards for a thing that deserves to be blamed: he does not approve Grotius's style; and shews thereby, that he is a man of a good taste. 'None, says he, (92), of those, who spoke well at Athens, and at Rome, expressed themselves so obscurely in conversation, as Thucydides and Tacitus did in their histories. Doubtless, they had a mind to raise themselves above common use, and thereby they fell into that obscurity, for which they are justly reprov'd. It cannot be denied, that they have an affected stile, and that they hoped to recommend their histories, as it were, by a manly eloquence, whereby it seems that many things are expressed in few words, and raised above the capacity of the vulgar. I cannot apprehend why some learned men undertook to imitate them, as Hugo Grotius, and Dionysius Vossius in his translation of Rheide's history, and how they could relish such a stile. For certainly good thoughts need not be obscure to be approved by good judges; and when a reader is obliged to stop continually, in order to look for the sense, he does not think himself in the least obliged to an historian, who gives him that trouble. This is the reason why some histories, though excellent as to the matter, are read by few people; whereas if those historians designed to write for the instruction of those, who have a sufficient knowledge of the Latin tongue, to read a history with pleasure, they should have endeavoured to make themselves easily understood, and useful to as many people as ever they could. The more a history deserves to be read by reason of the events contained in it, the more it deserves to be of a general use. The authority of the ancients, who neglected the clearness of the stile, cannot justify the moderns, who have imitated them, contrary to the reasons, I have mentioned, or rather contrary to good sense. There is nothing in Tacitus that less deserves to be imitated, than his too concise and consequently obscure stile; and yet that very fault has been most imitated. I am sorry Grotius is one of those who did not avoid it. The great Bignon, who did not approve that stile, had almost persuaded the author to alter it. 'Amavit (Grotius) ubique orationem pressam, & quadam dignitate gravem. A qua nec in historia sibi temperavit. Satis constat, virum nostri sæculi summum, omnique doctrinæ & auctorem & censorem gravissimum, Hieronymum Bignonium, cum ineditis adhuc Grotii historias & Annales legisset, non probasse brevitate orationis, obscuritatem obnoxiam, in illo genere scripturæ, quod à perspicua venustate potissimum commendationem caperet; peneque Grotio persuasisse, ut referiberet (93). — Grotius was every where fond of a concise and majestic stile; which he could not forbear using in history. It is well known, that one of the learnedest men of our time, Jerom Bignon, having read the histories and annals of Grotius in manuscript, disapproved the brevity of stile, which made it liable to obscurity, in a kind of writing, whose greatest recommendation is perspicuity; and that he had almost persuaded Grotius to write it over again.' Mr de la Neufville, in the preface to his history of Holland, affirms, that Grotius had begun to mould his work anew.

(89) Colomies, ubi supra, pag. 25.

(90) Pag. 85, of Mr Denys's Memoirs. Paris 1673.

(91) Parrhasiana, pag. 160.

(92) Ibid. pag. 179.

(93) Boeclerus Prefat. Commentar. in Grotium de Jure Belli & Pacis, pag. m. 30.

GRUTERUS (PETER) was born in the Palatinate. His father, THOMAS GRUTERUS, who fled thither (a), because the Protestants were persecuted in the Netherlands; was professor at Duisburg [A], and had three or four sons who were men of letters [B]. Peter Gruterus, who makes the subject of this article, practised physic in several towns of Flanders, at Dixmuyde, at Ostend, &c. and was not very well pleased with the Flemish (b). He published, at Leyden, in the year 1609, a century of Latin letters, that were very ill used by the printers and the critics [C]. He affected, in those letters, a style, full of old words and obsolete phrases. He left Ostend in 1620, and retired to Middleburg. I know not whether he made a long stay in that town; but I think he endeavoured to make his fortune in several places, before he settled at Amsterdam, where the magistrates proved bountiful to him (c). He published there a new century of letters in the year 1629 [D], and died in the same place, in the year 1634 (d). Swertius (e) says, he was born at Ziriczée in Zealand, and that he spent some years in Italy.

(a) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 741.

(b) See the second century of his letters.

(c) See the epistle dedicatory of the second century of his letters.

(d) Val. Andr. ubi supra.

(e) Athen. Belg. pag. 613.

[A] His father Thomas Gruterus was professor at Duisburg (1). This appears from some letters printed at the end of the second century of Peter Gruterus, his son, some of which were written by that Thomas Gruterus. He wrote several books (2), and, among others, the history of David George, and a confutation of his heresies.

(1) In the year 1560, and 1561, Cent. 2. Epist. Petri Gruteri, pp. 197, 198.

(2) They were never printed; a list of them is to be seen, ibid. pag. 200.

[B] . . . and had three or four sons, who were men of letters.] JAMES GRUTERUS, the son of Thomas, was professor of history in the illustrious school of Middleburg in the year 1604. Some of his letters have been printed at the end of the second century of Peter Gruterus, his brother, with a catalogue of some books written by him, which were never printed. REINIER GRUTERUS, the son of the same Thomas, was principal of Casimir college at Heidelberg. Some of his letters to his brother Peter are to be found at the end of the second century, just now mentioned, with a list of his manuscript works. JOHN GRUTERUS, another son of Thomas, left his studies, and took a journey into Italy, which did not prove lucky; for, being so imprudent as to dispute about the eucharist, he was obliged to run away, for fear of falling into the hands of the inquisitors. He fled to Naples in the night, and soon after fell out to return into his own country; but he died of a sickness before he made an end of his journey (3). Some of his letters have been published with those of his brothers.

(3) Petri Gruteri, Epist. Centuria 2. pag. 234.

[C] His Latin letters were very ill used by the printers and the critics.] He complains of the printer at the beginning of his second century (4): 'Externa quoque fata saepe eas involunt; Typographo alibi stertente, & correctoris ignavia vacillante: quæ fors meas certe obruit, nusquam prælo magis famæ autoris invidente, quibus si desidiâ illius associo, cujus fidei typorum curam adscripseram, omnem exculationis cumulum confeci. — They likewise suffer thro' the negligence of the printer and corrector: This was certainly the fate of my letters, no author's fame having suffered more by the press; to which if I add the carelessness of him whom I intrusted with the care

(4) Pag. 4.

of the impression, I shall have fully apologized for myself.' The same complaint is to be seen in many other places in that work. His resentment against those, who censured the first century, does also frequently appear in it, and he expresses it with the same earnestness. His son hopes that the second century will meet with a better reception. 'Vario fato prima Centuria fluctuavit, iniqui subinde Cenforis aciem experta, prout rudi manu libram hanc vitio-creati judices versarunt. Sed qui felices adolescentie tui primitias non benigne ventilarunt, secundæ virilitatis messiem admirari discant (5). — The first century of letters was variously fated, meeting now and then with an ill-natured critic, as it happened to fall into the hands of bad judges. But let those, who censured the first fruits of your youth, learn to admire the harvest of your fertile manhood.' The truth is, that those, who ridiculed those letters, had good reason for it; and yet many persons complimented the author upon that work in a very high strain: he took care to prefix those compliments to his second century. Which shews, that whoever writes to a vain author, whose books are not good, ought duly to consider his words. It is to be feared, that such a man will publish the encomiums bestowed upon him, if he has the originals in his hands. Peter Gruterus foresaw, that the affectation of his old language would not be approved, and therefore he made an apology for it before hand, and printed it with the first letters (6).

(5) Ibid. pag. 184.

[D] He published a new century of letters.] Valerius Andreas is mistaken, when he says, that Isaac Gruterus, the author's son, published it. It plainly appears from the epistle dedicatory, and the preface, and from a letter of Giles Snouck prefixed to the rest, that it was Peter Gruterus who put out the second century. The same appears from a letter of his son Isaac, printed at the end of the book, with a Carmen gratulatorium, which he made upon that edition, and with some other letters written by him to several persons.

(6) Centuria Epistolarum & Apologia pro eadem, quâ instituti sui & styli ab usâ & latinis puritate abhorrentis rationem reddit. Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 741.

GRUTERUS (JANUS), a learned philologist, and one of the most laborious writers of his time, was born at Antwerp the 3d of December 1560. He was but a child, when his father (a) and mother, being proscribed on account of the Protestant religion by the dukes of Parma, governors of the Low-Countries, removed him into England. His mother, who was a learned woman [A], was his chief tutor. He spent some years in the university of Cambridge, from whence he went to that of Leyden [B], in order

(a) I speak of him towards the end of the remark [B].

[A] His mother . . . was a learned woman.] She was an English woman (1), and her name was Catherine Tishem (2). She understood Greek so well, that she could read Galen in that language, which very few physicians can do. 'Is sicut rebus duris constantiæ doctores utrumque parentem, ita matrem præcipue studiorum magistram, votum simul Agasicles consecutus est, ut eorum discipulus diceretur, quorum & filius esset. Mater enim præter Gallicam, Italianam, Britannicam linguam, Latinas litteras optime, Græcæ ita callebat, ut & Galenum, quod millesimus Medicus vix solet, linguâ Galeni legerit. — In adversity, he was taught constancy by both his parents; but his mother had the chief direction of his studies; in which he had, what Agasicles wished for, the happiness of being both pupil and son to the same person. For his mother, besides French, Italian,

(1) Fridericus Herculæus Fluyderus, in Vita & Morte Jaci Gruteri.

(2) Balthazar Venator, in Pa. negrico Gruteri, sive Henning. Witte, Memor. Philosophorum, Orationum, &c. pag. 217.

and English, was so well acquainted with Greek and Latin, that she could read Galen in his own language. 'which scarce one physician in a thousand can do.' I doubt this woman has been too often forgotten by those, who have published catalogues of learned women.

[B] He passed some years in the university of Cambridge, from whence he went to that of Leyden.] He studied there for the space of seven years, if we believe Valerius Andreas (3), who quotes a preface of Gruterus himself; and adds, that Gruterus had been in England ever since he was four years of age, till he came to be nineteen; and that, intending to settle at Antwerp, his birth-place, after he had been admitted doctor of the civil-law, he immediately left it, being informed, that the duke of Parma was ready to besiege it. His father, who was a considerable man, and had

(3) In Biblioth. Belg. 438.

R r r some

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order to study the civil-law. He took there his doctor's degree; but afterwards he wholly applied himself to the *belles lettres*, and soon published some critical books [C]. Though it is known in general that he travelled, one cannot give an account of the circumstances and order of his travels. He was in Prussia, when Christian, duke of Saxony, offered him the professorship of history in the university of Wittenberg. He accepted it, but kept it only a few months, because Christian died soon after; and those, who governed after him, obliged all the professors to subscribe a formulary, or to resign their places. Gruterus chose rather to resign his, than to subscribe any confession of faith against his conscience [D]. I find, that he read publick lectures in the university

ome employments in that town during the siege, being unwilling, that his son should stay in it at that troublesome time, sent him to travel into France. These computations are wrong; for they suppose, that the duke of Parma besieged Antwerp in the year 1586, which is not true; he besieged it in 1584; and therefore, if Gruterus had left Leyden, to retire to Antwerp, before the siege, he could not have studied in England till he was nineteen years of age, and then at Leyden for the space of seven years. But to go on, our Gruterus's father's name was Gualtherus; he was a burgomaster of Antwerp (4), and subscribed the famous petition, that was presented to the dukes of Parma, and which gave rise to the name *Gueux*, *Beggars*. Being proscribed, he went through many hardships, before he got to Norwich in England, where he stayed a considerable time; afterwards he came to Middleburg, from whence he removed to Antwerp, when the States were masters of it. He demanded of the senate that he might be exempted from all offices; which was granted him, till they were threatened with a siege, and then he was not only appointed captain of his ward, but also one of the four overseers of the provisions. Gualtherus vici sui Magister delectus est; cui muneri minus gravi succellit deinde gravius, cum Parmensis obsidionem fecisset. Rei namque frumentarie quatuorvir, collegis Aldegondio, Lefdale & Resa, adscitus in partem gloriæ illius mittendus est, quod annonæ conscientiam sic inter paucos septem tenuissent, ut citra dedicationem nec civi nec hosti constare posset, tantum tridui frumentum superfuisset (5).

(4) Flayderus, ubi supra.

(5) Venator, ubi supra, pag. 224.

(6) Flayderus, ubi supra.

(7) Gruterus cum Librum Concordia nec vidisset nec legisset unquam abstulit à subscriptione, quod temerarium esset & suum iudicare de re, quam non videris, approbare librum, quem non legeris, firmare sententiam, quam non consideraveris, subscribere divinis, quæ cum divinis nondum contuleris. Missionem igitur petulit Venator, ubi supra, pag. 244.

(8) Id. ibid.

[C] He soon published some critical books. He published first of all some Latin verses, being about twenty years of age. *Famae suæ immortalis janua circa annum vigesimum aperiens versibus quos Ocellus vocabat* (6). Afterwards he put out, at Wittenberg in the year 1591, *Suspicionum libri IX. in quibus varia scriptorum loca emendata & explicata*; and then he printed, successively, notes upon most of the ancient Latin authors, upon the two Senecas, Martial, Cicero, Livy, Florus, Velleius Paterculus, &c.

[D] He chose to resign his place, rather than to subscribe any confession of faith against his conscience. They required from him, that he should sign the book of the concord: he answered, that he knew not what it was, that he had never read or seen that book, and that it would be great rashness for any one to approve a thing, that he has not examined (7). Whereupon he was dismissed, with two others, who refused to subscribe; but they came off cheaper than he. They received half a year's salary as a gratification, as is usually practised in that country, in favour of those, who are honourably dismissed. Gruterus was so far from being gratified in the same manner, that he had not so much as the charges of his journey paid him. He was the worst courtier in the world; he minded nothing but his books, and did not care to trifle away his time in visiting and cringing to the court favourites, in order to insinuate himself into their good graces; and he thought, that, all things duly considered, it would be better for him not to think of that gratification, than to engage in long and troublesome solicitations about it. Causa superius indicata, quod purpurae Aulicæ adorare nescierat, Principi verò tormentum, aut supplicationis continuæ fideculas adhibere sibi interdixerat. Minus enim molestiæ ineffe videbatur impendio expedito, quam stipendio aut præmio intercato (8). This is the true character of a man, who is a meer scholar. But perhaps it may seem strange, that a man, who had read so much, should not have known what the book of the concord was. I do not think that Gruterus had a vast genius; but his extraordinary application, his great desire of knowing a world of things, and his prodigious diligence in

making large collections, gave him a kind of universal knowledge, for which he was not naturally qualified. How comes it then, that he neglected to inform himself of a thing, which divided the churches, and made a great noise among divines? In all likelihood, he had no inclination for the study of controversies. To speak more positively, he did not approve the disputes of divines (9); he would never meddle with them; he never had any quarrel about religion with the Roman Catholics; and therefore he was suspected of being inclined to change his religion. Venator, his panegyrist, is a little angry with those, who entertained such suspicions. There are his words (10): 'Huc accedit quædam alia demencia, quæ frigere eos dicit in Religione, quos in contentiones non vident ardescere. Pontificis non oblocutus es? Pontificius habetis. Lutheranus non reluctatus? Lutheranus audis. Calvinista non insultasti? Calvinista es. Istis enim nominibus invicem discimus. Novi qui de GRUTERO propter hanc ipsam causam Transitionem sperant. Sicut & David Chytræus, quod in Academia Rostochiana GRUTERO, qui tunc ibidem Suetonium legebat, conjunctior erat, & studium rixandi averfabatur, Calviniani nominis invidiam sustinuit. — To this may be added another piece of madness, which calls those cold in religious matters, who are not heated with controversy. Have you never reviled a Papist? You are a Papist. Have you never struggled with a Lutheran? You are called a Lutheran. Have you never insulted a Calvinist? You are a Calvinist. For these are the names, that alternately divide us. I know some, who, for this very reason, spread a report, that Gruterus was gone over. In like manner David Chytræus, because he was intimate, in the university of Rostoc, with Gruterus, who then read lectures on Suetonius, and hated contention, was branded with the name of a Calvinist.' This panegyrist had been speaking very judiciously against those, who love disputing, and concerning the ill effects of controversies. Men do not grow the better for them, says he, but more spiteful against their neighbours. 'Certamina talia semper ferè istis eventibus finiuntur, ut acerbius fiat odium inter partes, & nemo per illa melior. Mira res est, quod commissionibus sectionum, argumentorum versutis, clamoribus, convitiis, mutuis execrationibus Deo nos gratiores fieri putamus, cum amor & pax, & mansuetudo, & præcedendum mater Fides nobis rem conficiant, quorum tamen postrema cura habetur, & inter disceptandum nulla. Hæreses odisti? Dicam quæ maxima sit, Hypocrisis. Hanc prius exuamus. Quotus enim quisque de gloria Dei prius cogitat, quam de sua? Quotusquisque melius vivit, quam disputat (11)? — Such kind of disputes generally end in such a manner, that the parties are still more exasperated against each other, and no one is the better for it. It is strange, that we should think to render ourselves acceptable to GOD, by factious disputes, by clamour and mutual reviling; when love, peace, mildness, and faith, the mother of them all, do our business, yet are last taken care-of, and amidst disputation not at all. Do you hate heresies? I will tell you which is the greatest; Hypocrisy. Let us first divest ourselves of this. For how seldom do we consider the glory of GOD before our own? How few of us live better, than we dispute.' I must acquaint the reader, that one ought not hastily to believe what Venator advances upon this subject; for he seems too angry with the divines, and makes an odious description of them; and therefore the following words ought to be read with caution (12). 'Multas inauspicatas, inimicas & arcenes aves mortales illi ubique fere nanciscuntur, nullas tamen infellores hominibus, quàm quæ de suggestu diris omnibus regnant, & populares animos odiis asperant, quos vetus Augu-

(9) Erit nosse alienus ab istis velitationibus, quas nec in aliis probavit. Id. pag. 249.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid. pag. 222.

versity of Rostoc (b), but I do not know when, nor how, he left that university. The place, where he appeared as a professor with the greatest lustre, was Heidelberg, where he had also the direction of that famous library (c), which was removed to Rome some time after. He was very fit for such an employment, which very much helped him in writing a great many commentaries. One of the most useful works, he published, is a large collection of inscriptions [E]. Nothing could be more deplorable for a man of his character, than the loss he sustained, when his fine library was plundered [F], with the town of Heidelberg, in the year 1622. Before that town was taken, he retired to his son-in-law at Bretten, from whence he removed to Tübingen. He returned to Bretten, when the affairs of the Palatinate began to be in a better posture; but,

(b) See the remark [D], citation (10).

(c) He began to have it in the year 1602.

* rum disciplina ignoravit, nisi, quia de summo vocem
* mittunt, *Supervagantes* cum antiquis appelles, aut
* picurum generi adscribas quodam collegio naturæ,
* quoniam utrisque par insolentia, quam illis fabulæ
* tribuunt, par conviciandi & obtestandi libido,

Raqueque garrulitas, studiumque immane loquendi.

* Dicam clariùs. Sunt nonnulli (absit enim omnes
* eadem censura vexem) & in ipsa matre nostra Ger-
* mania de sacro ordine homines facerrimi, qui velut
* divinarum & humanarum rerum iudices atque arbi-
* tri tanta confidentia partem illam, quam nescio quis
* optimam & pessimam dixit, exercent, ut quidvis in
* quosvis nulla curâ, verum an salum intemperanter
* effundant, aureque & fidem Vulgi ignobilissima cap-
* tivitute damnent & servitute. Aliquis ipsis non de-
* dit? Avaritia: non scrupulose satis honoravit? ar-
* rogantia: non laudavit? ambitio: non rudis est? in-
* vidia: non assentitur? Inimicitia: malum morem
* tangit? tum verò capitale odium eos facit disertos.

— Those men almost every where get ill-omen'd,
* unfriendly, birds, yet none at present more pernicious,
* than those which reign from the pulpit with all kind
* of curses, and exasperate the minds of the vulgar,
* such as the ancient discipline of the Augurs knew
* nothing of, unless, because they utter their voice from
* on high, you will call them, with the ancients,
* Supervagants, or range them among the magpies
* from a certain similitude of nature, since they both
* have the same insolence, ascribed to them by fable,
* the same lust of calumny and detraction, the same
* hoarse garrulity, and boundless desire of talking.
* I will speak plainer. There are some (GOD forbid
* I should involve all in the same censure) even in
* our mother-country Germany, men of the most sacred
* character, who, as if they were sole judges of things
* divine and human, act, with so much confidence, that
* part, which some one has called both the best and
* the worst, that they say any thing of any one, with-
* out any caution, right or wrong, and hold the ears
* and faith of the vulgar in most ignoble bondage and
* servitude. Does any one refuse to bestow something
* on them? he is avaritious: is he wanting in paying
* a particular respect to them? he is arrogant: has he
* not praised them? he is ambitious: does he not as-
* sent to them? he is their enemy: but if he censures
* their bad morals, so heinous an offence makes them
* eloquent. This is sufficient: he says a great deal
* more upon this subject: the readers may consult the
* original, if they have a mind to know it.

[E] One of the most useful works he published is
* a large collection of inscriptions. Here follows an
* historical account of that work (13). Martin Smetius,
* a native of Bruges, spent six years in Italy, to make
* a collection of inscriptions, and adding them to those,
* which some learned men gave him, he digested them
* into a very good order. Mark Laurinus, lord of
* Watervliet, a great lover of antiquity, desired to have
* a copy of those inscriptions, and promised to requite
* him for such a painful office. Whilst Smetius was
* about it, his house was set on fire, and all his goods
* and inscriptions, except fifty sheets he had laid by in
* a closet, were burnt. Laurinus encouraged him, with
* entreaties and promises, to restore that work to its
* first perfection, which was done; and thus that fine
* collection was delivered to Laurinus, who, preparing
* to retire into France by reason of the civil wars,
* took those inscriptions along with him, as also the
* treasure of ancient medals, which Hubert Goltzius
* had collected with great pains and vast charges. The
* whole was taken from him by the English garrison
* of Ostend. No application could be made again to
* Smetius; for, being minister of the Reformed at

Brussels, he had been hanged there by the soldiers.
Goltzius married his widow. Whereupon Janus Dou-
za, being sent into England by the States, bought
the manuscript inscriptions of an English soldier, and
gave it to Lipsius, who had it printed with some
supplements. Gruterus took those inscriptions, to
which he added as many as he could get, with pro-
digious pains, and, putting them in order, published
them at Heidelberg, in the year 1601, being so hap-
py as to prevail upon Scaliger to make twenty
four Indexes, upon which that great man bestowed
ten months. *Hic Gruterus tandem noster agnino pro-
sus labore ex lateritio marmoreum imo aureum fecit, nam
& illas pauciores primo servavit, & omnes quæquot un-
quam in toto orbe superfuissent collegit inscriptiones, &
eadem in ordinem coegit, & denique Cæsari Rudolpho pa-
renti publico perpetuæque Augusto dedicatam publicavit.*
Cui ipsemet Josephus Scaliger in senecta ætate, solo a-
more atque studio quo Gruterum prosequatur compulsus,
viginti quatuor Indices decem mensibus continuo illis in-
sudando adiecit (14). The emperor commended that

work very much, and left it to Gruterus's choice
what reward he should bestow upon him. The author
answered, he left it to the discretion of the emperor,
provided the reward should not consist in money:
and, when he came to hear that there was a design
to give him a coat of arms, in order to set off his
noble extraction in the empire: he gave to under-
stand, that he was so far from desiring a new coat
of arms, that he found that, which he had from his
ancestors, a burthen to him. Whereupon the em-
peror was advised to grant him a licence for all the
books he should publish (15). That prince approved
of it, and, besides, thought fit that Gruterus should
have a character whereby he might have a right to
grant licences (16): he designed to make him count of
the sacred palace; but, because he died before he
could sign the patent, the business came to nothing.
Gruterus was too hasty in expressing his acknowledge-
ment. 'Decreta res apud Principem, approbata in Se-
natu Augusto, relata ad principem iterum, ut subscri-
bendo firmaret, quod præscripserat communicando.

Sed Cæsarem occupavit morbus, deinde fatum, quod
bonas actiones plerumque cum authoribus finit. Li-
teræ itaque quibus superiora Privilegia continebantur,
sicut ejus generis mille alia, more quodam differendi, re-
licta sunt absque manu Imperatoris, absque signatione,
nec postea unquam productæ, quia nova Potestas faciliùs
sua beneficia orditur, quàm aliena abolvit, & novis
curis occupata rarò succedit in obligatione veteris pro-
missi. Itaque GRUTERUS luculentissimum mu-
nus nunquam accepit, & laudes Cæsaris optimi sic ce-
lebravit, quasi integrum accepisset (17). — The thing

was consented to by the emperor, approved by the Aulic
council, and returned to the emperor, that he might con-
firm, what he had directed, by his sign manual. But it
was prevented by the emperor's death, a fatality, which
generally puts an end to good actions with their au-
thors. Therefore the letters patent, which contained
the above privileges, together with many others of
the same kind, by being deferred, were left un-
signed by the emperor, nor were ever after produced; for
a new prince is more inclined to begin with confer-
ring his own favours, than with completing those of
others, and, being taken up with new cares, thinks
itself under no obligation to make good an old pro-
mise. Therefore GRUTERUS never received this
noble privilege; yet he celebrated the praises of the
best of emperors, as if he had been put in full pos-
session of it.

[F] His fine library was plundered. It cost him
twelve thousand crowns (18). Oswald Smendius, his
son-in-law, endeavoured in vain to preserve it: to that
end, he wrote to one of the general officers of the Ba-
varian

(14) Flayder, ubi supra.

(15) Venator, ubi supra, pag. 241, & seq.

(16) Annuit igitur Cæsar de pri-
vilegio, & in ipso
privilegio, de
privilegiis ultro
cogitavit. Non
tantum illis quæ
GRUTERO, sed & quæ cou-
cederet GRU-
TERUS. Ce-
ment enim
S. Palatii desig-
navit. Id. ibid.
pag. 243.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Flayder, ubi supra.

(13) Taken from
Gruterus's life,
written by Flay-
der.

(13) A country house of Oswald Smendius his son-in-law, a league from Heidelberg. Moret should not have said, that he died at Heidelberg.

but, being molested there by the Roman Catholics [G], he retired to a country-house, which he bought near Heidelberg. He went to that town now and then, and set out from it, on the day that he fell sick of the illness of which he died. He set out from it the tenth of September, 1627, to go to Berhelden (d), where he ended his life ten days after. He was buried at Heidelberg in St Peter's church. Just at the time of his death, the news came, that the university of Groningen offered to make him professor of history, and of the Greek tongue (e). He had been invited to several other places [H]. As I have already said, he was a most laborious man [I]. He had a very uncommon quality;

(e) Taken either from Bathoe Venster, in his panegyric upon Gruterus, or from Frederic Herman Flayder, *De Vita & Morte Gruteri*.

varian troops; but the licentiousness of the soldiers prevailed over the good intentions of that officer. Smendius, being informed, that Gruterus's house was plundered, repaired to Heidelberg, and saw the books pillaged. He endeavoured to save at least those, which the amanuensis of Gruterus had removed into the electoral library, and desired the Pope's commissioner to give him leave to take them out. He was answered, that the Pope would have all the manuscripts to be carefully preserved, and carried to Rome; but that the printed books might be restored to Gruterus, provided Tilly approved of it by a note signed with his own hand. This pretended civility proved insignificant, because Tilly could not be spoken to (13).

(19) Taken from Venator, ubi supra, pag. 205.

(20) Above, remark [D].

[G] He was molested there by the Roman Catholics. I have already said (20), that he never loved controversies, or disputes about religion; and therefore, being importuned by some young Jesuits, who were mightily for disputing, he quickly left Bretten. The first time he gave them a gentle answer, and set them right upon a passage of St Augustin, which they had quoted wrong; but, when they renewed the attack, he grew somewhat angry, called them presumptuous young men, and told them how civilly he was used by Andreas Schottus and James Sirmond. 'Ipsum quoque juvenes quidam ex familia Jesuitarum disputando sollicitabant, quibus ille primum placide respondit, & semel etiam sententiam Augustini, quam non satis memoriter ipsi meminerant, ex libro præfenti ostendit, docuitque aliis verbis, & alio loco extare, quod ab illis & pro illis fuerat allatum. Deinde cum nec dum desisterent, quin ipsum talibus obtunderent, libertate resumpta, mirari se dixit, ubi frontem reliquissent semibarbatuli juvenes, ut spernent docere senem sexagenarium, qui plures patres in vita legerit, quam ipsi saltem vidissent. Jesuitas senes & primarios (SCHOTTUM nominabat & SIRMONDUM) sibi mutuo honore litterarumque commercio coli: nullam tamen ab ipsis de religione sibi molestiam exhiberi. Erat enim noster alienus ab istis velitationibus, quas nec in aliis probavit (21).

(21) Id. pag. 208, 209.

— Some young Jesuits likewise teased him with offers of disputation; whom he at first answered with mildness, and even once pointed out to them, upon the spot, a passage of St Augustin, which they had not sufficiently remembered, and showed them that it was extant in other words, and in another place, than as they had produced it. At last, when he found they continued to importune him in the same manner, he assumed a freedom of speech, and said, he wondered where they had left their modesty, that such half fledged boys should pretend to instruct an old man of sixty, who had read more fathers in his life, than they had seen: that men of years and distinction among the Jesuits (particularly SCHOTTUS and SIRMOND) did him the honour to correspond with him, but never troubled him about religion. For Gruterus was averse himself to those squabbles, and disapproved of them in others. It was not the business of such a critic, as Gruterus, to dispute about controverted doctrines with young Jesuits, bred up in the subtilties of the schools; and he found, that the only way of avoiding their importunity, was to live at some distance from them.

(22) Id. Venator, ibid. pag. 239.

[H] He had been invited to several other places. The most considerable invitation was that of Padua. They offered him (22) the chair of Riccoboni, who was lately dead, with a noble salary, and a promise that he should enjoy liberty of conscience; but he refused all those advantages, notwithstanding the solicitations of Pinellus and Velsus to the contrary. He was afraid of exposing himself to envy by so honourable and profitable an employment, and would not deprive himself of the public exercise of his religion. 'Erat ei religioni religio, sed & erat religioni ipsa pecuniæ summæ, quæ cæteroqui paucis nimia

est, & multis opportuna ad impietatem merces. . . . Cultus enim divini libertatem publicam (quamvis privatam recepturus) pro quibuscunque divitiis sibi negabat esse venalem; præterea tam humanum sciebat esse invidere alienæ felicitati, quam alienæ virtuti, & hanc quidem propter invidiam non esse deferendam, illum verò feliciorum esse, qui non sit infelix, quam qui cum invidia felicissimus (23). — He made a conscience of religion, as he did likewise of the salary, which to a few is too great, and to many an occasion of impiety. . . . for he declared nothing should bribe him to quit the public exercise of his religion, tho' he might have been allowed it in private; besides, he knew men are as apt to envy another's happiness, as another's virtue, and that the latter is not to be forsaken on account of envy; but that he is more happy, who is not unhappy, than he who is most happy, with envy. This is more meritorious in a critic, than it would be in many others. I find, that Gruterus was invited to Denmark; and that the constable d'Elziguieres wrote to him, and desired him to enter into his service; and that Claudius d'Expilly, and Charles Perinet, lord of Maugarnac, exhorted him to comply with the constable's desire (24). The curators of the university of France offered him, in 1624, the professorship of history (25).

(23) Ibid.

(24) Id. ibid. pag. 275.

[I] He was a most laborious man. How many learned men might be called idle, if their labours were compared with Gruterus's? Cum quo etiam doctissimi bujus ævi, si laboris emenji respectu comparantur, desidiosis vocantur (26). Spizelius, who says this, had it from Flayder, who adds: 'Cum etiam illi qui tota sua vita literis assident huic collati, quasi somno ac inertia dediti erubescere cogantur, nisi Gruteri labores callidius dissimulare velint, quam candidius æstimare. — When even those, who spend their whole lives in study, if compared to him, are forced to blush for their want of industry, unless they more cunningly dissemble, than candidly reckon up the labours of Gruterus.' Spizelius observes, that Gruterus published a book almost every month: 'Nullus ferè author five Græcus five Latinus extabat ex antiquis, quem non notis ac commentariis suis aut illustravit, aut illustrare potuerit; nemo plura veterum recensuit monumenta & restituit, imò singulos suæ vitæ annos, ac propemodum menses, libris singulis à se editis distinxit. — There was scarce any ancient author, Greek or Latin, extant, whom he did not either comment upon, or could have done it: no one revised and restored more remains of antiquity, inasmuch that he distinguished each year, almost each month, of his life by the books he published.' He studied all day, and a great part of the night, and always standing: Die toto maximam sæpe noctium partem stans literis operam navabat. . . . stans scribebat, stans legebat, stans studebat (27). Any one that considers the many books he wrote, or collected into one body, will easily believe this extraordinary application. His *Theſaurus Criticus* (28) is a work of the last sort, wherein he collected into six large volumes, in 8vo, a vast number of tracts of the most excellent critics, which could hardly be met with, if he had not collected them. He did the same service to many modern poets, whose works he collected, with this title: *Deliciae Poëtarum Gallorum, Italorum, Belgarum*, in nine volumes (29). He called himself, in that compilation, Ranutius Gerus, which is the anagram of his own name (§2). He published two Florilegiums. The first, in three volumes in 8vo, contains a great collection of proverbs of most nations, and notes. The second is a continuation of Langius's *Polyanthea*. The first volume of that continuation was printed at Strasburg in the year 1624, in folio. 'Composuit (30) quoque *Polyantheæ* tomum tertium & quartum nondum tamen editos, qui si referantur ad Langia-

(25) Gruter. Epist. ad Hofmannum inter Richterianas, pag. 549.

(26) Spizelius, in *Felice Literato*, pag. 1041.

(27) Flayder, ubi supra.

(28) The title of it is, *Lampas five Fax Arionum liberalium*, hoc est *Theſaurus Criticus*.

(29) Printed in the years 1608, 1609, 1614.

(30) These words are in the Catalogue of Gruterus's works at the end of his life, written by Flayder.

num

quality; for he was not intent upon gain. He did not care to increase his income. He was very charitable to the poor, and lent money, without much inquiring whether it would be paid him again [K]. He patiently bore adversity; and, if he was not insensible upon the death of his four wives, it appeared at least that it was no very difficult thing to comfort him [L]. His most violent quarrel, about learning, was with Philip Pareus: I have mentioned it in another place (f). That which he had with Dionysius Gothofredus, was like a torrent [M]; violent, but of no long continuance.

(f) In remark
[C] of the article
PAREUS
(PHILIP).

He

‘num sunt Oceanus ad guttulas. - He composed likewise the third and fourth volumes of the *Polyanthea*, not yet published, which, if compared with that of Langius, are as an ocean to a few drops.’ He published a *Chronicon Chronicorum Ecclesiasticum & Politicum*, in four large volumes in 8vo, at Francfort, 1614, and, instead of putting his own name to it, he put that of Johannes Gualterus, in honour of his father's memory (31). He was too fond of writing many books; which is the reason why choice and judgment do not prevail in his works. *Non curat*, says Scaliger (32), *utrum charta sit cacata, modo libros multos excudat. . . . quod fecit Gruterus in Senecam*, is a school-boy's or a printer's work. Mr Amelot de la Houffaye (33) speaks with great contempt of this critic's performance upon Tacitus, and Badius had passed the same judgment upon it long before. ‘Vidi quæ J. Gruterus ad eum auctorem annotavit. Diligentiam ejus in colligendis varie sententiis improbare nefas sit. Sed (quod libere liceat) commissiones meræ sunt, & ut flagitiosissimi Caligulae non absonum dictum in re simili usurpam, arena sine calce. Videtur sibi proposuisse ad imitandum rationem illam, quam secutus est Lipsius in admirabili & præstantissimo opere De civili doctrina. Sed Dii boni! quam longo intervallo, quam non passibus æquis vestigia sectatur (34). — I have seen the annotations of Janus Gruterus on that author. I can by no means disapprove

(31) Flayder, ubi
supra.

(32) Scaligeriana,
pag. m. 100,
101.

(33) Preface to
his translation of
Tacitus.

(34) Badius,
Epist. xiii, Cent.
2, pag. m. 171.

his diligence in collecting the opinions of different authors. But I must say they are meer patch-work, without coherence, and, to use an apt expression of the wicked Caligula on a like occasion, sand without lime. . . . he seems to have proposed to himself for imitation the method which Lipsius followed in his excellent work De civili doctrina. But, Good GOD! how greatly does he fall short of that author.’ You will see another passage of the same author in the remark [M].

His excessive application to books was probably the cause of some starts of fancy, which made Commenlinus say, that Gruterus ‘was a mad man. When he meets with something, that he does not understand, he frets, and throws the book upon the floor (35).

(35) Scaligeriana,
pag. 101.

[§ a.] Mr Bayle should have said Gruterus; for so it is in the title page of the books he speaks of. Father Vavasseur has written with an *b*, but erroneously, Gruterus, p. 209, de Epigrammate Liber & Epigrammatum Libri tres, Parisiis 1609 in 8vo. REM. CRIT.]

[K] He lent money, without much inquiring whether it would be paid him again.] Tho’ he had been caught, he was still willing to lend his money, and thought himself happy, that he was not a woman; for, said he, by way of jest, I should have denied no body. ‘Et egenis benignè dedit, & indigis promptè credidit; utrumque virtute indolis, cum tam crudele putaret non dare esurienti, quam inhumanum negare mutuant. Et quamquam ipsius argentum non semel in mala nomina inciderat, & obliviosam fidem, facientibus ex commodato donum, quibus dignum erat ultra sortem etiam usuræ loco reddere gratias; non tamen desistebat ille, quoties rogaretur, pecunias promere auxiliares, cum interim subinde confiteretur damnosam facilitatem suam, dicere per jocum solitus: Bene secum actum, quid puella non esset natus, haud dubie enim nemini se fuisse negaturum (36). — He was both charitable to the poor, and ready to lend his money to those who wanted it; and in both he followed his natural inclination, whilst he thought it as cruel not to feed the hungry, as inhuman to refuse a borrower. And tho’ he often met with bad debts, those who borrowed of him, looking on what he lent as a gift, who, besides the interest, ought to have repaid him with thanks; yet he ceased not to lend his money, as often as he was asked, at the same time acknowledging that he suffered by his rashness, and saying jestingly of himself: that it was

well for him he was not born a girl, since he should undoubtedly have refused no body.’ The ingratitude or unfairness of some of his debtors did not make him more cautious for the future, by requiring security, or a bond. Nay, he neglected those formalities, when he paid the portions of his daughters. ‘In se itaque potius facere lusi, quam ingratos asperè perstrinxit, aut propter hos inhumaniter alios rejectit, aut eisdem sponsoribus, testibus, aut scriptis publicis stipavit, ut & ipsi in ære essent, & fides in custodia. Quem morem vulgò receptum noster ne tunc quidem adhibuit, cum majoris etiam momenti pacta forent condenda, cum filiabus generos daret & dotem, nulla testium conscientia, nulla Formulariorum curiositate, nulla cerâ, quam fœderi generique opus esse censebat (37). — Therefore he rather jested upon himself, than reflected upon the ingratitude of his creditors, or inhumanly rejected others upon their account, or even required proper security of them. This usual precaution he neglected even when he was to enter into contracts of much more importance, I mean when he was to marry and portion his daughters; for he thought there was no need of witnesses, of writings, of signing and sealing, between father-in-law and son-in-law.’

(37) Id. ibid.

[L] It was no very difficult thing to comfort him.] This may be inferred from the words of his panegyrist; and it is likely, he did not say all that he knew about it, thinking that insensibility was not a commendable thing. He says, that one of Gruterus's four wives died a violent death; she fell from the top of the house and was killed: nevertheless her husband bore it patiently, tho’ the circumstances of his wife's death should have increased his grief. ‘Doluit ille quidem magnopere morte uxoris, doluit ipsa specie mortis, doluit inopinâ viduitate; sed post amissionem tamen uxoris multum abuit ab amissione sui, multum ab impatientia vulgari, quæ plerumque cum corrigere non possit mala sua, corrigere vult Deum (38). — He grieved indeed greatly for the death of his wife; he lamented the particular circumstances of it; he was afflicted at his sudden widowhood; but the loss of his wife was far from making him lose himself; nor did he shew that usual impatience, which, when it cannot remedy it's misfortunes, is apt to quarrel with GOD.

(38) Ibid. pag.
256.

[M] The quarrel he had with Dionysius Gothofredus was like a torrent.] That learned civilian corrected some passages of Seneca differently from him; whereupon Gruterus immediately put out a book with this title; *Confirmatio suspicionum extraordinariorum contra Dionysii Gothofredi conjecturas & varias lectiones in Senecam Philosopherum*. He published it at Francfort in 1591. The heat of youth carried him too far, and he was very sorry for it afterwards, when Gothofredus became his colleague (39), and they were reconciled. The panegyrist will have it that this dispute is of such a nature, that, considering the learning it contains, we should have been sorry that those two critics had not quarrelled; and that one would wish they had never had any quarrel, by reason of the great passion that appears in it. ‘Quod certamen inter ipsos certatum vix possis nolle, quin velis, vix velles, quin nolis. Adeo multum excidebat inter disceptandum humanioris doctrinæ, adeo multum rursus inhumanioris censura. GRUTERUS ipse calorem illum juvenutis sæpe postea detestatus est. Cum enim optimus & doctissimus Ille, quem GRUTERUS paulo vehementius ante tetigerat, Heidelbergam ipse quoque docendi causa venisset, reconciliatio primum inter ipsos facta est, deinde secuta propior notitia, & tandem apud GRUTERUM penitentia scriptiois, ut ita loquar, piperatæ. Nam si mihi constitisset, inquebat noster, Dionysium virum esse tam bonum, nunquam quicquam mihi tanti fuisset, ut contra illum manum tam seriò misissem (40). — The quarrel between them was such, that you would wish, and would not wish, it had happened; so much learning

(39) He was
professor of the
civil law at Heidel-
berg.

(40) Venator,
pag. 261.

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(g) With this title: Bibliotheca Erulana, five Enchiridion divine humanaque Prudentiae.

(b) See the remarks [D] and [G].

He made a very good use of his misfortunes in the last years of his life; which appears by the moral reflexions he published (g). His curiosity, though never so great, went no farther than learning: he did not mind the town news, as so many other learned men do [N], who never go to bed without being informed of all the flying stories. Nor did he mind controversies (b); and doubtless this was one of the reasons why one of his antagonists accused him of having no religion. Nevertheless, he gave such proofs of his attachment to the Protestant church, that many passionate and reviling controversialists are not pious enough to do the like [O].

learning fell from them during the dispute, and at the same time so much severe censure of each other. GRUTERUS himself afterwards detested that heat of youth. For when that best and learnedest of men, whom Gruterus had before a little too vehemently attacked, came likewise to Heidelberg to teach there, they were first reconciled, then grew more intimate, till at last GRUTERUS repented of the sharp invectives he had thrown out against him. For had I known, said he, that Dionysius was so good a man, nothing would have provoked me to have fallen upon him so earnestly.

To shew that he was sincerely reconciled to Gothofredus, I shall mention a thing, which I find in Baudius's letters. Baudius desired him to present his service to that civilian; but Gruterus would not do it, because he thought Baudius had not praised Gothofredus according to his merit; and he wrote to him, that it was not enough, for such a man, to say, that he was laborious, and had done no small services to the civil-law; but that he should have commended him for having done very great services to that science, or rather that he should have used more emphatical words. Baudius was offended at this advice, and spoke very unkindly of Gruterus, in a letter which he wrote to a learned man of Hamburg. 'Quemadmodum Grutero non fuit animus salutandi meo nomine Dionysium Godofredum, quia nimis parca manu laudes & virtutes ejus eram persecutus: quod & significavit per literas adjuncto nostro elogio, si forte me ratio fugisset. Erat autem tale, vir laboriosus, & non male de jure meritis. Dicere debueras, inquit, optime, aut si quid aliud efficacius. Vide quid oneris nobis injungatur, ut fasces submittamus scilicet tuis, quibus ex istis vix appropinquemus. Omnes hominis dotes abunde complexus esse videor, si dicam Sarcinatorem esse probum suere centones optime. Ego malim in aeternum egerare omnem scribendi copiam, quam tali pacto me posteritati estimandum proponere, uti haec via & ad opes & ad aeternitatem ducit. ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἀισχύνουμαι καὶ ἐμαυτὸν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐσομένων δόξας. Quamquam bonum illum Gruterum (est enim vir minime malus, imo vix capax malitiae) profus habeo excusatum, si id aetatis homo non potest alegare vanissimam illam gloriae cupiditatem, quae nunquam beneficit, & (ut incomparabilis meus Tacitus ait) sapientiam professis, novissima exiit (41). — In like manner as Gruterus was unwilling to make my compliments to Dionysius Godofredus, because I had been too sparing in reciting his praises and virtues; which he signified also by letter, adding my Elogium, lest I should have forgot it. It was as follows: an industrious man, and not ill deserving of the law. You ought, says he, to have said most deserving, or something still stronger. Behold what task is imposed upon me, to submit, forsooth, to those, who are not proper judges. I think I comprehend all the qualifications of the man, if I say, He is a good compiler, and patches up cento's admirably. For my own part, I had rather forswear writing for ever, than be transmitted to posterity under such a character, tho' this way leads both to riches and fame. Tho' I entirely excuse Gruterus (who is indeed a man of no guile) if, at that age, he cannot get rid of that most empty desire of glory, which never decays, and (as Tacitus admirably expresses it) is the least thing which a philosopher speaks off. I think no body will be displeased to know upon what occasion Baudius wrote this. He had been saying: 'If any body enquires after me, be pleased to give him my service, tho' I do not mention him to you; for I do not think that people mis- trust you to such a degree, or that they are so ridiculous in our country, as to believe nothing but what they read (42). Whereupon he tells his friend, that Gruterus refused to give his service to Gothofredus, being not willing to do it without shewing

(41) Baudius, Epist. ix, Centor. 2, pag. m. 164, 165.

(42) Quæro te quoties in quæpiam incidereis cui veniat in mentem nostris, ne graveris cum verbis nostris impartiri salutem, tamen nihil ea de re nominatim caveam. Non enim arbitror aut tibi tam parum esse fidei, aut vestros homines adeo ineptire, ut nihil nisi inspectis signis & tabellis credere sufficient. Id. ibid. pag. 164.

Baudius's own words. This piece of servitude has no place in the epistolary correspondence of men of figure.

[N] He did not mind the town news, as so many other learned men do. The author, I quote, blames the learned men who have such a curiosity, whereby, says he, a man must be willing to hear a thousand flanders and to know the ill designs of step-mothers, and the temptations of widows: temptations do I say? the Latin has it Big-bellies (43). Gruterus was to be praised for not minding such news (44). 'Quamquam in omni artium ac scientiarum indagine curiosissimum semper se exhibuerat, alienissimum tamen fuerat ab omni reliqua curiositate, five πολυπραγμοσύνη, quæ haud raro doctissimis quibusdam nimis est familiaris ac domestica, ut ubique tibi obvium est nil nisi novitates aut rumulculos aniles ad innocentium ac simplicium, ut vocant, mortalium vitam macula inurendam fabrefactus, aucupentur, & impetuosum instar ventorum atque turbineum, non modo vestes hominum, sed ædium quoque parietes atque facta intima supinent, nec prius in dulcem, &c (45).

Tho' he had ever shewed himself most curious in all enquiries of arts and sciences, yet was he a perfect stranger to all other kind of curiosity, such as that impertinent one, which too often is to be found in the most learned men, who run after news and idle reports, which injure the characters of innocent persons, and, like impetuous winds, or storms, lay bare, not only the garments of men, but their very houses, and most secret actions, nor can sleep, &c. The sequel of this passage may be seen in the margin.

[O] He was accused of having no religion. Nevertheless, he gave such proofs of his attachment to the Protestant church, &c. It is said, that Philip Pareus (44) charged him with setting a greater value upon a sentence of Apuleius or Petronius, than upon all the precepts of JESUS CHRIST: he added, that his atheism, and unconcernedness for religion, were very well known. Unum Apuleji ac Petronii effatum pluris facit, quam infinita servatoris nostri παραγγελία. Notus quippe est ejus ἀθεϊσμός, & in sacra religione ψυχρότης frigus (46). I cannot at present verify whether James Gretserus, a Jesuit, who is quoted for this, does faithfully cite Pareus's words; but I am sure, that the following passage is to be found in the index of one of Pareus's books (47): Gruterus scurriliter illud religiosissimis Salvatoris mysteriis; and this other, Gruterus ἀθεῖα & Theologica sacræ ignorantia. The reader is referred to Pag. 334. where these words may be seen: 'Abi, Grutere; & Theologica mitte, quæ nihil ad Criticum tuum umbonem. Tuum est, conficari cum blattis ac tineis: non scurrilari mysteria sacra, quæ nunquam didicisti, immo quæ adspernari solitus es, Critico planè & asinino supercilio. — Go, Gruter, and lay aside divinity: it has nothing to do with criticism; your business is to combat with moths and worms, not to search into sacred mysteries, which you never learnt, nay always despised, with the supercilious contempt of a dull critic.' We have seen that Gruterus refused to subscribe a formula (48), out of a principle of conscience, tho' he lost his place by it: and, being offered a professor's chair at Padua (49), he would not accept of it, because he could not there have the public exercise of his religion: how great therefore was his boldness, who charged him with atheism? besides, this pretended atheist answered those, who put it to his choice, either to leave his country, or to change his religion, I had rather leave my country: if I am not allowed to live in a town, I shall live in the fields or in woods: God will supply me with herbs or roots the remaining part of my life, which will not be long. Cum juberetur ad aliam Religionem transire, aut exire foras, hoc malo, inquit, quam illud. Si non licebit vivere in urbe, licebit in agris aut in silvis. Aliquid semper Deus suppeditabit

(43) Nec prius in dulcem declinent lumina somnum, nisi exactissime & sui similibus congerimibus cogitarent, Quid toto fiat in orbe, Quid Seres, quid Thracæ agant, secreta novæ ætæ pueri, quis amet, quis decipiat adulter? Imo quis vi-

dnam prægnantem fecerit & quo mente. — Nor go to sleep, till they have learnt, from such as themselves, all the transactions of the day, with the amours and intrigues of the whole town. Flayder, ubi supra. See Jurval, Sat. vi, vers. 400.

(44) See remark [A] of the article ALTINGIUS (JAMES).

(45) Flayder, ibi supra. See Jurval, Sat. vi, vers. 400.

(46) Philipp. Pareus, teste Jacobo Gretsero. See the fourth part of Crenius's Animadversiones, pag. 142.

(47) Intituled, Analista Platonis. It was printed at Frankfurt, in 1623.

(48) See the remark [D].

(49) See the remark [H].

(10) Venator,
ubi supra, pag.
272.

radicis aut herbæ, quod spiritum hunc alat, non diu moraturum (50). Do these things betray a man guilty of atheism or indifferency for religion? do they not rather shew, that Gruterus had a true zeal, preferable to all the clamours and bitterness of violent controversies, who damn all other communions?

GRYNÆUS (SIMON) a countryman's son of Suabia, was born at Veringen in the county of Hohenzollern, in the year 1493. He studied at Pfortsheim at the same time with Melanchthon, and this gave birth to a friendship of long continuance between them. He continued his studies at Vienna in Austria, and received there the degree of master in philosophy, and the professorship of the Greek tongue. Having embraced the Protestant religion, he found himself exposed to many dangers, and especially in Baden, where he was for some years rector of the school. He was imprisoned at the instigation of the monks; but, by the recommendation of the nobility of Hungary, he was set at liberty, and retired to Wittenberg, where he saw Luther and Melanchthon, and had a conference with them. Upon his return to his own country, he was sent for to Heidelberg, to be professor of Greek, in the year 1523. He discharged this employ till 1529, when he was invited to Basil, to teach there publicly. There he explained several authors, and even the epistle to the Romans. He was employed with several others, in the year 1534, to reform the church and school of Tübingen. He returned to Basil in 1536, and was associated, in 1540, with Melanchthon, Capito, Bucer, Calvin, &c. for the conferences of Worms. He died of the plague at Basil, the first of August 1541 (a). He had taken a journey into England, in 1531, and had received, from the lord chancellor Sir Thomas More, to whom Erasmus had recommended him, all imaginable civilities [A]. He was a learned and industrious man, and did great service to the Republic of Letters [B]. See his Elogium in Verheiden's collection (b), and in Joachim Camerarius's preface to Theophrastus. His son SAMUEL GRYNÆUS, born at Basil in the year 1539, obtained there the professorship of rhetoric at the age of twenty five years, and afterwards that of civil-law. He died the third of April 1599 (c).

(a) Taken from Melch. Adam, in Vitis Philol. pag. 118, &c.

(b) Verheiden, in Elogiis præstant. aliquot Theologorum, pag. 61.

(c) Melch. Adam, in Vitis Jurisconsult. pag. 338, &c.

[A] He received from the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas More . . . all imaginable civilities. This particular is not found in Melchior Adam; for which reason I am the more careful in relating it. I have taken it from the epistle dedicatory to the works of Plato, printed in Greek at Basil, apud Joannem Valerium, 1534, in folio. It is there that Grynæus, to testify his gratitude, thus addresses himself to John More, son of the chancellor

(1) Simon Grynæus, Epistola ad Jo. Morem, Operibus Platonis præfata.

(1): 'Annus est (ut nostri) tertius jam, cum in Angliam . . . veniens, ac Erasmi nostri commendatione velut venio secundo ad illas musis totas sacras aedes vestras delatus, humanitate mira acciperer, majori tractatus, maxima dimitterer. Non solum enim amantissimus vir pater tuus, ac tum quidem condicione, per cetera vero rebus omnibus egregiis, facile toto regno princeps, privatum hominem ignotumque me, literarum tanto ergo, ad colloquium inter tot publica privatque negotia admisit: mensæ suæ sceptræ regni gerens, adposuit: in aulam abiens rediens secum traxit: laterique adjunxit suo: sed omnem meam de religione sententiam locis non paucis diversam ab ipsius esse haud difficulter præstentis placide benigneque cognovit: ac cum ab illa non parum tum discreparet opera consilioque sic juvit nos tamen, ut omne mihi negotium sumptibus etiam suis confecerit. Nam & itineri comitem Harrisium doctum juvenem addidit, & Oxoniensis Gymnasii Proceribus sic literis insinnavit, ut ad earum conspectum omnes nobis collegiorum omnium non solum bibliothecæ, sed studiorum etiam animi velut mercuriali quadam virgula tacti patecerent. — It is now three years (as you know) since, coming into England, and being recommended by my friend Erasmus to your house, the seat of the muses, I was received with wonderful humanity, entertained with greater, and dismissed with the greatest. For that great man your father, distinguished both by his rank and noble actions, not only admitted me, a private and obscure person, to converse with him (so great was his love of learning) amidst the hurry of both public and private affairs, not only set me at his table, tho' the first man in the kingdom, carried me with him to and from court, and made me his constant companion; but, with great affability and good nature, informed himself wherein my religious principles differed from his, and even defrayed all my expenses himself. He sent me likewise to Oxford, accompanied by Mr Harris, a learned young gentleman, and recommended me so strongly to the heads of that university by letters, that, at the sight of them, I had access

to all the public libraries, and met with the most friendly treatment from the students. They communicated to him at Oxford some manuscripts of Proclus, and he was permitted to take them away: Sir Thomas More added another favour; he made him a present of them (2). The passage of Erasmus, which I am going to cite, makes mention of this journey of Grynæus.

[B] He was a learned man . . . and did great service to the republic of letters. See here the good opinion Erasmus had of him, which he thus testified in 1531: 'Simon Grynæus . . . est homo Latine & Græcæque ad unguem doctus, in Philosophia & Mathematicis disciplinis diligenter versatus; nullo supercilio, pudore penè immodico. Pertraxit hominem isthuc Britannia visendæ cupiditas, sed præcipue bibliothecarum vestrarum amor (3). — Simon Grynæus . . . is a compleat master of Latin and Greek, Epist. xxxix, lib. xxvi, pag. mæ. a good philosopher and mathematician, of no pride, and modest to excess. The desire of seeing England brought him thither; but the chief inducement was, the libraries you have there.' We are obliged to him for editions of several books of the ancients. He was the first, who published the Almagest of Ptolemy in Greek (4): he added to it a preface concerning the use which is to be made of that author's doctrine. He likewise published Euclid in Greek with a preface (5), and the works of Plato, with some commentaries of Proclus (6). He retouched in some places the Latin version of Plato made by Marsilius Ficinus. See the edition of Plato, 1539, at Basil, for Frobenius. Whoever would see a particular account of his translations, prefaces, and other writings, need only consult the abridgment of Gellner's Bibliothecæ, at num. 1534, pages 755 and 756 of the edition of Zurich, 1583.

The Oxford catalogue ascribes to him some works, which cannot be his: de Cometa qui fuit annis 1577-78; de inusitata magnitudine & figura Veneris annis 1578-79. We have seen that he died in 1541. I make no question but the treatise, de ignitis Meteoris & de Cometarum causis ac significationibus, which the same catalogue ascribes to him, is, as well as the other two, the production of SIMON GRYNÆUS, physician and mathematician at Heidelberg, and son of THOMAS GRYNÆUS, nephew of him we are speaking of. The other works, which the Oxford catalogue attributes to Simon Grynæus, really belong to the Grynæus of this article.

(2) Quibus de velut thesauris invento gratulationem pater tuus donatum liberaliter ac beneficiis suis plane commutatum in patriam remisit. S. Grynæus, ibid.

(3) Erasmus, Epist. xxxix, lib. xxvi, pag. mæ. 1464. C.

(4) At Basil, apud Jo. Valde, 1538.

(5) At Basil, apud Hervagium, 1533.

(6) At Basil, apud Jo. Valde, at num. 1534.

GRYNÆUS

256 GRYNÆUS. GRYPHIANDER. GRYPHIUS.

GRYNÆUS (THOMAS) nephew of the preceding, was born at Veringen in Suabia, about the year 1512. He studied under his uncle at Heidelberg and Basil; and he taught the Latin and Greek languages in the city of Berne during eleven years; after which the love of ease, and a dislike for disputes, induced him to retire from this employ, because they drew him into the controversies, which divided the ministers. He returned to Basil, where he became one of the professors, in 1547. He read public lectures, and preached sometimes in the villages. The marquis of Baden, having introduced the reformation in his dominions, made him minister of Rotelen (a). He acquitted himself honourably in this employ, during eight years, to his death, that is to the second of August, 1564. He left four sons, famous for their learning, THEOPHILUS, SIMON (b), JOHN-JAMES, and TOBIAS (c).

(a) In the high
marquise of
Baden, a mile
from Basil.

(b) See the end
of the remark
[B] of the pre-
ceding article.

(c) Taken from
Melch. Adam,
in Vitæ Theol.
pag. 398.

GRYPHIANDER (JOHN), born in the county of Oldenburg, was professor of poetry and history in the university of Iëna, after Elias Reufnerus, who died in the year 1612. He was admitted doctor of the civil-law in the same university in the year 1614, and, four years after, returned into his country, to take possession of an office of judicature. He died in December, 1652 (a). There are some books of his writing [A].

(a) Taken from
Freherus's Thea-
trum, pag.
1130.

[A] There are some books of his writing. A treatise of islands. The whole title runs thus: *Joannes Gryphianderi Icti de INSULIS Tractatus ex Ictis, Politicis, Historicis, & Philologis collectus, ut omnibus hise usui esse possit, in quo plurimæ cognatæ quæstiones de mari, fluminibus, lacubus, littoribus, portubus, aquæ dulcis, aggeribus, navigationibus, alluvionis, atque in-erementis &c. excutuntur.* It was printed at Frankfurt in 4to, in the year 1624. Nothing can be more instructive than a particular treatise upon a certain question, when a learned man sets about it, and under-

takes to exhaust his subject. There are a vast number of quotations in that book of Gryphiander. He wrote one about the Phoenix in 1618. He published another in 1625, which is very curious, in which he treats of a certain right of some towns in Saxony, viz. that of erecting Roland's statues of a gigantic size. That book is intitled, *Commentarius de Weichbildis Saxonici, sive Colossis Rulandinis urbium quarundam Saxoniarum.* König ascribes to Gryphiander a tract, *de Oeconomia legali*: Freherus says nothing of it.

GRYPHIUS (SEBASTIAN), a famous printer of Lyons in the XVIth century, was a German. He performed the duties of his profession with so much honour, that some learned men bestowed public praises on him upon that account. And among others Julius Cæsar Scaliger, and Conrad Gesner. The latter dedicated to him one of his books [A]. Some will have it, that the other dedicated to him his work *De causis Linguae Latine*; but it is a mistake [B]. One of his best editions is a Latin bible, which he published in two volumes in folio, in the year 1550. He made use of the largest letter that had been seen till then (a). It is inferior to none, but the bible printed at the Louvre in the year 1642, in nine volumes in folio (b). His many editions are esteemed by all those, who know wherein the art and perfection of printing doth consist. He dealt very fairly

(a) Majoribus &
augustioribus ty-
pis. Gryphius,
in Prælat. apud
Chevillier, Ori-
gine de l'Impri-
merie de Paris,
pag. 150.

(b) Chevillier,
ibid. pag. 151.

[A] Gesner dedicated to him one of his books. Viz. The twelfth of his *Pandects*. He bestows the following encomium upon him: 'Tu inter primos, humanissime Gryphi, minime prætereundus in mentem mihi venisti πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἁλλῶν, cui non potestremus inter eximios ætatis nostræ chalcographos locus deberetur: idque eo magis, quoniam non solum inter externos in Gallia innumeris optimis libris optima fide summaque diligentia elegantiaque procusis, maximam tibi gloriam peperisti: sed nostras etiam-nam esse videris, qui Germanus in Galliam veneris' (1). — Nor can I forget you, most humane Gryphius; you, who deserve not the last rank among the printers of our age; for this reason in particular, because you have not only acquired the greatest reputation, of any foreigner in France, by the many beautiful and correct editions you have published of the best books; but seem to be one of our own countrymen, since, though a German, you came into France. Next to his epistle dedicatory, there is a catalogue of the books printed by Gryphius.

(1) Gesner, in
Pandects, fol.
217.

[B] But it is a mistake. 'It is not true, that Julius Scaliger dedicated his book, *De causis Linguae Latine*, to Sebastian Gryphius, a printer at Lyons. He only wrote a letter to him on occasion of that book, which he was to print, wherein he tells him: 'Tuam vero, mi Gryphi, veram pietatem, excellentem eruditionem, insignem humanitatem, his nostris lucubratiunculis & præesse volui, & moderari: si id tibi ita collibuisse: ut Posterius intelligerent, ejus frugis proventum, si qua ad eorum commoda per nos exulta esset, a nobis tantum commendari, quantum ex diligentia tua, atque auctoritate gratæ consequi potuisset. — I was willing, my Gryphius, that a man of such true piety, excellent learning, and remarkable humanity, should have the care and di-

rection of my works, if you think fit to undertake it; that posterity make know, that I transmit the fruits of my labours to them, if my abilities can be of any service, recommended by your diligence and authority.' Can this be called a dedication? Julius Scaliger likewise wrote a letter to the printer Vascolan, to recommend to him the edition of his book *De Subtilitate*. Not to say, that Julius Scaliger was too proud to dedicate his book to a printer, how could he dedicate his book, *De causis Linguae Latine*, to Gryphius, since he had inscribed it to his eldest son Silvius Cæsar Scaliger, to whom he also inscribed his *Ars Poetica*? Julius Scaliger wrote to Sebastian Gryphius, in the same manner as Quintilian wrote to Trypho, a bookseller, to recommend to him his *Institutiones Oratoriae*, which he had dedicated to Marcellus; and in the same manner as Scævola Sammarthanus inscribed some Hendecasyllabic verses to Mamert Patiflon, to recommend to him the edition of his works (2). This is what Menage observes in a book printed in 1688. If the curious Mr Chevillier had known it, he would not have said, that Julius Cæsar Scaliger dedicated to Gryphius (3) 'his treatise *De causis Linguae Latine*, printed in 1540, in 4to, wherein he passes this compliment upon him: that if his works have been kindly received by the learned, it is no less owing to the beauty and charms of the impression, than to their own merit. Cum plerique librorum meorum . . . tuis opibus atque apparatus ea gratia esset (4) sint, ut non minus tuum ob beneficium quam propter suam meritum eos doctissimus quisque exceperit & probavit.' It was an easy thing to commit the fault censured by Menage; for Scaliger's letter to Gryphius is prefixed to that book. You will find the same fault in the supplement to Moreri's dictionary.

(2) Menage, An-
ti-Baillet, Tome
I, pag. 55. 56.

(3) Chevillier,
Origine de l'im-
primerie de
Paris, pag. 151.

(4) In my edition,
which is in 8vo,
apud Santan-
dreanum, 1597,
it is affectu.

[C] He

GRYPHIUS. GUADAGNOLO. GUAGNIN. 257

fairly in his errata [C], and had excellent correctors [D]. He also printed Hebrew perfectly well (c) [E]. I must not forget, that he was a learned man [F]. He died the seventh of September (d). ANTONY GRYPHIUS, his son, worthily followed his steps in the same town. Both of them have been praised by Du Verdier Vau-Privas [G]. There was, at Venice, in 1557, a printer, called JOHN GRYPHIUS.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Inventaire de l'Écriture-Journalière, by T. G. P. fol. 190, verso, Paris 1559.

(5) Chevallier, ibid.

(6) Errata & mendis in opere tam vario tamque spillo cecere omnino non potuit, tamet si omni diligentia & cura quanta maxima potuit exhibita. Apud Chevallier, ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 57.

(9) In his Apology for changing the name of Antinous Maria Comes, into that of Marcus Antonius Majorianus, apud Menagium, ibid.

[C] He dealt very fairly in his errata. 'To shew that his bible was correct, and at the same time to give an instance of his fairness, he did a remarkable thing. It was an usual thing to place the errata in the less visible part of the book; but Gryphius put it in the most obvious place. The first page contains the title of the book, the printer's mark, and the year of the impression; the second contains the errata; and the third the epistle dedicatory (5).

[D] He had excellent correctors. Here is an instance of their exactness. The Errata of Stephen Doleus's *Commentarii de Lingua Latina* contains only eight errors, tho' that work is made up of two volumes in folio. Since the errors of the prefs were so few, Gryphius was in the right to affirm, that the proofs had been very carefully corrected (6). One of his correctors was a physician of Cologne, called Adam Knouf (7).

[E] He printed Hebrew perfectly. Mr Chevallier adds: 'there is, in the library of the Sorbonne, Bagin's *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae*, which is a very fine edition in folio, printed in the year 1529 (8).

[F] I must not forget, that he was a learned man. Majorianus calls him, *Vir insignis ac litteratus* (9), and John Vulteius says, in one of his epigrams (10), and John Vulteius says, in one of his epigrams of the first book, that Robert Stephens corrected books very well, that Colineus printed them very well,

but that Gryphius knew very well both how to print and correct them.

Inter tot norunt libros qui cadere, tres sunt

Insignes; languet caetera turba fame.

Cassigat Stephanus, sculpit Colineus, utrumque

Gryphius edocta mente manum facit.

See the letter which Sadolet wrote to him (11).

[G] Sebastian and Antony Gryphius have been praised by Du Verdier Vau-Privas. Sebastian Gryphius says he (12), a native of Reutlingen in Suabia, near Augsburg, restored the Art of Printing at Lyons, which had been corrupted, and adorned it with new and very fine Hebrew, Greek, and Latin characters, being very well versed in those three languages. . . . The poets of his time called him the excellent Trypho of our age mentioned by Martial. Learned men resorted to him. He was diligent and curious in searching every where for the good books, that were almost lost, to procure such a rare treasure to posterity. Antony Gryphius, his son, has still many of them that remain to be printed; and, as his father spared nothing to recover and publish them, he freely bestows his money and his pains to make them public. He died in the year 1556, at sixty three years of age.

(11) It is the 16th of the fifth book, pag. m. 184.

(12) Du Verdier Vau Privas, Prosopographie, pag. 407. Edit. 1573. in 4to.

GUADAGNOLO (PHILIP), reader of Arabic and Chaldee at Rome, in the college *Della Sapienza*, in the XVIIth century, was one of the first that was made use of to translate the scripture into Arabic, when the congregation *De propaganda fide* resolved to comply with the desires of some Eastern prelates, who presented a petition to Pope Urban VIII upon that subject, about the year 1624. The archbishop of Damascus, and Father Guadagnolo, were put upon that translation; but, some time after, only the latter undertook that task. He was very much eased under the pontificate of Innocent X; having nothing to do but to correct that version. He died at Rome the twenty seventh of March, 1656 (a). A book, published by him against a Mahometan, is very much esteemed [A].

(a) Taken from the *Giornale de Letterati* of the 20th of January, 1671, where mention is made of that translation of the bible, which came out at Rome, in 1671, in three volumes in folio.

[A] A book published by him against a Mahometan is very much esteemed. It is an apology for the Christian religion against the objections of Ahmed Ben Zin Alabedin. He published it at Rome in Latin in the year 1631, and then in Arabic in the year 1637.

Theodorus Hackspan (1) declares, that he never saw a better book against Mahometism. Note, that Father Guadagnolo published *Linguae Arabicae Institutiones*, in folio, in the year 1642.

(1) In *Tractata ad librum Nizachon R. Lipman-ni adjecto*, pag. 343, apud Crenum de Philologia, pag. 221.

GUAGNIN (ALEXANDER) a native of Verona, naturalized in Poland, made himself illustrious by his sword and pen. He had considerable offices in the Polish armies; and after he had given several proofs of his valour, both in the wars of Livonia and Moldavia, and in those of Muscovy, he was not only honoured with the Indigenate (a), under the reign of Sigismund Augustus, but also made governour of the fortrefs of Witebsk. He continued in that post for the space of fourteen years. At last, he applied himself to study, and wrote a history of Poland [A]. He died at Cracow in 1614, aged seventy six years. He never was married. His titles were, Comes Palatii Lateranensis, & Eques Auratus (b).

(a) That is, the privilege of being reputed a noble Polishman.

(b) Taken from Starovolcius, pag. 101, 102. *Εκατοντάτος Σcriptorum Πολωνικorum*.

[A] He wrote a history of Poland. The title of it, according to the Francfort edition 1584, in 8vo, for John Wechel, runs thus: *Rerum Polonicarum tomus tres: quorum primus omnium Poloniae Regum, à Lecho primo gentis Duce, ad Stephanum Batboreum, etiamnum Regem: tum Principum Lituanie, chronologicam recensioem, ac singulorum res gestas complectitur: adjecta recens Historiarum in nostram aetatem incidentium continua narratio. II. Provinciarum, quae uno Sarmatiae Europae nomine vulgo veniunt, chorographicam descriptionem continet. III. Res singulariter à Polonis in Palacchia gestas, Orationes item & Epistolas scripti Polonici negotia concernentes habet. Alexandro Guag-*

nino, equite aurato peditumque praefecto auctore. Sigismund Feyerabenus, a bookseller, who was at the charges of the impression, dedicated the work to Marc Fugger, lord of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn; and mentioned to him the great services Antony Fugger, his father, and John-James and George Fugger, his uncles, had done to the imperial city of Augsburg, when Charles V was ready to punish the inhabitants for an insurrection. Starovolcius observes, that Guagnin composed that chronicle of Poland in the year 1578, *Puro & nitido sermone Latino*, and got it translated into the Polish language, by Martin Pascowski, in the year 1611 (1).

(1) Starovolcius, *Εκατ. Script. Polon.*, pag. 102.

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T t t

GUALDRADA,

(a) He reigned about the beginning of the XIIIth century.

GUALDRADA, a Florentine lady, illustrious for her chastity, of which she gave for a seasonable a proof before the emperor Otho IV (a), that she had immediately, for a reward, the satisfaction of being married very advantageously [A], as will be seen below. Dante makes mention of her in a very glorious manner; for, speaking of a famous warrior [B], he calls him, *Nepote della Gualdrada*.

[A] *She had immediately, for a reward, the satisfaction of being married advantageously.* To comment upon this, I shall make use of the old French commentator upon Dante. 'That lady, says he (1), was in her younger years a very handsome and genteel maid, the daughter of Belnicio Barti des Ravignans, an ancient family of Florence, and a branch of that of the Ademares. It happened one day, that the emperor Otho IV, being at Florence, in an assembly of ladies, on account of the festival of St John the Baptist, was wonderfully moved with the beauty of that maid; and asking whose daughter she was, Bellincio, her father, being near the emperor, answered before the company, that she was the daughter of a man, who would get him to kiss her. The maid, hearing this, got up merrily, and told him, out of a principle of virtue, pray, father, do not be so liberal of a thing, wherein I am so nearly concerned: for you will give me leave to tell you, that no man shall ever kiss me, unless he be my lawful husband. The emperor was surprised at such a virtuous and prudent answer, and immediately sent for one of his barons, called Guido, and ordered him to marry her upon the spot. He gave her for her portion the Cassentin, and part of Romagna, and conferred the title of count upon her husband, from whom the counts Guido's are descended. The said Guido and Gualdrada had two sons, viz. William and Ruggier.'

[B] *Dante . . . speaking of a famous warrior . . . calls him nepote della Gualdrada.* It is in the sixteenth canto of his *Inferno*, wherein we find these words:

Questo, l'orme di cui pestar mi vedi,
Tutto che nudo, e dipelato vada
Fu di grado maggior, che tu non credi:

GUARINUS, a native of Verona, and scholar of Emanuel Chrysoloras, was one of the first, who revived the *Belles Lettres* in Italy, in the XVth century [A]. He understood Greek and Latin, and taught those two languages with great success, first of all at Venice, and then at Ferrara (a). Pope Nicolas V ordered him to translate

(1) In Descript. Italie, pag. m. 722.

(2) Jovius, in Elog. cap. 110.

(3) Poggius, II in Philophum Invectiva.

(4) Apud Poggium, I in Valium Invectiva. See Vossius de Hist. Latin. pag. 585.

(5) Epist. ad Flavium Blondum, Ann. 1450, apud Vossium, ibid.

(6) Naudé, Additions to the History of Lewis XI, pag. 179.

* Janus Pannonius in ejus Paneg.

[A] *He was one of the first, who revived the Belles Lettres in Italy, in the XVth century.* Leander Albertus (1) bestows this encomium upon him; and the following passage of Jovius confirms the same thing: 'Ab hoc insigni viro, Græcæ Latineque literæ obscuris illis temporibus antiqui seculi normam, quadratæque structuræ ordinem & diu quæsitum decus receperunt (2). — From this famous man, the Greek and Latin languages, in those obscure times, received the long sought for ornaments of antiquity.' Poggius acknowledges, that the Italians were very much indebted to Guarinus: 'Vir doctissimus, says he (3), speaking of him, atque humanissimus, cujus studia & præstant doctrina plurimum Italiam profuerunt. — A most learned and humane man, whose studies and excellent erudition were of great service to the Italians.' Laurentius Valla (4) calls Guarinus and Leonard Aretin, the most learned men of their age. Philophus (5) calls Guarinus a most eloquent man. Gabriel Naudé affords me a very good addition. He says (6), that Boccace, endeavouring to revive good literature, did so well succeed in it, that, when he came to die in 1375, he had for his successor in that design, one John of Ravenna, who was the first that re-established the schools of Venice, out of which came Gasparinus, who did the same at Milan, and Guarinus Veronensis.

Qui nisi prostratas relevasset funditus artes,
Priscorum vanus staret labor *

Had not his hand the banish'd arts restor'd,
And had the muses be again ador'd,
Learning's old source had yet been unexplor'd.

Nepote fu della buona Gualdrada:

Guidoguerra hebbe nome: e in sua vita
Fece col senno assai, e con la spada.

This shade, whom you see me treat so contemptibly, tho' he wanders naked and stript, was of greater rank than you think: he was grand-son of the fair Gualdrada; his name was Guidoguerra, famed, in his lifetime, for his prudence and his valour.

The French commentator upon Dante (2) tells us also, that Ruggier Guidoguerra, nephew to the fair Gualdrada, was a valiant knight, and a man of great prudence; so that in the battle of Benevento, between Charles I, and Manfred, he was accounted the chief cause of the victory obtained by the said Charles, because he happened to be colonel of four hundred Florentine knights, who had been banished for being Guelfes, and some time after returned to Florence, from which they expelled the Ghibelins by Charles's assistance. I must observe, that Grangier contradicts himself, when he explains that degree of kindred in the following page. 'The said Guido and Gualdrada had two sons, William and Ruggier, and the latter had Guidoguerra, who is therefore Gualdrada's nephew (3).' How can a man be so grossly mistaken? is it not plain, that the son of Gualdrada's son is the grand-son, and not the nephew of that lady? I think the word *nepote* in Dante ought to be taken in the same sense as *nepos* in the good Latin authors: Father Paul (4), and cardinal Pallavicini (5), use it to denote the grand-sons of Paul III. One may therefore say, that *nepote* or *nipote* signifies sometimes a grand-son in Italian: Francesco Alunno should have taken notice of it in his dictionary of the words used by Dante, Petrarch, Boccace, &c. (6).

(2) Grangier, ubi supra, pag. 181.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 182.

(4) Historia del Concilio Tridentino, lib. i, pag. m. 75.

(5) Historia del Concilio di Trento, lib. iii, cap. xvii, n. 5, pag. m. 346.

(6) It is intitled, Della fabrica del mondo. The word *Nepote*, is mentioned, num. 1529.

'For it was he, properly speaking, who began to revive eloquence and philosophy, as well by the journeys he made to Constantinople, where he learned the Greek tongue, as by his precepts of rhetoric, translations, and other books; but much more by his great number of scholars, who went from Ferrara, where he taught, all over Italy, to run down the fooleries of former times, and make the youth sensible of

Senza tot auctorum mille indeprenta per annos †
A thousand ancient wits restor'd to day,
Whose sense, for many ages, dormant lay.

What he says afterwards is also very remarkable (7). 'Whoever had been at Constantinople to learn the Greek tongue, came home as it were in a triumphant manner, and was accounted a kind of prodigy, as it appears from what Johannes Ungheretius, or Pannonius bishop of the five churches, says of Guarinus's return into Europe.'

----- Vagus omnia rumor
Gymnasia Italice centeno murmure complet,
Affluisse virum gemina qui Pallade solus
Polleat, & duplicem præstet sitientibus haustum †.

Fame tells to Italy, the man is nigh,
Who, twice inspir'd by Pallas from on high,
Can learning's ardent thirst twice satisfy.

[B] Pope

(B) Gesner, in
Biblioth. fol.
285.

late Strabo (b) [B]. It was a good translation for that time; and the same may be said of his other versions; for he translated some lives, and some tracts of Plutarch. He died at Ferrara the fourteenth of December 1460 (c). All his writings are not translations [C].

(c) Vossius, ubi
supra.

[B] Pope Nicholas V ordered him to translate Strabo. Others say, that Guarinus set about it thro' emulation: he was unwilling to be inferior to Gregory Tiphernas, who had translated Strabo's Asia; and therefore he

translated the description of Europe wrote by the same geographer (8).

(8) See Vossius,
ubi supra.

[C] All his works are not translations. He published some grammatical tracts, some letters, some orations, and some verses (9).

(9) Gesner, in
Biblioth. fol.
285.

GUARINUS (BAPTIST), son of the foregoing, trod in his father's steps, and made himself very famous for his skill in the learned languages. He taught them for a long time at Ferrara with great reputation, and published some books answerable to the glory he had acquired [A].

He was still living in the year 1494, and he had been then thirty three years professor of the *Belles Lettres*, having succeeded his father in his professorship (a). The passage, wherein Gesner informs us of this particular, was not well understood by Henry Stephens [B].

(a) See the re-
mark [B].

(1) The *Me-
moires de Tre-
voux*, Sept.
1704, pag. 1643,
inform us, that
Mr Stravius has
edited this *Tra-
ctate* to be reprint-
ed, corrected
from a *Manu-
script*, with a
Præface on the
writings of the
like methods.

(2) Gesner, in
Biblioth. fol.
130.

(3) Henricus Ste-
phani, in *Dis-
quisi-
tione de bene in-
stituendis Græcæ
linguæ studiis*,
pag. 116.

[A] He published some books answerable to the glory he had acquired. A treatise *De Sella Epicuri*, another *De Ordine docendi* (1), another *De Regno administrando*, notes upon Ovid's *Fastis*, upon Catullus, several orations, letters, verses, and a translation of some orations of Demosthenes and St Gregory Nazianzen, &c. (2).

[B] Was not well understood by Henry Stephens. Let us compare his words with those of Gesner. 'Mini me in Bibliothecographia Gesneri legere, Guarinum patrem (nam fuit & Baptista Guarinus ejus filius, quem Gesnerus, etiamnum se de illo scribente, claruisse Ferrariae ait, ubi patris successor jam per annos tres & triginta linguam utramque florentissime doceret) scripsisse canonisimata in lingua Græca (3). I remember to have read in Gesner's Bibliotheca, that Guarinus the father (for there was also Baptist Guarinus, his son, of whom Gesner, at the time he wrote of him, tells us that he flourished at Ferrara, where, being his father's successor, he had already taught both lan-

guages, for thirty three years, with great success) had written rules for the Greek tongue.' They are Henry Stephens's words. The passage in Gesner runs thus: 'Claret usque hodie Ferrariae, ubi patri succedens, jam per annos tres & triginta utramque linguam florentissime docet & varia conscribit (4).'

(4) Gesner, ubi
supra.

— He is famous to this day at Ferrara, where, succeeding his father, he has already taught both languages, for thirty three years with great success, and writes on various subjects. Can you find two passages that agree better than these two, you will say: I will answer, yes; for the words used by Gesner are Trithemius's. It is not Gesner, who says *claret usque hodie*, as Henry Stephens will have it, wherein he is grossly mistaken. He should have referred the word *hodie* to the year 1494, which Gesner placed in the margin of his book at that place. It is not true, that our Guarinus was alive in the year 1545, in which Gesner's Bibliotheca was printed.

GUARINI (BAPTIST), was born at Ferrara, in the year 1538. He is more known by his tragi-comedy, called *Pastor Fido*, than by all his other works, and by the honourable employments [A] bestowed upon him by the duke, his master. That piece was his favourite work; and he made it appear by his great passion against a critic [B], who had only reflected upon it indirectly. He has expressed the mysteries of love so much to the life, in that piece, that it is thought the reading of it has been very prejudicial to the chastity of many persons among the fair sex. This seems to confute a maxim of Mr de la Fontaine [C]. I cannot tell whether Guarini would have alledged such

[A] By the honourable employments. See Moreri's dictionary, to which you may add, that Guarini, being sent to Venice by Alfonso II, duke of Ferrara, made an Italian speech before the senate, which was admired; and that, after the death of Alfonso, he was sent by the city of Ferrara to Paul V, to congratulate him upon his accession to the pontificate (1).

(1) Nicus Ery-
thraeus, *Pinac.* 1,
pag. 96.

[B] His great passion against a critic. Jason Denores (2), a native of the isle of Cyprus, and originally descended from a gentleman of Normandy, and professor of morality at Ferrara, wrote a treatise concerning poetry, wherein he reflected upon a kind of dramatic poetry, that was very much in vogue, I mean tragi-comic pastorals (3). He called them monsters, produced by men wholly unacquainted with antiquity, and contrary to the rules of ancient poetry. Guarini, being persuaded that this criticism was levelled at him, wrote an apology against Denores. The latter replied, and died whilst Guarini was writing so sharp a rejoinder, that it is thought it might have occasioned the death of that critic. Thuanus speaks of it in the following manner: 'Baptista Guarinus lectissimus eques Ferrariensis, qui sub id Pastorem fidum magno plausu ubique in Italia exceptum ediderat, eum sermonem ad injuriam suam pertinere existimans, defensionem sub nomine Verati publicavit, quam apologia contraria statim Denores refutavit. Sed dum alteram defensionem meditatur Guarinus, morte minime fatali Denores concessit, quæ nisi dilectissimi filii calamitate fuisset præcipitata alterius Verati lectione accelerari potuisse credita est. Tanta siquidem vi eloquentiæ

(2) Thuan. lib.
xxix, pag. 379,
ad ann. 1590.

(3) Interalla quæ
scripsit cum de
Poetica differens
Tragicomedias
Pastorales quæ
hodie inter Italos
ultrapantur, tan-
quam monstra
quædam & nullo
veterum exem-
plo, contraque
Poeticæ præles
leges ab imperitis
et antiquariis in-
trodacta existi-
maret, &c. Id. ib.

simul & asperitate ac verborum amaritudine in Jasonem invecus est Guarinus, ut Archilochum ipsum in Lycamben iambos stringentem eo scripto superasse passim jactaretur (4). — Baptist Guarini, a knight of Ferrara, who about that time had published his *Pastor Fido*, a work received with great applause all over Italy, thinking those words reflected upon him, published a defence under the name of Veratus, which Denores presently refuted by a contrary apology. But whilst Guarini was preparing another defence, Denores died, not unluckily, since his death, if it had not been hastened by the calamity of his dearest son, might, it is thought, have been brought on sooner by a second reading of Veratus. For Guarini inveighed against Denores with so much eloquence, and at the same time in such sharp and bitter terms, that it was generally said he had outdone Archilochus himself, who wrote iambics against Lycambes.

(4) Ibid.

[C] This seems to confute a maxim of Mr de la Fontaine. Nicus Erythraeus having said, that the *Pastor Fido* is reprinted almost every year, and that all nations, tho' never so barbarous, have it translated into their language, adds, that perhaps that book is prejudicial to chastity (5), and he gives this reason for it: 'Etenim in ejus dulcedine suavitæque tanquam in infesto Sirenis mari in quo etiam Ulysses erravit, virgines nuptæque complures pudicitiae naufragium fecisse dicuntur. — For many virgins and married women are said to have made shipwreck of their modesty by its allurements, as in a sea infested by Sirens, in which even Ulysses went astray.' Let us see Mr de la Fontaine's maxim (6).

(5) Morum for-
tasse integritati
non utilis. Nic.
Eryth. ubi supra.

(6) It is in one
of his tales.

Iroit

such a maxim in his vindication; perhaps he would have had recourse to a more common thought [D]. I do not think there is any part of his work so remarkable as that scene, which has been so well translated into French by the countess de la Suze; wherein

Trois il après tout s'allarmer sans raison
Pour un peu de plaisanterie ?
Je craindrois bien plutôt que la cajolerie
Ne mît le feu dans la Maison.
Chassez les Soupçons, Belles, prenez mon livre,
Je répons de vous corps pour corps.

Is there any reason, after all, to be alarmed at a little pleasantry? I should sooner fear, that a lover's courtship would set fire to the house. Banish your suitors, ye fair, and read my book: I will answer for you, body for body.

Thus that author extricates himself out of a great difficulty. It was complained that his tales raised a thousand leud desires in the minds of his readers: his answer is, that if the women, who read his book, will not suffer any gallant to come near them, they will not lose their honour. This is a sophistical answer; for it requires a condition, the practice whereof is made very difficult by the very book complained of. You will have us read your book, and banish our lovers; you are unjust in requiring such a thing from us, since your poems deprive us of the power of banishing our lovers. They fill us with love, they inflame us, they raise in us a violent desire to see those gentlemen: how then can you say, with any shew of reason, that if we banish them, we shall be safe. Another difficulty may be objected to Mr de la Fontaine, viz. that, tho' a woman should banish her lovers, she would be exposed to many leud passions, excited by the reading of his tales; which is no small mischief. In order to make a good apology for that author, it should be supposed, that his book cannot be prejudicial to chastity, and that nothing but the sight of the beloved objects, and actual courtship can be contrary to that virtue. But such a thing cannot be supposed, if it be true, as it is said, that the reading of *Pastor Fido* has undone many women and maids. This is a sufficient commentary upon my text.

Tho' what we are told of the ill effects of that poem should be false, yet it would be true, that the reading of certain books is very pernicious to young people of both sexes. Some physicians have prescribed the reading of the *Priapeia* to those, who are not well disposed for love-sports (7); and I have observed, that the emperor *Ælius Verus*, a very leud prince, had always the amorous poems of *Ovid* in his bed, and that he set a great value upon *Martial*: *Idem Ovidii libros amorum in lecto semper habuisse: idem Martialem Epigrammaticum Poëtam Virgilium suum dixisse* (8). I remember to have read in *Tassoni*, that study raises leud thoughts, among other reasons, because it discovers a thousand obscenities that are in books: he alleges that as a reason, why many learned women, mentioned by the ancients, were very leud. These are his words (9). 'Che similmente le lettere sieno cagioni d'eccitar la libidine, e di parturire molti atti osceni, non è ne da dubitare; poichè col leggere accidenti, e stratagemmi amorosi, e libri lascivi, e particolarmente nelle solitudini, e ne gli ozi, che richiegono le lettere, s'appresentano fantasmi osceni, e pensieri, e voglie di cose illecite sotto apparenza di gusto e di diletto; e l'ingegno facage vi s'abbandona sopra. E quindi è (cred'io) che in *Euripide*, e *Giuvendale* (10) leggiamo notate d'impudizia le donne di lettere antiche, le quali leggendo libri di cose lascive, e conversando sotto quel pretesto di lettere più liberamente con gli huomini, che si conveniva alla debolezza del sesso, si fecero ardite, e la libidine loro s'infervorò nell'ozio e la sagacità dell'ingegno s'offerse di ricoprire gli eccessi. — That this book likewise may be the occasion of exciting lust, and of producing many obscene actions, cannot be doubted; because, together with the reading of adventures, stratagems of love, and wanton books, and especially in solitude and at leisure, obscene images present themselves, thoughts, and desires after unlawful things, under the appearance of pleasure and delight; and the sagacious mind gives itself up thereupon. And thence it is, I believe, that in *Euripides*, and *Juvenal*, we read of learned women among the

'books on wanton subjects, and conversing, under this pretence of learning, with men, more freely, than suits the weakness of their sex, have grown bold, and their lust has been inflamed in idleness, and all the sagacity of their wit employed in excusing their excesses.'

[D] Perhaps he would have had recourse to a more common thought. He might have said, that his readers learned nothing by his *Pastoral* but what they knew before; or if young people found something in it that was unknown to them, they would have learned it elsewhere; so that the suppression of *Pastor Fido* had been of no advantage to the public. A friend to Mr de la Fontaine has nicely touched this sort justification.

Those, says he (11), who are entrusted with the education of youth, ought to prevent not only their reading (12) of them, but also their learning a great deal more than there is in them, by frequenting bad company. Men do not always learn from books what

they should be ignorant of. This author plainly intimates, that, as the world goes, those, who should not learn from la Fontaine's book what it is fit they should be ignorant of, would learn it several other ways. The same kind of thought has been made use of (13), in answer to the unjust complaints of those, who do not approve, that the obscenities of *Juvenal* and *Martial* should be left out. This apology is more tolerable than la Fontaine's Maxim, and yet it is not a good one; for, tho' disorders be ever so unavoidable, even when we do not contribute to them, every body ought to be more willing that they should proceed from others than from himself. It is to be observed, that what I say concerns those, who invent obscene stories, or translate them with new flourishes of their own, and not those, who quote a passage of *Martial* &c. to prove a fact, which the nature of their work, or their character of historian, commentator, &c. requires they should mention. Upon the whole, it must be granted, that all the leud things, that may be read in some books, may be learned, without books, by conversation. It is almost incredible how many things of this nature are known to people, who are still in their younger years, and never learned to read. The progress of this science is surprising, and does not require many years. Let us see what *Montaigne* says about it (14).

'When women are free in their discourse, we are but children, if compared to them in that respect. When they talk of our courtships and conversations, they plainly discover that we tell them nothing but what they knew before. Shall we say, that they were formerly disorderly boys, as *Plato* will have it? I happened one day to be in a place, where I could hear what they said among themselves, without being seen. It is pity I cannot tell it. Faith, said I to my self, we need not learn phrases from *Amadis*, and study *Boccaccio* and *Arétin*, in order to fit our selves for their conversation: it is all time lost. They know every thing better than those, who read books for that purpose. It is a science that grows in their veins, *Et mentem Venus ipsa dedit*; nature, youth, and health, three excellent masters, do continually infuse it into their minds: they need not learn it; they produce it.

Nec tantum niveo gavisa est ulla columbo

Compar, vel si quid dicitur improbus,

Oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro:

Quantum præcipue multivola est mulier *.

Not with more ardour bills the milkwhite dove,

Than woman, raging in excess of love.

Women learn those things one from another; the old instruct the young; and, if the ignorant are greedy of knowledge, the learned are no less desirous of imparting it to them. One would think they look upon this axiom as a canonical one, viz. That knowledge is insignificant, unless others know that we have it (15). And therefore the Italian education, the great care that is taken in Italy to keep girls from the company of boys, does not remove the evil. Besides, women, in the countries, where they are kept under restraint, have the liberty to be at a wedding promiscuously

(11) Preface to la Fontaine's Tales of the Amsterdam Edit. 1685.

(12) That is, the reading of la Fontaine's Tales.

(13) See the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Oct. 1684, art. v, pag. 792, 793.

(14) *Essays*, book. iii, chape v, pag. m. 125, 126.

* Cat. 1091

(15) *Uspque adeo Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter* Pers. Sat. 1, vers. 25.

(7) *Medici*, in his *Paulus Aegineta*, disertis verbis ad excitandam languentem Venerem vel præcipuum remedium præscribunt Priapeum & similibus poësis infans assiduam lectionem. Casaubonus in hac verba *Pessii*, Sat. I, vers. 19. Cum carmina Iunibum Intrant, & tremulo clauduntur ubi intima versu. — When wanton thoughts are by soft numbers rais'd.

(8) *Spartian*, in *Ælio Vero*, cap. v.

(9) *Pensieri diversi di Alessandro Tassoni*, lib. viii, cap. xi, pag. 227.

(10) It is not true, that *Euripides* and *Juvenal* charge them with that fault: *Juvenal* does not approve, that one should marry a learned woman; but he gives no reason for it. The reason alleged by *Euripides*, is, that *Venus* makes them more crafty. See *Muri*, *Variorum*, *Lectionum*, lib. viii, cap. xxi.

wherein he touches upon one of the most incomprehensible mysteries of nature [E]. The number (a) of the editions and translations of *Paſtor Fido* is incredible (b). Guarini died at Venice in an inn, in the year 1613 [F]. His funeral pomp, by the academy of humorists, shews, that he was in great esteem (c).

He was great-grandson of Guarini of Verona, and taught moral philosophy in the university of Ferrara. Notwithstanding the great reputation he had acquired by the above-mentioned poem, he could not endure the name and title of a poet; for he thought that such a title does no honour to those who have it, and exposes them to contempt. One would think by reading his verses, that he made them with the greatest facility; but it is mistake; they cost him a great deal of pains [G], and many alterations and rasures. He was not fond of getting riches; and, because he was a little fond of pomp, he found himself in no good circumstances, when fortune forsook him, having taken but little care to husband the gratifications of Alphonso II, his master. That prince ceased

(a) Niclus Erythraeus, Pinacoth. 1, pag. 96.

(b) Lewis Zuccolo does very much commend *Paſtor Fido* in his treatise della Eminenza della Poſterala, pag. 25.

(c) Id. Niclus Eryth. ubi supra, pag. 97.

(15) See the passage of St. Cyprian, which I shall presently quote.

(17) Cyprianus de dilectis plura & habito virginum, cap. xiv.

(18) Barthias, in Claudian. pag. 766, has a good note upon this. Ita etiam, says he, ultimo edita sunt sancti viri verba; Scripsit tamen arbitror; Corpore licet virgo permaneat: at mente, oculis, auribus, lingua, movit illa quæ habet. Sane nisi mens tangeretur per sensus, minime minueretur possessa.

(19) Plut. de Pythia Orat. pag. 405. C.

(20) Love and Honour. See the joint of the Abbot.

miscuously with men. Now can there be a more scandalous school of lewdness, than the assemblies, sports, and entertainments of weddings? how many foolish and obscene things are spoken upon such an occasion (16)? St. Cyprian was in the right, not to approve, that virgins should go to a wedding; he tells them, that they will come home with a maimed virginity (17). 'Quædam non pudet nubentibus interesse, & in illa lascivientium libertate sermonum colloquia incesta miscere; audire quod non licet dicere: observare & esse præsentem inter verba turpia & temulentia convivia, quibus Libidinum fomes accenditur, Sponsa ad patientiam stupri, ad audaciam sponsus animatur. Quid illic discitur? quid videtur? Quantum à proposito suo virgo deficit, quando, pudica quæ venerat, impudica discedit? Corpore licet virgo ac mente permaneat; oculis, auribus, lingua, minuit illa quæ habebat (18). — Some are not ashamed to be present at a marriage, and to mix in the wanton conversation usual at such times; to hear what I dare not repeat; to observe, and be present at the filthy discourse, and drunken revelling, which excite the fire of lust, which animate the bride to endure being deflowered, and encourage the bridegroom to the attack. What is learnt there? what is seen? how does a virgin fail in her purpose, when she, who came modest, departs immodest? for she continues a virgin in body, yet her eyes, ears, and tongue, rob her partly of what she brought with her.' See what will be said in the remark [G] of the article LYCURGUS, and remember, Xenophon's maxim. He was of opinion, that a bride should come to her husband's house, before she has seen and heard many things. 'Ο Ξενοφών οἷσται δὲ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τὴν νύμφην ἰδῆσαν, ἐλάττωσιν δὲ ἀνέσσαν εἰς ἀνδρὸς βαλῆσθαι. Xenophon censet sponsam ita debere in mariti domum venire ut quam minimum viderit, quam minimum audierit (19).

[E] He touches upon . . . one of the most incomprehensible mysteries of nature.] He introduces a young woman, who, being at the discretion of two tyrants, who hate one another (20), envies the happiness of beasts, whose love is directed by no other rule than love itself. She is amazed at the opposition that is between nature and the law. One of them annexes a great pleasure to certain things, and the other will have them to be severely punished. Her conclusion is this: this cannot be accounted for without the revelation of Moses; and I have often wondered that the ancient philosophers have so little reflected upon it. I mean only such philosophers, who acknowledged the unity of GOD; for those, who admitted of many gods could find no difficulty in it: it was but supposing, that a deity was the cause of the inclination of nature; and that some other deities imprinted the instincts of conscience and the notions of honour. The difficulty concerned only those, who believed, that the world is the work of one most holy Being. How is it possible that under such a Being men should be drawn to evil by a bait that is almost unfathomable, I mean, by the sense of pleasure, and are deterred from it by the fear of remorse, infamy, or several other punishments; they spend their lives, tossed by these contrary passions, pulled sometimes one way, and sometimes another, being sometimes overcome by the sense of pleasure, and sometimes by the fear of the consequences. Manichæism probably arose from a strong meditation on this deplorable condition of man.

[F] He died at Venice in an inn.] He was gone to Venice upon account of a law-suit, and died of grief and old age. His enemies made his life very un-

happy, if we believe the author I quote. 'Semper cum adversa fortuna iniquorum odio conflictatus (non enim malevoli tanto viro deesse poterant) demum cum Venetiarum litium quarundam causa venisset, & ad cauponem divertisset, ibi senio curisque confectus, excessit de vita (21). — Having all his life-time struggled with ill fortune thro' the envy of unjust men (for so great a man could not be without enemies), at last, coming to Venice on account of a law-suit, he died in an inn, worn out with old age and cares.' Another author, I shall quote, is very much mistaken as to the year, wherein Guarini died; for he says it was in the year 1590 (22).

[G] His verses cost him a great deal of pains.] Let us see first what Imperialis says of it. 'Insuper mirandum etiam, quod licet expedita illa carminum pangendorum ubertas, illaborata penitus, & sponte fusa videatur; tamen ab ipso anxie affectatam ac ditutino quæsitam studio ipsimet (familiares) asserunt, præmonstrantes extrinsecus quasdam carminum suorum schedulas, frequentissimis expunctas ac immutatas locis, ex quibus hercule peractis quidam, ac implexus scribendi arguitur labors (23). — What is more to be wondered at, is, that tho' his numbers seemed to flow with the greatest ease, yet his intimate friends assure us, he composed with great labour and pains, which they prove by some rough draughts of his poetry, which were corrected in a multitude of places, and seemed to denote a laborious writer.' This author informs us of two things: one is, that Guarini took great pains in making his verses; the other is, that one would think they were made with a wonderful facility. If any one should fancy that those two things are inconsistent, he must needs be unacquainted with the different characters of men, and believe, that no compositions cost a great deal of pains, but those of which a reader may say, what was said of Demosthenes's orations, *Olenit lucernam, they smell of the lamp* (24): but we ought to know, that there are many other varieties in the characters of men. Some authors make their readers sensible of the great pains they have been at; and, if they correct three or four times a certain place with a profound meditation and great pains, the reader perceives, that that passage is more laboured than another, which has been corrected only two or three times. But there are some writers, whose labour and pains make every thing they write appear easy and natural; so that the more they revise a piece of work, the less it seems to have been revised and laboured. Such was Guarini's character (25). He thought, that the perfection of a piece of poetry consisted in natural beauties, and a fluent and easy turn. He endeavoured to gain the approbation of the public by such a method, and perceived, with great penetration, whether there remained any thing in his work, that was forced and unnatural; and then he made it his business to revise and correct those faults. Thus it was only by much revising and polishing his verses, that he made them run smoothly and fluently. Other authors, having a quite different taste, place perfection in thinking and expressing one's self in an affected and bombast style, and such as discovers the fatigue of a profound meditation. They fancy, they do not express themselves happily and ingeniously, if they can be understood without much wit and attention (26); and they are never satisfied, till they have struck out of their writing whatever appears simple, natural, and common; and therefore the more they correct their works, the more they discover the pains they have

(21) Niclus Erythraeus, ubi supra, pag. 97.

(22) Aub. Milæus in Scriptore. Sac. xvi, pag. 177.

(23) Imperialis in Museo Hist. pag. 129.

A COLLECTION of passages concerning the apparent or real facility of composition.

(24) Plut. in Demost. pag. 849.

(25) According to Imperialis, whose words I have quoted above.

(26) Quid quod nihil jam proprium placet, dum parum creditur disertum quod & alius dixisset? . . . tum demum ingeniosi scilicet si ad intelligentiam nos oportet fit ingenio. Quint. lib. viii, in Proem. pag. m. 354.

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ceased to love him, and then Guarini applied himself successively to Vincent of Gonzaga, Ferdinand of Medicis, great duke of Tuscany, and Francis Maria of Feltri, duke of Urbino;

been at. Their labour is certainly very great; but sometimes it does not come near the toil of those, who desire, that their works should appear easy and natural throughout. I have been told by some persons, who pretended to have it from good hands, and I have read it within these few days in a printed book (27), that Voiture did not publish his verses and letters, such as we have them, till he had taken great pains to correct them. His apologist does not say so; but yet he intimates, that the great ease, which appears in the works of that wit, cost him no small pains. I hope the reader will not be displeased to find here a piece of that apology. The thing is curious enough to appear here, attended with the approbation of some good judges. 'Mr de Voiture was above all things for that sort of negligence which so well becomes beautiful persons, which sets off the advantages of their birth, and, after having charmed the eyes, leaves room to think of what the beauties of art might have added to those of nature. There is something so easy and natural in all his writings, that every body thinks at first he might write in the same manner; and it is only after long and vain endeavours, that they cry out, *Questo facile, quanto è difficile! This easy, how difficult is it!* I remember he was not displeased that I should bestow upon him an encomium, which Tasso bestows upon one of his heroines,

Non so ben dire, s'adorna, o se negletta,
Se cafo od arte, il bel volto compoie;
Di natura, d'amor, del cielo, amici
Le negligenze sue sono artifici.

Whether from chance alone her beauties rise,
Or art improves the lustre of her eyes;
Frien'ded by nature, love, and ev'ry star,
Ev'n negligence itself in her is art.

'Indeed, what seems to be negligence in him, is but art disguised in the shape of it's contrary, to act with the more address and greater safety. And as nature is never more admirable, than when she seems to imitate the works of art; so art is not in it's perfection, unless it imitates nature, and converses it's labours and great efforts with an apparent easiness. The painters of old Greece represented the graces without cloaths, and without a head-dress; and, if at any time they painted them with gowns, they were loose gowns, to denote that the greatest charms do not proceed from artful and visible ornament; and particularly, that whoever pretends to please, ought to avoid the very shadow of constraint. Our love of liberty reaches to the productions of the mind; and we are naturally so great enemies to subjection and slavery, that a thing, though never so fine, will lose all it's charms, when it appears forced and strained. No man was ever more sensible of this truth than Mr de Voiture; no man did ever conceal more industriously the art he made use of, to bring forth out of his imagination the fine things he has left us. One would think, that flowers spring up every step he makes, or that he meets with them by chance, that the finest passages of his works cost him no pains, that every thing drops from his pen without any trouble and labour, as it were, out of a plentiful and unexhaustible source (28).

Mr Pellisson, who was so good a judge of all sorts of ingenious works, was persuaded, that it is often a very difficult thing for an author to make it appear, that his work cost him no great labour (29). Two things, says he (30), 'make poetry admirable, viz. Invention, from which it had it's name; and easiness, which is so necessary to it. I do not mean a facility in composing; it may be sometimes happy, but it ought to be always suspected: I mean the facility, which the readers observe in a composition, which is sometimes one of the most difficult things in the world for an author; so that it might be compared to garden-terraces, the expense of which does not appear, and which, after having cost several millions, yet seem to be a meer work

of chance and nature.' What he had been saying about the easiness, that appears in the works of good poets, is admirable. 'One would think they could not have expressed themselves otherwise than they have done; their words and expressions are so easy that they seem to have dropped from their pen of themselves, and to have taken their proper places. The lyre of Amphion did not work greater miracles, when stones, drawn by his harmony, placed themselves one upon another, of their own motion, to raise up the famous walls of Thebes (31).

This is what the reader thinks, but the author knows the contrary, and remembers, that the most easy and fluent verses are those, that have obliged him to scratch his head, and bite his nails (32). He remembers, that, in making those verses, he followed Horace's advice (33), with the greatest exactness, and was like those ancient philosophers, whom a deep meditation put out of their wits.

Obstipo capite, & figentes lumine terram,
Murmura cum secum, & rabiosa silentia rodunt,
Atque exporrecto trutinantur Verba labello,
Ægroti veteris meditantur somnia, Gigni
De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti (34).

Wry-neck'd, and fixing on the ground their eyes,
They mutter mussy maxims of the wise;
To nothing nought returns, from nothing nought
can rise.

Some exceptions ought to be made; for some poets, as Ovid among the ancients, and Moliere among the moderns, made verses with great facility, and the readers were sensible of it.

Take notice that Mr Pellisson observes, that this facility may be sometimes happy, but that it ought to be always suspected (35). Which puts me in mind of a thought of Mr Godeau. 'The facility in com-

posing, says he (36), seems to be an advantage; but it is a kind of fault, because it hinders the mind, which naturally hates labour and pain, from carrying things to the highest point of perfection they are capable of. And indeed, the correction, which purifies the first productions, is more troublesome to those, who have that facility, than to others, who finish things as they produce them, and in whom art bears a greater part than nature.' This agrees well enough with Quintilian's notions. That great master would have an author, who begins to compose, to do it slowly. By this means, he will learn to write well, and then he will write readily; but if he writes hastily, or, which is the same, if he writes with great facility, he will never write well. *Hanc moram & sollicitudinem initiis impeto . . . cito scribendo non fit ut bene scribatur: bene scribendo, fit ut cito* (37). Let this facility be as much a fault as you please, yet it is better to be subject to it, than not to be able to bring forth one's conceptions without intolerable pains; and it is a greater misfortune for an author never to end his corrections, than to end them a little too soon. Balzac has been placed among those authors, who become unhappy by being too nice. Read these words of Costar (38).

'There is nothing fluent and natural in Balzac. His great labour is so sensible, that nice readers grow weary of his works, like that famous Sybarite, who was all in a sweat, seeing a poor workman labouring very hard. And indeed he himself confessed sometimes, that when he took pen in hand, he suffered as much as a galley slave. Not but that he had a great and noble genius; but he found it as difficult to satisfy himself, as that excellent man, of whom the late bishop of Lizieux said, *The fine things he publishes cost him so dear, that were I in his case, I would pitch upon some other employment to serve my neighbours, and should not think that GOD required that from me.*' Costar is in the right to say, that the readers easily perceive, that the productions of this famous writer cost him a great deal of pains. They will not say, that they might easily write as he does; for it is only the reading of an author, whose thoughts and expressions

(31) Id. ibid.
pag. 28.

(32) Et in versu faciendo
Semper caput scabret, vivos & roderet ungues.
In making
verses . . .
His head be scratch'd and bit
his nails to the quick.
Horat. Sat. x,
lib. i, ver. 70.
Confer quæ Persius, Sat. i, ver. 106. Nec platum credit, nec demorlos sapit ungues.
Nor strikes his writhing dist, nor bites his nails.

(33) Ludentis speciem dabit & torquetur.
He'll seem to sport, tho' on the rack of thought.
Horat. Ep. ii,
lib. ii, ver. 124.

(34) Persius,
Sat. iii, ver. 80.

(35) Redamur ad iudicium & retrahemur suspectam facilitatem. Quintil. lib. x, cap. iii, pag. 483.

(36) Godeau, Preface to his translation of the Psalms. Confer quæ Quintilian, lib. x, cap. iii, pag. m. 485.

(37) Quintil. lib. x, cap. iii, pag. 484. See citation (1), of the article ORICEL-LARIUS.

(38) Costar, Apol. pag. 37. See also the piece in vindication of the queen-mother, Tom. I, pag. m. 471, 472. Where it is said, that all that Balzac could do, was to polish a period in one day, and that he spent a whole day in placing a conjunction at a prepositional.

(27) In *Vignuel Marville's Mélanges d'Hist. & de Littérature*, pag. 223, of the *Revue Edit.*

(28) Costar, *Défense des Ouvrages de Mr de Voiture*, pag. 16, 17.

(29) *Vindicta quædam quasi solvenda de industria sunt illa quidem maximi laboris, ne laborata videantur. Quint. lib. ix, cap. vii, pag. m. 457.*

(30) Pellisson, *Preface to Sacchini's works*, pag. 457.

GUARINI GUEBRIANT.

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Urbino; he was esteemed for his wit and poetry, which was all that he got by so many masters. At last he retired into his country, where he was consulted like an oracle about the means of pacifying Italy (d).

(d) Taken from John Imperialis in Museo Histor. pag. 129, 130.

have an easy turn, that makes one think he might do the same. But then, whoever tries it, will find himself very much mistaken; experience will teach, that nothing can be more difficult than to imitate what seems to be so easy.

Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
Speret idem, sudet multum, frustra que labore
Ausus idem (39).

(39) Horat. de Arte Poet. ver. 240.

With so much seeming ease my verse shall flow,
Each shall believe, that he could write the same,
Yet labour much, and to no purpose sweat.

This judgment of Horace agrees with that of Cicero, speaking of certain orators. Summissus est & humilis, consuetudinem imitans, ab indistinctis re plus

quam opinione differens. Itaque eum qui audiunt, quamvis ipsi infantes sint, tamen illo modo confident se posse dicere. Nam orationis subtilitas imitabilis quidem illa videtur esse existimanti, sed nihil est experienti minus (40). — His language is humble and familiar, differing more in reality than appearance from the uneloquent. Those therefore that bear him, tho' they are themselves infants, yet are confident they can speak like him. For that artful eloquence seems indeed such as may be imitated, to those, who judge without trying, but nothing is less to him, who makes the experiment. Note, that some said, that this sort of orators were the only ones that could be called Attics (41). To conclude, I add, that Ovid is one of those inimitable poets, whose imitation seems at first sight to be the easiest thing in the world (42).

(40) Cicero, in Oratore, fol. 120. C. See also Isocrates in Panathenaisio.

(41) Quem solum quidam vocant Atticum. Cicero, ibid.

(42) Dictionem Ovidii quæ non nemini tanquam in trivili invenienda videretur, esse nimirum ex eo genere rerum quas omnes inveniant in-ventas. Rom. Strada Præf. VI, lib. ii, pag. m. 380.

GUARINI, or GUARINIO (GUARINUS), a Theatin monk and mathematician of the duke of Savoy, was a native of Modena, and flourished in the XVIIth century. His *Placita Philosophica* were printed at Paris in 1666, and his *Cælestis Mathematica* at Milan in 1683. He was dead when this last book came out.

[A] His *Placita Philosophica* were printed and his *Cælestis Mathematica*. Each of those two works is a book in folio. The first is a body of philosophy, wherein the author particularly enlarges upon physics, and departs from the common opinion

of the schools. See the *Journal des Savans* of the twenty ninth of November, 1666. As for the other work, I refer the reader to the *Acta eruditorum Lipsensium* (1).

(1) For June, 1684, pag. 259.

GUEBRIANT (RENATA DU BEC), widow of the Marechal de Guebriant, was the daughter of Renatus du Bec, marquis de Vardes [A], and sister of Renatus du Bec, who married the countess de Moret, mistress of Henry IV. Her eldest brother was killed in Italy by some Banditti [B]. She was ordered to conduct the princess Mary of Gonzaga to the king of Poland, who had married her at Paris by proxy; and she was invested with a new

[A] *Renatus du Bec, marquis de Vardes*. I add, that he was knight of the king's orders, and governor of la Capelle, and the country of Tierache; and that his son, who married the countess de Moret, had by her the marquis de Vardes, who has been so long out of favour by reason of some intrigues mentioned in the book, intitled, *Les Amours du Palais Royal*. This disgrace did not last till the death of the marquis de Vardes; but it wanted but a few years of it. The husband of the countess de Moret was governor of la Capelle, and condemned to death for contempt of the court, as having too soon surrendered that place to the Spaniards in the year 1636 (1). But he was declared innocent by a decree of the parliament of Paris, after the decease of the cardinal de Richelieu.

(1) The *Mercure François*, for the Year 1736, calls him only Baron de Bec.

[B] *Her eldest brother was killed in Italy by some Banditti*. It is commonly said so in the books that contain a genealogical account of the marquis de Vardes's ancestors (2). But in the collection of pieces, printed at the end of the journal of Henry III, there are some observations on the amours of Henry IV; wherein we are told, that this eldest brother was killed by a peasant, whom he had attempted to beat; and that his father, a venerable old man, who was worth fifty or sixty thousand livres a year, in order to conceal the death of his son, caused his train to take the road of Lyons and Italy, and some days after pretended to have received letters, whereby he was informed of the sudden death of his son, upon the road. He, who gives this account, does it upon this occasion. He says, that one Villeneuve, a gentleman of Guienne, who was married in the Vexin, got together many gentlemen at Saucour (3) near Gisors, in the year 1622, to have their advice about this case of conscience viz. A gentleman (probably the same, who consulted the rest) went alone into a country man's house to chastize him; the country man took him by the neck, and flung him down, swearing, 'he would kill him, unless he promised and swore, that he would never revenge himself either directly or indirectly.' The gentleman swore it, and desired to know whether he was bound to keep his

(2) See *Father Asquier*, Tom. II, pag. 626. Le Laboureur, *Additions to Castelma's Memoirs*, Tom. II, pag. 500.

(3) I think it should be Saucour.

word. The author of the observations adds, 'that all of them, being ten or twelve, voted in the affirmative, resolving that, for the time to come, no gentleman should attack such people but upon sure ground; and they alledged a new and worse instance of a certain marquis, &c.' It is the adventure I have mentioned concerning the eldest brother of the marquis de Vardes, and of the lady de Guebriant.

This story is related with so many circumstances, that one would take it to be true; but, if we consider other circumstances, we may very well doubt of the truth of it, and even affirm that it is false. We find in the voyage of the queen of Poland, written by le Laboureur (4), that the lady de Guebriant, passing by Genoa, caused a tomb to be erected for her brother, who had been killed by some banditti of that country. I shall set down the whole passage of Mr le Laboureur, which contains many circumstances, that render what is said of the assembly of Saucour altogether improbable. That writer, having observed, that the princes of Monaco, and the lords du Bec-Crispin in Normandy, are descended from the same ancestors, adds, 'that this very thing moved the late messire John du Bec, marquis de la Boffe (5), eldest son of Renatus du Bec, marquis de Vardes, knight of the king's orders, being in Italy in the year 1616, to go and pay a visit to the Grimaldi, related to him; and, being killed in his way thither by the banditti, they took care to revenge his death by an exemplary punishment, and caused his body to be deposited in St Francis's church, where many of the family had been buried, and where it remained till the year 1646, when the lady de Guebriant his sister, and messieurs Grimaldi, had it removed to Our Lady of Consolation without the walls of Genoa, where a monument was erected to him, and I made the epitaph.'

(4) Third Part, pag. 353.

(5) Moret, in the article *Bec-Crispin*, has once put *la Boffe* instead of *la Boffe*. He had read, or heard something of the other manner in which they relate this death, as appears by these words: others say, that the peasants of Normandy murdered him at Budarid; which makes a new difference.

Can any one believe, that the farce would have been carried so far, to conceal from the world, that a young marquis had been killed by a peasant? would that family have been dishonoured by such a misfortune; and was there no other way to conceal the thing, but by bringing in the Italian banditti? We must not use people

(a) See the remark [E], citation (16).

a new character (a), which was that of ambassador extraordinary. Le Laboureur, in his relation of that journey, does not seem to give a sincere account of the issue of the French Ambassador's quarrel [C], nor does Mr de Wicquefort give an exact account of it [D], and he says without any reason, that the lady de Guebriant was concerned in it. She worthily kept up her character: she was an intriguing woman, and endowed with very noble qualities [E]. Priolo does not give a right account

PRETENSIONS of Mr de Bregi, ambassador of France in Poland.

(5) He was the king of Poland's brother.

(7) See something of this nature in the *Novvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, June, 1686, art. iii.

(8) See Page 194.

(9) Ibid.

(10) *Traité de l'ambassadeur*, lib. ii, pag. m. 300.

(11) Page 157, of the first part.

people to give more credit to stories told in conversation, than to historical monuments, like those mentioned by Mr le Laboureur; it would be an ill example, and a thing of dangerous consequence.

[C] *Le Laboureur . . . does not seem to relate sincerely the issue of the French ambassador's quarrel.* Though one be never so desirous to spare a man of his merit, one cannot forbear saying, that he does not give an impartial account of the French ambassador's dispute, and endeavours to conceal the ill success of his pretensions. Having mentioned, page 137, 138, the most solid reasons of the Poles, he does not say what was replied to them, nor what was at last resolved. At page 151, he places Mr de Bregi at table below prince Charles (6), without telling us how, and why, that ambassador gave up his pretensions. In the 194th page, he places him still below the prince; but he adds, that this prince represented the ambassador extraordinary of the emperor. Whereby he artfully insinuates, that Mr de Bregi had all the advantage he could expect from his dispute, since prince Charles was decidedly invested with a character, to which all the ambassadors of crowned heads give the upper hand. But the reader is told in the errata, that the words, *who represented the person of the emperor*, ought to be left out. It is somewhat strange, that this fault should not be expressed in the errata exactly in the same words as it is in the book. But the artifice, which plainly appears in it, is much more inexcusable, if it be considered that few people mind an errata (7). The reader is also desired to strike out of the same page what is said in it, that the nuncio placed himself below that lady at the wedding feast. However those two corrections do not well answer the expectation of the reader (8) grounded upon the censure passed upon Mr Renaudot's gazettes, and another relation of that feast, and upon these words of Mr le Laboureur: *Perhaps I shall be accounted a more credible witness as to the persons, who sat down at their majesties table, and the order they were placed in, since the queen of Poland sent for me to be present at it.* If so many fallacies were published at Paris about things relating to the ceremonial, how could the news, that concerned things more difficult to be known, be depended upon? The multitude of those, who pretend to send relations, produces a strange confusion. Le Laboureur says, *they had several servants, who pretended to write news, and that the baker took care to observe, among other things, the price and goodness of meal* (9).

[D] *Nor does Mr de Wicquefort give an exact account of it.* The ambassador, says he (10), 'who scrupled to give the upper hand to the hereditary prince of Sweden, brother to the king of Poland, and the lady de Guebriant, who pretended to have the same honours that were formerly paid to the arch-duchess of Tirol, were guilty of an unpardonable impertinence, and procured an affront to their master.' The ambassador he means is the same, whom he calls viscount de Bregi, page 593, of the first book; where having called his pretension an extravagant one, he adds, that the pretension of the lady de Guebriant was not less ridiculous, since she desired to have the same rank, and the same honours that were paid to the arch-duchess, when she brought to the queen her daughter into Poland. It is said in the index, wherein the reader is referred to the same page 593, that the lady de Guebriant pretended to have the upper hand of the arch-duchess; but there is no such thing in that page.

I will not contradict Mr de Wicquefort in what he says concerning those pretensions; it is not a matter of fact. I shall only say, that he has no reason to tell us, that Bregi and the lady de Guebriant procured an affront to their master by their pretensions. This cannot be said of that lady; for it does not appear from le Laboureur's relation, that she had any dispute. We read in it (11), that there was a long contest at

two several times, occasioned by the pretensions of the French ambassador; but le Laboureur is so far from saying, that this lady was engaged in a contest, that, on the contrary, he tells us, that, on the very day Mr de Bregi began to have a dispute, the queen of Poland desired the lady de Guebriant not to concern her self in it, and that the count d'Honoff, the ambassador, and the grandes of Poland, assured her, that she should have the honours due to her character, not only of ambassador extraordinary, but also of superintendant of her majesty's conduct, according to several precedents, and PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE ARCH-DUCHESS OF INSBRUCK, when she brought the late queen. In another place the author informs us (12), that the king declared to all the grandes of the kingdom, that he intended she should receive all the honours due to a lady of her quality and character, THE SAME WITH THOSE THAT WERE PAID TO THE ARCH-DUCHESS OF INSBRUCK, sister to the great duke of Tuscany, who brought the late queen. After this I need not allege the following passage of that relation to confute Mr de Wicquefort (13). *The lady de Guebriant going down stairs in the palace, to get into her coach* (14), the bishop of Posen gave her his blessing in his pontifical habits. This honour is only paid to kings and queens, and sovereign princes; but the king ordered it to be paid to her, the better to show how much he esteemed that illustrious lady.

[E] *She was endowed with very noble qualities.* I think that, in order to judge of that lady's merit, it is necessary to keep a medium between the praises bestowed upon her by le Laboureur, and the ill character others give of her. However, any one that reflects upon her employments must needs own, that she had a great deal of wit, and all the talents that a lady must have, in order to maintain and distinguish herself in the most eminent posts of the court. Tho it be said, that those, who bestow employments, have no great regard to merit, men of sense will never believe, that the queen mother and cardinal Mazarin made that lady superintendant of the conduct of the queen of Poland (15), and ambassador extraordinary, if she had not been looked upon as a woman well qualified to do a great deal of honour to France in the court of Poland, and to keep up that new character (16) with all the wit, prudence, and grandeur, it required. She is very much praised in the letters, written to her by the king, the queen-mother, and the cardinal, when she was nominated to that employment, and in those, which the king of Poland wrote to the king and queen-mother, when she returned to Paris; and it is certain she acquitted herself of that employment with great ability. Those letters may be seen in le Laboureur's relation.

As I have said before, the praises he bestows upon her ought not to be taken in their full latitude. It seems to him, that when their majesties pitched upon her, they acted according to the wishes of the whole French nation, and particularly of the chief persons of the court. He says, *the thing was made public before it was resolved upon; that this illustrious widow lived a retired life; that her husband received every day in her memory, to die in her heart; that she sacrificed to him daily some of her passions; that she minded neither court preferments, nor the court itself.* Lastly, that she accepted of that employment, only because she could not disobey her sovereign, being so much beholden to him for so many many favours, and particularly for the funeral honours paid to the marshal her husband by his orders. This he says in the first part of his relation. He tells us, in the second volume of his additions to Castelnau's memoirs, page 499, that she kept up the reputation and memory of the marshal de Guebriant, by so many services and glorious labours, that the king, by making her lady of honour to his queen, has not only pleased all

(12) Page 206, of the first part.

(13) Page 3, of the third part.

(14) It was on the day she set out from Poland.

(15) Louisa Maria de Gonzaga, the daughter of a duke of Nevers, who was afterwards duke of Mantua, married to Vladislaus IV, king of Poland, in 1645. See *Memoirs*, pag. 162.

(16) Rex stepes Regius mter Rensum Dubecum Varianum moierem viduam genere atque prostitute ingenium, uia cum Spontia in Poloniam ire iussere, quae hanc vice sua Uladislao Regi traderet, Dubecum ea causa novo, ut opinor, exemplo atque apud omnes gentes innotito Legati, scilicet fas est dicere Legatus titulo ornare. Lohar. de la Barde. *Hist. de Rob. Galie*, lib. iii, pag. 176. The lady de Guebriant is the first, and if I am not mistaken, the only lady, who has had the character of ambassador extraordinary; and perhaps she will be the last. Wicquefort, lib. i, de l'ambassadeur, pag. 15.

his subjects, but also acted according to the wishes and esteem of all foreign nations, among whom he discovered the great merit, during her embassy extraordinary to conduct the queen of Poland into her kingdom. There is certainly too much rhetoric, and too many poetical thoughts, in these encomiums, especially for a man, who makes very bold reflexions upon the abuses of his time in many places of his additions to Castelnau's memoirs, and whose blows are much like those of the count de Lude, of whom he says, *That though he shot at a great distance upon the government, all his shots were not lost: some carried home, and made desperate wounds.* This he says at page 767 of his additions. We shall see hereafter a passage of Patin, whereby it does not appear, that the whole French nation wished that heroine might be raised to great honours; and I have just now read in a modern historian, that he had an exorbitant ambition, which was the reason why the marshal de Guebriant had a magnificent burial. *Guebriantii exequiæ non vulgari pompa celebratæ*. *Corpus illatum Fano Deipare Virginis, qui honos in* *frequens non tam concessus Viri meritis, quàm uxor* *Renatæ Bekiæ flagitante extortus; femina im-* *pens, gloriæ potius quàm luctus immodica iusta* *visu persolvit in sui alimentis inebare.* (1.)

The obsequies of the marshal Gueubriant were celebrated with no ordinary pomp. The body was deposited in the church of Notre-Dame, whither unusual honour was not so much granted to the marshal's merit, as extorted by the importunity of Renata du Bec, his wife, who was prompted to the performance of these immoderate rites, not through excess of grief, but ambition and ostentation.* I must needs say, that I do not believe she accepted the embassy extraordinary of Poland out of obedience, and that it was bestowed upon her without her desiring and suing for it. The oratory of a man, who praises, ought to be suspected.

[F] *Priso does not give a right account of her negotiation at Brisac.* That historian (18) relates a thing, which is not much to this lady's honour. He says, that, during the last troubles, Charlevoix, who commanded in Brisac, quarrelled with the governour sent thither by the court, (it was Mr de Tilladet), and that he so well pursued his point, that the governour was obliged to yield to him. That the lady de Guebriant, either out of avarice or ambition, undertook to make herself necessary; and, being willing the court should think she had preserved that important place, she formed a intrigue to ruin Charlevoix. That she repaired to Brisac with a young woman he loved; and that Charlevoix, being so imprudent as to go out of that place to see this woman (19), was taken, and carried prisoner to Philippsburg. That the lady de Guebriant was very much abused upon that account, and obliged to return to Bafil as fast as she could; and that Charlevoix had secret intrigue with the count de Harcourt, who was dissatisfied with the government, and made his peace upon advantageous terms, so that the lady was hurt by both parties, and died of grief (20).

He is an instance of what commonly happens to those who write abridgments: they omit many circumstances, without which a fact is but a rough and shapeless mass, as those know, who, after they have read it in a large history, compare their notion of it with what they read in an abridgment. Whoever reads this intrigue of the lady de Guebriant in Mr de la Barde's history, will find the truth of what I say. But, laying aside Priolo's omissions, it is certain he has advanced two falsities.

The first consists in saying, that Charlevoix went out of Brisac to see the mistress the lady de Guébriant brought him. Nothing can be more false; he had no occasion to go out of that place to see her, since she was there in that lady's retinue. Besides, the reader may very well wonder that this lady should be at Brisac, and that Charlevoix's mistress, by whose means he was to be entrapp'd, should not be with the lady who carries on the intrigue, and knows so well how to use the stratagems of Catherine de Medicis (21). It is certain he was there, and that the artifice made use of to bring Charlevoix into the snare, was to use him to go in a coach at a great distance from the town with the lady de Guébriant, and his mistress. But on that point that he was taken, the lady de Guébriant, being

(21) It is observed in history, that the made use of the beauty of her maids of honour, to bring great men into the snare, according as her occasions required. Her daughter the same.

Mextra, a
1579.

ling to be in the town, when the first hews of it should come thither, pretended some business that did not allow her to go abroad, and yet desired all her retinue should go. The second falsity concerns the death of that lady. Priolo says, she died of grief, when the civil-war was not yet ended; but it is certain (22) she was not disturbed for the ill success of her enterprise at Briscé, and that she carried on her intrigues even at Bassi, and filled her head with vast designs, to ingratiate herself with the queen-mother, and cardinal Mazzarine: in a word, that she died only in 1659, after she had made so great a figure at court, that she was to be first lady of honour to queen Maria Thérèse. How came Priolo, who was sufficiently acquainted with great people, to know what passed among them, and who published his history few years after the death of that lady, to place her death so wrong, as to take away from her five or six years of a shining prosperity? Perhaps he did her a good office by it.

Mr de la Barde observes, that this lady, not contented with the character of embassadress, which she had been invested with, desired to engage in a war-intrigue, as being a thing of greater lustre (23). Nay, it was said, she aspired to the government of Brisac, and that she was desirous to be possessed of the king's lands in Alsace. She would have recovered by that means the money the king owed her, and would have formed a small flat state upon that frontier. * *Ea tempe*
state vulgatum Dubecam non modò Brisacum ven-
tere sibi, cui Præfata esset, sed & pradia quæ Re-
in Alsatiâ possidet omnia, quibus huic permittis
re alieno liberaret, quo satis danti Dubecæ obfructu
erat: ita mulier nihil nisi ingens animo volvere solit
sibi speciem Principatus aliquam in hac ab Aulâ r-
motâ regione fingebat (24).

[G] *This may serve to remove some suspicions about her.*] I have just now said, that perhaps Priolo did her a good office. I mean, that, if this author had not

taid, that the lady de Guebriant died before the troubles were over, many readers might have suspected, that she was one of the four women, of whom he gives a very ill character. He says, that four women kindled a civil war all over France, that they had more virtue than virtue, and that, their projects having miscarried, they set up for devout women; which, says he, is a common thing with women, when their looking-glass makes them fensible, that they are no longer able to make a figure in the world. 'Tunc quatuor, non quidem absurdè ingenio, fed quæ plures moribus non cebant quàm ingenio proderant, omnem Galliam commiserunt . . . Ipsæ postea improperis, ut ferebus fe prædamentibus Numini fidem obligant præ religionis mendacem simulationem & fucosa superstitione; effectis vitiiis janua clausa, cum speculo dante, fe putris senectus, præcisa ejus sententiâ relidat (25). Ad arbitrium quatuor feminarum non diu recta. Illæ neque Regno neque libi fchis u dum sua magnitudine peccandi licentiam metunt Galliam omnem in fumum difcerim vocaverunt.

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' (21). The better to apprehend how much this
is beholden to that historian, for not making her or
those four women, we must remember, that he re-
sents them as being barren (27); and proportion-
ly their sins to their greatness; that their minds were
ways full of great designs; that they made a priva-
plication to the cardinal by the mediation of the
lants, and betrayed one another; so that his em-
was not the judge of three, but of four wanton
deffes. *Sic Mazarinus non trium fed quatuor deo-
bidantium iudex fuit.* Whilst these women were
his interest, others were very much against his
thrust themselves into secret intrigues at court.
They prostituted themselves (28), which is
unavoidable to those women, who concern
selves with civil-wars. They want the con-
party-leaders; it is necessary that those who
should assist them with their swords and po-
they do nothing gratis, and they know how to
the opportunity. Such is the condition of a
designs to have the direction of state-revol-
is said, that the marshal de Turenne, the
man, could not resist the impetuosity of
and required also such personal services from
during the civil-war. I thought it might

(22) Labardæus,
Hist. de Reb.
Gallic. lib. x,
pag 737, ad ann.
1632.

(23) Legati . . .
personam susti-
merat, quod ta-
menti amplum
ipsi, magnificum-
que visum, tamen
magis supra for-
minam esse vide-
batur, quidpiam
quod ad militiam
pertineret, attinge-
re, cujus sibi
facultatem dari
in Charlevoft
negotio est arbi-
trata. *Labardeus*
pag. 620.

(24) Id. *ibid.*

n Priolo stan-
ders some Ladies

(25) Priol. lib.
ii, n. 43.

(26) Id. lib. viii,
of n. 10.

(27) See the end of this remark.

almost (28) Pars sui co-
chem- plam facere ut
ace of aulæ arcanum
lemen quodlibet rima-
s; but rentur. *Id. lib. ii.*
n. 42.

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thing that Patin says of her ought not to be credited [H]. This affords a remark, wherein we shall see when she died. We shall see, in another remark, the mistake of a German writer [I], who published notes on Priolo. I must not forget, that this lady, who thought herself undermatched, having married a man, who was very rich, caused her marriage to be declared void [K], and married (b) the count de Guebriant,

(b) In the year 1532.

and the last time he was talked of on account of his gallantry; but I have been informed by a person, who knew it well, that he frequently used that trade. Notwithstanding the age of the lady de Guebriant, all the readers would take her to be one of the four, had not the historian prevented it by the method he took, much better than by the characters he gives of them, most of which suit with her: I say, her age would signify nothing; for, not to go so far as Alpaïa, Lamia, and even the duchess of Valentinois, do we not see, much about the same time Priolo speaks of, a duchess somewhat advanced in years (29), whose amorous conquests were very considerable? Mr de la Barde, whom I quote, agrees with Mr Priolo in this point, viz. that women were very much at the helm during the storms of the late minority. The author of the *Thoughts on Comets* might have added this citation to his 236th article, and not this alone, but an infinite number of the like, which we meet with in books.

Take notice, that when I said, that Priolo represents the four ladies, who had so great an interest, as being barren; I said so, only with respect to most readers; for those, who know, that these words of that historian, *Neque regno, neque sibi felicitas uteri*, are an allusion to what Patriculus said of Julia, Augustus's daughter (30), will not take them to be a sign of barrenness.

[H] Every thing that Patin says of her, ought not to be credited. Here are two passages out of his letters. The lady de Guebriant, says he, in a letter of the ninth of September, 1659, is dead (31) at Perigueux: *She had not been sick above thirteen hours, and she is dead without confession. She was a partisan in that country, where she has been very much cursed. Ten days after, he spoke of her in the following manner. We hear that the lady de Guebriant is dead, attending upon the court. She was the marquis de Vardes's aunt, and never had any children: I believe she has left a good estate behind her. She died in four days, without confession. One might say of her, what Erasmus said in jest of a Franciscan, who died suddenly, Obiit sine cruce, sine lux, sine Deus (§ 2). It is said, she was very much in debt; but then the queen owed her 40000 pistoles, which she lent her during the siege of Paris.*

[§ 2] This saying occurs in the *Facetiae* of Bebelius, fol. 56. Edit. 1542. And Luther has likewise used it in his *Table-Talk*, Tom. 1. fol. 86. *Omnes*, says he of a good number of his adversaries, *mortui sunt sine cruce, et sine lux.* REM. CRIT.]

There being many things in Patin's letters, which he picked out as he was visiting his patients (32), I would not much rely upon what I have just quoted from him. I could easily believe this lady had a hand in finding out ways and means to raise money for the king, and that loving to make great expences, and to keep her self busy, the willingly turned her mind that way, and that therefore she was cursed in the places, wherein she shewed her skill in that point; but I do not think it was in Perigord (33). Doubtless she died in that province, as she was going through it, during the progress of the court into Guienne, when she expected to be soon first lady of honour to the queen; for no body doubted then of the king's marriage with the Infanta of Spain.

If the letters of that physician be reprinted, his mistakes should be rectified by way of notes, and a good alphabetical index should be added to them. But, before I proceed, I must quote another passage, concerning the family of Guebriant, out of one of the letters I have quoted. He says, that the countess de Moret, mistress to Henry IV, is famous in Barclay's *Euphormio*, under the name of *Cafina*; that it is in the place, where she was married to the count de Cessy-Sancy, who was afterwards ambassador at Constantinople, and that there is in it a description of a contract of marriage of a man, who is willing to be a cuckold, and engages to bear it; that, about the year 1618, she was married again to the marquis de Vardes, son of the good man, governor of la Chapelle, &c. He should have said la Capelle (34); he, who married the countess de Moret,

was also governor of that place. It might have been further said, that Henry IV stipulated with the count de Cessy, that he should leave that countess the very night of the wedding, which was done accordingly (35). The count does not make such a promise, in the *Euphormio*; but he promises in the contract not to meddle with the bride. Patin should not have omitted that particular. For the rest, the author, who published the key of the *Euphormio* (36), is mistaken in taking Olympion, who submitted to those terms, for the count de Moret.

[I] We shall see . . . the mistake of a German writer. Priolo's history was reprinted at Leipzig, the second time, in the year 1686, with the notes of a professor, called Franckenstein: they are not free from faults; nevertheless it appears from them, that the author was pretty well informed for a foreigner. That professor, having said, that Priolo does frequently tax the lady de Guebriant (37) with too great ambition, adds, that she gave a remarkable instance of it, when she demanded, at the court of the king of Poland, the same honours the arch-duchess of Austria had received there, when she brought her daughter, who was contracted to the king. He quotes Wicquefort in the second book *De l'Ambassadeur*, Sect. 8. pag. 134. But, besides that he should have quoted pag. 200, and not 134, he should also have cited the 594th page of the first book, where that arch-duchess is styled the mother of the queen of Poland, whom she brought. They are both mistaken as to that quality of the arch-duchess; for she was not the mother of the queen of Poland. That queen was daughter of the emperor Ferdinand II, and sister to the emperor Ferdinand III. And therefore were it true, that this queen was conducted into Poland by her mother, she would have been conducted thither by the empress, and not by the arch-duchess of Austria. Besides, that author should have said, the arch-duchess of Inspruc, and not the arch-duchess of Austria. Lastly, I observe, that Le Laboureur does not intimate, that the lady de Guebriant required the same honours, which the arch-duchess had received; he only says, that the king of Poland ordered it so: But Wicquefort is more concerned in this, than the professor of Leipzig. See what I have said about it in the remark [D].

[K] She caused her marriage to be declared void. Nothing can better discover her ambition than this. The count de Guebriant was a hopeful man, and very much esteemed at court; and his skill in the art of war made it very probable, that he would be preferred to the greatest posts. Our Renata du Bec found her man in him: she foresaw he would raise himself (38), and that she would have several opportunities of intriguing, whilst he commanded the armies: and therefore, tho' he was no rich man, she resolved to marry him, and to that end she got her marriage dissolved. Mr de la Barde will give us this account in good Latin. *Hæc mulier animo supra sexum valido est, cui videlicet nec prima, nec magna usque fuit sicuti vulgo mulierum solet, rei familiaris cura: primas, quia imparem animo, sicuti rebatur, virum nata erat, nuptias dedignata est, atque infirmas esse contendit, maluitque se I. Budæ Guebriani virtutis, quam alterius amplioris rei, ejus rationem, ut ferè sit, filiam collocando parentes habuerant, sociam esse. Ex illa secum, atque ex gloriâ viri postillâ multis rebus præclarè gestis celeberrimi communicatâ ita creverunt mulieris animi, ut magna, atque insolita moliretur (39).* — This lady had a strength of mind above her sex, since her domestic affairs were neither her principal, nor ever her great care, as is the case of most women; she disdained her first marriage, as being got a husband unequal, as she thought, in mind; and therefore she insisted it was void, and chose to share in the virtue of the count de Guebriant, rather than in the larger fortunes of another, a circumstance, which her parents, as is usual, had considered in marrying her. The share she had in her husband's glory so exalted her thoughts, that she attempted great and uncommon things.

(35) *Histoire des Amours d'Alexandre*, n. 70. It is said in the notes, that this count's name was Philip de Harlay, and that he died in May, 1652, aged 74 Years.

(36) See the Leyden edition, of *ad Hackium*, 1674, in 8vo.

(37) I have not observed that he taxes her with it in more than two places: The index made by Mr Franckenstein, tho' very large, only mentions one of them.

That author of the notes on Priolo has taken for daughter of the arch-duchess her that was not.

(38) That lady, who had a great deal of wit, received him with greater satisfaction, because she knew his noble extraction, and because she foresaw, that he would be quickly raised to the highest posts, by reason of his great endowments. Le Laboureur, *Histoire du Maréchal de Guebriant*, liv. 1, chap. vii, page 12.

(39) Laborien, ubi supra, lib. ix, pag. 619, 2d. ann. 1661.

[L] She

(20) *Hic erat noverca Maria Avacuria (d'Avagour) quam Hercules Rohanus Monsifonus pater ducum uxorem duxerat eximia per adolescentiam pulchritudine; tanquam vis boni in ipsa erat forma ut ne hanc quidem ætas extinguere, quo fidebat ut multi domum ejus frequentarent mulieris amore capiti, atque inter hos Henricus Guisus, vir d'Lotharinga gente Princeps. Prius Henricus Aurelius Longavilla apud hanc multus fuerat frequenter. Laboureur, lib. ii, pag. 72, ad ann. 1644.*

(30) These are Patriculus's words, lib. ii, cap. xlii. *Filiam Cæsaris Juliam . . . feminam neque sibi neque resp. felicitas uteri.*

(31) Father Auclair, *Histoire des Grands Officiers*, Tom. II, pag. 626; and after him Moret, in the article of the *Maréchal de Guebriant*, places her death on the second of September, 1659.

(32) See the *Memoirs*, pag. 279, of the first Dutch edition.

(33) Note, that, since this was printed in my *Project*, I have seen the verbal process of the funeral of *maréchal de Guebriant* (cited by Laboureur, in the history of that *maréchal*) where he is called count of Guebriant, and of Perigueux.

(34) Moret says also la Chapelle, in the article of du Bec.

Guebriant, a younger brother of an ancient family of Bretagne. She very much contributed to his being made a marechal of France [L].

[L] *She very much contributed to his being made marechal of France.* We have just now seen, that according to Mr de la Barde, she was none of those women, who, like the rest of her sex, take great care of their domestic concerns; she loved to negotiate at court. Le Laboureur observes (40), 'that he had been an eye-witness of the extraordinary care she took to solicit the ministers, that the army commanded by her husband should want nothing; and I can affirm, adds he, that the dignity of marshals of France belongs to her on a double account, because her husband is a marechal of France, and because she had a great share in the good success of his arms.'

(c) Hist. du
Marechal de
Guebriant, pag. 12.

GUESCLIN (a) (BERTRAND DU), constable of France, was one of the greatest captains of his time. However, we ought not to believe whatever the old chronicles say of him; for the authors of that sort of works were not yet cured of the distemper, which produced the histories of Roland, of Ogier the Dane, and the like. Our du Guesclin was a Breton, and did yet very great services to France during king John's imprisonment, and under the reign of Charles V. Being gone into Spain to assist Henry king of Castile, he did extraordinary things in that country. He returned into France, when the crown was secured to Henry by the death of Dom Pedro the Cruel, his competitor, and was very successful in recovering several countries from the English. He died in the year 1380, being sixty six years old, or thereabouts (b). He was a little man, and very ugly [A]. See his life, written by Mr du Chatelet [B].

It is better than that, which was printed in the year 1618, in very old French, out of which I shall set down a very remarkable passage quoted by some controversialists [C], to shew, that laymen had a right to administer the sacraments in certain cases of necessity.

[A] *He was a little man, and very ugly.* 'Tho' Bertrand du Guesclin was a little man, and very ugly, he was made constable of France, and was all along very much esteemed. It has been said in his favour, that nature seemed to have formed him such as he was, lest he should have something common with women: and had he spent every morning in adorning his head with a peruke, he had never made himself worthy of a never-dying lamp, and of being buried at the king's feet in St Denys's church (1).'

(1) La Methe le
Voyeur, letter
civ. Vol. XII,
pag. 15.

(2) So the letters
P. B. and D. C.
in the title-page,
ought to be ex-
plained.

(3) Journal des
Savans, June
21, 1666.

(4) Dreilincourt,
Triomphe de
l'Eglise, Part. II,
pag. 320, 321.

* This history of
Messire Bertrand
du Guesclin, con-
stable of France,
was printed at
Paris for Seba-
stien Cramoisy,
in 1618.

[B] *See his life published by Mr du Chatelet.* Menard published an old history of that hero in the year 1618, which had been written in 1387. But the reader ought to be referred to that, of which an extract was published in the *Journal des Savans* of the twenty first of June 1666. It had been lately published at Paris in folio by Messire Paul Hat, *Seigneur du Chatelet* (2): it is digested into a better order than the other; the style is incomparably more pure and elegant, and besides it is illustrated with many proofs (3).

[C] *I shall set down a very remarkable passage quoted by the controversialists.* Read these words of Mr Dreilincourt (4): 'we have a very remarkable example of of this lay-communion in our Histories of France', 'and a very clear proof that it was practised for a long time. For Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of

France, who lived in the reign of John and Charles V, kings of France, describing the battle of Pontvalin, in which he obtained a signal victory over the English, informs us, that his soldiers confessed their sins, and gave the communion one to another, before the battle.' But it is better to set down the words of the author: 'in that place, they eat bread and drank wine, which they had brought with them; and some of them took bread, and made the sign of the cross upon it, in the name of the holy sacrament; and having confessed their sins one to another, they used it instead of the communion (§ a). Afterwards, they said many prayers, beseeching GOD that he would preserve them from death, maiming, and imprisonment.' Grotius made use of the same passage in a dissertation, printed in 1638, *De Cane Administratione ubi Pastores non sunt*. See the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, pag. 115, 116. of the fourth volume.

[(§ a)] We meet with footsteps of these communions still more ancient, in our old romances; among others, in ch. 36. of the *Galien ressource*, in which Roland, wounded to death, and lying in a corn-field, administers the communion to himself with three ears of corn, in the name of the three persons of the holy Trinity. REM. CRIT.]

(a) This name is
written fourteen
several ways in
French books.
Guido Ludovicus
Longolius in
genealogia Lon-
golorum, apud
Menagium in
vita Petri Ero-
dii, pag. 6.

(b) Father An-
selme, Histoire
des Grands Offi-
ciers, pag. 37.

GUEVARA, (ANTONY DE), preacher and historiographer to the emperor Charles V, was born in the province of Alaba in Spain. He was brought up at court; but, after the death of queen Isabella of Castile, he turned a Franciscan monk, and had very honourable employments in his order. Afterwards, having made himself known at court, he was made preacher to Charles V, and was much esteemed for his politeness, eloquence, and great parts (a). He ought to have been contented with the glory he got by his tongue; for, pretending to write books, he made himself ridiculous to good judges. His high-flown and figurative style, full of antitheses [A], is not the greatest fault of his works. An ill taste, and a wrong notion of eloquence, put

(a) Nicol. Anto-
nius Biblioth.
Scriptor. Hispan.
Tom. I, pag. 98.

[A] *His high-flown and figurative style, full of antitheses.* A learned Jesuit passed this judgment upon it. 'Scriptit vernaculo sermone, in quo affectu schemata visus, pompa quadam tumens, & antithetis putide nimium iteratis lectorem ceneat: quin &, ut poetæ verbis utar, *projicit am- pulas & sesquipedalia verba* (1) — He wrote in his mother tongue, in which affecting too much a figurative style, and pomp of expression, he quite tires the reader with repeated antitheses; and, as the poet says, throws out big, swelling, many-footed words.' The judgment, which Matamoros, a Spanish writer, made of it, is not more advantageous

(1) Andr. Schott.
Biblioth. Hispan.
pag. 250.

to Guevara, than that of the Flemish Jesuit. You will find it in the following passage of Nicolas Antonio (2): 'Quantumvis stylus hominis non usquequaque placeat, neque in gymnasio rhetorum solidam reponitur eloquentiæ laudem. Cum præcipue Alphonsus & Garzia Matamoros & Andrea Scotto (qualis judicii & doctrinæ viris!) affectata nimium ab eo antithetorum sibi mutuo respondentium perpetua cura displicet maxime. Horum enim prior Matamoros in de *Academis & doctis viris Hispaniæ* Libello ingenue existimat virum fuisse miræ sacundia & incredibilis ubertatis naturæ, sed omnium rerum menta (ait) quod poetis objecit Persius, raris libratis in antithetis

(2) Nic. Anto-
nius, Biblioth.
Hispan. Tom. I,
pag. 98.

put him upon such a way of writing; which was an inconsiderable thing, if compared with his extravagant way of handling history [B]. He broke the most sacred and the most essential laws of it, with a boldness that cannot be sufficiently detested; and he shewed, that no man was ever so unworthy of the character of Chronicler to Charles V, which was given him. He alledged a very bad excuse, when he was censured for it [C]: he pretended, that, excepting the holy scriptures, all other

antithetis doctas posuisse figuras laudari contentus. Fulgurat interdum et tonat, sed non totam (ut olim Pericles Atheniensis) dicendo commovet civitatem, et dum nihil vult, nisi eulte et splendide dicere, saepe incidit in ea quae derisum effugere non possunt. Qui si illam (subjungit) extra-ripas effluentem verborum copiam artificio dicendi repressisset, et graviorum artium instrumento locupletasset, dubito quidem an patrem in eo eloquentiae genere in Hispania esset inventurum. — Tho' this author's style be not altogether pleasing, nor merits true praise in the school of the rhetoricians. Particularly Alphonsus Garfias Metamorus, and Andreas Scotus, men of great learning and judgment, are bigbly displeased with that perpetual affectation of antitheses. The former of these, Metamorus, in his book, de Academiis & doctis viris Hispaniae, owns that he was a writer of wonderful eloquence, and incredible fertility of genius; but (says he) he fell into the fault, which Persius objects to the poets, of perpetually playing with antitheses. He sometimes thunders and lightens, but does not, as formerly Pericles the Athenian did, shake a whole state with his eloquence; and whilst he aims at elegance, he often falls into those things which expose him to laughter. Had this author (he goes on) kept the torrent of his eloquence within bounds, I question whether Spain could have shewn an author equal to him. It is in vain, and thro' a blind conceitedness, that Wadding (3) taxes Father Schottus with envy.

[B] His extravagant way of handling history. The liberty he took to falsify whatever he pleased, and to advance, as true matter of fact, the meer inventions of his shallow brains, comes near that of the writers of romances. The latter deceive no body; for they do not require, that whatever they say should be accounted true: the only thing they are fond of, is, that their fictions should be approved as being ingeniously contrived; but Guevara pretended, that what he advanced, should be looked upon as historical facts taken from good authors. He was therefore a public poisoner, and a seducer, and deserved to be punished as a prophane and sacrilegious man, at the tribunal of the commonwealth of learning; for he violated the most sacred laws of history. Nicolas Antonio is too indulgent. 'Illud, says he (4), commiseratione potius quam excusatione indiget, talis famae virum putasse licere sibi ad inventionem proprii ingenii pro antiquorum proponere, & commendare, factus suos aliis supponere, ac denique de universa omnium temporum historia, tanquam de Aesopi fabulis, portento sine Luciani narrationibus ludere. — It deserves our pity rather than our censure, that a writer of such fame should think himself at liberty to forge ancient facts, and to play with the history of the world, as with Aesop's fables, or Lucian's monstrous stories.' See the whole extent of his impostures in the article RUA: I have also touched upon them in other places (5).

[C] He was censured. Peter Rua, professor at Soria, did not suffer the boldness of this author to go unpunished. He wrote strongly against him, as may be seen in his article. Here follows the judgment that Vossius passed upon the pretended life of Marcus Aurelius, written by Guevara: 'Vita illa M. Aurelii Antonini, quae ab Antonio Guevara, Mendonensi Episcopo, & Caesari Carolo V. à consiliis, Hispanice edita est, eaque de lingua in alias permutas translata fuit, nihil Antonini habet; sed tota est supposititia, ac genuinum Guevarae ipsius foris: qui turpiter os oblevit leclori, plane contra officium hominis candidi, maxime Episcopi. Habet interim plurima lectu nec inutilia nec injuncta imprints viro principi: unde & Horologium principum inscribitur (6). — That life of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which is published in Spanish by Antony Guevara, bishop of Mondoneda, and privy counsellor of the emperor Charles V, and translated from thence into many other languages, has nothing in

it of Antoninus; but the whole is fictitious, and the genuine offspring of Guevara himself: who scandalously imposes upon the reader, plainly against the duty of an honest man, but especially of a bishop. In the mean time, he has many things not unuseful or unpleasant, especially to a prince; whence it is intitled, the Dial of Princes. I quote Martin Schoockius in the margin (7): he knew very well the faults of that Spaniard; but, because he goes upon Rupertus's authority, it will not be improper to set down somewhat at large the words of that learned German (8). Eandem quoque imposturam notaram in eodem Guevara, quem obi id tanta Imperatoris sui, tanta nostrorum hominum benevolentia prorsus indignum studiosae juventutis manibus excussum ibam. Refert lib. I. Horologii Principum c. i. gentem apud Romanos fuisse Clavillam magno in honore, quae se originem ducere gloriatur à Camillo ducum Romanorum celeberrimo, viros ex ea Camillos, Feminas Clavillas dictas in memoriam filiae Clavillae, quae abhorrens nuptias in Virginum Vestalium numerum cooptari voluerit. Mortuam divinis honoribus cultam, ejusque monumento inscriptos fuisse hos versiculos.

Unica sub tumulo jacet hoc Clavilla Camilli,

Nata quater denos et sex quae maluit annos

Vivere Vestales inter conclusa sorores

Magno Trinacriae quam nubere libera Regi.

Quam Miserum! extinguit nunc artus rodere vermes

Actus qui vitam puri effluisse per omnem.

Hoc Epitaphium addit à Graeco translatus esse, & paullo post, multa refert de Camillorum praerogativa, de perfectionibus eorumdem sub Sylla, quae omnia putida, vana & falsa, nec cuiquam Historicorum veterum tradita, quamvis ille Cinnam & Pollionem laudet scriptores quos tot anni & profunda seculorum oblivio fere cogitationibus hominum & memoriae, ne dum oculis exemit. — I had observed the same imposture in the same Guevara, whom for that reason I endeavoured to take out of the hands of our young students, as being unworthy of the favours of his master the emperor, and our countrymen: he relates book i. ch. i. of his Dial of Princes, that the family of the Clavilla were bad in great honour at Rome, which pretended to derive its origin from Camillus, a most famous Roman general; that the males of that family were called Camilli, the females Clavillae, in memory of his daughter Clavilla, who, abhorring marriage, chose to become a Vestal virgin: that, after her death, divine honours were paid to her, and this epitaph inscribed on her tomb.

Here lies Clavilla, only daughter of Camillus, who chose to live forty six years among the Vestal sisters, a prisoner, rather than to marry, at liberty, the great king of Sicily. Sad fate! the worms now feed upon those limbs, which shone pure and undefiled thro' her whole life.

He adds, that this epitaph was translated out of the Greek, and, immediately after, he relates many things concerning the privileges of the Camilli, and of their persecutions under Sylla; every word of which is idle stuff, and falsehood, nor mentioned by any one ancient historian; tho' he cites two authors, Cinna and Pollio, authors unheard of for so many centuries. I have quoted this long passage at length, because it contains a specimen, where by one may better judge of Guevara's impudence, than by what I have said of it in general. The learned Antonius Augustinus has very well described the faults of that man. Antonius Guevara, says he (9), 'qui scire antiquas Romanasque Historias fingit, eaque comminiscitur quae nec via nec audita quae Dial. x. mortalibus, nemo ut divinare queat in quos ille libros pag. m. 152. incidit. Nova itaque nomina scriptorum excogit. Sic al. pag. 159. tavit, somniaque vendidit obtruditque quae apud nullum

(3) An Irish Franciscan, in his book, De Scrip-toribus Ordinis Minorum, apud Nicol. Anton. ibid.

(4) Bibl. Hist. Tom. I, pag. 99.

(5) In the articles LAIS, remark [U]; and LAMIA, remark [L]. He is the author of the fabulous stories, which Brantome relates, in the article of the second FLORA, remark [F].

(6) Vossius, de Histor. Graecis, pag. 226.

(7) Quod speciatim quoque de Guevara... vocato etiam ad suffragium Reine... docet Cl. Rupertus ad Florum, l. ii, cap. xvii, §. 17, quo loco, ubi specimen imposturarum ipsius proposuisset, haec subiicit: Taceo innumeras alios fraudes, quibus mendaciorum auctori streuitus, et id maxime agit, ne ab Hispanica veritate desistere videatur. — Which is particularly true of Guevara, even from the testimony of Reine's refutation, as we learn from Rupertus on Florus, l. ii, cap. xvii, §. xviii, in which place having given a specimen of his impostures, he adds, I omit innumerable other frauds, by which he sacrifices to the father of lies, and does it chiefly, that he may not be thought deficient in Spanish vanity. Martinus Schottus de fabulis Hamelst. pag. 87.

(8) Rupertus, ubi supra.

(9) Anton. Au-

(b) *Ibid.*
(c) Vankelius,
Prefat. Versionis
Horolog. Principi-
um, not learning
that Guevara had
this rum by hap-
pence, knew not
how to reconcile
this rum call him
bishop of Guadix,

histories are too uncertain [D] to be credited. Being in the emperor's retinue, he saw a great part of Europe (b), and was made bishop of Guadix in the kingdom of Granada, and then bishop of Mondonedo in Galicia (c). He died the tenth of April 1544, after he had been possessed of that dignity for some years (d). It is a fiction to say, that he was beatified by the court of Rome [E]. The eagerness of foreigners, in translating some of his works into several languages, cannot be sufficiently admired [F]. I shall

give

with those who
call him bishop of
Mondonedo.
(d) Quia dignitate
aliquot annis po-
ssa obijt. Nicol.
Anton. ubi supra.
Moret! therefore
should not have
said, that Gue-
vara did not enjoy
it long.

'nullum reperias auctorem. — Antonius Guevara, who pretends to be skilled in the ancient Roman history, and invents such things, as were never seen or heard of, and which no one can tell whence he had them. He even invents new names of authors, and publishes idle stories, not to be met with in any author.'

[D] He pretended, that . . . histories are too uncertain.] He alleged this excuse, when he found himself non-plussed by the learned Peter Rua. 'Adeo in lubrico esse omnem veterum factorum fidem causabatur, ut non alius diceret quam Sacrorum Bibliorum historiis præstandam: nempe hoc velamenti genus sibi à tam parum æquo de præstantissima arte iudicio tunc quæsit cum è Sorienis Scholæ cathedra vir eximie eruditionis Petrus Rua cum de fide in historiis præstanda non semel datis admonuit expostulatoris li-

(10) Nicol. An-
ton. ubi supra,
pag. 99.

teris (10). — He pretended, by way of excuse, that that ancient facts were so little to be depended upon, that the holy scripture alone deserves to be believed. This was the false pretence, under which he endeavoured to screen himself, when the very learned Peter Rua admonished him by several expostulatory letters, concerning the credit due to history. It was a poor excuse; for though historical Scepticism were as well grounded as some pretend, yet an author would not be allowed to advance, that Cicero or Cæsar said or did a certain thing invented by himself. Every body would be obliged to ascribe nothing to them but what is to be found in ancient monuments. An author ought not to go by particular rules of his own; he must conform to public rules: but, according to the public laws in point of history, what is proved by the testimony of grave authors is admitted; and whatever a modern writer advances concerning antiquity, without taking it from good historians, is rejected as a fable: and therefore, whatever opinion Guevara had of ancient history, whether he believed it to be true, false, or doubtful, he should have cited what he found in it, and only that, otherwise he deserves to be treated like a public seducer. Rua confused that subterfuge, and wrote against him, in vindication of the truth of history. Another author (11) did likewise enter the lists, to run down Guevara's principles. 'Cujus rei etiam nomine doctissimus ille Theologorum locorum scriptor libri secundi sexto capite in Guevaræ hoc, indignum eo, ac dignitate ejus, five judicium, five, quod magis credere est, ingenii luxuriantis licentiam, acri, quod deuit, oratione invehitur. Præsertim cum Chronographi munus regio beneficio apud Carolum exerceret, neutiquam debuit eam qua ornabatur historiarum professionem sic deprimeret, ut propria confessione sibi ipsi quoque & monumentis suis fidem apud posteris derogaret (12). — Upon which account, likewise, the learned writer of the Theological

(11) Melchior
Cama.

(12) Nicol. An-
ton. *Ibid.*

Common-places, in the sixth chapter of the second book, inveighs sharply against this opinion, or rather wanton liberty, of Guevara, so unworthy of him, and of his dignity. Especially, considering he was chronicler to the emperor Charles, he ought by no means to have so depressed the authority of history, which was his profession, as, by his own confession, to take away all credit from himself and his writings to all posterity.

(13) For April
1585, Art. 7,
pag. 410, 411.

Mention is made, in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (13), of a certain Triumvirate, to which Guevara might be added. That Triumvirate is made up, I. of Father Morin, who, 'three years after the taking of Rochelle, maintained still that it had not been taken, and that all the reports that went about it were meer romance.' II. Of a famous and dreadful logician, who told a gentleman, who had been saying, that he had seen the duke d'Epemont at Plaisance, that cannot be . . . for four undeniable reasons, and I will make it out that this duke must necessarily be at London . . . It is more probable that the eyes are mistaken, than reason . . . The news in question implies a moral contradiction, and perhaps a physical one.' III. Of a man, who told Isaac Vol-

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fius 'that after long and intent meditations, he had writ a book, wherein he shewed by invincible arguments, that whatever is contained in Cæsar's commentaries, concerning the wars of Gaul, is false; and besides, that Cæsar never went beyond the Alps.'

[E] It is a fiction to say that he was beatified by the court of Rome.] Don Nicholas Antonio quotes an author, who composed the martyrology of the Franciscans, and said, that the holy see, after the necessary informations, solemnly declared, that Guevara is one of the beatified persons, and ought to be looked upon as such. *Nescio unde Arcturus, à Monasterio Franciscani Martyrologii auctor rem alii inditam, inauditam acceperit.* Antonium ut Guevaram Octobris die xxiv in albo eorum collocaret quos Apostolica Petri sedes Beatos esse atque appellari debere, acceptis prius exquisitisque probationibus, rite sanxit (14). This is a greater boldness than that of Guevara. If this fact had any appearance of truth, how comes it to be mentioned only by one author? the silence of all others is a demonstrative proof against the author of the Martyrology.

[F] One cannot sufficiently admire the eagerness of foreigners, in translating some of his works into several languages.] The *Dial of Princes* was translated into Italian by Mambrin Rosco in 1548, and into French in 1588 (§ 2). Frederic William duke of Saxony caused it to be printed in Latin, with notes and aphorisms, by John Vankelius in 1611, in folio. That edition was reprinted at Leipzig in 1615, and 1624, and at Frankfurt in 1664 (15). Emericus Calaubonus in prologo sic feliciter Guevaræ suam contigisse fictionem confirmat, omnium sit ut hic liber ubique gentium celebratissimus, Europæique omnes suo uniuscujusque idiomate loquentem thesauri ad instar habeant, mirificæque ejus possessione fruatur (16). — Emericus Casaubon, in the prologue, assures us, that Guevara's fiction succeeded so well with him, that that book was in great reputation all over the whole world, and translated into every language of Europe, as a most valuable treasure. This I take from Nicolas Antonio: he says, Vankelius's edition was made at Torgau in 1611; but he should have added that this edition of the year 1611 is the third. I rather think that it came out at Leipzig than at Torgau; for the translator opposes it to that of Torgau, which was the first (17), and which appeared in the year 1601. The second came out in 1606. Guevara's epistles have been translated into Italian and French. The Jesuit Schotus very justly laughs at those, who valued those two books in France. 'Nam Principum Horologium, says he, pag. 215. of his Bibliotheca Hispanica, 'seu de vita M. Aurelii Imperatoris, & Faustine Conjugis conficta sunt, non ex historiis petita: ne quis erret, ut in Gallia, ubi cupide nimis in sinu olim nobilium, manibusque gestatum fuisse memini; ut & Epistulas ejus nauci plenas & ineptiarum, Aurearum titulo transcribere non iidem dubitarunt (18): sed quas illi legant, per me licet, quibus meliora non suppetunt, aut capere non possunt. — For the Dial of Princes, or the life of M. Aurelius the Emperor, and his wife Faustina, is a meer fiction, not borrowed from history: that no one may be deceived, as in France, where I remember it was too much in request among the nobility; who made no scruple likewise of translating the same author's nauseous and trifling Epistles under the name of Golden: which those may read, for me, who have nothing better, or know no better.' And he says pag. 567. 'M Aurelii Antonini vita & Faustinae ejusdem Guevaræ, ridicula est & meræ nugæ; quam tamen Galli applausu magno exceperunt, sæpius verterunt, edideruntque, & nobiles plerique manibus gestant: sed quid mirum quibus Amadisius Gallicus, & Orlandus Furiosus, ceteraque ægrorum somnia placeant, quæ, qui sapiet, ne horas collocaet male, fugiet. — The life of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and Faustina, by the same Guevara, is ridiculous, and meer trifling; which yet the French received with great applause, often translated, and published; and which

(14) Nicol. An-
ton. ubi supra.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) Certa cum
spe quanto hæc
editio primæ illi
TORGÆNSI
quoad typos
chartasque est si-
milior, tanto et-
iam fore ad le-
ctionem frequen-
torem quam se-
cunda fuit.
Vankelius, Epist.
Dedicat.

(18) Montagne's
Essays, lib. 1,
cap. xlviii, pag.
m. 493.

Y y

give a catalogue of his writings [G]. I have something to add to what I have said of his *Dial of Princes* [H], and I will shew, that, if the French are to blame for having highly valued such a book, the Spaniards, who have esteemed it still more, deserve more to be laughed at.

'most of the nobility are very fond of: but what wonder, since the same persons were pleased with *Amadis of Gaul*, *Orlando Furioso*, and such like sick mens dreams; which a man of sense will avoid, that he may not misemploy his time.'

[(a)] There has been two French translations of this book, published at about sixty years distance: the first of Bernard de la Grise, in 4to, in the Gothic letter, 1531, reprinted in 16mo, with a fine letter, by John de Tournes, Lyons 1550: the second of Nicolas de Herberay, Sieur des Essars, reprinted several times. To these two different translations, the last of which, by the by, is castrated of several chapters, alludes the *scipius ceterunt* of the Jesuit Schottus, REM. CRIT.]

[G] I shall give a catalogue of his writings. I have mentioned the most famous, which is intitled in Spanish, *Relox de principes: à Marco Aurelio*. It is thought the first edition is of the year 1529. It was followed by some others before the author published it himself. He complained, that it had been taken from him tho' imperfect, and made public without his knowledge. His letters were printed the first time in 1539; and since in several places, and at several times. His other works are, *Prologo solenne, en que el autor toca muchas historias. Una decada de las vidas de los X. Cesares Emperadores Romanos desde Trajano à Alexandro. Del menos precio de la Corte y alabanza de la Aldea. Doctrina de privados, y doctrina de Cortesanos* (19). *De los inventores del marear y de muchos trabajos que se pasan en las Galeras* (20). *Monte Calvario, fove de mysteriis Dominica passionis ac de verbis Domini in Cruce pendenti* (21). *Oratorio de eligiosos y exercicio de virtuosos*. He was about a history of Charles V, and it is said, he ordered by his will, that the pension of historiographer should be restored (22) to that emperor, which he had received, for one year, wherein he had bestowed no time upon that history. (23).

[H] I have something to add to what I have said of his *Dial of Princes*. He declares, that this work (24) was a translation of the life of Marcus Aurelius, and that the original had been sent to him from Florence (25). He confesses, that he had not confined himself to translate it word for word, and that he had added many things to it. He begun this work in the year 1518, and finished it in the year 1524: 'and tho' during those six years, says he (26), I kept my book secret, nevertheless it was divulged: for the emperor, being ill of an ague, sent for it, to pass away the time, and divert his distemper. Wherefore in obedience to his intention, I myself carried him Marcus Aurelius, without it's having been revised, corrected, or finished, humbly beseeching him, in recompence of my labour, that he would not suffer it to be transcribed, nor taken out of his royal apartment, otherwise his majesty would do me a great prejudice, because, in pursuing and finishing my undertaking, he would know, that my intention was not only to publish Marcus Aurelius, just as it was, but to add to it many sentences worthy of recom-

mendation: notwithstanding this, it unfortunately happened, that the book was stolen, and afterwards copied by several hands, by which means it became every day more incorrect and faulty; for there was but one original to correct it by: it is true, some persons brought me some copies, to revise and correct them; but, if they could speak, they would complain more of those, who have copied them, than I of the thieves, who stole them; and, what is worse, about the time when my labour was near at an end, ready to disperse the fruit, Marcus Aurelius was printed at Sevil, and soon after in Portugal, and in the kingdom of Arragon, in such a manner, that, if the first edition was bad, the others were more so. Judge from hence, whether the Spaniards deserve less than the French the galleries of Andrew Schottus (27). Perhaps, he knew not, that there were Frenchmen, who despised the epistles of Guevara, of which, says Montagne (28), those who call them golden make a judgment very different from what I do. It must be owned, however, that they imposed upon a great many Frenchmen, and that the *Dial of Princes* met with very good success in France. It was printed there several times. I make use of an edition of Lyons, by Benoit Rigaud, 1592, in 12mo, and I see, in the title, that the work was translated out of Castilian into French by R. B. de Grise. Afterwards revised and corrected by N. de Herberay, lord des Essars, beyond the preceding editions. The epistle dedicatory to cardinal de Givri is not signed. I there find, that the lord des Essars died whilst he was translating this work. 'We have therefore, continues he, only the first book of his translation, in which we still find some loose sheets, in so poor a condition, that it is impossible to read them: for which reason the work has been continued from the old translation, after having been corrected, from the Spanish copy, of an infinite number of faults, and altered as to certain phrases, contrary to our language, which often obscure the sense of the author, and sometimes are entirely repugnant to his meaning.'

The Italians likewise have more than once translated this book. I have spoken of the version made by Mambri Rosco, and I add, that Fausto da Longiano gave another, which was printed in the year 1546, in 8vo. He added some things to it, which were not in the Spanish original, and he replaced those, which the other Italian translation had retrenched from the same original. He lays open, in his preface, the liberty Guevara gave himself of advancing facts which were not true. His criticism is good and learned. He promised a life of M. Aurelius, composed from the testimony of the ancient historians, in order to set in comparison with this, which the Spanish writer had forged. He represents himself as one, who applies himself to more serious studies, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, than such as translating a Spanish book into Italian, and he gives us hopes of his Latin works.

GUICCIARDIN (FRANCIS), descended from one of the most noble and ancient families of Florence, and author of an history very much esteemed [A], and of some other works (a), was born in that town the sixth of March 1482. He was professor

(10) It was translated into French with this title, *Revellematin des Courtisans*, by Alexander Hardy, a Parisian. I make use of the second edition printed at Paris in 1623, in 8vo.

(20) Du Pinet translated it into French.

(21) Wadding has made two books of one: He thought that the book *De verbis Domini in cruce*, was different from Monte Calvario. Nicol. Anton. ibid.

(22) Egidius Gonzales Davila affirms this, speaking of the bishop of Mondone-do in his *Thatr. Ecclesiasticum*, apud Nicol. Anton. pag. 100.

(23) Ex Nicol. Anton. ubi supra, pag. 99.

(24) Guevara, in the Prologue of the *Dial of Princes*.

(25) He had just been saying, that ten books of the emperor Augustus, intitled, *Of the Cantabrig War*, had been sent to him from Cologne. Thus he advances two impostures.

(26) Preface to the *Dial of Princes*.

(a) See Remark [H].

(1) Bullart, Academi. des Sciences, Tom. 4, pag. 151, says, it begins with the entrance of the French into Italy in the year 1490, and ends with the pontificate of Paul III, in 1535. The French entered not into Italy before the year 1494.

(2) Made the 13th of Oct. 1534.

[A] He is author of an history very much esteemed. It contains, in twenty books, the transactions in Italy, from the year 1494, to the year 1532. I confine it within these bounds (1), because the author of his life will have it so; but I must observe, that the historian goes back as far as the state that Italy was in, in the year 1490, and ends with the death of Clement VII, and the election of Paul III (2). It is true, he is very short in his account of what passed in the last years of Clement VII, especially from the year 1530. This history has been translated out of Italian into several languages. Cælius Secundus Curio published it in Latin, at Basil, in 1566. One Jerome

Chomedei, a Parisian, published it in French at Paris in 1568. The English have it in their own language, as appears from the catalogue of the Bodleian library. The Spaniards, the Germans, and the Dutch, have also translated it into theirs (3). The best Italian edition is that, which is illustrated with the marginal notes of Thomas Porcacchi. The first edition of that nature is of Venice in 1573 (4). This history did not appear till after Guicciardin's death; and it was Agnolo Guicciardin his nephew, who published it. The Protestants took care to preserve the fragments, that were left out, because the court of Rome did not like them. They published them by themselves at several

(27) Produced in Remark [F].

(28) *Essays*, book 1, c. ap. XLVIII, pag. m. 498.

(3) Bullart, *ibid.*

(4) Possevin. *Bibl. Select. Tom. II, lib. xvi, cap. xli, pag. 337.*

feffor of the civil-law, being twenty three years of age; but he rather chose to follow the law, than to teach it, as he had done before. He became a very famous advocate, inasmuch that he was thought fit to be employed in state-affairs. He was sent ambassador to the court of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, in January 1512. His embassy lasted two years, and proved very glorious to him; for, at his return to Florence, he met with a kind reception, and was very well approved. Some time after, he entered into the service of Leo X, who made him governor of Modena and Reggio. He defended Parma with great success, after the death of that Pope, and continued in the same governments under Hadrian VI, and Clement VII. Besides, he was made governor of Romagna, under Clement VII, and lieutenant of the army, and shewed, that he was as great a captain, as a good negotiator. He was governor of Bologna, when that Pope died, and took care that the enemies, he had gained by an exact observation of justice, should not take advantage of the *Interregnum*, to his prejudice. The new Pope bestowed that government upon another; whereupon Guicciardin returned to Florence, where he settled, till he died. He did great services to the house of Medicis, and would not accept the offers of Paul III, who desired to take him into his service. He had a wife, but no sons, and therefore he considered, that he could not be preferred to ecclesiastical benefices, nor procure any to his sons: besides, being afraid that he could not serve the Pope, without disobliging sometimes the duke of Florence, he rather chose to live a quiet life in his country-house, and to spend his time in writing the history he had undertaken. He was advanced very far in it, when he died of a malignant fever, in May 1540, being fifty five years of age. He desired to be buried without pomp, and without an epitaph or funeral oration (b). His history of Italy is very good. Many look upon him as an impartial historian, who flatters no body, and blames only what is to be blamed; but some are of opinion, that he shews too great a partiality against France [B], or that he

(b) Taken from his Life, written by Father Remi de Florence. Prefixed to his History of Italy.

(5) They published several times (5). Heidegger, last of all, inserted, in his *Historia Papatus* (6), the fragment of the fourth book. Varillas affirms, that Guicciardin's heirs presumed to publish, against his intention, the four last books in the third edition. I shall enquire into the truth of it hereafter (7). Note, that Sansovino published an epitome of that history, and that Guicciardin designed, in imitation of Cæsar, to write some memoirs concerning the actions of his life; but James Nardi, whom he consulted about it, made him resolve to undertake a nobler work, viz. a history of his own times. He took him to be a man well qualified for such an undertaking, knowing, that neither fear nor hope would hinder him from discharging the duties of a faithful historian. Besides, had he confined himself to the history of his own life, he might have exposed himself to the envy of the Florentines.

(6) Printed at Amsterdam in 1684. See the *Novelles de la Republique des Lettres* for May 1684, page 316, of the 2d edition.

(7) In the *Remarques* [H].

(8) The author of Guicciardin's Life.

(9) Claud. Verulam, in *Censura Astorum*, apud Pope Blount, pag. 390.

Fin da lui dissiuaso, e' essortato a scriuere l'Historia de suoi tempi, si perche lo conuoleua d'ingegno, atto a condurre un'impresa così fatta a perfezzione; e perche anche sapeua molto bene, che egli era per descriver la pura verità, senza rispetto di paura, o speranza di premio, delle quali due corruttele par che sieno stati ne' tempi passati, e sieno ancor hoggi corrotti quasi tutti gli Scrittori; si ancora perche fuggisse l'invidia de' suoi Cittadini, e l'bisogno universale de l'haver voluto celebrare solamente se stesso (8).

[B] Some think, that he shews too great a partiality against France. I shall set down a long passage of Claudius du Verdier (9). 'Guicciardinus tam frigide invitique Gallorum victorias & gloriam narrat, quam accuratè lubensque, adversa quæque, quantumvis minima, à fortunæ potentissimo belli numine ejaculata: quemadmodum sarcinarum in alicujus fluminis traiectione submerfionem persequitur, atque dilatat. Dum videt Carolo VIII totam Italiam ab Alpibus ad Neapolim nemine penitus obfistente occupanti, victoriam absque suspitione falsi adimi non posse, in Gallorum quorundam militum internecione paucorumque, quâ sine victoria obtineri non potuit, totus est, magnam eam appellans stragem; Carolo tamen agri dominium superstitiisse diffiteri non ausus est. Sed quæ de victoribus strages fieri potuit? Si de suis sermonem instituit, eis semper plus meritis attribuit, & regionis laudes magis, quam suæ gentis res gestas persequitur, unde maxima laus ducenda est. Guicciardin relates as coldly, and as much against his will, the victories and glory of the French, as he does accurately, and readily, every the least unfortunate event, such as the loss of baggage in passing a river, on which he descants at large. Whilst he sees, that he cannot, without suspicion of falsehood, deny the success of Charles VIII in conquering all Italy, from the Alps to Naples, without any resistance,

he dwells wholly on the putting to death of a few French soldiers, without which the victory could not have been obtained, calling it a great slaughter; at the same time not daring to deny, that Charles remained master of the field. But what slaughter could be made of conquerors? But, when he is to speak of his own party, he ever attributes more to them than they deserve, and rather expatiates in praise of the country, than relates the actions of his own countrymen, whence the greatest praise is to be fetched. If this censure be well grounded, Guicciardin made himself ridiculous, and as our gazetteers do. They afford sport every day; for, to give an instance of it, when the French are encamped beyond the Rhine, the gazetteer of the contrary party speaks of nothing but of their parties beaten, of the prisoners made upon them, and of their deserters. The Paris gazette says nothing of all this; but then the French gazetteer enlarges upon the losses of the allies, and the contributions they are forced to pay. When the Germans march into the territories of France, as they did in the autumn of the year 1694, the French gazetteer does not forget to take notice of their parties that are defeated, or obliged to surrender: he speaks of nothing else. On the contrary, the gazetteer of the allies, forgetting all those things, keeps a very exact account of all the villages plundered by the Germans, of all the magazines burnt, of all the French parties beaten, &c. There are a thousand unlucky reasons for using such a method in those daily writings (10); but an historian, who does the same, is wholly inexcusable. He ought to relate the losses and advantages of his party with the same exactness. Is there any that does it?

La Popeliniere is one of those, who tax Guicciardin with too great a partiality against France. 'He is a free and sincere writer, says he (11), exempt from passion, but not from hatred, which he could not conceal against the French, the duke of Urbino, and others. . . . nay, he could not forbear resenting the injury, which the Italians continually complain, in their words and writings, to have received from the French, when they disturbed the long and profound repose of Italy under the reign of Charles VIII. . . . though it be an improper subject for Guicciardin and most Italian authors to shew their animosity: and I cannot apprehend upon what grounds he says, that that king was a man of a monstrous shape.' La Popeliniere confutes this with many tedious words: he should have been contented with the following passage. 'If king Charles had been such a man, or any thing like it, let any body judge, whether the other Italians, as great enemies to the French as Guicciardin, (who has only men-

AN OBSERVATION upon Gazetteers.

(10) See the *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme*, Lett. II, pag. 27 of the 3d edition.

(11) La Popeliniere, *Histoire des Histoires*, livr. vii. pag. 406.

he dwells too much upon inconsiderable things [C], or that he has inserted too many prolix harangues [D], or that he is too apt to ascribe actions to bad motives [E]. Cardinal Palavicini is not favourable to him: I will mention what he says of him [F]. As for Guicciardin's style, his most unjust censurers acknowledge, that it is very pure and exact; but they make a great difference between the first books, and the following, because they suppose, that the first five books were corrected by an able hand (c). Father Possévin blames him for ascribing to fate and fortune the success of wars, and the revolutions of states: he is willing to believe, that it does not proceed from an error of his mind, and that it is only an effect of custom; but he

tiam concinnita-
temque conce-
dunt: in ceteris
libris non item,
quos nullius cen-
suræ, ut priores
quinque subjece-
rat. *Nic. Eryth.*
Pinac. III, pag.
220.

(e) Cui etiam illi
qui eidem sunt in-
niquissimi in pri-
mis quinque libris,
quos eruditi cu-
jusquam viri lima
perpolitos fuisse
contendunt, om-
nem Florentini
sermonis elegan-

tioned the virtues he could not deny, without being taxed with lying) would not have stuffed their writings with it before and after him : but no man among christian nations did ever reflect upon that king in his life-time (12). Not to refer it to another time, I shall mention the other faults, for which that writer blames Guicciardin. They are the same that have been observed by others, as it will appear by the following remarks. ' I do not find, *says he* (13), any thing in him, for which he ought to be more valued than others, except his great freedom of speaking of great men, and his care to inquire into the causes and motives of several actions. But he is so prolix, and so full of harangues, and considerable things not worth mentioning, that, if some author had gone before him in boldly laying open the faults of eminent men, he would not have been much esteemed. But it is well known how much the minds of men are affected with a remarkable novelty : and yet he has done himself a great deal of injury by not keeping within due bounds, and by preferring the regard he had for his country, to the duty of an historian, and even of a Christian, and a man of honour, to whom such things ought to be indifferent.'

(12) Ibid. pag.
410.

(13) Ibid. pag. 412.

(15) Lipsius, in
Notis ad I Lib.
Politie, cap. ix.

[C]. . . or that he dwells too much upon inconsiderable things.] It is Lippius's opinion (14). 'Vitia duo propria hujus ævi non effugit, quod & iusto longior est, & quod minutissima quæque narret, parum ex lege aut dignitate historiar, quæ, ut Ammianus, lib. 26. ait *Discurrere per negotiorum celstuidines assueta, non humilium minutias indagare cau-
rum.* — He did not escape the two faults peculiar to this age: I mean, that he is too prolix, and too particular, contrary to the law and dignity of history, which, as Ammianus, book 26, says, is wont to dwell on the summit of affairs, not to descend into a minute recital of every little spring of action.'

(15) Id. *ibid.*

[D] . . . or that he has inserted too many prolix *barangues*.] Besides what you will see in the passage out of Montaigne in the following remark, here are Lippius's words (15). 'Sed non orationes ejus satis "vegetæ mihi aut castigatæ, languent sæpe aut solutæ" vagantur. Denique, uno verbo, inter nostros summus est historicus: inter veteres, mediocris. — But his *barangues* appear to me to be incorrect, and sometimes spiritless and tedious: In a word, among the moderns, he is one of the best historians; among the ancients, but indifferent.'

[E] *or that he is too apt to ascribe actions to bad motives.* It is Montagne's opinion, who assumes a spirit of charity for mankind in that respect. Many others will not believe, that Guicciardin deserves to be censured upon that account : but let us see what Montagne says, both upon what concerns the text of this remark, and in general about the character of that famous historian. ' It is not at all likely, that he has misrepresented things out of hatred, love, or vanity ; and one may be convinced of it by the judgment he freely passes upon great men, and especially upon those, by whom he had been raised and employed, as Pope Clement VII. As for that part of his history, of which he seems to be most proud, *viz.* his digressions and discourses ; some of them are very good, and adorned with fine strokes ; but he is too fond of them. For, being willing to omit nothing, and having a very full, and, as it were, an infinite subject, he grows weak by it, and his history favours of scholastic prattling. I have also observed, that, among so many events and counsels, about which he gives his judgment, he never ascribes any to virtue, religion, and conscience, as if those things were wholly banished from the world : and

he imputes all actions, tho' they appear never so fine,
to a vicious principle, or self-interest. It is impossible
to believe, that, among such a vast number of actions,
none should have been produced by a reasonable motive. Men can never be so generally
corrupt, but some will avoid the contagion:
which makes me afraid, that Guicciardin had a
vicious taste, and perhaps he judg'd of others by
himself (16).'

[F] I will mention what cardinal Palavicini says of him.] First, he taxes him with three fallacies, and then judges of him in general. The first fallacy concerns Hadrian VI. The cardinal pretends, that Guiciardini should not have said *, that, on the day of that Pope's election, no cardinal intended to raise him to the pontificate; and that those, who voted for him in the scrutiny, designed only to spend the time that morning (17). I omit the reasons alledged by the cardinal against it. The second fallacy concerns the elector of Saxony. Palavicini maintains, that it is not true, that Leo X published a threatening monitory against that prince, which did very much exasperate him. Due altre abbazj piu rilevanti prende egli nelle principal nostra materia. Il primo è l'asser-
fermar che Leone spedisse contra l'Elettor di Sassonia un monitorio con minacce di gravi pene, e pero con irrita-
tation di quel Principe. Il che è un vano sogno con-
trario à quanto si leggi nelle memorie pienuissime di
que successi (18). The third fallacy concerns Luther, who, according to Guiciardini, was so frightened when he was put to the ban of the empire, that he would willingly have renounced his errors, had not cardinal Cajetan cast him into despair by his threatnings and injurious words, and had he made him honourable offers. Palavicini maintains, that cardinal Cajetan re-
turned to Rome twenty months before Luther was put to the ban & c, and that he spoke to him very kindly. E pur è certo che il Cardinal di Gaeta non parlò

(16) Montagne's
Essays, book II,
chap. x, pag. m.
153, 154.

* Nel Libro
XIV.

(17) Quasi le prime voci date nello Squittinio al Cardinal fosserò non perche veruno havessie intenzione d'elleggerlo, ma per consumare indarno quella matina. *Palavic. Istor. del Concilio, Lib. II, Cap. II, num. 7, ad ann. 1521.*

(18) Palavic. ib.
num. 8.

4. A 5 di Settem-
bre 1519, come
ne gli Atti confi-
storiali. *Id. ibid.*

(19) Id. *ibid.*

(20) Id. *ibide*.

are his words (20): ' Dal che m'auveggo, che quell' Historico, di ciò che non apparteneua al suo principal argomento, prese notizie molto confuse: e fu anche fempre inclinato a credere le peggiori, come appare nella sua spessa maledicenza di ciascheduno la quale appresso alla volgare malignità gli hà guadagnata estimazion di veridico. Ma contro a Pontefici fu anche più specialmente amaro, così per quell' usato rancore che i ministri di lungo servizio concepiscono contra i padroni da cui non ottennero le mercedi sperate; come forse perch'egli riconosceua da loro la perdita della libertà nella sua Repubblica. — This historian has a very confused notion of what does not immediately belong to his principal subject. Besides, he was inclined to believe the worst, as appears from his frequent slandering of every one; and which with the vulgar gained him the reputation of speaking the truth. But he was especially bitter against the Popes, through that usual disgust, which those who have long served, conceive against their patrons, from whom they do not obtain the expected reward; because, perhaps, they impute to them the loss of liberty in their republic.

[G] *Is*

fancies that such a thing spoils the readers (d). It does not clearly appear, whether he is more inclined to censure him, than to commend him [G]. Varillas charges him with calumny in what he says about Francis the first's intelligence with Soliman: I shall examine what that French historian observes upon it [H]. I shall likewise take notice of Bonifacio Vannozi's a little too devout complaints [I], and shall not forget that the Venetians complain of a Speech, which Guicciardin ascribes to the ambassador, whom

(d) Poffevin. Bibloth. Select. Tom. II, lib. xvi, cap. xlii, pag. 337.

[G] It is not easy to know whether he is more inclined to censure, than commend him. He (21) says, Guicciardin was a man of great judgment and experience in public affairs: he mentions the good opinion Thomas Porcia had of his history (22); but he says also, that John Baptist Leone published (23) five books of considerations upon that work, to shew the falsities and partiality of the author. That book, says he, is in every body's hands, and therefore I need not dwell upon it. For the rest, he informs us, that Clement VIII had lately caused the Latin translation of Guicciardin, made by the heretic Caelius Velcurio, to be put into the index (24). He pretends, that the true reason of it was, because the translator had not rightly explained the original (25); but such a reason ought not to be minded, as we shall see hereafter from what Vannozi says. Had Poffevin intended to inspire his readers with a great esteem for Guicciardin's history, he would have been as careful to mention Remigius, as John Baptist Leone. This Remigius, a Florentine monk, is the author of a book printed at Venice in 1582, with this title, *Considerationi civili sopra l'Historie di M. Fr. Guicciardini, e d'altri historici*.

(21) Poffevin. Bibloth. Select. Tom. II, lib. xvi, cap. xlii, pag. 337.

(22) Id. ibid. pag. 337.

(23) At Venice, in 1582. That work is in Italian.

(24) It should be Caelius.

(25) Hand om. miss recte con. vers. est. pag. 337, ubi supra.

(26) Varillas, Hist. de François I, liv. vii, pag. 210.

(27) Id. ibid. pag. 211.

(28) Guicciardin, lib. xx, fol. m. 107.

(29) Id. ibid. fol. 108.

(30) Paul. Jov. Histor. lib. xxx, fol. m. 187, verso.

(31) Lasciando questa opera imperfetta & quasi altri ultimi libri d'ella più presto abbeccati che finiti, i quali per tale ragione non si mandano fuori al presente.

The nephews of the author dedicated it to the same Cosmo de Medici, duke of Florence, to whom they had dedicated the sixteen books. Agnolo Guicciardini signed for them all the epistle dedicatory dated from Florence the twentieth of July, 1564. The Pope, the doge of Venice, and the duke of Florence, granted licences to Giolito the bookfeller, which were prefixed to that work. And doubtless this was the reason why the bookfeller, Bevilacqua, did not insert those four books in the edition of the first sixteen.

These same four last books were printed at Parma *appresso Setb Viatti* in the year 1567, in 4to, *con l'aggiunta de' Sommarii di ciascun Libro, & di molte Annotationi in margine delle cose più notabili*, DI MARCO PAPIRIO PICEDI.

[I] I will mention the devout complaints of Bonifacio Vannozi. His history, says he (32), is more acceptable to private persons than to princes; for he speaks of the latter without any reserve, and reflects so much upon the Pope, that his book translated into Latin has been greedily read in heretical countries. From whence it appears, continues he, that the Italian writers may do a great deal of prejudice to the Papacy. Vannozi pretends, they ought not to discover their mother's nakedness; and that, if they publish a disgraceful truth, they offend against charity; and if they publish falsities, they offend against justice. This is in general the meaning of what he says; but I shall set down his own words, for the satisfaction of those, who may be desirous to know more particularly how he expresses himself. 'Si che vegga un pò chi scrive, con quanta facilità egli possa pregiudicare alla Chiesa Romana; alla Sedia Apostolica, & al Sommo Pontefice: & che le penne de' gl' Italiani, professanti il Christiano, ò scoprono le nostre vergogne, se dicono il vero, che è contro alla carità, dovuta al prossimo; ò calunniando per odio, ò per altra passione, chi merita esser onorato; facciano da maligno, & da trillo (33).' He owns, that Guicciardin's history does not give so great a scandal, since it has been corrected; but he maintains, that the Latin translation made from the first original (34) may offend the devil himself. 'Ma la fatta Latina, cavata dal primo originale, & piena di male-dicenze contro à Papi, & altri Ecclesiastici, può scandalizzare il Diavolo stesso; parlo di quel ch'io sò di propria scienza, & come si dice di veduta. Et un moderno Scrittore, parlando di questa Storia, dice così per l'appunto. Il Guicciardini ha potuto per se stesso, acquistar tanto d'autorità all' Istoria sua, che molte indegnità, molti errori, & molte bugie, ch'ella contiene, sono state non solo sopprimate dal Mondo; ma approvate da molti, per esempi, & per dogmi del vero, & perfetto viver civile. Et lasciando il resto, si legge pur in esso, un'aperta, & fastidiosa irreverenza, dice il medesimo moderno Scrittore, verso gli stessi Vicari di Christo, con grande indegnità della Sedia Apostolica, & non potendosi accusarlo d'ignoranza, bisogna necessariamente confessarlo, per troppo appassionato, & commiserare più tosto, che biasmare una così bella, ma così disetosa, fatica (35). — But the Latin translation, made from the first original, and full of calumnies against the Pope, and other ecclesiastics, may scandalize the devil himself: I speak by experience, and, as it were, by sight. And a modern writer, speaking of this history, expresses himself thus: Guicciardin so established the credit of his history, that the many meanesses, the many errors, and the many lies, which it contains, have been not only born with in the world, but approved by many, as examples of true and perfect civil life. And omitting the rest, let any one read only the bare-faced and contemptuous irreverence in him (says the same modern writer) towards the very vicars of CHRIST, and as he cannot be accused of ignorance, we must confess, that he is too passionate an author, and pity, rather than blame, so fine, but defective, a work.' This long passage is not needless in this place, since it belongs to the history of the several judgments passed upon Guicciardin.

(32) Vannozi, de gli Avvertimenti Politici, Tom. II, pag. 367.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) Observe this against Poffevin.

(35) Vannozi, ubi supra.

whom they sent to the imperial court [K]. Besides this, he wrote some other books [L]. LEWIS GUICCIARDIN his nephew signalized himself in the common-wealth of learning [M].

[K] *The Venetians complained of a speech, which Guicciardin ascribes to their ambassador.* Nothing can be more humble than that speech. That historian supposes it was made by Antonio Justiniani to the emperor Maximilian, in the year 1509. *Per ottenere da lui con qualunque condizione la pace gli mandarono con somma celerità Ambasciatore Antonio Giustiniano: il quale amesso in pubblica audientia al cospetto di Cesare; parlò miserabilmente con grandissima sommissione* (36). Not

(36) Guicciardin, lib. viii, fol. 222, verso.

contented with this general notion of the too great humility of the Venetians; he adds, that it is not improper to set down the whole speech, that the reader may see how great was their consternation. Accordingly he sets down the whole discourse of the ambassador, without any alteration; only he translates it out of Latin into Italian. *Non mi pare alieno dal nostro proposito, acciò meglio s'intenda in quanta consternatione d'animo fusse ridotta quella Repub. la quale già più di dugento anni, non haveva sentito avversità pari a questa, inferire la propria oratione havuta da lui innanzi a Cesare, trasferendo solamente le parole Latine in voci volgari, le quali furono in questo tenore* (37). The Venetians maintain, that it is a chimerical speech, and, in order to prove it, they say, that Francis Capello (38), whom they sent to the emperor, after they had retaken Padua, could not so much as obtain leave to go into the territories of that prince; and that Lewis Mocenigo and Antony Justiniani, whom they sent to him some time after, were neither admitted, nor heard, no more than Francis Capello. What is certain, is, that those ambassadors were ordered to make very advantageous offers to his imperial majesty. The historian of Venice, whom I have quoted, does not deny it. Peter Bembo, another Venetian historian, confesses it still more expressly. *Latum, says he* (39), *ut Antonius Justinianus . . . ad Maximilianum recta contenderet; & cum illo, si posset, pacem quantumvis duris conditionibus faceret: Tergestine oppidum, & Portum Naonis, reliquaque municipia, quæ resp. ex ejus ditione superiore anno ceperat, Senatui ei paratum esse restituere: ac quæ oppida ex Romanorum imperatorum ditione in Carnis, & Gallia, & Venetia resp. possideret, ea se omnia illi tanquam accepta relaturum nuntiaret.* — *It was decreed, that* Antony Justiniani . . . should go directly to Maximilian, and make peace with him, if possible, upon any conditions, how hard soever; and inform him that the senate was ready to restore the city of Tergeste, the harbour of Naon, and the other towns, which the republic had taken from him the year before, and to deliver up to him the imperial towns, which she possessed in Carinthia, France, and the territories of Venice. Take notice, that he affirms, that Antonio Justiniani was sent to the emperor, as soon as the Venetians heard of the victory obtained by the French. Perhaps Guicciardin saw a copy of the speech, which Justiniani had prepared. This cannot justify him; for if it be true, that the ambassador had no audience, his copy could not be produced as a discourse actually made before the emperor. The historians were very bold as to the speeches mentioned by them; they forged them, and yet they would have the world to believe, that they had been actually delivered. Read, in Jovius, the speech spoken by the ambassador of the duke of Milan to Charles VIII., to persuade him to make an expedition into Italy: read it also in Guicciardin, and you will find that those two pieces are not alike (40). The discourse, which the doge Loredano made to the senate, in order to send 200 noble Venetians to the defence of Padua, is mentioned by Guicciardin quite otherwise than it is by Mocenigo and Justiniani, historians of Venice (41).

(37) Id. ibid.

(38) See the History of Venice, by Peter Justiniani, in the 10th book. Porcacchi quotes it in his preface upon Guicciardin, and in his marginal notes upon the eighth book, fol. 222, verso.

(39) Bembo, Histor. Venetæ, lib. viii, circa init. fol. m 158, verso.

(40) Porcacchi, Notes upon Guicciardin, lib. i, fol. 8.

(41) Id. ibid. lib. viii, fol. 230.

(42) Si vedono anco del suo duo componimenti che per titolo hanno, &c. Ghilini, Teatr. Tom I, pag. 50.

[L] *Guicciardin wrote some other books.* I reduce them to two; one of which is intitled, *Consigli aurei*, and the other, *Avvertimenti Politici*. Ghilini mentions only those two books (42). There are some other books ascribed to Guicciardin in the catalogue of the Bodleian library, viz. *Piu Consigli e Avvertimenti in materia di re publica e di privata*, printed at Paris in 1576, in 4to. *I Precetti e Sententie in materia di Stato*, printed at Antwerp in 1585, in 4to. *Avvertimenti Politici*, printed at Venice in 1583, in 4to. *Hypomneses Politicæ*. These are the titles we find in the Bodleian catalogue, without being told they are only

different editions of the same books. The booksellers occasion this confusion by the liberty they take to put different titles to one and the same book. Some will be apt to think, that Guicciardin published the rules of poetry, because the catalogue of the Bodleian library ascribes to him *Hypomneses Politicæ*. But it is a fault of impression; it should be *Hypomneses Politicæ*; for so the Latin translator of Guicciardin's *Avvertimenti Politici* intitled his translation. These works of Guicciardin, translated into French by Charles de Chantecler (43), were printed at Paris in 1577, in 8vo, with this title, *Plusieurs Avis & Conseils tant pour les affaires d'estat que prieres*. There is a great mistake in the catalogue of Thuanus's library. Two books, written by Lewis Guicciardin, are ascribed there (44) to Francis Guicciardin his uncle; one of them is intitled, *Raccolta de i detti & fatti notabili così gravi come piacevoli*; and the other, *Hore di Recreationi*. That mistake implies an absurdity; for Guicciardin the uncle was so far from being a facetious man, that he never used any jest. He was extremely grave and severe. *Fuit indignationi proclivior, orisque ductu licet suavi, tamen severo & gravi genioque supra modum falsæ urbanitatis dictis repugnante, quorum nullum in tota vita ipsi unquam excidisse perhibent quidam* (45). An Italian history, *Urbis Haliæ*, is ascribed to him in the epitome of Gesner's *Bibliothèque*.

[M] *LEWIS GUICCIARDIN his nephew signalized himself in the common-wealth of learning.* Besides the two books I have just now mentioned, he published *Commentarii delle cose più memorabili seguite in Europa, specialmente in questi Paesi bassi dalla pace di Cambray del M. D. XXIX infino a tutto l'Anno M. D. L.* I have the edition printed at Venice, appresso Domenico Farri 1566 in 4to. The author dedicates that book to the grand duke of Florence: his epistle dedicatory is dated at Antwerp, the first of January 1565. That history was translated into Latin (46), and followed soon after by the *Descrizione di tutti i Paesi bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*. That description of the Netherlands is a very good book: the author was a long time in that country, and took great pains to be informed of every thing, and visited the places as much as he could, in order to say nothing but what he was sure of. He published three editions of that book; the last is of the year 1587, and exceeds the second, as much as the second exceeds the first. That book was translated into French by Belleforest, and into Latin by John Brant, a senator of Antwerp, and by Regnier Vitellius. Brant's translation was never printed; the author suppressed it, being prevented by others (47). Ghilini knew something of it: but his account is strangely confused. These are his words: *Reynero Vitellio, e avanti di lui Giovanni Branzo Senatore di Anversa, che dal Vitellio fu prevenuto la traduzione dal Francese nel Latino* (48). These words are very faulty: first, they signify, that Brant's translation was published; for when an author mentions a book, without saying, that it was never printed, he gives us to understand that it was made public. This falsity is attended with a strange piece of nonsense. Ghilini says, that Brant translated that book before Vitellius, and was prevented by Vitellius: these things are inconsistent, when an author forgets, as Ghilini does, to distinguish the composition from the impression. Nay, it is to be observed, that Valerius Andreas does not say, that John Brant made a translation of that book before Vitellius did the same: he only says, that he was prevented as to the impression (49). Lastly, it is not true, that Vitellius and Brant translated that book from the French translation. Vitellius says in the title page of his version (50), that he made it from the Italian; and Valerius Andreas affirms the same with respect to Brant. I have quoted his words. Ghilini committed all those faults, because he blindly followed Swerterius (51). Poccantio (52) says, that Guicciardin understood Greek and Latin, and mathematics, and was a good antiquarian. Thuanus does very much commend the description of the Low-Countries, and mentions a remarkable thing, viz. that the duke of Alva caused Lewis Guicciardin to be imprisoned, for writing a book, containing the reasons why Lent should be suppressed. Which shews the fierceness and the enormous pride of that duke; for Guicciardin wrote that book by his order; but,

(43) See De Vee-die's Biblio-thèque Française, pag. 151.

(44) Pag. 405, of the second part.

(45) Imperialis in Museo Historico, pag. 99. See also Guicciardin's Life, written by Remigio Fiorentino.

(46) By Peter Paul Kerckvoort. His translation was printed at Antwerp, 1566, in 8vo. Valerius Andreas, Bibl. Belgicæ, pag. 754.

(47) Valer. Andreas, ibid. pag. 467.

(48) Ghilini, ubi supra, pag. 150.

(49) Ex Italia Latinam sciam quia in edendo ab aliis preventum premere moluit. Valer. Andreas, ubi supra.

(50) Ex idiomate Italico ad exemplum tertium ac postremum ab ipso autore recognitum . . . in Latinum sermonem conversa.

(51) See Swerterius's Athenæ Belgicæ, pag. 520.

(52) Poccantio de Scriptor. Florent pag. 118. but,

but, because he himself did not give his copy to the duke, and that haughty Spaniard received it from the hands of a third person, he fell into a violent passion against the author, and caused him to be shamefully imprisoned. Guicciardin was betrayed by a man, who, desirous to ingratiate himself by his diligence, presented the manuscript he had been intrusted with. 'In carcerem ignominiosum ob id conjectus, quod Alba-

nus postea excusavit, cum disceret, non tam ob consilium optimo viro succedere, quam quod illud iussu suo; nam fatebatur, cum scriptis mandasset, non per ipsum scriptorem, sed per alias manus in suas preposita illud pervenisset (53). He died at Antwerp the twenty second of March, 1589, aged sixty six years.

(53) Thuan. lib. xcvi. sub fin. pag. m. 315, ad ann. 1589.

GUICHENON (SAMUEL), advocate at Bourg in Bresse, deserves an illustrious place among the historiographers of the XVIIth century. He was born at Mâcon. He published the history of Bresse, in 1650, and then he set about the Genealogical History of the house of Savoy, and had it printed at Lyons in the year 1660, in two large folios. He published, in the same year, a Latin book, intitled, *Bibliotheca Sebustiana* [A]. Those three works are very good in their kind, and made him worthy of the rewards bestowed upon him (a). Le Laboureur owns it, but in such a manner, as seems to reflect upon the court of France for their ingratitude towards their historiographers [B]. He had been a Protestant, and he died a Roman Catholic, the eighth of September, 1664. He has been taxed with plagiarism [C].

I have been accused of believing, without any grounds, that he had been an Huguenot. A confutation of this censure appeared in the *Memoires de Trevoux*, for January 1703 (b); but I am going to say something stronger than all that: I shall cite a minister, who has publicly upbraided Guichenon with abjuring the reformed religion. He makes use of very harsh expressions [D]; whence we may gather that he was well assured of the truth of what he advances.

(a) His titles run thus, Lord of Palenstuyt, Counsellor and Historiographer to the King and his Royal Highness, Count Palatine, Knight of the Empire, and of the Sacred Order of St Maurice and St Lazarus.

(b) Of the edition of Amsterdam, pag. 59.

[A] He published a Latin book, intitled, *Bibliotheca Sebustiana*. It is a book in 4to, containing 448 pages, printed at Lyons. I shall set down the whole title, that the reader may know what it treats of. *Bibliotheca Sebustiana, sive variarum chartarum, diplomatum, fundationum, privilegiorum, donationum & immunitatum à summis Pontificibus, Imperatoribus, Regibus, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, & Proceribus, Ecclesiis, Monasteriis & aliis locis aut personis concessarum usquam antea editarum, miscellæ Centuriæ II. Ex Archivis Regiis, Monasteriorum tabulariis & codicibus manuscriptorum ad historiam lucem collegit, & ad locorum explicationem & familiarum illustrium cognitionem notis illustravit S. Guichenon, Dominus de Painesstuyt, Regi à Consiliis, Franciæ, Sabaudia, & Dombarum Historiographus, Eques auratus & Comes Palatinus, Sacræ Religionis S. S. Mauritii & Lazari miles.*

[B] Mr le Laboureur . . . seems to reflect upon the court of France, for their ingratitude towards their historiographers. These are le Laboureur's words. 'Whilst the (1) enlarges their dominions by her victories, she takes care to have the genealogical history of the dukes of Savoy written by the Sieur Guichenon. The name of the author is sufficient to shew, that she has made a good choice, and to give a good opinion of that work, which is now (2) in the press. M. Guichenon has already illustrated Bresse with an excellent collection of the antiquities of that country, and with the history of its ancient lords and nobility. If that prince was not the daughter of the great Henry IV, I should be ashamed for our nation, to say, that she made it appear to him, by the honours he received from her, whilst he was about that work, that the affection of sovereigns is not suited to the extent of their dominions; and that the character of historiographer of Savoy is now the most glorious and happy in the world (3).

[C] He has been taxed with plagiarism. That accusation is contained in these words of Varillas. 'I speak, in the eleventh book, of the pretensions of the duke of Savoy, and of the bishop of Geneva, to the town of that name; and I confess Mr Guichenon's history has been of good use to me. Not but that I find this author too much addicted to the house of Savoy, to which he was born a subject; but, because that inclination did not prevent his reading all the printed books and manuscripts relating to his work, I have found some fragments in it, which I had not seen before. However, I am obliged out of sincerity, to take notice of one of his faults, which seems to me so gross, that I wonder no body has reproved him for it. He finds fault with William Paradin in his preface, for having taken the greatest part of his history of Savoy from the ancient chronicle of that house, and from the history of Jerome Champier, without ever quoting either of them; and yet I have found out that Guichenon is guilty of

the same ingratitude. Nani's history is well known, and it is acknowledged, that few historians of our age come near him in politeness and subtilty. Any one, who compares it with Guichenon's account of the last dukes of Savoy, will find, that he inserted it word for word, in his last volume, without mentioning the historian he transcribed (4).

[D] A minister . . . has publicly reproached Guichenon with having abjured the reformed religion. He makes use of very harsh expressions. Consider only the parenthesis of the passage I am going to copy. 'Guichenon . . . has just published a large history in three great volumes in folio, in which he evidently falsifies, against his knowledge and conscience, all that relates to the right, the innocence, and the conduct of these Vaudois, both in general and in particular; and he is not ashamed to employ his mercenary pen in giving the lie, both to the truth of the massacres of the year 1665, and to whatever may tend to the justification of those good Christians, and in representing the cruelty and perfidy of their enemies as acts of great forbearance and mildness (WHICH I THINK NO STRANGE THING IN A RENEGADE, WHO HAS APOSTATISED FROM THE KNOWN TRUTH, AND GONE OVER TO THE INTERESTS OF LYING) (5). This is what John Leger, minister and moderator of the churches of the Valleys has observed in his preface. Let us see what he says in the body of the book, when he endeavours to justify his uncle Antony Leger, whom Guichenon represents as a factious spirit, and capable of diverse crimes. 'I might confute this Guichenon, only by saying, that he was himself born and bred up in the reformed religion, and that he went through part of his studies with the abovementioned Leger, whose constant companion he was, as I learned from the said Leger's own mouth, but that afterwards, in order to arrive at the honours he now enjoys, he turned his coat, and denied the known truth, to embrace the mass, taking for his device the Italian proverb, *Guelfo io fui, e Gibbelin m'appello, à chi più mi darà volterò il mantello*. For no one doubts, that he, who sells his soul for bread, and his birth-right for a mess of pottage, can let out his tongue and pen to say and write, as those, who hire him, direct. And I am positive, that he did not dare to set down one line in his book, which had not been sifted and re-sifted at Turin, and that he could not refuse to insert in it all the answers of the oracles of the marquis de Pianello, and of the president Truquis (6): and I have by me proofs of it (7).

He refutes him, in another place (8), in relation to two facts, and observes again, that he is one, who has betrayed religion, and renounced the known truth for worldly advantages.

(4) Varillas, preface to the third volume of his History of Heresy.

(5) John Leger, Hist. generale des Eglises Vaudoises, at the end of the preface, Edit. of Leyden, 1669, in folio.

(6) He calls him Truchet, at page 164, of the first part.

(7) Leger, Hist. des Eglises Vaudoises, Part. II, pag. 68, 69.

(8) Ibid pag. 262. See also pag. 111.

(1) That is, the duchess of Savoy, sister to Lewis XIII.

(2) Le Laboureur wrote in the year 1659.

(3) Le Laboureur, Addit. to Calceinus's Memoires, Tom. I, pag. 752.

(a) Thuanus, lib. cxii, pag. m. 653.

(b) Appendix Apologie Française Montani pro Societate Jesu, pag. 352.

GUIGNARD (JOHN), a Jesuit, native of Chartres (a), and professor of divinity in the college of Clermont (b), was executed at Paris, the seventh of January 1595, for high-treason. He was convicted of having written a book full of rebellion and rage against Henry III and Henry IV [A]: and, as the circumstances of the time required, that a doctrine, which had not long before exposed the life of the king to the wicked attempt of John Chastel, should be punished with the utmost severity, it was not thought proper to shew any favour to this Jesuit. He obstinately refused to make the *amende honorable*; and he persisted to his death in not acknowledging Henry IV for king of France [B]. He has been extolled as a martyr by the apologist of John Chastel [C]. We shall see what the Jesuits answered, when they were reproached with

[A] He was convicted of having written a book full of rebellion and rage against Henry III and Henry IV. This is the way how they came to know it. Whilst the parliament was carrying on the process against John Chastel, some of them, deputed for that purpose, went to the college of Clermont, and seized on several papers, among which was found a book written in Guignard the Jesuit's own hand, containing several propositions and means to prove, that it was lawful to kill the king, with several inductions for the murder likewise of his successor. Here are some of them extracted from the said book, which are yet extant in the rolls of the court (1). The author of the Anti-Coton afterwards produces some extracts of that book; but, as Victor Cayet has given them more at large, I choose to make use of his narrative upon this occasion. As to Guignard, he could not deny, that he wrote the nine following propositions, to wit,

I. That in the year 1572, on St Bartholomew's-day, if they had bled the royal vein, we should not have fallen out of the frying-pan into the fire, as we experience: But *quicquid delirant Reges*; by being sparing of blood, they have involved France in fire and blood, *et in caput reciderunt mala*.

II. That the cruel Nero was slain by a Clement, and the pretended monk dispatched by the hand of a true monk.

III. Shall we call a Nero Sardanapalus of France, a Fox of Bearn, a Lyon of Portugal, a She-wolf of England, a Griffin of Sweden, and a Hog of Saxony.

IV. Think that he saw in vain three kings, if kings they may be called, the late tyrant, he of Bearn, and this pretended monarch of Portugal D. Antonio.

V. That the finest anagram, that ever was, on the name of the deceased tyrant, was that, by which it was said, *O the base Herod*.

VI. That the heroic action performed by James Clement, as a gift of the HOLY GHOST, so called by our divines, has been justly extolled by the late prior of the Jacobins, Burgoign, confessor and martyr, by several reasons, as well at Paris, where I was an ear-witness of them, when he taught the book of Judith, as before that fine parliament of Tours: and this the said Burgoign, which is more, sealed with his own blood, and consecrated by his death; and we must not believe what the enemies report, that with his last breath he disapproved this action as detestable.

VII. That the crown of France might and ought to be transferred to another family than that of Bourbon.

VIII. That he of Bearn, though he were converted to the Catholic faith, would be treated more mildly than he deserved, if he were presented with a monkish crown in some well-reformed convent, there to do penance for the many evils he has done to France, and to thank God for giving him the grace to know himself before death.

IX. That if he cannot be deposed without war, let war be made on him: that if war cannot be made on him, let him be assassinated (2).

[B] He obstinately refused to make the *amende honorable*, and persisted to his death in not acknowledging Henry IV for king of France. Let us give the sequel of Cayet's narrative. The parliament having seen these writings, Guignard the author, being interrogated concerning them, acknowledged that he had composed and written them with his own hand; and for that he was condemned by the court to make the *amende honorable*, naked to his shirt, with a rope about his neck, before the principal gate of

the church of Paris, and there, being on his knees, and holding a lighted torch of wax, of the weight of two pounds, in his hands, to say and declare, that wickedly, traitorously, and against the truth, he had written that the late king was justly killed by James Clement, and that, if the reigning did not die in war, he ought to be assassinated: of which he repented, and asked pardon of God, the king, and justice. This done, to be led and conducted to the Greve, to be hanged and strangled on a gibbet to be there erected for that purpose, and afterwards his dead body to be burnt to ashes in a fire, which should be made at the foot of the said gibbet. This decree was put in execution the seventh of January, and the said Guignard was hanged and burnt at the Greve. As they were conducting him before the church of Notre Dame, there to make the *amende honorable*, being naked to his shirt, and having the torch in his hand, he asked the Sieur Rapin, lieutenant of the short robe, what he must do: he told him, that he must ask pardon of God and the king, repeating what the register should say to him. I will ask God's pardon, said he, with all my heart; but why the king's? You have offended him, said Rapin to him, in that you have written against him: Guignard replied; what I wrote thereupon was before Paris submitted to him. What you say, is not true, said Rapin to him, and, though it were, you have no right to the pardon and general indemnity, granted by the king to his subjects of Paris after their submission, since you were not ignorant, that it was strictly commanded to burn such writings, on pain of death: by keeping them contrary to these decrees, you have therefore offended both him and the public. After disputing the matter above a quarter of an hour, notwithstanding all the reasons and menaces of the said Sieur Rapin, Guignard refused to make the *amende honorable*, and was carried to execution without making it (3).

It is plain, that in saying he had not offended the king, he supposed that Henry IV was not king. We are going to see, that he is commended for entertaining this opinion, and for never renouncing it.

[C] He has been extolled as a martyr by the apologist of John Chastel. The tenth chapter of the fifth part of the apology of that villain is intitled *The martyrdom of Father Guignard justified in every point*. The author declares him happy in dying as one, who kept himself unshaken on the basis and strength of the gospel alone. That is to say, of the obedience, and for the obedience of the church (4). The constancy of this person †, to his last breath, (adds he (5), in refusing to acknowledge for king, him whom the church has condemned, and for lawful judges, those who are separated from the church, and judge contrary to the church: and refusing to repeat the clauses and words, prescribed by the Arrêt, to make the *amende honorable*: and insisting upon the truth, both of what he had preached, and of what he had laid down in his memoirs (for which reason his execution was hastened, and on the spot, and in his shirt, without carrying him back to prison), all which entirely justifies the martyrdom, having no other foundation than the pure Catholic truth, maintained to death inclusively, the contrary of which is heresy: this will serve as a witness, to make out their process one day, to chain them hand and foot, to pronounce their sentence, and to condemn them definitively, and by an irrevocable judgment, as *this glory is to all his saints* †. When he, who guards the eternal truth †, who keeps the books of the eternal register, in which every thing is written, shall render judgment to those, who suffer injury *.

(3) Cayet, *ibid.*

(4) Apology for John Chastel, Part. V, chap. x, pag. 258.

† Confession of Father Guignard.

(5) *ib.* pag. 259.

† Psalm cxlv.

† Apoc. xi.

* Psalm cxlii.

[D] We

(a) Cayet, Chronol. Novenaire, ad ann. 1594, fol. 43; veris.

* Arrêt against Guignard.

with giving him a place in their martyrology [D]. They denied the fact; and as to what regards his punishment, they employed several turns of wit, and they endeavoured to extenuate the outrageousness of his tenets [E], and to excuse him by alledging the great

[D] *We shall see what the Jesuits answered, when they were reproached with giving him a place in their martyrology.* Let us begin with quoting a passage of the Anti-Coton (6): 'The reader may ask, if he pleases, if there ever was a Jesuit, who has condemned this Guignard of treason and perfidy. On the contrary, Richeome, in his apology, excuses him as much as he can; saying, that Guignard treated the abovementioned propositions, by way of a dispute in divinity. And in this we agree; for thus, I say, that to kill the king, has always been one of the resolutions of the divinity of the Jesuits. If any Jesuit, half thro' force, and half thro' shame, condemns him, it is for not having been discreet enough, or for having taken a wrong time, or for some such reason. This appears by the Jesuits having put Guignard in the catalogue of their martyrs, which they published at Rome, in two forms, in one of which Guignard is, in the other not, that there might be copies, which might be sold in France without danger. Thus the Jesuit Bonarscius, in the eighth chapter of his Amphitheatre, extols Guignard to the skies, tho' without naming him, for fear of offending our king, always plainly enough, that we may discover him in these words: *shall I say nothing of you, O! bright star of heaven and earth, and last expiation of the boue, which after this ought to suffer nothing more? no time shall erase the memory of your death: then he adds, all France will join in my wishes* ++.

++ Tacito ego te clarum celo terrarum filius & ultimum nil amplius doluit domus Innocentium plantatum? Nullus tot sanguinis vestigia dies extoret, torpore in hac vasa mea ibit Gallia.

(7) Réponse Apolog. à l'Anti-Coton, pag. 42.

(8) Ibid. pag. 43.

This can only agree with Guignard, who was a French Jesuit, and who was the last Jesuit, that suffered punishment in France. Father Coton replied, among other things (7), that no Jesuit had disapproved the judgment of the court, and that every one of them had endeavoured to persuade himself, that Guignard had been justly condemned; that all that is added to it is not equally certain, and that many things must be imputed to licentious tongues, and the injustice of the time (8); that if no Jesuit has condemned Guignard of treason and perfidy, it is because none of them are thoroughly acquainted with the process. I have seen (continues he) several catalogues of Jesuit martyrs, but not one in which is Guignard; and yet I have seen some printed at Rome. And, if he appear as such in prints made elsewhere, who knows not the liberty, which painters and poets give themselves? He denies that the passage of Bonarscius relates to Guignard; but it is to deny an almost indisputable fact. Another apology was not so peremptory; he was contented to evade the question. Thus he replied to the author of the Anti-Coton: 'You are angry, that Clarus Bonarscius, in his Amphitheatre, praises this father, and that he calls him a *shining star* in heaven, how do you know, that he speaks of this father, since he does not name him? Do you guess so, because he was the last that was executed in France; he is likewise the first. But, supposing your conjecture to be right, why are you angry, that he extols this father as a saint (9)? . . . Now accuse, and complain of Clarus as much as you will, you will not hinder me from commending him for this praise, and from praising, with him, this father, because he was a great divine and did honour to France, his country which you dishonour; and I believe, with the same Clarus, that he is in heaven, if not in the list of martyrs, at least in the number of the saints: not because he was condemned to death, but for having forsaken the vanity of the world to serve God and the public in religion, to the utmost of his abilities: for having lived as a true Religious many years; for having taught the catholic faith, and opposed heresy which you defend under the cover of the state; lastly, for having patiently suffered all the torments of death, and the shame of punishment, and given up his soul as a good and firm Catholic (10). He had expressed himself as follows, p. 181. 'You take exceptions at our placing the said father in the list of martyrs: who told you so, except the spirit of lying, which directs your pen? for, among the many thousand persons of credit, who have read this catalogue, not one has found what you pretend to discover in it: if you have not seen this catalogue,

(9) Richeome, Examen Catalogue de l'Anti-Coton, cap. xxi, pag. 122.

(10) Richeome, ibid. pag. 183.

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which is most probable, why do you speak so positively of a thing unknown to you? have you so little regard for your honour to take all false reports for truth, and to give them as matters of fact, and become the subject of contempt and laughter thinking to prejudice the Jesuits? The Jesuit Eudemon Johannes, replying to the Anti-Coton, denies, that Guignard was placed in the martyrology of the Jesuits, and observes that the prints of their martyrs were made and sold by persons, who only aimed at profit, and who had no dependence on the Jesuits (11). Verebaris nimirum, ne prolatis Martyrum nostrorum Catalogis, impudentissimi mendacii convinceretur, quod te causa impulit, ut frigidam hanc Catalogorum varietatem dignam plane stupore istius animi somnariis. Nam neque mendacium regis, & vecordiam tuam prodixit: Martyrum enim nostrorum effigies non à nobis, sed ab exteris lucris sui causa typis excusæ, venales per orbem passim exposcæ ab iis sunt, ut in nostra potestate nullo modo fuerit quis Martyrum Catalogus, aut à Gallis emeretur, aut in Galliam ab emptoribus importaretur. Neque vero ita stolidos quicquam Jesuitas existimaturus est, ut cum rem eam aggrederentur, non viderent fieri non posse, ne Guignardus quoque cum cæteris martyribus vel ab amicis, vel ab inimicis in Galliam mitteretur. Mirum vero est, si cum utriusque generis Catalogi venderentur, non nisi unus in Galliam, isque ad tuas unius manus venerit, in quo Guignardus légeretur, quem si apud te habes, profer lodes, si non habes indica, apud quem inveniri possit. Nam nos quidem Romæ nunquam Guignardum adscriptum Societatis Martyribus vidimus: nunquam in Martyres retulimus. — No doubt, you were afraid, if we produced the catalogue of our martyrs, of being caught in a lie, which put you upon inventing this nonsensical variety of catalogues. For you betray both the lie, and your own folly. For the prints of our martyrs, engraved, not by our selves, but by foreigners, for the sake of gain, are sold by them all over the world, so that it is not in our power what catalogue of martyrs shall be bought by Frenchmen, or imported into France by the buyers. Nor would any one think the Jesuits such fools, as to think they can prevent Guignard being sent, with the rest of the martyrs into France, either by friends, or enemies. And it is strange, that, when catalogues of both kinds are sold, but one should come into France, and that into your hands, in which Guignard appears; which if you have, pray, produce it; if not, tell us where we may find it. For we at Rome never saw Guignard in the list of martyrs of the Society nor ever put him there.

[E] They endeavoured to extenuate the outrageousness of his tenets. See in the remark [A] the doctrine of Guignard. It is abominable. In 1602, a little book was published, intitled *The free and true address to the King, on the re-establishment of the Jesuits, desired of him.* We find in it, among other things, that, if the Pope can lay his hand on the SCEPTRE, and temporalities of kings, as the Jesuits affirm, it remains without difficulty, that, when his holiness communicates a king, he is *ipso facto* deprived, he becomes a private person, and is no longer a king; and if he continues resolved to reign, he is a tyrant. Whoever allows the first proposition, must grant the latter. Now the book, written by John Guignard the Jesuit, and which he acknowledged in full parliament, the two chambers being assembled, contained these two propositions outrageously written: for among other things there was, *that the Nero, &c. . . . THAT IF HE OF BEARNE COULD NOT BE DEPOSED WITHOUT WAR, WAR MUST BE WAGED: THAT IF WAR CANNOT BE WAGED, HE MUST BE ASSASSINATED.* Your majesty may see the original; this well deserves it (12). The Jesuits replied, by the pen of Richeome, as follows (13). Sire, I will not here accuse any one, nor plead for this deceased, he is out of the reach of an earthly tribunal, nor call for vengeance, more than he does, whom I believe to be praying in heaven for his enemies. I only say, that your majesty has pardoned

(11) Eudemon Johannes, Conf. Anti-Coton, cap. ii, pag. 54.

(12) Franc & véritable Dictionnaire, pag. 31.

(13) Richeome, Plainte Apolog. pag. 135, 136.

great number of persons, who at that time held the same maxims. It is certain, the kingdom

- †† Caesar Octavian ordered all the papers to be burnt, which might afford matter for calumny. *Sutton in Octav. cap. xxxii.*
- †† Constantine. *Sozom. lib. i, cap. xvi.*
- ** The forged writing.
- (14) Richeome, *ubi supra*, pag. 136, 137.
- (15) Anti-Coton, *pag. 15.*
- (16) Réponse Apolog. à l'Anti-Coton, *pag. m. 42, 43.*
- (17) Richeome, *ubi supra*, *pag. 181.*
- (18) Pasquier, *Catechisme des Jésuites*, liv. iii, chap. xviii, *pag. m. 447, 448.*
- (19) Si sine bello deponi non possit, bellum cum eo gerendum. Si bellum geri non possit, de medio quavis ratione tollendum. *Thuan. lib. xviii, pag. 653, col. 2.*
- pardoned whatever passed of this kind, and that prudently and royally, in imitation of the emperor Octavian ††, who ordered all instruments concerning debts, which occasioned calumnies and quarrels, to be burned; and of the emperor Constantine the Great †† who likewise condemned to the flames contentious libels. And certainly, if it had been necessary to make enquiry after all those of the League, who had written and spoken, there would have been no end of the troubles and enmities: and there were at that time a thousand and a thousand Frenchmen who had by them worse writings, than that which this person here counterfeits and produces, who nevertheless have continued your very faithful servants and subjects: why then does he alledge this writing against the law of Oblivion, and against one deceased. If he had been guilty of a punishable fault, has it not been sufficiently expiated by the punishment of death? ought the process to be revived, and sentence again passed, on one, who has been executed eight years since? I say farther, that this piece ** was not written by that divine, but is an invention of his adversary. Observe well, that they pretended, that the writing of John Guignard was not such as their adversaries would have it to be. The observations of Richeome (14), to prove this, are the weakest imaginable; but if Henry IV, on this plea of falsification, did not demand to see the original, and if he did not give order, that the enemies of the Jesuits should prove incontestably, that the propositions, which they attributed to Guignard, were really in his book, he was guilty of extreme negligence, or of a piece of policy, which might pass for fear. However it be, the author of the Anti-Coton, who knew, without doubt, that the Jesuits had stiffly denied what was given out concerning the manuscript of their brother, continued to object to them the same propositions, as *the free and true address*, and to say, that they were extracted out of Guignard's manuscript, *which was still extant in the rolls of the court* (15). He was answered, that what he said was one of those things, which must be ascribed to licentious tongues, and the injury of the times, and that it was *denied, that the words, if war cannot be waged, he must be assassinated, are to be found in the court rolls, in which words nevertheless lies the sting of the scorpion* (16). These words, replied another to him (17), *contain the poison of your calumny; but they are mere words and lies; for nothing of them appears in the Register*. These answers are pitiful; for the author of the Anti-Coton had not said, that these words were found in the register of the parliament, but in the manuscript, which was preserved in the rolls. Therefore, to give any thing of a solid answer they should have maintained to him, that they were not in this manuscript. But this is what the Jesuits, who have refuted the Anti-Coton, never ventured to maintain, and thus, we may very justly believe, that this proposition is in the writing of Father Guignard. Several reasons convince me of it.
- I. In the first place, the Arrêt of parliament expresses (18), that, considering 'the criminal process . . . made against John Guignard . . . for having been found possessed of several books, containing, among other things, approbations of the most cruel and inhuman parricide of the late king, whom God absolve, AND INDUCTIONS FOR THE MURDER OF THE KING NOW REIGNING. . . The court has declared and does declare the said Guignard attainted and convicted of high-treason, and of having composed and written the said books, containing several false and seditious means to prove, that it was lawful to commit the said parricide, AND THAT IT WAS RIGHT TO KILL KING HENRY IV, NOW REIGNING. There is no doubt, but that the words of the Arrêt, which are here in capitals, are grounded on those, which, according to the author of the Anti-Coton, were contained in Guignard's book.
- II. Besides this, who can doubt, that Thuanus, president of the parliament of Paris, had read this Jesuit's book? now he, as well as a great many other authors, affirms, that the words in question are found in it (19).
- III. In the third place, the Jesuits have never proved, that the propositions, which were objected to them as

taken from this manuscript, are not to be found in it. They have only denied, that the last is in the parliament rolls, which was not the thing in question and, as to the others, they have alledged but weak probabilities. They have never boasted, that they have seen the book; so that they have said nothing to the purpose, and have not offered the king, as their adversaries do, to shew him this or that in the manuscript preserved in the register of parliament. If they could have hoped to convict their enemies of calumny, they would have desired of the king or parliament, that this book should be given to be examined in their presence by such commissaries as he should chuse. Is it not very certain, that, not having taken this step, they have given to understand, that they distrusted the book, and that, if they treated the propositions alledged by their adversaries, as fictitious, it was only acting like lawyers? It is well known that pleaders treat as fictitious, whatever makes against them as long as ever they can. I know not whether the adversaries of the Jesuits have taken the step I speak of, I mean, of petitioning the parliament to name commissaries to examine the manuscript in the presence of the parties concerned. A good verbal process thereupon would have for ever stopped the mouth of the most obstinate caviller. But, having none of these formalities, we have sufficient reason to believe, that Guignard had inserted in his treatise the propositions ascribed to him.

This being so, one cannot but be surpris'd at the false idea which his apologists give of it. Let us quote Richeome. 'What was found in John Guignard's chamber, says he (20), and on which he (20) Réponse 'was condemned to death, was a question, which de René de la Fon pour les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus, chap. xiv, 'he had formerly treated on, when he read divinity 'which was: *whether it be lawful to kill a tyrant*; 'a question, which all the canonists and moral philosophers put in their discourses, and which Bodin 'among the moderns, has discussed in his republic.' Richeome informs us elsewhere (21), that Henry IV was satisfied with this answer. This prince, then, must have been easily satisfied; for it was a very bad ti-Coton, *pag. 184.* one, since it represents in the most unfaithful manner the character of John Guignard's book. We have seen above (22) the reflexion, which was made on this passage of Richeome by the author of the Anti-Coton. It does not point out the defect which is to be found in the words of this Jesuit, and only aims at improving an opportunity of lashing the whole society of the Jesuits. So true it is, that there are those, who take more pleasure in satirizing a whole body, than in refuting one member of it in form.

The Jesuit Eudæmon Johannes has improved upon Richeome; for he has said, that Guignard only disputed for and against the theological question, whether it be lawful to take away the life of tyrants; and he adds, that this did not render him more worthy of death, than other divines, who exercise themselves, not only on this question, but on that likewise of the existence of God (23): *Theologica quæstione in utramque partem scripta supplicium non magis meritis est, quam S. Thomas, quam reliqui Theologi, qui non modo de Tyrannorum necesse, sed de ipsa etiam Dei existentia, in utramque partem disputare soliti sunt*. A most horrible misrepresentation of the state of things, since Guignard was not contented to examine a problem, as a reporter of reasons for and against; but he took the affirmative, and approved by name the assassination of Henry III, and every the like action which should be executed on Henry IV.

Father Gresser inserted in one of his books (24) an account of the trial of John Chastel, in which the book of Father Guignard is described as a mere collection of various passages concerning the thesis, whether private men may take away the lives of tyrants. He adds that, in the way of narrative, Guignard had spoken of the Jacobin, who assassinated Henry III, and that he declared on the scaffold, that this was the true character of his book, and that he had not written one word in it, which might offend the king (25): 'In cubiculo P. Johann's Guignardi Theologie Professoris, perbrevis Tractatus repertus est, quem ipse ante annos quatuor vel quinque conscripserat, quo illa Quæstio continebatur a Doctoribus in Scholis passim tractata & agitata: *Utrum Tyrannum qui se palam hostem gerit Republicæ li-*

(21) Eudæmon. Joh. Conf. Anti-Coton, cap. ii, *pag. 58.*

(24) The Latin translation of Richeome's Answer, disguised under the name of Francis de Montaigne to Amory d'Arville.

(25) Appendix Apologie Française de Monsieur de la Motte, Jésu in Guille, *pag. 354.*

kingdom was at that time full of seditious preachers [F], and of persons, who, in their writings

(16) *Ibid.*
pag. 553.

cent privato occidere? De qua Quæstione Argumenta, quæ in utramque partem, ut solet, ad discutendam disquirendamque veritatem, à variis Auctoribus adferuntur, ibi quoque congesta erant. Inter alia item narratione comprehensum fuit quid Frater Clemens Dominicanus Monachus in Henricum III ausus fuisset. (26) Cum jam patibulum à longe conspexisset cui appropinquabat, S. Andreæ Apostoli exemplo & verbis illud piè & alacriter consalutavit; læta mente ac fronte scalas conscendit, è quibus allocutus circumfusam spectantium multitudinem: quod supplicii hoc genere encicaretur, aliam non subesse causam, quam quia ante annos quatuor vel quinque perbreve Tractatum conscripserat, nullius injuriâ, nullius incommodo, in quem collegisset opiniones & sententias Sanctorum Patrum, variorumque Auctorum, quos ipsi ante monumentis commendaverant de hac Quæstione: Utrum liceat privato homini occidere manifestum Tyrannum; Tractatum illum se neque typis in lucem editum evulgasse; quin in aliorum manus cum nunquam pervenisset. Regem ibi neque verbulo læsum aut offensum. Quæ Patris verba omnem circumstantem Populum in magnam commiserationem inflexerunt. — In the bed-chamber of Father John Guignard professor of divinity, was found a small treatise, which he had written four or five years before, in which was contained that question, every where handled and discussed by the doctors in the schools; whether a private man may kill a tyrant, who is an open enemy to the state; the arguments on which question, which are alleged by various authors on both sides, for discussing and enquiring into the truth, are there likewise collected. Among others, there was a narrative of what Father Clement, a dominican monk, had attempted against Henry III. When he saw the gallows at a distance, to which he approached, he piouly and cheerfully saluted it, after the example, and in the words, of St Andrew the Apostle; he mounted the ladder with a cheerful mind and countenance, from whence he harangued the crowd of spectators round him: he told them, that the sole reason of his suffering this kind of death, was, that, four or five years before, he had written a short treatise, with no ill design, nor to the detriment of any one, in which he had collected the opinions and sentiments of the holy fathers, and of various authors, concerning this question, whether it was lawful for a private man to kill a manifest tyrant: that he had never printed that treatise, nor suffered it to go into the hands of any person. That he had not offended the king by the least word. Which speech of the father greatly inclined the surrounding audience to pity.

What disguises, or rather what impotures! But observe, that, by the help of an equivocation, he might pretend, that he had said nothing, which might offend the king; for he did not acknowledge Henry IV for king.

Let us quote a very long passage of a book, which is seldom to be met with. This may serve to excuse the length of the citation, without reckoning, that this passage will inform us, I. that Guignard had preached the same doctrine, which he had maintained in his writing; II. that he pretended, that this doctrine was agreeable to that of the ancient fathers, and to a decision of the church, and to the opinion of the Catholic party. This is a mixture of truth and falsehood. But the excess, committed in the person of Father Guignard, was the more cruel, as he was put to death unjustly; to wit, for collections and memoirs, taken both from the fathers, and decrees, to prove, that it is lawful to make war against heretical and excommunicated princes, which were found in his study; on especial notice given them to search it, and to make use of them for this purpose, by a certain minister, who, some years before, had heard the said Guignard, preaching at Bourges on this subject. For if a man is to be sentenced to death for scholastic collections, what injury is this to the holy fathers, out of whom they are taken? And what becomes of St Hilary, the light of the French, and of Lucifer bishop of Sardinia, who, in their times, wrote so strongly, on this subject, against the emperor Constantius, and sent him their books? Likewise of St Cyril, and St Gregory Nazianzen, against Julian the apostate? If these are things debated time out of mind, digested by con-

sent of the ancients, ratified by the judgment of the church, which has the sole right of determining such truths, and afterwards received and made public in the schools of the divines; what are these censures, who so highly exclaim against them? What! Do they condemn the holy spirit? And dare they judge of colours, in which they are truly blind, and leaders of the blind? And if such collections are condemned, and so severely punished, how will they bear with those of heretics? How will they endure their books and pestilent writings, their propositions and maxims, judged and condemned as they are, both by the church, and the parliaments of France? Why are their preachings and blasphemies against God and the church tolerated, nay, approved by edicts, and verified by them? And if it be not lawful to make war against an heretical prince, how is it lawful for an heretic to make war against a Catholic prince? And how can he be justified, who, as head of the heretics, has made war, all his life, against the Catholic kings of France: upon which he has valued himself, and is the reason why he has been condemned, and why they acknowledge him for their prince? Why is it not lawful against him, since besides the authority of decrees, he himself has set the example? Add, that this was not at all to be condemned, for being a proposition of the schools, and a general one, and merely the doctrine of the church. And however it be, belonging to the party in general, and consequently convert, as well by the edict of treason of Paris, as by that, which was afterwards published. Considering that, upon this treatment, there was no one, not only of the said society, but even no zealous ecclesiastic, nay, no one of the whole Catholic party, but ought to undergo the same punishment (27).

[F] *The whole kingdom was full of seditious preachers.* The evil did not cease by the abolition, which the Pope granted to Henry IV, the sixteenth of September, 1595. Read these words of cardinal d'Osat: they are in a letter, which he wrote from Rome to the duke of Villeroy, the fourteenth of May 1601. *I spoke the other day to the Pope of what the king desired; which was, that his holiness would order his new Nuncio to take care, that the preachers in France, preached with the requisite discretion and moderation, without meddling in state-affairs, of which they knew not the motives, nor bold seditious discourses: and I delivered to him likewise a Memorial in writing, the copy of which I send you inclosed. His holiness told me, he would order his new Nuncio accordingly (28).* Mr Amelot de la Houfflaie has commented admirably on this passage of cardinal d'Osat. 'It no better becomes preachers (says he) to talk about affairs of political government, which they understand nothing of, for the most part; than it does politicians, to decide in matters of faith and religion. Affairs of state are of so nice a nature, that it is always dangerous to speak of them before the people, who are not always well affected to the government. *Omni populo, says Plutarch, inest malignum quiddam & querulum in imperantes.* All preachers have a good zeal, I confess; but as this zeal is not always attended with knowledge and prudence, it is for the interest of the public that those of ability should forbear, through modesty, to bring these matters into their sermons, in order to oblige others to confine themselves within the limits of the gospel doctrine, which every where recommends peace and obedience. In the last years of the reign of Henry III, and the first of Henry IV, the doctors, Aubry, Boucher, Pelletier, Lincestre, Rose, Feu-ardent, and many others of that stamp, had so profaned the ministry of the word, that the pulpit, where nothing but truth should be spoken, was become the seat of imposture and calumny; and that the people, infected through the ears, adored no other cross, but that of Lorraine. For which reason it was absolutely necessary to restrain this licence, and re-establish good discipline in the sacred ministry, which the spirit of rebellion had converted into a mystery of iniquity.'

If the Pope's Nuncio acquitted himself well of his commission, yet he did not remove this great disorder. They continued to preach and talk seditiously, and to give rise thereby to conspiracies against the life of Henry IV (29). The true Frenchmen, favourers of the independent

(27) Apology for John Chastell, Part V. chap. ix. pag. 234. & 19.

(28) D'Osat, Lettre cclxxiii, pag. 361, 370. Tom II, Edit. of Paris, 1698.

(29) See the *Anti-César, c. 100.* Tom V, Edit. of Paris, 1698.

writings and private conversation, insinuated the assassination of such princes as Henry IV, whom they suspected of favouring the enemies of Popery. This was perhaps one of the reasons, which obliged the parliament of Paris to involve all the Jesuits of France in the cause of John Chastel, and John Guignard [G]. They hoped perhaps, that, by banishing out of the kingdom those who passed for the principal authors of dangerous doctrines, they should bridle the boldness of other Ecclesiastics.

independent power of the king, and attached to the monarchical maxims of state, attributed to the Jesuits especially this republican and ultramontane spirit. Not that they looked upon them as the first authors of it (30): they only considered them as it's strongest support. This puts me in mind of a remark, which appeared in a book, printed in the year 1701, and intituled, *The present state of the faculty of divinity of Louvain, treating of the conduct of some of it's divines, and of their sentiments against the sovereignty and safety of kings, and against the four articles of the clergy of France*. It is three letters of a canon of Tournai to a doctor of the Sorbonne. They are preceded by a letter of that doctor, in which we find these words (31): 'But whence is it, that in mentioning, in your letters the sentiments of those divines, who teach, that kings subjects may be absolved from the oath of fidelity, you speak only of some particular doctors of Louvain, of some Augustins, of some Recollects, and not at all of the Jesuits? Know you not, that these detestable opinions are derived from them? Not that they are the first, who maintained them: several canonists, some divines, above all, the Italians, subject to the Pope, taught them before them: but their writings were so insignificant, that they fell of themselves, and served rather to discredit these opinions, than to bring them into fashion. But the Jesuits have heightened them, and have undertaken to give them credit.'

[G] This was one of the reasons, which obliged the parliament to involve all the Jesuits of France in the cause of John Chastel, and John Guignard. There were some persons, who were surprized, that there

being at most but presumptions, that the Jesuits had advised John Chastel to the wicked attempt, which he executed, yet they were banished the kingdom by the same Arrêt, which condemned that assassin. But to justify in this the conduct of the parliament of Paris, we must observe, that the action of that young man was not the foundation of the banishment, to which the Jesuits were condemned: it was only an occasion of determining a cause, which had been pleaded some months before. This cause was a process carried on against the Jesuits by the university of Paris. Antony Arnould, who pleaded for that university, had concluded, 'that the court might be pleased in confirming the request of the university, to order all the Jesuits of France to quit the kingdom and all his majesty's dominions, within fifteen days after notice given in every one of their colleges or houses, speaking to one of them for the rest. *Alas!* and, upon their refusal, wherever any of them shall be found in France after the said time, they shall be condemned upon the spot, without form of process, as guilty of high-treason, and attempting on the life of the king' (32). The judgment of the cause was referred to another time; but, on occasion of the affair of John Chastel, they complied with the petition of the university, and the methods made use of by Antony Arnould. Some other parliaments imitated that of Paris: but the parliament of Toulouse, and that of Bourdeaux, refused to conform themselves to it (33); and thus the Jesuits kept their ground in Languedoc and Guienne till their recall. They did not obtain it till the beginning of the year 1604.

GUILLELMA, or GUILLELMINA, of Bohemia, the head of an infamous sect, which appeared in Italy in the XIIIth century, did so effectually deceive the world by the appearances of an extraordinary devotion, and acted her part so well to the last, that she died with the reputation of holiness, and was in great veneration for a considerable time after her death, as if she had been a saint. At last her imposture was found out; her corps was dug up, and burnt, in the year 1300. She died in 1281, and had been buried at Milan in the church-yard of *San Pietro del Horto*. Half a year after, she was removed to the convent of Caravalla (a), and a tomb was erected to her, the ruins whereof are still to be seen in the burying-place of the monks. Two learned men, Puricellus and Boffius, have published an account of that sect; but they do not agree in every particular. Boffius was the first, who defamed that sect on account of their lewdness [A]; but Puricellus maintains, that the corruption did not proceed

[A] Boffius . . . first dis famed this sect on account of their lewdness. That sect was accused of a thing, wherewith many other conventicles have been charged at several times, and in several places. It was said, that the followers of Guillelma met in a cave in the night-time, and that, after they had repeated certain prayers, they put out the candles, and men and women lay together, as chance directed. *Quos ipsi in quadam Synagoga subterranea conventibus antelucanis congregantes, cum ad modum Presbyterorum induti certas orationes ad altare fudissent, extincto aut sub medio abscondito lumine ad fortuitos concubitus hortari, consueverant* (1). It is further said, that a rich merchant having a wife, who used to go frequently by stealth to that cave, followed her one day privately, and lay with her, and convicted her of it by a ring he took from her finger. He set up for an informer against that sect (2). The same story is related of the Fratricelli, as I have shewn in their article (3). I believe such accusations have been sometimes calumnious: but doubtless many lewd actions have been frequently performed in those conventicles: and I do not wonder, that so many husbands do not approve, that their wives should grow fond of certain devout assemblies; for love will come in sooner or later, and one cannot sufficiently admire the docility of the fair sex in relation to the doctrines that are most contrary to chastity (4). I do not much wonder, that women should have been prevailed upon to prostitute themselves, in the ancient Paganism; it was accounted

a kind of divine worship; the goddess Venus was honoured in that manner: but it is an amazing thing, that, in the midst of Christianity, notwithstanding the wise counsels of mothers, and the pathetic exhortations of preachers, the first hypocrite, that comes in their way, should be able to persuade them to a thousand abominations. If he tells one of his devotees, as St Aldhelme (5) did, *lie by me; I desire to know whether you will be so powerful an instrument in the devil's hands, as to make me yield to the temptation; she will do it*. If he tells her, as some heretics did, who were punished by the inquisition of Toulouse, *let us be stark naked one by another upon another; let us kiss and strive to tickle one another; we shall thereby give proof of our spiritual strength* (6); he is obeyed. Can there be a greater docility? would the refuse to proceed farther, if he was willing? have not many women complied with the order of lying with the first comer, when candles were put out, in the conventicles of the fraternity? I must take notice of another docility not so bad, but yet very strange. When infirm men want to have their natural heat in some measure restored to them, there are young women who will not scruple to lie by them, in order to do them that good office. A pagnyrist of the fair sex affords me a very remarkable passage about it. 'Physicians, says he (7) cannot deny, that the heat of a young woman's breast, applied to an old man's stomach, may revive and keep up

(30) Compare the remark [S] of the article LOYOLA.

(31) Letter of a doctor of the Sorbonne to a canon of Tournai, fol. a. 4.

(a) It is of the order of Cisterciens; two leagues from Milan. It is wrongly called Caravalla. Mabillon, Museum Italicum, Part. I, pag. 19.

(1) Spondanus, ubi infra.

(2) Ex Spondano, ad ann. 1300, n. 10.

(3) Citat. (12) of the article FRATICELLI, remark [A].

(4) See the article FRATICELLI, remark [A].

(5) See the article FRANCIS, remark [C].

(6) Nonne est bene miserrimum meritum quod se stemus oculo in oculo, tangendo, tamen non confestim in peroratione carnis peccati? *Se te*

(7) Billon, Fort inexpressible de l'honneur du sexe féminin, p. 112.

ceed from the mind to the body, and that Guillelma and her followers were only guilty of an abominable Fanaticism, which he proves by the verbal process of the Inquisition (b) [B]. Guillelma's festival was celebrated three times a year at her tomb; on St Bartholomew's day, on which she died; on the day of the translation of her body to Caravalla; and upon Whitfunday (c). Her visions were not extirpated for ever [C].

(b) Mabillon, ubi supra, pag. 19, 20.

(c) Id. ibid.

* his natural heat. The royal prophet David was not ignorant of it, since he pitched upon * the beautiful Shunamite, that she might, in that manner, drive away the coldness of his old age. And it is likely, that, in imitation of him, the grandfather of the late king of Navarre, called Monsieur d'Albret, being 120 years old, kept two young handsome women to that effect. He lived a long time upon their milk without any other food, and lay between them; which was the reason why they were respected like princes in his house. But I would not have every man to do the same; for they would often imitate a Notary in the Chatelet of Paris, whose name was Martin Maupin. That man made his jealous wife believe, that he was sick of David's distemper, that she might give him leave to make use of his maid in order to warm his stomach; and the poor woman was sometimes deceived in it. I shall observe, by the by, that St Jerome does not approve, that what is related of the Shunamite should be taken in a literal sense. He explains it allegorically, and says the meaning of it is, that David, in his old days, was more intimately united to wisdom. That great doctor of the church rejects the literal sense with the utmost indignation. 'Nonne tibi videtur, si occidentem sequare litteram, vel figmentum esse de mimo, vel Attellanarum ludicia? . . . Quæ est igitur ista Shunamitis, uxor & virgo, tam fervens, ut frigidum calefaceret, tam sancta, ut calentem ad libidinem non provocaret: Exponat sapientissimus Salomon patris sui delicias, & pacificus bellatoris viri narret amplexus. Posside sapientiam, posside intelligentiam, &c. (8) . . . Do you not think, that, by following the literal sense, you make a meer fiction of the story? . . . What therefore is that Shunamite, both wife and virgin, so hot, as to warm the cold, so holy, as not to provoke him, when

(f) Hieronym. Epist. ad Nepotianum, pag. m. 207.

* warm, to last? let Solomon, the wisest of men, explain his father's joys, and a peaceful king relate the embraces of a warlike one. Get wisdom, get understanding, &c.

[B] By the verbal process of the Inquisition.] That act, drawn up in the year 1300, imports, that Andrew Saramita and Mayfreda Pirovana, the chief followers of Guillelma, maintained, that she was the HOLY GHOST incarnated in the feminine sex, and born of Constantia, wife of the king of Bohemia; that she was only dead according to the flesh; that she would rise again before the general resurrection, and ascend into heaven in the sight of her disciples; that she had left a vicar upon earth, viz. Mayfreda Pirovana, a nun of the order of the humbled; that this nun would say mass at Guillelma's tomb; and at last, that she would be possessed of the holy apostolical see at Rome; that she would expel the cardinals from thence, and have four doctors, who would make four new gospels. Puricellus gives us a full account of all those impious assertions. His book was never printed, and it is not known whether it will ever come out. It does not appear that Guillelma boasted of that pretended incarnation; nay, it seems that by a false modesty she affected not to own it (9).

[C] Her visions were not extirpated for ever.] The author of the continuation of Nangis's chronicle says, upon the year 1306, that one Dulcinius of Verceil vented the like doctrines concerning the HOLY GHOST (10). Postel, and his mother Joan, were guilty of as great extravagancies; and it were easy to shew that this sort of Fanaticism is revived from time to time. One would think, that the devils have plotted to have religion ridiculed by women, and that, notwithstanding the ill success of many attempts, they renew them from time to time in many places.

(9) Mabill. in Museo Italico, Part. I, pag. 20.

(10) Id. Mabill. ibid.

GUIMENÉ (The Princess of): Colomesius reckons her among those, who understood Hebrew [A]. Menage tells a pleasant story relating thereto [B].

[A] Colomesius reckons her among those, who understood Hebrew.] These are his words: * Lutetiae apud D. Hardy hujus principis Horas (ut vocant) vidi Hebraicæ & Gallicæ excusulas, unde colligo ipsam fuisse Hebraici idiomatis haud ignaram. Claruit circa A. 1625 (1). — At Paris I saw the Horæ or prayer book of this Princess, in Hebrew and French, at Mr Hardy's, whence I conclude she was not ignorant

(1) Colomes. Gall. Orient. pag. 261.

* of the Hebrew tongue. She flourished about 1625.

[B] Menage tells a . . . story relating thereto.]

* The prince of Guimené, seeing a man (it was Mr des Valles), with ragged breeches, come every morning into the princess's chamber, asked her one day what he came for. She told him, he shews me Hebrew. Madam, (replied the prince) he will quickly shew you his backside (2).

(2) Menagiana, pag. 189, of the first Dutch Edit.

GUINDANO (SIGISMUND) a native of Cremona, having made a poem about the actions of the emperor Charles V, presented it to that prince at such an unlucky time, that he received nothing for it. He did not pitch upon a proper time [A]; for he made his compliment with his copy in his hand, when Charles V was engaged in a great war in Germany. He was so vexed at such an unprofitable reception, that he threw his poem into the fire: It is thought, that, if he had been rich enough to get it printed at his own charge, he would not have been so cruel to his work; but his great poverty, which did not permit him to publish it, together with his spite, was a sufficient reason for him to destroy it (a).

(a) Taken from Lancellotti di Perugia, in the 27th Disinganno of the first volume of his Hoggidi, pag. 273. He quotes An. Camp. lib. iii, Aug. Ju. lib. v.

[A] He did not pitch upon a proper time.] All those, who intend to present their works to great men, should mind this advice of Horace:

Ut proficentem docui te sæpe diuque
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vinni,
Si validus, si lætus erit, si denique poscet.
Ne studio nostri pecces, odiumque libellis
Sedulus importes opera vehemente minister (1).

(1) Horat. Epist. xii, lib. i.

When last we parted, this was my command:
Present these papers to Augustus' hand;
From cares of empire if his mind unbends,
Or if he asks to see what Horace sends:

Left, Vinnius, by thy diligence misplac'd,

Thy master's verses be at court disgrac'd.

That is, one ought to avoid an unseasonable time for all princes are in that respect like Augustus; they will not be unseasonably interrupted (2). An author will miscarry for want of observing the critical minute, and what the Latins call, *Molles aditus, mollissima fandi tempora*. Our Guindano had this misfortune; he mis-timed his business; he shewed a poem of twelve books to an emperor, who was engaged in a very troublesome war (3). O essendo presentati con poco garbo, ò non à tempo trovandosi egli occupatissimo nella guerra d'Allemagna, non hebbe mai niente (4).

(2) Nisi dextro tempore, Flacci Verba per attentam non ibunt Cæsaris aurem. But, above all, a proper season choose, Or Cæsar will not listen to the muse. Id. Sat. I, lib. ii, ver. 18.

(3) Hæcæ questi composto dodici libri de fatti di Carlo V. Imperadore intitolati Asfiriadi. Lancellotti di Perugia, Hoggidi, Pa. t. I, cap. xxvii, pag. 273.

(4) Id. ibid.

VOL. III.

Bbb

GUISCARD.

GUISCARD. It is the name, which the lords de la Cotte, de la Bourlie, de la Laurie, &c. bestowed upon their family, which is one of the most noble and most ancient in the province of Quercy. They pitched upon it out of respect to one of their ancestors, whose proper name was GUISCARDUS. It was not the custom of those times to preserve the proofs of the origine of families in favour of their posterity; nevertheless those lords can produce some writings near five hundred years old; for they make it appear, not only that they are possessed of lands, which never were out of their family for many ages, but also that their nobility has been transmitted without any interruption to the count de GUISCARD, who is (a) a worthy successor of his illustrious ancestors. BERNARD DE GUISCARD makes the first degree of the genealogy of that house. The testimonies of his actions, which are extant, shew that his race had an original, which reached beyond the age he lived in. He took the title of knight in all the leaves of his lands from the year 1247 to 1283. This is a manifest proof, that he had signalized himself in war, and that his services procured him that title, which was then, and for many ages after, the most honourable reward bestowed upon military valour. There are fourteen degrees in a direct and male line from that Bernard to the present count de Guiscard, and that series of successions affords several illustrious alliances, and several persons distinguished by their merit [A]. But it must be confessed, that those, who gave a greater lustre to that family, are, GEORGE DE GUISCARD, lord of la Bourlie [B], and LEWIS DE GUISCARD,

his

[A] Several illustrious alliances, and several persons distinguished by their merit. I shall mention some of them. BERTRAND DE GUISCARD, Da-moiseau (1), the third son of BERNARD (2) DE GUISCARD, left a son behind him called GAILLARD DE GUISCARD, about whom there is an uncommon record preserved in the archives. Having been knighted, as his forefathers were, a private man called Peter de la Tour, who probably served under him, and was upon the point of death, having desired him to honour him with the same title, he conferred it upon him in the year 1334: *In infirmitate qua decessit, fecit se militem fieri per Gaillardum Guiscardum militem, & per eundem Guiscardum insignia militaria sibi dari.* King Philip de Valois, approving that action, by his letters dated from Paris in August, 1337, confirmed that knighthood, and was willing that the descendants of him, who had received it, should enjoy, by virtue of it, all the privileges belonging to nobility. The same Gaillard de Guiscard served still in the wars of Gasconne, in the year 1339, with four esquires under the command of messire Peter de Marmande, seneschal of Perigord, according to an account of that year given by Bartholomew de Drack, treasurer of the war. But it is not known, whether he was married, and left any children behind him (3).

(1) Children of good families, who had not yet been knighted, were distinguished by that title.

(2) He was the son of that Bernard de Guiscard, which whom the genealogy begins.

(3) Hoffer, Genealogie de la Maison de Guiscard. See citat. (9).

(4) Ibid.

(5) That company was then composed of persons of quality.

BERNARD DE GUISCARD fourth of that name, Seigneur de la Cotte, and de la Laurie, Da-moiseau, married the twenty eighth of April, 1315, Helis de Montaigne, daughter and heiress of Bernard de Montaigne, Seigneur de Montecuc. His castle of la Cotte being then an important fortress, Galois de la Baume, lord of Valin, who had the direction of the war in Languedoc, and was then at Cahors, gave him the government of it, and kept him in the pay of Charles V, by letters of the tenth of May, 1348, with six men of arms, and six foot-serjeants, to secure that place. There is good reason to believe, that he preserved it out of interest and zeal, as he had engaged; for he made his will in that castle, the twenty seventh of April in the year 1353 (4).

WILLIAM BERTRAND DE GUISCARD, second of that name, married, first, on the fifth of October, 1413, Margaret de Veirac, daughter of Guy de Veirac, lord of Merle and Cossac in the diocese of Tulle; and, secondly, Helis de Landore, sister to Bernard de Landore, viscount de Cadars in Rouergue. ANTONY DE GUISCARD, lord of la Cotte and Montecuc, married, the sixteenth of October, 1492, Isabella de Lomagne, daughter of John de Lomagne, lord of Montagu in Agenois. JOHN DE GUISCARD, first of that name, gentleman in ordinary of the king's chamber, married the eleventh of August, 1528, Souveraigne de Ricard de Genouillac, daughter of John de Ricard surnamed de Genouillac, knight, baron de Gourdon, and lord of Genouillac, and Vaillae, and of Margaret Daubousson. JOHN DE GUISCARD his son, one of the hundred gentlemen of the king's household (5), married, the twelfth of November, 1554, Frances de la Barthe, daughter of Matthew de la Barthe, baron de Mont-

cornet, and first baron d'Astarac, and of Catherine de Lomagne, lady de Montarac. JOHN DE GUISCARD, his second son, lord of Puy de Sirests, married Agnes de Temines, the fifth of January, 1625.

[B] GEORGE DE GUISCARD lord of la Bourlie. That family was divided into two branches towards the end of the XVth century, viz. that of the lords du Puy de Sirests (6), and that of the lords du Cairou and de la Bourlie. The head of the first was the second son of John de Guiscard, second of that name. The head of the other was GABRIEL DE GUISCARD, lord of la Gardelle, du Cairou, and de la Bourlie, the third son of John de Guiscard, second of that name. Gabriel de Guiscard had eight sons: the sixth is the count de la Bourlie, whose name appears in the text of this remark. He was born the ninth of August, 1606. He has been successively captain of foot and of horse in the regiment of Vaillac and Coallin. One of his legs was broke by a musket-shot, at the descent into the isles of St Margaret and St Honorat; and one of his arms was run through with a spear, at the battle of Rocroy; and having signalized himself at the battle of Lens (7), at the siege of Arras, and on several occasions, he deserved to be made one of the king's pensionaries in the year 1644. He was made serjeant of battle, and governor of Courtray, in the year 1647. The year following, the queen-mother thought him worthy of the choice she made of him to fill the place of sub-governor to the king. Afterwards he was made counsellor of state in 1649, maréchal de camp in 1651: and his majesty being well pleased with the services he had done in his employments, gave him, in 1662, the command of the sovereignties of Sedan, Raucour, and St Mange; and he had the government of that important place in 1671, of which he had been made great bayliff. The king thought he could not bestow upon a more faithful person the command of the towns and citadel of Dunkirk, Bergues, Furnes, and Graveline, and of the troops appointed for the defence of that frontier, which was given him with the power of lieutenant-general in 1672: and the year following, he beat, near Furnes, with 500 troopers, above 800 men of the enemies, a great part of which were killed upon the spot, and he brought 140 prisoners to Dunkirk. At last, crowned with the reputation he had justly acquired by his wisdom and valour, during the space of a very long life, he died the ninth of December, in the year 1693, aged eighty seven years and four months. He had been married in the royal palace, in the king's and the late queen-mother's presence, the twenty eighth of November 1648, to Genevieve de Longueval, lady de Fourdrinoy in Picardy, daughter of Antony de Longueval, lord of Tenelles and Lemont, and of Elizabeth de Margival; and he left behind him four sons by that lady. LEWIS DE GUISCARD count de Neuvy, of whom I shall speak in the following remark. JOHN-GEORGE DE GUISCARD, born the twenty seventh of September, 1657, he gave great proofs of his valour, being engaged in the colonel's company of the regiment of Normandy,

(6) It is extant.

(7) Note, That the battle of Lens was fought in 1648, and therefore there is here one name for another, or a small anachronism.

his eldest son [C]. Read the following Remarks. This family bears, argent, a bend gules; for supporters, two lions, or; and for the crest, a lion naissant of the same (b).

(b) Taken from the genealogy of the house of Guiscard, drawn up from records in Decemb. 1696, by Mr d'Hofier.

Normandy, during the defence of Grave, where he was wounded with a musket-shot in the head; and, whilst he was captain in the regiment of guards, he signalized his courage in many battles and sieges. He was shot through the body at the siege of Ipres; and has been since colonel of the regiment of Normandy, at the head of which the count de Guiscard, his brother, had served with great distinction. ANTONY DE GUISCARD, born the twenty seventh of December 1658, abbot of Bonnecombe in Rouergue, and prior of Dieu en Souvienne. Genevieve Catherine de Guiscard was married, the thirtieth of Oct. 1683, to Camillus Savari, count de Breves (8). Note, that the eldest branch is now, in the fifteenth degree, in the person of FRANCIS DE GUISCARD, Seigneur de St Jean and de la Coste.

(8) Genealogie de la Maison de Guiscard.

[C] LEWIS DE GUISCARD, his eldest son. He was born the twenty seventh of September, 1651; and, ever since he bore arms, he has had important posts in the king's service. For being animated with the same sentiments, which procured to the count de la Bourlie, his father, all the glorious rewards, wherewith his majesty honoured his courage, he began to serve as a captain in the regiment des Vaisseaux, in the year 1671. He served in that quality, the year following, at the sieges of Orfey, Rhinberg, Duisburg, and Zutphen, and at those of Maestricht and Unna in the country of Marck, in the year 1673. The king made him colonel of the regiment of Normandy in March 1674; and immediately he entered into Grave, which was invested already, and where the said regiment was. He forced a guard, and carried 16 prisoners into the place, with 30 troopers of the garrison of Mazeyck, whom he had taken for a convoy. He was dangerously wounded with a musket-shot in the arm-pit, towards the end of the siege, where he commanded the infantry. The year following, he was wounded again with a musket-shot in the head, at the siege of Bouchain: and, being detached, the same campaign, to bring six battalions to the body, commanded by the marechal de Crequi near Thionville; he was at the battle of Conlarbrick, and was so happy, as to bring to Metz the broken remains of the Infantry, with the remainder of the regiment of Normandy and Bourlemont. He served the years following, in Germany, and was at the siege of Friburg, and of fort Kiel; and also, in the year 1684, at the siege of Luxemburg. He always signalized himself with so much bravery in all the places, where he had occasion to act at the head of that body, that his majesty granted him, in 1689, a commission of brigadier in his infantry, and gave him power to command in Dinant, and a general inspection over the troops garrisoned in that place, and in Charlemont, Rocroy, Beaumont, and Philippeville. Having discharged the duties of that post with the utmost vigilance and activity (9), the king thought fit to make him, the next year, marechal de camp, and commander of Rocroy and Charlemont, with orders to throw himself into Philippeville, if it should be attacked. And because his wife conduct and indefatigable application made way for new rewards, the count de la Bourlie having resigned his government of Sedan, the king thought it just to give it to the count de Guiscard, his son. It was

(9) I have followed the original, which I had by me; but it is plain, it is a faulty copy in this place, and that we must not ascribe to Mr Hofier what we there find contrary to the grammatical construction of words.

conferred upon him in the year 1692. And his majesty being well pleased with the zeal and intrepidity he had shewn, wherever he had executed his orders, thought he ought to entrust him with the keeping of the town and castle of Namur, the most important place of Europe, which he had just then subdued at the head of his army. He had the power to command in it as a governor; and that glorious choice was attended with the dignity of lieutenant-general, wherewith the king honoured him, the thirtieth of March, 1693. His majesty gave him the command of a considerable body, to invest Huy, in order to make a diversion, whereby the siege of Furnes, undertaken by the marechal de Boufflers, might be carried on; which succeeded, by keeping on that side part of the enemies troops commanded by the earl of Athlone. He sustained, at Bossu, a vigorous attack of the enemies upon a convoy, which he conducted from Maubeuge to the army of the marechal de Luxemburg, with a firmness the more extraordinary, because he had but thirteen squadrons; and Mr du Puy, lieutenant-general of the Spanish armies, who had eighteen squadrons, and 2400 foot, of the garrison of Charleroy, was entirely defeated, and put to flight, having had many men killed and made prisoners. He was so lucky as to be at the battle of Nerwinde, having set out from Huy at break of day. The marechal de Luxemburg placed him in the right wing, where he proved very serviceable. Having acquired a new degree of glory by the defence of Namur, attacked by all the forces of the allies, he was honoured with the order of the HOLY GHOST, to which the king nominated him the seventeenth of December, 1695; and he was admitted, with the usual ceremonies, on the first day of January of this year 1696. He married the twenty fourth of February, 1677, Angelique de Langlée, the daughter of Claudius de Langlée, chevalier, Seigneur de l'Epichelere, quarter-master-general of the king's armies, and of Catherine Roze; by whom he has LEWIS AUGUSTUS DE GUISCARD, born the twentieth of May 1680, and colonel of the regiment of Guiscard, &c. Catherine de Guiscard, born the twelfth of June 1688 (10).

This is what Mr d'Hofier said in December 1696. He could not then mention the embassy of Sweden, to which the count de Guiscard was named in 1698 (11); nor the untimely death of the only son of that count. That young lord had been educated with all imaginable care, and had wonderfully answered so good an education. He had very noble inclinations, he loved not only warlike exercises, but also the *Belles Lettres* and philosophy, and had made a great progress in them. He saw the court of England in the retinue of the count de Tallard the French ambassador, in the year 1698, and accompanied his father to Stockholm in 1699. He was preparing to take a journey to Rome; but, being arrived at Vienna, he fell sick of the small-pox, of which he died in a few days, towards the end of December 1699, to the great grief of all those, who knew and admired him. Had not the count de Guiscard, who loved that only son with a particular tenderness, been a man of a very steady soul, he had never been able to bear such a severe blow.

(10) D'Hofier, in the Genealogy of the House of Guiscard, drawn up from Records in Decemb. 1696.

(11) He is actually exercising the functions of that embassy, which he entered upon seven or eight months ago: I write this in March 1700.

GUISE (JAMES DE), a Franciscan monk, was born at Mons in Hainault. He was doctor of divinity, and taught that science, philosophy, and mathematics, for the space of twenty-five years more or less, in the convents of his order. He earnestly applied himself to illustrate the antiquities, and the history, of his country; but he followed fabulous traditions; for he affirmed, that his birth-place was founded by the Trojans. We have only an abridgment of his chronicle of Hainault (a) [4], and it is not

(a) Taken from Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. pag. 411.

[A] We have only an abridgment of his chronicle of Hainault. That abridgment is written in French, and not in Latin, as the chronicle. It was printed at Paris in the year 1531, in folio. The title of it runs thus: *Les illustrations de la Haute Belgique, antiquitez du Pays de Hainault & de la grande cite des Belges, à present dite Bayay, dont procedent les chaussees de Brabant, & de plusieurs Princes*

qui ont regné, & fondé plusieurs villes & citez audist pays, & autres choses singulieres & dignes de memoire, advenues durant leurs regnes, jusques au Duc Philippe de Bourgogne dernier decede. Par Frere Jacques de Guise Religieux de l'Ordre de Saint François. Oeuvre divisé en six Volumes, desquels il n'y a que les trois premiers imprimez. That is, the illustrations of Gallia Belgica, the antiquities of Hainault, and the great city,

(b) Valer. Andro
ibid.

not likely, that the whole work will ever be published. The author died at Valenciennes, the sixth of February, 1399 (b). Moreri has committed some faults [B].

'city of the Belgæ, now called Bavay, where the causeway (commonly called les Chaussées de Brunehaut) begins, and of many princes, who reigned and built many towns in that country, and other memorable things, which happened in their reigns, till the time of the late duke Philip of Burgundy. By brother James de Guise, a monk of the order of St Francis. A work divided into six volumes, whereof only the three first are printed.' Thus the title of this work is mentioned by Andrew du Chesne (1). Du Verdier does not mention it so fully; but he has not forgot a circumstance omitted by du Chesne, viz. That this book was translated into French (2). La Croix du Maine falsely believed, that James de Guise was the author of that translation (3). He adds, that the Latin chronicle of that monk is to be seen in manuscript in the convent of the Minor Friars at Valenciennes, as John le Maire says in his Illustrations of Gaule; that it was composed at the request of William earl of Hainault, and that it reaches to the year 1244. This last particular does not agree with the title of the abridgment; for no duke of Burgundy, called Philip, died at that time. Philip de Rouvre, the last duke of Burgundy of the first branch, died the twenty first of November 1361. Valerius Andreas observes (4), that the Paris edition, 1531, is intituled, *Extraits des Chroniques de Jacques de Guise*; and that there was, at Mr Gevart's at Antwerp, another abridgment of those chronicles, made by order of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. He further says, that the Franciscans of Mons had the manuscript of that chronicle of Hainault in three volumes.

(1) Du Chesne, Biblioth. des Historiens de France, pag. m. 198.

(2) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 608.

(3) La Croix du Maine, pag. 188.

(4) Valer. Andro. Bibl. Belg. pag. 411.

(a) Du Chesne, Antiqu. des Villes de France, pag. m. 438.

(b) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 595.

(c) Id. Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 1021.

(d) Le Laboureur, Hist. du Maréchal de Guebriant.

(e) Of the 17th of May, 1688.

(f) In one of the remarks of the article R. VEREND.

(1) At the time of the conspiracy of Amboise, in the year 1560.

(2) The daughter of William d'Harcourt, Count de Tancarville.

(3) Et Claudius quidem . . . Antonium fratrem, quod in viva Margaritis ex Philippa natus esset, tunc quam ex adulterio procreatum Lotaringum succedere voluit, ne communis quidem matris pudori parceret: quod cum frustra tentasset, & in patria impius esse non posset, spes iniquas secum in Galliam . . . attulit. Thuanus, lib. xxiv, pag. 410, ad ann. 1560.

I learned yesterday (5) of Baron le Roy, a very curious and knowing man, that, not long before his most Christian Majesty besieged Mons in 1691, he wrote a letter to the warden of the convent, where that manuscript was, desiring him to get some chapters of it transcribed for him; and that the warden made answer, that, after he had transcribed something of it, he had left it off, not being able to read the author's letters and abbreviations, and that the most able monks of his convent could not do it neither. Baron le Roy added, that, during the siege, a lay-brother of that convent set up for a gunner, and made it appear, that he had not forgot the experience he had formerly got in that art; and that, a deserter having acquainted the French with it, many bombs were thrown upon that convent, which set it on fire; so that the manuscript of James de Guise was burnt, with the library of the monks.

[B] Moreri has committed some faults. I. James de Guise was not a native of Valenciennes, but of Mons. Observe, by the bye, that La Coix du Maine, who conjectured he was born at Guise (6), is mistaken; besides, he did not know that this monk lived in the XIVth century. II. Moreri should not have said, that he died in 1398, or in 1399; for authors do not differ in that manner as to the year, in which James de Guise departed this life. Their variations consist in this, that some begin the year with January, and others after Easter. According to the latter, he died in 1398, and, according to the former, in 1399 (7).

(5) I write this in Novem. 1697.

(6) La Coix du Maine, ubi supra.

(7) See Valerius Andreas, ubi supra.

GUISE, a town of Picardy, upon the river Oise, in the diocese of Laon, was the ancient patrimony of the younger brothers of the house of Lorraine, and was erected into a duchy and peerdom in January 1527 (a). It went through several revolutions, according to the different success of arms, during the wars of Francis I, and the emperor Charles V. It was taken by storm in 1536. The castle, which might have held out, was safely surrendered; for which reason the captains were branded with infamy (b). But in 1543, Ferdinand de Gonzaga, who besieged it, being early informed of the march of Francis I, raised the siege, and was so briskly charged in his retreat, that he lost two thousand men in the rear of his army, besides many prisoners (c). In 1636, the Spaniards, who had made some conquests in Picardy, did not think fit to besiege Guise, being afraid that the count de Guebriant, who commanded in it, would make a vigorous resistance (d). They could not make themselves masters of it in 1650, though every thing seemed to favour them. See the book, intituled, *Le Triomphe de la Ville de Guise*. It was written by John Baptiste de Verdun, a Minime, and printed at Paris in 1687: It is mentioned in the Journal des Savans (e). I shall observe in another place (f), that the miscarriage of that enterprize of the Spaniards is chiefly to be ascribed to the marquis de Bougi.

GUISE (CLAUDIUS DE LORRAIN, duke of), the second son of Renatus duke of Lorraine, went and settled in France, after he had endeavoured in vain, as it is said, to hinder Antony his eldest brother from succeeding his father [A]. Being a man of great

[A] He in vain endeavoured, as it is said, to hinder Antony his elder brother from succeeding his father. The following account is to be found in Thuanus, where he gives an account of the speech, which la Renaudie is supposed to have made to his accomplices (1). Renatus, duke of Lorraine, when he married Margaret d'Harcourt (2), heirs of the house of Tancarville, obliged her, by the contract of his marriage, to make over to him her estate by deed of gift. Afterwards, under pretence that she was ugly, and then under pretence that she was barren, he cruelly divorced her, without restoring her estate to her, and married the sister of the duke of Guelderland before his first wife died. He had, by this second wife, among other children, Antony, who succeeded him, and our Claudius. The latter, who was born after the death of Margaret d'Harcourt, pretended, that Antony, being born during the life of that lady, was to be reputed a bastard, and incapable of succeeding; so that he did not scruple to dishonour his own mother, by giving out, that she was a concubine, provided he might become by that means duke of Lorraine, to the prejudice of his elder brother (3). Having miscarried in his attempt, he

left his country, and retired into France. I cannot tell whether this be true; and I give little credit to what is said by a speech-maker, in such circumstances as la Renaudie was in: but I am sure, that a very ambitious man is little concerned to dishonour his mother, when great advantages accrue to him from it. I shall set down some words of Thuanus, which seem to have some obscurity in them. *Cum primo finalis nuptiis Margaritam Gulielmi Haricuriani Tancarville Comitissæ filiam & amplissimorum bonorum, quæ Lotaringi hodie in Calensæ agro possident, heredem duxisset, & tabulis dotabilib. ad donationem illorum bonorum adesset, postea deformitatem & ex deformitate sterilitatem causatus miseram feminam repudiavit, & tamen bona retinuit* (4). Thuanus's meaning seems to be this, that the two pretences of the duke of Lorraine were grounded one upon another; that is, he alledged, first, that Margaret was an ugly woman; and, in the second place, that her ugliness was the cause of her barrenness. None but a wretched philosopher would argue thus: for there is no other connexion between a woman's ugliness and her barrenness, than what a malicious and nice husband can make, by refusing to pay to his wife what

(4) Thuan. lib. xxiv, pag. 429, ad ann. 1560.

great courage and merit, he was very much esteemed. He married a princess of the blood (a), and was raised to great offices. The county of Guise was erected into a duchy and peerdom upon his account. Such erections had not been made till then but for the princes of the blood. It is said, Francis I was angry with him upon some occasions [B], and would not permit him to be acknowledged a prince [C], nor to assume all the marks of one. However it be, Claudius de Lorraine became so powerful, that he founded a house, which was like to dethrone the lawful successors. He died in 1550, leaving behind him six sons and four daughters, the eldest of which was married to James Stuart, the Vth of that name, king of Scotland. He signalized himself upon several great occasions, particularly at the battle of Marignan [D]. His brother John, who went by the name of cardinal of Lorraine, proved a great support to him (b).

(a) *Antoinette de Bourbon, fille de Charles duc de Vendôme, the 18th of April, 1519. Anselme, Hist. Genealog. pag. 285.*

(b) See the marginal note (g) of remark [B].

what we call a due benevolence. Perhaps, duke Renatus took care not to want a pretence of barrenness upon occasion; but I am persuaded, that the only meaning of Thuanus's words, is, that, after the duke had alleged his wife's ugliness, he gave another reason for his divorce, viz. that he could get no children by her.

I cannot tell whether Varillas had any other authority besides la Renaudie's speech: however, it will not be improper to quote him (5). * When Claudius de Lorraine consulted his own interest, he pretended, that the duchies of Lorraine and Bar belonged to him, and that Antony, his eldest brother, was not a lawful son, since he was born in the life-time of the first wife (6) of their father. The same Claudius could not forbear saying so to some persons, who told duke Renatus of it; and he was afraid that his two sons would attempt upon one another's life. He found no better expedient, than to send Claudius into France, and to marry him there to Antoinette de Bourbon, eldest daughter of the count de Vendôme, and to bestow upon him all the lands he had in that kingdom; which were so many, that they take up two pages in the manuscript of the contract *, and so considerable, that they brought in as great a revenue as the duchies of Lorraine and Bar. Beloi says the quite contrary: for he affirms, that the first duke of Guise was not worth above fourteen or fifteen thousand livres per annum, when he married the lady Antoinette de Bourbon (7).

[B] Francis I was angry with him upon some occasions. La Renaudie affirms it in his speech: he says, that Claudius de Lorraine, having sent, without the king's order, some troops out of the province, of which he was governor, did so exasperate his majesty, that his pardon could not be obtained, but upon condition that he should no more appear at court. The pretence he made use of to send those troops out of his government of Champagne, was, that he had a mind to repulse the Anabaptists, who made excursions into the dominions of the duke of Lorraine (8). Antonio ab Anabaptistis, uti agebat, infestato, injusto regis ex praesentia sua auxiliareis copias adduxit. Quod adeo impatienter tulit Francis, qui his praedictis patientiam suam tentari interpretabatur, ut nisi in Joannis fratris (9) & Annae Memorantii, qui factum excusavit, gratiam, nunquam eam injuriam condonaturus fuisset cedatur: quam tamen ea lege remisit, ut Claudius in posterum aula abstineret, neque in suum conspectum veniret. As I have already said, I do not much depend upon la Renaudie's speech; but part of what he says is to be found in a good historian: let us keep to his account. The late king Francis, says he (10), never had a good opinion of the father (11), since he came to know, that, during his imprisonment, he had brought the forces of the kingdom to Severn, in order to pacify the troubles of Germany, and fight those, who troubled the Netherlands, and other countries, belonging to the house of Austria. The said king took it so ill, that, being come from Spain to St Sever, he ordered he should be imprisoned; and, had it not been for the constable's intercession, it had gone hard with him. He was also very much blamed, not only by the nobility, but also by the king, for the attempt he made upon the government of Burgundy in the life-time of Philip Cbadot, admiral and governor of that country; for the doing of an ill office to the crown, and encroaching upon the office of a gentleman still living, are two things very much taken notice of in France: which made the father and the sons so odious to the king, that they lost all hopes of raising themselves without the alliance and favour of the dukes of Valentinois.

I wonder this historian does not add, that the king, not long before he died, charged his successor to bestow no office upon the Guises. This particular is mentioned by some historians: La Renaudie did not forget it.

These are his words in Thuanus. *Ejus rei memoria cum tenacissime in Francis prudentissimi principis animo, quamdiu vixit, haesisset, moriens ille inter salutaria praecepta, quae de posteritate ac regno sollicitus Henrico F. dedit, imprimis eum monuit, ut sibi à Guisianorum ambitione caveret, ac proinde eos publicae rei gubernaculis ne admoveret (12).*

[C] and would not permit him to be acknowledged a prince. President de la Place, whom I have quoted before, mentions a discourse, that was made to Catherine de Medicis, by Lewis Regnier, Sieur de la Planche. 'The French gentlemen, (they are Regnier's words) honour foreign princes, when they keep within due bounds; otherwise they cannot endure them, and much less acknowledge them for princes, but only for lords and gentlemen. Which was confirmed by the judgment of the late king Francis, when the duke d'Aumale married; for he would not permit his wife to be dressed like a princess on her wedding day, saying, that he would not bestow upon the princes of Lorraine the honours that belong only to the princes of the blood; and that, if they had a mind to appear like princes, they must go out of the kingdom, and do it at their own charges. And the late duke of Guise, who very carefully sued for the place of chief hunter, which before was only possessed by meer gentlemen, was well contented, that his daughter-in-law should have no mantle on her wedding-day (13). We shall see, that Henry II did not tread in his father's steps, and even that Francis I was not always so strict on that head. The late king Francis, (they are la Planche's words) at the entry of queen Alienor, was willing that Mademoiselle de Guise, afterwards queen of Scotland, should be dressed like a princess; but, when her brother married, he plainly made it appear, that he would not have it to be made a precedent. And if the late king, at the solicitation of the dukes of Valentinois, (to whom all those of the house of Guise, that are now living, are indebted for their grandeur) altered the ancient custom, which was, that no maid should be dressed like a princess on her wedding-day, unless she was the daughter of a prince of the blood, or married to one; it is certain, that, if he had lived, he was resolved to humble them sufficiently. There are two other particulars in Lewis Regnier's discourse, that deserve to be inserted in this place. The late M. de Saint Paul never heard the duke of Guise, Claudius de Lorraine, stile himself prince, but he smiled, and told some persons about him, that he spoke German in French; and that whenever he had a mind to call himself a prince, he should add, of Lorraine, to speak proper French (15). This is the first particular: here follows the second (16). * It has been an ancient custom of our parliaments, especially of that of Paris, to prevent any one's assuming the title of prince in those courts, unless he be one of the royal blood. Which was confirmed, with respect to Messieurs de Guise, pleading before the late president Lizet, who told their advocate in a full court, that the title of prince belonged to none in France but to the princes of the blood, and ordered it to be struck out immediately (17).

[D] He signalized himself . . . particularly at the battle of Marignan. Francis I obtained a victory over the Swiss at Marignan in the year 1515. Claudius duke of Guise, who commended the Lanque-nets in the absence of Charles duke of Guelderland, his uncle, was trampled under foot. A German gentleman belonging to him saved his life, and lost his own, by covering his body, and receiving the blows levelled at him (18). See Father Anselme (19) who describes the thing more to the advantage of the duke of Guise.

(12) Thuan ubi supra, pag. 430. See below citat.

(13) President de la Place, ubi supra, fol. 59. See also Histoire de l'Etat de France sous François II, by Lewis Regnier, Sieur de la Planche, pag. 399.

(14) at the entry of queen Alienor, was willing that Mademoiselle de Guise, afterwards queen of Scotland, should be dressed like a princess; but, when her brother married, he plainly made it appear, that he would not have it to be made a precedent. And if the late king, at the solicitation of the dukes of Valentinois, (to whom all those of the house of Guise, that are now living, are indebted for their grandeur) altered the ancient custom, which was, that no maid should be dressed like a princess on her wedding-day, unless she was the daughter of a prince of the blood, or married to one; it is certain, that, if he had lived, he was resolved to humble them sufficiently.

(15) There are two other particulars in Lewis Regnier's discourse, that deserve to be inserted in this place. The late M. de Saint Paul never heard the duke of Guise, Claudius de Lorraine, stile himself prince, but he smiled, and told some persons about him, that he spoke German in French; and that whenever he had a mind to call himself a prince, he should add, of Lorraine, to speak proper French (15). This is the first particular: here follows the second (16).

(16) * It has been an ancient custom of our parliaments, especially of that of Paris, to prevent any one's assuming the title of prince in those courts, unless he be one of the royal blood. Which was confirmed, with respect to Messieurs de Guise, pleading before the late president Lizet, who told their advocate in a full court, that the title of prince belonged to none in France but to the princes of the blood, and ordered it to be struck out immediately (17).

(17) He signalized himself . . . particularly at the battle of Marignan. Francis I obtained a victory over the Swiss at Marignan in the year 1515. Claudius duke of Guise, who commended the Lanque-nets in the absence of Charles duke of Guelderland, his uncle, was trampled under foot. A German gentleman belonging to him saved his life, and lost his own, by covering his body, and receiving the blows levelled at him (18). See Father Anselme (19) who describes the thing more to the advantage of the duke of Guise.

(18) Mezzerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 410.

(19) Anselme, Palais de la Gloire, pag. 422.

(5) Varillas, Hist. de Henry III, liv. xii, pag. 311, 312.

(6) Varillas calls her Jean de Hircourt-Tancerville.

* Among the MSS of Lomele.

(7) Beloi, Apologie Catholique, fol. 10, verso.

(8) Thuanus, ubi supra, pag. 490.

(9) Thuanus had been saying a little before, that Claudius had obtained the government of Champagne and Tre, at the solicitation of his brother John, a cardinal, who had a great interest with the king.

(10) President de la Place, Commentaires de l'Etat de la Religion & République, liv. ii, fol. 54, verso, ad ann. 1550.

(11) That is, Claudius duke of Guise.

GUISE (FRANCIS DE LORRAIN duke of) eldest son of the foregoing, was one of the greatest captains of his age. He did very important services to the state, by defending Metz against the emperor Charles V, and by the taking of Calais, and on several other occasions; but it may be said, that the evils he occasioned do infinitely exceed the advantages he procured to France by his valour and conduct. His ambition, and that of cardinal Charles de Lorraine his brother, which was still more exorbitant than his, brought a dreadful desolation upon the kingdom: besides, the bloody spirit, wherewith they were animated against the Protestants, occasioned the civil wars, which brought France so often to the last extremities. That hatred was at first a meer political pretence; for had they had a prospect of a better fortune among the Reformed, they would doubtless have sided with them [A]; but at last it proved a true hatred. The greatest

(1) Intituled, Le Prince de Condé.

[A] If the Guises had had a prospect of a better fortune among the Reformed, they would doubtless have sided with them. The author of a short romance (1), which came out in France in 1675, introduces the prince of Condé speaking to admiral Chatillon in the following manner. Does the religion you are of, and which I profess, only because the Guises make profession of another, (for I shall not scruple to tell you, that if they turned Protestants, I would turn Catholic the very next day) I say, does that religion forbid to love the most beautiful woman that can be seen? These words may be an unjust reflexion upon that prince; but it is true, generally speaking, that the heads of great factions resolve upon a thing, only because their competitors are engaged in a thing contrary to it: and it is not to be doubted, that the Guises confirmed themselves in their religion, because their most dreadful enemies were in the other party. If the prince of Condé and the Chatillons had affected a great zeal for the extirpation of the Protestants, and if they had been enabled by that means to oppress the Guises, it is not to be questioned, that the latter would have forsaken the church of Rome to make themselves dreaded at the head of the Huguenots. Some say, they were for some time wavering about it; but Varillas pretends to have very good reasons to deny it. These are his words (2). 'Here I must confute an error, which is the more dangerous, because the best historians have not always avoided it. It is said, that the Guises took into consideration, in the present juncture (3), whether it was more advantageous to them to continue in the Catholic religion, or to put themselves at the head of the Calvinists; and that, after an exact discussion of their interests, they preferred the ancient religion to the new one. Messieurs du Puy, those two brothers, so famous for their great abilities, whispered that matter of fact to all the learned men, who visited them in the king's library, as one of the most important secrets of the French history. They affirmed, that this secret was to be found in the book against the league of Gonzaga, duke of Nevers. They got that book very neatly bound, and kept it with particular care; and yet, when they came to die, that book was examined the more exactly, because several people remembered what they had said of it; but no such thing was found in it. Besides, Marin le Roy de Gomberville, having undertaken to print the memoirs of the duke of Nevers, borrowed the same book. He transcribed it, and inserted it in the first volume of his memoirs (§a). But that pretended deliberation of the house of Guise does not appear in it, tho' Gomberville knew what Messieurs du Puy had said of it. Lastly, all the circumstances of that time shew, that this particular is a chimerical thing; for, on the one side, the Guises would have got nothing by turning Calvinists; and, on the other, would have lost all by it. They would have got nothing, since the Protestants, though they had sided with them, would not have been headed by them exclusively of the two first princes of the blood, especially of the prince of Condé, who was too ambitious to yield the command to foreigners, in a faction he had partly formed, having taken all proper measures to do every thing under his brother's name, and to succeed him, in case he should return to the pale of the church of Rome. Besides, supposing the princes of the blood had yielded to the Guises in so nice a point, the three Chatillons would not have done the same, but would have had the general direction of Calvinism, which was afterwards so solemnly bestowed upon them, after the desertion of the prince of Navarre, and the death of the prince of Condé.'

(2) Varillas Hist. de l'Hérésie, lib. xxxiii, pag. m. 131, ad ann. 1560.

(3) That is, after the death of Henry II.

(§a). Not in the first volume, but in the second. For the rest, the original of this treatise, containing 583 pages in 8vo, has not a word of what Varillas says that Mess. Du Puy boasted to have found in it. It is of the year 1590, without the name of the place, or of the printer, but probably of James Metayer, and printed at Tours, whither that able printer had followed Henry III. REM. CRIT.]

I could easily rest satisfied with these reasons alleged by Varillas, tho' I know, that those, who publish memoirs, leave out, and add, what they think fit (4). I can find no time, in which the Guises might have thought, that their forsaking the Catholic religion would be advantageous to them; and they never had less reason to think so, than in the reign of Francis II. And therefore what ground could there be for the deliberation, which Messieurs du Puy imparted to their friends as a great secret? What seems very likely to me, is, that, if the Guises had found that the Chatillons had a greater interest with the Catholic party than themselves, they would have sided with the Protestants; for, in all probability, self-interest was the only cause of their zeal for the church of Rome, and they expressed a great aversion for the contrary party, only to ingratiate themselves with the populace, and the clergy. What I say concerns the time, when private quarrels and libels had not yet exasperated them: For, at last, when their political hatred made them execrable to the party persecuted by them, they hated it in earnest, and yet they cunningly dissimulated, when some political reasons required it. I have read in one of the pieces that came out at that time (5), that cardinal Charles de Lorraine gave to understand, that by his advice the *Sieur d'Aumale*, his brother, favoured, as much as he could, the churches of Burgundy and Champagne, according to the edit: 'L'Évêque de Meuse, qui a été causé par les informations données par les Protestants, since the Declaration of the peace, to be burnt, at Chalons, in his presence; that he knew, that Madame de Guise, his sister, was a Protestant, and that she took care, that the *Sieur de Guise*, her son, should be secretly brought up in the confession of Augsburg: at which, said he, I am not displeased in the least (6). He is there answered, among other things, I know the cardinal for very well, you make some German princes believe, that you take care to have your nephew brought up in their confession; but it is only in order to get him invested with the four baronies of Metz, that he may be made a prince of the empire. To that end, when you paid your last homage, you made him barague the nobility in the German language, to get the love of the country by degrees. Some pages before, he was told in a reproachful manner, that he had, with one hand, given them some cups of gilt silver to the German ministers at Soverne, and executed, with the other, the massacre of Vassy. During the Paris massacre, the duke of Guise barbaured in his house above a hundred Protestants, whom he hoped to bring over to his party (7). The author of the answer to cardinal de Lorraine's Abbrégé, Chron. épist. was a good Protestant. What he confesses, concerning the hatred, which the Protestants had conceived against the Guises, is expressed by him thus: It is, and it will always be, says he (8), the general consent of our churches, to make head against all those, whom you favour, directly or indirectly, and to side with your enemies, whatever quality or religion they may be of. I wonder you are still ignorant of a thing so well known to the Pope, since he lately told the bishop of Auxerre, that he would willingly give a hundred thousand crowns, to make you a Huguenot, being persuaded, considering the mortal hatred we have for you, that we would

(4) The Jesuit journalists have observed it, says not Varillas, in the *Abbrégé* d'histoire, for January, 1691, pag. 29.

(5) Printed in 1565. It is intitled, *Réponse à Charles de Parme, Cardinal de Lorraine*. That epistle had been published under the name of Hainault, a gentleman of Hainault, both to excite taking up arms in January, at Paris, contrary to his majesty's ordinances, and to accuse the maréchal de Montmorency.

(7) Mezerai, *Abbrégé*, Chron. Tom. V, pag. 157.

(8) *Réponse*, &c.

greatest panegyrist of that duke of Guise cannot clear him of a very unjust and, violent usurpation; for a man may be called an usurper, not only when he usurps the supreme authority, but also when he invades the power that belongs only to the princes of the blood, and deprives them of the share they ought to have in the government of the state, during the minority of a king. But this is what the Guises did under the reign of Francis II, who had married their niece (a), by making an ill use of that prince's weakness, without observing any rules of decency. Nay, it is said, they had a design to put to death the first princes of the blood [B]. That usurpation, attended with a horrid cruelty against the Protestants, occasioned the famous conspiracy of Amboise, whereby their authority was the more encreased. They carried things so far, as to get the second prince of the blood condemned to death; and, doubtless, the sentence would have been executed, and all the Protestants in the kingdom massacred, if Francis II had lived somewhat longer (b). After his death, the Protestants obtained liberty of conscience, by virtue of the edict of January (c); and the Guises, notwithstanding their authority, could not prevent it, as they had done in the assembly of the *Notables* [C] under Francis II: but they made that useless by the massacre of Vassy. It is in vain to say, it was not a premeditated design; the most flattering historians acknowledge some things, which plainly shew the contrary [D]. That massacre was soon followed

(a) Mary Stuart, daughter of James V, king of Scotland.

(b) See Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. ii, pag. 157, & seq. Edit. de Hollande.

(c) It was made the seventeenth of January, 1562.

'would forsake our religion, if you made profession of it. Wherefore, since this unanimous design of our churches against you cannot but proceed from a special goodness of God, we ought certainly to hope, that he will prevent the ill effects of your designs which you carry on by a cruel war, against our lives and fortunes.'

Mind these words of Brantome. Cardinal de Lorraine 'was very devout, and for that very reason very much hated by the Huguenots; yet he was accounted a great disssembler and hypocrite. For I have heard him often discourse of the confession of Augsburg, and he seemed to approve it in great measure; which he did rather to please some Germans, than for any thing else. I heard him publicly talk at that rate at Rheims in his mother's presence, the week before Easter (g).' See the remark [2] of the article LORRAINE.

The following passage is not less remarkable. I take it from a piece, which Du Pleffis Mornay wrote, in April 1589, to justify Henry III, for joining with the king of Navarre. He was to answer the clamours of the league about the king's confederacy with the Huguenots. Du Pleffis alleges, not only the king of Spain's alliances with Protestant princes, but also what had been done by the Guises. 'We need not go farther than our leaguers. How often did the late duke of Guise endeavour to treat with the king of Navarre, and those of his party? did he not write to many Protestant gentlemen? let them remember what he used to say: *Friend, I am no enemy to thy religion: if one minister is not enough for thee, take two.* Who does not know the going backward and forward of the vice-chancellor of Montelmar to Rochelle from the duke of Mayenne; what he made him say, that he was willing to be his servant, that he was no enemy to his religion, that his mother had bred him up in it, that a way might be found for an accommodation; that, upon his word, he would come to him with four horses; that he would give him his wife and children as hostages; at that very time that he was upon his return from Caillon, and made a great shew of devotion and zeal for the Church? and indeed he did not scruple to make use of Lutheran reifiers, who publicly received the sacrament in their own way in his army: and the letters he lately wrote to his agent may be seen, wherein he says, that he has taken up arms to exterminate the sacramentarian Huguenots, but not those of the confession of Augsburg, whom he loves and intends to preserve; and yet they have not been less condemned by the Pope than others, and they were the first, who rose up against the church of Rome (10).'

[B] It is said he had a design to put to death the first princes of the blood. 'One cannot read without horror what was said at that time (11), and printed since. That the Guises, being afraid of the king of Navarre's resentment, and being of opinion that their authority would never be settled, as long as there should remain a prince of the blood to oppose it, undertook to make away with them; and that the method they had pitched upon was such, that, if their design had succeeded, all the royal family would have been destroyed. That the king,

to whom they gave to understand, how important it was not to suffer a prince to live, who might revenge the death of the prince of Condé, was to send for the king of Navarre into his chamber. That he should upbraid him with the crimes of his brother in very sharp words, and tell him he had just reasons to complain of him too. That the prince would boldly deny the thing, or at least vindicate himself too warmly; whereupon he should be stabbed by some men lying in wait, to whom the king should make a sign. It is further said, that this prince was informed of the danger he was threatened with, and that, after he had been a long time uncertain what he should do, he resolved to venture himself; and that, as he was going into the king's chamber, he told one of his most faithful servants; *If I happen to sink under the multitude and treachery of my enemies, take my bloody shirt, and carry it to my wife and to my son. My blood will suggest to them what they ought to do, to revenge my death.* That, afterwards, he went to the king, who either durst not, or would not, give the signal agreed upon; and that Guise, being vexed at the ill success of that attempt, cried out to those, who were with him: *Oh, what a poor prince have we got!* (12).'

[C] As they had done in the assembly of the *Notables*. It was held at Fontainebleau, in August, 1560 at Paris in 1681, pag. 78, Dutch Edition. (13) The admiral presented a petition in the name of all the Protestants of France, wherein they desired to have churches for the public exercise of their religion. John de Monluc, bishop of Valence, voted for the admiral; but the duke of Guise, and the cardinal his brother, did so violently oppose that petition, that it was rejected. They were like to establish an inquisition in France (14). They used their utmost endeavours towards it; and the chancellor, in order to ward off that blow, betought himself of proposing to the king the edict of Romorantin, which was very severe against the Protestants. From whence it appears, that all the calamities of the civil wars of those times ought to be imputed to those two brothers. They opposed the granting of liberty of conscience to the Protestants; they promoted persecution, and introduced bloody maxims into the kingdom, contrary to the most essential and most indefeasible right that a man can enjoy, and which sovereigns ought to look upon as the most inviolable.

[D] The most flattering historians acknowledge some things, which plainly shew, That the massacre of Vassy was a premeditated design. Varillas owns (15), I. That the duke of Guise, and the cardinal de Lorraine, not doubting, that the civil wars would quickly begin, and that the Catholics would obtain the victory, provided the German princes did not side with them, went privately to Saverne, where they had an interview with the duke of Wirtemberg. II. That they omitted nothing, that might raise a jealousy in the Lutherans, about the progress of Calvinism, and make them believe, that they were going to ATTACK IT in France, (mind these words, for they shew there was a design to begin the acts of hostility) only to endeavour afterwards to re-unite the Lutherans with the holy see by gentle means (16). (16) Ibid. pag. 122.

(9) Brant. Eloge du Duc de Guise, in the third volume of his Memoirs, pag. m. 235.

(10) Du Pleffis Mornay, *Memoires*, Tom. I, pag. 922, 923.

(11) That is, when the States of the kingdom met at Orleans, under Francis II, in 1560. The prince of Condé was arrested at his arrival, and a few days after, being tried by commissioners appointed by the king, he was condemned to be beheaded. The author of the Life of Francis de Lorraine, duke of Guise, printed at Paris in 1681, who says afterwards what I have related in this remark.

(12) Vie du Duc de Guise, printed at Paris in 1681, pag. 78, Dutch Edition.

(13) See Maimbourg, ubi supra, pag. 145, & seq.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 144.

(15) Varillas, *Hist. de Charles IX*, Tom. I, pag. 121. Dutch Edition.

(16) Ibid. pag. 122.

followed by a religious war, as the Guises expected. The success of that war proved fatal to both parties, and consequently very pernicious to France. The Guises were the only gainers by it. Our duke of Guise had the art to engross to himself all the glory of the battle of Dreux; and, in all probability, the taking of Orleans would have enabled him to destroy the reformed religion, when he was assassinated by Poltrot. He died of his wound (d) the 24th of February 1563, at 44 years of age (e) [E]. It is said, he *protested upon his death-bed, that he had no hand in the massacre at Vassy (f);* but I doubt whether such a protestation can counterbalance the proofs we have of the contrary [F]. The writers of his party do very much commend him for a Christian maxim, which

(d) Poltrot shot him with a pistol, during the siege of Orleans, the eighteenth of February, 1563.

(e) He was born at the castle of Bar the twentieth of February, 1519. Father Anselme, *Hist. des grands Officiers*, pag. 424.

(f) Maimb. *Hist. du Calv. nisme*, liv. 1, pag. m. 295.

(17) Ibid. pag. 124.

(18) Ibid. pag. 125.

(19) Ibid. pag. 126.

he would use his interest with those of his party to obtain their consent, in order to prevent Calvinism's taking root in France, they returned to Joinville, where they intended to have some diversion for some days (17). IV. That the duchess-Dowager of Guise, their mother, who lived a very retired life at Joinville (18), used her interest with them, to persuade them not to suffer any longer so near them the temple of Vassy, whose contagion would quickly reach Joinville. V. That the duke of Guise being resolved to comply with his mother's desires, as far as he could do it without infringing the edicts, went through Vassy with cardinal de Guise his youngest brother (19). VI. That he was far from having any violent design, since he supposed that his bare presence would be sufficient to prevent the assemblies of the Calvinists, wherever he should be. VII. That he came to Vassy the first day of March 1562, and that being forced to interrupt his prayers during mass, because the Calvinists, whose temple was very near the church, fell a singing their psalms . . . he sent them them word, that he desired they would leave off singing for a quarter of an hour, assuring them they might afterwards go on, because mass would be over by that time.

I need only make two reflexions upon this account. I. It plainly appears from it, that the duke of Guise designed to have the edict repealed, and took measures to attack the Huguenots; and that, besides this general disposition, he passed through Vassy, only after he had promised his mother to comply with the great desire she expressed, that the heretics should not preach there. It is not therefore likely, that he went to Vassy, without a premeditated design of using violent means against the Protestants. II. Varillas could not dissemble the truth, without putting together some facts that contradict one another. For, in the first place, how could the duke of Guise have performed his promise to his mother, if he had intended, that the Calvinists should freely sing their psalms, as soon as the mass was over? This is a contradiction; and therefore it must be confessed, either that he never acquainted the Calvinists, that he had no design to disturb them in their pious exercises, or that he did not go to Vassy, in order to satisfy the duchess-dowager of Guise, or that he sent a false message. The last thing is so unworthy of a man of honour, that it cannot be imputed to the duke of Guise, if one has a mind to justify him; and therefore we must stick to the other two, both which contradict Varillas; so that the duke of Guise cannot be justified, without giving the lie to the historians, that are most favourable to him. In the second place, it is not true, that the duke supposed his presence would be sufficient to prevent the assemblies of the Protestants. He knew that people, as greedy of sermons as they were, who had purchased the liberty of preaching at the price of so many persecutions and capital punishments, would not renounce their privilege by reason of his presence. Thirdly, had that duke supposed, that his presence would prevent their assemblies, he could not have gone thither, without infringing the king's edicts; from whence it plainly follows, that he contradicts himself, in Varillas, when he supposes, that his bare presence will prevent the Protestants meeting at Vassy; and yet that he will comply with his mother's desire no farther, than he can do it without infringing the edicts. It was impossible for him to satisfy his mother without breaking that assembly; and Varillas owns, that at least he intended to break it by his presence. Besides, he could not break it without acting against the last edict; and therefore he is represented as acting inconsistently. Historians may be commonly reduced to this extremity, when they endeavour to throw a veil over the most glaring truths.

I might add several particulars (20), whereby it plainly appears that the duke of Guise intended to get the edict of January repealed; but we need only consider what he himself confessed, as we find it in Davila. When the tumult of Vassy was over, the duke of Guise sent for the judge of that place, and severely reproved him for allowing the Huguenots such a pernicious liberty of meeting together. The judge acknowledged, for his excuse, the king's edict, whereby those assemblies were permitted. The duke, being no less angry at that answer than at the thing it self, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, *the edge of this sword shall quickly cut that edict, so closely fastened.* It is nature that speaks on this occasion; and it is not the first instance of a fit of anger that has betrayed the greatest dissemblers. Those words did not fall to the ground; they were alleged as a strong proof of the violent designs of the duke of Guise. Davila makes that observation. His words are these. *Finito il tumulto, il Duca di Guisa, chiamato a se l'ufficiale del luogo cominciò con gravi parole a riprenderlo, che permettesse in danno de' passaggieri questa pernicioza licenza: E' iscusando egli di non poterle impedire per la permissione dell' editto di Gennaio, che concedeva le radunanze pubbliche a gli Ugonotti, il Duca sdegnato non meno della risposta, che del fatto, messa la mano su la spada, replicò pieno di colera, che l'editto così strettamente legato, presto si troncarebbe con il filo di quella: dalle quali parole dette nell' ardore dell' ira, e non trascurate da quelli, ch'erano presenti, molti poi l'arguirono per autore, e per macchinatore delle guerre seguenti (21).* The Protestant historians afford many other circumstances against the duke of Guise. If it be said, that they ought to be mistrusted, coming from such hands, what can one say against Davila?

[E] He died . . . the twenty fourth of February 1563, at forty four years of age. Father du Londe, tho' an exact man, knew not the true time of his death: he places it on the twenty sixth of February (22). The mistake, which remains still in Moreri's dictionary, is much more considerable. The death of that duke of Guise is placed therein the year 1553 (23). I wonder Mr de Valincourt mentions neither the year nor the day of that death, nor the year of the birth, in the life published by him in 1681 (24); but I am more surprised still, that he makes him fifty years old.

[F] I know not whether such a protestation can counterbalance the proofs we have to the contrary. We know no longer what to think of the protestations of dying people: the authors, who have written for and against the conspiracy declared in England by Titus Oates, produce some accused persons, who protested to the last breath, that they were innocent, and some witnesses, who did the same. The accused, or the witnesses, must needs make false protestations at the point of death; so that the depositions of dying people cannot afford us a fence against Scepticism (25). The sentence of Lucretius, that men, at last pull off the mask, at the point of death (26), is not always true. A false shame does often attend us to our very graves; and the love of glory, the idol of great men, does frequently oblige them to conceal all their life-time what might blot their reputation. The power of a prevailing passion is so great, that the prospect of approaching death is not always able to put a stop to it. This was observed in Tiberius as to dissimulation, his darling quality. *Jam Tiberium corpus, nondum dissimulatione deserebat. Idem animi rigor, sermone ac vultu intentus, quaestis interdum comitate, quamvis manifestam defectionem tegebat (27).* — *Tiberius's strength and limbs began now to fail him, but not his dissimulation. The same stern disposition, and earnestness in look and speech, sometimes with an affected*

(20) *Année d'Orléans, de l'événement de la mort de la Catholique party. Perceuse qu'il editto i capi della parte Cattolica: e ne volendo, che il monco stimasse, che consentissero alle cose, che si facevano, il duca di Guisa, il Contabile, & i Cardinali, de' quali era minacciato di vita il Cardinale di Tournone, i Marchesiali di Brillac, & di Sant'Andrea, si partirono dalla Corte, macchinando già di disturbare l'editto, e d'opporli per ogni modo alla sessione Ugonotta. Davila, lib. ii, pag. m. 79.*

(21) Ibid. lib. iii, pag. 85.

(22) Du Londe, *Faites des Rois de la Maison d'Orléans*, pag. 71.

(23) Under the word Guise; but under the word Francis, which is not a proper place to look for the history of the dukes of Guise, Moreri sets down the right year, 1563.

(24) I quote it in the remark [8].

(25) Mr le Grand, *Deffense de Sanderus*, pag. 164, alleges Smeton's testimony against Anne Bullen, and puts the reader in mind, that Dr Burset took advantage of such a deposition. Which shews, that considering parties object the testimony of dying people one to another, and that they resist, or make use of it, as they find it prejudicial or favourable.

(26) Nam verum voces tam deum peccare ab imo. Ejciuntur, & eripitur persona, manet res. *Truth then b' edict out, extorted by our fears. And all the more, without disguise, appears. Lucret. lib. iii, vet. 57.*

(27) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. li.

which they say he alledged against a Protestant, who had a mind to kill him. That maxim was not very well placed in his mouth [G]. It were to be wished, that the Protestants had not printed so many libels and satires against that duke, and the cardinal his brother [H]; wherein they acted neither according to the rules of the gospel, nor

tion of courtesy, covered a too plain decay. The history of the duke d'Epemon affords another instance of what I say. He was a very haughty man, and his haughtiness appeared all along in all his words and actions. The very day on which he died, he made it appear, that he was still animated with the same spirit, though a sickness, and a very old age, had prodigiously weakened him. A clergy-man, who attended upon him, having made him say, that he forgave his enemies, and all his domestics who had displeased him, bethought himself of asking him, whether he asked pardon of his domestics, whom he might have offended: the reason why he put such a question to the duke was, because, some few days before, he had ill used a person, who was in his service. He expressed some uneasiness at such a proposition, and answered with an angry tone, *that it was enough for him to forgive those, who had displeased him, and that he never heard any body say, that, in order to die like a good Christian, a master ought to beg pardon of his servants* (28). The duke of Guise, who is accused of the massacre at Vassy, having made it his business all along to save appearances, and pretending to more probity and candor than the other courtiers, said, and protested a thousand times, that he was innocent of that massacre; and his interest required he should make such a protestation; because, if he had owned the thing, he would have declared himself to be the first cause of the calamities of France, and would have been publicly detested upon that account. He was therefore engaged to protest the same thing to his last hour, not only for fear his memory should be detested by all those, who abhorred the civil wars, but also for fear all Europe should know, that he had been a liar in all the protestations he had made, that he had no hand in the slaughter committed at Vassy. Few ambitious men can resolve to retract, when a retraction is so shameful.

But this is not the only thing that can be said against the last words of dying people; most things that are told of them may be called into question, because they are only grounded upon the testimony of suspected persons (29). Who can assure us, that a man made such a declaration when he was dying, and that his friends or relations, who are concerned in his glory, do not ascribe those words to him, in order to make the world believe, that he was innocent of there is nothing more easy than to give out, that *such a man declared such a thing, when he was a dying, and that those, who saw him die, say so*. If it be a thing, wherein the public is concerned, the news of it will be spread all over a great town in an hour's time: every body writes it to his friends; none goes about to enquire into the truth of it; it is immediately printed in the gazette; and you may be sure, that, as long as the world lasts, the declaration of that dying man will be alledged, with as much confidence, as if it had been verified by the most strict enquiries of magistrates. In order to shew how little those declarations ought to be depended upon, we need only consider how that of the duke of Guise is related by Maimbourg and Varillas, two famous historians, who published their works much about the same time. The first affirms, upon Brantôme's authority, that the duke protested he had no hand in that disorder, and yet begged God's pardon for it (30); but the other assures us, *that he prayed GOD to forgive him all his faults, except that of Vassy* (31). Reconcile these two things if you can; and remember, that the Catholics were highly concerned to make the world believe, that the duke of Guise had made such a protestation upon his death-bed. They were thereby enabled to deny what the Protestants continually upbraided them with. What will not men do, to confute such things, when they are influenced by a religious hatred?

[G] That maxim was not very well placed in his mouth. Here follows a reflection of one of the Protestant Authors, who have written most vehemently against the French Dragoons (32). 'It is said, that, during the siege of Rouen, a Protestant gentleman being brought to him (33), who had a design upon his life, and who had confessed, that it was

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not out of hatred to him, but that he thought he was bound to do it, to serve his religion; the duke dismissed him, telling him, *Get thee gone: if thy religion commands thee to assassinate those, who never offended thee, mine will have me to give thee thy life, though I may justly deprive thee of it; judge which of the two religions is the best* (34). This answer might be looked upon as a wife and Christian one, if the duke had not been a Catholic, and at the head of a persecuting army; but, when I consider, that they are the words of a persecutor, he must needs be laughed at, as a man who acts the part of a comedian, and sports with religion, who, out of vanity and bravado, forgives a private man that deserves death, whilst he exercises a wild and abominable cruelty upon a great body of innocent people. Was not this duke of Guise of the same religion with Francis I, and Henry II? did he not approve and advise the edict of Chateau-Briant, and that of Romorantin, whereby the Protestants were to be put to death? did he not use his utmost endeavours to establish the Inquisition in France, whereby, properly speaking, there had been a continual slaughter of men, and a court of justice always sitting, and surrounded with executioners? was he not the chief promoter of the design, that was broke by the death of Francis II: which was to send troops into all the provinces, and to require, that every French-man should subscribe a formulary, and that those, who should refuse it, should be expelled the kingdom, (which was the mildest punishment) and deprived of all their estates? but how many would have been put to death? again, was it not the same duke, who suffered his men to slaughter many Protestants at Vassy, whilst they were praying to God in a barn? in a word, was not his obstinacy, in having those poor people always punished with death, the cause of the civil wars of religion, which had never been in France, if they had been allowed to serve God in their own way? did he not do it out of a religious zeal? would he have done it, if he had been a heathen? would he not have tolerated the Protestants as well as the Papists? was not what he did approved by the Pope and the clergy? how then could he say, that his religion enjoined him to forgive them, who offended him, since it put him upon persecuting and tormenting a thousand ways, a vast number of people, who did him no harm, and only desired to serve God according to the dictates of their conscience? such is the enormous and comic turpitude of a persecuting religion. A man of such a religion will not scruple to protest, that, for his own part, he forgives a man of a different religion the injuries he has done him; and yet he sends him to the gallows, or to the gallies, under pretence, that he does not hold the true faith, even tho' that person had been serviceable to him. Indeed that duke little thought of what he said, since he durst compare the two religions together, and prefer his to the other in point of charity. The gentleman, who had conspired against him, thinking that his death would prove advantageous to the Protestant religion, did not follow the true doctrine of his party; for all Protestant divines say, preach, and maintain, that it is not lawful for any man to assassinate any body, in order to procure some advantage to his religion: but the duke, pursuant to a doctrine approved, and a thousand times commanded in his religion, voted in the king's council for publishing edicts, whereby a vast number of good people should be condemned to death, and made it his business to extirpate the Protestants by the most violent methods. Is it not a jest for a man, thus disposed, to boast that he professes a religion, which enjoins him to forgive? I beseech the converters to consider this. Their conduct is such, that the finest maxims of Christian morality, when alledged by them, are trifling and comical, or perfect nonsense.

[H] It were to be wished the Protestants had not printed so many libels and satires against this duke and his brother. In the assembly of the Notables above

(34) See Maimb.
Hist. du Calvinisme, lib. iv,
pag. m. 316.

(28) See the
Life of the duke
d'Epemon, written
by Girard.

(29) See the remark [A] of the article HENRY II. It is said, he never spoke, after he was wounded, and yet authors make him say a great many things.

(30) Maimb.
Hist. du Calvinisme,
pag. 259.

(31) Varill. Vie
de Charles IX,
Tom. I, pag.
223.

(32) Commentaire
Philosophique sur
les perses, con-
train les d'entrer,
in the preface,
pag. lxxv, de seq.

(33) That is,
the duke of
Guise.

nor according to those of prudence, since those books exasperated more and more a most potent enemy [I], and afforded him a pretence to keep up his hatred, and increase the persecution [K]. It would be an unjust thing to ascribe to the whole body the im-

patience

above-mentioned, cardinal de Lorraine said, haughtily, that he gloried in being hated by the Huguenots, and exposed to their fury; that they had dispersed in Paris, and from thence in all the provinces of the kingdom, a vast number of libels, full of outrageous words, and furious threatnings against him, and the duke of Guise his brother; that, for his own part, he had twenty two in his hands, which he carefully preserved, and that he took delight in showing them, as being so many shining proofs of their zeal for religion, and of their inviolable fidelity to the king, who had been pleased to make them his ministers (35). I repeat it again, it were to be wished the Protestants had not published so many satirical pieces; they are to this day prejudicial, by reason of the reflections they afford to the missionaries. To give an instance of it; Maimbourg did not fail to make a malicious and satirical observation on what was said by the cardinal concerning those libels. 'And indeed it is manifest, that it was the usual stile of the Huguenots, at that time, to revile unmercifully, by a thousand scandalous libels and impudent satires, all those, who did not favour them, without any regard to merit or quality, and without sparing kings, princes, prelates, and what is most sacred and inviolable among men. For my part, I can affirm, that I have seen a large collection in ten volumes in folio, made up of those sorry pieces, which the Huguenots published at that time against Henry II, and Francis II, against queen Catherine, when she was not inclined to favour them; against the king of Navarre after he had sided with the Catholics; but especially against the duke of Guise, and cardinal de Lorraine archbishop of Rheims; wherein they brutishly inserted, without judgment and wit, the most heinous calumnies and accusations, that can be invented by the most malicious and slandering men. So that any one who has never so little honour and good sense, cannot peruse those foolish and insolent writings, without expressing the utmost contempt for them, and a just indignation against those impudent writers (36).' Such are the odious reflections, which Maimbourg made upon those libels. Those, who answered his history of Calvinism, did not fail to confute them. He adds (37), that cardinal de Lorraine, whose greatness of soul answered the greatness of his wit, did not revenge himself upon those libellers, but by a noble contempt of their weak fury: notwithstanding which, the magistrates, pursuant to their duty, apprehended some of them, who were dealt with according to the utmost severity of the laws; whereby it is enacted, that they be used as public poisoners. And indeed two of them were hanged, viz. the author (38) of one of those wicked libels, entitled, *Le Tigre*, and he who sold it underhand.

[I] These kind of writings exasperated more and more a most potent enemy. Maimbourg is in the wrong to say, that the cardinal de Lorraine, having a great soul, did not revenge himself upon those libellers but by a noble contempt; for can there be a more violent and unjust vengeance than this? he made no enquiry after the private authors of those libels, which is all that Maimbourg can pretend to say; but he exterminated, as much as he could, the whole body of the Reformed; he was the great promoter of penal laws, and of the capital punishments inflicted upon them; he endeavoured to bring them under the cruel yoke of the inquisition. Was it not a more cruel vengeance, than if he had been contented to get the authors of those satires punished? it will appear from what follows, that it is not true, that he stifled his resentment against those writers. Castelnau, quoted by Maimbourg (39), makes this observation: *The Huguenots published continually several injurious libels against the house of Guise. Whereupon a printer was apprehended, who had printed a small book, intitled, Le Tigre, the reputed author whereof, and a merchant, were hanged upon that account.* This account is not exact; we are not told what became of the printer, and it is not true, that the person suspected of being the author of that book was hanged. Castelnau should have said as la Planché does, that the

printer and the vender were hanged; but neither of them was the reputed author. I shall set down that historian's own words (40). 'The parliament made a strict inquiry after those, who printed and sold the pieces, that were handed about against the Guises. They spent some days in it, with so good success, that they came to know, at last, who had printed a small book, very satirical, intitled, *Le Tigre*. A counsellor, called du Lion, was intrusted with that employment, which he willingly accepted, being promised an office of president in the parliament of Bourdeaux, which he might sell if he thought fit. The printer, called Martin l'Homme, was found out with the book in his hands. Being asked from whom he had it, he answered, he had it from an unknown person; and at last he accused several people of having seen and read it; they were persecuted for it, but they made their escape. As they were carrying that printer to the place of execution, a merchant of Rouen, who was a man in pretty good circumstances, seeing the mob very much incensed against him, said only to them, good people, is it not enough for him that he must die? Let the executioner perform his duty. Will you torment him more than his sentence imports? (Now he knew nothing of the crime, for which he was to be hanged, and was lighting from his horse at an inn hard by). He had no sooner spoke those words, but some priests came up to him, calling him a Huguenot, and that man's accomplice; and immediately the mob fell upon him, and beat him unmercifully. Whereupon some officers of justice came to him, and, to refresh him, carried him to goal, whither du Lion forthwith repaired, and asked him several questions about the book, intitled, *Le Tigre*, and what he had said to the mob. That poor merchant swore he knew nothing of the book, and had never seen it, nor heard of the Messieurs de Guise; adding, that he was a merchant, and minded nothing but his own concerns.' He protested, that the man that was going to be hanged was wholly unknown to him; but that he had been moved with pity, and had exhorted the people to let the executioner perform his duty. He desired his life and conversation should be inquired into, submitting to every body's judgment. Du Lion, without any further proceedings, made his report to the parliament, and to the judges deputed by them, who condemned him to be hanged in the Place Maubert, where the printer had been executed. Some days after, du Lion, being at supper, in a great company, fell a jesting upon that poor merchant. His own words were made use of, to shew him the injustice of that sentence. How can it be helped? said he; there was a necessity to give some satisfaction to the cardinal, since we could not apprehend the author, otherwise we had never been quiet. Judge whether the Guises were unconcerned at the satires published against them: the following passage of Brantôme shews how tender they were on that point. 'Many libels came out at that time (41) against those, who governed the kingdom; but none was sharper and more offensive than an invective, intitled, *Le Tigre*, (in imitation of Cicero's first invective against Catiline) because it mentioned the love-intrigues of a very great and handsome lady, married to a great man related to her. If the author had been apprehended, if he had had ten thousand lives he would have lost them; for that great man and that great lady were extremely vexed and almost distracted at it (42). I have said in another place (43), that Francis Hotman was accounted the author of that satire.

[K] . . . and gave him a pretence to keep up his hatred, and increase the persecution. Though you make the Guises never so wicked, yet it is certain, that the libellers imputed to them many things, which they had not done. Whoever goes about to write, without having been concerned in public affairs, or without consulting good memoirs, will unavoidably advance many falsities, if he writes against a man, by whom he has been ill used. Such writers are willing to revenge themselves, and to defame their persecutors: being thus disposed, they believe whatever they hear; and, though they do not even believe it, they think they

(35) Maimbourg, Hist. du Calvinisme, pag. 151. These are his citations: Duplex under Francis II, pag. 619. Spond. ad ann. 1560. n. 16. Mezerau, Tom. II, pag. 785, taken from la Popelin. lib. vi, pag. 104, and from Belcar. lib. xxviii. pag. 946.

† Memoir. de Castelnau.

(36) Maimbourg, ubi supra, pag. 151, 152.

(37) Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 153.

† Memoir. de Castelnau, lib. i, cap. vii. Whereupon they apprehended a printer, who had printed a book, intitled, *Le Tigre*, the supposed author whereof, and a merchant, were hanged.

(38) This is not true: See the following remark.

O of the libel, intitled, *THE TIGRE*.

(39) He quotes lib. i, cap. vii. He should have quoted lib. ii.

(40) La Planché, History of France under Francis II, pag. m. 335.

(41) That is, under Francis II.

(42) Brantôme, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. m. 374.

(43) In the remark [N] of the article HOTMANUS.

patience of some private persons, and their itching desire of writing satirical books [L]. This duke of Guise had been made duke d'Aumale, and governor of Dauphiné, in the year 1547 (g). He was knight of the order, high-steward, great-chamberlain, and grand veneur of France (h). His barony of Joinville, which was under the jurisdiction of the town of Vassy (i), was erected into a principality in 1552 (k), and some villages belonging to the same town were added to it (l). He married Anne d'Este, daughter of Hercules d'Este, second of that name, duke of Ferrara, the 4th of December 1549 (m), and had several children by her. If what we read in the history of the reformed churches of France be true, he discovered, some time before he died, that he did not believe his wife's virtue had been always unspotted [M].

(g) Father Anselm, ubi supra, pag. 424.

(h) Id. ibid. pag. 425.

(i) Beza, Hist. Eccles. pag. 721, lib. iv.

(k) Baudrand, in Geogr.

(l) Beza, ubi supra.

(m) Father Anselm, ubi supra, pag. 425.

they may lawfully publish it, since they have heard it. Now, when those who are defamed in those libels, consider, that they are charged with crimes of which they are perfectly innocent, they look upon the authors and approvers of them as men without honour and conscience; they think they can never hate them too much, and fancy there is no harm in exterminating such calumniators, or favourers of calumny. It is therefore certain, that those, who publish such defamatory libels, vent their spleen, and give a free scope to their zeal, with great imprudence. The whole party pays too dear for it.

[L] It would be unjust to ascribe to the whole body the impatience of some private persons, and their itching desire of writing satirical books. We may judge of the XVIth century by the present time (44). We know, that those, who every day publish a vast number of anonymous libels, make no figure in the world.

(44) I write this in 1695.

They live in such an obscurity, that the most curious inquirers cannot find them out; and, when some of those writers come to be known, it frequently appears, that they are neither good Christians, nor honest men. I am persuaded, that most of those, who wrote those many libels, whereof Maimbourg pretends to have seen ten large volumes, were the less noble parts of the reformed church of France. Most of them were unknown, and never owned by the party, and it was not necessary they should be many. Five or six men naturally satirical, who have nothing else to do, and get some money by it, will fill a large kingdom with their libels in less than thirty years. Is it reasonable to impute to a great body the faults of a few men? In order to have a right notion of them, it is not sufficient, to say, that they are credulous; it must be further said, that they are cheats: they publish many things, which they know to be false; for they themselves invent them. Here follows a passage of Mezerai concerning such impostures (45). 'Some have been of opinion, that those memoirs (46) were supposititious; and the most equitable persons thought, that, if they were true, they only proceeded from the deep melancholy of that advocate, who, having received some injury from the Huguenots, was extremely incensed against them. It is highly probable, that those memoirs were forged by the Minions, or the Huguenots, or by the queen-mother, all mortal enemies to the Guises; and it is certain they invented many other calumnies to make them odious. The Guises took care to be even with them; and therefore little credit ought to be given to the writings, or relations of that time, unless they be thoroughly examined.'

(45) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. V, pag. 200, et ann. 1577.

(46) That is, those of the advocate David, concerning the execution of the descendants of Hugh Capet, and the restoration of the crown to the Guises, descended from Charlemagne.

[M] He did not believe his wife's virtue had been always unspotted. As to the manner how he died, the bishop of Riez, whose name was Carles, made a very impertinent discourse about it, ascribing to him several theological words, and expressions taken from the holy scripture, which however he had never looked into. Among other things, thinking to praise him, he does a great deal of wrong to the dukes, his widow, to whom he confesses he was not always a faithful husband, which he desires she would forgive, as he forgives her the like (47). This is

(47) Beza, Hist. Eccles. lib. i. pag. m. 18, & seq.

what I find in a book of Beza. It is not very likely, that a bishop should have given such a turn to the last words of his hero, to the great dishonour of the widow and her children. Wherefore I mistrusted Beza, and endeavoured to consult the book of Lancelot Carles; and, not being able to find it, I desired Mr de Larroque to give me some information about it. He was pleased to send me the following answer. 'The letter of Carles, bishop of Riez, to Charles IX, concerning the last words of the duke of Guise, has been printed three times (48), as it appears from the advertisement to the reader, prefixed to the second French edition; where it is said, that what was printed before this, was but an incorrect copy, which the author, who was present at that discourse, wrote summarily, to serve him for a memorandum. I have not been able to meet with the first edition; and therefore I cannot tell whether what you have read in another book was contained in it. There is no such thing in the second; for that duke speaks to his wife in the following manner. *We have been long united by the holy bond of faith and friendship, having all things in common. You know, that I always loved and esteemed you, as much as any wife can be, and that our mutual affection has been the same all the time we have been married, as I always made it my business to convince you of it, and you have done the like to me. I do not deny that the suggestions and frailties of youth made me sometimes take a course, at which you may have been offended: I beseech you to forgive me. I must needs say, that I am none of the greatest sinners in that respect, as I am none of the least, though I am one of the most guilty in the sight of GOD. But you know how respectfully I have behaved myself towards you of late years, avoiding all occasions of giving you the least discontent.* Page 84, 85, 86, 87. This passage has been translated into Latin by John le Vieux in the following manner. *Nos enim arduissimo matrimonii vinculo conjuncti & consociati sumus, ut individuam non bonorum duntaxat, sed etiam consiliorum & voluntatum sine ulla exceptione, communitatem societatemque servavimus. Et certe ut nihil mihi optabilius, aut antiquius adhibere fuit, quam ut nodum illum amabilissimum sanctæ consuetudinis tenerem; sic me vicissim inviolabili observantia & officio caluissim.* page 30.

(48) Twice in French, and once in Latin. Those three editions came out in 1663.

(49) Lancelot Carles, ubi supra.

Since Mr de Larroque could not find a copy of the first edition, I can say nothing either for or against Beza. Only I may conjecture, that he has not calumniated the bishop of Riez; for the advertisement, prefixed to the second edition, intimates plainly enough, that the first was in great disorder, and that some passages were left out, or placed otherwise. Now, since the Latin translator thought himself obliged to leave out of the second, what remained in it concerning the amorous intrigues of the duke of Guise; it is likely, that Lancelot Carles left out of the first what he had inserted in it, concerning the gallantries of the dukes. Which shews how necessary it is to keep the first editions, and to distrust translators. You see, that John le Vieux, or John le Vieil (49), did boldly leave out whatever concerned the duke of Guise's adulteries, in the original.

(49) La Croix du Maine, pag. 272, mentions one John le Vieil, who might very well be this person.

GUISE (HENRY DE LORRAIN duke of) eldest son of the foregoing, had a certain mixture of good and bad qualities [A], which made him fit to over-turn a state.

(1) Maimbourg, Histoire de la Ligue, lib. i. pag. m. 18, & seq.

[A] He had a certain mixture of good and bad qualities. A modern author (1) describes this character in the following manner. 'He wanted nothing, either good or bad, that was necessary to make him succeed in what he was fully resolved upon. He was a prince, who . . . had all the noble quali-

ties, and all the perfections of body and mind, that are most proper to charm one's heart, and to procure to those, that are endowed with them, an absolute empire over the people; and indeed they were in a manner bewitched with him, and doted upon him. For he was a man of a tall stature, admirably proportioned,

state. He wanted no ability, on the one side, to find out the way of doing it; and, on the other, he was wicked enough to put it in execution. He so far indulged his ambition, that, after he had brought a thousand calamities upon the kingdom, he himself was undone by it. He carried things to such extremities, that no other expedient could be found out to put a stop to his attempts, than putting him to death. The manner how Henry III made away with him, and the cardinal de Guise, in the castle of Blois, during the sitting of the states (a), is so well known, that I shall not dwell upon it. I shall only observe, that many historians have advanced a falsity, in saying, that, soon after the execution of the duke of Guise, the Pope's legate (b) spoke to the king so unconcernedly, or rather so cheerfully [B], that it was thought that prince and the court of Rome acted in concert. It may be said, that the violent resolution of the court of France, upon that occasion, was one of those master-pieces of state-policy, which cannot be excused, but because they are absolutely necessary to the public good; for, if the duke of Guise had not been killed,

(a) In December, 1588.

(b) His name was Morosini.

tioned, and like that which is ascribed to heroes, having all the features of his face extremely fine, quick and sparkling eyes; a large, smooth, and serene forehead, attended with a pleasant smile, more charming still, than the obliging words he spoke to all those, who were fond of approaching him; a lively, clear, and red complexion . . . He had a grave and stately gate, without any shew of pride or affectation; and there was in his carriage a certain air of heroic grandeur, intermixed with sweetness, boldness, and loftiness, without any thing disagreeable; which inspired, all at once, love, fear, and respect, into all those, with whom he discoursed. This admirable outsize was attended with an inside more wonderful still, by reason of the noble qualities of a truly great soul, being liberal and magnificent, sparing nothing to get creatures, and to gain all sorts of people, especially the nobility and military men; civil, obliging, popular; always ready to do good to those, who made their application to him; generous, magnanimous, incapable of hurting any body, even his greatest enemies, except in an honourable way; extremely persuasive, dissembling under the appearance of a great sincerity; wise and prudent in his counsels; bold, quick, and valiant, in the execution; bearing cheerfully all the inconveniences of war, as the meanest soldier; exposing himself to the greatest dangers, in order to succeed in his enterprizes . . . But as there is no gold mine, wherein that precious metal is to be found pure and without mixture of a great deal of earth; so the great natural endowments of the duke of Guise were corrupted by a mixture of many faults and vices; the greatest of which was his insatiable desire of grandeur and glory, and that vast ambition, to which he made every thing subservient; being, besides, rash, presumptuous, and self-conceited, despising the opinion of other men, without seeming to do so; reserved, cunning, little sincere, and no true friend; regarding no body but himself, tho' he was the most caressing and the most officious man in the world; doing no good to any body, but in order to gain his end the more easily; and always covering his vast designs with the specious pretence of the public good, and the preservation of the true religion; trusting too much to his good fortune; blind in his prosperity, which made him relish his present happiness with so much pleasure, that he took no care to provide for the time to come; lastly, too fond of women, whom nevertheless he cunningly made use of, to promote his great designs, though they were not sensible of it. The dangerous spirit of the Guises, which Francis I did so well discover, that he advised his son to beware of it, grew worse and worse in every generation. 'Hoc adverterat Rex Franciscus I. & levius licet quæ tunc ab illis capta, cavenda nihilominus liberis suis edixerat, ut parva ex quibus magnarum rerum motus orientur: nunquam satis fidam potentiam, ubi nimia est, rebus suis prospicerent, nec majores domus eos crearent, quibus mos erat vim principis complecti, nomen remittere. Utinam Henricus II. patris consilium haud aspernando liberis suis consuluisse, nec Guisianos rebus gerendis præfecisset (2). — King Francis I observed this, and cautioned his children to guard against their attempts, though then but trivial, since great commotions might arise from small beginnings; he represented to them that too great power is never to be trusted; he bid them take care of themselves, nor create those mayors of the palace, who were wont to exercise the sovereign

(2) Vindic. secundum libertat. Eccles. Gallic. pag. 6, & 7.

reignty, without the name. It were to be wished, Henry II, remembering his father's advice, had consulted the good of his children, and not have placed the Guises at the head of affairs. What an ancient poet said of the Roman people, may be applied to them.

Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosorem (3).

Degenerate more, thro' each descent, we grow,
And sons more vices, than their fathers, know.

[B] The Pope's legate spoke to the king . . . in a cheerful manner.] There are few facts more proper than this is to confirm the uncertainty of history. I shall mention it, as I use to do, in the very words of the author from whom I have it.

Davila says, that, after that (4), the king, coming down into the court, walked a long time with the legate, to whom he gave an account of all his reasons, which that historian sets down at large, as if he had been present at that long conference, and heard every word the king spoke to that cardinal; whose political reflexions he likewise mentions, and the answer he made to the king's long discourse. For he says, that, for fear of lessening that Prince's affection to the holy see, he assured him that the Pope . . . He adds, that the king promised him upon his oath . . . that he would allow of no other religion in his kingdom than the Roman Catholic. That, after such an oath, the legate did not think fit to proceed further in that conference and, without speaking to him in favour of the prelates that were prisoners, he treated with him with the same confidence as he had done before. Nay, some say †, that his free behaviour towards the king (for sometimes he whispered in his ear, and laughed with him) created a belief, that the king had acted in concert with the court of Rome: and they add, with Davila, that it gave the king occasion to proceed further, and to make away with the cardinal de Guise, perceiving how little the legate was concerned for the imprisonment of the cardinal. This is what those authors tell us very seriously, as a certain truth; that conference, as they say, having been held in every body's sight, in the court of the castle of Blois. And yet nothing can be more false; and the whole narrative of Davila is one of those fictions, which none but a poet is allowed to invent. The proof of it is evident and unsufferable. We have the printed memoirs of the life of the cardinal Morosini, written in Italian very elegantly, and with great force, by Monsignor Stephano Cosmi, archbishop of Spalato, who was pleased to send them to me from Venice above three years ago; and it appears by the letters † of that cardinal legate to cardinal Montalto, nephew to Pope Sixtus V, to whom he gives an exact account of what happened the twenty third of December, and the following days, that, though he instantly desired, at the request of the dukes of Nemours, to be admitted to the king's audience, that day, in the morning, he could not so much as get into the castle, and had not the desired audience but on the twenty sixth, three days after the cardinal had been killed. What will become then of all those fine discourses, and of all the particulars

(3) Horat. Od. vi, lib. iii.

(4) That is after he had acquainted Catherine de Medicis with the death of the duke of Guise, and after he had sent cardinal de Gondi to the legate, to inform him of what had been done, and of the reasons that moved him to it, and after he had heard mail.

† D'Aubigné.

† Memoir. del vit. del Card. Morosini. lib. iii, cap. xvi, xviii, xviii.

killed, the states of the kingdom would doubtless have done for him, what they had done in former times for Pepin and Hugh Capet [C]: But the transferring of the crown would have been attended with consequences much more fatal to the whole kingdom [D] in the XVIth century, than they were in the time of Pepin and Capet. The party of the duke of Guise was so powerful, that, notwithstanding the execution of Blois, whereby they lost their head, they maintained themselves in such a manner, as to destroy the king himself, and force Henry IV to change his religion. France cannot remember that time without blushing; for there never was any democracy, where the authority and majesty of kings were so slighted, as they were then in that kingdom. The preachers furiously inveighed against the king [E], and represented the duke of Guise

of the pretended conference on the twenty third day, and of the cardinal's appearing so easy, or rather so cheerful, and speaking in the king's ear, and laughing heartily, which made people believe, that he acted in concert with the king, who, perceiving his unconcernedness, resolved to proceed further, and to get also the cardinal de Guise put to death? This is writing a history of one's own invention, that is, a meer fable, as two Protestant writers † have done in this particular, viz. d'Aubigné, and the author of the discourse, *De ce qui s'est passé à Blois jusqu'à la mort du Duc de Guise*; — *What passed at Blois till the death of the duke of Guise*. And our Catholic historians, being deceived by those Huguenots, have also deceived their readers (5). If historians are so grossly mistaken about things of such a nature, how can we rely upon a thousand things more difficult to be known, which are related by them with so much confidence? this falsity, though confuted by Maimbourg, is still to be found in modern books: I have just now read it in a romantic history of the duke of Guise (6).

[C] *The States . . . would have done for him what they had done in former times for Hugh Capet.* Doubtless the leaguers designed to degrade Henry III, and confine him to a monastery (7), and to place the duke of Guise on the throne. The duchess of Montpensier, sister to that duke, made no mystery of it. She (8) one day told several people, showing them her gold seizars: *, that they would quickly serve to shave the king, that he might be shut up in a monastery, and that the throne, of which he was unworthy, might be filled by a man better qualified to reign and destroy the heretics. That man was her brother. Mr Maimbourg does not deny, that this duke aspired to the crown, at least after the death of the Valois. He entered, into the League, to be the head of a party, which, after the death of the Valois, might raise him higher still. Among other preparations for it, a genealogy had been published, whereby it appeared that the house of Lorraine derived their original from Charlemagne (9). The design of it was to intimate, that the crown would be restored to the descendants of that king, who had been deprived of it by Hugh Capet. The decrees of providence break through all obstacles, *Fata viam invenient*: but, humanly speaking, it may be said, that Henry III made way for them, by causing the duke of Guise to be put to death; for if, on the one side, the situation of the king of Navarre enabled him to oppose the usurpation with great vigour; it is certain, on the other side, that never was a more favourable concurrence of dispositions to settle the duke of Guise upon the throne. A modern author rightly observes, that nothing but the power of fate could stop that duke. *The event*, says he (10), *made it appear, that providence, which absolutely disposes of empires, designed to take that of France from the Valois, and to transfer it to the Bourbons; and there was a necessity, that whatever could oppose it should yield to the invincible power of that decree, which no conspiracy, no league, no fortune, no earthly power, was able to resist.* Apply here what Horace so well says of fortune:

Te semper anteit sæva Necessitas
Clavos trabales, & cuneos manu
Gestans ahenas; nec severus
Uncus abest, liquidumque plumbum (11).

*Cloth by thy side necessity still stands;
Crowns, books, and melted lead, and wedges load her
bands.*
VOL. III.

It was the king of Navarre's good fortune, that he, who was so resolute, wanted resolution, when it was most necessary to him; and that he, who was so weak, appeared bold, when he wanted to be so. Those two things saved his crown. Henry III, awaking out of his lethargy, struck a great blow; but the duke of Guise was not bold enough to give up himself to the torrent of his fortune. The league had certainly crooked him, had he accomplished the crime, for which he was justly punished, as great malefactors are when they want resolution. They are the words of the author of the romantic history of that duke. It is certain, and experience confirms it, that the surest way to succeed in such designs, is not to stop, under pretence, that it would be too great a crime (12).

[D] *The translation of the crown would have been attended with consequences much more fatal to the whole kingdom.* For the prince, who was to be the lawful successor of Henry III, being a man of an extraordinary merit, extremely brave, and supported not only by the Protestants, but also by a considerable number of Catholics; the usurper would have been obliged to fight a hundred battles, in order to maintain himself, and both parties would have fought almost to the last man. Judge what had become of France during such a furious competition: It would have been the stage of the most horrid tragedies; and, to compleat the scandal, religion would have been, not only the pretence, but also the most powerful cause of those bloody operations; and it might have been said more than ever,

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum (13).

Such tragic acts religion could persuade.

When Pepin and Hugh Capet usurped the crown, the circumstances were not the same. The lawful party was so weak, that no body durst stir to support it; and therefore the revolution was not fatal to the kingdom. From whence it may be inferred, that there are certain times, as well as certain places, wherein such undertakings are not so wicked; because the persons, concerned in them, may be morally sure, that there will be little blood spilt; for the lawful possessor will be quickly forsaken by all his friends, or have so few left, that he will not be able to make any resistance; every body siding with the strongest party. I have said more than once (14), that every thing is of some use in a state: The ingratitude of great men, that unfaithfulness, and want of activity, DOLABELLA and many other faults, are sometimes more beneficial to the public, than the contrary virtues.

[E] *The preachers furiously inveighed against the king.*

They (15) changed their sermons into invectives against the king's sacred person, and described so pathetically the tragical death of the two brothers, whom they extolled to the sky, as if they had been martyrs, that all their hearers melted into tears, and broke out into sighs; and †, instead of proposing to them † St Stephen's example, they inspired them with a violent desire of revenge. Inasmuch, that those, who had no mind to cry or sigh, and were offended at such a way so unworthy of the holy ministry of the word of God, were forced to do as others did, for fear of being knocked down. . . . Francis Pigenat, curate of St Nicolas in the fields . . . preaching the duke of Guise's funeral sermon . . . † carried his fury so far, as to ask his auditors, whether none of them would undertake to revenge the duke's murder by killing the tyrant; and to Loyel, move the people, he brought in the duchess, widow

† D'Aubigné, T. m. II, liv. ii, cap. xv, Mem. de la Ligue, T. m. III, pag. 161.

(5) Maimb. ubi supra, pag. 279, 66.

(6) Printed in 1694.

(7) He was threatened with it in a dislib posted up in public places. This dislib runs thus: Qui dedit ante dux, unam ab- soluit, altera notat; Tertia tunc facienda manu. It was in answer to the inscription of the clock in the says be: ante dux, tri- plicem dabit ille coronam.

(8) Critique générale de l'Histoire de Calvinisme, Letter iii, pag. 40. See also pag. 44, where Maimbourg is quoted.

* Thuanus, pag. 95.

† Hist. du Calvin. pag. 491.

(9) See Varillas, Hist. de Henri III, liv. vii, pag. 216.

(10) Maimbourg, ubi supra, pag. 214.

(11) Od. xxxv, lib. i.

(12) See the remark [A] of the article EDWARD IV.

(13) Lucretius, lib. i, ver. 102.

(14) See the text of the article DOLABELLA (PUBLIUS), between citations (b) and (c).

(15) Maimb. Hist. de la Ligue, liv. iii, pag. m. 295. & seq.

† Cayet Chron. Nov. Lettre di Morol. Mem. del vit. del detto, lib. iii, cap. xvi.

† Journal Manuscrit d'Antoine Loyel.

Guise as a martyr, who deserved to be canonized [F]. The people imitated the fury of the preachers [G]: And what was most strange, was, that the Sorbonne applauded the rebellion, and made some decrees altogether republican [H], of which the Protestants did not fail to take advantage. The parliament of Paris heard the complaints of the duke of Guise's widow, who demanded, that Henry IV should be punished for the death of her husband [I]. I shall set down an encomium, which is to be found in

Balzac's

dow of the deceased, who was ready to lye-in, speaking these terrible words imitated from Virgil:

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
Qui face Valesios ferroque sequare Tyrannos.

Some brave avenger from my ashes rise,
With fire and sword the tyrants to pursue,
And quite extirpate the Valesian race.

(15) Maimb.
ubi supra, pag.
311, 312.

(17) They were
found in the
archives of Henry
III, at Bois de
Vincennes, when
the mob plundered
them.

(18) M. de
Nevers, Traité
de la Prise des
Arm. pag. 467,
apud Maimb.
ubi supra, pag.
301.

(19) Maimb.
ibid. pag. 305.

† Journal de
Henry III.

(20) Critique gé
nérale de l'His
toire du Calvi
nisme, Letter iii,
pag. 37.

¶ In regis invol
dum etiam tan
quam beatorum
felicis exuvias
ad adorationem
vulgo expolitur.

¶ His accedo
libelli inep
tissimi de mar
tyr o fratrum
eum imaginibus
eorum inficte
piculis, nec con
tenti libris, co
rudem effigies
justi hominis
mensurâ ad pul
vinaria templa
rum quotidie
sistebant, sangui
nolentas, & pal
lore violentæ
mortis horridas.

(21) That is, The
decease of the Sor
bonne.

(22) Maimbourg,
ubi supra, pag.
300.

(23) Whereby all
the members of
that parliament,
to the number of a
hundred and
twenty five, reckon
ing the princes and
prelates, swore
upon the crucifix,
They would never
depart from their
League, and that
they would re
venge the death
of the two Guises,
all manner of
ways, upon all
the authors or ac
complices of it.
Id. pag. 311.

(16) The furious Guineestre, shewing in the pulpit some small silver candlesticks (17), nicely wrought above a hundred years before, in the shape of satires carrying flambeaux, charged the king with being a forcerer, saying, that they were the idols and the figures of the devils, to whom Henry de Valois used to sacrifice in his retirement at Vincennes, and that they had ordered him to murder the duke of Guise, defender of the faith. To which I add, that (18) the curates and confessors of the faction of the sixteen, making a sacrilegious use of the power, which their holy ministry gives them, of binding and unbinding, refused to absolve those, who declared, in confession, that they could not resolve not to acknowledge Henry III as their king.

[F] . . . and represented the duke of Guise as a martyr. The duchess of Nemours was revered at Paris (19), 'as the mother of two holy martyrs; and the little Feuillant, preaching one day in her presence, was so furious as to turn to her, and direct his speech to the late duke in these words: O holy and glorious martyr of GOD; blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the breasts that suckled thee †.' Thuanus says, that this duchess (20), 'entreated Henry III to restore to her the bodies of her sons; but it was represented to the king, that he should not do it, because, the people being so much prepossessed in their favour, his enemies would not fail to make them worship those dead bodies as reliques of saints, which would make the king more odious: so that care was taken to get those bodies consumed with lime, through a precaution much like that whereby God would not suffer the Jews to know where the body of Moses lay. It appeared by the event, that those, who gave the king that advice, were in the right. For, among other extravagances, that were done at Paris, after the death of those two brothers, Thuanus observes, that their effigies at full length were daily carried to the altars, bloody all over, and having a ghastly look *.' See the first passage quoted by me in the following remark.

[G] The people imitated the fury of the preachers. At the same time, that, by virtue of that unhappy decree (21), he was deprived of the title of king, and only called Henry de Valois, he was abused and reviled by the furious mob, all manner of ways: they vented their rage against him by satires, invectives, libels, calumnies, and all sorts of outrageous words, the least of which was that of tyrant and apostate: they fell with a brutish fury upon his arms, his statues, and pictures, which were broke, tore, trampled upon, dragged through the streets, burnt, thrown into the river, with a thousand curses upon him, whilst the duke of Guise and his brother were revered as martyrs, so far as to place their pictures upon the altars (22). Observe what Maimbourg had been saying. As soon as the decree of the Sorbonne was published at Paris, says he, They proceeded all of a sudden to such horrid extremities, and such an execrable fury, contrary to the duty of subjects to their lawful prince, that, tho' our writers have mentioned them, I think it more proper to say nothing of them, than to profane my history with a relation, that would make it unpleasant and odious. An Act (23) of the pretended parliament, sent to all the towns, that sided with the League, increased the fury of the people, who did still worse things than before: nay, some, through an abominable mixture of par-

ricide, sacrilege, and magical enchantments, placed waxen images, like the king, upon the altars, and pricked them in several places, uttering certain diabolical words at each of the forty masses, that were said for them in many churches, to give a greater force to their charm; and when the fortieth mass was said, they pricked them in the heart, as it were to give him the mortal blow (24).

[H] The Sorbonne . . . made some decrees altogether republican. I have said in another place (25) why I use Maimbourg's words; and therefore I shall not excuse my self again for it. Here follows another entire passage of the same historian (26). 'Those, who made up the town-body . . . proposed to the Sorbonne, not only by word of mouth, but also by an authentic Act, signed by the magistrates, and sealed with the seal of the town, these two great cases of conscience: † one was, whether the French were actually free from the oath of fidelity and obedience sworn to the king? The other was, whether they might take up arms and unite themselves; and whether they might raise money, and contribute towards the defence and preservation of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, religion in France †, to oppose the execrable designs and attempts of the king and all his adherents, since he had violated the public faith at Blois, to the prejudice of the Catholic religion, of the edit of the holy union, and of the natural liberty of the States. Whereupon the Faculty meeting on the seventh of January, to the number of seventy doctors, after a solemn procession, and a mass of the Holy Ghost, concluded, in the affirmative, upon those two points, with a common consent, and without any opposition; they are the very words of the decree: And that this resolution should be sent to the Pope, that it might be approved by him, and confirmed by his authority; and that he would be pleased to assist the Gallican church, which was under great sufferings, and very much oppressed.' On the fifth of April of the same year 1589, the Sorbonne made another decree, whereby they declare, that Henry de Valois cannot be prayed for in any ecclesiastical prayer, much less in the canon of the mass, by reason of the excommunication he has incurred; and that these words, pro Rege nostro, ought to be left out of the canon, lest it should be thought that he is prayed for, though the priest, directing his intention to some other person, means those that govern, or him to whom GOD designs to give the kingdom. They ordain, that, instead of those words, three prayers, Pro Christianis Principibus nostris †, be said at mass, out of the canon: they were printed, and are to be seen still. Lastly, they add, that those, who shall refuse to comply, shall be deprived of the prayers and rights of the Faculty, out of which they shall be expelled as excommunicated persons; which was unanimously approved by all the doctors. Those republican principles spread in such a manner among the French divines, that Genebrard, one of the principal deputies of the clergy to the states assembled at Paris in 1593, preached a sermon before that assembly, wherein, instead of exhorting the deputies, by the word of GOD, to think only of the preservation of the state and of religion, which is the greatest support of it, he endeavoured to prove, by very bad arguments, that their assembly might change and repeal the Salic law, which is the fundamental law of the state, and has been always inviolably observed from the beginning of the French monarchy to this present time (27).

[I] The parliament of Paris received the complaints of the duke of Guise's widow, who demanded that Henry III should be punished for the death of her husband. What we read in the General Criticism on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism (28), concerning the action brought against that king, is very curious; but what follows is more curious still. It was imparted to me by a very learned man (29), who has collected a vast number of uncommon things relating to learning, and has a wonderful knowledge of all sorts of books, tho' never so scarce and so little known. He was pleased to

(24) Maimbourg,
Hist. de la Ligue,
pag. 300.

(25) In the article
of GREGORY
I, between exa
tions (45) and
(47). See also
that of GREGO
RY VII, at the
end of the re
mark [E].

(26) Maimbourg,
ubi supra, pag.
297, 298, anno
1589.

† Mem. de la
Ligue, Tom. III,
Mr de Nevers,
Traité de la
Prise des Armes.

† Mem. del vit,
di Morol. lib.
iii, cap. xxiil.

† Mem. de la
Ligue, Tom. III.

(27) Maimbourg,
ibid. pag. 438.

(28) Letter xiii,
pag. 228, of the
third edition. He
quotes a very
notable passage of
Mr de Perchic.
Histoire de Hen
ry IV.

(29) Mr Bourde
let, physician to
Mr Bouchet,
chancellor of
France. He is
now physician to
the duke of Bur
gundy.

write

(c) Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, pag. 284, says, He was killed at forty two years of age: He is mistaken by four years.

Balzac's Entretien [K]. This duke was born the 31st of December 1556 (c). He married in 1570, Catherine de Cleves, the second daughter of Francis de Cleves, duke of Nevers, who died at Paris the 11th of May 1633, at 83 years of age (d). Varillas relates

(d) See Hilarion de Coste, Tome 1, pag. 301.

write to me, that he has a small book of sixteen pages in 8vo, intituled, *Advertissement & premieres Escriptions du procès pour Messieurs les Députés du Royaume de France, aux prétendus États qui se devoient tenir en la ville de Blois, demandeurs d'une part. Le peuple & les héritiers des d'uns Duc & Cardinal de Guise, aussi demandeurs & joints d'une part. Contre Henry de Valois troisième de ce nom, jadis Roy de France & de Pologne, autrement dit Thessalonien, au nom & en la qualité qu'il procède, défendeur d'autre part. Avec l'approbation des Docteurs. Et se vendent chez Denis Binet, avec permission. 1589.* That is, *Advertissement and first writings of the process for the deputies of the kingdom of France to the pretended states, that were to meet in the city of Blois, plaintiffs: the people and the heirs of the deceased duke of Guise, and cardinal de Guise, likewise plaintiffs, and joined together: against Henry de Valois, the third of that name, heretofore king of France and Poland, otherwise called the Thessalonian, in the name and quality he proceeds, defendant. With the approbation of the doctors. Sold by Denis Binet, with licence: 1589.* The book begins thus:

Advertissement of the law suit.

'The deputies of the kingdom of France, plaintiffs, according to the summons of Monf. Peter de Four l'Evesque, bearing date the twelfth of January 1589, on the one part, and the people and consorts, likewise joined plaintiffs on the one part: against Henry de Valois, in the name and quality he proceeds, defendant, on the other part: say, before you gentlemen, officers, and counsellors of the crown of France, holding the court of parliament at Paris, that, for the causes, reasons, and arguments, hereafter set forth,

'The said Henry de Valois, by reason of the murder and assassination committed upon the most illustrious persons of the duke and cardinal de Guise, shall be condemned, for a reparation of the said assassination, to make the *amende honorable*, having nothing but his shirt on, bare-headed, and bare-footed, with a halter about his neck, attended by the executioner, holding in his hands a burning torch of thirty pounds weight; who shall say and declare in the assembly of the states, upon his knees, that, wrongfully and without a cause, he has committed, or caused the said assassination to be committed, upon the said duke and cardinal de Guise, for which he shall beg pardon of God, of the justice, and of the states: that from this very time, as a criminal, and declared to be such, he shall be deposed and declared unworthy of the crown of France, renouncing all the rights he might pretend to, for the things more fully mentioned and declared in the process, of which he shall be found well and duly attainted and convicted; besides, he shall be banished, and confined for ever to the convent and monastery of the Hieronymites, near the wood of Vincennes, to live there upon bread and water the rest of his days; and he shall be condemned to pay the charges; and for these causes, they say, &c. By these means, and others, which the court of grace may supply, the plaintiffs conclude with charges. In the advocate's absence, signed

CHICOT.

Arrest of the supreme court of the peers of France against the murderers and assassins of the cardinal and of the duke of Guise. Paris, for Nicolas Nivelles, 1589, 8vo, with licence.

'The court, all the chambers being assembled, having seen the petition presented to them by the lady Catherine de Cleves, duchess-dowager of Guise, &c. and heard the attorney-general upon it, and all things duly considered; has ordained, and ordains, that the commission be delivered to the said petitioner, directed to two counsellors, to inform about the contents of the said petition, and its circumstances and dependencies; to the end that the information being made, reported to the said court, and communicated to the said attorney-general, they may ordain what

they shall think fit. Done in parliament the last day of January, 1589, signed

BOUCHER.

'Upon the petition, presented this day by the lady Catherine de Cleves, &c. The court, all the chambers being met together, has appointed and appoints Messieurs Peter Michon and John Courtin, counsellors, to make an information of the contents of the said petition, and of its circumstances and dependencies, and the execution of the present arrest shall be made by virtue of the extract of it. Done in parliament the last of January, 1589.

BOUCHER.

An extract of the registers of parliament.

'The court, all the several chambers being met together, having seen the petition presented to them by the lady Catherine de Cleves, &c. importing that, upon another petition presented by her, &c. and having heard upon it the attorney-general, and all things duly considered, the said court has admitted and admits the said de Cleves, appellant, from the grant of the said commission, and execution thereof, and from whatever ensued or might ensue upon it; ordains, that a commission of the said court be delivered to her, to summon whomsoever it may concern upon the said appeal; and in the mean time, forbids, particularly, commissioners, and all others, to proceed further; and all other courts to take cognizance of the fact contained in the said petition, and of its circumstances and dependencies, upon pain of a nullity of proceedings. Moreover, the said court ordains, that all summons made in general, and proclaimed in the neighbouring places of a safe access, will be as good and effectual as if they were made to the persons, or in the houses of those whom there will be occasion to summon. Done in parliament the first day of February, 1589, signed

DU TILLET.

[K] I will relate an encomium which is to be found in Balzac's Entretien. I make no doubt that Balzac is the author of it, and that, being a great lover of an hyperbolic stile, he took care to exaggerate the thing. However it be, these are his words:

'France doated upon that man; for, should I say only, that she was in love with him, I should express my self too faintly. It is no wonder if she departed from her duty as she did. Such a passion came very near idolatry: some invoked him in their prayers; others put his cut in their common prayer-book. His picture was every where; some ran after him in the streets to rub their beads against his cloak: and one day, as he returned from Champagne, entering into Paris through St Antony's gate, the people not only cried, *long live Guise*, but many sung, *Hosanna filio David*. Some assemblies, that were not small, yielded in an instant to his good mien. No heart could hold out against his face; he persuaded before he spoke a word; it was impossible to bear him an ill-will in his presence. The first glance he cast upon his enemies did immediately remove their animosity against him, and produced such a commotion in their blood, and so strange an alteration in their humours, that afterwards they could not resume their hatred, without animating themselves a long time; and therefore, what I heard a courtier of that reign say, seems to me to be well observed, that the Huguenots were for the league, when they looked upon the duke of Guise. I leave it to history to give an account of his actions, and to carry curiosity as far as his thoughts. I will not take upon me to explain court-riddles, nor do my speculations reach so far. It is enough for me to believe, without pretending to guess, that he must needs have been a very extraordinary man, since his bare name was sufficient, after his death, to continue the war against two potent kings; and since the greatest captain of Europe, the second founder of this state, Henry the Great, of glorious

(e) He had fourteen, not in fourteen years, as Varillas will have it, *Histoire de Henry III*, livr. xii, pag. 343; for he was married eighteen years, and he left his wife with child.

relates a very remarkable thing concerning that marriage [L]. They were mutually unfaithful [M]: and, if we believe that historian, it was not the husband, who revenged himself upon his wife's lover; he was contented to put her into a violent fright [N]. He left many children behind him (e).

He was surnamed Gash-Face [O], by reason of a wound he received in the cheek, in a fight, in the year 1575. The duke of Mayenne his brother set up for the head of the

(30) Balzac, *Entretien* xxiv, pag. m. 260.

(31) Varillas, *Histoire de Henry III*, livr. xii, pag. 342.

(32) Charles IX designed to have him killed, because he thought he was in love with the princess Margaret. See the romantic history of the duke of Guise, printed at Paris, 1694, in which this prince is represented as so much in love with the duke of Guise, that he surpasses all the decorum of a romance, but is not improbable, except in this, that the author supposes, that, in the most favourable opportunities of enjoyment, they parted without, &c.

(33) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, Tom. I, pag. 330.

† Ultimus comparuit Guisus, quem ea nocte secum Veneri fuisse cum quadam Gynæci matrona, quem perdit duperbat, indultisse, eoque tardius furcivile cunctans rumor fuit. . . . Dulciora quædam Cubicularii regis ad refocillandas vires petiit, quod tamen ab aliis non tam pavori quam lalludini ex contubernio femine illius, cum qua concubuerat contractæ assignatum est. *Thuan. lib. xliii.*

‡ Journal de Hen. III, 21 July, 1578.

(34) See below citat. (37).

(35) Critique générale de l'Hist. du Calvinisme, *Letter iii*, pag. 41.

(36) See the Journal de Henry III, pag. m. 31.

(37) Ibid.

glorious memory, took towns, and won battles, only to ruin the interest of a man, who was no longer in being. I will not omit a saying, which you will not be displeased to know. It is separated from the encomium, and ascribed to marshal de Rais's lady. 'Those Lorrain princes, said she, had so noble a look, that other princes looked like citizens to them' (30).

[L] Varillas relates a very remarkable thing concerning that marriage. He says (31), that the duke of Guise being informed, that Charles IX designed to have him assassinated, consulted the duchess of Nemours, his mother, who told him, he could not avoid the misfortune he was threatened with, but by marrying that very same night (32), and that she undertook to get him a wife. She sent for the princess of Porcien, who did not think fit to refuse that match. Thus the marriage was proposed, negotiated, concluded, and consummated, and the duchess proved with child of a son, who was afterwards the fourth duke of Guise; and all this was transacted in the space of four hours. The king, being told of it the next morning, revoked the order he had given to la Tour-Gondy. Were this true, I should wonder that le Laboureur knew nothing of it. He knew several particulars concerning that duchess of Guise. He tells us (33), that the prince of Porcien, not long before he died, desired his wife, whom he suspected to have a kindness for the duke of Guise, not to marry him. You are young, said he to her, rich, and handsome: these qualifications, attended with a noble extraction, will move several persons to court you. I approve your marrying again, and leave you the choice of a husband all over the kingdom, except the duke of Guise, whom of all men in the world I hate most: and I beg of you, that my greatest enemy may not be the heir of what was the dearest to me. He died of a fever at Paris, in the year 1564: and six years after, his widow, having compared the memory of a dead husband with the presence of so great an object as Henry de Lorraine, duke of Guise, was yielded to his merit, and married him. This account, and that of Varillas, are little consistent.

[M] They were mutually unfaithful. The galantries of the duke of Guise are well known: they make part of the description Maimbourg gives of him, as has been seen above. He spent the night before he was assassinated with a lady belonging to the queen, which was the reason why he came later than others to the council: nay, it is thought, that his bleeding at the nose in the council-hall, which obliged him to ask for some sweet-meats, proceeded from his having exhaled his strength with that woman. If you will not take my word for it, believe at least Thuanus, whose words I quote in the margin †, and admire the injustice of that duke. Notwithstanding his being unfaithful to his wife, he could not endure, that she should be unfaithful to him; for he caused a handsome young gentleman, called St Megrin, one of the king's darlings, to be cruelly assassinated, for some reports that went about him and his duchess. ‡. By the king of Navarre's leave, who had some reasons to approve St Megrin's punishment (34), that action of the duke of Guise was a very great crime (35). We shall see, by and by, that an author says, the duke of Guise had no hand in St Megrin's assassination. However, he was thought to be the author of it, at the court of France (36); and the king of Navarre was so fully persuaded of it, that he said; I am glad my cousin the duke of Guise could not endure, that such a spark as St Megrin should cuckold him: all other court sparks, who pretend to make amorous addresses to princesses, should be served in the same manner (37). But the author, I am going to quote, does not deny the love-intrigues of the duchess of Guise; it is true, he does not pretend to warrant the truth of them.

[N] He was contented too put his wife into a violent fright. † Cassade St Maigrin, a gentleman of Bourdeaux, became a favourite of Henry III, merely on account of his beauty. . . . He was so impudent

as to say, that the duchess of Guise had prostituted herself to him ‡. The duke of Guise, being of all men the least capable of jealousy, as to women, was not at first informed of the foolish vanity of St Maigrin; but the thing was imparted to his nearest relations and best friends: and all of them were so pressing upon him, that, in order to free himself from their importunity, he promised them to revenge himself first upon his wife, and then upon her pretended lover. Accordingly, he did not lie with her the night following, contrary to his custom; and the next day, he went into her chamber at four o'clock in the morning, with a dagger in his right hand, and a silver porringer full of a blackish liquor in his left. He awakened the duchess, who was fast asleep, upbraided her in a few words with her unfaithfulness; and, with a look and voice, in which she might discover all the symptoms of fury and despair, told her, he left it to her choice to be stabbed or to drink the poison prepared in the porringer (38). The duchess, not being able to prevail with him by her entreaties, took the pretended poison, and drank it off, and, falling upon her knees before her oratory, waited for the moment she should expire: but as that pretended poison was the best jelly-broth that could be made, she was not the worse for it; and in an hour's time, her husband came to her, and told her, how he had been solicited to make away with her, and what course he had taken. The friends and relations of the duke, having lost all hopes of exasperating him against his wife, resolved to kill St Maigrin. About twenty men on horseback waited for him, at his coming out of the Louvre, at twelve o'clock at night, and gave him thirty three wounds with their swords and pistols, most of which were mortal. The king expressed no resentment, because he was told, that a man had been seen among the assassins, who seemed to be the duke of Mayenne, being extraordinary tall, and having hands like a shoulder of mutton.

Take notice, that this duchess of Guise had been a Protestant, during the life of her first husband; but she turned Catholic in the chapel of the castle of St Germain en Laye, at the pressing request of Catherine de Medicis her godmother (39).

[O] He was surnamed Gash-Face. A famous historian makes an observation, which does not seem to me to be right. The duke of Guise, says he (40), gouverneur of Champagne, charged the Reisters, and defeated them near Chateau Thierry. He was wounded in the left cheek with the shot of an arquebuse, the gash whereof remained all his life-time, very glorious with respect to the Catholics, and very advantageous with respect to the ladies, who think that brave men are so every where. He has some reason to say, that the marks of bravery are very acceptable to the fair sex. Madam de Scudery says (41), that the valour is not Gash-Face. the virtue of women, yet it is certain they love it, and sometimes prove unjust to some other qualities for the sake of this, by preferring some men, who are only valiant, to others, who have several virtues instead of one. It is certain, that a gentleman, suspected of cowardice, will be despised by the ladies (42), and that many of them try the courage of their lovers; I mean, that they expose them to quarrels, in order to see whether they will come off with honour. How many rash actions were done in the French armies, in the XVIth century, for the sake of a mistress, and to deserve her favour (43)? Mezerai's observation cannot therefore be criticized in all respects; but it may be said, that the reason he goes upon is not solid. I grant, the ladies love valiant men, and courageous sparks; but it is not because they fancy they are stout every where, but because the reputation of bravery is attended with great glory, in which those have a share, whose lovers have got such a shining reputation: and therefore, when women prefer soldiers to citizens, and warriors of a distinguished valour to common warriors, they show more pride and vanity than lewdness. They think it much more glorious to captivate

† In Mr. de Boisly's Memoirs. They are in Mr. de Mejan's library.

(38) Varillas, *Histoire de Henry III*, livr. xii, pag. 343.

(39) Historien de Coite, Vies des Dames Illustres, Tom. I, pag. 295.

(40) Mezerai, Abr. Chron. Tom. V, pag. 207, ad ann. 1575.

* For which read son le was called.

(41) In one of the volumes of Clelia.

(42) See the remark [B] of the article CÉLÉSTES.

(43) Bontemps speaks of them in several places.

the league; and, in that quality, he exercised a power little different from the royal. He might have taken the title of king [P]; but doubtless he had some reasons to content himself with the title of *lieutenant-general of the state and crown of France*, really attended with an almost despotical authority. He and the league supposed, that the throne was vacant, and so they overturned the most solemn and the most fundamental laws of the kingdom. I shall set down an act, which has been purloined from the records of the parliament of Paris [Q]; whereby it will appear, that, in what concerns the

captivate a great courage, than to conquer a peaceful heart. They get a certain advantage by it; whereas the rest is very casual. Some brave men are not to be compared in their armorous embraces to some others, who seldom stir out of doors. Many a Roman, who had made twenty glorious campaigns, and had been loaded with military rewards, was much inferior in this respect to Ovid and Horace (44), and a hundred fops not fit to handle a sword. I do not think the bravest man in France could have disputed this point with Zacachrist, or that the marshal de Rantzau, who bore so many glorious marks of his valour, and whose face was much more galled than that of the duke of Guise, came near the strength of Voiture.

If we go higher, we shall find, that the ravisher of Helena was not the valiant Hector, but Paris, a coward, and an effeminate man; and it will appear, that Homer, who is so happy, and so natural in describing passions, alleges the example of that coward, to cry down the impatience of those, who care for their wives in the day-time. Paris is the only man in his poems that does it. Nay, he is transported with such an impatience, when he should have been ashamed of having just then ran away from the fight. Did not the poet design to denote by it the venerable strength of poltroons? Plutarch does not say so; but perhaps he might have said it, with as much reason as there is in these words of his (45): *to which purpose I shall mention what Homer says of Paris, who, running away from the battle, went to bed with the fair Helena; for, since the poet mentions no other man in his poem, that lies with his wife in the day-time, he plainly intimates, that he takes such a piece of incontinence to be a very shameful thing* (46). See, in the third book of the Iliad, how Hector upbraided that run-away with his cowardice: Helena spoke to him thus:

Quod bene te iactas, & fortia facta recenses;

A verbis facies diffidet ista suis.

Apta magis Veneri, quam sint tua corpora Marti.

Bella gerant fortis: tu Pari, semper ama.

Hectora, quem laudas, pro te pugnare iubeto;

Militia est operis altera digna tuis (47).

On war's rough theme thy tongue be ever mute;

Such boasts but ill with such an aspect suit.

To war's impetuous deity unknown,

Soft Cytherea claims thee all her own.

Let the tough hero's arm the jav'lin wield;

Exert thy prowess in love's gentler field.

For thee let Hector, valiant Hector, fight;

Thy courage, Paris, other wars invite.

[P] The Duke of Mayenne exercised a power little different from the royal. He might have taken the title of king. He heard at Lyons, that the duke, and the cardinal de Guise, his brothers, had been murdered, and immediately he went into Burgundy, whereof he was governor (48). He got some troops together, and then marched towards Paris. He was received at Troyes with the same honours that are paid to kings, and acted there like a sovereign, sending commissions to the duke of Guise's creatures, especially to Rojme and St Paul, to whom he sent orders to command in Champagne and Brie (49). He entered Paris the twelfth of February, 1589, where, as if he had been the duke of Guise raised from the dead, the inhabitants expressed their joy to such an excess, that they exposed his picture with a close crown to the public view, and erected a royal throne to him; and, had he been ambitious and bold enough to place himself on it, perhaps he would have found people enough that would have acknowledged him, in hopes of getting some governments, which he would have erected into duchies and countries with homage, as Hugh

VO L. III.

Capet did (50). But he refused that honour, and afterwards would not suffer, that another should be possessed of it. He was contented, first of all, to settle his authority, by making himself the strongest in the council of the league (51). He ordered every thing according to his mind, in spite of the sixteen, and procured to himself an authority very like the supreme power of kings. For the first thing, that was decreed in that new council, was, that, to denote the almost absolute and supreme power bestowed upon him, he should have, till the meeting of the States, the extraordinary and unprecedented title of lieutenant-general, not of the king, for the league acknowledged none then, but of the state and crown of France . . . (52). He took an oath for this new and odd dignity, on the thirteenth of March, in the parliament, who confirmed the patent, sealed with the new seals, that were made, instead of the king's, which had been broken: and, to begin the exercise of his office with an act of sovereignty, he immediately caused new laws to be published, containing twenty one articles, to unite, under the same form of government, all the towns, that were engaged in the league, and those that would enter into it, the number of which proved very great in a little time (53). He took the field, and attacked the king's army more than once: he brought the Spanish troops into the kingdom; and, if he opposed the design of the Leaguers, who intended to make a king, who should marry the Infanta, it was only because he could not be concerned in that nomination, since he was married, and because it was only designed for the duke of Guise, his nephew. He was so obdurate in his rebellion, that he continued to make war against Henry IV. when the city of Paris had submitted to that prince, reconciled to the church of Rome. He did not submit, till he had such advantageous offers made him by the king, that he could hardly have expected so great favours from a prince highly beholden to him (54). The edict, that was made in his favour, is dated at Folembray, the eleventh of January, 1596 (55).

[Q] I will produce an act, which has been purloined from the records of the parliament of Paris. I have a copy of it drawn from the original, signed du Tillet. here is the tenour of that act.

An extract of the records of parliament.

' This day the Sieur duke de Mayenne, lieutenant-general of the royal state and crown of France, the chambers being met together, and the king's council present, having remonstrated to the court the causes of his coming to this city, and leaving a great army; and that since the fourteenth day of the last month, the said court did not sit (56), and there being no president in it, he thought it necessary to come and advise with them about it, in order to appoint four presidents, that this great chamber, and that of the Tournelle, may not remain without heads, and that he may cause patents to be drawn up for those who shall be elected, being not willing to name any of them himself, but referring the whole matter to the said court: whereupon having several times called upon the court to name them, and the king's council being heard, it has been remonstrated to him by Mr Matthew Chartier, dean, and the eldest counsellor, that, upon a vacancy of the said offices, the court was used to nominate some persons to the king, out of which he chose one or two, who were put in possession of them. But now there being no king, and considering the condition the town was in, the said court referred it to him, and desired him to name some: and at last, after many excuses, he has said, that since the court desired it should be so, and according to the prayer he had put up in the morning to God, and his holy spirit, that this affair might be managed with sincerity, he resolved to name, for the office of first president, the Sieur Chartier, eldest

Ffff

(f) Maimbourg,
Hist. de la Ligue,
pag. 436.

(g) Ibid. pag.
460.

(h) Ibid. pag.
462.

(i) Ibid. pag.
479.

the nomination of the presidents of that parliament, he exercised all the functions of a king. He assembled the states of the kingdom (f), at Paris, in the year 1593. He made an admiral and four marshals of France in that assembly (g), and declared, they had been called together to proceed to the election of a king who should be a Catholic (h). But, when he saw, that he could not be elected, for he was married, and there was a design to elect a prince, who might marry the Infanta of Spain, he dexterously opposed it; which he did the more earnestly, because he knew, that the duke of Guise, his nephew, was the person, whom they intended to make king. He was extremely vexed at that nomination (i). The duchess, his wife, could not endure it, and advised her husband to make a peace with the king, rather than be so base as to acknowledge, for his master and king, that young lad: So she called her nephew, out of contempt. Those, who consider the several attempts of the Guises, cannot apprehend what the Cartesian philosopher, James Rohault, was dreaming of [R], when he wrote the epistle dedicatory prefixed to his Physics.

'counsellor, before named by the court, to be president, whose virtue, integrity, and ability, are notorious to every body; and, for the office of second president, the Sieur Hacqueville, president in the great council; and for the office of third president, the Sieur de Nully, first president in the court of aids, and heretofore invested with one of those offices; and for the office of fourth president, the Sieur le Maître, the king's advocate, having never seen, that he knows of, the said Sieurs Chartier and le Maître, or any other, whom the court shall think fit to name. Which nomination being approved by the said court, the matter being taken into consideration, and, notwithstanding the excuses and remonstrances of the said Sieur Chartier, on account of his age of seventy nine years, of his being sickly, and lately recovered from a great sickness, and because his age requires a quiet life rather than the toils of such an office, it has been resolved, that he shall take the oath of first president in the said court. And having sworn, that in order to be promoted to that office, he has neither given, nor promised to give, or cause to be given, by himself or others, gold, silver, or any thing else; and besides, that he will faithfully and worthily exercise the said office of first president, he has been admitted into it, and has made a profession of his faith to Mr Stephen Fleury, eldest counsellor. Done in parliament the second day of December, 1591. A collation, has been made.' Signed.

DU TILLET.

FORMULARY
of provisions in
execution of the
above arrest.

'Charles de Lorraine, duke of Mayenne, lieutenant-general of the state and crown of France, to all those to whom these presents shall come, greeting. The greatest sign of the authority and good will of those who have governed states, and what they have been most esteemed for by their subjects, and admired by foreigners, has been their care of establishing and maintaining the two pillars, on which the preservation of all monarchies is founded, viz. piety and justice. Wherefore, since it has pleased God to call us to the management of the affairs of this kingdom, after we have considered, to the best of our power, the regulations necessary to promote the glory of God, our chief intent has been to fill up the places of the chief ministers of justice, with persons of a probity and integrity suitable to those offices. And whereas it has been remonstrated to us, and we are sensible that it is very necessary to fill up the vacancies of the presidents of the parliament of Paris, lest the course of justice should be interrupted, as it has been of late, having resolved to appoint four of them, that both the great chamber of the Pleas and Tournelle may not be without heads: be it known, that, having this day communicated our desires and intentions to the gentlemen of the said court, the chambers being met, and having named the four persons, whom we have thought worthy of those offices, and whom they have approved, as it appears from the act and decree of this day, here affixed under the counters seal; we, considering the good and acceptable services, which Mr &c. For such is our desire. In witness whereof, we have caused the seal of the kingdom of France to be set to these presents. Given at Paris the second of December, 1591, signed Charles de Lorraine; and upon the fold, by Monseigneur, Pericard.'

Mr Marais, advocate in the parliament of Paris, has been pleased to send me the copy he had taken of this

act. He has also imparted to me some observations upon my Dictionary, which give me a great notion of his parts and learning.

[R] Those, who consider the attempts of the Guises cannot apprehend what the Cartesian philosopher, James Rohault, was dreaming of.] He published his Physics in the year 1671, and dedicated them to the duke of Guise, to whom he made this compliment.

'Though I had been at liberty to deliberate upon the choice, what profession could I have desired for the natural truths I offer to the public, than that of a name, which has been all along designed for the support of the greatest truths in the world? your ancestors have defended, with a piety that deserves to be ever proposed as a pattern, the divine truths of religion, against the professed enemies of them. Those illustrious heroes maintained the political truths at the expence of their lives; I mean the fundamental laws of the state, and the immutable rights of our sovereigns (§ a) against foreign enemies, and the domestic fury of the rebels. And it was your highness's lot to be moreover the protector of the truths of nature, having in every thing else all the noble sentiments of your ancestors. Nay, we might see still the same zeal shine, with the same lustre, in the person of your highness, were it not for want of occasion under the glorious reign of the greatest and the wisest monarch in the world (§ 57). Should a poet vent the same things, even in very fine verses, it might be reasonably supposed, that he did it for his sins, and to expiate some great crime. This thought of Horace might be applied to him:

Nec satis apparet cur versus facit, utrum
Minxerit patrios cineres, an triste bidental
Moverit incestus: certe furit (§8).

Whatever the guilt that drew down such a curse,
'Tis sure the man is mad, and raves in verse.

What then shall we think of a famous philosopher and a good mathematician, who is guilty of such a folly; had he not committed an abominable action, which deserved he should be given over to so reprobate a sense? but, to use him more gently, has he not dishonoured his character by affirming such a palpable lye? I am willing to excuse his Cartesianism as well as I can; and therefore I will suppose, that Rohault did not write his epistle dedicatory as a philosopher: he wholly divested himself of that character, and assumed that of a panegyrist, which is the unlucky fate of those, who write epistles dedicatory. A good lesson to discourage a true philosopher from such a design! I go farther, and I say that this philosopher, when he appeared under a character so foreign to himself, did not wholly cease to be a philosopher; and that, if he vented a gross falsity, it was not through base flattery, but ignorance. It is likely he was one of those philosophers and mathematicians, who relish nothing but natural philosophy and Euclid, and who despise every thing else, and do not vouchsafe to learn the history of their own country. Perhaps it might be further said, that his great application in making experiments against a Vacuum, and upon the various qualities of the load-stone, refractions of light, &c. did not afford him time enough to read Thuanus and Mezerai; which was the reason why he had but this general notion of the history

(57) Rohault,
epistle dedicatory
to his Physics.

(58) Horat. de
Arte Poet. vers.
470.

history of the Guises, that they had very much opposed the rebellion of the Huguenots. He was therefore sincere in some measure: but his ignorance, not being invincible, cannot justify him; he might easily have been cured of it. Any one of his scholars might have given him an account of what the Guises did against Henry III, and Henry IV; and the meanest lawyer, or practitioner in the law, might have told him, that their attempts were diametrically contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and a total subversion of the principles most essential to the French monarchy, and a continued series of the greatest crimes of felony and treason, that can be committed. And therefore if he did not speak against his conscience, he deserves at least to be blamed for neglecting to get himself informed about the things he spoke of. I think this is the only fault he is guilty of, and I cannot believe that he acted against his knowledge, to set up for a flatterer; for had he had any tincture of the history of the XVIth century, he would not have been so bold as to praise his patron in the manner he did. Would he have ventured to commend him for being ready to imitate his ancestors, if there was occasion for it? was it not the same thing as if he had said: *When occasion offers, your highness will be always ready to raise a rebellion in Paris; to carry on the barricado's as far as the Louvre; to force the king to run away; to expose him to the most violent invectives of the preachers; to bring an action against him in the parliament of Paris; to depose him; to have him assassinated by a monk; to exclude the Dauphin, and all*

the princes of the blood from the succession; to bring a Spanish army into the kingdom, in order to prevent their asserting their right? &c. I conclude, that Mr Rohault would not have expressed himself in such a manner, had he known, that his words did really imply such propositions; and therefore, if he deserves to be excused for such a fault, it is because he did not know what he said.

I must observe, that the Protestants are not the only writers, who made a disadvantageous description of the actions and designs of the Guises; some Catholic authors have done the same. Read a piece that is ascribed to Lewis Servin, advocate-general in the parliament of Paris (59).

[(59) B] Baptiste le Grain, l. 6. of his Decad of Henry the Great, p. 635. of the edition of Rouen, 1633, speaking of the duke of Mayenne, says, in express terms, that, as much head of the league as this duke was, *he would never suffer the fundamental laws of the state to be broken through; and the edict of Poitiers, of the eleventh of January 1596* * praises the same duke for the affection he shew'd in preserving the kingdom entire, *which he would never suffer to be dismembered, even when the success of his affairs seemed to offer him the means of doing it: as he has not since attempted, after being weakened.* . . . Probably, Mr Rohault, being a better philosopher than genealogist, took for one of this man's descendants, that duke of Guise, to whom he dedicated his Physics, in 1671. REM. CRIT.]

(59) *Intituled, Vindicie secundum libertatem Ecclesie Gallicane, & regii status Gallo Francorum. I made use of the edition, 1593, in 8vo.*

* Mem. de la Ligue, Tom. VI, pag. 376, edit. of 1599.

GUISE (CHARLES DE LORRAIN duke of), eldest son of the foregoing, was born the 20th of August 1571. He was arrested with several others on the day of the execution of Blois, and remained prisoner till the month of August 1591, when he made his escape from the castle of Tours (a). *The league made bonfires upon it every where, and the Pope gave public thanks to GOD for it.* That young prince was received at Paris with great acclamations (b), and not only the people, but also the nobility concerned in the league, flocked to him. He made a strict confederacy with the faction of the sixteen; but this great prosperity proved the ruin of the party, by reason of the jealousy which the duke of Mayenne conceived upon that account. I have mentioned it in the foregoing article. It is said, that the dukes of Mompensier fell in love with that young duke of Guise her nephew [A]. The latter deprived the leaguers of one of their worthies, by killing the brave St Pol with his own hands [B]. He obtained the government of Provence, when he submitted to Henry IV, in the year 1594 (c). He had some employments by sea and land under Lewis XIII (d); but care was taken to prevent his growing too powerful, and he was even obliged to leave France. It was the effect of the wise politics of cardinal de Richelieu [C]. He retired to Florence (e), and died at Cuna, in the Siensese, the 30th of September 1640. He married, in 1611, Henriete Catherine de Joyeuse, the only daughter of Henry de Joyeuse, marshal of France

(a) Mezerai, Abr. Chronol. Tom. VI, pag. m. 59. See in the fourteenth book of Paquier's Letters, pag. 173, & seq. how he made his escape.

(b) Maimbourg, Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 435, ad ann. 1591.

(c) Anselme, Hist. des grands Officiers, pag. 427.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Ibid. pag. 428.

[A] It is said, that the dukes of Mompensier fell in love with that young duke of Guise, her nephew.]

(1) Menagiana, Part. II, pag. m. 57.

Here is a passage of Mr Menage (1). 'The dukes of Mompensier was very much in love with her nephew the duke of Guise, son of Henry Gaspar Face. I have formerly seen some passionate letters he writ to him. Hence it is, that, in the Satire *Minippée*, when every body is placed according to his rank, the herald cries, Madam de Montpensier, place your self under your nephew.' Mr Menage did not recollect all that the herald said: he forgot a very remarkable clause: there is in the Catholicon, *Madam Dowager of Montpensier, as princess in your own right, place your self under your nephew.* See the reflexions, made upon this, by the author of the new remarks upon this Satire *Minippée* (2).

(2) At pag. 300, 301, of the edition 1699.

[B] He deprived the leaguers of one of their worthies, by slaying with his own hand the brave St Pol.] Saint Paul, a souldier of fortune, who got his title of nobility by his valour and good conduct in the art of war (3) was one of the four marshals of France, created by the duke of Mayenne, in 1593. That duke, after the death of the duke of Guise, whose creature this captain was, gave him the government of Champagne, where, after he had made himself master of Rheims, Mezieres, and Vitry, he was so bold as to invade the duchy of Retelois, and take possession of it in the quality of a duke, by virtue of a grant he said he had received from the Pope, as the king wrote from the camp before Chartres to the duke of Nevers. And, at last, his intolerable pride, together with the tyranny he exercised in that province, occasion-

ed his being killed by the young duke of Guise, who thrust his sword into his heart, because that prince having very civilly desired him to withdraw the troops, he had put into Rheims to secure it, that pretended marshal, who was resolved to be absolute master of it in spite of him, told him haughtily, laying his hand to his sword, that he would not do it (4). It is no unusual thing for brave men, who revolt against their lawful prince, to be fond of independency. But they frequently find, that the head of the rebellion requires a greater submission than the true master. I believe Henry IV would have been more indulgent to St Paul, than the duke of Guise was. Note, that Mezerai lays all the blame on the duke, who, says he (5), designing to get the spoils of that brave man, picked a quarrel with him in the streets of Rheims, and ran his sword into his belly. The same historian observes, that Saint Pol, the day before the barricado's, saved the life of that duke's father. See how thankful he was for that great service.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Mezerai, Abr. Chron. Tom. VI, pag. 124. See, *terce*, after, in the remark (C), what Mary de Medicis said of that action of the duke of Guise.

[C] He was obliged to quit France. This was the effect of the wise politics of cardinal Richelieu.] A sad experience had been made of the great power of the name of Guise, even when the league was dissolved. That house was in a manner a state within a state, and it was to be feared, that the folly and the wrong zeal of the people would make an idol of it, as often as any religious war should arise. And therefore prudence required, that their credit should be somewhat lessened, which the first minister took care of under the reign of Lewis XIII.

[D] B

(f) The daughter she had by this Henry de Bourbon, was married to Gaston of France, brother to Lewis XIII. This Henriette Catherine de Joyeuse died in the year 1656.

(6) In the last remark of the following article.

(7) Anselme, *Hist. des grands Officiers*, pag. 423.

(8) *Id. ibid.*

(9) *Ibid.* pag. 459, 460.

(10) *Idem.* pag. 450.

(11) *Etat de la France*, 1680, Tom. I, pag. m. 544.

(12) Anselme, *ibid.* pag. 423.

(13) Taken from Father Anselme, *ubi supra*, pag. 458, 459.

(14) *Id. ibid.*

(15) In the remark [D] of the following article.

(16) See Priolo, *lib. v. cap. xl. & lib. vi. cap. iv.*

(17) Anselme, *ubi supra*, pag. 427.

France, and widow of Henry de Bourbon, duke of Mompensier (f), by whom he had several children [D]. The mareschal de Bassompierre commends him very much (g). I shall make a remark concerning the duke of Chevreuse, brother to this duke of Guise [E], and another upon the chevalier de Guise [F], who was also his brother, and

[D] By whom he had several children. I shall only speak of his sons: you may see in another place (6) what concerns his daughters. The prince of Joinville, his eldest son, died at Florence, the seventh of November, 1639, in his twenty eighth year, without being married (7). His second son was called Henry: I speak of him in the following article. The third was called CHARLES LEWIS, and went by the name of duke of Joyeuse, and died in Italy, unmarried, the fifteenth of March, 1637. Lewis, their brother, took then the title of duke of Joyeuse; he was born in 1622. He was great chamberlain of France, and he married, at Toulon, in November, 1649, Frances Mary de Valois, the only daughter and heiress of Lewis Emanuel de Valois duke of Engoulême. He died at Paris, the twenty seventh of September, 1654, of a wound he received, in charging a party of the enemies near Arras (8). His son LEWIS JOSEPH de Lorraine duke of GUISE, Joyeuse, and Engoulême, born the seventh of August, 1650, married, in 1667, Elizabeth of Orleans, younger daughter of Gaston of France, duke of Orleans, and died of the small pox, at Paris, the thirtieth of July, 1671 (9), leaving behind him a son, called FRANCIS JOSEPH de Lorraine duke of Alençon, and of GUISE, Joyeuse, and Engoulême, who was born the twenty eighth of August, 1670 (10), and died the sixteenth of March, 1675 (11). With him ended the males of that famous branch of the house of Lorraine. There are still many of the other younger branches of that of Guise. See the last remark of the following article, and observe, that Roger de Lorraine, the fifth son of our Charles duke of Guise, died knight of Malta, at Cambrai, the sixth of September, 1653, being in his thirtieth year (12).

[E] I will make a remark concerning the duke of Chevreuse, brother of this duke of Guise. His name was Claudius de Lorraine, and he was the second son of Henry duke of Guise. He was born the fifth of June, 1578, and his first title was that of prince of Joinville. He signalized himself in 1596, at the siege of la Fere, and, in 1597, at that of Amiens. The king being displeased with him by reason of some court-intrigues, he was obliged to betake himself to the war in Hungary. He was made duke of Chevreuse, and peer of France, in March, 1612, and knight of the HOLY GHOST, the first of January 1620. He served, in 1621, at the sieges of St Jean d'Angely, Montauban, &c. and was honoured with the offices of great chamberlain of France, and great falconer. He was successively governor of the upper and lower Marche, and of Auvergne, Bourbonnois, and Picardy. He married, as proxy to the king of Great Britain, the princess Henriette Mary of France in 1625, and conducted her into England with a magnificent train. He was at the siege of Rochelle, in 1628. He died of an apoplexy at Paris, the twenty fourth of January, 1657, without male issue. He had only daughters (13). He married in 1622, Mary de Rohan, widow of the constable de Luines, and eldest daughter of Hercules de Rohan, duke of Mombazon (14). It is that duchess of Chevreuse, who was so much talked of, during the broils of the court of Lewis XIII, and during the civil-war of Paris under Lewis XIV. Cardinal Richelieu caused her to retire from the court; she made her escape into Lorraine, from whence she went to Brussels. She had leave to return into France, after the death of Lewis XIII, and quickly renewed her intrigues, being seconded by the duchess of Mombazon, her mother-in-law. We shall see some proof of it hereafter (15). She had stipulated during the imprisonment of the princes, that he daughter should be married to the prince of Conti (16); but it came to nothing.

[F] A remark upon the chevalier de GUISE. He was the son of that duke of Guise, who was murdered at Blois in 1588, and was a posthumous child, and called Francis Alexander Paris (17). He killed Baron de Lux, in the streets of Paris, the fifth of January, 1613; and, within a month, he killed the son of the same baron, and was not in the least

molested by the court, nor by the judges upon that account: so great was the authority of that house! the writer, I am going to quote, will make us very sensible of it (18). The chevalier de Guise and Baron de Lux, met one morning at St Honore's street: the Baron was on foot (19), and the chevalier on horse-back, who alighted from his horse, and bad the baron draw his sword, as he drew his. The baron dreamed of no such think, and could not imagine, that it was in earnest; however he drew his sword, but with little success; he was grown old, and was no match for a young prince, who had lately made an end of his exercises. And, indeed, the chevalier gave him only a thrust through the body, of which he fell down dead in a shoemaker's shop. As for him, he very sedately got on horse-back again, and went a slow pace to the king's great stables, as if he had done nothing. Thus died baron de Lux, for boasting, as it was said, that he had been one of the council of Blois against the life of the late duke of Guise. . . . He had a son of the same age with the chevalier de Guise, who heard the news of that accident, with the just grief of an only son for the death of his father. . . . Every one talked differently of what he would do if he was in his place, and every one would have found it a very hard matter. He had to do with a prince, whom he must kill, or be killed by him. If he should kill him, he could not expect to be safe in any place of Christendom; and if he should be killed by the person who had killed his father, he would not satisfy his resentment. To have satisfaction done him by justice, rather than by the sword, was not a thing to be thought of. The chevalier was in the Hotel de Guise, from which he would not have stirred, and where no man would have been so bold as to go and ask for him. It is a misfortune for gentlemen to have to do with princes, who are like iron vessels against an earthen one, which cannot strike, without breaking them. However the king ought to do justice to all his subjects, and no prince is exempt from it (20). The young baron de Lux resolved to challenge the chevalier de Guise. The challenge was carried by his gentleman, who worthily performed his master's order. It was a dangerous attempt; for, if he had been known, and his design had been never so little suspected, he would have been thrown out of the highest windows. But he went thither so early, that every body was still asleep. He entered into the chevalier's chamber, and, awaking him in the name of the baron de Lux, most humbly besought him, &c. (21). The chevalier went to the place appointed, and killed his enemy, and returned to the Hotel de Guise, where he was visited by the braves of the court. Several verses were made upon that duel under the names of Paris and Lucidor, because the chevalier of Guise's name was Paris (22). Take notice, that the poets declared for the conqueror. They wrote, that this prince and chevalier,

Poussé d'un vif ressentiment
Avait fait passer vaillamment
Au fil d'une juste cholere
Celuy-là qui s'étoit vanté
D'avoir peu (chere vanité)
Empêcher la mort de son pere (23).

Urged by strong resentment, had bravely sacrificed to a just revenge him, who had boasted (fond vanity!) that he might have hindered the death of his father.

People did not fail to make their observations upon the inequality of success in combats, where justice seemed to be equal. If the chevalier was to have the advantage in the first fight, because he designed to revenge his father's blood; he should have been overcome in the second, because he was to give satisfaction to the son of a man, whom he had killed; and yet he was as successful in the second as in the first. Many people were

(18) D'Andri-
guier, *vet. & ancien usage des*
Ducis, pag. 533.

(19) The conti-
nuation of Thua-
nus's history, lib.
vi, init. pag.
327, and the
Merveilles Fran-
çoises, Tom. III,
pag. 48, say he
was in a coach.

(20) D'Andri-
guier, *ibid.* pag.
540.

(21) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 541.

(22) Mercure
Francois, Tom.
III, pag. 50.

(23) *Ibid.* pag.
48.

and who killed, in a very short time, the barons de Lux the father and son, without being brought into the least trouble upon that account [G]. He signalized himself in the

were surprized at it, and made serious reflexions upon it. But, generally speaking, such quarrels are decided according to the greater or lesser skill, courage, and strength, of the combatants, or by the concurrence of some fortuitous causes, and not according to the greater or lesser right. I cannot tell whether any body made two other reflexions, which naturally offer themselves. One is, that, taking things strictly, the first combat was contrary to the laws of good chivalry; for a young man, newly come from the fencing-school, and prepared for fighting, to attack an old man, who expects no such thing, who has been a long time without drawing his sword, who has forgot all the fencing rules, in a word, whose legs and arms are weak, is almost the same thing as if two men should attack one, or a boy of sixteen years should fall upon a boy of ten years. The second reflexion is, that Messieurs de Guise were very unjust under the reigns of Henry IV, and Lewis XIII, to revenge themselves so violently upon those, who had been somewhat concerned in the execution of Blois. They had obtained a general amnesty for all their rebellions, and as many favours as if they had done great services to their king. Should they not have been as indulgent to those, who had only executed the orders of Henry III, or had not dissuaded him from an attempt, he thought most necessary for the preservation of his crown? should they not have comprehended it under the general amnesty, which was so advantageous to them? one might make another reflexion concerning those, who bitterly lament the loss, which, say they, the princes and great lords of France have suffered of their authority. The power, say they, is too much concentrated; it should be divided as it was formerly. But why then do they forget the horrid confusions that kingdom was exposed to, when the court was weak, under the minority of Lewis XIII? do they wish for the return of that pretended happy time, when a chevalier de Guise killed a man of quality in the streets of Paris with impunity, and was not so much as obliged to excuse himself to his prince, or the justice of the kingdom.

This chevalier died at Baux, in Provence (24), about a year after (25). He himself fired a cannon that burst, and carried off one half of his body . . . Being carried into the city of Arles the next day, the people, crying and groaning in a strange manner, unnailed his coffin, ripped open his broud, and, finding no alteration in his face, had his picture drawn, and set up in the town-house, as a warning for the living to lament him, and a monument to posterity to preserve his memory for ever. But what is more surprizing still, the two chief towns of that province, Aix and Arles, having a dispute about his body, and each of them striving to have the honour of burying it, could not be reconciled but by this expedient, which was to give his heart to the one, and to leave the body to the other. He was also lamented at court, not only by his relations, but also by the king and the queen-mother, who paid a visit to the duke of Guise, and consoled with him in his very palace. But especially the princess of Conti, his sister, was so afflicted, that the finest pens of that time made it their business to comfort her (26). Here you see a remainder of the idolatry of the French Catholics for the name of Guise. Had none been found of that name, that great scourge of Heretics, but those, who continually endeavoured to live a Christian life, a philosopher would be less surprized at it; but what sort of men were the greatest idolaters of that kind? those, who were most addicted to the common vices, such as lewdness, drinking, gaming, avarice, lying, flanderings, and envy. These are the men, who, to keep up the temporal prosperity of their religion, and to extirpate what they call heresy, carry their zeal beyond all bounds.

[G] . . . Without being brought into the least trouble upon that account.] This plainly results from the narrative I have taken out of the book, intituled, *Vrai & ancien Usage des duels*. But I will not use this testimony without examining what I find in Bassompierre (27). 'The queen was very angry, when she heard, that the chevalier de Guise had killed baron de Lux. I went at the same time to the Louvre, where I found her weeping; and she had sent for the princes and ministers to hold a council about that affair, which she laid very much to heart. She told

me then; you see, Bassompierre, how I am addressed to, and what a noble exploit it is to kill an old gentleman without defence, and without giving him warning. But these are the tricks of that family, like the killing of St Paul (28) . . . The council met in the other hall, whither I led the queen, hap- pening to be near her. That action occasioned great murmurings, and every body was offend- ed to hear, that there was a great concurrence of nobility in the Hôtel de Guise, and that the duke of Guise was to come to the queen well attended. Whereupon the queen was advised to send Mr de Chateau-vieux to the duke of Guise, to forbid him to wait upon the queen, till she sent for him, and to command, in her majesty's name, all the nobi- lity, that were in the house, to retire . . . (29) Mr de Chateau-vieux observed his orders, and, being returned, said, that some had appeared unwilling to retire, and that the duke of Guise had desired them to go away, since the queen commanded it. And, being asked, who those refractory men were, he named three or four, and, among others, Mr de la Rochefoucault. Some incensed the queen against him, who, being master of the king's wardrobe, should have been more willing to obey than any body else; whereupon it was resolved to turn him out of the court. It was also resolved, that the parliament should take cognizance of that affair, and should be informed of it. The queen was somewhat appeased by the quick obedience of the duke of Guise; and because, when the chevalier came to the palace of Guise, after he had killed the baron, the duke had him go into the country. Marechal de Bassompierre adds, 'that the duke of Guise, spoke to the queen with so much respect and submission, that he pacified her a little; but that Madam de Guise his mother spoke so haughtily to the queen, that she provoked her anew; that Mr de la Rochefoucault was ordered to leave the court (30);' that the duke of Guise sided with the cabal of the prince of Condé, and said, speaking of la Rochefoucault; 'yes, by God, he shall come again, and I shall not be beholden to the queen for it (31).' That the queen was so alarmed at the union of the duke of Guise with the prince of Condé, that she ordered Bassompierre to offer to that duke the sum of a hundred thousand crowns ready money, the general-lieutenancy of Provence for his brother, the chevalier, the reversion of the abbey of St Germain for the princess of Conti, his sister, and the return of la Rochefoucault (32); that the duke of Guise accepted those offers, and promised to leave the cabal (33). I shall conclude with these words of marechal de Bassompierre (34). 'Some few days after, the young baron de Lux sent a challenge to the chevalier de Guise, who killed him. I saw one thing more very strange in the changes of the court. The chevalier de Guise having killed the father, the queen ordered the parliament to take cognizance of it, and to prosecute him; and yet, in less than a week after, though he had also killed the son of the said baron de Lux, the queen sent to him, to know how he did after the wounds he had received in this last combat (35).

Bassompierre's account seems to be inconsistent with what I have said in the preceding remark, building upon d'Audiguier's narrative, which contains nothing, whereby it appears, that the judges took cognizance of that affair, or that the chevalier de Guise was brought into any trouble; but at the bottom those two accounts may be easily reconciled. All that can be concluded from Bassompierre's narrative, is, I. That the queen's council ordered that the parliament should take cognizance of that cause. II. That this order continued till the duke of Guise sided with the prince's cabal. But this interval was so short, that it is very likely the parliament did not begin their proceedings, or that they went on so slowly, that few people heard of them; and therefore d'Audiguier is very excusable for making no mention of them. He supposes, that the chevalier lay every night in the palace of Guise, and yet Bassompierre says, that the duke sent him into the country. I believe the duke told the queen, that he had taken such a course with the chevalier; nevertheless I think d'Audiguier is not mistaken. The duke knew

(24) D'Audiguier, ubi supra, pag. 552.

(25) Id. ibid. pag. 550. Father Audiguier, ubi supra, pag. 437, places his death on the 5th of June, 1614.

(26) Id. ibid. pag. 551.

(27) Bassomp. Memoir. Tom. I, pag. m. 274, 275.

(28) See, above, citation (5).

(29) Bassomp. ibid. pag. 276.

(30) Id. ibid. pag. 277.

(31) Id. ibid. pag. 281, 282.

(32) Id. ibid. pag. 284.

(33) Id. ibid. pag. 292.

(34) Id. ibid. pag. 303.

(35) Id. ibid. pag. 303.

the Carrousel of the year 1612, and was like to carry the prize at the running at the ring [H].

knew well enough, that no commissaries would be sent to his house, in order to see whether the chevalier was there still. And it is to be observed, that all authors are agreed, that the young baron de Lux sent his challenge to the palace of Guise, when the chevalier was in bed. The latter lay therefore in that house, and consequently his absence had been very short, if he had been sent into the country, as the duke affirmed. But what deserves most to be considered, is, that Bassompierre's narrative shews, still more clearly than d'Audiguier's, the horrid confusion, and the dreadful disorders France is reduced to, when the court wants a sufficient power to make itself dreaded. This is the right way of confuting those republican authors, who continually say, that the happy time is over, when the power was divided between the king and great lords. Oh! what a fine golden age was that, in which the chevalier de Guise killed the father and son in a month's time, and yet obtained general-lieutenancies; and it was but siding with a prince's faction, to put a stop to all proceedings of royal justice, and to be well paid besides! Take notice, that, though Bassompierre was an eye-witness of what he relates, it does not follow, that he gives a better account of the small circumstances of things than other historians do. He is sometimes grossly mistaken in that respect. Here is an instance of it; he reckons (36) but a week between the death of baron de Lux the father, and that of baron de Lux the son; and yet it is certain there was a month between.

[H] He signalized himself in the Carrousel. . . . and was like to carry the prize at the running at the ring.] I shall comment upon these words, not so much to

prove what I advance, as to have an opportunity of mentioning a law, that is observed in that sort of exercises. 'When people run at the ring, and some of the competitors hit it an equal number of times, they contend for the prize among themselves, by beginning a new race, till one only has the advantage; and if, upon the same day, the equality of their skill prevents their deciding the honour of the race, the whole company has the privilege of beginning it anew; as it happened in the great Carrousel of the late king, in which the duke of Vendôme, the counts de St Agnan, and de Monrevel, and the barons de la Challegneraye, and de Fontaines Chalandry were equal, each of them having hit the ring twice in three races, which obliged them to run at it again three times; and being still equal, as by their advantage they debarred others from pretending to the prize, so by their equality they lost their pretensions to it, according to the laws of those races; and, in such a case, the right of disposing of the prize belongs to the lady who gives it. Thus the races being put off, the ring remained in dispute between the chevalier de Guise, the marquis de la Valette, and the marquis de Rouillac, who hit it in all their races, so that they were obliged to begin again; and the chevalier de Guise and the marquis de la Valette having hit it but twice, the marquis de Rouillac, who hit it in all the races, carried the prize (37). The chevalier de Guise was of the first troop of the assailants in that Carrousel, and took the name of Olivante de Loro. That troop was that of the knights of the sun, and the prince of Conti was their head (38).

(37) Menestrier, *Traité des Tournois, Joutes, Carouels, & autres Spectacles publics*, pag. 304.

(38) Taken from the *Mercurie François*, Tom. II, pag. m. 536, ad ann. 1612.

GUISE (HENRY DE LORRAIN duke of), son of the foregoing, was born the fourth of April 1614 (a), and was one of the most accomplished lords of France, well shaped, skilled in all sorts of exercises, and full of wit and courage. There would be no need of many fictions to make his history look like a romance. He was designed for the church, and invested with many abbies [A], and even nominated to the archbishopric of Rheims (b); but having promised to marry the princess Anne of Mantua [B]... cardinal de Richelieu found a way to deprive him of all his benefices, which occasioned his retiring to Brussels, where he married the countess de Boffu [C], whom

[A] He was invested with many abbies. 'Those of St Denys in France, St Remy of Rheims, St Nicaise, St Peter of Corbie, Fescamp, Mont St Michael, St Martin of Pontoise, Orcamp, Chambon, and Montirandé (1). He had five hundred thousand livres a year in benefices, if we believe the author of the State of France (2), printed in 1657. Note, that he was but a child, when he began to have that vast income, the spoils of two rich cardinals. He succeeded, in 1615, cardinal de Joyeuse, his mother's uncle, in his estate, and cardinal de Guise in 1621. This I have read in president de Gramond (3), who observes, that cardinal de Guise had a hundred thousand crowns a year, which the king gave to the young abbot of Fescamp.

[B] Having promised to marry the princess Anne of Mantua. I am going to quote an author, who is so far from saying, that the duke was deprived of his benefices by reason of that engagement, that he affirms he had parted with them before he engaged in that marriage. 'That prince, being a younger brother, was designed for the church, and made archbishop of Rheims: he parted with his benefices, after the death of his brother, and intended to marry Anne Gonzaga, sister to the princess Mary, whom I have spoken of. Cardinal de Richelieu, being sensible that this match was against the good of the state, made use of the king's authority to prevent it, and caused that prince to be confined to a convent. The duke of Guise, being extremely vexed at it, left the kingdom, and retired to Cologne, whither his mistress went to him in a man's disguise; but he sent her back, and went to Brussels, where he found the other exiles (4).

[C] He married the countess de Boffu. The duchess of Chevreuse, who was then at Brussels, brought the duke of Guise acquainted with that countess (5), who was a young widow of a sweet and gay humour. . . . She was brought into a company, where the duke of

Guise was; and she made so many advances to him, that he could not forbear answering them. It is true, that, lest he should have an ill opinion of her conduct, she immediately talked to him of marriage; and the duke declared, he desired nothing more than to unite his fortune to her's, but in such terms, as sufficiently shewed that he intended only to divert himself during his exile. Though the countess saw through his intention, she made as if she had not perceived it, hoping to engage him more easily by a feigned ingenuity. One day she carried him to a fine house she had a league from Brussels, and afforded him all the diversions that could be had in that season, which was the most pleasant in the year. The duke could not forbear expressing his acknowledgement, and talking to her of love as he used to do. The countess told him, that if he was as much in love as he pretended to be, he would shew a more earnest desire to marry her. The duke swore to her, that he desired nothing so earnestly as to spend the rest of his life with so lovely a person, and that she might put him to the trial. The countess, taking him at his word, replied, that she would quickly know, whether his protestations were sincere, since she had in her house a notary and a priest to marry them. The duke was surprized at her discourse, but dissembled the matter, and thought he might grant her desire without any hazard, and that she would be entrapped in her own snares, since such a marriage, made without the formalities prescribed by the canons, and without the king's consent, could not stand. The countess, perceiving that the duke was disposed to do what she desired, called in Manfeste, chaplain to the army, who married them, and dispensed them from publishing the bans, as if he had had the same authority as the archbishop of Mechen. The duke spent the night in that noble house with his bride, expressing so much love to her, that she

(16) *Ibid.* pag. 303.

(a) Anselme, *Hist. des grands Officiers*, pag. 450v.

(b) *Ibid.*

(1) Anselme, *Hist. des grands Officiers*, pag. 460v.

(2) Pag. 53.

(3) Gramond, *Hist. Gallia*, lib. vii, pag. m. 407, ad ann. 1621.

(4) *Intrigues galantes de la Cour de France*, Tom. II, pag. 179. Edit. 1695.

(5) *Ibid.* pag. 180.

he left soon after, and returned into France. Being out of favour again, he retired to Rome, where he had his marriage dissolved. From whence he removed to Naples to command the army of the people, where he was soon after made a prisoner, and carried into Spain (c). This is what I find concerning him, in a book printed at Paris in the year 1657. To which I must add, that the duke of Guise had a hand in the treaty, which the count de Soissons, the duke of Bouillon, and some other male-contents, concluded with Spain (d); that he made a *public journey to Brussels* for a greater security of that treaty; that he was prosecuted as a criminal; that he was sentenced for contumacy the sixth of September 1641, and made his peace in August 1643 (e); that, some months after, he fought a duel with the count de Coligni [D], and that this quarrel was occasioned by a difference, wherein Madam de Longueville, daughter of the prince of Condé, was concerned. He came off victorious,

(c) L'Etat de la France, pag. 53. Paris 1657.

(d) Memoires de Montefor, p. 369.

(e) Father Anselme, ubi supra, pag. 460.

and

was well pleased with the happy success of her design. The next day he went home, after he had desired the new duchess, that their marriage should be kept secret, till he had obtained the consent of the court and his family. Notwithstanding the care that was taken to keep that adventure from being made public, it came to the knowledge of the duke d'Elbeuf, and the duchess of Chevreuse, who upbraided the duke of Guise with it, as a very base thing. The respect he had for the ladies, prevented his falling into a passion against the duchess; but he fell out with the duke d'Elbeuf to such a degree, that they would have fought, had not the arch-duke reconciled them. The duke of Guise, having lost all hopes of revenging himself with sword in hand, looked for some other way of vexing the two persons, who had offended him, and thought the most effectual was to bring the countess to his house, and to treat her publicly as his wife. This he did, and ever after he lived in good understanding with her all the time he was at Brussels. The author, who relates this, supposes, that the duke of Guise endeavoured to get his marriage dissolved, for no other reason, but that he might marry Mademoiselle de Pons. I shall set down his own words again (6). The duke of Guise could not marry Mademoiselle de Pons, without getting his marriage with the countess de Bossu dissolved, and therefore he resolved to go to Rome, in order to solicit the dissolution of it at the Rota. The action was already commenced, and the duchess of Guise, his mother, had sent a gentleman thither to that purpose; but, when she heard, that her son was in love with Mademoiselle de Pons, she sent word to her agent to drop the prosecution. The duke set out at last, and, after many dangers at sea, arrived safe at Florence, and engaged the great duke to write in his behalf to Innocent X, lately raised to the pontificate. When that prince came to Rome, he was very kindly received by the Pope, who at his request gave a cardinal's hat to cardinal Mazarin's brother. The duke of Guise hoped, that this service would move that first minister to favour his design; but, on the contrary, the French ambassador was ordered to oppose it.

I must observe, that the question concerning the validity of the marriage of the duke of Guise, and the countess de Bossu, has been debated again, not long ago. We have seen in the public news, that it has been declared valid by the Rota at Rome (7), and that the parliament of Paris has given a contrary judgment. It is therefore still a matter of dispute: *Aduc sub judice lis est*. I must not forget what *marechal de Bassompierre* says, that the duke of Guise, who died in 1640, had suffered very much in his family by the loss of his two children . . . and by reason of the ill conduct of the third, who lived not according to his profession (8). He, whom Bassompierre calls the third son of that duke of Guise, was the second, the same who courted the countess de Bossu, who had so many abies, and lived a life so unbecoming those, who are designed for prelacies.

[D] He fought a duel with the count de Coligni. This affair made a great noise, and I believe the readers will be well pleased to find here a particular account of it. It is a remarkable instance of the disorders usually occasioned by the jealousy and gallantry of the fair sex. The following narrative may be depended upon; for, though I take it from an author, who does not put his name to his book, who is sometimes mistaken, and often confounds matters of fact, without taking much care to avoid anachronisms, he was very well informed of the affair, upon this occasion, and re-

lates it much in the same manner as Mr de la Barde, a very exact historian (9). (10) The duchess of Chevreuse, who fancied, that the prince was the chief cause of the duke of Beaufort's confinement, and of Chateaufort's disgrace, resolved to be revenged of him. Though the ladies are apt to flatter themselves in point of beauty, her glais had acquainted her more than once, that her charms, half worn out, stood in need of a younger person, to strengthen her interest, and she was not obliged to look for one out of her family. The daughter of the countess de Vertus, whom the duke of Montbason her father had married, was, as has been said before, the most beautiful woman in France; besides, he had a spite against the prince of Condé's sister, who, having married the duke of Longueville, had deprived her of a lover; and so she found it no difficult thing to bring her over to her interest. The duke of Guise, who, after his return, had declared for that handsome duchess, engaged all the Lorrain princes to side with him; besides, they seemed to be inclined to it out of respect for the duke of Chevreuse, who was of the same family (11). Those two ladies, being strictly united, resolved to begin their revenge by reflecting upon Madam de Longueville's reputation. They published the letters, written by that lady to the duke of Beaufort, who had given them to the duchess of Montbason; they also forged others, which they pretended to have been written by Madam de Longueville to Coligny. The princes of Condé, hearing, that the duchess of Montbason had spread that report, highly resented it, and engaged all her friends to help her to be revenged of her. This quarrel divided the whole court, and made the queen apprehensive it would revive the ancient enmity of the houses of Bourbon and Guise. Those two parties were pretty equal, because the duke of Orleans, who had married a woman of the house of Lorrain, declared for Madam de Montbason; and therefore that quarrel might have been attended with dangerous consequences. Though it was the queen's interest to prevent too strict an union between the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé, lest their authority should be prejudicial to her's; yet, because it was more dangerous still to suffer them to carry their resentment to the last extremity, she endeavoured to reconcile them. She obliged the princes of Condé, and the duchess of Longueville, to receive satisfaction from the duchess of Montbason; and that duchess declared to the two princesses in her presence, that she had no hand in spreading those reports, and that she disowned them. The two princesses declared also, as it had been agreed upon, that they were willing to believe it, since Madam de Montbason said it: it was stipulated by the same agreement, that this duchess should avoid all occasions of meeting the two princesses; which she did not observe afterwards. The duchess of Chevreuse, having invited the queen to a collation prepared for her in Renard's house, near the door of the conference, brought her mother-in-law with her. The queen was accompanied by the princes of Condé, who, perceiving the duchess of Montbason, had a mind to retire; but the queen detained her, and desired that duchess to walk out somewhere for her sake; which she did so unwillingly, that the queen was very angry with her: and being returned to the royal palace, she sent Guenegaud, secretary of state, to command her to retire forthwith to her seat of Rochefort. That quarrel seemed to be at an end by the removal of the duchess; but Coligny, not thinking himself revenged of those, who designed to set him at variance with the house of Bourbon,

(9) See the second book de Rebus Gallicis Histor. Joannis Labadie, pag. 71, & seq.

(10) Intrigues Galantes de la Cour de France, Tom. II, pag. 228, & seq.

(11) See the remark [F] of the foregoing article.

(6) Ibid pag. 234.

(7) See the *Memoires Histor.* Feb. 1700, pag. 183. But see particularly the remark [C] of the following article.

(8) Bassompierre, Journal of his Life, in the last page.

and was little afraid of the consequences of that fight, though it was a true duel, fought in the middle of the Place Royale, and though part of the princes of the blood were against him. Notwithstanding those circumstances, and many others, and the informations the parliament of Paris began to make at the instance of the king's attorney-general (f), the duke of Guise appeared in public, and made a campaign the year following (g) at the siege of Graveline, under the duke of Orleans. However, it is not to be doubted, that this duel was the chief reason of his going soon after into Italy. He was at Rome, when the Neapolitans made an insurrection, and desired him for their leader. He accepted their proposal, and set out the 13th of November 1647 (h). The obstacles he was obliged to overcome, in order to get into Naples (i), were such, that la Calprenede and Scudery hardly invented any thing more worthy of a romantic adventurer. The duke was received by the inhabitants of Naples with an extraordinary joy; and it was ordered, the 17th of November, *That he should be styled generalissimo of the army, and defender of liberty, with the same honours the prince of Orange enjoyed in Holland, under the protection of the most Christian king* (k). He met with many difficulties in the exercise of that new dignity, and gave many proofs of his ability and courage; but fortune proved contrary to him: The court of France not being able or willing to assist him, he could not maintain himself, and was obliged to make dangerous attempts, in which he fell, and lost his liberty. He was taken by the enemies, who carried him into Spain, where he was a prisoner a considerable time. He was set at liberty in August 1652 (l), at the solicitation of the prince of Condé (m); and it is thought, the court of Spain consented to it the more willingly, because they hoped the duke of Guise would occasion new broils and factions in France (n). It has been the common opinion, that the court of France neglected to assist him, because they were not willing he should establish his authority in the kingdom of Naples, and thought it more for their interest, that the inhabitants of that country should be under the power of Spain, than subject to the house of Lorraine. The duke of Guise being returned into France,

Bourbon, to which he had the honour to be related, sent a challenge to the duke of Guise, by the marquis d'Éstrades; the duke accepted it, and took the marquis de Bridieu for his second. The duel was fought in the Place Royale, and the duke of Guise had the advantage: he disarmed his enemy, after he had dangerously wounded him, and then parted the seconds, who fought with great courage, without any advantage on either side. The duke of Guise got a great deal of honour by that duel, which would have increased the consideration his mistress had already for him, if he had continued in his love; but his heart received other impressions soon after (12).

(12) He means, that the duke of Guise fell in love with Mademoiselle de Pons, maid of honour to the queen.

(13) Estrada atque Bridieu qui una cum his alter alteri socius decernant, ambo vulnerati graviter, eorum qui his intervenire, operâ quominus alter alterum noceret, prohibiti sunt. Labardeus, ubi *supra*, pag. 74.

(14) Solus Stradus involnerat Sarrauius, Epist. lo, pag. 53. Edit. Ulræj. His letter is dated from Paris, the eighteenth of December, 1643.

(15) Grotius, Epist. 1630, Part. II, pag. 719.

died to a minister's house (16). He died of grief (17) five months after the duel (18).

Whoever makes solid reflexions upon that duel, must needs highly commend cardinal Richelieu's prudence, in sending the duchess of Chevreuse out of the kingdom. Ladies, who make an ill use of their beauty and wit, to intrude into state-intrigues, are the plagues of a court: the best way is to get rid of them as soon as possible, and send them to grace foreign countries. If the duchess I speak of had continued at Paris, after the conspiracy of Chalais, her favourite lover (19), she would have played many tricks. We see that she was hardly returned into France, but she laid the foundations of that unhappy duel, which occasioned the death of the count de Coligny, a young lord, who might have done many services to the crown; a duel, in which Mr d'Éstrades might have been killed, whose ability and sword were very serviceable to the kingdom, as it appeared afterwards by his military actions and important embassies. If you trace the duel of the duke of Guise, and the count de Coligny to its original, you will find the cause of it in the ambition of the duchess of Chevreuse, who made use of the jealousy of another duchess as a proper instrument for it. Those two ladies, who perfectly agreed, tho' one of them was the step-mother (20) of the other, contrived a story, in order to cast a blot upon the reputation of a princess of the blood. This was the occasion of that duel. A plot, attended with such a consequence, without any other consideration, is sufficient to create an horror. But the thing will appear more horrid, if it be considered by what motives it was contrived. Was it out of tenderness for the duchess of Longueville's husband, was it to revenge an injury done to his honour, that a scandalous story was given out concerning that duchess? No, it was through a quite different desire of revenge: the husband's honour, far from being repaired, suffered the more by it. A married lady was resolved to be revenged of the duchess, because she had deprived her of the duke of Longueville her lover, by marrying him. In order to succeed in her design, she spoke some words, which, among other consequences, occasioned a duel mentioned in history. By this means, the step-mother and the daughter-in-law have immortalized their names; for their conduct will be known as long as there are any French histories of Lewis XIV's reign. Some are of opinion, that the true merit of a woman consists in concealing so prudently her best qualities under the veil of modesty, that they may afford no matter for history or conversation (21). This is perhaps too

(16) Sarraui. Epist. lvii, pag. 55.

(17) Collinius *more & tadio vitam finivit. Prius, lib. ii, cap. ix.*

(18) About the latter end of May, 1644. Anselme, Hist. des grands Officiers, pag. 244.

(19) See le Ministre du Cardinal de Richelieu, Tom. I, pag. m. 510, & 317, and the History of the same cardinal, printed at Amsterdam, 1694, Tom. I, pag. 323.

(20) Noværa a step-mother; a title of enmity, still greater than that of Sister.

(21) See the remark (D) of the article JUDITH.

France, did not think of forming any cabals which might accommodate the prince of Condé's affairs: he was much more taken up with love-intrigues; and, if he undertook an expedition to recover Naples [E], it was rather a meer ostentation, than a solid design: that expedition came to nothing. He was made great chamberlain, that place being vacant since the death of the duke of Joyeuse, his brother (c). He was appointed, in 1656, to go and meet the queen of Sweden, who was coming into France: a more judicious choice could not have been made; for no man was ever better qualified for such commissions, and whatever required pomp and magnificence. He made a great figure in the famous carrousel of the year 1662. He headed the troop of Moors. He was born for such shews and spectacles; and no man did ever better deserve to live in the time of Tournaments, and in the age of the Paladins. We are told a very remarkable thing, concerning the gift he had of making women in love with him. It is said, that those, who loved him, could discover by the motion of their heart, though they did not see him, whether he was present [F]. He died of sickness, at Paris, the second

too rigid a morality, and there is no inconvenience in mitigating it, and suffering a lady to have the ambition of being placed in the temple of Fame, and in the writings of an historian: but she should only desire to be mentioned by the authors, who, like Valerius Maximus, make a catalogue of the greatest examples of piety, chastity, conjugal love, charity, constancy, &c. Women might lawfully be ambitious of having a place in such books; but, when their conduct can only bring an eternal disgrace upon them in history, it deserves all the indignation the heart of man can conceive.

For the rest, I shall observe, that authors do not agree as to the manner how the court expressed their resentment against the duchess of Chevreuse, at the time of the affair of Chalais. Some say, she was banished into Lorraine. It is the expression of the author of the history of cardinal Richelieu, printed at Amsterdam in 1694 (22). President de Gramond says only, that she fled, and was not imprisoned by reason of her sex. He adds, that if she had been secured, it had been well for the public, both within and without the kingdom, since she disturbed most of the courts of Europe. *Fuga item consulit sibi Ducissa Caprasi multis rea nominibus: sexus fragilitas, & veneratio inbibuerat nuper quo minus & ipsa in carcerem traheretur: certe magnum erat Galliae, magnum principibus externis ab ea detentione beneficium, aulice passim in res novas intra & extra Galliam ea semina, aulamque ferme tota Europa omnium perturbatrice, quod suo infra loco reddemus* (23). The true account of the matter is, that, at first, she was ordered to leave the court, and that afterwards she was kept in custody, and found a way to get out of the kingdom. *Per difficilia Regina tempora hanc diligentissime coluerat, atque observaverat (Rohana Mombasana) atque ea causa & Ludovico XIII. & Richelieu invidia, Aulæ pulla, in custodiam conjuncta, postremo fugâ sibi consulere, atque in Hispania, & Belgio exulare coacta fuerat* (24).

La Barde, who says so, rightly observes, that she became odious to Lewis XIII; for we read in la Rochefoucault's memoirs (25), that the reasons, which made the queen irresolute about the return of the duchess of Chevreuse, were a particular clause of the declaration, and a strange aversion which the king expressed against her, at his death. That lady died in August 1679, in her seventy ninth year (26).

[E] He was much more taken up with love-intrigues; . . . he undertook an expedition to recover Naples. That expedition was in the year 1654. The duke made himself master of Castell à-mare, and lost it soon after (27). I shall set down a passage of Priolo, whereby it appears, that the duke of Guise's liberty was of no use to the Spaniards, nor to the prince of Condé. 'Guiseus ante paucos annos dum electus Reipublicæ Neapolitanæ, & inter favos tumultus captus ac deductus in Hispaniam, nunc libertate donatur, id maxime procurante Condæo. Iberica fuit varietas, Guisum Galliae redonare, & Condæo concedere; ut, qui avorum non immemor, posset rursus moliri nova, & ciere turbas. At oblitus donatæ libertatis, & Condæi negligens, choreas & hastiludia cogitavit. Rursus ab eo tentatum iter Neapolitanum ostentui fuit, renovatum in animo levi spes acceps per vanum ludibrium. Nullus mortalium tam vana concepit, editus atavis, qui tam grandia, tam solida captabant' (28). — 'The duke of Guise, being a few years before chosen leader of the republic of Naples, and amidst cruel com-

* motions taken prisoner, and carried into Spain, is now

* set at liberty by the interposition of the prince of

* Condé. It was Spanish cunning to restore Guise to

* France, and to comply with Condé; since he might

* have trod in the steps of his ancestors, and raised new

* troubles. But, forgetful of the gift of liberty, and

* regardless of the prince of Condé, he thought of no-

* thing but tournaments and balls. The expedition to

* Naples, which he afterwards attempted, was very suc-

* cessful; no mortal, sprung from ancestors, who had

* done such great things, having ever entertained such

* vain conceits.' La Barde says, that the queen-mo-

* ther had consented to the exchange proposed by the

* Spaniards, who had offered to release the duke of

* Guise, provided France should restore all the pris-

* oners of their party. But they altered their mind soon

* after; and, hoping the duke of Guise would be a

* powerful instrument in the prince of Condé's hands,

* to foment many troubles in the kingdom, they released

* him at that prince's request. But, as soon as the

* duke came into France, he declared, that, since he

* had been so ill used by the Spaniards, he would do no-

* thing for them, nor to express his gratitude to the

* prince, whilst he remained in their interest; but, if

* he forsook it, he would do any thing for him. He

* found, that he was highly obliged to the queen-mo-

* ther, who had consented, that, in order to have him

* released, four thousand prisoners, some of whom were

* considerable men, should be restored to the Spaniards

(29). However it be, he minded love more than war.

He returned to Paris, more in love with Made-

moiselle de Pons, than he had been before his imprison-

ment, and resolved to marry her (30), but, being informed

that she was unfaithful to him, he treated her with

great indignity, and even sued her at law, demanding

the pendants, valued fifty thousand crowns, and a piece

of rich tapestry, which he had given her; but he had

not the success he promised himself. The loss of his

cause increased his rage, and he resolved to go and in-

sult her in her own house (31). She was in-

formed of it, and avoided the insult. Some time af-

ter she left the kingdom. The duke of Guise, bear-

ing of her departure (32), embarked in the king's fleet

for a second voyage to Naples (33). Being returned

into France, he fell in love with Mademoiselle de

Gorce, who loved him more sincerely, and, after his

death, she retired into the convent of the Carmelites,

where she took the habit (34). All this shews, that

if he was a hero, he was not one according to the

notions of Corneille, but according to those of Racine and

Quinault. He was a hero always in love (35), and

sometimes like him of the Æneid: He enjoyed all

the privileges of a husband; he made his mistress be-

lieve she was his wife, and yet never designed

to marry her. Thus she was like Dido (36), and he

was like Æneas (37). It does not follow from hence,

that his adventures were heroical: there is nothing in

them, but what is frequently to be seen among ci-

tizens and ordinary gentlemen.

[F] It is said, that the women, who loved him,

could discover . . . tho' they did not see him, whe-

ther he was present.] I do not give this particular

as a certain truth; I only mention what I have read.

Those two lovers, that is, the duke of Guise and the

countess de Boffu, must needs have loved one another

very much, and I wonder how their love ended before

their life. They had an inward foresight, which in-

formed them of their arrival, a long time before they

came to de Boffu.

Just

(29) Taken from
M. de la Barde.
lib. x. pag. 756,
ad ann. 1652.

(30) Intrigues
Galantes de la
Cour de France,
pag. 251.

(31) Ibid. pag.
253.

(32) Ibid. pag.
254.

(33) Note, That,
in order to justify
himself, he pub-
lished a relation
of that inglorious
expedition. You
will find it in an
historical col-
lection of several
pieces printed in
Holland, in the
year 1666.

(34) Intrigues,
6c. pag. 258.

(35) See the
Life of Henriette
Sylvia de Mo-
riere, Part I.
pag. m. 55, 56,
& Part II, pag.
162, 163.

(36) Nec ulla
furtiva Dido
meditatur amo-
rem;

Conjugium vocat.
hoc pretextu uo-
mine culpam.

No longer Dido
would conceal her
flame;

She glides her
crime with Aeneas's
name.

Virgil. Æn. lib.
iv. ver. 171.

(37) . . . nec
conjugis unquam
Prætextu teosus,
aut hæc in fæ-
dera veni.

And still our joys,
I never call'd
the wife.

No thought to
eye the marriage-
bent for life.

Id. ibid. ver.
338. See, in
remark [B] of the
article G A R-
NACHE, a
duke of Nemours
and a lady de
Rohan in circum-
stances like those
of the duke of
Guise, and the
countess de Boffu.

Just

(22) Pag. 303,
of the first Tome,
ad ann. 1656.
See also the Mi-
moires du Car-
dinal de Richelieu,
Tom. I.
pag. 319.

(23) Gramond.
Hist. Gallie,
lib. xvi. pag.
707, ad ann.
1656.

(24) Labardus,
Hist. de rebus
Gall. lib. ii.
init. pag. 71.

(25) Pag. m. 14.

(26) Mercure
Galant, August.
1679, pag. 121,
Edit. Holland.

(27) Anselme,
ubi supra, pag.
421.

(28) Priolo, lib.
viii. cap. v. pag.
m. 512.

V O L. III.

H h h h

(p) Anfelme,
ubi supra.

second of June 1664 (p), and was carried to Joinville, to be buried among his ancestors [G]. He left no children behind him; all his brothers were dead: his two sisters died since, without being married [H]. His Memoirs were published in 1668. The abbot le Gallois commended them (q). See, above, the article CERISANTES.

(q) In the Journal
des Scavans,
November 12,
1668.

*saw one another: pray, madam, judge whether it was a just foresight. The duke grew jealous of the count de *** who was very much in love with the countess; and it is well known, that he was one of the most handsome men that can be seen. She did not love him, and, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary, Angelique swore to me, that Madam de *** loved no body but the duke of ***. But he was not so fully convinced of his happiness as he should have been: and, being daily informed, that his rival was very constant and passionate, he resolved to know the truth of it, without being perceived, and to that end he came to Brussels incognito. There were great rejoicings at that time for the birth of a Spanish prince, called Baltazar. . . (38).*

(38) This is wrong chronology; for Dom Baltazar was born in 1629: the duke of Guise was then but fifteen years of age; and Note, That Father Anfelme, pag. 441, of his book, intituled, *Le Palais de l'Honneur*, says, that he married, in December, 1641, Honorina de Berghes, daughter of the count de Grimberghes, widow of Albert Maximilian de Henin, count de Bossut.

(39) Vie de Henriette Sylvie de Moliere. Part VI, pag. 151, & seq. Dutch Edit. 1674.

(40) Above, citat. (k) of the article G U I S E (FRANCIS duke of).

(a) Under the word L O U I S.

(b) See Malingre, Hist. de la Rebellion, Tom. I, pag. m. 297, 298, and the VIIth Tome of the *Mercurie François*, pag. 515.

(1) *Mercurie François*, Tom. VII, pag. 570, 571.

The duke, being arrived, was told, that many young lords of the country were to make a masquerade of Indians, and to go in that disguise to the countess de Cantecroix, in whose house there was to be a great assembly. He had one of those suits of cloaths brought to him, and found it no difficult thing to have a sight of them, for there was no order to hide them. He got one made for him exactly like them, and, going among the maskers, he entered with them into the hall, where they danced. He saw there Madam de ** who appeared more beautiful to him than before, and the Count de ** by her; for he was constantly at those assemblies, and she could not prevent it by reason of the respect that was due to his quality. . . as soon as the duke came in, the countess felt a certain emotion, which his presence always produced in her. She could not think that she was deceived by it; and, though her lover had written to her, that he was going to take a journey, she curiously looked for him among the maskers, and discovered him. This made their love very conspicuous; for the lady, in the sudden fit of her joy, could not dissemble her passion; and the lover was likewise so transported, that he forgot the reasons he had still to conceal his love. . . I have seen an original letter of the duke about that effect of sympathy, which, in my opinion, was one of the finest letters that ever was written: he complained in it, that he was too happy; for he owned, that it was a very great happiness to be thus guessed at by one's mistress; but he said, it deprived him of the pleasure of knowing what passed in her heart, when she had no mind to let him know it: such a discovery was, in his opinion, one of the greatest pleasures a lover can enjoy; and nothing appeared to him more moving, than a disclosing of tenderness and sincerity, when there is no ground to suspect, that art and precaution have any share in it (39).

[G] He was carried to Joinville, to be buried among his ancestors. I have said in another place (40), that the barony of Joinville was erected into a principality in the year 1552. It fell to the house of Lorraine by the marriage of Ferri de Lorraine, first of that name, with Margaret de Joinville, eldest daughter of Henry, fourth of that name, count de Vaude-

mont, and lord of Joinville: that Ferri was killed at the battle of Azincourt in 1415 (41). Renatus II, duke of Lorraine, left by his will, dated the twenty fifth of May 1506, to Claudius his younger son, the feuds of Guise, Elbeuf, Aumale, Mayenne, JOINVILLE, and others, which he had in France (42). The tombs of the dukes of Guise are to be seen in St Laurence's church at Joinville. See the description of that of Claudius in Remy Belleau (43).

[H] His two sisters died since, without being married. One of them was called Mary, and was born the fifteenth of August 1615, and went by the name of Mademoiselle de Guise (44). I have read somewhere (45) that she was near marrying Uladisslaus king of Poland. The other's name was Frances Renata: she was born the tenth of January 1621, and was put into a convent. She was abbess of St Peter at Rheims, and then of Montmartre (46). After the death of those two daughters, there remained no male nor female issue of the branch of Guise; and it is to be observed, that, tho' the four first dukes of that name had many children, all their posterity is extinct, except that of Renatus de Lorraine marquis d'Elbeuf, eighth son of Claudius first duke of Guise. All the princes of the house of Lorraine, that are now in France, are descended from him; they are still many, and in a flourishing condition. If the title of duke of Guise comes to be bestowed upon any body, it will be a very heavy burden. I do not know who is now in possession of that duchy; I could not receive in due time the memoirs I desired concerning the consequences of the last will of Mademoiselle de Guise. She had been duchess of that name a considerable time, when she died in March 1688. She left, by her will, the duchy of Guise, worth a hundred thousand livres a year, to the younger son of the duke of Lorraine, with the principality of Joinville, which is worth not much less, and her fine house at Paris, upon condition that he should bear that name, and live in France, with the king's approbation (47). The novelist, who published those things, adds: 'But, besides that the king is not well pleased with that donation, the duke d'Elbeuf pretends he has been wronged, since he is the next heir in the male line; and therefore he has already entered an action against it to get it declared void, especially as to the duchy of Guise, maintaining, that the late duchess could not dispose of it to his prejudice. . . (48) The deceased lady is suspected of having had a marriage of conscience with the late Mr de Montefor, a gentleman of quality and merit. Nay, it was said, they had several children, of whom their remained two daughters. This report was particularly spread four years ago, when that princess made a donation to the prince of Harcourt, which however had no effect. It was pretended, that the money he was to give her was designed for the marriage of those two daughters; but whether it be that they died since, or that there was no ground for such a report, it is certain no mention is made of it in her will (49).'

(41) Anfelme, Hist. des grans Officiers, pag. 455.

(42) See the Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, Tom. I, pag. m. 237.

(43) Fol. 134 of the first part of his works, edition of Lyons, 1592.

(44) Anfelme, ubi supra, pag. 428.

(45) In a book, intituled, *L'Etat de France*.

(46) Anfelme, ubi supra.

(47) *Mercurie Historique & Politique*, March 1688, pag. 279.

(48) Ibid pag. 280.

(49) Ibid. pag. 281.

G U I S E (LEWIS DE LORRAIN Cardinal de). There have been three cardinals of that name. The first was brother of Francis de Lorraine, duke of Guise. The second was son of the same duke. Moreri speaks of both (a), but says nothing of the third; and therefore I shall only speak of him. He was the son of Henry de Lorraine, duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois, and he was born in the year 1575. He was a man of such a martial temper, that he breathed nothing but war, tho' he was an ecclesiastic, a cardinal, and archbishop of Rheims. He followed the king in his expedition of Poictou, in the year 1621, and signalized himself among the most valiant and resolute gentlemen of the army, in the attack of a suburb at the siege of St Jean d'Angeli (b). He fell sick some days after, and was carried to Saintes, where he died, the twenty first of June 1621. His suit with the duke of Nevers about a priory turned to a quarrel, and he appeared very willing to put an end to it with sword in hand. I shall mention some circumstances relating to that affair [A]. He repented upon his

[A] His suit. . . turned into a quarrel. . . I shall mention some circumstances of it. (1) During the siege of St Jean d'Angeli, cardinal de Guise died

at Saintes of a fever, proceeding from the fatigue he had undergone. He was a cardinal, but only a deacon, and never fung mass: he was a martial prince. and

(c) *Alnico luxa
& militari licen-
tia traduxerat
vitem. Gramond,
Hist. lib. viii,
pag. m. 407.*

his death-bed of his loose life (c), and of the injury he had done to the duke of Nevers (d). President de Gramond blames him with respect to his warlike actions, which made him dip his hands in blood; but he spares him as to his concubinage [B]; which, tho' infinitely

(d) *Id. ibid.*

(1) Note, That he did not continue long in it; for, soon after, the king, intending to set out for Poitou, sent for him to Fontainebleau, to accompany him. *Ibid.* pag. 571.

and more inclined to war than to learning. Many authors have mentioned his quarrel with the duke of Nevers, about the collation of the priory of La Charité, and what passed betwixt them in the house of the judge that was to report their case. Those, who, by their writings, produced in the process, set those two princes at variance, were the occasion of their coming to blows, and going out of Paris, each with their friends, to put an end to their quarrel at the expense of their lives. But his majesty having sent the light-horse to seize their persons, he, who commanded them, and had express orders to arrest the cardinal, executed his majesty's command, and brought him to Paris; where, for fear of a second meeting, because the duke of Nevers was always abroad, he was carried one evening to the

Bastille, and from thence to Bois de Vincennes (2). President de Gramond mentions some other curious particulars, viz. that cardinal de Guise, meeting the duke of Nevers in the judge's house, gave him some offensive words, to which the duke made a smart answer; and that thereupon the cardinal gave him a blow with his fist, in the judge's presence. The prince of Joinville, brother to the cardinal, immediately drew his sword, and struck several times, with the flat side of it, Marecot master of the requests, who with his majesty's leave managed the affairs of the duke of Nevers. The king, being informed, that the duke was resolved to fight a duel with the prince of Joinville, interposed his authority to reconcile them, and obliged the cardinal to ask the duke's pardon. As for the affront done to the master of the requests, it was repaired thus: the prince of Joinville was obliged to use these words before the arbitrators. *Mr Marecot, out of consideration for the duke of Nevers, I am sorry I have beaten you: I desire you to forget it, and to believe that I shall be your friend for the sake of the duke of Nevers.* President de Gramond makes a very solid observation upon the disorders of that time, when a master of the requests might be beaten with impunity. That disorder proceeded only from the diminution of the royal authority, and ceased as soon as cardinal de Richelieu humbled the princes and great lords, who had usurped a very great part of the sovereign power, and made them submit to Lewis XIII. Does it not favour of anarchy, that, in a country, which has the title of a kingdom, those, who have beaten a great magistrate, should not be obliged to acknowledge, that they are sorry for it, by reason of his character, but only for the sake of the great lord he served? consider these words of president de Gramond. *Principum per ea tempora summa erat ratio, affectabantque distinguere ab omni ordine, prerogativa sanguinis. Per injuriam Joinvillius percussit magistratum, & ait dolere se ex persona Niverni, quod percussit; quasi adeo infra positus in quem collata offensas, ut gratis cædi posset. Erat hæc labes ejus ætatis, qua à principibus rex parum distinguebatur; quo jure utitur hodie, nempe anno M. DC. XLIII. quo hæc scribo, externi principes parum à Regni primoribus, parum hi à nobilibus differunt, uno ferme ordine habemur omnes; eoque ventum ut nemo publice, nemo privatim peccare possit sine ultore, quod ejus sapientiæ & æquitati debitum, qui ætate nostra summam rerum tenet in Gallia (3).*

(3) Gramondus, *Hist. lib. viii, in fine, pag. m. 428.*

At that time the princes of the blood were highly considered, and they affected to be distinguished from every order, by the prerogative of their birth. The prince of Joinville had injuriously struck a magistrate, and says, he is sorry for it in regard to the duke of Nevers; as tho' the offended person was so much beneath him, that he might be struck with impunity. This was the reproach of that age, which made little distinction between the king and the princes of the blood; but at present, viz. in the year 1642, in which I write this, foreign princes differ little from the chief men of the kingdom, tho' but little from the nobility: there seems to be but one rank among us: and it is come to this pass, that no one can offend publicly, or privately, without an avenger, which is owing to his wisdom and equity, who, in this our age, has the management of affairs in France. The abbot de Marolles affords some other circumstances. About the beginning of the

winter 1620, says he (4), the duke of Nevers had a great quarrel with cardinal de Guise, for the priory of La Charité, which depended on the abbey of Cluni; for, having got it conferred on the prince of Tynarage, his second son, by the court of Rome, upon a letter or promise of cardinal de Guise, abbot of Cluni; and the cardinal going from his word, and intending to procure it to one of the children he had by the lady des Essars, they went to law about it, and their suit divided all the persons of quality at court. . . . The pacifying of that quarrel proved a difficult thing, because some blows were struck on both sides; and the duke of Nevers, who was first offended, mistrusting nothing, had no time to draw his sword, which Fouques his gentleman held out of the judges chamber, where he was alone.

[B] The president de Gramond blames him with respect to his warlike actions. . . . but he spares him as to his concubinage.] He makes use of this antithesis (5):

(5) Gramondus, *Militiam affectabat impatiens sui; non miles, quia Cardinalis; non item Cardinalis, quia miles erat. . . .* 407.

Indebitum certe characteri, quod in Engieria obdione sæpe ferrum in hostem strinxit, immemor Ecclesiam nescire sanguinem. — He affected the soldier, thro' a kind of self-impatience; being not a soldier, because a cardinal; and not a cardinal, because a soldier. . . . He certainly acted out of character, since, at the siege of St John d'Angeli, he drew his sword against the enemy, forgetting that the church is a stranger to blood. Perhaps it will be said, that he did not mention that cardinal's amours, because he knew nothing of them. But I cannot believe he was ignorant of them; they were too public, and had been attended with issue. The Chronicle of the Favourites, printed in 1622, supposes (6), that there happened a dispute between cardinal de Guise and the duke du Mayne, who should get first into Charon's boat.

(6) *Chronique des Favoris, pag. 14.*

The cardinal said, he died first, and consequently ought to have the precedence. The duke did not deny it, but represented that he ought to go in first, because he had been killed in the king's service, whereas the other died only of sickness. The cardinal replied, that he had left his wife and children for GOD's cause, of which he desired no other witness than the duke of Nevers, whereas the duke du Mayne had left no such thing. Every body knew then, that this cardinal had kept one of Henry the fourth's mistresses, viz. Charlotte des Essars. The memory of it was the more easily preserved, because that woman had been so fortunate as to marry a great lord; notwithstanding the public disgrace she was under; a king of France, and then an archbishop of Rheims, having got several children by her (7).

(7) *Father Andu Hallier, who perhaps would have thought himself*

undermatched, if he had married Charlotte des Essars of the Palais de l'Honneur, says, with a clear reputation, did not scruple to make her his wife when she had lost it. He was a man of quality, and brother of a marshal of France (8). He was knight of the order of the Holy Ghost, and captain of the life-guards, and had given proofs of that military virtue, which raised him afterwards to the dignity of marshal of France; and yet, in a lawful marriage, he was contented with the leavings of a cardinal. The public did not fail to take notice of it.

There are so many occasions of alledging such examples, that this sort of adventures are seldom forgotten. Romorantin, and But when people began perhaps to talk more of it, killed in Candia there arose some persons, who laid a claim to Made- in the service of the Venetians, moïsselle de Guise's estate, and revived the ideas of and father of the that object. Read what follows: I take it from the marchioness

Mercurie Historique & Politique for April, 1688. d'Acy. I omit what he says of the third son, of count de Gamache, knight of the king's orders, and of the daughters.

The marchioness d'Acy, wife of the younger brother of count de Gamache, knight of the king's orders, and of the daughters, by virtue of a box brought to her by an unknown person, in which she found a contract of marriage (8) *Pris, Nicolas de l'Hospital, marquis and then duke of Vitry.* between cardinal de Guise and Charlotte des Essars, mother of count de Romorantin, her father, who was always accounted the cardinal's ballard. That contract is attended with the nuptial benediction in due form; and, moreover, with a dispensation from the Pope, permitting the cardinal to enjoy his benefices tho' he be a married man: in short, nothing seems to be wanting, but a sufficient support, to dispute so great a succession with those concerned in it.

However,

nately more common among the clergy than military functions, is an infraction of the canonical discipline. To conclude, I believe some reflexions have been made upon this. That the descendants of the same prince of Condé, whom Francis de Lorraine, duke of Guise, endeavoured to destroy, are become the heirs of the descendants of that duke [C] in the space of 130 years.

However, whatever place that box might come from, it is like to make a noise in the parliament, the more because it is in the hands of a lady who has learned all the chicanery of the law by a long experience, as if she had known that she would have occasion for them one day. Since this happy discovery, she has removed the bar that was a blot in her escutcheon. But it is feared she will be quickly obliged to put it in again: she has to do with the prince of Condé, who pretends to be the chief heir of that house in right of the prince's his wife; and as there is little proportion between them, it is not improbable, that the box will be found supposititious in time (9).⁽⁹⁾ Note, that the author of the *Mercurio* supposes (10), that this cardinal de Guise was he that was killed at Blois; which is a mistake.

(9) *Mercurio*
Histor. & Polit.
April 1688,
pag. 375, 376.

(10) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 386, 387.

[C] The descendants of the same prince of Condé, whom Francis duke of Guise endeavoured to destroy, are become the heirs of that duke of Guise. Here I shall place the memoir, which I should have inserted in the remark [H] of the foregoing article, if I had received it in due time. This memoir will inform us of the proceedings occasioned by the marriage of the duke of Guise with the countess de Boffu, and of the pretensions of the prince of Condé, who carried the cause.

(11) A memoir,
imparted to me
by Mr Dalcencé.

(11) The sixteenth of November 1641, there was a marriage between the duke of Guise and Honorata de Berghes, widow of the count de Boffu her first husband. The ninth of June 1666, there was a definitive sentence given, contrary to that of the Rota, whereby the marriage was declared valid *ad quoscunque effectus, & dictam comitissam veram & legitimam conjugem*. Note, that the duke of Guise was dead; but he had produced his reasons and vouchers at Rome in his life-time. Note also, that, during that time, Mademoiselle de Guise obtained some decrees of the parliament, whereby the proceedings of the Rota were declared null, and suing in that court was forbidden, and all the sergeants in France were also forbidden to give any summonses for that court, and to execute its judgments. The countess de Boffu acted all the rest of her life as duchess of Guise. She constantly maintained the validity of her marriage, and always demanded the execution of it. She hoped to get it acknowledged in France by the recommendation or authority of the league, or of the king of Spain, at the treaty of Niméguen, in 1678. But the French party was too powerful, and the ministers of France absolutely refused to hearken to any propositions relating to private persons. The countess de Boffu used vain endeavours, and died in 1679, having made the count de Berghes, one of her nephews, her heir. The count de Berghes settled the affairs of his succession, and gathered together all the writings, concerning the marriage, that were dispersed at Rome, Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, and in the Low-Countries, and elsewhere. By the favour of the truce of Luxemburg, he came to Paris, and put in his demand at the Chatelet, the third of August 1687,

against Mademoiselle de Guise, as heiress of her late brother, that the contract of marriage, of the sixteenth of November 1641, might be executed against her, and all rights resulting from it adjudged to him. Immediately Mademoiselle de Guise obtained a decree of parliament, whereby it was forbidden to proceed in the Chatelet, to style the countess de Boffu duchess of Guise, to make any demand on account of that pretended marriage, and all sergeants were forbidden to give any summonses to that effect. On the eighth of March 1688, Mademoiselle de Guise died, after she had made many wills and codicils, the last whereof is dated the second of March 1688. The war broke out soon after, and kept things in suspense. At last, the peace being concluded at Ryfwick, the count de Berghes returned into France honoured with the title of prince and knight of the golden fleece. He renewed his demand the twenty fifth of October 1698, not in the Chatelet, but in the parliament. He demanded, by virtue of a commission under the great seal, to be admitted opponent to the execution of the decree of 1687, and the other two made long before against his aunt: and that justice should be done him upon his opposition, and the appeal brought in by Mademoiselle de Guise, and her heirs, concerning the celebration of the marriage, and the sentence of the Rota, bringing his first demand from the Chatelet, petitioning that all matrimonial rights should be wholly adjudged to him. Upon this illustrious controversy sentence was given on Tuesday in the morning, the fifth of January 1700, in the great chamber, according to the opinion of Mr Daguesseau, advocate-general, Mr Robert, and Mr Nouet pleading for the parties, and Mr de Harlay being president, after fifteen hearings, seven of which were taken up by Mr Robert, six by Mr Nouet, and two by Mr Daguesseau; wherein, considering the petition of the prince of Berghes, the court ordains, that the information made against Honorata de Berghes, countess de Boffu, shall be rejected, without minding the oppositions made by the prince of Berghes to the execution of the decrees of 1665, 1666, and 1687, doing justice, on the appellations, as an abuse both of the celebration and the procedure made at the Rota, and the sentences there intervening; declares the marriage to be void. In consequence whereof, the court rejects the demands of the prince of Berghes depending upon the question concerning the marriage, condemns him to costs, and ordains, that upon other demands, he may take his course.

It plainly appears from the genealogical table, printed during that law suit, that Anne palatine of Bavaria, wife of the prince of Condé, was the right heiress of Mademoiselle de Guise; for she is descended from the duke of Mayenne, son of Francis de Lorraine duke of Guise. This duke of Mayenne had a daughter, who married Charles Gonzaga duke of Nevers, by whom he had Anne Gonzaga, mother of the prince of Condé.

GUYET (FRANCIS), born at Angers, of a good family [A], was one of the best

[A] He was of a good family. He had two uncles, Lezin Guyet, and Martial Guyet. The first, who was a counsellor in the presidial of Angers, made a map of the province of Anjou: the second wrote French verses (1). This is what Mr Portner says. I find some difficulty in it, when I compare it with what I find in Menage (2), viz. that Lezin Guyet, counsellor in the presidial of Angers, who made the first map of the province of Anjou, was an echevin at Angers in 1493. But this difficulty vanishes by consulting la Croix du Maine (3), who says, that Lezin Guyet was born in the year 1515, on the thirteenth of February. From whence I infer, that Menage's printer put one figure instead of another, or that Menage took one Lezin Guyet, who lived before the

(1) See la Croix
du Maine, pag.
312.

(2) Remarques
sur la Vie de
Guill. Menage,
pag. 292.

(3) Biblioth.
pag. 289.

eldest brother of Martial, for him who made the map of Anjou; for he says, that Lezin Guyet had a son called Andrew, and he mentions two Andrews, one of whom was mayor of Angers in 1550, and the other echevin of the same town in 1519. The last of these two Andrews cannot be the son of him, who made the map of Anjou, since the author of that map was born in 1515. For the same reason, it is not likely, that he was the father of the other Andrew; but both of them might be the sons of one Lezin Guyet, echevin of Angers, in 1493. However it be, Menage calls that family ancient; and having mentioned some other persons of that name, he comes to our Francis Guyet, and calls him the most learned Angevin that be known of.

[B] He

best critics of the XVIIth century. He was born in the year 1575 [B], and was but a child when he lost his father and mother. The small estate they left him, came almost to nothing, by the ill management of his guardians: which, far from discouraging him from his study, made him more fond of it; and being of opinion, that Paris would enable him to perfect his knowledge and judgment by the conversation of learned men, he took a journey thither in 1599. He quickly got the friendship of Christopher and Augustine du Puy, the two eldest sons of Claudius du Puy (a), who had been the ornament and support of good literature. His farther acquaintance with Peter and James du Puy, the sons of the same Claudius du Puy, proved very advantageous to him, in order to make a great progress in learning; for the most learned persons in Paris did frequently visit those two brothers, and many of them met every day in the house of Thuanus, where Messieurs du Puy received the company. After the death of that president, they held those conferences in the same place. Guyet was constantly at those assemblies. He made a journey to Rome in 1608, and applied himself to the study of the Italian tongue with so good success, that he could make Italian verses, which the best poets of that nation would not have thought unworthy of their pen. He renewed with Reignier (b), who was then in the house of cardinal de Joyeuse, the acquaintance which he had contracted at Paris; and was very much esteemed by cardinal du Perron, and Gabriel de l'Aubespine bishop of Orleans, to whom he proved serviceable more than once, by explaining to him many difficult passages, both in sacred and profane writers. He returned to Paris by the way of Germany, and was taken into the house of the duke d'Epemont to teach the abbot de Granfelve, who was afterwards so well known by the name of cardinal de la Valette (c): Being thoroughly skilled in Greek and Latin authors, he picked out of them what was most proper for his pupil, and explained it to him, not like a pedant, but according to the use, which a man, designed for great employments, would make of it. The pupil did very much improve under so learned a master, and conceived so great an esteem for him, that he always entrusted him with his most important affairs. He took him along with him to Rome, when he went thither, after he had been made a cardinal, and procured him a good benefice, besides that which he had already bestowed upon him (d). Guyet, being returned to Paris, chose rather to live a private life, than in the house of cardinal de la Valette, and pitched upon Burgundy college, to make his abode in it. There he lived the remaining part of his life, minding nothing but his studies, and being contented to make his court when that cardinal was at Paris; for he could not resolve to follow him into the armies and the provinces. He enjoyed every day the conversation of Messieurs du Puy, who lodged in Thuanus's house near Burgundy college; but, after Mr Rigaut's departure, they removed to the king's library, where they held their conferences. He chiefly applied himself to a work, wherein he pretended to shew, that the Latin tongue was derived from the Greek, and that all the primitive words of the latter consisted only of one syllable. Being the first who had such a design, he was willing that none should have the glory of executing it but himself, and shewed his essays to no body. Notwithstanding his long and continual application to that work, his labour proved of no use; for they found, after his death, only a vast compilation of Greek and Latin words (e), without any order or coherence, and without any preface to explain his project; so that one would think he had, even with respect to his paper, the same mistrust which hindered him from explaining to his friends his plan, his method, and principles. He applied himself to something else: The margins of his Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Plautus, Martial, Philoxenus, Hesychius, &c. were full of critical notes [C], wherein he took a great deal of liberty [D]; for he rejected, as supposititious, all such verses

(a) He was dead in 1594.

(b) A French poet, famous for his satires.

(c) He was made cardinal in 1621.

(d) One of the two benefices was the priory of St Andrade near Bourdeaux. See the *Histoire de l'Académie Française*, page m. 269.

(e) It contained twenty five quires of paper in folio, written with a fair and very legible hand.

(4) Perisander, in Vita Guyeti.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

(6) *Id. ibid.*

(7) Epist. Ixmel. Boissaldi, apud Perisanderum, ubi supra.

(8) The fair sex conceal their age with the greatest secrecy, and I think it is the only secret they can keep. Many women have entrusted me with their domestic concerns, and even with their love intrigues; but none did ever impart her age to me. I have seen some, that were so reasonable as to resolve upon a thing with great firmness and constancy, when there was occasion for it; but I never saw one so covetous as to tell her age.

[B] He was born in the year 1575. This came to be known only by his heirs; for he would never tell in what year he was born. He was unwilling to be accounted so old as he was (4); and, hoping to live much longer than he did, he was willing that people should not know his age. In all other things he hardly had a confidant; but perhaps there was none he took more care to conceal, than that; and, because he was not grown very hoary in his old age (5); and his strength was not impaired in proportion to the time he had lived, he was unwilling to deceive those, who made him younger than he was. Had he intended to marry, one would be less surprized at his mysterious taciturnity. His sight being so good, that he could read the smallest print without spectacles (6), might have wonderfully contributed to make him appear younger than he was. It is thought that because he hoped to live much longer (7), he neglected to settle his affairs, either with respect to his works or his estate: He died without making his will. Those, who shall read this remark, and have read the letters of the chevalier d'Her.... will call to mind the passage I quote in the margin (8). It is in the thirty sixth letter of the first part. See the remark [C] of the article Gombauld.

VOL. III.

[C] The margins of his Horace, Virgil, &c. were full of critical remarks. Menage bought the books, whose margins were full of those notes. All of them have not been buried in the obscurity of a closet. Those upon Hesiod were imparted to Mr Grævius, who inserted them in his edition (9). Those upon Stephanus Byzantinus have been likewise published (10). I shall observe by the bye, that Guyet was none of those readers, who skip from book to book; he read a book through with the greatest attention, before he applied himself to any other. Thus he wrote upon Terence, Hesiod, Horace, and Plautus. The reading of the ancient authors was his main business. As for modern books, he only read histories and voyages (11). I observe these things, not only because some persons are curious of them, but also because they may give a good opinion of the notes of this great critic.

[D] wherein he took a great deal of liberty. He carried his criticisms so far, that he must needs have been in the wrong sometimes. Guyet struck out many verses in his Virgil, pretending they were supposititious, and that the poems of that great poet were like those troops, among which there are many false mullets; so that he acted like a rigid commissary,

(9) Ia 1667.

(10) Baillet. Jug. des Sav. Tom. III, n. 518.

(11) Portner, in Vita Guyeti.

(f) Reinesius, *Epist. ad Dauidum*, pag. 170, is mistaken in saying 1657.

(g) It is prefixed to Guyet's commentary upon Terence, printed with that of Boeclerus at Strasburg in 1657.

(h) He took the supposititious name of Antonius Perianther Rhatus. See *Placius de Scriptis anonymis & pseudonymis*, pag. 256.

as seemed to him not to favour of the author's genius. The most compleat thing, that was found among his papers, was his notes upon Terence; and therefore they have been printed in the Strasburg edition, 1657: they were sent by James du Puy to the learned Boeclerus. He was so happy as to be accounted a man of great learning, though he had printed nothing: it was well done of him to avoid the disputes he would have been engaged in, if he had published some books [E]. He seldom confessed, that he was mistaken. He grew hot when any body denied what he said, and then he would jest in a pleasant manner. He had a very good memory, and was a hearty, sincere, honest man. He was cut for the stone in 1636, and bore the pains of that operation with a wonderful constancy. Abating this, his long life was hardly attended with any illness; and he was so happy as to die of a catarrh, which affected him only three or four days, and did not prevent the curate of the parish performing the usual functions. He died in the arms of James du Puy, and Menage his country-man, the twelfth of April, 1655 (f), being eighty years old. His Life (g) was written in Latin, with great judgment and politeness, by Mr Portner a senator of Ratibon (b), from which I have taken this article.

commisary, who musters none but true soldiers. He looked upon the first ode of Horace, and the secret history of Procopius, as supposititious pieces; and when the cadence, or the turn of a period, did not please his ear or his taste, he immediately concluded it was not genuine, though the ancient Grammarians, and the best manuscripts, were against him. But to be convinced, that he had sometimes a depraved taste (12), and went beyond the delicate *fastidii* imputed to him, one need only read the verses he made against beer, wherein he speaks of all the Dutch poets with great contempt (13). Grotius made a very good answer to him (14):

Duræ mentis iners, merumque rus est,
Si quem basia non movent Secundi,
Et quos Doufa canit parente major
Cælo sydereis rotante cursus,
Et quæ spicula Baudio vibrante
Non unum sibi destinant Lycamben,
Et quos dat numeros nihil vetustis
Cedens vatibus Heinii Thalia.

*Insensible the man, and dull his wit,
Whose soul such pens in vain attempt to hit;
Secundus's kisses; Doufa's lofty verse,
Heav'n circling in it's empyreal course;
Baudius, thy pointed arrows, dipt in gall,
That doom Lycambes to a second fall;
And Heinsius, by Apollo's self decreed
In verse to write what ancient Rome might read.*

(a) Taken from Natn. Sotel. Biblioth. Script. Societ. pag. 129.

GUYET (CHARLES), a French Jesuit, born at Tours in the year 1601, was admitted into the society in the year 1621, where he taught the *Belles Lettres* for the space of five years, and moral theology for the space of two years. Afterwards he set up for a preacher, which lasted a long time. He got a perfect knowledge of the ceremonies of the church, as it appears by two books which he wrote [A]. He died at Tours the thirtieth of March, 1664 (a).

[A] This appears by two books which he wrote. One of them is intitled, *Ordo generalis & perpetuus divini Officii recitandi*; and the other, *Heortologia, sive de festis propriis locorum*, printed at Paris for

[E] It was well done of him to avoid the disputes he would have been engaged in if he had published books. Notwithstanding his bold criticisms, and his intrepidity in speaking out his thoughts in conversation, he was afraid of the public. He dreaded particularly Salmasius (15), who, being in Messieurs du Puy's house, threatened to write a book against him, if he published his thoughts about some passages of the ancient authors. Salmasius would have proved too hard for him; he would have printed a hundred sheets before Guyet had been able to fend four to the press; for Guyet had much ado to please himself (16); and therefore he continued to forbear setting up for an author, even after Salmasius's death. It were to be wished for the sake of the public, that many authors had had such a scare-crow: those, who should forbear to print books upon such an account, would be very glad of it, if they knew their own interest; for how many writers do we see, who verify this thought of Horace, or at least the last part of it?

Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet
Plus dapis & rixæ multo minus invidiæque (17).

*But, could the foolish crow in silence eat,
He'd have less strife and envy, and more meat.*

Happy are those learned men, who, like our Guyet, are contented with being accounted men of learning upon the testimony of others (18). This was Guyet's case: Balzac, among others, was his trumpeter. See his *Ludas Poëticus de Hypercritico Gallo* (19).

(15) Portner, ubi supra.

(16) Vir enim acutissimi judicii non humanis de suis quibusdam aliis curis fluctabat, ac proinde ipsi sibi nunquam satisfacerebat, in exprimendis quæ meditatus erat supra modum tardus, in exigendis quæ expresserat. *supra* sicuti severus. *Id. ibid.*

(17) Horat. *Epist. xvii, lib. i.*

(18) Nullis quod vixit libris a se editis inclaudit, notitia eorum quibus aliâ ingentem sibi pepererunt famam, ac eruditionis suæ quam in dubium nemo ausus est contestantur. *Portn. ubi supra.*

(19) By Galeus, he means Guyet.

(1) In the remark (G) of the article BRACHMANS.

(2) He was at that time president of the Brachmans.

(3) In Vita Apollon. lib. iii.

(4) Simul Epitholm & sua detracham mulieri dedit. *Id. ibid.*

[A] So the Greeks call the philosophers, who went naked. It would be absurd to deny, that there were Indian philosophers that wore no cloaths; but it might be maintained, that the Brachmans were not of that number: for besides the authorities I have alleged in another place (1), it may be observed: I. That the Iarchas (2) of Philostratus (3) strips himself before he steps into a fountain with Apollonius. II. That another Brachman pulls a letter from under his gown (4); a letter I say, which he wrote to a dæmon, to command him with threats to go out of the body of a young man. III. That Apollonius upbraids the Gym-

nosophists of Ethiopia with their having left the habit of the Indian Gymnosophists, hoping thereby to make people believe, that they were originally of Ethiopia. There is another question to be proposed: whether those that went naked covered their natural parts. St Augustin maintains they did. 'Per opacas, says he (5), quoque Indiæ solitudines quum quidam nudi philosophentur, unde Gymnosophistæ nominantur; adhibent tamen genitalibus tegumenta quibus per cætera membrorum carent. — There are certain naked philosophers in the shady solitudes of India, thence called Gymnosophists; yet they cover their secret parts.'

(5) August. de Civitate Dei, lib. xiv, cap. xvii.

(c) De Astrolog.

(d) See Strabo, lib. xv, and the remark [F] of the article
- BRACHMANS

(c) Οὐδ' αὐτὸς
δὲ ἀπερχομένης
τῶν καθ'
αὐτὸν θρυλλαν-
μένων ὅσα
δοκεῖ πρὸς εὐσε-
βείαν καὶ ἐσθ-
ότητα. Qui nec
ipsa affluant ab
iis quæ de inferis
memorantur quæ
ad pietatem fan-
ctimoniamque
pertinent.
Strabo, lib. xv,
pag. 431.

(f) See Strabo
ibid. Philostrat.
in Vita Apollon.
lib. iii, Plur. in
Alexandro. Ar-
rian. Exped. lib.
vii.

(o) Peterius
ubi supra.

(10) Diod. Sicul.
lib. iv, cap. i.

(11) Philostrat.
in ejus vita,
lib. vi.

was (12), that the Ethiopians came originally from the Indies; that they had anciently been subject there to king Ganges, whom they had put to death; that, since that murder, the other Indians had looked upon them with abomination; that the earth would no longer bear them; that neither their corn ever grew ripe, nor their women with child came to their full reckonings, nor their cattle encreased; and that the ground sunk where-ever they had a mind to build houses; that the ghost of the murdered king followed, and frighted them every where; and that those calamities continued, till the authors of that parricide had been swallowed up by the earth. It is pretended (13), that all these prodigies made those people fly their country, and that they came to settle themselves in that part of Africa, which was called Ethiopia. Others have spoken of that transmigration as has been shewn by the learned Marlhamb (14). He has shewn likewise, that there were two sorts of Ethiopians; the one in Asia, and the other in Africa; and also Indians in Africa: but he pretends, without reason, that, in a passage of Virgil, we ought to understand Ethiopia by the word *Indi*. Virgil understood, by that, the East-Indies, where he thought the Nile had its source; and you see also, that he makes it run by the frontiers of Persia:

(12) Id. *ibid.*
lib. iii.

(13) Id. lib. vi.

(14) Chron.
Canon. Ægypt.
Sæcul. xiii, pag.
335, Edit. in
4to.

(15) Virg.
Georg. lib. iv,
ver. 287.

Nam, quâ Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi
Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum,
Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis,
Quaque pharetræ vicinia Perfidis urget,
Et viridem *Ægyptum* nigrâ sæcundat arenâ,
Et diversa ruens septem diffurrit in ora,
Uique coloratis amnis devehux ab Indis:
Omnis in hac certam regio jaciit arte salutem (15).

For where Canopus' happy sons abide,
Who border on the Nile's o'er flowing tide,
And o'er their land; in painted vessels ride
And where, descending from black India's shores,
The stream fast by the Persian frontiers pours,
'Till, rushing thro' seven channels, it's black sands
Fatten the soil of Egypt's fruitful lands;
All this fair tract, this salutary coast,
For med'cine fam'd, the healing art can boast.

[C] *Among other things, they pretended to remedies against barrenness..*] They boasted of three things upon that account. First, To enable a person to beget many children: secondly, to order it so, that they should be boys; or, thirdly, that they should be girls.

have not well maintained the dignity of philosophy, since it was their method not to go to any body; but to put themselves on such a foot, even with respect to kings [D], that, if any body wanted them, they were obliged come themselves to them, or send some body to acquaint them with what they wanted. Therefore Alexander, who thought it not consistent with his greatness to go in person, sent a deputation to them, in order to satisfy the desire he had to be informed of them (g). Nothing can be finer than their way of educating their disciples [E]. They asked them every day, before they sat down to dinner, how they had spent the morning; and every scholar was obliged to produce some good moral action, or some proficiency in the sciences: if they failed, they were sent to their work, without being allowed any thing to eat. We have seen, in the article of the BRACHMANS, the great frugality of the Gymnosophists, and their extraordinary patience, in being a long while in the same posture [F]. It is not unlikely, that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis led them to eat nothing, which had animal life in it; and that Pythagoras borrowed this opinion from them: but it is ridiculous to derive the origin of the Jews from them, as Aristotle has done (b). It was a shameful thing amongst them to be sick; so that those, who would shun that disgrace, did burn themselves (i). Thus Calanus, who was in the retinue of Alexander, made away with himself. We have said elsewhere, that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls inspired the Brachmans with a great indifference either for life or death [G]. Porphyry answers pertinently to those, who objected, *What would become of the world, if all men did live as the Brachmans did* [H].

(g) Plat. ibid. & alii.

(b) Apud Clearchum, quoted by Josephus, lib. i, contra Appion.

(i) Strabo, pag. 473.

Strabo marks all this. *Δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ πολυτρόπως ποιεῖν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλοῦ διὰ φαρμακευτικῆς. Possē eos & sacundos facere & marium & feminarum procreationem medicamentis præstare* (16). This was a sure means to make themselves necessary or acceptable to several sorts of persons: for there are those, who wish for a numerous family: others, having none but girls, with passionately for a boy; and others again, having none but boys, would fain have a girl also. This last is principally the desire of mothers: nor is it unreasonable; for a daughter is a more convenient help and companion for a mother, than a boy.

[D] *Even with respect to kings.* This ought not to be generally understood of the Gymnosophists; for, according to Nearchus, the Brachmans went to court, and followed kings in the quality of their counsellors (17).

[E] *Nothing can be finer than their way of educating their disciples.* All that Apuleius says about it deserves, in my opinion, to be copied. 'Est præterea, sicut de (18), genus apud illos (Indos) præstabile, Gymnosophilæ vocantur. Hos ego maxime admior: quod homines sunt periti, non propagandæ vitis, nec inoculandæ arboris, nec proficindendi folii. Non illi norunt arum colere, vel aurum colare, vel equum domare, vel taurum subigere, vel ovem vel capram tondere vel pascere. Quid igitur est? Unum pro his omnibus norunt. Sapientiam percolunt, tim magistri senes quam discipuli minores. Nec quidquam apud illos æque laudo quam quod torporem animi & otium oderunt. Igitur ubi mensa posita, priusquam edulia apponantur, omnes adolescentes ex diversis locis & officiis ad dapem conveniunt. Magistri perrogant, quod factum à lucis ortu ad illud diei bonum fecerit. Hic alius se commemorat inter duos arbitrum delectum, sanata similitate, reconciliata gratia, purgata suspitione, amicos ex infensis reddidisse: inde alius, sese parentibus quidpiam imperantibus, obediisse: & alius, aliquid meditatione sua reperisse, vel alterius demonstratione didicisse. Denique ceteri commemorant. Qui nihil habet adferre cur prandeat, impransus ad opus foras extruditur. — There is also, among the Indians, an excellent kind of philosophers, called Gymnosophists. These I particularly admire for their skill, not in cultivating the vine, not in inoculating trees, nor in ploughing the ground; for indeed they are ignorant of agriculture, of managing the house, of taming the bull, of sheering or feeding the sheep, or goat: what is it for then? One thing they know worth all this: they cultivate wisdom, both the old that teach, and the young that learn. Nor is there any thing more commendable in them, than that they hate all manner of sloth and idleness. When therefore the table is spread, before the repast is set before them, all the youth assemble from diverse places and employ. The masters examine what good action each has done since day-break to that time. Here one relates, that, being chosen umpire between two, he had reconciled and made them friends: another, that he obeyed some order of his parents: a third, that he had

(17) Nearchus, apud Strabonem, lib. xv, pag. 493.

(18) Apul. Floridior. lib. i, circa init. pag. m. 343.

'found out something by his own meditation, or learnt something from another. He, who can give no good account of himself, is sent back to his work, without a dinner.'

[F] *We have seen . . . their patience in being a long while in the same posture.* Besides what has already been related upon that subject in the remark [A] of the article BRACHMANS, I shall say here, that that hard constraint was not unusual even among the Greek philosophers. Socrates put himself sometimes to that trial, in order to lay in a good provision of patience for necessities to come. 'Stare solitus Socrates dicitur pertinaci statu perditus & pernox, a summo lucis ortu ad solem alterum orientem, inconvulsus, immobilis, iidem in vestigiis, & ore atque oculis eundem in locum directis, cogitabundus' (19). (19) Anl. Cell. Socrates is said to have stood, from sunrise to sun-set, in one posture, without winking, and with his eyes directed to one and the same place, in profound meditation. We should look upon this as a piece of folly. I have heard people mention, as a great sign of softness and stupidity, the custom, a certain monarch had, towards the beginning of the XVIIth century, to leave his hat just as those, who dressed him, set it upon his head. But let us remark, that there can hardly be a more insupportable punishment, than the being condemned to keep all one's life-time in the same posture. That, which we look upon as most convenient, I mean, sitting, would cruelly fatigue at the long run (20).

[G] *The transmigration of souls inspired them with a great indifference for life or death.* To this relates what Trajan said of the Getæ (21), that they were the most warlike of all men, not only by reason of the strength of their bodies, but also because of the opinion, which Zamolxis had persuaded them of: for, as they looked upon death only as a change of habitation, they prepared themselves more easily to die, than to undertake a journey. This is sufficient to cover Christians with shame, in whom, generally speaking, the near hopes of heaven cannot extinguish the immense love they have for life.

[H] *Porphyry answers pertinently to those, who objected, what would become of the world, if all men lived as the Brachmans did?* He could not fail to commend those Indian philosophers in his book of abstinence, since they practised so well what he taught. He makes (22) a very advantageous description of their frugality, good morals, and contempt of life. As to the objection of the worldlings, he confutes it after the same manner as Pythagoras has done. If all men, says he, became kings, human life would be strangely troublesome: must men therefore renounce being kings? And if all men followed virtue, they would ever continue in public employments; for those that should be possessed of them, ought never to forfeit that recompence of their probity: nevertheless, no body is so foolish as to pretend, that it is not the duty of all men to tread cheerfully in the paths of virtue. There are several things, which the laws tolerate in the people, and which would not be allowed in a philosopher. The

(20) See Virgil's Commentaries on these words of the sixth book of the Æneid. Sedet æternamque fidebit infelix Thetis. See particularly Mr. de Ruedel. Dissert. upon the Chenix, pag. 96, & seq.

(21) Apud Julianum in Cæsar.

(22) Lib. iv, de Abstinentia.

The laws do not forbid the people to divert themselves with women of pleasure, or to spend their time in taverns; but they account the keeping of such company, and such a kind of life, to be scandalous, even in persons of moderate probity. Therefore what is suffered in the common people, is not to be allowed in the virtuous: a philosopher ought to prescribe to himself the holy laws which the gods, and the ministers of the gods, have established. These maxims of Porphyry may serve those, who press the observation of the strictest morals, and who recommend so much celibacy. What would become of the world, say we to them, if every body followed your advice? Do not trouble yourself about that, may they answer (23); few people will take us at our word. The Anabaptists make good use of the like answer, touching their condemning the holding places of magistracy: they know well enough, that masters will never be wanting; and that, let their censures and exhortations be never so pathetic, there will ever be more competitors than employments. This puts me in mind of a divine of the church of England, whom some endeavoured to persuade, that the tenet of passive obedience ought to be renounced, as entirely opposite to the public good: Never fear, answered he, that the people will thereby be more apt to suffer themselves to be oppressed: for, as you do not fear, by preaching warmly against revenge, to expose thereby your neighbour to insults, for you know well enough, that, for all your sermons, he will take care that his insensibility of a box on the ear does not draw more affronts upon him; so, &c. Note, that Porphyry thought, that the laws do not forbid the people, &c. may be confirmed by this passage of Cicero (24). 'Aliter leges aliter philosophi tollunt astutias:

leges quatenus tenere manu res possunt: philosophi quatenus ratione & intelligentia. — The laws provide against fraudulent practices one way, the philosophers another: the laws, so far only as the hand can reach; the philosophers, as far as reason and understanding extend. And by this passage of Seneca (25): (25) Seneca, de Quam angusta innocentia est ad legem bonum esse? 1ra, lib. ii, cap. quanto latius officiorum patet quam juris regula? xxvii. quam multa pietas, humanitas, liberalitas, justitia, fides exigunt? quæ omnia extra publicas tabulas sunt. — How confined an innocence is it to be good only in the eye of the law? how much farther does the rule of duty extend, than that of law? how many things do piety, humanity, liberality, justice, fidelity, require; all which are without the writ of law? See Grotius, in the tenth chapter of the third book, *De Jure Belli & Pacis*.

For the rest, the thought of St Augustine, which I point out in the margin (26), puts me in mind of a philosopher. 'Your philosopher, says he (27), is not over-wise, when he designs to marry, to propagate his race in France. If he was of the race of emperors and sovereigns, I would not hinder it for any thing in the world. What! Does N. fear the world should fail? If it failed in him, it could never end more gloriously. Let a courtier, a magistrate, or a mechanic, marry with my consent: but that a philosopher should take upon him the charge of a wife and children, nay, a philosopher of the family of Zeno, is a sort of prodigy, which deserves more to be expiated, than that of the cows that spoke, and said formerly, with a dreadful voice, *Rome look to thyself!*'

(23) See Mr Baillet, in the *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, Dec. 1686 pag. 1435. There is another answer of St Augustine, in the author of the *Nouvelles Lettres contre l'Histoire de Calvinisme de Maimbourg*, pag. 767.

(24) Cicero, de Offic. lib. iii, cap. xvii.

(26) *Citat.* (27) Cotin, *Oeuvres* Oslantes, Tom. I, pag. m. 275.



VOL. III.

Kkkk

HACKER

H.

(a) And not
Hacker, as in
Konig.



HACKER (a) (JAMES), was professor of divinity at Friburg in Brisgaw, about the beginning of the XVIIth century. I only speak of him, to have occasion to discover a pseudonymous writer [A], who has not yet been mentioned that I know of, in the catalogues of this kind of authors.

(1) In the year
1609, according
to the catalogue
of the Bodleian
Library.

[A] I only speak of him, to discover a pseudonymous writer.] Hacker having published (1) a dispute about predestination, was answered by a monk of Mantua, under the false name of Daniel Neidinger. He defended himself, in a reply, with this title, *Disputationis de Prædestinationis causa falsa & ementito auctore Dan. Neidingero, vero autem & germano ejus fabro Fr. Anar. Ursiano Ord. Min. Obl. reg. in urbe Mantuana nuper editæ, & ibidem à tredecim diversorum Ord. Fratrum & Patrum susceptæ, in quatuor ex quibus coaluit, elementa, mendacia, hereses, antilogias, sordes sermonis, Analysis. Autore J. Hacker.*

Dorscheus, professor of divinity at Strasburg (2), makes use of this example, to shew that the Roman Catholics accuse one another of Heresy. He says, that this reply of Hacker was printed in 1618, but since it is put in the Oxford catalogue, printed at Friburg in 1614. I suppose the first edition was not known to him. The same catalogue mentions two volumes of James Hacker, on Thomas Aquinas. They were printed at Friburg, the first in 1619, and the second in 1621. Mr Konig does not distinguish this, and gives the title wrong.

(2) Dorscheus, in
Hodegetico Ca-
tholico, cap. 1,
pag. 268, 269.

(a) Potator scor-
tatorque fuit
enormis, virgi-
nique que ad
eum consili
causa accessit con-
stuprator. Fitz
Simon, in Bri-
tannomachia Mi-
nistorum, &c.
See citation (c).

HACKET (WILLIAM), and English Fanatic in the XVIth century, was first servant to one Mr Hussey, and expressed his fidelity to him by an action perfectly brutal [A]. He afterwards married a rich widow, and ruined her in a little time by his luxurious expences. He had never studied, but had a great memory, which he abused in repeating the ministers sermons over his cups. This he did only to laugh at them, and had no design in hearing sermons, but to furnish his memory for this ridiculous exercise. He was a very great lover of wine and women; and he corrupted a maid who came to his house to ask his advice (a). He robbed also upon the highway. At last he set up for a prophet, and declared, I. That England should feel the scourges of famine, pestilence, and war, unless it established the consistorial discipline: II. That for the future there should be no more Popes. He named the time of this desolation of England, which, according to him, was to be the same year he threatened it. He began to prophesy at York and Lincoln, where, in punishment of his boldness, he was publicly whipped, and condemned to be banished. He had a wonderful fluency in extemporary prayer; and had choice and very pompous phrases, and this made the people believe it was an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost. He had a very great confidence in his prayers [B]; for he said, that if all England should pray for rain,

[A] He expressed his fidelity to his master by an action perfectly brutal.] A tradesman of Oundle in Northamptonshire, did something that caused an enmity betwixt him and a gentleman who had Hacket in his service. Observe how this servant revenged his master. He familiarly and friendly accosted this tradesman's son (1), and was received in the same manner: then suddenly took him by the throat, threw him down, and bit off his nose, and instead of returning it to the surgeon, who pretended to set it on again, eat it; *eique nasum dentibus evulsit, nec chirurgi volentis restituere tradidit, sed (ut fertur) barbara immanitate devoravit* (2). Camden does not relate this fact with the same circumstances. He says, that Hacket embracing the school-master, in sign of reconciliation, bit a piece of his nose off, and that it was the school-master who desired him to restore it, that it might be sewed on while the wound was fresh. *Ad vindictam adeo effertur (Hacquetus) ut ingenuo Ludimagistro, dum redintegrati amoris specie amplecteretur, nasum mordicus absciderit, & coram misero desuper supplicante ad redderet, quo vulnere adhuc recente afficeretur, canine ut ferunt (3) devoraverit* (4). The variety of these circumstances is not such, as that we may conclude from thence, that the fact is false; we may only observe therein a sign of the laziness or infirmity of a man's memory. They that hear a story, attend principally to the main point and essence of the fact, and this they best retain; but not having the same attention to all the circumstances, for that would be too troublesome, they forget many of them: They are not at the trouble of loading their memory with them, which besides is not strong enough to bear all the parts of the burden, and thus some hours

or days after, if they would tell the same story, they are forced to supply the circumstances they have lost. Every one makes this supplement according to the particular character of his genius; and hence come infinite variations, which creep even into the very accounts of historians.

[B] He had a very great confidence in his prayers.] Thou hast the power, said he, to God, and I have the faith, therefore the thing shall be done. He used imprecations, in his prayers, against himself, and pretended that the efficacy of his imprecations was certain. He boasted, that in disputing with a papist, he proposed to him this condition; *I submit instantly to eternal damnation (5), do you do so too, and one of us shall change his religion, according to the unhappy or happy success of our imprecation*. This was very absurd; for the effect of the imprecation was to be the sudden death of one or the other, and consequently, neither of them could change his opinion. The dead man could not do it, and the survivor would have been far from doing it, since the bad success of his adversary's imprecation, had given so authentic a testimony to his religion. But it must not be expected, that such extravagant visionaries should avoid contradictions. Hacket having accused too great lords of treason, proposed to them a like form of prayer (6): for this was the name he gave his execratory oath. If after you have done it, says he, you do not die, I will submit to the *lex talionis*. But if you refuse to do it, and I do it, without any harm, you shall be condemned to lose your head. The judges sent him away as a mad man.

He imposed on abundance of people by this sort of prayer, and persuaded them, that for the sins of

(5) *Æternæ damnationi & v-
silingi subunda-
re* Fitz Simon, *ibid.*
pag. 203.

(6) *Ad similem quoque (ut dice-
bat) orandi mo-
dum duos pro-
cerum quibus
novam pericul-
litionis obiect
ibid. pag. 204.*

(1) He was [scilicet]
master of the
place.

(2) Henry Fitz
Simon, Britan-
nom. Ministor.
cap. vi. lib. II,
pag. 202, 203.

(3) Note, That
Fitz Simon uses
the same reference,
he says, it is said,
fertur.

(4) Camden's
Annals, Part.
IV, ann. 1591,
pag. 618.

rain, and he should pray, to the contrary, it should not rain. Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington, two persons of some learning, joined with him: The first by the title of the *prophet of mercy*; and the second by the title of the *prophet of judgment*. Arthington gave out, that they had an extraordinary mission, and that next to JESUS CHRIST, none upon earth had greater power than William Hacket. Coppinger declared, that Hacket was the sole monarch of Europe. They afterwards went farther, and equalled him in all things to JESUS CHRIST, without being opposed by Hacket; for he said in his prayers, *Father, I know thou lovest me equal with thyself* (b). They would have proceeded to the ceremony of unction, but he would not suffer them, being already anointed, he said, by the HOLY GHOST in heaven. They asked him at last, what he had to command them, and protested they would pay him an obedience without reserve. He ordered them to go and proclaim through all the streets of London, that JESUS CHRIST was come to judge the world, and lodged in such an inn, and that no body could put him to death. They obeyed with so much haste, that Arthington had not time to take his gloves. They added this to their master's instructions, *England repent, repent*. They drew together, by their bawling, such a concourse of people, that being come to Cheapside, they could go no farther, nor be heard; but finding an empty cart, they mounted upon it, and discoursed of the important commission of William Hacket [C]. They returned to him, and, when they saw him, Arthington cried out to the people, *Behold the king of the earth*. This happened the sixteenth of July 1592 (c). They were profecuted and tried. Hacket was sentenced to be hanged and quartered the twenty eighth of July, and the sentence was accordingly executed. Coppinger famished himself in prison: but Arthington was pardoned (d). The blasphemies contained in the prayer that Hacket made upon the scaffold, are so horrid, that I shall only relate them in Latin (e) [D]. We shall see, in the remarks, some particulars of his fanaticism, complicated with rebellion. He was filled with hatred against queen Elizabeth [E]. The truth of this ought not to be questioned, on pretence that I have it from the book of a Jesuit; for Camden's annals, contain most of these facts, and even with greater force.

(b) Pater, scito te non minus teipso me diligere. *Id. ibid.*

(c) Camden relates this under the year 1591.

(d) See the remark [D], at the end.

(e) Taken from the sixth chapter of the second book of the Britannomachia Ministerorum of Henry First Simon, who cites the account which Bancroft (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) published of this business at London, 1592, intitled, A Survey of the extended Discipline, &c.

(7) *Id. ibid.*

(8) Camden, Annal. Part. IV, pag. m. 619, ad ann. 1591.

(9) Fitz Simon, ubi supra, pag. 205.

(10) Camden, ubi supra, pag. 620.

(11) See, above, the remark [F], in the article CALIGULA.

men, the devils and witches had for two months, inflicted on him the very pains of hell, or within a little of them (7). Camden says, that by swearing by his eternal damnation, and with the most execrable imprecations, he seduced Coppinger and Arthington, and made them believe he frequently conversed with God, and that the devil had stigmatized him. His frequent and most fervent prayers, the outward shew of an holy life, and the custom of fasting every Sunday, contributed to persuade them of the same things (8). Poor human reason, how great are thy errors, and how great is their efficacy!

[C] Coppinger and Arthington discoursed of the important commission of William Hacket. They said, that he partook of the nature of glorified bodies, and was to convert all Europe to the consistorial discipline; and that the power of judgment was committed to him. They added, that such as desired to see him, should find him in such an house, and we foretel, that all who refuse to obey this king of all Europe, shall kill one another, and that the queen shall be dethroned (9). Before they made this extravagant folly, they went to a puritan minister, called Wigginton, and protested to him, that the night before, JESUS CHRIST appeared to them, not in body, but by his principal spirit, by which he dwelt in William Hacket, with greater fulness than in any other, and that Hacket was the angel who was to come before the end of the world, with a fan and crook in his hand, to separate the goats from the sheep: that he was to trample Satan under his feet, and totally overturn the kingdom of Antichrist (10). The day they went to preach up this new kingdom through the streets of London, Hacket commanded them to say, that JESUS CHRIST was come, with his fan in his hand, to judge the world, and that this was as true, as that God was in heaven. They punctually discharged their commission, and when they were on the cart, they declared, that Hacket, already glorified as to his body, participated of JESUS CHRIST by his principal spirit, and that he was there with the fan to establish the gospel in Europe.

[D] He spoke blasphemies . . . which I shall only relate in Latin. They exceed those of Caligula (11), and yet they were the conclusion to a most devout

prayer, whence we may infer, that there is nothing so extravagant of which the heart of man is not capable. *Hec fuit ultima ejus oratio. Deus cæli, Potentissime Jehovah, Alpha & Omega, Domine Dominorum, Rex Regum, æterne Deus. Tu me nostri verum illum Jehovah quem misisti. Miraculum aliquod ex nubibus ostende his infidelibus, & libera me ab his inimicis meis. Sin minus cælos succendam, & te ð throno detractum manibus meis lacerabo* (12). Camden having related the same blasphemies, almost in the same words, adds, that Hacket pronounced others still more execrable, *Aliaque magis infanda. Conversus ad carnificem loquebamur, Tunc spurie, inquit, Hacketum Regem tuum suspendes? Laqueo innodatus oculis in cælum sublati, Hoccine, inquit frendens, pro regno collato rependis? venio ulturus* (13). This historian observes, that this enthusiast and his two companions, did not take their hats off before their judges, and impudently answered, they were above the magistrates; that afterwards, Hacket owned himself guilty (14), but answered in so blasphemous a manner as made all that heard him tremble. There was in this perhaps a good deal of fraud; for who knows but that he had a mind to make his judges believe, that he was distracted. However, his other gestures, and affected gravity, shewed no sign of madness (15). This we have from Camden. Note, that Arthington repented, and even printed a book to testify his repentance (16).

[E] He was filled with hatred against queen Elizabeth. He would never pray for her; and his design was to rob her of her crown and life, and change the whole form of the government. He heard the sermon bare-headed, but he put on his hat when he perceived that the queen was mentioned in the prayers (17). He confessed to the judges before whom he was tried, that he had stabbed the effigies of this princeess to the heart, with an iron pin; and that he never owned her for queen. *Julii 20 & 23. palam confessus est Hacketus Regine imaginem se transfixisse ad cor stylo ferreo, eamque pro Regina non habuisse* (18). A little before he was hanged, he cursed her with all manner of imprecations (19).

(12) Fitz Simon, ubi supra, pag. 205, 206.

(13) Camden, ubi supra, pag. 622.

(14) See eum agnovit. *Id. ibid.*

(15) *Id. ibid.*

(16) *Id. ibid.* pag. 623.

(17) Fitz Simon, ubi supra, p. 624.

(18) *Id. ibid.* pag. 205.

(19) *Id. ibid.* ubi supra, p. 624.

HADRIAN

HADRIAN (PUBLIUS ÆLIUS), a Roman emperor, would furnish a very long article, should we omit nothing of his principal qualities and actions. I must content myself with some of them, and repeat as little as may be, what we find in Moreri's Dictionary, in which this article is not very full of faults [A].

Hadrian was born at Rome the twenty fourth of January, 76 [B], lost his father ten years after [C], and had, for his guardians, Trajan, his relation [D], and Cælius Tatianus a Roman knight. His genius so enclined him to the study of the Greek tongue, that it exposed him to several railleries (a). He served early in the armies, and was tribune of a legion before the death of Domitian. The army of the lower Mœsia chose him (b) to compliment Trajan, adopted by the emperor Nerva, and it was he that brought Trajan the first news of Nerva's death. He regained the favour of this emperor, which he had almost lost by his excessive expences, which had brought him into debt. He married (c), a grand niece (d) of this prince [E], and he had in the empress a great patroness (e). The speech which he made before the senate when he was quaestor (f), was so unpolished, that he was hissed for it: upon which he applied himself hard to the study of the Latin tongue, and became very well skilled in it, and very eloquent. He attended Trajan in the expedition against the Daci (g); and to make his court effectually to him, he drank stoutly, and was nobly rewarded for it. He had been tribune of the people (h), before he went with Trajan to the second Dacian war. He did some noble actions there, and received a present, which gave him some hopes of succeeding to the empire (i). He was made prætor some time after, and afterwards commanded

(a) Imbutusque
Impensus Græciæ
studia, ingenio
eius sic ad ea
declinante ut à
nonnullis Græ-
culus diceretur.
--- He was
very well ac-
quainted with the
Greek learning,
his genius inclin-
ing that way to
such a degree,
that he was by
some nick-named
Græculus.
Spartian, in ejus
Vita.

(b) In 97.

(c) In the year
100.

(d) SABINA.
See her article.

(e) See the ar-
ticle PLOTINA.

(f) In the year
101.

(g) In 101, or
102.

(h) In 105.

(i) Adamante
gemma quam
Trajanus à Nerva
accepit, donavit
ad spem successio-
nis erectus est.
--- Having got a
present of a dia-
mond, which
Trajan had re-
ceived from Ner-
va, he conceived
hopes succeeding
to the empire.
Spartian. ubi
supra.

[A] In Moreri this article is not very full of faults. It is one of the best. I have however observed, without entering into a general discussion, ten or twelve things which I think cannot be proved. I. That there was in Italy, a city called Italica. II. That Hadrian rebuilt Adria. III. That upon his return from England, he heard in Languedoc of Plotina's death. IV. That he built a temple at Nîmes to her. V. That Quadratus and Arifides were assisted by Severus, one of the emperor's lieutenants, when they presented books in favour of the Christian religion. VI. That Jerusalem and Ælia were two different cities in Judæa. VII. That Plutarch was Hadrian's tutor. VIII. That Hadrian recalled Epictetus, Numenius, and other learned men to Rome. IX. That he sent others to Alexandria, to teach the sciences there, before he went himself to that city. X. That he understood the mathematics, and wrote tracts of them. XI. That he died the twelfth of July, in the year 138, having reigned twenty years, ten months, and twenty nine days. XII. That Phavorinus was his secretary. We see, in my article, that Hadrian, died the tenth of July, and began his reign on the eleventh of August. If he had died the twelfth of July, it must have been said, that he reigned twenty years, eleven months, and one day. Let it be observed, that I will not deny that he received a letter from Serenus Granius, proconsul of Asia, exhorting him to equity towards the Christians, and that he studied geometry. Spartian says it expressly (1), and Mr Moreri has done well to say so too; but besides this, he makes mention of mathematics. They that deceived him, did not know, that *matheſis*, in Spartian, signifies only *astrology*. 'Matheſis sic ſciſeſibi viſus eſt, ut ſero Calendis Januariis ſcripſerit quid ei toto anno poſſet evenire. --- He imagined that he underſtood astrology ſo well, that in the evening of the fiſt of January, he wrote down whatever ſhould befall him, thro' the whole year.' I paſs over what Mr Moreri ſays, concerning Hadrian's memory; he exaggerates the matter. He ſays, he, ſo happy a memory, that he knew the names of places and rivers where he had paſſed, and even of all the ſoldiers of his armies. This idea exceeds what Aurelius Viſtor gives us in theſe words: 'Memor ſupra quam cuiquam credibile eſt, locos, negotia, milites abſentes quoque nominibus recenſere. --- He had an incredible memory; and could name particularly places, affairs; and even the abſent ſoldiers.' Spartian is ſtill more particular but yet falls ſhort of Moreri. 'Nominina plurimis ſine nomenclatore reddidit quæ ſemel & congeſta ſimul audierat, ut nomenclatores ſæpius errantes emendaverit. Dixit & veteranorum nomina quos aliquando dimiſerat: libros ſtatim lectos & ignotos quidem plurimis memoriter reddidit: uno tempore ſcriptis, dictavit, audit, & cum amicis fabulatus eſt (2). --- He called many by their names, without the aſſiſtance of the roll, tho' he had only heard them once named; and without any order, ſo that he frequently corrected the miſtakes of the men who read the names. He could like-

(1) This ought to
be underſtood only
of the ſtudy of
geometry.

(2) Spart. in
Hadrian.

wiſe repeat the names of the veterans, whom he had at any time diſmiſſed. He recited books which had been juſt before read to him, and even ſuch as he was a ſtranger to, before a great many people: he all at once wrote, dictated, heard, and converſed with his friends.'

[B] Hadrian was born at Rome January 24, 76. What makes me believe that Eutropius is miſtaken in ſaying, that Hadrian was born at Italica, is the account Spartian gives us of this emperor's family. He obſerves, that Hadrian's anceſtors, originally of Adria in Italy, ſettled at Italica in Spain, in the time of the Scipio's &c. He cites Hadrian himſelf, who had thus written in the hiſtory of his life. Doubtleſs Spartian had read in the ſame book, what he adds at the ſame time, that Hadrian was born at Rome IX. Kal. Feb. in the ſeventh conſulſhip of Veſpaſian, and the fifth of Titus.

[C] Lost his father ten years after.] His name was Ælius Hadrianus Afer. It is conjectured, that the government of Africa gave him the ſurname of Afer, and that he ought not to be diſtinguiſhed from the preſident Hadrianus, in Veſpaſian's reign, who put to death the holy martyr Leontius, at Tripoli. The acts of this martyrdom, inſerted in Metaphraſtus's collection, ſay, that the preſident Hadrianus, who in perſon judged Leontius, was a ſenator. Now Suidas obſerves, that the emperor Hadrian's father was a ſenator, and that he had been prætor. Theſe grounds of Mr Triſtan's conjecture, are reaſonable enough. (3) I do not know why Caſaubon (4) has found fault with theſe words of Xiphilin; *ἢν δὲ Ἀδριανὸς γένος μὲν Ἀδριανῶν Ἀππελῶν;* for after all the ſtir that is made, it muſt be owned, that theſe words may ſignify, that Hadrian was the ſon of Hadrian Afer. This is doubtleſs their true and natural ſignification, as Salmaſius (5) declares. So that one would be much to blame to cenſure Xiphilin for corrupting Hadrian's geneſalogy, in his abridgment of Dion, and making an African family of a Spaniſh. It is true, Cedrenus, miſtaking Xiphilin's meaning, fell into a groſs error, in ſaying, that the emperor Hadrian was of African extraction. Let us not forget, that Domitia Paulina, Hadrian's mother, was born at Cadiz (6).

[D] Trajan, his relation.] Hadrian's father, was Spartian. In Vita Trajani. (7) Eum Trajanus quæſum conſideravit filium vixit noluerat adoptare. --- Trajan would not adopt him in his life-time, though he was ſon to his couſin-german.

[E] He married a grand niece of this prince.] I ſhall ſay ſomewhere elſe, who ſhe was, and how ſhe ſucceeded in her marriage. It ſuffices to ſay here, that they who affirm (8), that Hadrian was married to Trajan's daughter, are miſtaken. It does not appear that Trajan had any children, or that Hadrian had any wife beſides Sabina, daughter of a niece of Trajan. The author of the chronicle of Alexandria, has given us a pleaſant chimera, viz. that the emperor Hadrian married the daughter of that Aquila, who made a verſion of the Bible.

(6) Cadix ora-
di Spartian. In Vita
Trajani.

(7) Eum Trajanus
quæſum conſideravit
filium vixit noluerat
adoptare. ---

(8) Conſtantinus
Manſuetus, Gyl-
las, J. Tæſtes,
cited by Triſtan,
ubi ſupra, p. 454.

(k) In 105.
(l) Ex Spartiano
in Hadriano.
(m) Remark [G].
(n) He after-
wards accepted
of this title. See
Tillemont, note I,
upon the History of
Adrian.
(o) Spart. ubi
supra.
(p) Id. ibid.
Dion. lib. lxxix.

(16) Augustin.
de Civit. Dei,
lib. iv, cap. xxix

ix. 'fear of Hadrian, king of men, than of Jupiter.

ing, in which perhaps it was perfected, and in medals
representing Hadrian with a torch in his hand, set-
ting fire to the obligations he had remitted.' I copy

18, (21) History of
t- of the Emperor
by Tom. II, pag.
108, 109. B.

in the empire which he did not honour with his presence. And as he was magnificent, and desired a personal knowledge of every thing, he every where left some marks of his liberality, and exactness in examining the conduct of the governors. It is supposed he began his travels in the year 120. He visited Gaul, Germany, and Britain, where he built a wall to hinder the Islanders, under his obedience, from being ravaged by those who had shaken off the Roman government. He returned into Gaul in the year 121, from whence he went to Spain; it is thought it was at that time, he went to Mauritania. His first journey to the east was pretty long; for he did not return to Greece till the year 125. He passed the winter at Athens, and was initiated in the mysteries of Ceres. He was at Rome in the beginning of the year 129 (9); and it is believed he went into Africa the same year, and that, after his return to Rome, he set out again for the east in the year 130. Having passed through Asia, where many kings came to compliment him, he went into Egypt in the year 132. He spent the winter at Athens in 135, and the spring following came back to Rome. He adopted Lucius Aurelius Annian Ceionius Commodus Verus, who, though he had names enough already, took besides, that of Ælius. After this adoption, Hadrian retired to Tiber, where he built sumptuous edifices [I], and gave himself up to effeminacy, and then to cruelty; for he put many people to death, either by open violence, or clandestine ways, and spared not his own brother-in-law Servianus, though ninety years of age. Lucius Verus dying the first of January 138, Hadrian adopted Titus Antoninus, and charged him to adopt Marcus Annian Verus, and the son of Lucius Verus. This emperor's dropsy oppressed and vexed him to that degree, that he grew as it were raging mad [K]. All imaginable remedies were employed to cure him. The relief which the magical art gave him, lasted not long (r). Abundance of physicians were sent for, and, some say, he attributed his death to them [L]. To deliver him from his despair, it was pretended

to

(9) Digestor, v. tit. 3. l. 20, pag. 174, apud Tillamont's History of Adrian.

(r) Xiphilin, in Hadrian.

sayings, said he never saw a finer fire in his life. Agellus, one of the Lacedæmonian Ephori, made use of this thought on a like occasion. *Kai τὰ παρὰ τὸν Χρυσῶν γαμματεῖα συνεισενέγκαντες εἰς ἀγορὰν, ἃ κλάρια καλεῖται, καὶ πάντα συνδύντες εἰς ἐν, ἐνέπρησαν. ἀρδεῖσας δὲ φλογός, οἱ μὲν πλάσιοι καὶ δαυρικοί, περιπατῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν, ὃ δὲ Ἀγελῆλαος, ὡς περ ἐρυβρίζων, ἐκ ἐρη λαμπρὸτερον ἐπακένει οὗς ἡδὲ πῦρ ἐκείνη καδάρωτερον. Ita congestas in forum debitorum syngraphas, quas claria appellat, omnes coacervatas concremaverunt. Sublata flamma pecuniosi & sceneratores, qui ibi deambulabant, digressi sunt. At Agellus, quasi illudens illis, negavit clarius se lumen vel ignem lucidiorum vidisse (22). — And having heaped together the creditors' bonds, called Claria, in the market place, they set them all on fire. At the sight of the flames, the rich and the usurers, who were walking there, went away. But Agellus laughing at them, said, he had never seen a more shining light, or a brighter fire. [I] After the adoption of Lucius Verus, he retired to Tiber, where he built sumptuous edifices.] Aurelius Victor (23) gives a lively description of the effeminate life this emperor led in his retreat, whilst Lucius Ælius Cæsar governed at Rome; but he makes a gross blunder in Chronology. He says, that Hadrian at this time plunged himself into the infamous amours of Antinous; which is not to know, that Antinous's death preceded the adoption of Ælius Verus. As for his buildings, these are his words (24): 'Rus proprium Tiberi cessit, permixta urbe Lucio Ælio Cæsari, ipse uti beatis locupletibus mos, palatia exstruere, curare epulas, signa, tabulas pictas. — He retired to his villa at Tiber; having left the city to the government of Lucius Ælius Cæsar: whilst he, after the manner of the rich, built palaces, gave grand entertainments; and collected statues and pictures.' Add to this a passage of Spartian (25): 'Tiburtinam villam mirè exadificavit, ita ut in ea & provinciarum & locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet: velut Lyceum, Academicum, Prytaneum, Canopum, Pæcilem, Tempe vocaret. Et ut nihil prætermitteret, etiam inferos finxit. — He built his villa at Tiber in an admirable manner: and gave the names of the provinces, and most celebrated places, to different parts of it, as the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, Canopus, Pæcile, Tempe. And that he might omit nothing, he had a place representing the infernal regions.'*

(22) Plut. in Agellus, pag. 80. B. See the remark [F] of the article CHARLES the fifth.

(23) Aurel. Victor. in Cæsari, pag. m. 129.

(24) Id. ibid.

(25) Spartian, in Adriano, cap. xxvi, pag. m. 215.

He had this advice from an oracle. 'Et Orestiam quidem urbem Hadrianus suo nomini vindicari jussit eo tempore quo furore cœperit laborare, ut ex responso quum ei dictum esset ut in furiosi alieni domum vel nomen irreperet. Nam ex eo emolitam insaniam serunt, per quam multos Senatores occidi jussit, quibus servatis Antoninus Pii nomen meruit, quod eos post ad senatum adduxit, quos omnes jussu principis interfectos credebant (26). — Hadrian likewise ordered the city of Orestia to be called by his name, when he began to be seized with madness, in obedience to the oracle, which advised him to take privately the house or name of some mad-man. It is reported, that by this means his madness abated, during the continuance of which he had commanded many senators to be put to death, and by saving them, Antoninus obtained the name of P I U S; having brought them into the senate, when everybody believed that they were put to death by the emperor's order.' The Sieur Tristram (27) fell into two gross mistakes in this passage. He makes Lampridius say, that Hadrian recovered of his phrensy, after he had visited the town of Orestia, and that this happened at the beginning of Hadrian's reign. It was easy to perceive, that Lampridius speaks not of a voyage of this emperor, and that what he says, must relate to the time when Antoninus was already adopted; which was but a few months before this prince's death.

(26) Lamprid. in vita Heliogab. pag. m. 309.

(27) Comment. Hicet, pag. 453.

[L] Some say that he attributed his death to the great number of his physicians. Xiphilin relates (28) that Hadrian died with these words in his mouth, the multitude of physicians have killed the king, πολλοὶ ἱατροὶ βασιλῆα ἀπέκταν. He adds, that these words were a kind of proverb. Pliny assures us, that there was an epitaph, which contained a proposition like to this (29): *Hinc illa infelicis mentis inscriptio TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERISSE*. I wonder that St Epiphanius has not touched upon this circumstance of Hadrian's last moments, in the passage where he says, that he sent for all the physicians of his empire, and laughed at them, after he had found the vanity of their prescriptions, and even wrote a satirical letter against their art and profession. Οἱ δὲ πολλὰ κικιμήκτες καὶ μὲν ἀνύσαντες ἐκώφεον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἀνείδεικτον γράψαι κατ' αὐτῶν τὴν τήχην αὐτῶν αἰτιωμένων ὡς μὲν εἰδύσαν τὴν περικείμενην αὐτῷ νόσον ἐνεκα. Cum omnem operam sine ullo fructu posuissent, ab imperatore risu ac ludibrio habiti sunt, usque adeo ut mordaci in illos epistola professionem ipsam artemque damnaret, ut quæ nihil de ægritudine sua extricare potuisset (30). If this ancient father was no better informed about the fact itself, than the circumstance of time, his authority is of no weight, for he says, that after he had written this

(28) In Epit. Dion. vita Adrian.

(29) Pliny, lib. xxix, cap. i, pag. m. 66. Further Hordain says upon this, Senar us est, ut potent Menodri Comici. καλὸν ἱατρὸν εἰδένος ἢ ἀπώλεον.

(30) Epiphanius, de Pondus, & Meni, cap. xiv, pag. 170.

father,

(s) Xiphilin.
ibid. Spartian. in
Hadriano.

(c) Spart. *ibid.*

(u) See the remark [P] at the end.

(x) See the remark [A],
towards the end.

vious,

(31) Xiphilin.
in Epist. Dion.
Vit. Adrian.

(32) Gaspar à
Reies quest. 24,
n. 4, *alledges*
Totus for this
fest. A great
blunder.

(33) Xiphil. in
Adriano, pag. m
265.

(34) Xiphilin.
ibid.

(35) Compare with
this Nero's com-
plaints in Sueton.
cap. xlviii, & seq.

(36) Xiphilin
ibid.

(37) Conditio-
nem principum
miserrimam
habebat quibus de
conjuratone
comperta non
crederetur nisi
occis. *Sueton.*
in Domit. cap.
xxi.

(38) Marcus Aurelius ad Verum apud Vulcat. Gallicanum in vita Avidii Cassii.

(39) *In the Cata-
lecta Virgilii &
aliorum, & in
Scartian.*

(40) Comment.
in Spartian.
Adrian. pag. 180

(41) He was
called Borysthe-
nes.

(42) Dio, in eju
vita.

(43) De suis di-
lectis multa ver-
sibus composuit.
Spart. pag. 145
Apuleius Apol-

(44) Xiphilin. i
Adrian.

(45) Joca ejus
plurima extant.
nam fuit etiam
dicaculus.
Spart. pag. 18

(46) Photius speaks of them, *pag.* 276.

(47) Consider his dispute with Favorinus, in *Span* 150.

(48) Lib. xv
cap xxi.

(y) See the article ANTI-NOUS.

(z) See Tillmont, History of Hadrian.

(aa) Rem. [K].

(bb) Dion. pag. 799. Spart. sub fin. Eutropius, lib. viii.

(cc) Spart. ibid. Vide etiam Capitolinum in Antonino, pag. 249.

(dd) Spartian, pag. m. 126.

vious, unchaste, superstitious, and addicted to magic. What more abominable than his passion for Antinous (y). I omit his excessive curiosity [P]. He published no edict against the Christians; 'tis however believed, that his excessive superstition occasioned their being persecuted. He had regard to the apologies which Quadratus and Aristides presented to him on their behalf. The Jews having again taken arms in his reign, defended themselves for three years against the forces he sent into their country: after which they were worsted, and treated with the utmost severity (z). They tell a ridiculous story, about a question they pretend was put by this emperor to a rabbi on the article of the resurrection. I speak of it in the article BARCHOCHEBAS (aa), as also the things done then in Judæa. Many particular facts which serve to acquaint us with Hadrian's character, his jealousy against those that excelled in arts, &c. will be found in several places of this Dictionary as we have occasion to speak of the persons concerned in these facts. The alphabetical index will point out the particulars. The senate only granted the continuance of Hadrian's acts, to the tears and intreaties of Antoninus (bb); for they had resolved to repeal them. But when once this resolution was evaded, Antoninus obtained whatever he had a mind to, viz. the *Apoltheosis* of Hadrian. He built a temple to him at Puzzolo, and established there some games with some societies of priests, and other things belonging to the deification (cc). Hadrian had not waited till that time to taste divine honours, having himself seized on the celestial crown. He consecrated to himself an altar in Athens in the temple of Jupiter Olympius: And as he passed through many cities of Asia, he multiplied the temples he built to himself (dd). There is no probability, that he designed them for JESUS CHRIST; and no body knows whence Lampridius took what he says upon that head [Q]. It does not appear that

the more liberty to commend himself. Phlegon, one of his freed men, a learned man, put his name to his master's work (49). Hadrian composed some books in imitation of Antimachus, a Greek poet, of whom he was a great admirer (50). These books were very obscure. Spartian had preserved the title of them; but it is a question whether the manuscripts retained it right. So that this very title is a riddle, and a rack to the critics. Salmastius turns himself a hundred ways, in order to draw his conclusion; and after he has fixed the reading that he thinks the only good one, he is as much at a loss as before. 'Solam eam esse veram (lectionem) mihi persuadeo; quomodo tamen explicanda sit juxta cum ignarissimis scio' (51). — I am persuaded, that this is the only true reading, but am quite ignorant how it is to be explained. If this work of Hadrian had been handed down to us, it might have well been said to the author when he was writing it: You are going,

(49) Spart. pag. 150.

(50) Catechismos libros obscurissimos Antimachum imitando scripsit. Id. pag. 152.

(51) Salmast. in Spart. Adrian. pag. m. 152.

To make racks for future Salmastius's;

The very title will make them submit and give up their arms. It is not well determined, whether Hadrian wrote concerning the military art. It is certain he made some fine regulations (52), and established an excellent discipline among his troops. Vegetius owns that he made use of Hadrian's regulations; but as he acknowledges the same thing with respect to those of Trajan and Augustus, which yet affords no grounds to pretend that these two emperors wrote books upon this subject, it is plain that Gesner had no reason to say, on the authority of this passage of Vegetius, that Hadrian wrote concerning the military art (53). Some will have (54) him to have written on Tactics, and that Urbicius's work upon this subject is Hadrian's, excepting Urbicius's additions. Rigaltius has published a fragment of it.

[P] I omit . . . his excessive curiosity. I might give it this name, tho' he had not desired to penetrate into futurity, so much as he did either by astrology or magic. There are other reasons enough to make him be thought of too inquisitive a spirit. He is called by Tertullian (55), *curiositatum omnium explorator* — An enquirer after all sorts of curiosities; and by Ammianus Marcellinus, *futurorum sciscitationi nimis deditus* — too much addicted to enquiries about futurities. I shall not examine whether it became a prince to be so fond of beholding upon the place, whatever he met with in books concerning the several countries of the world. Peregrinations ita cupidus ut omnia quæ legerat de locis orbis terrarum, præsens vellet addicere (56). The voyages he undertook to satisfy himself in this point, were not useless to the provinces; therefore let us not cavil with him on this account. Let us suffer him to ascend Mount Aetna to see whether the rising sun has

(52) Dion says they had still the force of a law. See Valerian's letter, apud Vopiscum in Probo. Causab. Com. in Spart. pag. 83.

(53) It is Vossius, de Histor. Gr. pag. 215, who criticises this fault of Gesner.

(54) Salmastius, in Spartian. pag. 83.

(55) In Apologet. cap. v.

(56) Spartianus, pag. m. 163.

the same colours as the rainbow (57), and to get upon Mount Cassius to see the same luminary rise (58): but who can pardon him for employing an infinite number of spies, to inform him of all the secrets of families: what a woman wrote to her husband, what an husband said to his wife. *Erat curis non solum domus suæ, sed etiam amicorum, ita ut per frumentarios oculos omnia exploraret, nec advertent amici sciri ab Imperatore suam vitam priusquam ipse hoc Imperator offenderet* (59). It is not to be doubted but that the intelligence the spies gave him facilitated his enterprizes of galantry; for he gave no better quarter to his friends in these matters, than to indifferent people. It is thus I could willingly understand the words of Spartian (60). *Et hoc quidem vitiosissimum putant* (he speaks of his spying) *atque hinc adiungunt quæ de adulterum amore ac nuptiarum adulterii, quibus Adriani quidem servaverit fidem.* Sovereigns have so many other ways to make themselves formidable, that they ought to leave this to parasites,

(57) Aetnam montem conscendit, ut solis ortum videret arcus specie, ut dicitur, varium. Id. pag. 124. That is to say, according to Mr de Tillmont, pag. m. 473, to see, say they, the sun rise in form of a bow. He should have said of a rainbow.

(58) Id. Spart. pag. 152.

(59) Idem. pag. 102.

(60) Pag. 109.

Scire volunt secreta domus, atque inde timeri (61).

(61) Juvenal. Sat. III, ver. 113.

and yet you see some in all ages, who spare nothing to be exactly informed of all that is said in houses. Hadrian's curiosity was doubtless the cause, that almost all his greatest friends, and they whom he had raised to the greatest dignities, incurred his enmity. He greedily swallowed all reports brought him concerning his friends, *Facile de amicis quidquid insurrebatur audiebat* (62). For the rest, since I have considered him in this remark, as a curious traveller, I will finish it, by saying, that he marched on foot as a common soldier (63), and that he never covered his head in any weather (64). He suffered by it at last (65).

[Q] It is not at all probable, that he designed the temples, which he built, for JESUS CHRIST; and no body knows whence Lampridius took what he says on that head. However let us see what Lampridius says (66): 'Christo templum facere voluit (Alexander Severus) eumque inter Deos recipere, quod & Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris iusserat fieri, qui hodie idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur, sed prohibitus est ab iis qui consulentes sacra repperant omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, & templa reliqua defendera. — Alexander Severus resolved to build a temple to CHRIST, and to receive him into the number of the gods. Hadrian is reported to have intended to do the same, and ordered temples without images to be built in every city, which because they are not dedicated to any particular deity, are called Hadrian's. These he is said to have designed for that purpose, but was hindered by some, who having consulted

(62) Spart. pag. 146.

(63) Idem pag. 84. Aur. Victus. Epit. lib. v.

(64) Spart. pag. 163, 200.

(65) Idem. pag. 201.

(66) Lamprid. in Alexand. Severo, pag. m. 993.

that any other, besides himself, had any knowledge of his author.

* the oracles, found, that if he should do so, all the world would turn Christians, and the other temples be deserted.' Cafaubon, without doubt, is not to be blamed, for rejecting this as a fable. What I think probable here is this fear of the Heathens, that their temples should be deserted, if Christianity was publicly tolerated. This does more honour to the Christian faith, than the alarms that have appeared in the writings of a refugee minister (67), who, opposing the toleration of religions, has said, amongst other things, put a Ma-

bometan, a Socinian, a Papist, and a Calvinist preacher, in the same town, and let not the magistrate intervene by his authority, nor GOD by his spirit and his miracles, and you will see quickly the truth intirely oppressed. Here you see people who are afraid they should preach to walls and benches, vox clamantis in deserto, unless there be no body besides themselves in a town. I do not wonder then they are such enemies to a toleration (68).

(67) Tableau du Socinianisme, pag. 519, printed in 1790.

(68) Compare with this, what is said in the remark (E) of the article L. V. BIENIETZKI.

H A D R I A N, cardinal, priest of the title of St Chryfogonus (a), was a native of Cornetto, in Tuscany [A]. He was nuncio to Innocent VIII, in Scotland [B], and then in France: and after he had been clerk and treasurer to the apostolic chamber, he was honoured with a cardinal's cap by Pope Alexander VI (b), whose secretary he had been (c). This cardinal's life was a scene of odd changes, the end whereof was far from being honourable. He narrowly escaped on the day in which Alexander VI poisoned himself by a mistake [C]. Afterwards he so incurred the enmity of Julius II, that he was forced to hide himself in the mountains of Trent, fulminated with the severe decrees of this Pontiff (d). Being recalled by Leo X, he had so little gratitude for this favour, that he engaged in a conspiracy against him [D]. This Pope forgave him this fault; and granted letters of pardon for him (e); but the cardinal did not trust to them [E]; or had not the power to withstand the remorse of conscience, which the presence of the objects might render more importunate: he made his escape by night, and it was never certainly known what became of him [F]. He was one of the first that attempted the reformation of the Latin tongue

(a) Pier. Valerian. de Liter. Infelicit.

(b) Oldoin. Athen. Roman. pag. 303.

(c) Pier. Valer. ib. d.

(d) Acerbissimis percosus editis annos aliquot in Germanicis Rhætram Alpibus obscura & fœdida peregrinatione decessit. P. Valerianus, ubi supra.

(e) Id. ibid.

[A] In Tuscany. I speak this with respect to the ancient division of Italy, for at present Cornetto is in the country called St Peter's Patrimony.

[B] He was nuncio in Scotland. I do not find he was nuncio in England, yet notwithstanding it is true that he gained the affection of king Henry VII, who made him bishop of Hereford, and of Bath and Wells (1).

[C] He escaped narrowly the day when Alexander VI poisoned himself by a mistake. There is something very singular in this adventure. It is thus related by one of our historians (2). Alexander the sixth's bastard longing for cardinal Hadrian Cornet's spoils (3), had agreed with the Pope to go and sup with the cardinal at his villa, and had ordered thither some bottles of excellent wine, but which he had prepared with a mixture to poison their host. Now it happened, that the father and son coming betimes, and being very thirsty, by reason of the heat of the season, asked for some wine, and whilst the servant, who knew the secret, was out of the way, another gave them some of this. The father, who drank it pure, died the same day, which was the seventeenth of August 1503. The son, who was more vigorous, and had diluted it with water, had time to have recourse to antidotes, and having caused himself to be wrapt up in a mule's belly, he escaped; but it left him so weak, that he was not able to act when he had the utmost occasion for it. Hadrian had not been promoted to the cardinalship above two or three months. Guicciardin deserves to be read concerning the death of this Pope (4).

[D] He engaged in a conspiracy against Leo X. Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci was the head of it; they aimed at Leo the tenth's life. Some (5) say, that our Hadrian engaged in it with the hopes of being Pope, and that these hopes were grounded upon some prediction, which promised the Papacy to one Hadrian of mean birth, but illustrious by his learning. As all this agreed to Hadrian de Cornetto, he applied it to himself, and thereby lost all his honour, and the repose of his life. We may venture to say, that there are no greater pests to mankind, than those pretenders to predictions; for they find but too many ignorant and turbulent spirits, whom they engage in fatal enterprises. A well governed state ought not to suffer such people, which way soever they boast to have consulted heaven, whether by the stars, or by the apocalypse. Most of them are impostors, who have no other aim, than the disturbing the public peace. He who deceived cardinal de Cornetto, was a magician in the Apennine mountains, as Mr Varillas says, who tells this story at large. See the 276th page of his Secret History of Florence. But Paul Jovius says, it was a sorcerer's. Certam spem adipiscendi Pontificatus conceperunt ex oraculo

fatidicæ mulieris. Thus he speaks about the beginning of the fourth book of the history of Leo X.

[E] Leo X granted letters of pardon for him; but he did not trust to them. Mr Varillas observes, that two things made cardinal Hadrian dissident; one was, that cardinal Soderini and he were fined ten thousand crowns a-piece, though they had prostrated themselves at the Pope's feet, and the Pope had declared, in a full consistory, that he would pardon the cardinals, who were accomplices in the conspiracy, if they confessed their crime immediately, and asked his pardon before their brethren. The other, was the marks of indignation, which, in spite of his endeavours, appeared in Leo's countenance. See the 283d, and 284th pages of the Secret History of Florence.

[F] It was never certainly known what became of him. It is worth while to hear Pierius Valerianus upon it, who places our cardinal at the head almost of his catalogue of unfortunate learned men. *Nesci clam fugam arripuit, neque quid abierit, neque ubi sit quatuordecim jam annorum spatium quispiam potuit explorare.* He adds, that it was thought his servant killed him, for the sake of the pistoles the cardinal had sewed up in his waistcoat. *Conflans tamen opinio est eum in furo in interiorum toratem auro oneratum comitis famuli perfidia oppressum, atque surrepto cadaver in solitum aliquem locum abjectum occultari.* Father Oldoini observes, that he was divested of the purple and his benefices; that he fled into Turkey, and died clandestinely, on what day or year no man knows (6). This agrees with Leander Albertus, in his description of Italy, *Nostra insuper ætate, says he, magna illustrandæ patriæ principia jecerat Adrianus Cardinalis ex hac urbe (Cornetto) cum literarum studio, tum cæremoniarum, sed qui metu Leonis X. Pontif. Max. clam Roma profectus, exinde nunquam apparuit.* The author of the Secret History of Florence says (7), that cardinal Hadrian went from Rome in the disguise of a reaper; that he travelled only by night till he came into his country, where he spent the rest of his days in changing hiding-places; so fully persuaded was he of the magician's prediction.

Here are two things borrowed from Paul Jovius (8); the rest is perhaps the author's invention. Guicciardin is still more general than Paul Jovius. *Adriano partitè occultamente, quello che s'avenisse di lui, non fu mai più, che si seppe, nè trovato nè veduto in luogo alcuno* (9). He says this under the year 1517, whence we may conclude, that Pierius Valerianus's dialogues, de *Infelicitate Literatorum*, were composed in 1531. Mores has placed our Hadrian's flight in the year 1518. Why did he not follow Guicciardin's chronology? He sends this fugitive to Venice and Riva, in the diocese of Trent. I fear he confounds the exile under Julius II with that under Leo X.

(5) Sub Leone contumax spoliatus est purpura & sacerdotiis, quare necis metu perterritus in Thraciam fugit, ibique obscurus & latens diem clausit extremum incertum quo mense vel anno. Oldoin. ubi supra.

(7) Pag. 284.

(8) Hadrianus, trepido suspicel- que ingenio vir, Leonis clementie fidens, ab urbe messoris habita profectus, usque ad vitæ exitum nullo persequente latibus peravit. Jovius, lib. iv, Vita Leon. X.

(9) Guicci. lib. xiii, fol. m 384, verso.

(1) Episcopus Eridonensis, Barthonienis & Vuelensis, says Father Oldoin, inserted in his orthography, Athen. Roman. pag. 303.

(2) Mezerai, Abr. Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. m. 434.

(3) It is he who is the subject of this article, that was his name, or rather de Cornetto, from his country.

(4) Lib. vi, pag. m. 161.

(5) See Mores, in the article Castelli. Thus he calls our cardinal. Under the word Adrian de Cornetto he refers to Castelli. He had better have said there. Oldoin says Hadrianus Castellensis.

in a right manner. He studied Cicero with excellent success, and made abundance of admirable discoveries concerning the purity of this language. The treatise he wrote *de Sermone Latino*, while he absconded in the Alps, is a proof of it. Whilst he was labouring upon this he laid aside a very considerable work, which was a Latin translation of the Old Testament [G]. Some reckon it amongst the works he composed (f). It is pretended also, that his tract *de Poëtis* is still extant. As to his treatise *de Vera Philosophia*, there is no doubt it was printed at Cologne in 1548. He wrote in verse [H].

(f) Oldoin.
Athen. Rom.
pag. 303.

[G] He had undertaken . . . a Latin version of the Old Testament. . . . Erat in animo profectum jam pridem opus sacros veteris instrumenti libros ex Hebraeo ad verbum in Latinum sermonem vertendi: sed cum me procella temporis in Tridentinas rupes, quod judæi ob Simonis cædem ne aspirare quidem audent, detrulerit, atque animus iniquis nihil agere non posset, hæc sum adgressus (10). — I intended to go on with the design I had formed to translate word for word, from Hebrew to Latin, the books of the Old Testament, but a storm having thrown me on the moun-

tains of Trent, as I could not bear idleness, I undertook this treatise *De Sermo Latino*.

[H] He wrote in verse. We have his little poem *de Venatione*, and that intitled *Iter Julii II Pontificis Romani*, besides the verses in praise of the holy Virgin and the description of the palace he built near the Vatican, which is at present possessed by the family Colonna. It is called the English palace, because cardinal Hadrian bequeathed it to the king of England (11).

(11) See Oldoin.
Athen. Rom.
pag. 303.

(10) Hadrian. in
Præf. ad Coro-
rum Principem
Hispaniæ, de
Serm. Latino.

(11) Valer. Andr.
Biblioth. Belg.
pag. 19.

HADRIAN VI was born at Utrecht, in the year 1459 (a) [A]. The genius which was discovered in him in his childhood, obliged his father [B] to design him for learning, though he had not wherewithal to maintain him in the schools. But the university of Louvain, supplied this domestic indigence. The young man was admitted in a college, where a certain number of scholars were maintained gratis. We are told, that he used to read by night, by the light of the lamps [C] that were hung up in churches, or the corners of the streets: which was both a sign of his poverty and of his studious temper. He made very great progress in all kinds of sciences, and if he was not a poet [D], nor a polite writer, it was because

[A] He was born at Utrecht. This town, in Latin, is called *Trajectum ad Rhenum*, as Maëricht is called *Trajectum ad Mosam*. Some (1) who only say, that Hadrian was *Trajectensis*, have caused others (2) to make him a native of Maëricht. So true it is, that the least inaccuracy occasions some author to stumble. Probably Father Labbe perceived Bellarmin's negligence; for in his commentary upon this Jesuit's ecclesiastical writers, he does not use the word *Trajectensis*, but *Utrechtensis*. It is so certain, that *Trajectum* alone rather signifies, Maëricht than Utrecht, that Mr de Marolles is not excusable for taking (3) *Trajectensem urbem* for Utrecht, in the second book of Gregorius Turonensis. The subject was concerning the retreat of St Servatius, bishop of Tongres, and that was another reason for his not mistaking Maëricht. I doubt not but the learned Onuphrius Panvinus has taken *Trajectensis* here, for a man born at Maëricht. *Adrianus VI*, says he (4), *Trajectensis, Flander vel Brabantinus*. An error a thousand times more pardonable than that of a German writer, who says (5), *Adrianus VI. patria Dertbuisiensis Germanus*. Some make him born in Italy (6): *Ut plane ridiculi sunt qui in suis ad Alphonsi Ciacconii historiam additionibus natales Adriani majorese Italie vindicant*. Jerome Niger, an Italian author, said of this Pope, *he speaks Latin always well enough for a Spaniard* (7).

[B] His father. His name was Florent Boyens, and he got his living by barge making, *Nauegus* (8). Others make him a weaver, and others a brewer. I think the first opinion is the rightest, since Valerius Andreas, who has made a great many enquiries concerning Pope Hadrian VI, says not a word of the other trades ascribed to his father. As for the son, he was called *Hadrianus Florentius*, that is, *Hadrian, son of Florent*: It was the custom of the country, and still remains amongst the vulgar.

[C] We are told that he used to read by night, by the light of the lamps. This I have from Gabriel Naudé: 'Non secus omnino, says he (9), ac olim fecere maximi illi viri, Euclides dum noctu Megaris Athenas proficereetur ad audiendum Socratem. . . . Adrianusque præterea ejus nominis Pontifex sextus, & Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus, quos inter luctandum cum studiis & angustioris vitæ miseris, sæpe videre fuit ad elychnios noctu in templis aut compitis collucentes legendi desiderio accessisse. — In the same manner as these great men in ancient times did, Euclid while he travelled by night from Megara to Athens to hear Socrates . . . Pope Hadrian VI, and Augustinus Steuchus of Eugubio, who while they strug-

gled with their studies, and the miseries of a narrow fortune, were frequently seen reading by the light of the lamps, in the churches or in the streets.'

[D] And if he was not a poet. One of the things that made him derided by the Italians, was his slighting of poetry, and delicacy of stile, two things by which a great many under Leo X had made their fortunes, and upon which they had valued themselves most in that country, for fifty or sixty years. Hadrian had his reasons for it, for the poets had produced the same ill effects, which they afterwards produced in France (10). 'Quod unum ei viri elegantes desuisse prædicant, eloquentiæ cultioris flores, & poetarum amoenitates conternere erat solitus, sive quod putaret eas sibi aliquid de gravissimorum studiorum autoritate detrachere, sive quod castis & piis ingeniis poetarum lusus pravos mores importare & religionibus officere arbitraretur' (11). — In this only he was deficient, in the opinion of the admirers of polite learning, that he used to despise the flowers of eloquence, and the charms of poetry: whether because he thought they would lessen the application to his more severe studies, or because he was of opinion, that the licentiousness of poets corrupted the morals of chaste and pious minds, and were detrimental to religion. He was so little disposed to favour them, that one of the reasons of Paul Jovius's experiencing his kindness, was because he had not joined poetry to the study of the liberal arts. 'Jovium omnino eo . . . sacerdotio esse perornandum, quæ audivisset optimis disciplinis liberaliter eruditum, & scriptorem annalium valde elegantem, nec tamen esse poetam, ut cæteri qui cultio res literas sectarentur' (12). — That Jovius should certainly have that benefice, who, as he was informed, was well versed in the most useful learning, and a very elegant annalist, and yet not a poet, as at that time all those were who cultivated polite literature. The Paganism which the poets scattered in their works, contributed not a little to this Pope's coldness for them, for he understood not rallery in this point. He was no complainant man in these matters (13). He turned away his head when he was shewn the statue of Laocoon, and said these were the images of impiety. 'Ornamenta insignis pietatis & statuarum præfæ artis nequaquam magni fecit, adeo ut Vianefio Bononiensium legato commendante statuum Laocoonis, quam in Belvederii viridarii Julius ingenti pretio coemptam ad loci dignitatem collocarat, averfis statim oculis tanquam impie gentis simulacra vituperaret. — He was no admirer either of fine painting, or of antique statues: so that when Vianefius, the ambassador from Bologna, was com-

(10) Thuanus, lib. xxii, ad ann. 1559. See, above, remark [I] of the article G. A. RASSE.

(11) Jovius, in ejus vita, pag. m. 223.

(12) Idem. pag. 277.

(13) Suspecta habebat poetarum ingenia, utpote qui minus sincere animo de Christiana religione sentire & damnata falsissimorum Decorum nomina ad veterum imitationem studio celebrare solebant. Id. ibid.

(1) Bellarmin is one of them, in his book de Script. Ecclæ.

(2) The Jesuit Foresti is one of those in the Mapamondo histori- co.

(3) See his notes upon Gregorius Turon. Tom. I, pag. 75.

(4) In Chronico Rom. Pontif. ad ann. 1522.

(5) In continuatione Chronici Eusebiani, excusa Basilæ anno 1536, ad ann. 1522. See Schoockius de fabula Hameleni, pag. 83.

(6) Valer. Andr. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 19.

(7) See the letters of princes, collected by Russell, fol. m. 91.

(8) Valer. Andr. ibid. pag. 19.

(9) Naudæus, in Pantade Quest. Iatrophilol. pag. m. 91.

because he did not value it. His manners were exemplary; and no man was ever known to intrigue less than he. A living was given him in Holland [E], without his expecting it. The meek reputation of his probity and learning, sued for him with those that raised him (b). He took his doctor's degree at Louvain, the twenty first of June, 1491. A little after he was made canon of St Peter and divinity professor in the same city, and afterwards dean of St Peter, and vice-chancellor of the university. He was removed from this collegiate life, to court, in 1507, in order to be preceptor to the arch-duke Charles, then seven years of age (c). He made no great progress in Latin under him [F]; and it was said, that Chievres, this young prince's governor, was the cause of it (d). There is nothing commonly more disagreeable to children than study; corporeal exercises are much more their delight. It was therefore said, that Chievres, desiring to have the sole possession of his pupil, and all the glory of his progress, cultivated his inclination and his bias, and was indifferent about his improvement by the lessons of the Louvain professor. However, the preceptor had as noble recompences as any man of that employ ever had; for it was Charles the fifth's interest that raised him to the Papacy [G]. Before this he

(b) Paul. Jovius, in vita Hadrian. VI.

(c) Val. Andr. ubi supra, & in fatis Academ. Lovan. pag. 96.

(d) Ferunt Carolus Cerevium - ut integra adolescentis pollicione fueretur, alumnorum militares jocos sapienter offerendo sensim aversisse a literis. Jovius, ubi supra.

was.

* mending the statue of Laocoon, which Pope Julius had bought at an immense price, and set up in the gardens of the Belvidere. He turned away his eyes, to show his contempt of the images of that idolatrous people. Paul Jovius (14) informs us of this particular. Judge whether the lovers of the fine arts, whether the Italians, who admired this masterpiece of sculpture, could have an esteem for such a Pope. The poets made him sensible, that it was not said without reason, *Genus irritabile vatum*. — Poets a touchy race. Here is an epigram that Sannazarius regaled him with.

(14) Ubi supra, pag. 25.

Classe, virisque potens, domitoque Oriente superbus,
Barbarus in Latias dux quatit arma domos:
In Vaticano noster latet; hunc tamen alto,
Christe, vides cælo, (proh dolor) & pateris.

While the proud Turk, swell'd with the spoils of Asia,
Threatens the Latian coast with dire alarms,
Our Pontiff lurks inglorious in the Vatican.
Thou, thou, O Jesus, seest from heaven's high arc,
And yet thy thunder sleeps.

I will transcribe below, Pierius Valerianus's invective. Pasquin's statue was continually checkered with satirical verses against Hadrian. I shall say in another place (15), why he did not demolish it as he had resolved.

[E] The living which was given him in Holland.] Paul Jovius says (16), that Margaret Maximilian the emperor's daughter, governess of the Netherlands, procured him this living, and that he was a little after preferred to the deanry of Louvain. He is mistaken in making this princess governess of the Netherlands at that time: for she was not so till after the death of the duke of Savoy, her second actual husband. I use this word, because the first prince (17), to whom she was betrothed, returned her before the consummation of the marriage, and because I give no credit to those who say the duke of Savoy did not consummate his marriage with her (18). At the most, since he died in 1504, it is clear, that Margaret of Austria was not governess of the Netherlands, when Hadrian was promoted to the deanry of Louvain, which was in the year 1497 (19). Paul Jovius must have confounded this Margaret, with the widow of Charles the Hardy, last duke of Burgundy, sister to Edward the fourth king of England. She was also called Margaret, and was at the charge of Hadrian's promotion to his doctor of divinity's degree (20). They who tell us this, say indeed, that this doctor had the deanry of St Peter's at Louvain; that of Notre-Dame at Antwerp; a canonry, and the treasurer's office at Notre-Dame le Grand of Utrecht, and the provostship of St Saviour in the same city; but they speak not of any benefice, with cure of souls, or any parochial church. This parish is perhaps another confusion of Paul Jovius. Cardinal Pallavicini (21), has corrected nothing in this narration of that writer.

[F] Charles V. made no great progress in Latin under him.] Every body has heard how this emperor, upon hearing a speech made to him in Latin, and not understanding it, cried out, with a sigh, *Hadrian told me how it would be*. Paul Jovius speaks of it, as of a thing that happened in his presence (22): *Audivi ego Cæsarem, quum Genæ Latinam orationem à quodam*

recitatum nequaquam præclare intelligerat, suspirantem hæc verba ore protulisse: agnosco, inquit, nunc maxime & cum dolore quidem magistri mei divina monita, quam hos flores & elegantias Latini sermonis percipere nequeam, & meminere eum sæpe prædixisse, me aliquando puerilis incuria pœnas daturum. This historian had been saying, that Hadrian, not being able to stand it out against Chievres, contented himself with forewarning his young scholar, that he would repent his negligence hereafter. *Hadrianum auctoritate impari, & natura lenissimum, officio facile decessisse, ita tamen ut discipulo perblande diceret, futurum aliquando ut eum præsentis negligentia pœniteret*. Charles V experienced it at Genoa, and frankly confessed it. Camerarius (23) would have Hadrian responsible for this emperor's using an interpreter, when speeches were made in to him Latin, as if he had been more solicitous to instruct his pupil in the Catholic religion, that in good letters; but this confession of the emperor, is sufficient to excuse the tutor. Mr Varillas (24) enters into a long dispute against the Spanish historians, pretending that it is false, either that Chievres was guilty of what he is accused of with respect to his pupil's Latin, or that Charles V was ignorant of this language, or that he was un luckily sensible of this defect upon the hearing an oration which was made to him. As to the last fact, which the Spaniards, as he says, suppose to have happened in Germany, he maintains, that it is not related in any author of other nations. Would he have spoke thus, had he known the story of the oration at Genoa, mentioned by Paul Jovius?

[G] It was Charles the fifth's interest that raised him to the Papacy.] Paul Jovius observes, that Hadrian had a share in the numerous promotions of the year 1517 (25), by virtue of Maximilian the emperor's letters (26). He adds some other reasons. As to the Papacy, it is a very common opinion, that Hadrian came to it, by the strong interest of the emperor Charles V. *Cæsare urgente Leoni demortuo absens* (rare & inusitato sanè exemplo) Pontifex Max. undequadragesima patrum purpuratorum suffragiis creatur (27). — In compliance with the pressing solicitations of the emperor, he, upon the death of Leo, was, tho' absent, (a thing very uncommon) elected Pope, by the suffrages of thirty nine cardinals. It is said, that Amyot owed the place of grand-almoner of France, to a conversation which happened on the subject of Charles V, at the table of Charles IX. This emperor was praised for many things, but especially for his making his preceptor Pope. . . . The merit of this M O T.

action was so heightened, that it made an impression on Charles IX, so as to say, that if occasion offered he would do as much for his (28). It is therefore a pretty general opinion, that Pope Hadrian VI, was the creature of Charles V. But yet it seems, that this emperor procured him the papacy, but indirectly, and by accident. Paul Jovius, who has dived well enough into the intrigues of this conclave, tells us, that Julian de Medicis, the head of the strongest faction, did not concern himself for Hadrian, till Tom. II, p. 8. he found he could do nothing for himself (29). It is true, Hadrian's attachment for the interest of Charles V, made Julian's faction very favourable to him, when they could not carry it for the latter. They mention an inscription wherein Hadrian owned when resigning himself obliged to his imperial majesty for all his greatness (30). This inscription was composed, say this Pope, they,

(23) Meditat. Histor. Tom. III, lib. iv, cap. vii, pag. m. 282.

(24) Pratique de l'Educat. des Princes, pag. 26, & seq.

(25) Thirty one cardinals were made all at once.

(26) Tum præsertim Maximilian Cæsaris literis. Jovius, pag. 230.

(27) Swertius, Athen. Belg. p. 8, 95.

(28) The abbot de St Real, de l'Usage de l'Histoire. See the remark [E] of the article A.

(29) Itaque Medicis desperato vel neglecto Pontificatu Adriano num nominat. Jovius, pag. 246.

(30) Wolfius, Lect. memorab. Tom. II, p. 8. 102, says, that this inscription appeared upon a piece of tapestry at Louvain, where Hadrian owned when resigning himself obliged to his imperial majesty for all his greatness, say this Pope, they,

(15) At the end of this work, in the Dissertation on defamatory Libels, n. XII.

(16) Margarita Maximiliani Cæsaris filia, quæ tum Belgis imperabat, sacerdotio parochiali in Hollandia liberavit.

(17) Charles VIII, king of France.

(18) Fabert, History of the dukes of Burgundy, pag. 488. Hist. of the Empire, Tom. I, pag. 312.

(19) Val. Andr. Frit. Academ. pag. 60.

(20) Idem, pag. 61. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 19.

(21) Idor. del. Concil. lib. II, cap. II.

(22) In vita Hadrian. VI, pag. 227.

(e) *Happening the twenty third of January, 1516.*

(f) *Jovius, in vita Hadriani VI.*

(g) *See Varillas, Pratique de l'Education, du Prince, pag. 186. Holland Edit.*

was sent ambassador in Spain, to king Ferdinand, and some say he managed things with much greater address [H], than could be expected from a man who had so long imbibed the university air. He softened this monarch, who was much dissatisfied with his son-in-law's treatment of him, and with the zeal the nobility had expressed for the Austrian princes. Hadrian removed these ill impressions, the consequences whereof were to be feared, and was honoured a little after with the bishopric of Tortosa [I], and continued his embassy notwithstanding. He discharged the functions of it till Ferdinand's death (e). After which he shared the regency with cardinal Ximenes (f) [K]. It is true, his share was the least, to say no worse (g): but there came

they, in these words, *Ultrajectum plantavit, Lovanium rigavit, Caesar vero incrementum dedit; that is, Utrecht planted, Louvain watered, but the emperor gave the increase: upon which some body said, there is nothing left here for GOD to do. Deo istuc nec fertur, nec metitur.* This doth not hinder the creation of this Pope to have been only an effect of chance and spleen. Read these verses of Pierius Valerianus, which are as fine as satirical (31).

(31) *The author of the notes upon Sannazar's poems, printed at Amsterdam, in 1689, has inserted them in page 236, 237.*

Cum fluctuaret cymba, quæ magnos Deos,
Romæ penates quæ vehit,
Leone adempto: providum, vigilem, parem
Optabat infelix ducem.
Dum tota is ora quæritur Ligustica,
Totoque Tyrreno mari,
Per Adriatici omne litus, per Padi
Ripas, Lemani per juga:
Per Celtiberos, Gaditanos, Gallici
Vastros per Oceani finus,
Quaque ælhuo sum Sarmatas lambit salum,
Qua circuit Britannias:
Repete nobis hunc dedit vecors furor
Regione Rheni ab ultima;
Nil tale Patribus facere se putantibus:
Nihil minus volentibus
Quam quem eligebant: nil minus poscentibus
Quam quem vocabant: ô mare!
O terra! votis Hadrianus omnium
Fit Pontifex; sed omnibus,
Quis credat? invitis. Deum vis hæc, Deum,
Deum additum hoc arbitrium est.
Ut qui natantis despuunt regnum trabis,
Parere discant viperæ:
Ut invicem qui se odorant Patres, ducem
Invisum haberent omnibus,
Malarum ut esset sævus ultor mentium,
Acri ipse mente in singulos.

Frught with the gods of Rome, to winds a prey,
(Great Leo from it's helm remov'd away)
The sacred vessel floated down the tide,
And wish'd as good and provident a guide.
Whilst such was look'd for on Liguria's shores,
Where Adria, or the Tyrrhene ocean, roars;
On Leman hills, or on the banks of Po,
Thro' various countries as it's waters flow;
O'er ev'ry coast of the wide western main,
In German realms, in Frante, and distant Spain;
Or where the foamy flood Sarmatia waves,
Or ibrows around Britannia's isles it's waves:
Faction, to an unusual frenzy grown,
Sent us this man, to fill the Papal throne:
From the far distant Rhine, obscure of fame,
Untaught of, undesir'd by all, he came.
O sea and land! the universal voice
Makes Hadrian Pope . . . a most unwilling choice:
Heav'n's secret councils so decreed, that they,
Who scorn to own the floating vessel's sway,
May learn from hence the viper to obey;
That the grave fathers, swoll'n with mutual gall,
Might abuse a leader hated by them all;
And be, to a'rd all with malice prepossess'd,
Revenge on each the malice of the rest.

Naudé relates (32) that Peter Martyr, not the Florentine heretic, but the apostolic protonotary, a native of a little town of the duchy of Milan, said, speaking of the election of Hadrian VI: *Cardinalibus hoc loco accidit quod in fabula de Pardo ac Leone super Agno raptando scribitur; fortibus illis strenue se dilacerantibus, quodcumque quadrupes iners aliud prædæ se dominum fecit.* That is, according to Lewis de May's version, author of the notes on the *Coups d'Etat*. It happened to the cardinals, on this occasion, what the fable tells of the leopard and the lion, in contending for a lamb: whilst these two generous animals were tearing one another, in contending valiantly for the prey, one of the most cowardly and brutish of beasts, made himself master of it.

(32) Naudé, *Coups d'Etat*, pag. m. 23.

[H] In his he embassy managed things with address.] Mr Varillas is of another opinion. According to him (33), Hadrian was fit for nothing but to dictate in a college; he understood neither politics nor court intrigues, for which this is given amongst other proofs, that, in his embassy to Arragon, he did not answer Chievres expectation. But who told Varillas that this was a sign of his inability? Hadrian hated Chievres on many accounts (34); and instead of negotiating according to his views, he did him ill offices underhand. This no doubt was ill answering this lord's hopes, but was no sign of inability.

(33) *See the preface to the Pratique de l'Education.*

(34) *Jovius, pag. 232.*

[I] He was honoured with the bishopric of Tortosa.]

Many authors (35) whom I have consulted, agree, that Ferdinand gave Hadrian this bishopric. But Mr Varillas says (36), that it was given him after this prince's death, as an amends for the power he was deprived of. We must know, that cardinal Ximenes, nominated regent of the kingdom by Ferdinand's will (37), would fill that post in spite of the commission that Hadrian had brought from Flanders, to be regent of Castile and Arragon, in case of Ferdinand's death. The cardinal was more resolute than Hadrian in his pretensions; for the latter was brought to be content with part of the regency, and Mr Varillas supposes he was made bishop (38), to make him amends. I have just been looking in a book (39) later than Mr Varillas's, where I find, that the author supposes our Hadrian was not bishop at the time of the dispute about the regency. Relating the circumstances of this dispute, he calls him only dean of Louvain, and he says (40), that Ximenes pretended that this dean having consented to have it only as a second, the dignity and rank he bore in Castile, not permitting a SIMPLE PRIEST, as the dean was, to pretend to a precedence over a cardinal archbishop, he would allow him only what share he thought fit. The bishop of Nismes says expressly (41), that the dean came not to the bishopric of Tortosa, but by Ximenes's recommendation after Ferdinand's death; and as he cites Alvara Gomez (42) and Peter Martyr (43), it is probable that Paul Jovius and the Biographers of the Netherlands, are mistaken. The manner of Ferdinand's receiving the dean, does not intimate that he made him a bishop: He had penetrated the true subject of his embassy, he had treated him as a spy, and when Hadrian solicited for a second audience, he angrily answered what would he have? does he come to know whether I am dying? tell him I am not to be seen to day. However he saw him a few days after, by the advice of his ministers, and told him, that he was not well enough to treat with him about business, and ordered him to retire to Guadalupe, to the convent of St Jerome He gave him officers, in appearance, to serve him, but in effect to guard him, and to binder suspected people from having any commerce with him (44).

(35) *Jovius, ibid. pag. 228. Swert. Athen. Belg. pag. 95. Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 20.*

(36) *Preface to the Pratique. See also, pag. 190.*

(37) *Pratique de l'Educac'n, pag. 283.*

(38) *Note, That after Hadrian's promotion to the cardinalship, he was called the Cardinal de Tortosa.*

(39) *The History of the Ministry of cardinal Ximenes, by Mr Marjulier.*

(40) *Pag. 372. Holland Edit.*

(41) *Fleclier, Hist. of Cardinal Ximenes, book iv, pag. 633. Holland Edit.*

(42) *De reb'us gestis Ximeni. lib. vi.*

(43) *Epist. 576. lib. xxix.*

(44) *Fleclier. Ibid. lib. iii. pag. 497, ad notam 1515.*

[K] He shared the regency with cardinal Ximenes.]

There is great probability in one of the circumstances related by Mr Varillas. He says, (45) that one of the arguments urged to the dean of Utrecht (46), during his dispute with Ximenes about the regency, was the representing

(45) *Pag. 185.*

(46) *It is thus they called Dr. Swertius, who was called Dr. Swertius in Spain.*

came a time when his authority was much greater. Ximenes took too much upon him, for which reason the arch-duke Charles sent him home, when he went in person to take possession of his kingdoms of Spain; and some time after he gave the government to Hadrian in a very honourable manner, I mean, when he departed for Germany, where the imperial crown called him (b). Hadrian found himself much embarrassed with the government of so many kingdoms, because there arose a dangerous sedition, which he could not have been able to surmount, had he not had two colleagues assigned him, viz. the Constable and Amirante of Castile. The invasion of Navarre by the French, was another great trouble during his government. He came off with honour, and while he was enjoying the satisfaction of having recovered Navarre, he received the news of his election to the papacy (i). I have omitted to say, that Leo X, gave him a cardinal's cap in the year 1517. After his death, the several factions of the conclave terminated in the election of Hadrian (k), which highly displeased the people of Rome [L]. The new Pope embarking in Catalonia arrived at Rome the thirtieth of August [M]. He refused to change his name; and in every thing expressed his aversion to pomp and pleasures, which was a thing against which prescription was very old. His Pontificate lasted but till the fourteenth of September 1523. He had a great partiality for the emperor Charles V, and very little satisfaction in his triple crown [N]. It was perhaps his discontent, that gave

occasion

representing to him, 'that if he attempted to execute the commissions he had brought from Flanders, he would kindle a civil war in Spain, and be answerable to God for all the murders, and other crimes, that should be committed; as he himself had previously confessed, in his excellent commentary on the Mass of the Sentences, where he had taught, that a man raising disturbances in a state, when he might forbear it, without hazarding his conscience, and his honour, was responsible for all the subsequent calamities. We have seen, above, that the death was an honest man, and that he was not well skilled in the matter he pretended to. He was so charmed with the deference that was paid him, in referring to himself an affair wherein he was a party, and with the honour done him in citing the writings he had formerly dictated in the university of Louvain, and afterwards printed, that he promised to submit to what the council of Spain should determine, provided an expedient was found to secure his reputation, and hinder the arch-duke's commissions from being turned into ridicule.' Here is exactly the fable of the Raven and the Fox, only with this difference, that the Raven lost his prey for future praises, whereas honest Hadrian lost his, for praises given his singing in times past.

[L] His election highly displeased the people of Rome. What they call in the conclave, being elected by inspiration, had a great share in Hadrian's fortune. The cardinal de Medicis, at the head of all the young cardinals, a faction more powerful than that which is sometimes called the Flying Squadron, had no sooner resolved upon the election of the cardinal of Tortosa, but he made his party promise to give him their voices all at once. This was done. The opening of the ballots, shewing that a candidate was proposed, of whom it seemed no body had yet thought, caused a great surprize. Cardinal Cajetan gave fresh encouragement, by advising those that were nearest him to take this side, since it was as he said, that of God and men (47). Immediately many of them espoused his interest with a good grace, by I know not what motive of religion; others, who knew not so much as the cardinal of Tortosa's name, hesitated, but nevertheless followed the prevailing opinion: the torrent of inspiration hurried them along, and made them forget all their interests. None but cardinal Urfini resisted this inspiration of the conclave. Julian de Medicis was overjoyed, but the others fell into a sad dejection; and the people were so enraged at their choice, that they loaded them with a thousand abuses, upon the coming out of the conclave. Id populus adeo indignanter tulit, ut quum patefacto Conclavi Cardinales domum redirent, passim maledictis incesserent, quod infamibus committi non modo urbem Romam suo antistite orbam prodidissent, sed quod infamie proximum videretur, Italiani etiam Pontificatus honore spoliassent (48). — The populace were so enraged at it, that they loaded the cardinals with curses as they went home, upon the breaking up of the conclave, calling out, that they had by their infamous cabals, not only betrayed the city of Rome, which was deprived of its head, but had also, which appeared to be next to

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madness, robbed Italy of the honour of the popeedom. One of them thanked the people, for suffering them to come off so cheap, whereas if they had had their deserts, they should have been stoned. *Adaperta conclavi quum globus Cardinalium Hadriani pontem esset prætervehtus, & episcopi puerique minacibus oculis vocaque & manibus obfrepent, nec à sacratissimis prebris abstinere, Sigismundus Gonzaga Cardinalis videntem vultu his egit gratias, quod adversus extrema supplicia meritis contumelias essent contenti, nec lapidibus publicam injuriam vindicarent* (49). The peoples indignation was founded upon their having had no regard to the stain of original sin, and the fear that the new Pope would keep this see elsewhere than in Rome.

[M] He arrived at Rome the thirtieth of August. Francis Swertius (50) says, that Didacus Stunica has made a relation of this voyage. I doubt it much; for Nicolas Antonio does not speak of it, tho' he speaks of another relation of a voyage written by this author, of less consequence than this would be. Probably Swertius has confounded the one with the other. The relation mentioned by Nicolas Antonio, is that of a voyage which Stunica made to Rome in 1520, which Schottus has inserted in the end of his *Spanish Bibliothèque*. Instead of Didacus Stunica, he should have called him Blaise Ortiz, for it is he who composed a relation of the voyage of Hadrian VI. It was printed at Toledo, in the year 1548. The author went from Spain to Rome with this Pope (51).

[N] He had very little satisfaction in his triple crown. This is signified in the inscription he would have engraven on his tomb; *Adrianus VI hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicis in vita duxit quam quod imperaret* — Here lies Hadrian VI, who esteemed no misfortune, which happened to him in life, so great, as his being called to govern. Father Labbe (52) says, this epitaph was put on his tomb in the church of St Mary dell'Anima, but he is mistaken; the cardinal, who erected him a mausoleum in this church, put a much longer and more pompous inscription on it. It is to be seen in abundance of authors. The other was only engraven on the tomb where he was provisionally deposited in St Peter's church. See Paul Jovius at the end of this Pope's life. We need not wonder that Hadrian VI thought the papal crown so heavy, for the general affairs of Christendom were in great confusion in his pontificate, and he was not sufficiently acquainted with the genius of the Italians, to avoid offending them in a thousand instances. The news he daily received of the progresses and menaces of the Ottomans, and his little experience in the affairs of Italy, so disturbed his head, that he could not forbear saying, he had more satisfaction in governing a college of Louvain, than in governing the whole Christian church. *Necesse erat Pontificem rerum Italicarum penitus ignarum, & tum primum urbium suarum & provinciarum regularumque nomina perdiscentem, in omnibus consiliis vubementissimè conturbari, adeo ut quum his curarum fluctibus jactaretur, aliquando diceret, sibi fuisse jucundius Lovanii gymnasium cum studiorum laude moderari, quam Romæ pontificiam in sede Christianam rempublicam administrare* (53). If he had not been able to know, of himself, that his irresolutions and delays caused mischief and murmurs, he

N n n

(b) Hadrianus cum imperio totius Hispanie præficeretur tanta cum dignitate, ut Caesar recusantem & præpotentem sequi humanissimis precibus ut manere vellet exorare cogere, quando rege abente in Hispania præfide opus foret præclaræ dignitatis & famæ, qui &c. Jovius, p. 8.

(i) Idem. pag. 251.

(k) January 9, 1522.

(49) Idem. pag. 251.

(50) Athen. Belg. pag. 95.

(51) Nic. Anton. Tom. I, pag. 179.

(52) De Script. Eccles. Tom. I, pag. 415.

(53) Jovius, pag. 262.

(47) Postquam Dittac hominibus placet. Jovius, pag. 250.

(48) Ibid.

occasion to such a behaviour, as made him pass for a hater of mankind [O]. The Italians have published heinous calumnies against him [P]; and even they, who instead of defaming him in his morals, acknowledge his probity and zeal, fail not to say, he was not fit to be Pope [Q]. His very sobriety has not escaped raileries [R]. The joy that was expressed for his death, was in reality a great commendation

would have known it by the reproaches he received from Ferdinand's ambassador, even to his face, who began his speech thus: 'Fabius Maximus, sanctissime pater, rem Romanum cunctando restituit, tu vero pariter cunctando rem Romanam simulque Europam perdere contendis. — Most holy father, Fabius Maximus, by delays, restored the affairs of Rome; but you, by delays, endeavour to ruin, not only Rome, but all Europe.' This exordium so confounded the Pope, that as the cardinals hated him, they were ready to break out into laughter (54).

(54) Idem, pag. 276.

(55) Hieroglyph. lib. xix.

(56) Hoplotheca, pag. 346.

[O] His behaviour made him pass for a hater of mankind.] Pierius Valerianus (55) makes him a man who avoided human society, and who in the cavalcades kept at as great a distance as possible from the courtiers; he put spurs to his horse when he saw others approach him. To see this author's satire in all its extent, we must choose certain editions, for there are some that have been expunged in this particular. That of Basil, of 1575, is not of this number, as Father Theophilus Raynaud has observed (56), who has taken this Pope's part, against the humanists of that time.

I do not mention the Capitolo of Bernai against this Pope; I only say, that this passage is not to be taken literally:

Basta ch'egli hanno fatto un Papa santo
Che dice ogni mattina la sua Messa,
E non s'el tocca mai se non col guanto.

Sufficient 'tis we have got a saint for pope,
Who every morning mutters o'er his mass,
And toucheth not himself without a glove.

It is a burlesque, familiar, and even a proverbial hyperbole amongst the Italians, *Gli hypocriti*, says Aretin Giorn. I della II parte, *che non sel toccano mai se non col guanto*. — The hypocrites who never touch themselves but with a glove. I owe this observation to Mr de la Monnoie.

[P] The Italians have published heinous calumnies against him.] They were not contented to accuse him of prodigious avarice, but gave out (57), that they had at last discovered the reason of his retiring every day into a corner of the Vatican, where he suffered no body to enter; that it was not like Numa, to consult heaven how to govern well, but to careen a handsome woman; his nymph Egeria. They added, that the distemper he died of, proceeded from too much use of venery (58); and that he was not contented to divert himself with women, but also must have handsome boys (59). This was not all. They published that he was a magician, and that his friends, desiring to elude the proofs that were taken from I know not how many magical instruments, which were found in his chamber after his death, said, that laboured to find the philosopher's stone. As it could not be denied, that he had the outward appearance of an honest man, and was a lover of reformation and justice, they saved themselves by saying, that he was only a hypocrite; and that this vice is more common in Germany, than is imagined. See, concerning all this, a letter of Christopher Battus, to Jerome Saulius, in the second volume of Wolfius. We read in the supplement of the abbot of Ursperg's chronicle (60), that they found amongst this Pope's secret papers, some magical books, and that some pretend he came to the Papacy by this wicked art.

(57) Postea compertum est illic mulierem forma egregia clam habuisse, cujus amoris causa eo tam frequenter itasse creditur ejus solium frui fletum. Battus, apud Wolfium, L. II. memorab. Tom. II, pag. 192.

(58) Laboravit permultum antequam à vita excederet & stragibus & tormenibus, in quibus aegritudines plerumque incidere solent qui coitu immotico utantur. Ibid.

(59) Datum est hoc insuper criminis quod puerorum amoribus delectaretur, quia inter ceteros ministros nonnullos tenellæ ætatis & eximie formæ habebat. Ibid.

(60) See John Cresspin, Etat de l'Eglise, ad ann. 1523.

Note, that Gerard Moringus observes, that this honest Pope understanding that the Italians formed evil suspicions upon his bringing some youths from Spain, sent them immediately back into their own country. 'Si quando antea, tum maxime speciem omnem impudicæ amovit. Roque cum adolescentes aliquot honestæ tum indolis tum stirpis in gratiam parentum in familiam ascitos, ex Hispaniis secum in urbem duxisset, intellexissetque Italos ex convictu illorum, nescio quæ abominanda, nostratibus inusitata suspicari, statim in Hispanias remisit, in academia Salmanticensi plenius licetis imbuedos, quibus antea domi ipsius

à pio simul & erudito viro Theodorico Hezio secretario ipsius utcumque imbuti fuerant eo jubente (61). — If at any time before, he then more particularly removed the smallest appearances of impurity. Therefore, having brought over with him from Spain, some youths of good parts, as well as of good birth, whom he had, at the desire of their relations, taken into his family: and hearing that the Italians took occasion, from this, to suspect I do not know what abominable practices, quite unknown to our countrymen, he presently sent them back to Spain, to finish their studies in the university of Salamanca, which they had begun, while in his family, under the pious and learned Theodorico Hezius, his secretary.' The same writer expresses an extreme indignation against the author of the letter I have quoted, which Wolfius has inserted in the second volume of his lectures. Battus quidam Parmensis quandam de ejus defuncti relicta fama epistolam edidit, Latinam quidem illam ac tersam, sed adeo impudentem mendacem, ut ipsa mentiendi impudentia, dicam an inficitia, vel apud malevolos fidem sibi abroget. Quid os impurum eo impulerit, nihil esse aliud reor, quam id quod Comicus habet, Mala mens, malus animus (62). — Battus of Parma published an epistle concerning his character, in elegant Latin indeed, but filled with such notorious falsehoods, that the grossness, or shall I say the folly, of his lies, will deprive him of credit even among the most malicious. I cannot imagine what could tempt him to such impudent abuse, except, as the comic poet has it, mala mens malus animus, the wickedness of his own heart.

(61) Gerzinius, l. Hadrian.

(62) Id. præf. l.

(63) Palii, l. exp. 15.

(64) Id.

(65) S. cini, l. vii, p. 24.

(66) I.

[Q] Even they who acknowledge his zeal, fail not to say, that he was not fit to be Pope.] Few will read this place, without perceiving that cardinal Palavicini is pointed at, and thinking of the new gospel, in which many maxims of his history of the council of Trent have been so severely censured. Hadrian VI was, in the cardinal's opinion, an excellent ecclesiastic, but an indifferent Pope. *Fu Ecclesiastico ottimo, Pontefice in verità mediocre* (63). He was less esteemed in the opinion even of the people, who judge of things only by the event; for, in consequence of the bad success of his reign, he was reckoned even less than an indifferent Pope (64). This honest Flemming, not finding in Italy the candour and sincerity, in which he had been trained up, entered into a general mistrust: he believed that snares were laid for him every where; he durst trust only those of his own country, who, with their openness, without experience, did him more injury, than the Italians would have done with their dissimulation. The Jansenist, who wrote the new gospel, has made a malicious use of all cardinal Palavicini's concessions concerning the good qualities of this pope; but at the bottom, the cardinal is not so much in the wrong, as may be pretended. It is true, if the Christian church was what it ought to be, the same virtues which would furnish out a good clergyman, would suffice for a Pope; but (65) in the state in which the church of Rome has long continued, under an head whose spiritual power is so incorporated with the temporal, that the preservation of the one depends upon that of the other, it is folly to pretend, that a Pope, who understands not the arts of courts, and the flights of politics, can discharge his duty. See the remark [U] of the article BELLARMIN, at the end. To accomplish the Protestants' prophecies, there need be but four or five Popes successively, such as some have been, who were otherwise rigid moralists. However, it is worth while to see Dr de Launoi's letter (66) wherein he makes our Hadrian's apology against cardinal Palavicini.

[R] His very sobriety has not escaped raileries.] He was so little used to the dainties of Rome, that there was no fish he preferred before fock fish; so that the price of this fish rose considerably in his pontificate, not without the laughter of all the fish-market. Instead of praising him for this, Paul Jovius has had the boldness to say, that he had no better taste with respect to good dishes, than judgment for the administration of affairs. I so weaken the force of this author's Latin, that it is necessary

dation of him [S]. I cannot tell whether they were Catholics or Protestants, who gave out first that he permitted sacrifices to be made to the heathen gods, in order to stop the pestilence [T]. Guicciardin has not spared him more than others; for he pretends (1) that they who elected this barbarian to the popedom, were led rather by a blind fury, than by choice and deliberation (m); and that being unable to assign any reason for their extravagant conduct, they excused themselves by imputing it to the HOLY GHOST, who was used, as they said, to inspire the cardinals, during the election of the Popes (n). Hadrian's body was deposited in the Vatican church, betwixt those of Pius II and Pius III, and removed afterwards to St Mary dell' Anima. William Enckevort, the only cardinal he had made, took all the care of it, and

(1) Lib. xiv, fol. m. 421.

(m) Cardinal Pausanias confutes this, lib. ii, cap. ii. See the article GUICCIARDIN. remark [F].

(67) Jovius de Pilebus Romanis, cap. i.

(68) Jovius, in vita Leonis X, pag. 171. Parilli, Secret History of Florence pag. 207, says that these sacrifices were a field with nothing but the most delicious parts of the fish of the sea, and that a peacock was a pleasant

(69) Jovius, in vita Hadriani, pag. 253.

[S] The joy that was expressed for his death was, in reality, a great commendation of him. Because nothing rendered him more odious than his desire to put a stop to the crying sins, and to employ the severest punishments against them. The report was, that he was going to publish some terrible bulls against Judaizers, scoffers at holy things, Simonists, Usurers, and Sodomites. This last article alarmed both the court and city; and some young men there, after his death, fixed festoons upon his physician's gate, with this inscription in capital letters, TO THE DELIVERER OF THE COUNTRY. Ultimo inquirere punireque decreve-

rat juventutis corruptores, ejus enim criminis non omnino falsa suspitione urbs ipsa conviventibus legibus infecta credebatur. Quâ inopinatâ & gravi severissimâ legis mentione, maculosos quosdam cum aulæ tum civitatibus vultu desperata publica securitate terruerat, ades ut non defuerint petulantissimi juvenes, qui Joanni Antracino Pontificis Medico postea fella fronde per intempestam noctem protinus exornarent, cum titulo uncialibus literis inscriptis in hæc verba, Liberatori Patriæ S.P. Q.R. (70). Could the joy at such a sovereign's death, be any thing else than a proof of his virtue? Paul Jovius relates, that this joy was excessively great. 'Morte ejus plerique & præsertim veteris aulæ sectatores effusissime sunt lætati, & secundum eos nonnulli Romanorum qui detrimenda rerum suarum fenerant. — Most people, especially the courtiers of the former Pope, rejoiced exceedingly at his death; and next to them, some of the citizens of Rome, who had suffered in their particular affairs.

[T] I cannot tell . . . who they were, who first gave out that he permitted sacrifices to be made to the heathen gods, in order to stop the pestilence. I have not yet had time to proceed far in the search of the original of this lye. I have only traced it to a book printed at Amsterdam, in 1661 (71), wherein are these words. 'Is (Adrianus VI.) ad avertendam pestem quæ gravissime in urbe sæviebat, Mago Demetrio Græco J. d. n. Letus, concessit sylvestrem taurum Diis Gentilium ad placandum eorum iram mactare, cessavitque lues. — Hadrian, in order to avert a plague which then raged violently in the city, allowed Demetrius, a Greek magician, to sacrifice a wild bull to the heathen deities, to appease their wrath, and accordingly the plague ceased.

The author cites Paul Jovius in the twenty first book of his history; but we must believe in charity, and for his honour, that he had not read this historian. Let us see what Paul Jovius says; the passage deserves relating. He only says, that the Pope did not severely forbid the communication with the infected houses, and that this method, which was very different from the customs of Italy, occasioned the death of abundance of people. He is not said to have given leave to the magician to make this sacrifice; it is only said in general, that no body durst oppose the populace, who favoured this Demetrius: besides, it is not said that this man pretended to sacrifice the bull to the heathen Gods; and as to the success, it is only said, the plague decreased. What then do they think of, who cite Paul Jovius, when they vent so many circumstances which he has not mentioned? 'Exorta est in Urbe pestilentia lues, quæ quum sevis legibus more nostro Pontifici minime coercenda videretur, contactu ægrorum ita exarsit, ut multa funera in compitis viserentur, appareretque vastari Urbem, laud multo dierum spatio, nisi Græculus quidam nomine Demetrius Spartanus, sedandæ pestilentia, faventi ei turba hominum, negotium suscepisset, nemine superstitionem vetare auso. Nam ferum taurum, cui dimidium cornu dissecarat, magico carmine dextram in aurem prolato repente ita mansuetum reddiderat, ut injecto tenui filo ad integrum cornu, quo vellet perducens, pestilentia placando numini ad Amphitheatrum immolaret. Nec credulæ multitudinis spem ex toto fessellit, quum ab ea inanis sacrificii prospera litatione, mittere morbus cepisset (72). — The plague broke out in the city, and the Pope not ibinking it proper to confine the infected, by severe laws, according to the custom of Italy, it raged so, by the touching of the sick, that the streets were crowded with funerals, and it seemed as if the city would have been laid waste in a very few days, if one Demetrius Spartanus, a Greek, had not undertaken to stop the pestilence, who, being favoured by the populace, no body durst oppose his superstition.

(70) Compend. Historiæ, by J. d. n. Letus, pro-fessor at Franeker.

(72) Jovius, Hist. lib. xx. fol. m. 21.

(o) Jovius, ubi supra. Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. Aub. M'neus, Elog. Belgic.

(p) In two letters of Jerome Niger, to Mark Anthony Micheli, fol. m. 81, 85.

and erected a stately monument to him (o). Let it not be forgotten, that this Pope was an author [U]. It is somewhat strange, that a man who owed his advancement to his learning, so little countenanced men of letters [X]. The collection of the letters of princes, contain (p) some particulars of this Pope's humour. His life has been amply written by Gerard Moringus, a divine of Louvain.

He did not dissemble the great abuses he observed in the church; he publicly acknowledged them, and that in a very strong manner, in the instruction he gave the nuncio who was to speak in his name at the Diet of Nuremberg [Y]. He therein deplored the sad life of the clergy, and the corruption of morals which had appeared in

superstition. He took a wild bull, and having cut the half of one of his horns in two, by repeating some magical verses in his right ear, he became presently so tame, that leading him about at pleasure, by a slender thread, which he tied about his entire horn, he sacrificed him at the Amphitheatre to appease the deity. Neither did he entirely beguile the hopes of the credulous multitude, for from the time of this vain sacrifice, the plague began to assuage.

[U] Let us not forget that this Pope was an author. His *Quæstiones* and *Expositiones* upon the fourth book of the Master of the Sentences, were printed at Paris in folio, in the year 1512, and in 1516 (73), and his *Quæstiones quodlibeticæ duodecim*, at Louvain, in octavo, in 1515, and at Paris in folio, the year following. During his stay in Spain, he composed *Computum hominis agonizantis*, & *Sermonem de saculo perituro*. After his pontificate, he published *Regulas Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*, and writ many letters to the princes of Germany, &c. which were printed with the Councils, or elsewhere.

I have something to observe concerning his work upon the Master of the Sentences. The Sieur Konig (74), deceived by their ambiguity, who have said in *iv sententiarum quæstiones & expositiones* (75), affirms, that our Hadrian published questions on the four books of the sentences. Here is a new proof of what is said in the first remark of this article, that an author cannot be ever so little unexact but he throws another into falsehood. Would it not have been better to have said in *quartum sententiarum*, or in *iv librum sententiarum*, than to use the number IV, which signifies as well *Quatuor* as *Quartus*. Father Oldoini (76) has committed the same error as the Sieur Konig. Mr Varillas deserves to be heard concerning this book of Hadrian: his commentary, says he (77), upon the Master of the Sentences, was admired, and certainly if this book was not the subtlest of three hundred of the same nature, which were then to be found in the libraries; it was at least the clearest and most methodical. The author had maintained (78) in the most decisive manner imaginable, that it was certain the Pope might err even in matters belonging to faith, and it is pretended he did not change his opinion when he was Pope, as did Pius II, for he altered nothing in this part of his book, in the edition of it which was printed at Rome, during his pontificate.

[X] It is strange . . . that he so little countenanced men of letters. We have seen, in the remark [D], his notions of the poets. This might more easily be pardoned him than the sinking the funds which had been employed for the maintenance of learned men, who came from Greece into Italy, to whom the west is indebted for the resurrection of polite learning. Cardinal Bessarion maintained at Rome, part of these great genius's, and established an academy for them in the Vatican. But the greatest number subsisted upon the bounties of Pope Nicolas V. . . . (79) Of all his successors, there was none but Hadrian VI who suppressed these gratifications, by an economy which doth no honour to his memory (80). Let us see the observation of another author (81). 'All the learned of his time promised themselves advancement on his coming to the pontificate, because he owed all his fortune and exaltation to learning. And therefore they could not but be astonished to see him so ill disposed towards all who delighted in polite literature, calling them Terentianus, and treating them in such a manner, that it was thought he would have brought in barbarism again, had he not died in the second year of his supremacy dignity. Paul Jovius ingeniously says * that he thus ill treated the wits of his age, with the same sense and judgment, as he preferred the

Dutch stock-fish, before all other dishes, and the best fish in Italy.' Paul Jovius does not say this. See his text in the remark [R]. The reader will be glad to know where la Mothe le Vayer has taken what he says; for that reason I shall give a fine passage here, of Plerius Valerianus. 'Fuit & sub Hadriano VI par bonarum omnium litterarum infortunium. Nam cum is Leoni Decimo suffectus esset, ad quem upote litterarum Principem magnus litteratorum numerus confluerat, dum non minora de Hadriano sibi quisque pollicetur, ecce adest mularum & eloquentie, totiusque nitoris hostis acerrimus, qui litteratis omnibus inimicitias minaretur, quoniam ut ipse dicebat, Terentiani essent, quos cum odisse, atque etiam persequi cepisset, voluntarium alii exilium, alias atque alias alii latebras querentes, tandem latuere, quoad Dei beneficio altero Imperii anno decisset, qui si aliquanto diutius vixisset, Gotica illa tempora adversus bonas literas videbatur suscitaturus' (82). — Learning laboured under the same misfortune, under Hadrian VI. For he having succeeded to Leo X: to whom, as to the great professor of learning, a great many learned men had flocked, and they expected no less favour from Hadrian; but he, on the contrary, proved a violent enemy to poetry, eloquence, and all polite learning; and threatened all scholars with his displeasure, because of their being Terentiani, as he called them. They therefore being thus bated, and some of them persecuted by him, retired, some into a voluntary banishment, others into such retirements as they could find; where they continued till, by the goodness of GOD, he died in the second year of his Pontificate, who, if he had lived a little longer, would probably have plunged us again into Gothic barbarity and ignorance.

[Y] He acknowledged the abuses . . . in a very strong manner, in the instruction he gave to the Nuncio, who was to speak . . . at the Diet of Nuremberg. This Nuncio's name was Francis Cheregat. This was a part of his instruction. 'Dices nos ingenuè fateri, quod Deus hanc persecutionem à Lutheranis illatam, ecclesiæ suæ inferri permittit, propter peccata hominum, sacerdotum maxime, & ecclesiæ prælatorum. Clamant scripturæ peccata populi derivari à peccatis sacerdotum, proptereaque, ut ait Chrysostomus, Salvator noster curaturus infirmam civitatem Jerusalem, ingressus est prius templum ut peccata sacerdotum primo castigaret, instauraret boni medici, qui morbum à radice curat. Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, & omnia denique in perverum mutata, nec mirum, si ægritudo à capite in membra, à summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descendit. Omnes nos prælati, videlicet ecclesiastici declinavimus, unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jam diu qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum. — You shall acquaint them that we ingenuously own, that GOD has suffered his church to be persecuted by the Lutherans, because of the sins of men, especially of the priests and prelates of the church. The scriptures testify, that the sins of the people proceed from the sins of the priests. For this reason St Chrysostom observes, that when our Saviour was about to cure the city of Jerusalem of it's diseases; he first of all went into the temple, that he might first chastise the sins of the priests, like a good physician, who strikes at the root of the distemper. We are sensible that for some years past, there have been many abominations in this holy see, abuses in spirituals, excesses in mandates, and, in fine, every thing changed to the worse; and it is not to be admired, if the disease has descended from the head to the members, from the Pontiffs to the inferior prelates. All we prelates, I mean ecclesiastic, have gone astray, every one into his own paths,

(73) There are more editions of it.

(74) Bibliotheca vet. & nova.

(75) Sweetius, Athen. Belg. Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg.

(76) Athen. Roman. pag. 306.

(77) Preface to the *Præstique de l'Education*.

(78) Maimbourg, *Treatise of the Church of Rome*, pag. 138.

(79) Note in Phranzani, pag. 275. Platina, cited in Guillot's *Hist. of Matamoras II*, Tom. I, pag. 255.

(80) Theodor. Spanius, apud eundem Guillot, ibid.

(81) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. I, pag. 436.

* 7 De Pile. Rom. It should be 1, and not 7.

(82) Pier. Valerianus, de Literat. Infelicitate, lib. ii, pag. 119, 120.

in the persons of some Popes. He had long wished to introduce among the clergy, a reformation of manners. He had laboured to effect this, whilst he was dean of St Peter's at Louvain, but the fruitlessness of his pains had obliged him to desist from his enterprize [Z]. The justest censure which can be made of him, is his contradicting the good rules he had given against the plurality of benefices [AA]. Note, that when he canonized

patris, and there has not been one for a long time who has done good, no not one. A Protestant writer imagines, that the cardinals so strongly resented this Pope's dishonouring the court of Rome in this manner, in the diet of the empire, and burning a man for the crime of bestiality, that they shortened this Pope's life. *Nec tamen tam stulticibus ad perfectum Popatum rudimentis profecit, quo minus illi purpurata Parce offensa, quod comitiis Noriberghensibus dedecorasset rem Romanam, & quod quendam jumento suo pro suo arbitratu usum, homo Batavus & ad Papalem venerem frigidus, cremasset: filium illud diu regnandi, & videnti, abrumperent* (83).

(83) Novor. Enst. esp. Belgic. Diviso, pag. 79. Edit. 1570.

[Z] He had laboured to bring about a reformation of manners, whilst he was dean, but the fruitlessness of his pains made him desist from his enterprize. As soon as he was raised to the deanry of St Peter's at Louvain, which is a very considerable preferment, with fine privileges annexed, he set himself more than ever to preach by his own example; knowing that his endeavours to bring his colleagues into the right way, would be more effectual, if he himself practised the duties of temperance. He persisted to live frugally; there was more neatness than magnificence at his table; and when he entertained, he pressed no body to drink, and never began those healths which oblige the company to drink round. Neither did he suffer any person to begin any such healths to him; he set himself above all this pretended German civility. His feasts lasted but an hour, and he caused some piece of scripture to be read part of the time: he would have had it read during all the meal, but for fear of disgusting some of his guests. *Neque temere ultra horam accumbere, etiam si convivas magnos haberet, atque interim fere adhibito lectore, qui aliquid e literis sacris recitaret, ut non minus mente, quam ventre convivia delectarentur, sed id tantum ad tempus ne lectio longior cuiquam fortassis molestia esset* (84).

(84) Gerardus Moringus in vita Hadriani VI.

He also continued a very chaste life: There was nothing of wantonness in his gestures or discourses: nor would he suffer any obscene words in his presence; though otherwise he delighted in a virtuous facetiousness. Nor did he only abstain from all actual impurities, but carefully avoided the appearances and suspicions of it. He particularly made it his duty to possess his colleagues with the same practical morality. He vehemently exhorted them to it, in the discourses he made at the chapter meetings, and sharply censured such as he knew addicted to drinking and gaming, and especially those who kept concubines (85), omitting nothing that could oblige them to refrain from that evil commerce. But he met with so many obstacles, because some of the more aged and potent opposed his design, that he renounced it. His zeal had like to have cost him his life; he had been poisoned, if his physician had not found a good antidote against arsenic. It was thought this was done by a canon's concubine, were he was invited to dinner. *Sed in re longe honestissima tantum difficultatis habuit, obnitentibus quibusdam e senioribus ac potentioribus, & praesertim non suppetente auxilio, sine quo bujusmodi non temere confici queunt, ut negotium magna ex parte infectum relinquere debuerit. Quintimo parum absuit, quin per eam ipsam causam, veneno perierit. Id concubinae unius e Canonici, a quo ad prandium vocatus erat, bolusculo ejus, quod primum omnium mensae inferri solenne est, indidisse putabatur* (86). When he saw there was no hope of reformation, and that his endeavours procured him many enemies, he totally desisted and declared, that the deans of chapters were much less responsible for these disorders, than the bishops, for the deans were obliged to receive those whose corruption was grown inveterate. But nothing obliged the bishops, or their vicars, to confer orders and benefices, as they did, upon infamous debauchees. *Dum spem nullam fructus conspiceret, nihilque aliud sibi quam odium & malevolentiam queri intelligeret, in totum conatu suspensedit, satis habens, significasse sibi displicere, postquam aliud praeterea non posset, praedicans tamen culpam eam non tam Decanis Collegiorum, qui jam obstinatos & in sordibus illis in-*

(86) Id. ibid.

veteratos exciperent, quam Episcopis, eorumque vicariis praestandam, qui quoscunque sine delectu, quantumvis probrosos & infames, ad ordines & beneficia admitterent, nulla aut exigua, in retroactam vitam inquisitione facta (87). All this is taken from a book written by a priest. Let it not then be objected, that these are flanders of Protestants.

It is certain, that the dean shewed the true cause of the evil: the negligence of the bishops, or their vicars, was the source of the disorder. They did not examine whether they, who were admitted to benefices, had lived well, and given good proofs of a constitution which could abstain from bodily pleasures. This want of enquiry was a gate through which abundance entered into the church, who were already bent towards sensuality: a bent which is difficultly rectified, which gathers strength continually, till it grows into habit, an almost incurable disease. You see then why our Hadrian's exhortations could have no effect upon canons long practised in drunkenness, and the pleasures of concubinage. They were so besotted with this course of life, that they could not imagine how it was possible to live without it. It is infinitely harder to persuade a bachelor of forty five or fifty years to marriage, than a widower of sixty, who has just lost his wife: so great is the power of custom. The concubine, on her part, finds it as hard to part with her canon, after having been so many years at bed and board with him. Where shall I go, says she, what shall I do? where shall I find so good a bed, so good a table, so good a fire? and therefore you will find her, and her companions, very ready to oppose the designs of a reformer. The dean of Louvain needed a more undaunted courage; for the poison of these concubines was as formidable as the dagger of an assassin. Not finding he had any call to martyrdom, he chose rather to leave things as they were, than to expose himself to hatred, and even death, by going to reform them. *In magnis voluisse sat est, was doubtless his maxim.*

[AA] He may be justly reproached with having contradicted the good rules he had given . . . against the plurality of benefices. When he was only professor of Louvain, he maintained, that this plurality was vicious; and that a man, who had once gotten a living that was sufficient to maintain him handsomely, ought to be content with it, and stop there. But when he was at the arch-duke of Austria's court, he accepted many preferments, and forgot his former doctrine. This inconsistency gave scandal to some people. *Honores & sacerdotia quadam magnifica accipere, non sine admiratione, & fortassis offensione aliquorum, qui eum diversum facere incusabant, atque aliquando docuisset. Docuisse quippe, non esse fas cuiquam multa habere beneficia, sed uno aliquo ad honestam mundanisque sustentationem vitae sufficiente, quietum ac contentum esse debere* (88). The author I borrow these words from,

(88) Id. ibid.

declares he will not examine whether this conduct was censured justly or unjustly (89); but yet he undertakes to justify it, and uses the most plausible arguments which can be offered upon such a subject. He says, amongst other things, that it should not be thought strange, that Hadrian thought that lawful in himself, which would have been unlawful in others, who had not the same extraordinary qualities, or posts at court, that he had. The great talents that God has given a priest, are much more serviceable to the church, when they are accompanied with a large revenue; and it cannot be denied, but that an ecclesiastic, who has employments at court, is necessarily obliged to greater expences. The author adds to this, many other arguments of the same nature, and which have all the fault of being fit to be employed in an apology for the casuists, like that of Father Pirot. I mean, they may serve to justify those, who being in great posts, heap all the vacant places upon their own heads. May not it be said on their behalf, that they will make a better use of them than others, and that they are necessary for them, that their great qualities may have liberty to act in their whole extent, for the profit and advantage of the state. The author adds, that it is false, that Hadrian,

(89) In quo necesse est, ut cum inmerito culpam inquit equidem non habeo dicere, cum historici personam hic potius quam censoris agam. Id. ibid.

(7) Tales sumptus quasi alienos à sanctimonia & puritate canonizationis fieri vetuit. *Blasius Ortizius, apud Papabrochium, Tom. VII, Maii, pag. 555.*

canonized Antoninus and Benno, he did not suffer the expences which were usual in such sort of ceremonies, forbidding them as a thing repugnant to the sanctity of canonization (q). A learned Jesuit was censured for having cited this fact [BB]. This Pope's successors, were of another opinion; they have tolerated worldly pomp in canonizations, to that excess as to offend the vulgar by it [CC].

(90) Id. *ibid.*

Hadrian opposed the plurality of benefices, either in his books or lectures. He has rather countenanced it, continues he, as appears by his commentary upon Lombard. *Neque vero ipse Hadrianus usquam diversum aut docuit, aut scripsit, ut ei falso intendunt, sed potius contra. Legat eum qui vellet, in quantum Petri Lombardi scribentem, ubi de restitutione agens, questionem illam ex professo differit (90).* All that this author mentions afterwards from this commentary, is not much to his purpose. If what he pretends might be inferred from it, it would only be by an oblique and very indirect consequence; and he says nothing of the quodlibetic oration, that it is affirmed Hadrian printed against the plurality of benefices. We will cite a Protestant writer, who tells us the answer this Pope made to those that asked him why he did not remove a corruption, which he had so well condemned.

Imò cum Lovanii olim edidisset Quodlibeticam Orationem contra pluralitatem beneficiorum, monentibus cur ipse qui jam potestatem tollendi haberet, quod ante reprehendere tantum potuisset, omnia beneficia maxime ex Inferiore Germania supplicantibus interciperet, respondit: cum parvuli essemus loquebamur, sapiebamus, faciebamus ut parvuli; nunc autem postquam viri facti sumus, reliquimus ea quæ sunt parvuli. Sic homo Traiecti non solum ex vilissimis parentibus ortus, verum etiam usque ad ipsum magisterium, mendicitate, & eleemosynariis sumptibus educatus, ad insuetæ fortunæ pruritus exiliit, sic in illa sede promovit, hanc reformationem promissit (91). — He having long before published at Louvain a quodlibetical oration against plurality of benefices, some took the liberty to ask him, why he, who now had the power of removing that abuse, which before he could only condemn, did now himself lay hold on all the vacant benefices, especially in the Low-Countries, he answered, when I was a child, I spake as a child, I thought as a child, and acted as a child, but when I became a man, I put away childish things. In this manner, that man born at Utrecht, of mean parents, and who, till he arrived at the degree of master of arts, was maintained by the charity of others, was swelled with his uncommon fortune, and thus when he arrived at the Papal chair did he promise this promise of reformation. I imagine, the Walloon minister I am going to cite, took the following reflexion from this Latin (92): 'Pope Hadrian VI. preceded him. There were some who wondered to see him act against a certain oration he had made at Louvain, being there Magister Noster, disapproving the multiplicity of benefices, and their crowding them under one hat: when, being Pope, he did the same thing, especially with respect to the benefices in the Netherlands. He answered them in the words of St Paul, When I was a child, I spake as a child, &c. 1 Cor. 13.' Mention is made of this, in the News from the Republic of Letters, 1684 (93).

[BB] He prohibited the expences . . . of canonization. A learned Jesuit was censured for having cited this fact. He found himself publicly accused of maintaining, that the charges of canonization are contrary to the purity and holiness of this act. His accuser's name was Sebastian of St Paul; he had been divinity professor at Louvain, and twice provincial of the Carmelites in the Netherlands. Observe how this Jesuit defended himself. He said (94), that he only reported what he had read in Blasius Ortizius, canon of Toledo, and a domestic of Hadrian VI. II. That having cited this in Italian, and named his author, he had reason to complain of being calumniated by his critic, who has suppressed these circumstances; for an accusation is not only unjust, when it affirms a falsehood, but also when it conceals the truth. *An ignoras certam esse apud Theologos sententiam, quod accusatio esse possit graviter injusta, non tantum ex falsi impostione, sed etiam ex reticentia veri (95).* III. That from his alleging a thing as glorious to Hadrian VI, it does not thence follow, that he taxes the other Popes with error, who approve or appoint the great expences of canonization. IV. That he praised Hadrian as a pious

man moved with an honest zeal, and acting according to the instincts of conscience, of which we may, and on many occasions ought, to follow the innocent error (96). V. That he did not give his approbation to Hadrian's motive, which was, that these expences were repugnant to the purity and holiness of canonization. VI. That he doubts not but they are founded upon many weighty reasons. VII. That Hadrian VI might err in that point as a private doctor, without prejudice to the infallibility of Popes pronouncing *ex cathedra*. VIII. That Baronius relates some much more notable errors of some Popes without being obnoxious, to be accused of injuring the holy apostolic see.

Who doth not here see the fatal marks of pre engagement? A Roman Catholic is a true slave in his judgment: there are a thousand instances in which he cannot commend good actions. Can any thing be more self-evident than that Hadrian VI merits approbation both for what he did, and for the reason why he did it? And yet here is a Jesuit, who not being able to praise him without indirectly censuring the other Popes, is forced to tread upon thorns in justifying himself; nor can he get off but by supposing our Hadrian in an error, but that his errors, being accompanied with a good intention, excuse him. This is all the glory a Pope can promise himself, who sets up to reform corruptions. He shall be excused for the errors of his conscience, and he said to have erred, not as a Pope, but as a private doctor. Great goodness indeed.

[CC] . . . His successors have allowed them to that excess as to offend the vulgar by it. Every body was scandalized in Paris, in 1622, to see the pomp wherewith the barefooted Carmelites celebrated the canonization of St Theresa. There came out the same year a little book, wherein it is feigned the good women murmured very much. One of them complains that she was burnt there. *Pray, cousin, says a young married woman, was you at this fire? For my part, I never saw such disorder, nor so much mischief: one of my brothers too had his whole face destroyed, and there is no likelihood of his recovery. But to what purpose are all these superfluities, says a toothless old woman? In my younger days I never heard of canonizing saints in this fashion, it is rather canonizing than canonizing. Softly, softly, aunt, says a merchant's wife of St Denis's street, a great deal more has been done at Rome. These are public rejoicings; there is no danger sometimes in superfluities, when we are induced to them by a pure and sincere affection; and besides, what the Carmelites have done, was by the command of the queen, who has supplied this expence, because St Theresa was a native of Spain. No matter for that, says a citizen's wife, living near Saint Leu, GOD has been a thousand times more offended than honoured by it; and I promise you, I do not at all approve of these things: how many maids do you think have been run away with? All the corn round about is beaten down and burnt: they have taken the month of August for it, rather than July. For my part, says an advocate's wife of the great council, I would have been of opinion, that all these superfluities should go to the adorning their church, at least it would have remained there for them, and they would have been more esteemed for it, and not to evaporate so much wealth into smoke, this would have kindled the fire of devotion in the hearts of those who came to visit them; whereas, on the contrary, all the air and fields round about have been set on fire with these fusties: I had a ruff of five stories utterly spoiled: besides, if the fire had been lighted at eight of the clock, so many cloaks had not been lost: all the scholars were there in arms (97). After all, it must be said here, as on many other occasions, there is nothing but is good for something or other; the greatest abuses have a fair side. If canonizations could be made without vast expences, they would be more common: it is well that the impossibility of supplying the expence is a barrier to the greediness of the monastic orders. Subjects of canonization would not be wanting; every community would have as many of them as the others; and if the charge was but little, the other engines would easily be prepared.*

(96) Laudo Adrianum VI. quia id fecit zelo bono & secundum conscientiam quam inculpabiliter errantem sequi cum laude possumus, & tunc debemus. *Id. ibid.*

(91) Novor. Episcop. Belgic. divisio, pag. 78, 79.

(92) Jeremy de Pours, Melody of the Holy Psalmist, pag. 859.

(93) In Novemb. art. vi, pag. 931.

(94) Daniel Papabrochius respons. ad exhibitionem errorum, pag. 62.

(95) Id. *ibid.*

(97) See the last entitled, Le Caquet de l'Accouchée . . . The Gossiping Third-Tattler, pag. 5, of the second day.

HADRIAN

HADRIAN (CORNELIUS DE), in Dutch Hadrianfen (a), a famous Dutch preacher in the XVIth Century, was of Dort: he became a Franciscan, and was guardian of the convent, and lecturer of divinity (b). He understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, well, and publicly taught these three languages (c). He preached thirty years at Bruges, and never was concerned at the slanders which were published against him. He died at Bruges, at sixty years of age, the fourteenth of July, 1581. He composed a treatise concerning the seven sacraments. John Lernutius had seen in manuscript many very learned sermons of this friar (d). The works which came out under his name, after his death, were mixed with buffoonry, and immodesty jests. Sanders pretends, that the heretics foisted them in, to defame the memory of this good and innocent monk (e). He ought to have proved this, or not to have said it. The Protestants speak of this Franciscan, as of a violent declaimer (f); and there are books which say that, he had introduced among women, a new sort of devotion, which was, that he appointed them certain days, in which they were to strip themselves stark naked before him [A], that he might give them a gentle discipline for the expiation of their faults (g). There is nothing that these people are not able to persuade women to, under the specious pretence of devotion [B], when they have the talent of prating, and are celebrated for their preaching. I have read somewhere, that George Cassander, who taught the *Belles Lettres* at Bruges, whilst Cornelius de Hadrian taught divinity there, found himself obliged, in the year 1554, to banish himself [C], in order to avoid the calumnies of this colleague.

[A] His devotees were to strip themselves stark naked before him. If Gyges's maxim were true, that a woman divests herself of her modesty with her cloaths (1), our Hadrian's affairs had been in a good case, supposing him not to have been visionary enough to fancy, that his giving some lashes to the naked bodies of the penitents, would have a singular virtue to expiate their sins. The world is so ready to construe things perversely, that there are few who will attribute the conduct of this friar, to any other principle than what somebody calls an inquisitiveness into the pleasures of others.

Εοικε η τε μοιχεια, πολυπερσχυροσυνη της αλλοτριας ηδονης ειναι, και ηττισι και ερσυνα των φυλαττομενων και λανθανοντων της πολλας. Videtur adulterium curiosa in alterius voluptatem esse inquisitio eorumque indagatio, quæ absconduntur & plerisque latent (2). — A curious prying into other peoples pleasures, and breaking in upon their secrecy, seems to be a sort of adultery. If it were true, as some learned men have affirmed (3), that in the primitive church, those who were baptized, of what age or sex soever, were as naked as they came into the world, one might better apprehend how this man, by his fine tongue, and great airs of piety, might bring his devotees to his ends. The sacrament of penance, said he perhaps to them, ought to be administered as baptism formerly was; the punishment of the lash, to which I condemn you, makes part of this sacrament; therefore, &c. Meteren (4) relates so fully, and with so many circumstances, what concerns the devotees of this friar, that one may believe it to be true.

Henry Stephens tells a story that has some relation to this. 'They went so far, says he (5), as to require (as I have read it) that they should be allowed in confession to handle the parts which have been the instruments of the sin that is confessed. And one of them who made that request, being told by a bishop that it would be a shameful thing, if men and women were obliged to shew them their privy-parts; he answered, that if a confessor may honestly consider with the eyes of the mind, (which are much more precious than those of the body) not only the members that have committed filthy actions, but also the very filthiness committed by them, which are discovered to him in confession; much less ought it to be thought an immodest thing to look upon those very members with the eyes of the body.' He further alleged, 'that a confessor, being a spiritual physician, ought to feel his patient, as the physician of the body feels and handles his patient. And mixing some blasphemies and prophanations with his jesting discourse, he brought in these words of our Lord, Go, and shew thyself to the priest, as if it had been the custom to strip, and shew themselves naked to the priest.'

Dr Boileau mentions what concerns our Hadrian. Inter exempla, says he (6), tam insauisæ notitiæ recen-

sere non pertimescam, Historiam hominis cucullati & cordigeri conventus Brugeois anno circiter MDLXVI cui nomen erat Cornelio Adriano (7) origine Dordracensis, adversus hæreticos Gueziis stomachosissimi concionatoris; qui puellas cum sceminis quoddam Sacramento fidelitatis & obedientiæ sibi adstrictas & specie pietatis devotas non quidem asperatis & modestis funibus verberabat, sed nudata earum femora, & nates inboneis virgibus rorantes virgis betulæ aut vimineis iisibus molli-ter infligebat, ut refert Emanuel Meteren Historiæ Belgicæ fol. clij. & cliij. edit. Amstelædamensis ann. 1570 (8). These words are to be found in his curious *Historia Flagellantium*. The French translator has not understood them; for he translates them as follows: 'Amongst all these woeful examples of rigid

piety, I shall venture to report, on the testimony of 'Meteren', a story of a Franciscan of a convent at

Bruges, called *Cornelius Adriano*, originally of Dort, who lived about the year 1566, and was a violent preacher against the Heretics, called *Gueux*: this monk had some girls and married women, who, under the appearance of religion, and under the oath of fidelity and obedience, were so devoted to him, that he was not satisfied with beating them with cords, with large knots; but besides, he gently whipt their thighs and naked hips, with rods of osier, or birch.' The Latin passage is so far from saying that this monk made use of cords with large knots, that the contrary is evident from it.

[B] There is nothing but these people are able to persuade women to, under pretence of devotion. I have spoken elsewhere of the great docility of the sex. See the remarks of the articles FRATRICELLI and GUILLEMETE.

[C] George Cassander . . . found himself obliged . . . to banish himself. The passage which I am going to quote, as a proof of this, contains a parenthesis, which concerns the whipping I spoke of above. 'Quum ante annos circiter XL (they are the words of Vulcanius, in an epistle dedicatory, dated from Leyden, on new-years-day, 1595) Georgius Cassander vir doctissimus Brugis Flandrorum communi utriusque nostrum patriæ publicum bonarum literarum professorem agens, ut collegæ ejusmodi sui qui sacras ibidem literas docebat, (illius inquam furiosi Theologi, à quo postea cum se in Seraphicam familiam dedisset, famosa illa Gynopygica disciplina Cornelianæ nomen invenit) calumniis cederet, voluntarium sibi ipsi exilium indixisset. — When about forty years ago, the learned George Cassander, who publicly taught the *Belles Lettres* at Bruges in Flanders, our common country, went into a voluntary banishment, that he might avoid the calumnies of one of his colleagues, who taught divinity there; I mean that furious divine, from whom, after he had entered into the Seraphic tribe, the famous stripping discipline, got the name of the Cornelian.'

(1) Herodot. lib. i, cap. viii.

(2) Plutarch. de Curios. pag. 519.

(3) Josèphus Vicecomes de ritibus Baptismi. Vossius, in The- sibus de Baptismo.

(4) Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, livr. viii, fol. 153. Hague Edit. 1618.

(5) Apology for Herodotus, book 3, chap. xxi, pag. m. 254, 255.

(6) Hist. Flagellantium, pag. 218, 219.

(a) That is to say, son of Hadrian.

(b) Swert. Athen. Belg.

(c) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg.

(d) Swert. Ibid.

(e) Apud Valer. Andr. Ibid.

(f) Tempore quo enim suam eloquentiam celebratissimè nominis Franciscanus, Cornelius Adriano, ni - - - exercebat, Schoockius, Exercitat. Saer. pag. 538.

(g) See Voëtius, Polit. Eccles. Tom. I, pag. 636.

(7) He should have said Hadrianfen, as Meteren's translator did.

(8) I do not believe that there is such an edition of Meteren.

(9) Hist. Belgicæ, fol. 153, 154. Edit. Amst. ann. 1570.

(9) Prefixed to Nilus's treatise de Primatu Papæ.

HAY,

(a) Taken from
a memoir com-
municated to
the Bookseller.

(1) Taken from
the aforesaid
memoir.

(2) Mr Pellifon, *History of the French Academy*, pag. m. 245, says, Paul Hay, Sieur du Chatelet, was of the ancient family of Hay in Bretagne, which boasts of being descended six hundred years ago, from that of the earls of Carlisle, one of the most illustrious families in Scotland.

(3) Taken from
the aforesaid
memoir.

(4). Taken from
the said memo-
rial.

(a) According to Southwell, *Bibliotheca Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 459. For Father Alegambe puts 1562, and not 1566.

dedicatory, dated the second of July, 1785, shews that the author had read divinity publicly for five years at Tournon. *Antimension ad Responsa Bezæ. Dissertatio contra Ministram anonyum Nemausensem*. His *Hellæborum Joanni Serrano*, found among his papers, is preserved in the archives of the society at Rome (1). This is all we learn from the two *Bibliothèques* of the Jesuits. The authors of them did not know that John Hay had actually published a book against de Serres, (viz.) an Answer to that minister's second Anti-Jesuit (2). The other works of John Hay are, *Scholæ brevia*

(1) Sotuel, Bib.
Script Societ.
pag. 439.

(2) See the De-
fence to the
Queries. at the
end of the An-
swer to the Pre-
face.

(b) Taken from Alegambe, Bibl. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, pag. 248.

John Sturmius (b). Father Alegambe deserves a little censure (c). We must not confound John Hay with a Jesuit of that name, who was banished by a decree of the parliament of Paris [B]. They both pretended to be of the family of Hay (d), mentioned in the foregoing article.

in *Bibliotheca Sanctam Sixti Senensis*, and a Latin translation of some letters of Jesuits, written from Japan and Peru. It was printed at Antwerp, in 1605, in 8vo. See Father Alegambe.

[B] A Jesuit of his name, was banished by an arrêt of the parliament of Paris. His name was ALEXANDER HAY. He was convicted of several seditious discourses against the king, after the reduction of Paris, so far as to say, that if he passed by their college, he would gladly throw himself headlong out of the window to break his neck by that means. This we read in Mezerai's great history (3). The author of the Anti-Coton will inform us of the date of the decree of the parliament. There were informations given Alexander Hayus, a Scotch Jesuit, who had taught publicly, that we ought to dissemble and obey the king for a time seemingly, frequently saying these words, *Jesu ita est omnis homo*. — A Jesuit is all to all men. This Jesuit was moreover charged with often saying, that he would

be glad, if the king passed by their college, to throw himself from the window, and break his neck. For which reason, by a decree of parliament, of the tenth of January, 1595, the said Hayus was condemned to perpetual banishment, and enjoined to continue it, upon pain of being hanged and strangled, without any form of process (4). The author of the *Remerciment des Bourriers*, having said the same thing, adds (5) that this Jesuit having afterwards repeated and confirmed these words in the city of Prague, and as the grandes of the kingdom having solicited to have him brought back into France on that account, it was answered, that he had eaten some pecked barley, not well boiled, and was found dead as suddenly as the provost-marshal of Pluviers, . . . who was strangled at the Chatelet, with a string of his drawers, which was not strong enough to bridle a fly. Alexander Hayus, if we believe Palquier (6), in the time of the troubles, was teacher of the first class of the Jesuits college at Paris.

(c) See the remark [D].

(d) See the Defence of John Hay's Sermon.

(4) Anti-Coton, pag. m. 38.

(5) Pag. 19. *Tout Remerciment was printed in 1610.*

(6) The Jesuit's Catechism, book ii, chap. xx, pag. m. 472.

(3) Tom. III, pag. 1135, 1136.

HAILLAN (BERNARD DE GIRARD lord of) historiographer of France, descended from an ancient and noble family [A], was born at Bourdeaux about the year 1535. He set up early for an author, and after having appeared in the Republic of Letters, in the quality of a poet and translator [B], he applied himself to the writing of history, and succeeded so well, that by his first performances of this nature, he obtained of Charles the IX, the title historiographer of France, in 1571 [C]. In 1576;

[A] He was descended from an ancient and noble family. When he speaks of the materials he collected to compose the History of France, he does not forget the assistances of his relations. Francis de Girard, my brother, lord of Haillan, says he (1), sent me from Bourdeaux, many papers, concerning the affairs of Guienne, collected by the late Lewis de Girard, our father; and by Giles, Mark, and Richard de Girard our grand-father, and great-great-grand-father; the two last whereof lived in Bourdelois, in honourable posts, at the time that the city of Bourdeaux, and the country of Guienne were reduced to the obedience of the French in 1451. He tells us, in another place (2), that his father was a curious man in the antiquities of his country, who for above forty five years was lieutenant in the admiralty of Guienne; and afterwards, adds he, Francis de Girard, lord of Haillan, my brother, was for above ten years in the same admiralty, under the late kings of Navarre, Henry and Antony.

[B] After having appeared in the quality of a poet and translator. In 1559, he published a poem at Paris, intitled, *The Union of the Princes, by the marriages of Philip king of Spain, and the lady Elizabeth of France, and of Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, and the lady Margaret of France* (3). He published in the same city, the same year, another poem, called *The Tomb of the most Christian king Henry II, and a Latin work, intitled, Regum Gallorum Icones à Faramundo usque ad Franciscum 2. Item Ducum Lotbaringerum à Carolo primo usque ad Carolum tertium versibus Latinis expressæ* (4). I may take for a translation, the tract concerning the duties of men, which he printed at Blois in 1560, in 8vo; for he took it from Tully's Offices. He published the same year at Paris (5); *The Roman history of Eutropius, containing, in ten books, all the transactions in peace and war, from the beginning of Rome, to the year MCXIX, of the same, translated from the Latin*. Eight years after he printed (6) *The Lives of the greatest, most virtuous, and most excellent Commanders, and other illustrious persons, both Greeks and Barbarians, written by Æmilius Probus, and translated from the Latin* (7).

[C] He obtained of Charles IX the title of historiographer of France, in 1571. This he tells us himself, in an epistle dedicatory, dated at Paris in July, 1576, where he thus speaks to Henry III (8). It is now five years since the late king, your brother, your self, Sir, and the queen your mother, having seen my book concerning the State and Success of the Aff-

airs of France, which was printed, and the two first books of the History of France, only in manuscript, it pleased the late king, at your's, and the queen your mother's request, to command me (and you, Sir, did the same) to write in French the History of the kings of France, your predecessors, hitherto ill written by our countrymen, and negligently or erroneously handled by strangers. And to furnish me with means and courage to undertake this work, it pleased the king, your brother, at the instance and request of Mr de Villequier, who always loved me, and my writings, and who is at present almost the only worthy witness of the long services, which, in more ways than one, I have done you since your childhood, to give me the place of historiographer of France, and to promise to raise and prefer me, which also, Sir, you assured me of on your part, and that my long and faithful services, and my ordinary labours, should receive their fruit. As this passage may serve for the proof of a thing which I have advanced in the text of this article (9), I was willing to give it intire. But that we may not be obliged to mention this again, here is a stronger proof still. This historiain having said that Henry III, loved always to bear and speak the truth, gave hopes to men of learning, that he would be their support, and sometimes would read and bear histories (10), adds, which I can truly say, as having known it from your infancy, at the time when I had the honour to be near your person, to serve you, and that not in the lowest rank, sometimes to discourse with you about many fine histories, both of the kings your ancestors, and of other kingdoms and states. The passage which I take from the epistle dedicatory of his State and Success of the Affairs of France, is still more decisive. I have learned, Sir, says he, addressing himself to Henry III, by the education I have had, and the communication of the affairs which I have seen, being near you, for the space of twelve years before your accession to the throne; and by many affairs which I have managed and seen for the service of the kings your predecessors, and your's, both within and without the kingdom, how one ought to speak and write of kings and their affairs (11). See also what will be related in the remark [L] (12).

Note, that he published at Paris, in 1571, *A brief History of the earls and dukes of Anjou, from Godfrey Grifigennelle, to Henry, son and brother to the kings of France, and duke of Anjou, Bourbonnois, and Auvergne* (13). He also published there the same year, *A Pro-*

(9) Viz. That du Haillan was in the duke of Anjou's service.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Epistle dedicatory, of the State and Success of the Affairs of France to Henry III, in the edition of 1580.

(12) That is to say, the passage where he complains, that he was the only person whom Henry III had not advanced.

(13) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 116.

(1) Du Haillan, preface to the History of France.

(2) The State and Success of the Affairs of France, book iv, folio m. 321, verso.

(3) La Croix du Maine, pag. 31.

(4) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 117.

(5) By Frederic Morel, in 8vo.

(6) At Paris, by Peter Huillier, in 4to.

(7) Du Verdier, ubi supra, pag. 116.

(8) Du Haillan, epistle dedicatory of the History of France.

(a) It was printed at Paris, by Peter l'Huillier in folio and in 8vo, in 1576, the following year it was printed by Peter de St André at Geneva (if I mistake not), in two volumes in 8vo.

1576, he published a history, which reaches from Pharamond, to the death of Charles VII (a). He was the first who composed a body of the French history in French. Henry III, was very well pleased with this; and shewed his satisfaction, by the advantageous and honourable gratifications he made the author [D]. He had him in his own service before his coming to the crown (b). The reasons which induced du Haillan to conclude his work with Charles the seventh's death, are very good, and shew that he understood the duties of an historian [E]. However, he afterwards promised to Henry IV, to continue

(b) See the remark [C].

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) La Croix du Maine, pag. 30.

(16) Of the State and Success of the Affairs of France.

(17) See, below, citat. (38).

(18) Du Haillan, epistle dedicatory of the State and Success of the Affairs of France, to Henry III, in the edition of 1580.

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) Martinus Zeillerus, *Hist. Chronol.* &c. Part. II, pag. 71.

(21) Aubignæus præfatione in *historiarum suarum partem primam*. *Ibid.*

mise and Design of the History of France (14). Du Verdier Vau-Privas, who tells me this, does not speak of a work which du Haillan had published in 1570, intitled, *Of the Fortune and Power of France, with a summary discourse on the Design of a History of France* (15). He published the same year a book (16) that has been reprinted very often (17), which he dedicated to the duke of Anjou. He says in his advertisement to the reader (18): 'This book, concerning the State and Success of the Affairs of France, which I present to you, clad in a new dress, much longer and finer than it wore formerly, was born ten years ago, and was presented to you at it's birth, being then very small. Two years after I took it out of it's infancy, and cloathing it in a longer habit, I gave it, by your command, to the late king Charles your brother.' Thus he speaks in the epistle dedicatory, of an edition in which this work appeared in a dress entirely new, and much larger, finer, and richer than it was before (19). The author revised and enlarged it in 1594, and dedicated it to Henry IV. Zeiller says, this book is often cited and commended; and that he has, in his 190th letter, given d'Aubigné's judgment about it (20). 'I have not seen that letter, but I am certain it contains a blunder: for d'Aubigné in the preface which Zeiller cites (21), passes no judgment on du Haillan's writings, contenting himself only to name him. His criticism only concerns la Popelinière, and Thuanus. This therefore is a great fault of Martin Zeiller; his omission is not a small one, for that author did not know that du Haillan writ the History of France. König likewise is ignorant of it.'

[D] Henry III shewed how well satisfied he was with it, by the advantageous and honourable gratifications he made the author.] La Popelinière, omitting the title of historiographer of France, conferred on du Haillan by Charles IX, touches only the recompences of Henry III. This omission may be excused, considering the difference which is betwixt a bare title, and a place settled, with a salary annexed to it. Now such was the employ that Henry III conferred on him. However, let us see what la Popelinière says (22). 'Henry III, the first of princes, ancient or modern, not only gratified the Sieur du Haillan of Bourdeaux, one of the secretaries of his finances, with several bounties, as an acknowledgment of the pains he had taken in the first body of his French history. But also honoured him afterwards with the first place of historiographer of France, which he erected into a lasting title of office, with a fixed salary of 1200 crowns per annum, and made him one of his privy-counsellors, at the instance of chancellor Chiverny, that he might there be the better instructed in the knowledge and account of the most important affairs of the kingdom. So that Henry III was the first who raised the bare and simple title of historian, to the honourable degree and title of historiographer of France, in the person of Bernard de Girard, Sieur du Haillan, after his dedicating and presenting to him his History of France, collected from preceding authors, as the first body of history in a French dress.' We read in the French Mercury (23), 'that Henry III as an acknowledgment of the pains du Haillan had taken in the first book of his French history, gratified him with a place of secretary of his finances.' I do not know what this first book of the History of France, is, which was recompensed in this manner: for du Haillan published the History of France all at once; and he does not say in his epistle dedicatory, that he had already obtained any recompence. He only says (24), that Charles IX had given him the place of historiographer, with fair promises, and that Henry III, then duke of Anjou, had also promised him some benefactions. I fancy that the compiler of the Mercury was afraid of being censured for transcribing the passage of la Popelinière word for word, and that to prevent it, he quoted him with some alterations, but he did not succeed well in it. He changed the first body of his French history, into the

first book of his French history. These two phrases are widely different. The former signifies, that du Haillan was the first who published a body of French history: the other signifies, that the first book of the French history, written by du Haillan, was printed by it self, before all the rest. The author of the Mercury supposes, moreover, that this first book procured him the secretaryship of the finances, from Henry III; but la Popelinière, the Mercury's author, says no such thing; he supposes that du Haillan was secretary of the finances before the publishing of the History of France. It must however be acknowledged, that his narrative is somewhat confused: he has inserted an *afterwards*, which perplexes the sense; it being a term which but ill agrees with the words following. The Mercury adds, I. that after the recompence for the first book, the historian obtained a better, when he dedicated his History of France to Henry III, for he was honoured with the place of counsellor and historiographer of France. II. That he afterwards wrote the State and Success of the Affairs of France: this is false, this book was printed before the death of Charles IX (25). III. That he was made genealogist to the knights of the order of the HOLY GHOST, at the creation of that order. He might have said, that he had, in commendam, an abbey which the famous Abelard had possessed (26). Note, that in the first edition of his history, he only styles himself historiographer of France, but in the latter he is styled counsellor to his majesty, secretary of his finances and chamber, and historiographer of France. Note also, that in 1584, he was not yet rewarded. We shall see his complaint below (27).

[E] The reasons which induced him to conclude his work with Charles VII, . . . shew, that he understood the duties of an historian.] I mean chiefly, the reflection he has made, that a man exposeth himself to an unlucky alternative, who writes the history of monarchs lately dead. He must either dissemble the truth, or provoke persons who are most to be feared. The first of these inconveniences shocks an historian's honour and conscience, the other offends against his prudence. It is best therefore to say nothing. This was one of du Haillan's reasons with respect to the reigns that followed Lewis XII (28). He adds (29) a general reason of great weight; viz. that there were already particular histories of all the reigns after Charles VII, and that in the common opinion it was almost impossible to equal the writers of some of these works. This consideration ought to affect an honest man, and a famous historian. He ought to save the reader the discontent of purchasing the same thing twice. The respect he owes the public requires this, and justice will not allow him to transcribe the histories which others have wrote: this is robbing another of his property. His own reputation and prudence, oblige him to seek a more difficult and certain way to glory. To copy or give a new form to the writings of others, is too cheap a labour to be honourable, and exposes you to the infamy of plagiarism. You will be reckoned a vain man, if you pretend to equal their glory who are thought incomparable, and you run the risk of being still accounted inferior, though you should equal or exceed them. Ought a wife man to encounter the prepossessions of the public? It is pity but such reasons should make as great impressions on every body, as they did on du Haillan (30), libraries would not be so thronged with books, containing the same things. Let us here give the description he has made of the inconveniences which the authors of the history of their own times fall into. 'For as much as all those histories which treat of king Francis I were written in his, or his son Henry's time, the authors have perhaps more enlarged on the praises of this king, than was suitable to his merit, (though he was a great and excellent prince) or to the duty of an historian, or to truth. This is the constant fault of those who write the history of their own times, and of the princes under whom they live. For where is the

(25) See, above, citat. (18), the words of Du Haillan's epistle dedicatory.

(26) That of Ruys in Bretagne. See Francis d'Amboise, in the apologetical preface to Abelard's works.

(27) In the remark [L], citat. (61).

(28) See the preface to his History of France.

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) At least for some years. See the following remark.

(22) La Popelinière, book I, of the new History of the French, pag. 375.

(23) *Mercur. Franc.* Tom. II, pag. m. 61.

(24) See his words, above, citat. (8).

continue this history to his time [F]. But he has not made this promise good. The reason which obliged him to continue it, is not for the honour of Philip de Comines (c). He had the courage to confute many traditions, which an indiscreet zeal for the

(c) See the remark [F].

the man who would dare to touch upon the vices of his prince, or blame his actions or those of his ministers, and relate the plots, deceits, and treasons which are acted in his reign, or say, that his prince committed such an injustice, was guilty of fornication; or that a certain man ran away in a battle, and that another committed such a treason, such a one was guilty of a robbery, and another of a treachery, and a third of such another villany? There is no body bold enough to do this. And therefore they who write the history of their own times, are agitated by several passions, and are obliged, either to lie openly, if they universally and throughout praise their princes, or favour their nation, if they always blame their enemies; or to dissemble and palliate the truth, or to make a motley piece of work of it, or to gild over their writings, and the actions of their princes with fine words, or (if they resolve to speak the truth) they are forced to conceal their names, and print their works without them. They who write the history of their predecessors, may (if they will) avoid this fault, and run boldly in the field of truth, with all assurance and liberty of language (31).

(31) Du Haillan's preface to the History of France, fol. o. i, verso, edit. 1572.

Many readers will here call to mind the words of the emperor Pseccennius Niger. *Praise Marius, or Hannibal, or some other great general, of former ages, said he to an orator who presented himself before him, to speak a panegyric in his praise; for it is ridiculous to praise the living, especially if they be emperors: rewards are expected from them, they are feared, they can kill and banish. Quum imperatori factio quidam panegyricum recitare vellet, dixit ei, Scribe laudes Marii vel Annibalis, vel alicujus ducis optimi vita functi, & dic quid ille fecerit ut eum nos imitemur. Nam viventes laudare irriso est, maxime imperatores, a quibus speratur, qui timentur, qui præstare publice possunt, qui possunt necare, qui proferbere: se autem vivum placere vellet, mortuum etiam laudari (32).*

(32) *Ælius Spartianus*, in *Pseccennio Nigro*, cap. xi, pag. m. 672, Tom. I.

In what cases it is lawful to write history, &c. already handled by others.

(33) It is the second, not in his book, but in the abstract I have given above of his narrative.

Let us say, by the by, that we must not make du Haillan's second reason a general rule (33); for there are many cases, in which it is very reasonable to write the history of the same reigns which have already been written by others. As I. when a man has many new things to say, or when he can illustrate and rectify the preceding histories in many places. II. When the design is to collect into one body all the facts belonging to a history, some whereof lie in some books, and others in some others. III. When the taste of the readers requires a new language, and a new turn. At present, for instance, most people would chuse rather to be ignorant of history, than to read the authors who composed it, in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. And therefore, though an historian should have nothing to say but what was already printed, yet it would be commendable to publish an history, provided the turn and the style could allure the reader, and the public appeared altogether disgusted with the other historians. Whence it appears, that if there are so many books containing the same things, it is not always the fault of the authors, but frequently of the readers, who will not be at the pains of seeking historical facts separately, or of turning over books written in old French. It is therefore for their convenience and profit, that some authors publish histories, which teach nothing new, and only connect together in a better style, the different pieces of other authors. If you have discovered some new facts, will it be said to you, be contented to publish them, and nothing else, why do you from thence take occasion to make a large book, in which you crowd so many trite stories? This censure is just on many occasions, but not when their new discoveries may be diffused upon a very long train of events. They must then be incorporated with former narrations; the interest and convenience of the reader requires it. We shall see, by and by, that upon this principle, our du Haillan changed his resolution.

What has been said of historical books, may be applied to other works. There are but too many I own which contain nothing but what is found in an hundred others; but on the other side, it would be a thing prejudicial to the republic of letters not to dare to put in a book, what other books have already published (34). A divine of Leyden pretends, that it is of great

(34) See the preface to the first edition of the *Several Thoughts upon Comets*.

use to publish several books upon the same subjects, when they are important; he asserts also, that it is an excellent way to lessen the multitude of books which burden and oppress so many people. The reason of this paradox is, that a considerable number of books upon certain subjects, would imploy the public, and by that means abundance of other books would be neglected, and leap at once from the Bookfeller's to the Grocer's shop. Let us see this author's words, in which we shall find an excellent thought of St Augustin. *Id (scribendi cacoëthes) nunc his temporibus in immensum est auctum, ut omnem medelam superasse videatur, nec alio modo possit coerceri, quam si plures divulget libros; quam rationem agendi forte paradoxam aliquis dixerit, optimam tamen nemo jure negaverit. De multitudine librorum utilium immenso numero non est quod jure conqueramur, qui non facile nimis augentur. Quamvis enim de rebus iisdem scribant plures, modo illæ sint cognitu dignæ, nullum id nocumentum veritati videtur inferre, quæ sic ad plures sibi viam pandit, cum lectorum alii his potius, quam illis scriptoribus delectentur, quamvis de eodem argumento commentatis. Quod rectè observavit Augustinus lib. 1. de Trinitate cap. 3. Neque enim omnia, quæ ab omnibus conscribuntur, in omnium manus veniunt. Et fieri potest, ut nonnulli, qui etiam hæc nostra intelligere valent, illos planiores non inveniant libros, & in istos saltem incident. Ideoque utile est, plures à pluribus fieri diverso stylo, non diversa fide, etiam de questionibus eisdem, ut ad plurimos res ipsæ perveniant, ad alios scilicet, ad alios autem sic. Quæ ratione inutiles libri sensim eliminantur, ut alii postea non sit usus, quam ut piperi & thuri involvendo inserviant (35).* — This (it is of writing) is prodigiously increased in our days, and seems to be past remedy, neither can it be checked any other way than by publishing still more books; this may appear a paradox to some, but the reason will appear evident. For no body can justly complain of the great number of useful books which can hardly be too great. For though many write on the same subjects, provided they be useful subjects, truth cannot suffer thereby; but by this means gains more votaries, since some readers are more pleased with some books than with others, tho' treating on the same subjects. This St Augustin rightly observed. All books, says he, which are written, do not come into the hands of all. And it may happen, that they who are able to understand this book of mine, may not meet with the books which are written in a more intelligible manner, and may only light on mine. Therefore it is useful that different persons should write on the same point in a different style, though not containing a different doctrine, that so the doctrine it self may arrive at a greater number of persons, to some in one dress, to others in another. By this means useless books are banished by degrees, and come to be only employed to wrap up small wares.

(35) Christophorus Wittichius in *Prefat. Consensus veritatis secundæ*, edit. præfixa.

[F] He promised to Henry IV to continue this history to his time. I prove it by this passage (36): 'I have also written a book concerning the monarchy of France, which will soon be presented to your majesty, with a description of all the secrets and affairs of the establishment, greatness, and power of your kingdom, and of the kings your predecessors. Their history, which I have composed and finished at the death of Charles VII, shall be quickly followed by that of the other succeeding kings, down to your majesty; then your's will appear, if you please, to have it published.' This is what du Haillan said to king Henry IV in an epistle dedicatory, dated in October, 1594. He had acquainted his readers with the change of his resolution ten years before; for dedicating to Henry III the second edition of his History of France, corrected and enlarged in 1584, he speaks to him in this manner. 'Though in my epistle dedicatory to your majesty, and in the preface of the first edition, I said, that I would proceed no further, nor write the history of Lewis XI, because it was already done by Philip de Comines, Sieur d'Argenton; yet having since changed my resolution, I have begun it with hopes of finishing it this next winter, if I find that this my labour shall be acceptable to you.' It is

(36) Du Haillan's epistle dedicatory of the State and Success of the Affairs of France, in the edition of 1594.

the glory of France had propagated, and to speak freely upon some tender points, as for example, concerning the maid of Orleans [G]. This liberty gave offence to narrow minds, and such as would have every thing sacrificed to policy. I do not know whether

is not aims to see the reason of his change; for besides that, we shall thereby see his judgment concerning Philip de Comines, we shall find that he was under one of those cases in which it is permitted to write a history after other writers. 'That which has caused

(37) *Idem*,
Epistle dedicatory
of the History of
France, in the
edition of 1584.

me, says he (37), to alter my resolution, and to treat of the said king Lewis was, that the Sieur d'Argenton began his history, called *Memoirs*, but from the fifth year of his reign, and that all the causes of the wars, and of the great affairs this king had, are comprised betwixt the beginning of his reign, and the time wherein Philip de Comines begins to write, and in that part of history which he has treated, he has concealed many things, which I have discovered, and extracted from many books, memoirs, and dispatches of that time, and from many secret discourses, written either in his reign, or a little after his death, free from fear, hatred, flattery, praise, or passion, into which they often fall who write the history of their own times, and by the two last of which Philip de Comines has been influenced, being moved thereto either by his great affection towards his master, or the benefactions he had received from him, or the fear of his successor. And therefore he has not said what others might say, and what other historians have said of the actions, vices, and craft (38) of that king; and praising him more than he ought, he in many places acts the part of an orator, and of a panegyrist, and not of an historian; and in his long digressions on the affairs of foreign potentates, he transgresses the bounds of history, and of an historian. For the rest, none of the promises du Haillan made, of continuing the History of France, came to any thing. Nothing of this kind was found amongst his papers after his death (39); the Bookellers, who added a continuation to his work, as far as the year 1615 (40), and afterwards as far as the year 1627, took it from Paulus Emilius, Philip de Comines, Arnoul Ferron, du Bellay, &c.

(38) He had added in the edition of 1576, and *crucities*.

(39) See the advertisement of the Bookellers, in the editions of his History of France after his death. I use that of Paris, 1557, in two volumes in folio.

(40) Du Chesne, *Bibliothèque des Historiens de France*, pag. 55, of the edition of 1618, speaks only of this edition, which is in two volumes in folio. Apply to this the criticism we have seen upon him in a like case, in the article EMILIUS, remark [G], *citat.* (15).

(41) Du Haillan, epistle dedicatory of his History of France, edit. 1584.

[G] He had the courage to confute many traditions . . . and speak freely . . . concerning the maid of Orleans. Let no body wonder at the length of the passage I am going to cite; it is instructive, and shews the true character of an historian, and the ridiculous offence which is taken by ill-turned heads, from his boldness in preferring truth before all things. This wrong turn of mind is of all times and places. It is worth while to observe, how celebrated authors have contemned and opposed it. Du Haillan's words are as follows (41). 'I have not acted the part of a flatterer, nor of a courtier, but that of an historian, and I have spoken the truth. I have not imitated flattering painters, who drawing a face, if it happen to have any imperfection or deformity in it, leave it out, or paint it to advantage. My resolution was to paint the ugliest as well as the finest features, and to speak boldly and freely of every thing with an unusual liberty, which will be praised and admired by all good readers; as I have formerly done in my History of the State and Success of the Affairs of France; in which I have boldly spoken many things, which, before me, no body would, nor durst, say, and possibly did not know. For both in that work, and in this I have encountered many commonly received opinions, such as the coming of Pharamond into Gaul, the institution of the Salic law, which is attributed to him, the creation of the peers of France, ascribed to Charlemagne, and other particular points, having with boldness and truth affirmed, that Pharamond never passed the Rhine to enter Gaul, and that he did not make the Salic law to exclude the daughters from the succession of our crown, because he never came into our France. Whereupon, some who pretend to speak of every thing, and know nothing, and who think by their ill-grounded opinions to overturn those which are built upon judgment and reason, have said, that I went about to destroy the principles of our history, by denying the institution of this law by Pharamond. But, Sir, this is not my design, but only to reject an ancient error, the Salic law being, in my opinion, ancient and approved enough, since it has been practised as a law, from the beginning of our first kings (as you may see more

at large at the beginning of the first book of this history in the life of Pharamond) and my opinion thereupon, can give no advantage to strangers, nor scandalize our natives, except such as are scandalized with every thing but what themselves say and do. Some have found fault with my liberty of language in this particular, and in that of the peers of France, and in others, saying, that I act against the duty of an historian, by robbing France of an ancient opinion she had of the coming of Pharamond into Gaul, of the Salic law made by him, and the institution of the peers of France, and that it is a crime to abrogate things grown old in opinion, and written by ignorant people, who never read good books, and believed by others as ignorant, who have neither sense nor understanding to read, or understand, good and ancient authors, but rather amuse themselves with old trumpery, as unpollished as their own heads. Good historians (Sire) ought not in their words or writings to follow the opinions of the vulgar, but only faithful true ones, and such as are approved by authors, or by good arguments and conjectures, which when they are numerous, and well applied, serve for a true and certain testimony, when, by the injury of time, the proof of the truth by writing is wanting. I have therefore (Sire) in these things, and many others, rejected the common opinion for the true. In which I presume I have done good service to the History of France, disengaging it from many forgeries and fables, which render it disagreeable, and sometimes contradictory, delivering the readers from uncertainty in many points, concerning which they could not come at a right judgment in it. In which I am certain of pleasing men of judgment, for it is such whom I study to please, and not those who shall dislike my opinions and writings. If you would know what he says of the maid of Orleans, read this other passage (42).

'The miracle of this maid, whether it was invented and feigned, or true, raised the courage of the nobles, the people, and the king, who had lost it; such is the force of religion, and frequently of superstition. For some say, that this Joan was a whore to John, bastard of Orleans, others to the Sieur Baudricourt, others to Pothon, who being politic and prudent, and seeing the king at his wits end, and the people so discouraged by continual wars, that there was no raising their hopes and spirits, bethought themselves of employing a miracle, made up of a false religion, which of all things in the world is most apt to raise and animate the courage of men, and to make even the most simple believe what is not. And the people were very much disposed to receive such superstitions. They who believe she was a maid sent from God, are not damned; neither are those who do not believe it. Many think this last article an heresy; but I shall suspend my belief on either side. Their lords for some days together, intrusted her in all she was to answer to the questions which should be put to her by the king, and them, when she should come into his presence (for they themselves were to interrogate her) and that she might know the king, (whom she had never seen) when she should be brought near him, they made her, every day look several times on his picture. On the day appointed, in which she was to come to his chamber, which being by their appointment, they failed not to be there. And when she came in, the first who asked her what she would have, were the bastard of Orleans and Baudricourt; who asked her what she wanted, she answered she desired to speak with the king. They shewed her one of the other lords who was there, saying that he was the king, but she being before instructed in every thing that was to be said and done to her, and in what she was to say and do, said that he was not the king, and that the king was hid behind the bed, (where indeed he was) and going to him, she said to him, what has been above related. This feigned and counterfeit invention of religion, was of such advantage to the kingdom, that it raised the drooping and dispirited courage of the people from despair. At last she was taken by the English before Compeigne,

(42) *Idem*, in the second book of the State and Success of the Affairs of France, pag. 138, 6, 17, of the Paris edition, 1610. Note, That Gabriel Naudé is of the same opinion: The English, says he, in the third chapter of his *Coups d'Etat*, pag. m. 323, being masters of almost all France, it was necessary under Charles VII, to have recourse to some piece of state-policy to expel them, such was that of Joan the maid, which was confessed to be such by Justus Lipsius, in his politics, and by some other foreign historians, but particularly by two of our own, to wit, du Bellai Largey, in his *Military Art*, and by du Haillan, in his History, not to cite many other less considerable writers.

whether he did well to publish some things, which he knew only by hear-say [H]. He was much criticised, and he showed how it vexed him, by the haughtiness where-with he answered his censurers [I]. He has not been unjustly censured in every thing

piegne, and carried to Rouen, where she was tried and burnt. Some have been, and will be, displeased at my saying this, and that I deprive our country-men of an opinion, which they have so long entertained of this as a sacred and miraculous thing, and that I thus turn it at present into a fable. But I resolved to say this, because it has been discovered to be so by time, which discovers all things: besides, it is not a thing of that importance, that it ought to be believed as an article of faith.

[H] He published some things which he knew only by hear-say. It was upon such foundation that he published that Charles VIII. was supposititious. See the News from the Republic of Letters (43). Varillas confutes this story (44).

[I] He showed how much he was vexed being criticised, by the haughtiness wherewith he answered his censurers. As the works he had published before the history of France, had been criticised, he doubted not but this would have the same fate. And therefore he shewed his contempt of it before hand, and placed on the backside of the title, a sonnet, which has something of the Gascon in it. These are the six last lines,

Mille & mille ignorans, superbes envieux,
Medifans, estourdis, vains & presumptueux,
Te voudront attaquer une indigne querelle.
Mais ne crains tout cela, ains passe hardiment,
Car leur presumption, ny leur sot jugement,
Ne pourront empêcher ta carrière immortelle.

Tho' basely attacked by thousands of ignorant, proud, envious, malicious, vain, and presumptuous, men, do not fear, but march boldly on; for neither their presumption, nor foolish censures, shall be able to stop thy immortal career.

In the very beginning of this preface, he makes this observation. 'If this history of France cannot please every body, as I well know it will not please the nice, the ignorant, and the envious (and such I will not please) who will pass their foolish, ignorant, and envious judgments on it, I am certain it will please those amongst you who are writers, who know by experience what labour is, who have a judgment free from all passion, and who generously excuse the faults and inadvertencies which may be met with in so great a work.' The last part of this passage is considerable, and most true in certain respects. No sort of readers are more prone to criticise, or more rash and unjust in their censures, than they who write nothing. An author has more reason to promise himself some support and equity amongst authors, than amongst such as know not by experience, the difficulties of writing. Provided only there be no emulation in the case, as sometimes there is not; for authors do not always take the same road: the reputation of one, is not always of the same kind with that of another. And, in this case, it is better to be judged by a laborious author, than by lazy readers. In the other case, a reader proves more equitable. But to return to du Haillan, he speaks thus towards the end of his preface:

'In the mean time, I will consider the enviers and slanderers of me and my works, who will cast the darts of their malice against both. Being able to say with truth, readers, that in my fortune, actions, and writings, I have never been envied or hated by any, but by the ignorant and the wicked, and those whose name, bodily health, and reputation, have been tainted with some vice.' The storm of criticism which he foresaw actually happened (45). Let us see what he observes in the epistle dedicatory (46) of the second edition (47). 'This work . . . was no sooner born, but it was barked at, and bit by the envy and obloquy of all sorts and ranks of people, some openly my enemies, and others my pretended friends; nay, there were some, who carrying it fair with me, as they did in all their actions, and courting your favour by indirect and oblique ways, of which they were extremely greedy, went about to purchase it by imposture and calumny, at the expense of my reputation and that of my history, censuring it in your presence, (Sire) for that for which it has since been most esteemed, and which will give it the greatest honour and favour with posterity; I mean the simple truth, and the freedom with which I have wrote.' He expresses still more repentment, and confidence, at the end of his preface. 'They, says he, according to their usual malice, were of the number of my assailants; but I have resolved to despise their ignorance, and laugh at it, covering my self with the veil of truth, and the benevolence of such of my readers, as have read and shall read my book with judgment, and have approved, and shall approve it; for it is for you that it is written, and not for the envious, ignorant, and malicious, who can see nothing that is good, and know not how to judge of, or esteem what is praise-worthy.' Amongst the things he said to his critics, I have met with one that deserves consideration. 'If

sometimes I name men, whose name the too ticklish reader will say, is not an affair of state; I will answer him, that it seemed so to me, that I have a judgment as well as he, and (let him be who he will) I know better what I write, than he knows how to judge of my writings (48). This is what many other authors may and ought to represent to their critics. A man who has been employed many years upon one kind of work, knows better than another what are the properties of it. He has not, if you will, so good a taste and judgment as another, generally speaking; but since he has studied certain subjects, and applied himself to them for a long time, we ought to believe, that he judges better of their nature, and the ornaments which belong to them, than they who have not made them their particular study. And therefore we ought not to imagine, that certain authors act imprudently, when on several occasions, they prefer their own judgment, before that of their friends, or their enemies, though otherwise more knowing than themselves. A writer less intelligent, generally speaking, than his readers, will yet have more views than they upon the subjects he treats of; and whilst they know not whether he had reason to say such or such things, he will know that he was induced to it by many reasonable motives, grounded upon the character of his work. Hence arise infinite ill-grounded censures, and hence we also see how requisite it is to study well the rules, before we pronounce whether a work be good or bad. For example, to judge well of this history, with a commentary annexed, which I call an *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, a man must have studied the rights and privileges of an historical commentator; and hereupon I might say, with du Haillan, *I know better what I write, than such a one knows how to judge of my writings*. I have studied the nature and properties of compilations; if they every where pleased one kind of people, they would not be good. They who know not the character of them want to find in them only what pleases their own palate.

Here are two other passages of du Haillan, which will inform us that he was criticised and vexed at it. 'My works, Sire . . . have not been able to avoid the barkings and bitings of calumny and envy, and of railers and slanderers, with whose slings, not only my writings have been pricked, but also the course of my fortune, has been wounded, ulcerated, and splot; it seems that some rays of virtue and ability, which my enemies discovered in me, were offensive to the eyes of their ignorance and malice, and that my lustre could not be born by them. Nay, Sire, in your presence, I have been so slandered and ill used, that it is not long of my enemies, if I have not forfeited your favour and good opinion, in which alone I have ever sowed the hopes of all my happiness, and the seeds of my most humble and devoted service. But your goodness and wise judgment, Sire, has made them appear impostors, and delivered me from the fears of the mischief with which they threatened me (49). He spoke thus to Henry III, in 1580, dedicating a new edition of one of his books to him. The preface of the same book thunders against du Haillan's critics, I have taken what follows from it. 'There are some phantastical wits (the number whereof is endless) accustomed

(48) *Idein. Preface to the History of France*, pag. m. 18. I here make use of the edition of 1577 in 8vo.

When authors ought sometimes to prefer their own judgments before the judgments of others.

(43) Month of July, 1686. art. ix, pag. 825.

(44) Varillas's History of Lewis XI, book x, pag. 328. Dutch Edit.

WHETHER it be better to be judged by an author, or by others.

(45) Wherever speaking of his censurers, he had made use of the future-tense, in the preface to the first edition, he makes use of the preter-tense in the second.

(46) To Henry III.

(47) That of the year 1584.

(49) Du Haillan's epistle dedicatory of the *State and Success of the Affairs of France*, in the edition of 1580.

Q q q

accustomed

as I shall shew by a passage of Sorel [K]. His manner of speaking of himself, is a testimony that he was not disinterested enough, either as to his glory or fortune. He displays too much his labours, and the success of his books, their several editions, translations, &c. and he too palpably manifests his desires of reward [L]. I do not know

accustomed to slander and abuse every thing, being stupified with ignorance and presumption, who do not relish it. Of these some are dangles about the court, others are lawyers, others collegians, others some young coxcombs, lately come from the university, with three borders of Latin upon their gowns, and a shred of purchased honour, who ferreting all sorts of books, pretend to despise and reject them, if they find a letter misplaced, or do not find what they know not how to look for. Others are professed writers, who, being swelled up, and big with books, bring forth one every week, fill the book-sellers stalls with them, talk boldly of every body, despise the works of others, and approve of none but their own. Some of these last, are meer apes, for if they see another do a work, at thirty paces distance from thence, they bring forth another in embryo to which they give the same name. All these sorts of people have attacked, pinched, and barked at me, but however they have not bitten me, nor done any injury to my present performance, or to my history of France, being only like dead coals, which blacken, without being able to burn: for in spite of their envy, cavils, pedantry, railing and presumption, my works fly through the world, have obtained a great reputation, and are translated into several languages. . . . As for the courtiers who have defamed my writings, and attempted to make them odious, they are men accustomed to rob others of their honour, when they want opportunities of pillaging any thing else (50).

(50) Idem, Preface to the same book, and the same edition.

[K] He has not been unjustly censured in every thing: as I shall shew by a passage of Sorel. It contains a just censure of some of du Haillan's faults, and also some small commendations. 'He was even desirous to imitate the elegance of the best historians, but to avoid pains, he has almost translated word for word, all Paulus Æmilius's orations, and has also copied him in his narrations: it is true, he has added a great many curious observations, which he found elsewhere. He may be charged with giving a fabulous exordium to his history, intirely of his own invention, making Pharamond, and his faithful counsellors, deliberate, whether, having the power in his hand, he ought to reduce the French to an aristocratical or monarchical government, and making each of them harrange in support of his opinion. We there find the names of Charimond and Quadrek, imaginary persons. It is a thing very surprizing: we have but little certainty that there was ever such a man as Pharamond in the world, and though we knew that there was, yet it is an egregious boldness to relate things of him, which have no foundation. Dupleix censures du Haillan for it, and reproaches him for having taken his speeches from Amadis de Gaule; but Amadis has no such political discourses. We must suppose Dupleix only meant, that du Haillan had invented this, as it were to write a kind of a romance. However, if they are not to be found in Amadis, they may be found in many other places. They are common places, which are usually met with in books, that treat of so trivial a subject, as the different forms of government. Du Haillan is accused on another hand of talking too freely of some ecclesiastics: but he has done this possibly to shew his zeal for our kings, and to maintain their authority. Notwithstanding all this his writings are more judicious and methodical than those who preceded him. His history instructs us in many particulars of the French government, which he understood well enough, as he has likewise shown in his book, of the state and success of the affairs of France. In fine, he is to be praised for having first attempted to put our history in a good and agreeable form, which he has effected according to the knowledge of the time in which he lived (51).

(51) Sorel, Bibl. Franç. pag. m. 373, 374.

(52) Du Haillan's epistle dedicatory of the edition of 1584.

(53) That is, from 1571, when the king commanded him to write the History of France.

[L] He displays too much his labours, and the success of his books. . . . he too palpably manifests his desires of reward. Let us begin with these words of his epistle dedicatory to his history France (52). 'From that time (53) to the year 1576, when it was first printed, I laboured night and day upon this history, with the

sweat and labour of my body, the wasting of my years, the great fatigue of my mind, and expence of my purse, in procuring of books, titles, charters, memoirs, and other materials requisite for the building so great a work; and I have neglected my affairs, and the means of improving them, at a time that every one in my sight, was making his fortune, and striving more than in any age, to get wealth, and obtain gifts and bounties from your majesty, rather than to write or read books, that I might give my self up intirely and wholly to the accomplishment of this work, which at last after four years employed in raising it, I have finished; after many days spent in study, in solitude, and in great racking of my brain; after many watchings, and after great reading, tumbling, turning over, and collating many Latin, French, and Italian books, both ancient and modern, and many monuments, papers, titles, old writings, and musty manuscripts, rummaged and turned over; I have found it a hard task, Sire, that if, when I undertook this work, I had known or imagined the pains I was to take, and which I have taken, I should have excused myself to your majesty; and no gift, or promise, or desire, or hope of honour, glory, or advantage, could have induced me to engage in it.' He afterwards shews at large, the imperfections of the historians (54) he was obliged to consult, and then he adds: 'from all these confusions, diversities, prolixities, and labyrinths, Sire, I have overcome, and have written the history of France, and of the kings your ancestors, in the best manner that I could. I have not been able to do it so well as it deserves, or to give it its just perfection; and I will not blame the dead or their works, to give the praise and advantage to my own. Only I will say, without presumption and boasting, that I have done a thing which had not been done before, or seen by any of our nation, and have given to the history France, a dress it never appeared in before. . . . Some may be able to write the history of France as well, and better than myself, and others worse; but if I obtain not the first rank amongst them, I assure myself I shall not have the last. I have found the way of drawing the quintessence out of these gross masses of ancient histories, and of reducing their luxuriance, superfluity, and prolixity, to things necessary, and not superfluous; and besides, not willing to rely upon our histories and chronicles, I have extracted from foreigners, from the registers of courts of parliament, from the chambers of accounts, and charters of churches, and from books lent me by some of my friends, the necessary materials for my subject. My sole aim was truth, which is the eye of history &c.' He repeats a great deal of this in his preface: 'I have laboured upon it, says he, for five years, I have spent many whole days, and half nights; many watchings, studies, and solitudes, have been employed in it. I have rummaged, read, and turned over and over, many books, charters, monuments, old writings, papers, and parchments; I have had many Latin, French, and Italian books, treating of the histories of France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Flanders, Scotland, Burgundy, Bretagne, Anjou, Berry, and Aquitaine, of the holy wars in Asia and Europe, the lives of Popes and emperors, and abundance of others, with a world of old writings and ancient monuments. From all these I have extracted the quintessence, distilling them in the alembic of my judgment and labour, and I shew you what I have extracted from them in my book.'

If you would know what he says of the success of his work, read what follows (55). 'My history, which has vanquished their envy, and that of all those who railed at it, shall live as long as the French tongue shall continue and prevail in your kingdom. Since it's first edition, it has been often printed, both in your kingdom, and out of it, in several volumes and characters, and turned into Latin by Peter Boudanger (56), who instructs youth in the college of Loudun, a man of a good life, and great learning, and who, in his Latin writings, imitates, as much as any man

(54) He shews 'em also in the preface.

(55) Du Haillan's epistle dedicatory of the History of France, of the edition of 1584.

(56) See his elegy in Sammartin's, lib. i, pag. m. 44, where he speaks of this version. He was the father of Julius Caesar Boudanger.

know whether we ought to believe that he threatened with his iron pen, those who should despise his works (*d*), and that he judged it as sufficient to blast them, as he pretended, that his golden pen was capable of eternizing the merit of his benefactors. He died at Paris the twenty third of November, 1610, in his seventy sixth year, and was buried at St Eustache (*e*). It must not be forgotten, that he had attended Francis de Noailles, bishop of Acqs, in his embassies to England and Venice (*f*). We shall see in the remarks, several passages of his epistles dedicatory and prefaces. They will displease those that desire only a superficial knowledge of famous men, but not such as would know them exactly *intus & in cute*. It is for these latter that I labour, and I am certain the pains I take to shew them the picture of the heart, according to the lineaments I find of it in books, where authors have painted themselves, will be acceptable to them. Let this be said once for all. We might make a great many reflexions upon this picture of du Haillan, and therefore I imagine, I shall not displease the reader by making some [*M*]. This will give me

(*d*) See the remark [*L*], at the end.

(*e*) French Metcury, Tom. II, pag. m. 61.

(*f*) Du Haillan's preface to the History of France.

in Europe, the purity and sweetness of Cicero. But since, Sir, I have augmented and enlarged my history anew, having in some places inserted two or three leaves, in others less, he waits for this impression that he may add to his Latin version, what I have added to my French composition. So that you, Sir, as also your subjects and strangers, will quickly see this history in the Latin tongue. Add to this the beginning of his preface (57). I wished my history of France might be as much agreeable to you, as I have taken much pains and labour in the compiling of it. My desire has not been altogether vain: for it so pleased men of judgment, that since that time it has been frequently printed, and in divers volumes, both within and without the kingdom, and read over and over, by all the ingenious men of France, and many foreigners. . . . Now, reader, seeing my work has so well succeeded, and been so well received, both by foreigners and by our countrymen, and so often reprinted and desired, I have corrected and much enlarged it, and enriched it with many curious enquiries. . . .

Dedicating his book of the state and success of the affairs of France, to Henry III in 1580, he expressed himself in this manner (58). I am, Sir, the first of all the French, who have written the history of France, and in a polite language shewn the grandeur and dignity of our kings: for before there was nothing but the old rubbish of chronicles which spoke of them. My works are seen and read by all christendom, and translated into several languages, particularly my history of France, is put into Latin, by a very learned man of your kingdom, and is ready to appear and present itself to your majesty, clothed in a Latin dress. I am none of those venturous and ignorant writers, whose brains daily teem with books, who raise up whole forests of them, and who, in their obscure studies, wherein they see not the light of the affairs of the world, speak and write confidently, right or wrong, of the present state-affairs, of your most secret and important councils, judge of every thing, are partial for one, and prepossessed against another, extol those who give them money, make a meer pretender of a great general, and commander of an army, and live only by the sale of their presumptuous writings. And therefore such writers will see their works expire, before themselves, and shamefully assist at their funeral. I have learnt, Sir (59), . . . Let us see the beginning of the preface of the same book. Many of you (readers) who shall see this present work, which I have newly revised and much enlarged and enriched, have seen it before printed in several sorts of volumes, and characters, from its first edition, of the year 1570. For since that time, there has not a year passed, but it has been reprinted (60), and given satisfaction to all who have seen it, and who approve of what is good. When he dedicated the same book to Henry IV in 1594, he thus spoke of it to this prince. It has travelled, and seen the world, and has been well received within and without the kingdom, and strangers have made it speak their language.

As for his desire of rewards, it may be clearly enough seen in the passages I have already related, but it will more plainly still appear in this, that follows (61). I have composed this work in four winters, seasons proper for writing and studying, and have spent but few summers days, in it, which seem not so fit for such a fatigue, as the short and cold days are which I have employed in it. So that I am apprehensive of being benumbed, unless the sun of your majesty, by the rays of your

liberalities and bounties, afford some warmth. There is not a man of letters in your kingdom, who excels in any science, or has composed any elegant performance, whom you have not rewarded for it, and all your ancient servants, are raised to honours and preferments, and are full and rich with your gifts and benefactions. I am the first who have written the history of the kings your ancestors, and possibly the only person who hath done it in a good method, and fine language, and I am one of the first and eldest of your servants, and yet I am the only one, and the last, to be provided for, but not the last in merit, I have laboured, and labour ordinarily for the public, more than for myself; nor have I only been engaged in writing books, but also sometimes employed in travels to foreign countries; and by the observation of affairs for these twenty nine years past (62), in which I have been a courtier, I have learnt how histories ought to be written, and how to speak of kings, and treat and write of affairs of state. Here you see the style of a discontented author, complaining that he is not enriched, nor advanced to honours, by the productions of his pen, and asking that this so much desired, so well deserved, recompence of his labours may come at last. We find the same complaint, at the end of a preface he published in 1580. I have taken this pains, says he.

(63) to serve the public, which I think I do service, and have done service, by my labours: this gives me a singular satisfaction; for I have laboured with that design. And is likewise almost all the recompence I have had: and I shall be very well satisfied with this last labour, when I find it has been acceptable to you. You may believe what you please of what I am going to recite, I will quote my author (64). Henry the great . . . made one day a repartee to the Sieur du Haillan . . . for as du Haillan, a man . . . vain . . . and given to his belly . . . spake one day to the late king too freely, complaining of the small salary which he received from his liberality, and had the boldness to say to him, Sir, you know that I have two pens as a public historian, a title with which it has pleased your majesty to honour me, one is of gold, and the other of iron: with my golden pen, I render those immortal who honour me and do me good, and with my iron one I tarnish the reputation of those who do not take notice of the merits of my works. The king knowing by this harangue, the character of the man, who was more valiant at a meal, than he was in the field, said to him, with a wonderful and royal quickness, Mr du Haillan, I do not believe that you have a golden pen; for if had you one, you would have swallowed it long ago.

[*M*] We might make so many reflexions on this picture of du Haillan, that I imagine I shall not displease the reader by making some. It is not easy to let this pass without some reflexion. One who should ask whether those in public posts are as mercenary, as the servants of a private man, would seem at first fight to make an absurd question; but upon examination, we should find in it a just subject of a problem, and should even declare for the affirmative. Consider a little the printed or not printed relations of newswriters, and the conversations of those who have for a long time been in high life. Consult the historians who enter most into particulars; especially, read the authors of memoirs; do this attentively, and I doubt not but you will own, that a poor foot-boy is in proportion, less mercenary, and more disinterested, than most of those who possess great employments, either in

(62) His epistle dedicatory is dated the first of Aug. 1584.

(63) Idem, preface to the State and Success of the Affairs of France, in the edition of 1580.

(64) Gessse, Recherche des Recherches, page 941, 942.

A REFLEXION upon the mercenary spirit of those, who serve the public.

(59) You will find the sequel of this passage above, remark [*C*], citat (11).

(60) Lower he speaks thus: I will tell you, that the Printer, who, for ten years successively, has reprinted it every year, designed to reprint it again. Note, that this preface was written in 1580.

(61) Idem, epistle dedicatory of the History of France, in the edition of 1584.

an occasion of praising the modesty of Mr Descartes.

princes households, or in the government. These are persons who are hardly ever contented, always ready to beg new honours, and greater pensions, and to complain of the smallness of their recompences, to magnify their services, to murmur if they are forgotten, whilst others are thought on, to threaten to retire, and to manifest their discontent, by rude and audacious proceedings, &c. These gentlemen imagine they have the greater right to demand magnificent rewards, because they persuade themselves, that their master, a king, or a sovereign, in a word, the public, will never come to want, though they have famished leeches upon them continually sucking (65). Tell me not of such, or such an one, who are ruined in their prince's service, and of such a great lord, whose lands, and even house, are under an execution. These are not examples of their disinterestedness. It is not zeal for their country, but a mercenary temper, or their luxury and debauchery, which are the causes of their poverty. They imagined, that by appearing at court, or in the army with great equipages, tho' really useless to the public good, they should the easier come to preferments: and at last, if they are ruined, it is not for the advantage of the state, but to gratify their pomp and pride, and other particular passions. The Aristides and Fabricii, who after having enjoyed the greatest posts, and spent all their life in a wonderful frugality, had hardly any thing to leave their children, are good examples of an unmercenary spirit; but where are such to be found?

But what is more vexatious, is to see that the men of learning cannot cure themselves of this common distemper. The court and the army being the schools of ambition and luxury, and consequently of hunger and thirst after riches, it is no wonder they teach men to do nothing gratis, but to desire large recompences for their services. And as this passion is not easy to be satisfied, without boasting of what they have done, and complaining of the want of a just reward, there is no occasion to take so much exception at this conduct. But there will still be sufficient ground to lament, that study and the profession of letters, should not have taught du Haillan the prudence to avoid so much ostentation of his labours, and to forbear complaints of the meanness of his fortune. If he were the only author guilty this way, it would not be necessary to take notice of it: but the mischief of it is, that in this he copied a great number of writers, and that an hundred others have copied, and still copy him. This is a great injury to the muses, and deprives them of the glory they should enjoy, of inspiring their votaries with a true generosity, and a noble contempt of riches and public rewards. They are like other men, you will say, and no less subject to ambition and avarice, the two epidemical diseases of the soul of man. It is certain, that the desire of living at ease, by means of a good revenue, is not the only reason of the boastings and complaints of du Haillan, and those who are like him; pride has a great share in it. They fancy, that the public will have a great esteem, both for their persons and their works, if it is known that they have had large pensions (66), but in this they are much mistaken: some few, I confess, may be imposed on by this outward appearance, and argue fallaciously thus: *such an author has got noble employ, and rides in his coach, therefore he has a great deal of merit and his works are good.* But the public is seldom caught thus; and however, it is a charm but of short continuance. Posterity judges of books by the books themselves: if they are good, it doth not despise them, tho' it should be said at the beginning of the preface that the author died with hunger: if they are bad, they are despised, tho' should appear in the first page, that the author was an earl, or a marquis, and left a million. What is it you fear? why do you torment your self? might one have asked du Haillan: you are allowed to say that you have not spared your pains or care to render your work perfect: your duty obliged you to great fatigues, and it is a civility to the public, to declare in a preface, that you have done all you could to merit their approbation. You ought to have stopped there, and not to have urged the greatness and value of your labours, as a just cause of demanding greater recompences, and complaining that you had not been sufficiently paid. Are you afraid that future ages should know that your studies and researches have put the history of France in a very fine light, but have not enriched you? what

injury can that do your memory? if it be said that you was not industrious to heap up riches, they will suppose you wanted a quality which is none of the best; your glory will not by suffer it: sleep at rest, if it be said that this industry was not above your capacity, but that you did not care to employ it, being content with your books and your studies, and to consecrate your time to the instruction of the public: would not this be an excellent elogy? would it not be a prejudice in favour of your works? if the contempt of riches, and your continual application to writing good books, expose you to the danger of dying poor, you ought to wish that this may be put in your epitaph (67). This would be equivalent to a title of honour or nobility digna sepulchris in the republic of learning; this would be a glorious way to immortality (68). Never fear the judgment of posterity upon it. If they who were careless of re-atta compensing your labours, are censured for their ingratitude and injustice, what is that to you? it is a censure which doth not fall upon you.

It must be here said to the glory of Mr Des Cartes, that he preserved himself pure and untainted from this shameful disease, though one of his friends had taken the most dangerous ways to infect him with it. Observe in what manner this zealous friend excited him to boast, and make loud demands of recompence (69). Know, that to obtain any thing of the public, it is not enough to mention a word or two concerning it, by the by, in the preface of a book, without saying expressly that you desire and expect it, and explaining the reasons, to prove not only that you deserve it, but also that it is much their interest to give it you, and that they ought to expect great advantage from it. It is so usual to see those who imagine they have merit, make such a noise about it, and so importunately assert their pretensions, and promise so much above what they can do, that when any one speaks modestly of himself, and desires nothing of any body, nor makes any confident promises, whatever proofs he otherwise gives of his ability, that will not be considered, they will never think of him. You will say perhaps that you are not of a temper, either to ask any thing, or speak to your own advantage; because the one seems to be a sign of meanness, and the other of pride. But I maintain that this humour ought to be corrected, and that it proceeds from error and infirmity rather than from an honest bashfulness and modesty. You may say likewise that your works speak sufficiently, and that you have no need to add promises and boastings, which being the custom of cheating quacks, seem not becoming a man of honour who only seeks the truth. But what makes these pretenders blame-worthy, is not their boasting great and good things of themselves, but only false ones, and such as cannot be proved: whereas those things I would have you say of yourself, are so true, and so evidently proved by your writings, that by all the laws of decency you may affirm them, and those of charity oblige you to it, because it concerns others to know them. For though your writings speak sufficiently to such as carefully peruse them, and are able to understand them; yet this is not enough for the design I would put you upon, because every one cannot read them, and the managers of public affairs have hardly leisure. It is probable that some who have read them, may speak to them about it: but whatever they may say, the little noise you are known to make, and the great modesty you always have observed in speaking of your self hinders them from attending much to it. Nay, because they are accustomed to hear indifferent people set off to them in the most advantageous terms imaginable, they have no reason to take the most extraordinary praises that should be given you by those who know you, for exact truth. Whereas when a man speaks of himself and says extraordinary things, he is heard with greater attention, especially when he is well born, and is known not to be of a temper or condition to play the mountebank. And because he would make himself ridiculous by using hyperboles on this occasion, his words are taken literally; and such as will not believe them, are at least excited by their curiosity, or their jealousy, to examine into the truth of them. This being most certain, and since it can most easily be proved by the writings you have already printed, you ought to speak it aloud, to publish it so assiduously, and to put it so expressly in all the titles

(65) Nec misera
cutem nisi plena
crucis hircudo.
Horat. de Arte
Poet. ver. ult.

(66) See, above,
steremark (C) of
the article AL-
CIATUS
(ANDREW).

A LAUDABLE
passage concern-
ing Mr Des
Cartes.

(69) Letter I,
written to Mr Des
Cartes. It is be-
fore his treatise
of the Passions.

(70) See before the said *Treatise of Passions*, Mr Des Cartes's answer to his friend's letters.

'titles of your books, that no body for the future may be ignorant of it.' Could Mr Des Cartes's modestly be attacked by more specious and stronger arguments than these? Here is nothing omitted, all excuses foretold, and yet it was all to no purpose (70). Note, that the gentleman had good reason to tell him, that the public is used to be dunned with great importunity and boasting: because the petitioners know they

shall otherwise obtain nothing. Woe to them who are disheartened by the first refusal, and cannot speak out in their petitions. Du Haillan knew his cue, when he acted in the manner we have seen above. A man must complain, and petition often, to be once heard in a court: if cardinal Richelieu was such an one as he is represented in the History of the French Academy (71), he was a phoenix.

(71) Cardinal Richelieu never did any good to Mainard, partly because he did not love that any thing should be asked of him, and that he might have the glory of giving of his own accord. *Pelliss. Hist. of the Academy*, pag. m. 278.

H A L I - B E I G H, first dragoman at the Grand Seignior's court, in the XVIIth century, was born a Christian in Poland; but being taken very young by the Tartars, he was sold to the Turks, who educated him in their religion in the Seraglio. His Polish name was Albert Bobowski [A]. He acquired the knowledge of a great number of languages [B], and became so learned as to be able to write books [C]. He had a great correspondence with some Englishmen, who engaged him to translate some books into the Turkish language (a). He was desirous to return to the profession of Christianity; but he died before he executed that noble design (b). See the Supplement to Moreri.

(a) See the remark [C].

(b) *Leipfic Journal*, 1691, pag. 226.

[A] His name was Albert Bobowski. This name has been latinized Bobovius; but most authors have been mistaken in it. Sir Paul Ricaut calls this Poland Albert Bobonius (1). Bepier, his translator, corrects him, and puts Bohonius (2), because Thomas Smith writ it so, pag. 39, of his *epistle de Morib. Turc.* 'Tis true, that in this passage it is Bozonius, but the errand, shew, that it should be read Bohonius. Sir Paul Ricaut's first translator (3) has put Robovius.

(1) Ricaut, Present State of the Ottoman empire, lib. ii, pag. m. 405.

(2) Curious Remarks, pag. 667.

(3) His name is Brior.

(4) Pag. 81, of the Dutch edition.

[B] He acquired the knowledge of a great number of languages. Give me leave to cite here, somewhat at large, the author of the old and new Lacedemon: 'Observe, says he (4), Fornetti, Panagiotti, la Fontaine, and all the other dragomen of the Porte; how circumpect they are when they treat with the ministers of Christian princes, or with those of their retinue. Halybey, the famous Polish renegade, who, bating his apostacy, and morally speaking, is one of the honestest men in the world, does not better explain himself with the Franks, though he be their great friend; who yet could do it very well, as speaking eighteen different languages.'

[C] He became so learned as to be able to write books. At Dr Thomas Smith's request, he wrote a treatise de *Turcarum liturgia, peregrinatione Meccana, circumfione, agrotorum visitatione, &c.* Concerning the liturgy of the Turks, their pilgrimage to Mecca, their circumcision, and visiting of the sick, &c. which was published by Dr Hyde, to whom Dr Smith gave it (5). Hali-Beigh translated into Turkish, the Catechism of the Church of England, about the year 1653, at Mr Bafire's request. He translated all the Bible into the same tongue, at the instance of Levinus Warnerus, who sent this translation to Leyden, that it might be printed there. This is not as yet done,

(c) In the appendix of Abraham Peritoli's *Itinera Mundi*, at Oxford, 1691. See the *Leipfic Journal* of May, 1691, pag. 226.

but the manuscript is kept in the library of Leyden. I do not mention a Turkish grammar and dictionary, written by the same dragoman. Sir Paul Ricaut confesses, he had many things from him, which he has related in his book concerning the Present State of the Ottoman Empire. If he had consulted him upon all that he has said, he would not have advanced that the Mahometan women had no hopes of entering into paradise. Hali-Beigh maintains the contrary, in the work which Dr Hyde has published. *Rycautum refellit, docuitque mulieres Turcicas omnino sperare se aliquando æque ac viros in Paradisum receptum iri, quod ipse pag. 271 negaverat* (6). Sir Paul Ricaut, amongst other things, says (7), that he learnt from this dragoman, that there are some Turks who believe, that the souls of dead men enter into the bodies of beasts, whose constitution comes nearest to that of the bodies they have left. A Druggist one day told Hali-Beigh, that he prayed to God, with those of the same profession (8), that their souls might have the honour, after their death, to enter the bodies of camels, because they are sober, laborious, patient, and gentle creatures, and bring their drugs from the remotest countries of the east. That he doubted not, but after the revolution of 3365 years, during which his soul would travel all the world over, and pass successively from camel to camel, it would return once more into an human body, much purer and more perfect than it had at the beginning. This was the Druggist's creed. It is said, that most of the Chinese are much addicted to this opinion. We have in Dr Barrow's Posthumous Works, an English relation of a conspiracy that was formed in the Seraglio, against Kiofen, grandmother to Mahomet IV. Albert Bobovius, *Musician of the Seraglio, and e-witness of this event*, has written that relation (9).

(6) *Leipfic Journal*, ibid.

(7) Present State of the Ottoman Empire, pag. 406, 407.

(8) All those that this Druggist was acquainted with at Constantinople, who believed the transmigration of souls, were Druggists.

(9) See the Bibliothèque Universelle, Tom. X, pag. 62.

H A L I C A R N A S S U S, the capital city of the kingdom of Caria, was a colony of the Argians (a) [A]. It became famous under the two Artemisia's, and Mausolus the husband of the later. This prince's tomb was a very great ornament to it, being reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. The fountain Salmacis was another curiosity of Halicarnassus. There were few towns on that coast, which made so stout a resistance against Alexander as this did (b); because care had been taken to fortify it well. Vitruvius (c) tells us some particulars about it's construction, and especially concerning it's ports. Meursius, as learned as he was, applied to the two ports of Rhodes (d), what Vitruvius has only said concerning those of Halicarnassus. Alexander was obliged to burn the town, whilst the garrison still vigorously defended itself in the fortresses, Herodotus and Dionysius Halicarnassus were born in this city.

(1) Strab. lib. xiv, Calimachus, apud Stephan.

(2) Lib. ii, pag. 73.

[A] It was a colony of Argians. The conductor of this colony was called Anthes, who departed from the town of Trezen (1). Pausanias (2) calls him Anthes, and makes him the son of Neptune. He does not

make him the leader of this colony, but attributes it to his descendants. However, the Halicarnassians were surnamed *Arthesidæ* (3).

(3) Stephan. in *Arthesia*.

H A L L (JOSEPH), one of the most illustrious English bishops that appeared in the XVIIth century, read Rhetoric lectures to pupils in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards became successively minister at Halstede, dean of Worcester, bishop of Exeter, and at last bishop of Norwich (a). He was deputed to the synod of Dort, and assisted there for some time; till he was obliged by sickness to leave that famous assembly.

(a) Witte, in *Diario Biograph.*

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fembly [A]. He published many books, several of which have been translated from English into French by Theodore Jaquemot. They are filled with fine thoughts, excellent morality, and even a great deal of piety. He died in the year 1656, aged eighty two years (b). He was so great a lover of study, that he earnestly wished that his health would have allowed him to do it, even to excess [B]. His writings, when an occasion offers, show that he was very zealous against Popery [C]. Neither was he more favourable to those who separated from the stock without an extreme necessity. What he said of Arminius is a proof of this [D]. He lamented the divisions of Protestants,

[A] He was obliged, by sickness, to retire from the *synod of Dort.* A priest, who wrote against him, did not fail to insult him upon this deputation; but Joseph Hall answers him as follows (1): 'Let himself, or any of his eaves-dropping companions . . . (to whom that place stood open) say, wherein I shamed those that sent me. It was my just grief, that the necessity of my health, yea of my life, called me off immaturely; but since either death or departure must be yielded to, others shall judge whether I went away more laden with infirmity, than (however unworthy) with approbation.'

(1) Joseph Hall, in his *Apology for the Honour of the married Clergy*, pag. 646, Edit. 1621.

[B] He was so great a lover of study, that he earnestly wished . . . that his health would have allowed him to do it even to excess. This circumstance of his life is to be found in one of his letters. 'Fear not my immoderate study, says he, writing to a friend (2), I have a body that controuls me enough in these courses, my friends need not. There is nothing whereof I could sooner surfeit, if I durst neglect my body to satisfy my mind: but while I affect knowledge, my weakness checks me, and says: *Better a little learning, than no health.* I yield, and patiently abide my self, debarred of my chosen felicity.' How happy are they who with souls so fond of study, have bodies able to support themselves under this earnest and continual application of mind! Joseph Hall, not being of this happy number, acted as wise men ought on such an occasion: he curbed his inclination, whenever his body warned him, that his health required that he should do so. They who would force nature, and continue poring on their books, even after they find that study too much heats their blood, or exhausts their spirits, depart too far from the maxim, that life doth not consist in living, but in enjoying health.

(2) Hall, *Miscellaneous Letters*, Dec. II, Epist. v, pag. 290.

At nostri bene computentur anni;
Et quantum tetricæ tulere febres,
Aut lauguor gravis, aut mali dolores,
A vita meliore separentur:
Infantes sumus, & senes videmur.
Ætatem Priamique, Nestorisque
Longam qui putat esse, Martiane,
Multum decipiturque, falliturque.
Non est vivere, sed valere vita (3).

(3) Martial, *Epigr.* lxx, lib. vi.

From our account of life if we cut off
What pain, diseases, and the spleen have marr'd,
We'll find we were only infants, tho' old men we seem:
Priam's and Nestor's years will seem but few,
For only then we live when we are happy.

And if zeal for the service of the public encourage them to neglect their health, it must be a mistaken zeal: for they might be more useful to the Republic of Letters, by sparing than by overtraining themselves. A man makes greater progress by doing a little every day, than by applying so close for some weeks in an oblique manner, so as to occasion infirmities of a long continuance. Happy, I say once more, is he who has strength to study fourteen or fifteen hours a day, without being ever sick. An infinite number of men of letters are deprived of this happiness; some few, *pauci quos æquus amavit Jupiter*, are blest with it:

— — — Unus & alter
Forsit hæc sperant juvenes, quibus arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan (4).

(4) Juven. Sat. XIV, ver. 33.

A few perhaps may with such labour play,
Form'd in a stronger mould, of more enduring clay.

(5) See particularly the first of the first Decade, the fourth of the second, and the first of the fifth.

[C] He was very zealous against Popery. One may find many proofs of this in his miscellaneous epistles (5).

I shall only transcribe one passage out of them; and it shall be such that it will show he bore a great hatred to the Jesuits; and observe, that I take it from a letter which contains Joseph Hall's observations in his journey through the Spanish Netherlands in 1610. The relations of travellers ordinarily show us what is their prevailing taste, whether they are antiquaries, physicians, geographers, engineers, religious, or bigots, &c. this of Joseph Hall breathes nothing but controversy. And accordingly he owns that his design was only to relate what he had observed as a divine (6): but to return to our purpose, let us quote what we have promised. 'Along our way, how many churches saw we demolished, nothing left but rude heaps to tell the passenger, there hath been both devotion and hostility. Oh the miserable footsteps of war, besides bloodshed, ruin, and desolation! Fury hath done that there, which covetousness and ambition with us would do, but shall not: the truth within shall save the walls without. And, to speak truly (whatever the vulgar exclaim) idolatry pulled down those walls (7), not rage. If there had been no Hollander, to raze them, they should have fallen alone, rather than hide so much impiety under their guilty roof. These are spectacles, not so much of cruelty as justice; cruelty of man, justice of God. But (which I wondered at) churches fall, and Jesuits colleges rise every where. There is no city where these are not rearing or built. Whence cometh this? Is it for that devotion, is not so necessary as policy? Those men (as we say of the fox) fare best when they are most cursed. None so much spited of their own; none so hated of all; none so opposed of by ours: and yet these ill weeds grow. Whosoever lives long, will see them feared of their own, which now hate them, shall see these seven lean kine devour all the fat beasts that feed on the meadows of Tyber. I prophesy as Pharaoh dreamed. The event shall justify my confidence (8). This prophecy has not as yet had its accomplishment: the power of the Jesuits is much increased since that time, in spite of all the efforts of their adversaries; but these last are still very formidable, and give them a great deal to do. They who read the treatise of Joseph Hall, intitled, *No Peace with Rome*, will be convinced of his zeal against Popery. Jaquemot's French version of it, was printed at Geneva, in 1629, in 12mo. See likewise his *Serious Dissuasive from Popery*, to W. D. revolted, &c (9).

(6) Hall. Epist. Decad. I, pag. 269, Edit 1621.

(7) A false thought; for this idolatry has not been the cause of the ruin of any church in the countries where religious wars have not carried their ravages.

(8) Hall's Epistles, Decad I, pag. 269. Note. That, in the remark [N] of the article LIPSIUS, I have cited another passage taken from the same epistle.

(9) Jaquemot's French version of it was printed at Geneva, 1629.

(10) Hall's Epistles, Decad III, letter I, pag. 303.

(11) Id. *ibid.* pag. 303.

(12) *ibid.*

[D] . . . neither was he more favourable to those, who separated from the stock. . . . What he said of Arminius is a proof of this. The first epistle of the third Decade was written to Mr Smith and Mr Rob. Heads of the late separation at Amsterdam. He represents to them in very strong terms (10), that they could not do a greater injury to their mother, the church of England, than to fly from her, that say she were corrupted yet she was still their mother, which ought to be cause enough for them to lament her, to pray for her, to labour for her redress, and not to avoid her. This unnaturalness is shameful. They alledged the command, go out of Babylon (11); but he answered them that the church from which they had separated, was gone out of it. 'Babylon, continues he (12), feels it herself, and sees that she is abandoned, and complains to all the world, that we have not only forsaken, but spoiled her; . . . and except you will be willingly blind, you may see the heaps of her altars, the ashes of her idols, the ruins of her monuments, the condemnation of her errors, and the revenge of her abominations. . . . Where are the main buildings of that accursed city? . . . Where are those rotten heaps (rotten, not through age, but by corruption) of transubstantiating of bread, adoring of images, multitude of sacraments, power of indulgences, necessity of confessions, profit of pilgrimages, constrained and approved ignorance, unknown devotions; where are those deep vaults (if not mines) of penances, and purgatories,

Protestants, and wrote something concerning the means of putting an end to them. This was highly agreeable to that great pacificator Dury [E]. Amongst other controversies,

* purgatories, and whatsoever hath been devised by
* those Popelings, whether profitable or glorious, against
* the LORD and his CHRIST? are they not all razed
* and buried in the dust? Hath not the majesty of
* her gods, like as was done to *Mitbra*, and *Serapis*,
* been long ago offered to the public laughter of
* the vulgar (13). They alleged that by *conforting*

(13) Ibid. pag.
303, 304.

(14) Ibid. pag.
304.

(15) Ibid.

(16) This custom
was abolished in
1623. See Spon's
History of
Geneva, pag. m.
373.

(17) Ibid. pag.
304.

(18) Ibid.

(19) It was
written to
M. I. W. to
diffuse him
from separating.

(20) Your famous
Junius had
nothing more ad-
mirable than his
love of peace;
when our busy
separatists pro-
voked him,
with what a
sweet calmness
did he reject
them, and with
a grave importu-
nity called
them to modera-
tion. How it
would have
vexed his holy
soul, &c. Hall's
Epistles, Decad
VI, epist. vii,
pag. 333.

of ceremonies the church of England, tarried still in
the suburbs of Babylon (14). He answers, amongst o-
ther things, that by this manner of arguing, they
would find Babylon every where. *Would you run from*
Geneva, asks he (15), *because of her wafers* (16)? . . .
* Compare the place you have left, with that you have
* chosen, let not fear of seeming to repent over-foon,
* make you partial. Lo there a common harbour of all
* opinions, of all heresies; if not a mixture. Here you
* drew in the clear and free air of the Gospel, without
* that odious composition of *Judaisme*, *Arrianisme*, *Ana-*
* *baptisme*: there you live in the flesh of these and
* more. You are unworthy of pity, if you will approve
* your misery. Say, if you can, that the church of
* England (if she were not your's) is not an heaven,
* to Amsterdam (17). . . . Who gains by this
* sequestration, but *Rome* and *Hell*? How do they in-
* fult in this advantage, that our mothers own chil-
* dren condemn her for unclean, that we are daily
* weakened by our divisions, that the rude multitude
* hath so palpable a motive to distrust us? . . . The
* God of heaven open your eyes, that you may see
* the injustice of that zeal, which hath transported
* you, . . . otherwise your souls shall find too late,
* that it had been a thousand times better to swallow
* a ceremony, than to rend a church: yea, that even
* whoredoms and murders shall abide an easier answer
* than separation (18).

To all this we may add the reasons which he gives
in the fifth letter of the VI Decade (19), and the
praises he bestows on the memory of Junius, in an o-
ther letter (20). It is in a letter wherein he deprecates
the divisions among the Leyden divines, and wherein
he pathetically describes the miseries which the church
suffers by these kind of civil wars. Here follows the
exhortation which he addresseth to the professor who
gave occasion to these divisions. * If I might chal-
* lenge ought in that your acute and learned Armi-
* nius; I would thus sollicit and conjure him; alas,
* that so wise a man should not know the worth of
* peace; that so noble a son of the church should not
* be brought to light, without ripping the womb of
* his mother! What mean these subtle novelties? If
* they make thee famous, and the church miserable,
* who shall gain by them? Is singularity so precious,
* that it should cost no less, than the safety and quiet
* of our common mother? If it be truth thou affectest;
* what alone? Could never any eyes (till thine) be
* blessed with this object? Where hath that sacred
* verity hid herself thus long from all her careful in-
* quisitors, that she now first shows her head to thee,
* unsought? Hath the Gospel shone thus long, and
* bright, and left some corners unseen? Away with
* all new truths; fair and plausible they may be,
* sound they cannot: some may admire thee for them;
* none shall bless thee. But grant that some of these
* are no less true than nice points; what do these un-
* reasonable crotchets, and quavers trouble the harmo-
* nious plain songs of our peace? Some quiet error
* may be better than some unruly truth. Who binds us
* to speak all we think? So the church may be still,
* would God thou wert wise alone. Did not our
* adversaries quarrel enough before at our quarrels?
* Were they not rich enough with our spoils? By the
* dear name of our common parents, what meanest
* thou Arminius? Whether tend these new raised dis-
* sentions? Who shall thrive by them, but they which
* insult upon us, and rise by the fall of truth? Who
* shall be undone, but thy bretheren? By that most
* precious and bloody ransom of our Saviour, and by
* that awful appearance we shall once make before
* the glorious tribunal of the Son of God, remem-
* ber thy self, and the poor distracted limbs of the
* church, let not those excellent parts wherewith God
* has furnished thee, lie in the narrow way, and cause
* any weak one either to fall, or stumble or err.
* For God's sake, either say nothing or the same.

* How many great wits have sought no by-paths,
* and now are happy with their fellows! Let it be
* no disparagement to go with many to heaven. What
* could he reply to so plain a charge (21). We (21) Ibid. pag.
must not forget that he insinuates that the adversaries
of Arminius belittled themselves too much. Neither
Gomar, adds he (22), nor your other grave frater-
nity of reverend divines, have been silent in so main a
cause. I fear rather too much noise in any of these tu-
mults: there may too many contend, not intreat, mul-
titude of suiters is commonly powerful; how much
more in just motions? . . . Wisdom and charity could
teach us to avoid the prejudice of differences. If we
bad but these two virtues, quarrels should not hurt us,
nor the church by us: but (alas!) self-love is too strong
for both these: this alone opens the flood-gates of
dissension, and drowns the sweet, but low, valley of
the church. Men esteem of opinions, because their own;
and will have truth serve, not govern. What they
have undertaken, must be true: victory is sought for,
not satisfaction; victory of the author, not of the cause.
He is a rare man that knows to yield as well as to
argue (23). These are excellent thoughts, and make (23) Ibid.

a fine supplement to my articles of Arminius and Go-
marus (24). Observe that the sermon, which Joseph
Hall preached before the synod of Dort, turned chiefly
on this maxim, that we ought not to affect subtilties
in matters of religion. He maintained that the
Remonstrants by their too great desire of subtilizing,
had been the cause of the disorders which at that
time embroiled the church (25).

The letter which he wrote to a man very unset-
tled in religion, will convince us of his earnest de-
fire of seeing perfect concord reign in the church.
You are, says he to him (26), to day in the tents of
the Romanists, to morrow in ours, the next day between
both, against both. Our adversaries think you curs, we
theirs. . . . What binds you? is it our divisions? I see
you shake your head at this, and by your silent gesture
betrays this the cause of your dislike: would GOD I
could either deny this with truth, or amend it with
tears: but I grant it with no less sorrow, than you
with offence. This earth hath nothing more lamenta-
ble, than the civil jars of one faith (27). He goes
on to answer the pretext, which some take from these
divisions to join with no party; and maintains that
not only no communities, is exempt from divisions,
but likewise that every particular person is exposed
to them. Show me that church which hath not com-
plained of distraction; yea that family, yea that fra-
ternity, yea that man, that always agrees with him-
self: See if the spouse of CHRIST in that heavenly mar-
riage-song, do not call him a young Hart in the moun-
tains of division. Tell me then whither will you go
for truth? if you will own no truth but where there
is no division? To Rome perhaps famous for unity, fa-
mous for peace. See now how happily you have chosen,
how well you have sped. Lo then, cardinal Bellarmine
himself, a witness above exception, under his own hand
acknowledgeth to the world, and reckons up 237 con-
trarieties of doctrine among the Romish divines (28)
* If our church displease you for differences, con-
* tinues he (29), theirs much more, unless you will
* be either wilfully incredulous, or wilfully partial:
* unless you dislike a mischief the less for the secrecy
* (30). What will you do then? Will you be a church
* alone? Alas, how full of contradictions are you to your
* self! how full of contrary purposes! how often do you
* chide with yourself! how often do you fight with
* yourself?

Let us observe, by the by, that what he here says
of Bellarmine, was disputed: an English priest pretend-
ed that it was a shameless assertion (31). Joseph Hall
among other things answered (32), that he had reck-
oned the 237 contrarieties, according to Pappus's
enumeration, and that his Peace of Rome, makes up
103. This Peace of Rome is a book of Joseph Hall.
One might have put this question to him: If you had
found the enumeration of Pappus just, why do you
in this book content your self with objecting 103
contrarieties? and if you found it not just, why do
you in your letter object 237 disputes?

[E] This was highly agreeable to that great paci-
ficator Dury.] He, in the year 1634, published the
advice

(21) Ibid. pag.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid.

(24) See the re-
mark [E] of the
article ARMI-
NIUS; and re-
mark [D] of
the article GO-
MARUS.

(25) See the
Epistole Eccle-
siastice & Theo-
logice prelan-
dum Vitorum,
pag. 515. Edit.
1684.

(26) Hall's E-
pistles, Decad
III, epist. v,
pag. 312.

(27) Ibid. pag.

(28) Ibid. pag.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Ibid.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Ibid.

(42) Ibid.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Ibid.

(c) See the
Journal des Sca-
vans, April 4,
1667.

(d) Who died
Novemb. 6,
1612.

troverlies, he wrote concerning the vow of celibacy [F]; and when he was informed that Marcus Antonius de Dominis designed to return from England into Italy; he wrote a letter to him representing the necessity of remaining separate from the communion of the church of Rome. This letter has been inserted at large in the answer of Marcus Antonius de Dominis (c). His Miscellaneous Epistles are very good: they are without date; but being dedicated to prince Henry (d), eldest son to king James I, we may conclude that they were wrote before the year 1613. He observes, in his epistle dedicatory, that it was not as yet usual in England, to publish discourses in form of letters,

advices of some French divines, and of three English bishops, concerning the way to reconcile Protestants. Our Joseph Hall was one of these three bishops. Davenant and Morton were the other two. The *Iranicorum Tractatum Prodromus*, published by Dury, in 1662, contains two pieces of Joseph Hall. The one is intitled, *Columba Noë olivam adferens iustitissimæ Christi Arce, præsertim adversus machinationes Pontificiorum*. It is a sermon which he preached before a synod at London. The other is intitled *Pax terris, continens varia ad concordiam inter Christianos hoc tempore suadendam Consilia & Argumenta*.

[F] Among other controversies he wrote concerning the vow of celibacy. The third letter of the second decad, is intitled an *Apologetical Discourse of the Marriage of Ecclesiastical Persons*. It cost the author only three hours, and three leaves of paper (33). It consists of twenty three pages in 12mo, in the French translation of Jaquemot. Twelve years after, an English priest answered it, in a piece of 380 pages (34). Joseph Hall very quickly replied in a book which he intitled, *the Honour of the married Clergy, maintained against the malicious challenges of C.E. Masi-priest*. He published it in English in 1620. The French version by Jaquemot, was printed at Geneva in 1665, and contains 362 pages in 12mo. The author was glad to show his diligence, that his self-conceited adversary and his seduced abettors, might see how little a well ordered marriage is guilty of deadening our spirits, or slackening our hands (35). Notwithstanding he was married he began this reply, and wrote it twice over with his own hand, in a very short time; tho' he made it only the recreation of the weightier business of his calling, which then more than ordinarily urged him. (36). This gives us ground to conjecture, that the English priest, had made use of the common argument, that marriage diverts too much from study (37). Some expressions had escaped bishop Hall, which seemed to import, that continence was a thing impossible; he was a little embarrassed with the consequences which his adversary drew from that assertion. Here follows one of the objections of the English priest (38). Mr Hall was absent in France; flesh is frail, temptations frequent, yet both then and before his marriage, he would take it in great scorn, to be suspected for dishonest. If Mr Hall could for so long time together, live a chaste life, why no more? he answered that this conclusion was not good, and compares it to these following. A good swimmer may hold his breath under the water for some minutes, why not for an hour? why not for more? a devout Papist may fast after his breakfast, till his dinner in the afternoon, therefore why not a week? why not a month, why not as long as Eve the maid of Meurs (39)? after this, he, amongst other things, answers that St Paul* having allowed the married to separate with consent for a time, that they might give themselves to fasting and prayer, commands them to come together again, that satan tempt them not for their incontinency. Which supposeth, that tho' a person may contain for some days, it doth not hence follow, that he can do so for his whole life. Where there is an impossibility, objected they to Hall, (40) or a necessity, there is no sin, no counsel, as no man sins in not making new stars, in not doing miracles. He answered (41) that this is a stale shift, that oft founded in the ears of Austin and Prosper from their Pelagians. It is objected likewise to him (42) that the father cannot blame his child for incontinence to contain, implies impossibility: to provide an husband or a wife (43) is not a work of an hour's warning; in the mean time what shall they do? Certainly, answers he (44) the man thinks of those hot regions of his religion, where they are so sharp set, that they must have

videtur agere de equis admissariis ruentibus in venenem, & de bippemane, non de hominibus ratione præditis. He speaks as if he had to do with stallions, not with men, not with Christians, amongst whom is to be supposed a decent order, and due regard of seasonableness, and expediency. Lastly, they object the case of divorce to him: the husband and wife are separated upon discord, or disease: what shall they do? to live continent with this man is impossible, I answer; if only their will sunders them, that must yield to necessity. Dissention may not abridge them of the necessary remedy of sin: if necessity, that finds relief in their prayers; if they call on him who calls them to continency by this hand of his, he will bear them, and enable them to persist, and why not then in the necessity of our vows? this is a necessity of our own making; and that of his; he hath bound himself, to keep his own promises, not ours (45).

Whoever will impartially examine these answers of Mr Hall, will find them but weak. He fails in the same manner as a general, who having engaged himself too far in the enemy's country, cannot make a retreat without the loss of his rear. A clergyman, who will own that continence is beyond the power of man, and who shall give this as the reason why he married, will give great reason to suspect his conduct in the time that preceded his marriage, a time when he was still younger than when he took a wife. For if to justify himself as to that time, he shall say, that he was not then in love; but that at last, a certain woman having touched him by certain sympathies, which are to be found in nature, and by certain machinal proportions betwixt the objects and the faculties (46); he found himself deprived of the power of containing himself, which he before enjoyed; if I say he should make use of such an apology, he would expose himself to very ticklish and embarrassing questions. How have you behaved, might one ask him, since that fatal occasion, in which you fell in love? you have been employed five or six months, perhaps a year, in courting the beloved object, and in settling the marriage articles with her parents, your love deprived you of continence, you must needs then have fallen into irregularities. But what would you have done, if a married woman had struck you by these sympathies, or proportions, of which you talk? would you have been able to contain? if so, then love and continence are not incompatible, and so you fall into a contradiction. If you should not have been able to contain, you must have fallen either into real or mental adultery. Suppose after your marriage, your maid, who possibly may be younger and handomer than your spouse, shall be placed with regard to you in these machinal proportions, you presently fall in love with her, and consequently you are not able to contain. The same thing will happen, if a married woman find herself in these proportions; and so one cannot depend upon your virtue: one must be daily afraid that your conduct will give scandal, or at least consider you as a person, whose virtue rests on a weak foundation. It is certain, that a man, whose profession obliges him not only to a good life, but to pass for chaste, cannot handomely own that he married because he found it impossible for him to contain. He ought to say, that he could have contained, and that he married only that he might have children, domestic society, a faithful friend, &c. Let us therefore conclude, that the controversy concerning celibacy, cannot be well handled, if we do not take care not to expose ourselves too much to the cannon of the enemy. Mr Hall is much more successful when he comes to prove the bad effects of monastic vows: he doth not want a abundance of citations. Here follows one (47). Do not our histories tell us, that in the reign of Henry III, Robert Grosthead, the famous bishop of Lincoln,

(45) Ibid. pag. 664.

(46) See the remark [I] of the article FAREL.

(47) Hall's Apology for the married Clergy, in pag. 667.

(43) Joseph Hall, dedication to his Honour of the married Clergy.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid.

(37) See the remark [B] of the article USHER, (HENRY).

(38) See Hall's Apology for the married Clergy, pag. 662. Compare with this the twenty first letter of the Suite de la Critique Generale de Maimbourg, pag. 688.

(39) Hall's Apology for the married Clergy, pag. 662.

* 1 Cor. vii, 5, 622.

(40) Ibid. pag. 663.

(41) Ibid.

(42) Ibid. pag. 664.

(43) Confer the twenty first letter of the Critique Generale de Maimbourg, pag. 707.

(44) Hall's Apology for the married Clergy, pag. 78.

letters, as was done in other nations. In the catalogue of the Bodleian library: there is a book ascribed to him, intituled *Mundus alter & idem* [G], *five Terra australis antebac semper incognita, longis itineribus peregrini Academici nuperrimè lustrata, Autore MERCURIO BRITANNICO*. He did not approve of English gentlemen travelling in foreign countries, and composed a book on that subject, which he dedicated to the nobility [H]. His Christian Seneca has been translated in several languages. It is a very solid piece.

in his visitation, was fain to explore the virginity of their nuns, by nipping off their dugs, indignum scribi, at Matth. Paris writes.

† Matth. Paris, Hist. Anglie, pag. 1085. Et quod indignum est scribi, ad domos religiosarum veniens facit exprimit manumillas extrudem ut sic physica, &c.

For the rest, it is not only among Protestants that continence has been thought impossible: some Roman Catholics have been of the same opinion; for they laughed at the Ecclesiastics who abstained from adultery and fornication, and reckoned them either eunuchs or Sodomites, and there have been parishes which obliged their priests to keep a concubine: without that precaution, they did not think the honour of their wives secure, and that even that did not free them altogether from danger. Nicholas de Clemangis tells us these things. *Taceo de fornicationibus & adulteriis (Clericorum) a quibus qui alieni sunt, probo ceteris ac ludibrio esse solent, spadonesque aut Sodomites appellantur, denique Laici usque adeo perjurum habent nullo Caelibis esse ut in plerisque parochiis non aliter velint Præbiterum tolerare, nisi Concubinam habeat, quo vel sic suis sit consulum uxoris, quæ nec sic quidem usque quaque sunt extra periculum* (48).

(48) Nicolas de Clemangis de Præfibus Simoniacis, pag. m. 265, col. 1.

* The World differed yet the same.

[G] There is a book intituled *Mundus alter & idem* * ascribed to him. It is a learned and ingenious fiction, wherein he describes the vicious manners of several nations, the drunkenness of one, the lewdness of others &c; and the court of Rome is not spared here. The author composed this book while he studied human learning; and afterwards having applied himself to divinity, he neglected it as a trifle. But his friend William Knight, did not consider it as such, he thought it so deserving of seeing the light, that he published it, tho' by so doing he was afraid that he should incur the displeasure of the author, who had entrusted him with the manuscript. This he tells us at large in the preface. I do not know in what year he published it. I have only the Utrecht edition of 1643 in 12mo, to which is joined, because of the conformity of the matter, Campanella's city of the Sun, and the new Atlantis of chancellor Bacon. This work of Joseph Hall is divided into four books, and adorned

ed with maps, it contains 213 pages in this Utrecht edition. The reader probably will be glad to see the opinion of Mr Naudé concerning it. After having mentioned More's Utopia, and the City of the Sun. He speaks of it as follows. 'Ultimum verò Angli, nescio ejus, *Mundus Alter & Idem*, non ita dudum prodit: aut verius Satyra adversus depravatos præfentis seculi mores; in quo dum singulas nationes singulis vitiis assignat, gentesque illas incolentes ac loca ipsa, contorticolatis ingeniose, fideisque ex cuiusque rei natura vocibus appellat, non ineptè meo iudicio Poneropolim instituit, quæ ad hilaritatem non minus homines excitare, quam ad virtutem inflammare possit (49). — And last of all, the *Mundus Alter & Idem*, of a certain Englishman, was not long since published; or rather, a satire against the corrupt manners of the present age; in which, table he assigns separate stations to the several vices, and distinguishes the nations inhabiting them, and the places themselves by names ingeniously compounded and feigned, suitably to the nature of every thing, be, in my opinion, founds a Poneropolis †, which will no less divert the readers, than inflame their minds with the love of virtue.

(49) Naudéus, Bibliograph. Politic. pag. 517, Edit. Crenis, 1692.

[H] He did not approve of English gentlemen travelling in foreign countries, and composed a book on that subject, which he dedicated to the nobility. This book is intituled *Quod vadis? or a Just Censure of Travel*, as it is commonly undertaken by the gentlemen of our nation. It is dedicated to Edward lord Denny, baron of Waltham, father to the lord Hay, who had been ambassador in France, and who, amongst other attendants there, had our Joseph Hall. Much may be said on both sides on this subject. Our author is not the only person who has complained of the bad effects of travelling. Thomas Lanfius (50) has sometimes declaimed on this subject. Justus Lipsius on the contrary approves of travelling (51); and has given very good instructions concerning it. See the XXII letter of the first century.

(50) In his *Itin. De Principatu inter Provincias Europæ.*

(51) See his letters; in the place marked in the Index, under the word *Peregrinatio*.

HALL (RICHARD), an English divine of the Romish communion, was, if I am not mistaken, one of those who left England on account of the penal laws enacted there against the Papists by queen Elizabeth. He retired to the Spanish Netherlands, and was professor of divinity at Douay, and canon of St Omer. He published, amongst other things [A], a discourse concerning the origin of the troubles of that country. He was not qualified to handle this subject; for on the one hand his gratitude to the king of Spain, under whose protection he lived, and on the other, his resentment on the account of his exile which soured him against all Protestants, hindered him from judging equitably of the conduct of the provinces which revolted from Philip II. Accordingly, it is certain that he discovered a great deal of passion in this book [B]. He died in the year 1604 (a).

(a) Witte, in *Dias. Biograph.*

[A] He published several books. Here follows a catalogue of all his writings which have come to my knowledge, the preface to a book of *Joannes Joannus de Schismate seu Ecclesiasticæ Unionis divisione*, printed at Louvain, in 1573, in 8vo: *De tribus primariis causis Tumultuum Belgicorum, & contra coalitionem multarum Religionum, quam liberam Religionem vocant*, at Douay, in 1581, in 8vo. *Pro Defensione Regiæ & Episcopalis auctoritates contra rebelles*, ibid. in 1584, in 8vo. *De quinque partita conscientia libri tres*, ibid. 1598, in 8vo. *De Proprietate & Vestitio Monachorum, aliisque ad hoc vitium extirpandum necessariis*, ibid. 1585, in 8vo.

[B] He discovered a great deal of passion in that work. Especially against the prince of Orange; for he employs whole chapters to prove that he is a tyrant; that he, like Abolom, aspired to the kingdom by tyrannical means; that he had all the ten qualities which, according to Bartolus, form the character of a tyrant, &c. He compares him to Julian the apostate, and omitted no sort of invectives against this prince and his adherents (1), and to animate the Catholics against granting a liberty of conscience, which the Protestants sought for (2). A man who had so many personal reasons to be partial to the king of Spain, and soured against Holland, ought not to pretend to write concerning the causes of this civil war. An historian ought to be perfectly disinterested; and whenever a man conceives a resentment against a nation, he ought to abstain from writing its history, especially when, by indulging his partiality, he will give great satisfaction to another nation, for which he ought to have complaisance and gratitude. Such a man, I say, ought to exclude himself, as judges, who are men of honour, do when they are interested in any cause (3). (3) See what I History ought not to be handled but by clean hands, have said, we should leave the writing it to those who have not embroiled their hands in the combat, neither in the figurative nor proper sense; at least they ought to stay till time has cleansed their spots and healed their wounds. It ought to be revered like the Penates of MÆVUS the ancients.

(1) See Scultingius, Biblioth. Cathol. Tom. IV, pag. 254. (2) See the same, pag. 255. (3) See what I History ought not to be handled but by clean hands, have said, we should leave the writing it to those who have not embroiled their hands in the combat, neither in the figurative nor proper sense; at least they ought to stay till time has cleansed their spots and healed their wounds. It ought to be revered like the Penates of MÆVUS the ancients.

VOL. III.

SSS

Tu, genitor, cape sacra, patriosque penates.
Me bello è tanto digressum, & cæde recenti,
Attrectare nefas; donec me flumine vivo
Abluero (4).

My father, guard the rites, and gods of Troy . . .
Forbid to touch with hands embur'd in blood,
I baste to wash me in the crystal flood.

(4) Virgil. *Æn.*
lib. ii, ver. 717.

HALLÉ (PETER), professor of canon-law in the university of Paris, was born at Bayeux in Normandy, the eighth of September, 1611. He studied philosophy, law, and divinity, in the university of Caen for five years. We must add, that he there also very studiously cultivated poetry, in which Antony Hallé his relation, and one of the great poets of his age, gave him good instructions. He had insinuated himself into his favour, by publishing some poems; and he made so good use of this illustrious kinsman's lessons, that he carried the prize at Caen and Rouen, in the poetical contests which are celebrated there every year (a). He got such a reputation by it, that though he was very young, he had the rhetoric class given him in the university of Caen. Some time after, being rector of the university, he harangued Mr Seguier, chancellor of France [A], at the head of the four faculties. His speech was highly approved, and procured him the esteem and protection of that chancellor, so far as to receive from his hand the degree of doctor of the civil-law, in presence of the great council, the eighteenth of March 1640, have first defended some theses in that illustrious assembly (b). He followed Mr Seguier to Paris, and made himself so advantageously known by some pieces, which he published, that he was offered the place of teacher in five several colleges, and was extraordinarily admitted into the body of the university (c), the fourteenth of August 1651. He chose rather to teach in the college of Harcourt than in any other; where he had a great croud of auditors. He published from time to time some Latin poems which increased his reputation, and gave occasion to his patron to procure him the place of poet to his majesty, and reader in Latin and Greek in the royal college the eighteenth of December 1646. His too violent application to study having ruined his health, he was forced to rest two years to re-establish it; when he was recovered he resolved to restore the Faculty of Law to some credit, which was fallen to a very low ebb, having but one professor remaining in it [B]. He was made Regius professor of the canon-law in 1655, and he used all his endeavours to raise and encourage the study of this science, the rights whereof he strenuously supported [C], notwithstanding the oppositions he met with. It is to him, especially, we ought to ascribe the advantage the professors of Paris have enjoyed since the year 1679 [D]. He composed some very good books [E], and had the satisfaction to have the most famous learned men

for

[A] Mr Seguier, chancellor of France.] He was gone into Normandy to pacify popular tumults, which caused great disorders in many places of that province.

[B] The faculty of law . . . was fallen very low, having but one professor left.] This professor was Mr Doujat. The Faculty had lost in a little time Francis Florent, and John Dartis. In juridicam deinde scholam geminato Francisci Florentis, & Joannis Dartis funere afflicta ac prope desertam cum Joanne Doujatius Collega primario extra ordinem accitus (1) anno 1655. Thus speaks Mr Pinsson-des-Riolles in an inscription which he published in honour of our Hallé.

[C] He strenuously supported the rights of this Faculty.] Mr Pinsson immediately adds: Quam quidem posse restitui, exornari, ac amplificari magis ac magis . . . procuravit. The author of the elogy descends to particulars, and says that Hallé obtained, by his solicitations, that Pompon de Believre first president in the parliament of Paris, should restore to the students of the canon-law, the privilege of pleading (2). Hence arose many suits. Hinc obortæ lites: vicina Juris

Collegia in eos acriter insurrexerunt, & eos tum ad Senatum, tum ad Regis consistorium traduxerunt. Ut tot malis succurreret Hallæus, viginti quatuor viros pietate & doctrinâ commendatissimos, tanquam adjuutores, in facultatem, re cum suis Collegis prius communicata, adscivit: facultate vix ab externo hoste quietâ, nonnulli ex Doctoribus honorariis, Collegarum discordias in suum commodum alentes, plurimam Antecessorum Jura sibi arrogare tentabant. In hac temporum difficultate quâ facultas in partes scindi videbatur animum tantisper sustinuit, donec illâ invidiæ tempestate feliciter pacatâ, & concordia facultati restituta, animum à negotio omni alieno revocans, sedulo summaque diligentia ad restauranda Juris studia totus incubuit (3). Hence arose some disputes. The neighbouring colleges of the law vigorously opposed them, and summoned them, both before the parliament and the king's council. Mr Hallé, to prevent so many disputes with which they were threatened, with the con-

sent of his colleagues, admitted twenty four men of eminent learning and piety into the Faculty, as coadjutors: the Faculty were scarce at rest from these attacks from abroad, when some of the honorary doctors, cherishing the discord of their colleagues for their own private ends, arrogated several of the privileges of the teaching professors to themselves. In these troublesome times, when the Faculty seemed to be quite divided, he was for some time at a stand, but these storms being blown over, and peace restored to the society, he laid aside all avocations, and applied himself with the utmost diligence to the restoring of the study of the law.

[D] The advantages which the Paris professors have enjoyed since the year 1679, are owing to him.] Before that they did not teach the civil-law. Ab eo præcipue docendi rectam rationem inchoatam à Rege probatam & confirmatam fuisse affirmaverim. Scdus enim latius efflorescentibus ab invidiosissimo Rege Ludovico Magno, promovente illustrissimo viro Michæle le Tellier Franciæ Cancellario, publica civilis Jurisprudentiæ professio Parisiensi scholæ, quâ superioris sæculi male exciderat, restituta est, & asserta Antecessoribus Juris Civilis interpretandi autoritas mense Aprilis 1679 (4). — I may with justice affirm, that the right method of teaching was introduced by him, and approved of and confirmed by his majesty. For good letters spreading more and more, the king, by the advice of Michael le Tellier, chancellor of France, restored the profession of the law in the schools of Paris, which had unluckily dropt in the preceding age, and confirmed the power of interpreting the civil-law to the doctors, in April 1679.

[E] He composed very good books.] These are the words of his elogy: In auditorum favorem præter Institutiones Canonicas quas in lucem anno 1685, velut in famæ testamentum emisit, varios ad Jus Canonicum & Civile tractatus de Conciliis, de summi Pontificis autoritate, de Regalia, de Simonia, de Ufuris, de Censuris, de Regularibus, de Beneficiis Ecclesiasticis, de Matrimonio, de Testamentis, & aliis

plura

(a) It is in honour of the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin.

(b) Propugnatio utriusque juris thesibus laurea doctorali in amplissimo Consistorio notum confectum die 18. Martii 1640, ab ipso met Cancellario de coram meruit. Vita Petri Hallé, de qua infra, citat. (d).

(c) Absens ab universitate extra ordinem . . . cooptaretur. Ibid.

(1) Note also that he obtained the professorship without disputing, which was a dispensation. Ab eo (suo Mæcenate) Regis Consistorii placitum, quo Regis constitutionis antecessoris ad publici certaminis aleam ordinantis, remissio rigore, ad munus antecessoris promovetur obstat. Vita Hallæ.

(2) Juris Canonici auditoribus postulandi munus. . . Hallæus postulat procurante restitutum est. Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(e) Daniel Laët,
Batavia.

(5) Legats prius
juris utriusque
Facultati ad sa-
crofanctum Mi-
sse sacrificium
statim diebus qua-
ter in anno cele-
brandum summâ,
ab Antecessoribus
& Doctoribus
utriusque ordinis
præsentibus per-
cipienda, *Ibid.*

(a) See the remark [A],
citat. (8).

GARTH.

(3) Scholiaſt.
Apollon. Rhodii,
in lib. ii, ver.
479, pag. m.
192. See alſo
Plutarch, de Ota-
culor. Deſectu,
pag. 415, where
he quotes theſe
words of Pindar.

(4) Callimach.
Hymo in Delum.
ver. 81,

(ς) Apollon.
Rhod. lib. ii,
ver. 480, pag.
m. 193.

Cortex

to those who preserved them from death [B], and that they who had no regard to their humble intreaties to spare the trees they depended on, were punished for it [C]. There was nothing of a mortal nature that lived so long as this kind of nymphs [D]. The

Cortex autem circum-circa corrumpitur, cadunt verò ab ipsis rami.

Harum autem simul anima relinquit lucem folis (6).

Together with these nymphs, from earth's moist bed
Coæval oaks uplift their airy head;
And, when they yield to death's all-powerful sway,
The sympathetic branches feel decay,
And nymphs and trees together die away.

Statius makes mention of a wood that had out-lived the Nymphs and Fauni: but this does not contradict the tradition concerning the Hamadryades. Besides, who knows not that this poet's fables had no respect for any thing; therefore there is no reason to attend to them, as to things which can be opposed to the general opinion. You will see his words in the remark [D]. Ausonius, more remote than he from the fountain-head, has notwithstanding conformed more to the old tradition. *Non sine Hamadryadis fato*, says he (7), *cadit arborea trabis*.

Note, that Pausanias expresses himself in a manner that seems to prove that the Hamadryades were younger than their trees. Speaking of a town called Tithorea, he says (8), *Τιθορέαν δὲ, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι κληθῆναι φασὶν ἀπὸ Τιθορέας νύμφης, οἱ αὖ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ λόγῳ τῶν ποιντῶν ἐφύοντο ἀπὸ τε ἀλλων δένδρων, καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν δρυῶν*. Tithoream incolæ vocatam esse dicunt à Tithorea Nympha, de iis una quas prisci poetarum sermones, quum ex cæteris arboribus, tum verò de quercubus maxime genitas prodiderunt. — *The inhabitants say, that it was called Tithorea, from a nymph of that name, and of that kind which the poets say proceed from trees, and especially from oaks*. This is making the trees the mothers of the Hamadryades: and therefore it is not true that they were born at the same time. But I do not think Pausanias's expressions are to be much insisted on: it was not his business precisely to describe the nature of these old fables. Let us stick therefore to what the poets affirm, that these nymphs and trees were born at the same time. Observe that Pausanias takes notice that they were especially born of the oak. I do not see that this can be impugned by Phereclus's authority; for what he says does not seem to concern the Hamadryades, properly so called. He says (9) that the fig-tree was called *συκή*, from a daughter of Oxyllus; and that this Oxyllus having lain with Hamadryade, his sister, begot eight daughters, which were all called nymphs Hamadryades; but they had each a particular name, which was afterwards given to trees. She that was called *συκή*, Syce, and gave origin to the name of the fig-tree: It seems to me that Hamadryade, Oxyllus's sister, was not of the same kind with the nymphs spoken of in this article. Let this be said without offending a famous author (10).

[B] *It is said they were sometimes extremely grateful to those who preserved them from death*. One Rhæcus perceiving that an oak was ready to fall, commanded his children to prevent it, either by strengthening it at the root with earth, or underpropping it. The nymph who must have perished if the oak had fallen, appeared to Rhæcus, and thanked him for saving her life, offering him any recompence he desired; he answered he desired to enjoy her. The nymph promised to grant his request, and commanded him to abstain from all other women; she added that a bee should be the messenger betwixt them: but the bee happening to come whilst Rhæcus was playing, he said some rude things, which provoked the Hamadryade so much, that he was maimed for it (11). This is the account of Charon of Lampfacus, if we believe the scholiast of Apollonius. He told another story with a more happy conclusion: which is this, as I find it in Natalis Comes, who does not cite the author he had it from. Arcas, the son of Jupiter and Callisto, hunting in a wood, met with an Hamadryade in great danger of perishing; for the tree with which she was born, had been very much damaged in its roots by the stream of a river: she prayed Arcas to save her life; he granted her request, by turning the course of the river, and putting new earth about the tree. The nymph was not ungrateful,

she granted him what we call the last favour and had two children by him; her name was Prospelea (12). We only find in Pausanias that Arcas was married to a Dryade nymph, called Erato, by whom he had three boys (13). We might conclude from this, that tho' the Hamadryades could not survive their oak, or their fir, &c. they might sometimes leave them, and if this of Lampacus consequence was doubtful, it might be confirmed by a passage of Homer, where we find that the same nymphs which had their birth and death with lost, Natalis trees, tasted the pleasures of love in caves with the Sileni.

Τῆσι δὲ Σιληνοῖ τε καὶ ἑυκροπῶ Ἀργεῖ
φόντης
μισγόντ' ἐν φιλότῳτι μυχῷ στείον ἐρέωντων

Cum his autem Silenique & bonus explorator Argicida,
Miscetur in amore in recessu speluncarum amabili-
um (14).

Silenus' followers to the grotto resort,
Where Hamadryads keep their Sylvan court;
And spend, with Maia's son, the day in wanton sport.

[C] *They who had no regard . . . to their intreaties . . . were punished for it*. Apollonius relates that Peribœa's father drew an heavy curse on himself and his children, because he had cut down a tree which a nymph had intreated him to spare. She had lived many ages in it, we have seen above her supplication; here follows the sequel.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τὴν γῆ
Ἀρεσδῶς ἐτμήξεν, ἀγνωρίᾳ νεότητος.
τῷ δ' ἄρα νεκρῇ νύμφῃ πόρον οἶτον ὀπίσσω
αὐτῷ καὶ τέκτισσιν.

Eam tamen ille
Incogitate succidit per juvenilem petulantiam.
Quamobrem inuile deinde manupretium nympha
Et ipsi perfolvit & generi (15).

The thoughtless youth, by cutting down the tree,
Entail'd a curse on his posterity.

[D] *There was nothing that lived so long as this kind of nymphs*. Ausonius tells us this in the following verses, which are a version from Hesiod's Greek.

Ter binos deciesque novem super exit in annos,
Iusta senecentum quos implet vita virorum.
Hos novies superat vivendo garrula cornix:
Et quater egreditur cornicis secula cervus.
Alipedem cervum ter vincit corvus: & illum
Multiplicat novies Phoenix, reparabilis ales.
Quam vos perpetuo decies prævertitis ævo
Nymphae Hamadryades, quarum longissima vita est.
Hi cohibent fines vivacia fata animantum.
Cætera secreti novit Deus arbiter ævi
Tempora (16).

The life of man, compleat and full of day,
To ninety six it's lengthen'd years extends:
Nine times this term the ravenous crow exceeds:
The flag compleats four ages of the crow:
The raven thrice outlives the winged flag:
Whose life the phoenix nine times multiplies.
And you, ye long-liv'd Hamadryad nymphs,
Ten periods of the live-long phoenix see.
These bounds of life to animals are giv'n:
All farther terms the gods alone can tell.

Hesiod's poem which contained this doctrine is lost; but we may see a fragment of it, in five verses, in a tract of Plutarch. I will cite a passage out of that tract.

(6) Homer.
Hymn. in Vener.
pag. m. 852.

(7) Auson. Edyll.
xiii. pag. m. 483.
Compare Balzac's
verses cited in the
remark [K] of
the article THO-
MAS (PAUL).

(8) Pausan. lib.
x. cap. xxxii.
pag. 379.

(9) Apud Athe-
næum, lib. iii.
pag. 78.

(10) Vide Span-
hem. in Calli-
mach. Hymno
in Delum, ver.
83, pag. 378.

(11) Ἔστιν τε-
ρεθῆναι αὐτῶν.
Schol. Apoll. ubi
supra.

(12) Taken from
Natalis Comes
Mythol. lib. v.
cap. xi. pag. m.
465, 466. He
the Hamadryades could not survive their oak, or their
fir, &c. they might sometimes leave them, and if this of Lampacus
consequence was doubtful, it might be confirmed by a
passage of Homer, where we find that the same
nymphs which had their birth and death with lost, Natalis
trees, tasted the pleasures of love in caves with the
Sileni.
have cited him,
who quotes Cha-
ron Lampacus.

(13) Pausan.
lib. viii. cap. iv.
pag. 604.

(14) Homer.
Hymn. in Vener.
pag. m. 852.

(15) Apollon.
Rhod. lib. ii.
ver. 432, pag.
193.

(16) Auson.
Edyll. xviii.
pag. m. 533.

The poets have sometimes taken the Hamadryades for the Naiades [E]: they did not confine

We shall learn from it, that some Heathens maintained the mortality of the deities of the second rank. • Hesiod is the first who clearly distinguished four kinds of reasonable natures; the gods, the dæmons, which are many in number, and good beings, the demy-gods, and men: He thinks that the dæmons themselves, after some revolutions of time, come to die; for speaking in the person of a naïd, he denotes the period of their duration.

Neuf hommes vit la corneille crierde;
Le cerf autant quatre fois vis se garde,
Le corbeau noir si longuement vieillit,
Que de trois cerfs les vies il emplit,
Et le Phenix de neuf corbeaux égale
Les jours, mais vous, progénie Royale
De Jupiter, Nymphes aux chefs plaisans,
De dix Phenix vous fournissez les ans.

Nine times the croaking crow outlives a man:
Four times this space the stag continues life:
The raven black so lengthens out old age,
That of three stags he measures out the lives.
The phoenix' life that of nine ravens equals.
But you, ye royal progeny of Jove,
Ye Hamadryad nymphs, that haunt the woods,
Ten ages of the long liv'd phoenix know.

Now they that mistake the poet's meaning in the word *Grecian*, that is, the age of man, make this calculation of time to amount to a vast number of years; for it only signifies one year, so that the sum total amounts but to nine thousand seven hundred and twenty years, which is the age of dæmons. And there are many mathematicians, who make it shorter. Even Pindar has not made it greater, when he says, the life of nymphs is appointed equal to that of trees, and therefore they are called Hamadryades, because they are born and die with oaks (17). Plutarch deserves some censure, for not citing the verse in which Hesiod determined the duration of human life: for it was the basis of all the following calculations. I may suppose that Hesiod determined this duration, since his translator begins with laying, the age of man contained ninety six years. This period being granted, it is easy to compute the age of stags, ravens, &c. and we find that the crow lived 864 years, the stag 3456, the raven 10368, the phoenix 93312, and the Hamadryad 933120. All this is ridiculous, and Pliny has reason to reject it as fabulous. • De spatio atque longinquitate vitæ hominum, non locorum modo situs, verum exempla, ac sua cuique fors nascendi incertum fecerunt. Hesiodus, qui primus aliqua de hoc prodidit, fabulosè (ut reor) multa de hominum ævo referens, cornici novem nostras attribuit ætates, quadruplum ejus cervis, id triplicatum corvis. Et reliqua fabulosius in phoenixe, ac Nymphis (18). — Not only the situation of countries, but many examples, and every man's particular fate, make the duration and length of human life very uncertain. Hesiod, who first wrote on this subject, among other (in my opinion) fabulous relations concerning the age of man, attributes to the crow nine times the age of man, to the hart four times the age of the crow, to the raven three times the age of the hart; and adds some things still more fabulous concerning the phoenix and the nymphs.

Upon the least computation, which is making the age of man to be only one year (19), the assertion of Hesiod concerning the Hamadryades would be false: they could not live longer than trees, but there is no tree that can last 9720 years. What Pliny says of the long life of some trees (20), and others of the oak of Mamre (21), and an hundred stories of this nature, they tho' were as true as they are doubtful, make nothing against my assertion.

Note, that the poet Statius supposes, that the mortal demi-gods live not so long as trees. He mentions a wood, that had seen the re-production of it's Dryads and Fauni, which might be compared to those old castles, that have served for habitations to fathers, sons, and grandsons, &c.

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--- Stat sacra senectæ
Numine, nec solos hominum transgressa veterno
Pertur avos, Nymphas etiam mutasse superstes,
Faunorumque greges (22).

(22) Statius,
Theb. lib. vi,
ver. 93.

--- long had it stood,
Sacred thro' age, a venerable wood,
And seen it's tenant nymphs and fauns renew'd.

He speaks somewhat differently in another place; for he supposes the tree would die, upon the decease of the Hamadryad.

Quid te, quæ mediis servata penatibus, arbor,
Tecta per & postes liquidas emergis in auras?
Quo non sub domino sacras passura bipennes?
Et nunc ignaro forsan vel lubrica Nais,
Vel non abruptos tibi demet Hamadryas annos (23).

(23) Idem. Silva,
III, lib. i, ver.
59, pag. m. 14,
15.

And you, Oh tree, in house preserv'd with care,
Bursting thro' roofs and posts to liquid air:
Dost thou on the ground, by axes fell'd, to lye,
Or, sudden, with some Hamadryad, die.

For the rest, it was not hard for the Gentiles to imagine such a kind of nymphs; for they had a religious veneration for trees which they believed to be very ancient, and whose extraordinary bigness demonstrated their long life (24). It was an easy transition from hence to believe, they were the abode of some deity. They made a natural idol of them, I mean, they fancied, that without the help of consecration, which brought down the god into the statues dedicated to him, a nymph or deity dwelt in the center of these trees: the oak that Eryfichthon felled, was revered for it's bulk and great age, it was adorned as a consecrated place, it was hung with the tokens of the success of their devotions, and with the monuments of answered vows.

(24) Ennium fecit sacros vetustate lucos adoremus in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantum habent speciem, quantum religionem. Quintil. lib. x, cap. i, pag. m. 471.

Stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus
Una, nemus: vittæ mediam memoresque tabellæ,
Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis (25).

(25) Ovid.
Metam. lib. viii,
ver. 746.

An aged oak here lifts, it's boughs in air,
Hung round with wreaths, sign of successful pray'r.

Is it any wonder that it was taken for the seat of an Hamadryad?

[E] The poets have sometimes taken the Hamadryades for the Naiades. This Propertius does, speaking of the nymphs who stole away Hercules's minion (26): he sometimes calls them Hamadryades, sometimes Dryades; yet they were fountain nymphs. Ovid, on the contrary, calls the nymphs whose fate depended on a tree, Naiades.

(26) Propert.
Eleg. xx, lib. i.

Naiada vulneribus succidit in arbore sacris
Illa perit: fatum Naiados arbor erat (27).

(27) Ovidius,
Fast. lib. iv, ver.
231.

A naïd in the tree he flew, whose fate
Depended on the tree's uncertain date.

I shall occasionally observe, that it was still more common to confound the Hamadryades, and the Dryades reciprocally. There is in Hercules Oëteus, a scene describing the effects of Orpheus's singing. Amongst other things, it is said, that the Dryades leaving their trees ran after him.

Et quercum fugiens suam
Ad vatem properat Dryas (28).

(28) Seneca, in
Herc. Oëteu, ver.
1051, pag. m.
312.

The Dryad quits her oak, and hastens to his song.

There is some probability, that the same nymphs are here meant, who were born and died with a tree, and who, properly speaking, were called Hamadryades, and not Dryades. It was not a constant tradition, that these nymphs could not depart from their trees: not

for

confine themselves so exactly to the definitions of each species, but that they confounded them when they thought fit.

for a few moments. And therefore Seneca might suppose they left them to hear Orpheus sing. Note, that Servius was mistaken in thinking Statius spoke of the Hamadryades, in these verses of the sixth book of the Thebais.

Linquunt flentes dilecta locorum
Otia, cana Pales, Silvanusque arboris umbræ,
Semideumque pecus, migrantibus adgemit illis
Silva, nec amplexæ dimittunt robora Nymphæ (29).

Pan and Sylvanus quit their lov'd retreat . . .
The feeling wood, at their departure, groans;
The nymphs embrace their oaks, and pour forth piteous moans.

It is certain, that the nymphs he speaks of, were those

that were properly called Dryades, and therefore Servius is to blame, to apply the *nec amplexæ dimittunt robora Nymphæ* to the Hamadryades, whose character he had been giving in these words. *Hamadryades cum arboribus & nascuntur & pereunt, unde plerumque, cæsa arbore, sanguis emanat* (30). Barthius did not perceive this grammarian's error, though he produces a passage, that was very proper to make him sensible of it. *Pulchra notatio in Commentario Antiquo, says he* (31). *Dimittunt. Non cum effectu intellige, dimittunt enim omnino, quamvis sero dimittant. Sed diuturnitatem manifestat amoris, non abieciisse Nymphas, nisi penitus prostratis arboribus. Sic solemus dicere: Ille modum non facit plorandi, non facit alius finem ridendi, cum diutius rideat aut fleat.* Do not these words plainly shew, that Statius does not speak of the same kind of nymphs defined by Servius, and who necessarily died when their trees were cut down?

HANNO, a Carthaginian general, was employed to sail round Africa (a). He entered the ocean by the straits, which we now call the straits of Gibraltar, and discovered many countries (b). He would have continued his navigation, if provisions had not failed him. Some authors assure us that he accomplished it [A], I mean that he failed him. Some authors assure us that he accomplished it [A], I mean that he failed to the extremity of Arabia. He wrote a relation of his voyage, which was often quoted; but little credit was given to it [B]. There is some part of it still extant [C]. It is not agreed at what time he lived [D], and there is no proof that the Carthaginians

[A] He would have continued his navigation, if provisions had not failed him. Some say he accomplished it. Two passages, one of Pomponius Mela, the other of Pliny, shall be our commentary here. 'Hanno Carthaginensis exploratum missus à suis, cum per Oceanum exisset, magnam partem ejus circumvectus, non se mare sed comitatum defecisse memoratu tulerat' (1). — 'Hanno, the Carthaginian, being sent out to make discoveries, when he had taken his course by the straits into the ocean, sailed round a great part of it, and related that nothing hindered his further navigation, but want of provisions.' Let us see Pliny's words (2): 'Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus à Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto. — And Hanno, when Carthage flourished, sailed round from Cadiz to the remotest parts of Arabia, and left an account of his voyage in writing.' Salmastius supposes Pliny mistaken, and that Hanno did not continue his discoveries to the Red Sea, but only to the islands called Gorgades (3). Isaac Vossius doth not much differ from him, he thinks, that the island, called at present St Anne, was the boundary of this general's navigation (4).

[B] He wrote a relation of his voyage. . . . Pliny, in other respects indulgent enough, as every body knows, could not forbear saying, that this author has vented a great many fables. 'Fuere, says he (5), & Hannonis Carthaginensis ducis commentarii, Punicis rebus florentissimis explorare ambitum Africæ jussi: quem secuti plerique à Græcis nostrisque, & alia quædam fabulosa, & urbes multas ab eo conditas ibi prodere, quarum nec memoria ulla nec vestigium extat. — There were extant likewise, the memoirs of Hanno the Carthaginian general, who when the glory of their state was at it's height, was ordered to discover the bounds of Africa: most of the Grecian and our writers, have followed him in their accounts, and besides many other fabulous stories tell us of many cities, built by him there, of which there is not the least remembrance or marks remaining.' See also Athenæus (6).

[C] There is some part of it still extant. Sigismund Gelenius had it printed in Greek, at Basil, by Frobenius, in 1533. There came out a second edition of it in the same place, in 1559, with the Latin version and some notes of Conrad Gesner: and yet Salmastius says, that this work seems to have been unknown to the Greeks. 'Scriptum illud non videtur innotuisse. Etenim si venisset in notitiam ac manus Græcorum, totam eam meridiani Oceani oram minime reliquissent intactam (7). — This piece seems to have been unknown. For if it had been known and read by the Greeks, they would never have left the whole coast of the Southern ocean unexplored.' He knew

not therefore of the words of Pliny, cited in the foregoing remark, and of the passage of the book *περί Σπουδαίων ἀναμνηστικόν, de auditionibus admirandis*, in which Hanno is quoted. Mention is also made of it in Artemidorus the Ephesian's Epitomy. Here are instances that shew, that men of the greatest reading, and vastest memory, are sometimes ignorant of things very easy to be known. Isaac Vossius has not forgiven Salmastius this mistake (8). Nor has Father Harduin omitted it (9). Note, that they published at Leyden, in 1674, what had been published at Basil in 1559. I mean Hanno's Periplus, with Gesner's Latin version and notes, and with John Leo's Africa. But Berkellius added some remarks to it, taken from the second part of Mr Bochart's *Geographia sacra*. The same little piece (10) of Hanno has been published at Oxford, in 1698, by Dr Hudson, with several other writings of the same nature, in the first tome of *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci Minores*. Mr Dodwell's dissertations prefixed to this volume, which treat amply of those ancient Greek authors, are full of learning. That concerning Hanno is not the least important. Mr Dodwell does not believe, that this Carthaginian commander wrote the *Periplus* that went under his name. He ascribes it to some Grecian of Sicily, a great admirer of the glory of Carthage. He believes also, that the *Periplus* which goes at present under Hanno's name, is very different from that which the ancients had. See the margin (11).

[D] It is not agreed at what time he lived. Pliny says, it was when the Carthaginian affairs were the most flourishing. This is indefinite: nevertheless Vossius (12) finds there a just reason to conclude, that our Hanno was neither he that Justin speaks of in the twentieth book, nor he that Pliny mentions in the sixteenth chapter of the eighth book, nor he that was the leader of a faction in Carthage, in the second Punic war (13), but he that was sent against Agathocles, as Justin informs us in the twenty second book. Hanno in the twentieth book of Justin was sent against the tyrant Dionysius: the Gauls had then taken the city of Rome (14), which they did in the 366th year from it's foundation. The same Hanno was killed some time after, with all his family, for endeavouring to make himself master of Carthage (15). I do not know but this city was in as flourishing a condition at that time, as when another Hanno was sent against Agathocles (16). He lost his life in a battle in the 443d year of Rome. I therefore see no certainty in Vossius's thought. Note, that the passage of Pliny, alledged by him, is to be understood of a Hanno, who was condemned for having had the art of taming a lion; for they were persuaded, that the liberty of their country could not be safe, in the hands of a general, who could master the cruelty of wild

(29) Statius, Theb. lib. vi, ver. 110, pag. m. 234.

(a) See the remark [B].

(b) Pliny and Pomponius Mela, cited in the remark [A].

(1) Pomponius Mela, lib. iii, cap. ix, pag. 61, Edit. Isaac Vossii.

(2) Plinius, lib. ii, cap. lxvii, pag. m. 220, 221.

(3) Salmastius, Exercit. Plin. pag. 1242, 1244.

(4) Isaac Vossius in Melam, lib. iii, cap. ix, pag. 305.

(5) Plinius, lib. v, cap. i, pag. m. 523, 524.

(6) Athenæus, lib. iii, pag. 83, de cuius verbis vide Vossium de Histor. Græci, pag. 514.

(7) Salmastius, ubi supra, pag. 2242.

(30) Servius, Æneid. lib. iii, ver. 113, pag. 389, Tom. iii.

(31) Barth. in Statil. Theb. lib. vi, ver. 113, pag. 389, Tom. iii.

(8) Isaac Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 302.

(9) Harduin. in Ind. Autor. Plin. pag. 113.

(10) It may well be called so, for it doth not contain six half pages in the Oxford edition, in 8vo, 1698.

(11) Note, that in the preface to the Oxford edition, it is not said, that Boetius published Hanno with notes, ia 1661.

(12) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 513.

(13) Neque istum factionis Barchinæ, de quo Livius libro de bello Punico secundo. *Id. ibid.* There is much confusion in these words of Vossius after Boetius, he should have put *in murem*, and after *libro* there must be *et dum de, et* some such word.

(14) Justin. lib. xx, cap. ult.

(15) Id. lib. xxi, cap. iv.

(16) Id. lib. xxii, cap. vi.

ginians put him to death. He hung up, in Juno's temple, the skins of some savage women who were fled by his order. See the last remark (c).

(c) Citat. (21).

wild beasts. * Primus hominum leonem manu tractare ausus, & offendere manifestum, Hanno è clarissimis Penorum traditur: damnatusque illo argumento, quoniam nihil non persuasurus vir tam artificis ingenii videbatur: & male credi libertas ei, cui in tantum cessisset etiam feritas (17). — Hanno, a noble Carthaginian, is reported to have been the first, who ever had the courage to handle a lion, and show him tame. He was condemned on that account, because they believed that nothing would be too hard for a man of so much address; and that the public liberty was not safe in the hands of a man to whom the most savage natures had yielded. Vossius observes, that Plutarch has spoken of the same HANNO. Indeed, he says, that the Carthaginians banished him, because seeing him make a lion carry his baggage, they suspected he aspired to the sovereignty (18). Neither Pliny nor Plutarch say anything to denote the time this was done, and it is difficult to conceive, what reason Vossius had to imagine they speak of a Hanno different from ours. Father Hardouin is of another opinion, for he thinks that the traveller was the same that was condemned for taming a lion. He cannot offer any proof of it; and we may even conjecture that he is mistaken; for it is somewhat probable, that if this Hanno, who sailed round Afric, was the same, who tamed the lion, Pliny would have touched upon this circumstance. The surest way is to take neither side, neither denying what Vossius denied, nor affirming what Father Hardouin affirms. Note, that he supposes Pliny to affirm that Hanno was put to death (19), but it is better to give a more indefinite explication to the word *damnatus*, since Plutarch specifies the punishment of banishment. The following objection may be made to Vossius. Aristotle has cited Hanno in his book *de admirandis auditionibus*. Wherefore this Carthaginian general must have lived before Agathocles. But Vossius answers (20), that Aristotle was not the author of this book. Solinus stands us in no stead, when he says, that Xenophon of Lampfacus has cited Hanno; for besides that, it is not known at what time this Xenophon lived, we have reason to believe that Solinus deceives us. These are his words (21). * Has (Gorgades insulas) incoluerunt Gorgones monstra, & sanè usque adhuc monstrifera gens habitat. Distant à continetie bidui navigatione. Prodidit denique Xenophon Lampfacenus Hannonem Penorum regem in eas permeavisse, repertaque ibi feminas alii pernicitate, atque ex omnibus quæ apparuerant, duas captas tam hirtio atque alpero corpore, ut ad argumentum spectandæ rei duarum cutes miraculi gratia inter donaria Junonis suspenderit: quæ duravere usque in tempora excidii Carthaginensis. — These (to wit the islands called Gorgades) were inhabited by the monsters called Gorgons, and are even to this day inhabited by a monstrous people. They are distant from the continent, two days sailing. Xenophon Lampfacenus relates, that Hanno, the king of Carthage, sailed to them, and found women there as swift as birds, and that of the many which they saw, caught two which had bodies so rough and hairy, that, in memory of that expedition, he presented their skins to be hung up in the temple of Juno, which remained there till the destruction of Carthage. It is plain, that this passage is a transcript of this following. * Contra hoc quoque promontorium Gorgades insulæ narrantur Gorgonum quondam domus bidui navigatione distantes à continetie, ut tradit Xenophon Lampfacenus. Penetravit in eas Hanno Penorum imperator, prodiditque hirta feminarum corpora, viros pernicitate evasisse: duarum

que Gorgonum cutes, argumenti & miraculi gratia in Junonis templo posuit, spectatas usque ad Carthaginem captam (22). — Over against this promontory, the islands of Gorgades are placed, which were formerly inhabited by the Gorgons, and are two days sailing from the continent, as Xenophon Lampfacenus relates. Hanno, the Carthaginian general, went in to them, and reported that the women there with their bodies covered hair, out-ran his men. He placed two of the Gorgons skins in the temple of Juno, as a proof of this, which were seen till the taking of Carthage. The copy differs from the original, since Pliny does not, make Xenophon say, as Solinus does, that Hanno penetrated into the Gorgades &c. Salmastius supposes, that Solinus has perplexed this to prove, that Xenophon of Lampfacus lived after Hanno. Hoc obtinere vult Solinus ut finis illi respondeat principii, & toto in cursu sibi constet. Hanno velut Xenophonte Lampfaceno. Quomodo igitur hic de illo prodere potuit (23)? I confess, this is an inexplicable riddle to me, for I cannot conceive that Solinus had any interest to shew, that Hanno preceded this Xenophon. And I can still less comprehend why, if Xenophon lived after this Carthaginian, it should be impossible for him to cite him, as Salmastius's interrogation supposes. I think it probable enough, that Solinus has reduced Pliny's two citations into one, by a spirit of confusion peculiar to him; but I would not venture to affirm, that Xenophon of Lampfacus has not said all that he ascribes to him. You will say, that if this were so, Pliny would not have cited two writers, but would have been content with Xenophon's testimony. I answer, the consequence is not just: order requires, that for those things which Hanno is known to have said himself, he should be quoted preferably to those who affirm that he has related them. Isaac Vossius is very far from his father's opinion; for instead of saying, that our Hanno lived in the time of Agathocles (24), he makes him elder than Homer and Hesiod. He was not content to make him the leader of the expedition made by the Phenicians a little after the ruin of Troy (25), he found afterwards that this would not give him antiquity enough: he therefore supposed in another work (26), that Hanno and Perseus lived in the same time. Mr Dodwell has learnedly and solidly confuted this pretension, and all the proofs brought to support it. He makes a good use of the passage of Pliny's second book, wherein it is remarked, that Himilco and Hanno undertook long voyages. Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvexus à Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto: sicut ad externa Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilco (27). — Hanno, while Carthage flourished, sailed round from Cadiz to the remotest parts of Arabia, and left an account of that voyage in writing: at the same time, Himilco was sent to make discoveries of the remote parts of Europe. We find, that in the Carthaginian war with Agathocles, they had two generals, one called Hanno, and the other Himilco (28). We may moreover very probably suppose, that this flourishing state of the Carthaginians, mentioned by Pliny, preceded their first war with the Romans; for during this war, it is not likely they thought of discovering new countries, and it is well known they concluded this war with great loss. Wherefore these two great chronological characters of Pliny lead us to suppose, that he speaks of a Hanno that flourished in the time of Agathocles. You will find in Mr Dodwell (29) a fine collection of observations, that may convince us, that Hanno is to be placed betwixt the XCIII^d and CXXIXth Olympiad.

HARCHIUS (JODOCUS) (a) born at Mons in Hainault, lived in the XVIth century. He practised physic in the place of his birth, and published some pieces suitable to his profession (b) [A]. Afterwards he went out of his sphere, and meddled

[A] He published some pieces suitable to his profession. He printed at Liege in 1563, a book *de causis contemptæ Medicinæ*, concerning the causes of the contempt of physic in 8vo. His *Enchiridion Pharmacorum Simplicium quæ in usu sunt*, or, Manual of Simple Medicines, which are in use, is in verse, and was printed at Basil in 1573 in 8vo (1). He might therefore have been placed in the list of physicians, who wrote in verse, published by Bartholinus. He is not the only one who is wanting there.

[B] Beza

meddled with divinity, but with very indifferent success. He wanted to find a middle way in the doctrine of the Eucharist betwixt the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, to compose their differences, but he was laughed at by both. The book which he published on this subject was answered by Theodore Beza, who affirms that it is a piece so confused, so obscure, and so destitute of method, that it is a hard matter to guess at its author's meaning [B]. We shall give a general idea of his opinion [C].

[B] Beza . . . affirms that . . . Harchius's book is so confused . . . that it is a hard matter to guess at his meaning.] The book which he composed against this author is intitled *De Cæna Domini adversus Jodoci Harchii Montensis* (2) dogmata, and is to be found in the third tome of his *Traitéations Theologicas*, from page 148, to page 186 of the Geneva edition 1582 in folio. Hospinian (3) says, that this work of Beza was printed in the year 1580, and that Jodocus Harchius's book had been printed at Basil in 1573, with this title: *de Eucharistia mysterio ad sedandas Controversias in Cæna Domini Libri tres. A Treatise concerning the Mystery of the Eucharist, to compose the Differences concerning the Lord's Supper, in three books.* Beza assures us, that this piece of Harchius had been printed at Worms, seven years before he read it. He adds, that he doth not know whether the place of the impression be truly marked, but that he was of opinion, that it would not be necessary to answer it, because no body could approve of such odd opinions; but that notwithstanding, having seen the contrary of what he expected, he had submitted to the opinion of his friends, who desired that he should write against this author. Licet urgentibus nonnullis ut falsissimo

fane ipsius dogmati utpote quo novæ potiùs controverfiæ excitarentur, quam veteres tollerentur, refutationem opponerem, silentio potiùs ejusmodi scripta esse obruenda respondit. Nullum enim fore arbitrabar, qui tam absurdis sententiis assentiret; quæ spes cum me fefellerit, cogor amicorum precibus, quam hæc vana sint demonstrare, id est pene cum ratione, insanire. Adscribam autem primo loco ipsius Jodoci verba ex variis ejus libri paginis optima fide descripta, ut quæ sparsim, & proflus perturbate scripsit, adeo denique *ἀνεξήκως* & obscure, ut de industria texisse potiùs quam aperte suum dogma spectandum proposuisse videatur, melius appareant: & ne quam etiam, homini præsertim, ut audio, jam mortuo, injuriam in ipsius erratis annotandis, & refutandis, fecisse me quisquam suspicetur (4).

— Being pressed by some people to write an answer to his erroneous doctrine, by which new controversies are raised, rather than old ones composed, I answered, that such books were best neglected. For I did not imagine, that so absurd a doctrine, would find any proselytes: but having found that I was mistaken in this, I am under a necessity, in compliance with the desire of my friends, to show how ill founded it is. I shall in the first place, set down Jodocus's own words, faithfully extracted from the different parts of his book, that what he has wrote in a scattered, confused, immethodical and obscure manner, and so as one would think, be rather designed on purpose to conceal his doctrine, than to lay it down clearly, may be the better understood: and that no body may suspect that I do the gentleman, who I hear is now dead, the least injury either in quoting or confuting his errors. Observe, by the by, that Harchius was dead at the time when Beza answered him. The extracts which they give of his book, make it more intelligible than the reading of the book itself. After giving the extracts, Beza observes as follows: 'Et hæc quidem Harchius non minus obscure quam perturbatè, ut qui ab una quæstione ad alteram defiliat, & plurimis ambiguis vocibus ac formulis utatur, adeo ut mihi sæpius hæc omnia relegenda, considerata, percuratanda fuerint priusquam quid homo iste sibi vellet, intelligere & in suos locos distinctè singula referre potuerim (5).

— Thus far Harchius, but with as much obscurity as confusion, for he starts from one question to another, and makes use of so many ambiguous words and phrases, that I was frequently obliged to read him over and over, to consider and search before I could gather his meaning, and put every thing in its proper place. The Epitome of Gellner's Bibliotheca (6), mentions two other books of Harchius on theological subjects, *de Causis Hæresis, proque ejus exilio & concordia Controversiarum in Religione, Hæreticorum, Pontificiorum, & pænitentium, Oratio ad Deum Patrem*, at Basil 1573 in 4to. *Orthodoxorum Patrum Irenæi, Cyrilli, Hilarii, Augustini, & reliquorum, de Eucharistia & Sacrificio universalis Ecclesiæ Fides*, in 8vo. This last book was printed in the year 1577, as Hospinian says (7).

[C] We shall give a general idea of his opinion.] I take it from a letter of Andrew Rivetus to Milletiere July twenty nine 1641. 'Your distinctions of matter and mystery of *ἀσθεντον* and *πεντον*, sensible and intelligible, ruin all that you intend to establish, without showing how we can with the mouth of the body, eat a mystery in which there is no matter; or how after the matter of a body is gone, the substance remains; this I do not find explained in your treasure of rich conceptions. Above thirty years ago, I read something like this, in a book of a certain physician of the country of Juliers named Tarchius (8), with whose heifer it should seem you have plowed. He maintained that the body, which the church gives in the bread, is the body of the Eternal Word, which coming into the bread in a wonderful manner, changed it into the substance of that flesh, which he carried up into heaven; that it was a flesh of the same kind, with that with which the substance of our flesh is nourished. He called it, as you do, a *spiritual* and *intelligible* flesh. He said that the flesh, which is daily created in the bread and wine, and taken at the altar by the faithful, was like, as to its nature, to the flesh which CHRIST has in heaven, quickening because of the divinity, which mixeth itself with the bread in an inexpressible manner. He would have the Calvinists to acknowledge, on St Augustin's authority, that the sacraments have really in them the true flesh of CHRIST, although spiritual, which, in a particular manner, is eat by the mouth with the bread, and is in some manner, digested in the heart. That it is called the flesh of CHRIST in a mystery, tho' it be neither nervous, muscular nor animated. Upon the same foundations he wanted likewise, with you, to establish a real and propitiatory sacrifice of the body and blood of CHRIST, and the adoration of the sacrament. And tho' he pretended by this means, to be able to reconcile all the contending parties; he was neither regarded by the Papists, by the Lutherans, nor by us; no body would acknowledge his chimæras for solid truths, and his speculations vanished as your's will (9). La Milletiere having answered, that he was not acquainted with this author. Rivetus replied as follows. 'This Harchius, whom I mentioned to him, and in whose book I found whims like to his own, ought no more to be unknown to him, than the *Diallaction* (10), recommended by Grotius, and coupled with Milletiere's books. These are two pieces, printed together in 1576, without the name of the place, or of the Printer, tho' the first edition of Harchius's book, bears the name of the city of Worms (11). Rivet, *Refponses à trois Lettres du Sieur, de la Milletiere*, pag. 62, & seq. (10) Concerning this book. See below, the article POINET. (11) Rivet, ubi supra, pag. 143, mentions of Harchius's book, bears the name of the city of Worms (11).

(2) He is by mistake called Montensis in the Epitome of the Bibliotheca of Gellner, pag. m. 515.

(3) Hospin. Hist. Sacrament. parte altera.

(4) Theod. Beza, Oper. Tom. III, pag. 148.

(5) Id. ibid. pag. 161.

(6) Pag. 515, of the Zurich edition, 1583.

(7) Hospin. Hist. Sacrament. parte altera.

(8) This is an error of the press for Harchius. Besides, I do not know why he is here said to be of the country of Juliers, for he was of Mons in Flanders. Possibly he might have professed Physics in the country of Juliers; or it may be that Rivetus fancied that Montensis signified the duchy of Berg, which he confounded with that of Juliers, because of their neighbourhood, and their common lord.

(9) Rivet, *Refponses à trois Lettres du Sieur, de la Milletiere*, pag. 62, & seq.

(10) Concerning this book. See below, the article POINET.

(11) Rivet, ubi supra, pag. 143, mentions of Harchius's book, bears the name of the city of Worms (11).

HARDENBERG (ALBERT), a Protestant divine, minister at Bremen, in XVth century, followed the confession of Augsborg eighteen years, and afterwards declared for Calvinism with so much success, that he introduced it into that city, notwithstanding the opposition of his colleagues, and of the magistrats. He had insinuated himself

himself so far into the favour of the people [A], that he made them declare for him against Lutheranism; so that the magistrates who refused to reject the confession of Augsburg, were degraded and banished. They all died in exile (a). The author who informs me of these particulars, refers his readers to a book which Dithmar Kenchellius, burgomaster of Bremen, composed during his banishment, intitled, *Brevis, dilucida, ac vera Narratio, de initiis & progressu Controversiæ, Bremæ à Doctore Alberto Hardenbergio motæ, opposita recenti Scripto ejusdem Hardenbergii de Ubiquitate & Cæna Domini*. Or, *A short, plain, and true Account of the Rise and Progress of the Controversy set on foot at Bremen, by Doctor Albert Hardenberg, in answer to a late book of the said Hardenberg, concerning the Ubiquity and Supper of our Lord*. Hardenberg did not long enjoy his triumph: he was expelled from Bremen, as a seditious Sacramentarian, by the Lutheran party, which regained the ascendant (b). He wrote the Life of Wesselus, which has been printed.

(a) Taken from George Braun, in his *Catholicorum Tremontis Defensionem*, pag. 46, 49.

(b) Ex eodem, ibid. pag. 164.

[A] He had so far insinuated himself into the favour of the people. This is the true method of bringing about a change: a preacher, supported by the people, is able to introduce all sorts of revolutions. It is said that he had rendered himself so popular, that he had not even omitted, to procure the affection of the valets and servant maids, after which he made no scruple of censuring the Burgo masters and senators, by name, in his sermons, and to lessen their authority with the people. *Calvini hæresim, senatu & reliquis suis Lutherani collegis invitit, Bremam*

introduxit. Quod ut commodius faceret, (ut scribit Dithmarus Kenchellius, ejusdem Civitatis Consul libello contra Hardenbergium edito) in intimam populi, bospitum, plebeiorum, muliercularum, puellarum, famulorum, denique & ancillarum familiaritatem se insinuans, auram popularem captavit, adeoque ut ex publico suggestionem non modò Prædicantes Collegas joculariter irridere, sed ipsos etiam Senatores, & Consules nominatim taxare, eorumque auctoritatem apud plebem imminuere non vereretur (1).

(1) George Braun, in his *Defensio Catholicorum Tremontis*, pag. 46, 47.

HARPALYCE, the most beautiful young woman of Argos. Clymenus her father grew so much in love with her, that having found that all endeavours to conquer his passion, only served to increase it, he resolved on the means to satisfy it. He therefore corrupted his daughter's nurse, and, by her means, enjoyed secretly the beloved object. Some time after came the son-in-law, to whom he had promised his daughter. Immediately all things were sumptuously prepared for the wedding: the marriage was consummated: the husband departed with his bride to return home. Then Clymenus repented he had given consent to the match. His love distracted him to such a degree, that before they came to the end of their journey, he made away with his son-in-law, and brought back his daughter to Argos, where he behaved himself publicly as her husband. She at last reflected on the indignities she had suffered from her father; and to revenge herself, she killed her young brother [A], and gave him to her father to eat; after which, begging of the gods to be taken out of the world, she was changed into a bird [B]. Clymenus was so overwhelmed with these accidents, that he killed himself (a). We shall see other Harpalices in the article HARPALICUS.

(a) Taken from Euphorion apud Parthenium, in chap. xiv. of his *Ætietis, or amorous Stories*.

(1) Hygin. cap. 206.

[A] She killed her young brother. Hyginus (1) says she killed her own son which she had by Clymenus, and he adds that she made her father eat him, who, when he knew it, killed her. In the 206th chapter of this author the word *filius* ought to be corrected *filiam*, agreeably to what he says in the 238th, and 239, and 246th chapters. Besides this difference, I find another betwixt him and Parthenius. The latter says that Harpalice's father was the son of Teleus, and that he lived at Argos: the former makes him son of Schæneus, and king of Arcadia (2). But as in the 238th chapter he makes him the son of Oeneus, we may be certain that instead of Schæneus, it ought every where to read Oeneus; for we learn from Apollodorus (3), and Antoninus Liberalis (4), that Oeneus had a son named Clymenus.

[B] She was changed into a bird. There are two great defects in the fabulous inventions of the ancient Greeks; one is, that they have not sufficiently diversified the capital incidents; the other is, that they have not been able to observe any kind of uniformity in the circumstances. You will scarce find two authors who, in treating of the same fact, agree about the qualities and names of persons, and about the times and places. If they meant by that means to display the fertility of their genius, they were mistaken; the barrenness of the principal is difficultly repaired by diversified accessories. Parthenius's Euphorion seems at first sight to give us something new: but observe it well, it is only Tereus removed to another scene with some changes of the actors.

(1) Hygin. cap. 206.

(2) Id. ibid. & cap. cclxvi. There is in cap. cclxi. Cæneus, and not Schæneus.

(3) Lib. I.

(4) Cap. ii.

HARPALICUS, king of the Amymnians (a) in Thrace, had a daughter named Harpalice, who was brought up with cows and mares milk [A], and whom he had accustomed betimes to handle arms. By this means he made her a good warrior, and found his account in it; for had not his daughter come to his rescue when he was assaulted and wounded by Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles [B], he had unavoidably

(a) Hygin. cap. 193. Servius, in *Æneid. lib. I.*, ver. 317, calls them Amymoniæ.

(1) In *Æneid. lib. I.*, ver. 317.

[A] His daughter was nourished with cows and mares milk. Servius (1), applying these words of the first book of the *Æneid* to her,

Qualis equos Threïssa fatigat
Harpalyce, volucrumque fuga prævertitur Hebrum,
With such array Harpalice bestrode,
Her Thracian courser, and out-strippt the rapid flood.

says, she was nursed in the same manner as Virgil makes Camilla by her father Metabus.

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Hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra
Armentalis equæ mammis, & lacte serino,
Nutribat, teneris immulgens ubera labris (2).

A shepherd's solitary life he led,
His daughter with the milk of mares he fed,
The dugs of bears, and every savage beast,
He drew, and thro' her lips the liquor press'd.

[B] When he was assaulted by Neoptolemus. The father of this damsel was already his prisoner, according to Servius. Others say Harpalice delivered him from

(2) Virgil. *Æneid. lib. XI.*, ver. 570.

voidably lost his life; but Harpalice charged the enemy so seasonably, that she put him to flight. Her father, whom she had so happily delivered from that foreign war (b), lost his life some time after in a civil one: His subjects deposed him, and at last killed him (c). Harpalice retired into the woods, and fell to robbing. She flew like lightning; so that when she was pursued by horsemen to recover from her the cattle she had carried off, they could not overtake her. They did not seize her but by laying nets as they do for stags. They killed her, but it cost them dear who did it: for there immediately arose a dispute in the neighbourhood, concerning the property of the cattle she had stolen. They came to blows, and left many on both sides dead upon the place. Since that time a custom was established of assembling at the tomb of the damsel, and of expiating her death with tournaments. There was an HARPALICE who was desperately in love with Iphiclus (d), and who died of grief on finding herself slighted by him. From her it was that a certain song was called Harpalice.

(b) Hygin. *ibid.*
(c) Servius, *ubi supra.*
(d) Turneb. *Adversar. lib. x, cap. xi.*

the hands of the Getæ. 'Quidam hujus patrem à Getis, ut alii volunt à Mirmidonibus captum, collecta multitudine asserunt liberasse celerius, quam de fœminis credi potest (3). — Some relate that her father being taken captive by the Getæ, others say by the Mirmidons, she gathered a body of men, together and rescued him, so quickly, as is hardly credible of a woman.' I know not where Charles Stephens, followed by Lloyd and Hofman, had read that the father of our Harpalice was called Lycurgus, and that he was old when he became prisoner of the Getæ.

HARPALUS, a Grecian astronomer, corrected the cycle of Cleostratus by another cycle, which had need to be corrected [A]. It was Meton who corrected the new cycle of Harpalus, in the fourth year of the LXXXVth Olympiad (a). Cleostratus discovered the signs of the Zodiac, after Anaximander had found out, in the LVIIIth Olympiad, the obliquity of that circle (b). Judge by this of the age in which Harpalus lived. What Moreri says is not true, that Diodorus Siculus makes mention of Harpalus. There is a great confusion in Vossius upon all this [B].

[A] He corrected the cycle of Cleostratus by another cycle which had need to be corrected. Cleostratus's cycle was called *Oliasteris*; it contained eight years, at the end whereof he pretended the sun and moon returned to the same point. Harpalus finding that to be a mistake invented a cycle of nine years.

*Nam quæ solem biberna novem putat æthera volvi
Ut lunæ spatium redeat, vetus Harpalus, ipsam
Ociis in sedem momentaque præfixa reducit.
Illius ad numeros proluxa decennia rursus
Adjecisse Meton Cecropia dicitur arte.
Infectique animis: tenuit rem Græci solers
Protinus, & longos inventum mist in annos (1).*

(1) Festus Avenius in Arateia Prognosticis, pag. m. 65.

Meton finding that the cycle of nine years had succeeded no better than the rest, invented the cycle of nineteen years. This cycle was followed, as Festus Avenius observes in the verses above mentioned: It is still in vogue and called the Golden Number.

(a) De Scient. Mathemat. pag. 150, 151.

[B] There is a great confusion in Vossius upon all this. I. After he had said (2) in his thesis, that Meton published the *Enneadecateris* in the first year of LXXXVth olympiad, or in the year before, he says, in his commentary upon his thesis, that Diodorus Siculus speaks of this under the third year of the LXXXVth olympiad. Is not this to produce a famous evidence: a-

gainst his own calculation? Is this very prudently done? This is the part of an honest man, you will say. I will own it is, provided Diodorus made use of that chronology: but it is certain that he places the cycle of nineteen years in the last year of the LXXXVth olympiad. II. He quotes Pliny, book 2. Chap 12. concerning Cleostratus, whereas he should have quoted the eighth chapter. III. He says that the *Oliasteris* of Cleostratus comprehended 2090, years and 22. It is plain that the Printer has confounded the numbers; but the word *annorum* is doubtless a mistake of the author: change then these words, *introducitur oliasteris quæ erat annorum cix cix xc xxii*, into these, *introducitur oliasteris quæ erat dierum cix cix cxxxii*: for this cycle contained 2922 Days. IV. He quotes the twelfth book of Diodorus Siculus concerning the *Oliasteris*. I have not found that word in it. V. This phrase, in *hac oliasteride deprebensum est vitium ab Harpalo commissum*, is ill expressed, as signifying quite contrary to what it ought to do. There is no reader but would believe Harpalus was deceived in making that cycle: and yet the meaning of Vossius is to let us know that Harpalus discovered the fault which the author of the cycle had committed. VI. He should not have said, that instead of the *Oliasteris* of Cleostratus, the *Oliasteris* of Harpalus was made use of: For Avenius's verses, which Vossius immediately quotes, shew plainly that the invention of Harpalus was a cycle of nine years.

HARPALUS, a Macedonian lord, and one of Alexander's captains, ruined himself by his prodigious expences (a). He took the part of Alexander, during the differences that arose betwixt that prince and his father Philip, and was disgraced on that account (b): But as soon as Philip died, Alexander recalled Harpalus, and shewed an extraordinary friendship to him; I believe that he gave him the government of Cilicia [A]. As for that of Babylon, it is most certain that he gave it him, together with the office of high-treasurer (c). Harpalus, imagining the king his master would never

(a) Athenæus, lib. xiii, pag. 504. Pausanias, lib. I, pag. 35.

(b) Plutarch. in Alex. p. 669. E.

(c) Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii, cap. cviii.

(1) Lib. xiii, pag. 586.

(2) Τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀρχὴν λόγον, metropolis rationem obtinet. Strabo, lib. xiv, pag. 463.

(3) Lib. xiii, pag. 595.

[A] I believe that Alexander gave him the government of Cilicia. I ground my conjecture upon what Athenæus says (1), that Harpalus having lost his mistress, sent for another from Athens, and lodged her in the royal palace of Tarsus. There she was adored by every body, and was called queen. And all those who crowned Harpalus had orders to crown her also? This supposes that Harpalus lived at Tarsus with all sort of authority. Now Tarsus was the chief city in Cilicia (2). I do not regard the passage of Athenæus (3), where it is said that Harpalus erected a brazen statue to his mistress Glycera in Tarsus a

town of Syria [ἐν Ταρσῷ] τῆς Συρίας. I doubt not but this passage is corrupted: for besides that there was not in Syria any royal or considerable town that was named Tarsus, we find in the 586th page of Athenæus, that the statue of Glycera was erected in Rossus, ἐν Ρωσσῷ. We see in the Margin of the 595th page opposite to the place of the text, where it is printed [ἐν Ταρσῷ] that other manuscripts have it ἐν Ρωσσῷ. Athenæus quotes the same author, viz. Theopompus in both these passages; which shews that the transcribers have confounded the name of the town where that statue was.

B] He

never return from his expedition to the Indies, committed infinite extortions, in order to support the excessive expences of his bed and table. He plunged himself into all sorts of pleasures, and denied nothing to his mistresses [B]. Many other governors fancying as he did, that Alexander would never be in a capacity of calling them to an account for their extortions, had been guilty of innumerable acts of injustice. The first thing Alexander did, upon his return from the Indies, was to punish very severely some of these governors. This gave grounds to Harpalus to apprehend the same treatment; so that to prevent it he fled into Greece with immense sums, which he took from the royal treasure with which he was entrusted. He levied also six thousand men, which he landed at Tænarum in the Lacedæmonian territories; from whence he went to Athens, to try to engage them in a war against Alexander (d). He gained some orators by his money (e); knowing that there is not a more powerful instrument than the tongue of this sort of men to disturb the public tranquillity, and to excite the populace to take up arms. But as he knew on the one hand what power they have over the people, he was not ignorant on the other, how great a power a good sum of money had over them. Wherefore finding himself well provided with gold and silver, he hoped to bring over the city of Athens to his interest. But he was deceived; Phocion was not to be corrupted [C]; besides, the letters of Antipater, governor of Macedonia, and those of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, kept the Athenians in respect

(d) Id. *ibid.*

(e) Plut. in Phocione, pag. 750, in Demosthene, pag. 837.

[B] He denied nothing to his mistresses. If any thing could ruin the conjecture I have advanced in the preceding remark, it would be the description that Diodorus Siculus has left us, of the luxury Harpalus wallowed in during Alexander's abode in the Indies. It appears from thence, that Harpalus gave himself up to the pleasures of women, and even to impurities of a more odious nature; that he ordered great quantities of fish to be brought from the Red Sea; that his ordinary expences were excessive, and besides that he sent for a famous courtesan from Athens named Pythonice; that he made her presents of an immense value; that when she died he built her a noble sepulchre; and sent for another celebrated courtesan named Glycera, from the same country, with whom he lived in so prodigal a voluptuousness as cannot be described. All this happened, according to Diodorus Siculus, whilst Harpalus was governor of Babylon; and high-treasurer, and whilst Alexander was employed in his Indian expedition. You will say I was then in the wrong to mention his government of Cilicia. It would be a strong objection, if there was not room to believe that Diodorus Siculus, after the manner of those who compose a general history, has too much huddled together particular events, and too much neglected the distinction of times. The authors, whom Athenæus quotes, are more credible than Diodorus; for they have treated particularly of the debaucheries of Harpalus. It is presumed therefore they have better described the circumstances of them than Diodorus could do, who has only spoken of Harpalus in general, and who passed over the particular incidents with the greatest haste imaginable. That is the method of a general history. But what say Athenæus's authors? Why, that after the death of Pythonice, whom Harpalus passionately loved, he sent for Glycera, and brought her to the royal palace at Tarsus, causing the people to adore her, and call her queen. *Ἦν καὶ ἐλθούσα οἰκεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Τάρσῳ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῷ πλῆθει βασιλισσάν προσαγορευομένην. Ἀπὸ τοῦ προσηλίου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ συνεβόησαν, ὥστε τὴν βασιλίσσαν ἀποκαλεῖσθαι βασίλισσαν, καὶ τὴν βασιλίσσαν ἀποκαλεῖσθαι βασίλισσαν, καὶ τὴν βασιλίσσαν ἀποκαλεῖσθαι βασίλισσαν.* (4). If he had been governor of Babylon when he sent for Glycera, he had conducted her to the palace of Babylon, and it must have been at Babylon that he had ordered the honours of adoration to be paid, and the title of queen to be given to her. He did this at Tarsus, therefore he was governor of Cilicia, when Pythonice died, and when Glycera supplied her place: Therefore Diodorus is mistaken in the circumstances of time, since he supposes that Harpalus's amours with Pythonice, and afterwards with Glycera, were posterior in time to Harpalus's being made governor of Babylon, and Alexander's expedition to the Indies. Let not the sepulchre which Harpalus ordered to be built for Pythonice in Babylon (5) be objected to me; for that does not prove she died after his being preferred to the government of Babylon. I know not whether we ought to reckon amongst the instances of this governor's luxury, the care he took to have all sorts of plants brought from Greece for the ornament of the gardens, and walks of Babylon (6), for if we

may believe Theophrastus (7), he did this by Alexander's order. If Scaliger had concluded from thence that Harpalus was supervisor of the royal gardens and orchards at Babylon, he could be blamed but for one thing; but he says that Plutarch ascribes that employment to Harpalus (8), he has therefore made two slips. I. He did not remember that Harpalus was governor of the province of Babylon, and that therefore the supervising of the gardens was not his principal office, but a small dependance upon his great employ. II. It is false that Plutarch says what he imputes to him.

[C] Phocion was not to be corrupted. He it was whom Harpalus aimed principally to gain. He gave to the other orators, whom he saw come over to him, but very moderate gratuities; but he offered Phocion 700 talents, and would have made him the absolute manager of his affairs. *Τὸν εὐχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶ βήματος χρηματίζεσθαι δέχμενος ἦν καὶ ἀμύλλᾳ φειρομένην πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῷ τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ πολλῶν μικρὰ δέχμενον, προσηκόντα καὶ διέδοξεν, τῷ δὲ Φωκίῳ προσέφερε δίδωμι ἐπὶ ταχέως τελευτᾶ. Concionum birudinum fuit certatim concursatio operas suas ei venditantium: modicam bis ille ex multis obtulit & objecti lesam, Phocioni vero per internuncios septingenta talenta obtulit (9).* Phocion repulsed him, and let him know that he would make him repent of his intriguing, if he went on to corrupt the inhabitants. Hereupon Harpalus acted with more reserve. He found that all those mercenary tongues he had gained, opposed him openly, in order to remove all suspicions, and that Phocion who had received nothing of him, was the least his adversary. This put him upon making new attempts to gain him; but he found him impenetrable on every side. Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, did not imitate his integrity, but rendered himself so suspected that his father-in-law refused to assist him when he saw him under prosecution for corresponding with Harpalus (10). As for Demosthenes, he used Harpalus in a most disingenuous manner; for when he had taken large sums to speak for him, and came to the bar, he appeared in the assembly with his throat muffled up, and complained he had a sore throat which deprived him of the use of speech (11). Which occasioned the jest upon him, wherein they alluded to the quincy. *Οἱ δὲ εὐφυνεῖς χλευάζοντες ὅτι ὑπὸ συνάρχου ἑρπάζον ἀλλ' αὖτ' ἀργύρας ἐλάμβαναι νύκτωρ τὸν δημαγωγόν. Ibi homines faceti cavellantes non angina dixerant, sed argentum oratorem nocte correptum (12).* But he did not come off only with being rallied; for his engagements with Harpalus were the cause of his banishment (13). Note that Pausanias believes him innocent (14). Harpalus, and his concubine Glycera, ordered great quantities of corn to be distributed in Athens. Which was one of the things for which he was ridiculed in a comedy that was acted on the banks of Hydaspes, which some will have Alexander himself to be the author of (15). It is observable, that after the death of Harpalus, a daughter he had by Pythonice was taken home by Phocion, and educated with all possible care both by himself and his son-in-law Charicles (16).

(7) Apud Plut. Symposiac, lib. vii, cap. ii, pag. 643.

(8) Plutarchus in Symposiacis, qui inter alia scribit eum hortis regis & viridariis Babyloniacis prepositum fuisse. Scalig. *Animadv.* in Eucl. n. 1591. pag. 127.

(9) Plut. in Phocione, pag. 751. B.

(10) Id. *ibid.*

(11) Id. in Demosthene, pag. 857.

(12) Id. *ibid.*

(13) Justin. lib. xii, cap. v.

(14) See the remark [D], at the end.

(15) Athen. lib. xiii, pag. 586, & 595.

(16) Plutarchus in Phocione, pag. 751.

[D] *This*

(4) Theopompus & Clitarchus, apud Athen. lib. xiii, pag. 586.

(5) Theopompus, *ibid.* pag. 595.

(6) Plut. in Alexand. pag. 686. B.

(f) Diod. Sicul.
ubi supra.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) In the remark
[D].

respect (f). This obliged Harpalus to seek another refuge [D]. He returned to Tænarum, where he had left his troops, and passed over from thence to Crete. But he was not there long before one of his friends treacherously killed him (g) [E]. The Supplement to Moreri is faulty in this particular, as I shall make appear (h). Alexander was so firmly persuaded that Harpalus was an honest man, that he caused those who brought the first news of his flight, to be put in chains as false accusers (i). The news he received, that this perfidious man was expelled from Athens and killed, made him lay aside his thoughts of returning into Europe to humble the Athenians [F]. He had employed Harpalus to send him books [G], when he saw there were none to be met with in the provinces that were remote from the country of the Greeks. The Sepulchre that Harpalus erected to one of his mistresses, was very sumptuous [H]. I do

(i) Τὸς δὲ πρῶ-
τος τὴν Ἀρπά-
λιν φονῆν καὶ
ἀποδύσαντα
ἀπαγγέλλαντα
ἐδῶκεν Εὐφιά-
την καὶ Κίεον
ὡς κατὰ φε-
ρομένους τῶ ἀν-
δρὶ. Ἴλλος qui
Harpali fugam
primi nuntia-
runt in vincula
conjecit, Ephial-
tem & Cissum,
tanquam menda-
cia de eo nun-
tiantes. Plot. in
Alexander. pag.
689. B.

[D] This obliged Harpalus to seek another refuge.]

He received orders to depart from Athens, as we learn from Plutarch (17) and Quintus Curtius (18). I believe the cause was pleaded with great solemnity: For Pollux quotes an oration of Hyperides ὑπὲρ Ἀρπάλῃ I will not take notice of Dinarchus's oration, intitled ὑπὲρ τῆ μὴ ἐκδύνασθαι Ἀρπαλον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ; because it is thought supposititious. It is however certain that that orator actually pleaded in that cause: there were five of his orations περὶ Ἀρπαλείων (19). That trial had great consequences; for after it was resolved upon in Athens, that Harpalus should depart, they informed against those who had suffered themselves to be bribed by him. If he had not found such as would be corrupted by his presents he had been delivered up to Alexander (20). One of that prince's friends (21) earnestly solicited the Athenians, that Harpalus might be given up to him, and not having obtained it, he shewed them some time after to whom it was Harpalus had given money and how much. He found that in the papers of Harpalus's steward (22).

Let us here make some critical observations upon the article of Philoxenus in Moreri's dictionary. The author of that article (23) assures us, that Philoxenus, a Macedonian captain, took Harpalus in Candia, who had robbed Alexander's exchequer, that he discovered all those to whom Harpalus had intrusted his treasure in Athens: that he sent a list of them to the magistrates, to recover the money out of their hands, and to cause them to be punished; but that he would not name Demosthenes, though he had some difference with that famous orator, preferring, on that occasion, the esteem he had for his eloquence to his own resentment. Pausanias is quoted for this. I find five faults in it. I. It is false that Philoxenus took Harpalus either in Crete or in any other place. He only took his steward who had escaped to the isle of Rhodes (24). The author I criticise, does not mention it. Let that omission be his second fault. III. Harpalus did not trust his treasure in Athens, he only distributed certain sums to gain some people to his interest. IV. The list which Philoxenus sent to the magistrates did not contain the names of the pretended trustees of this treasure, but the names of those whom Harpalus had bribed. V. Pausanias (25) does not say that Philoxenus had a desire to recover that money. VI. And so far is he from saying that this Macedonian suppressed his resentment in respect to Demosthenes's eloquence, that he manifestly supposes that orator would have appeared in Philoxenus's catalogue, if his name had been found in the papers of Harpalus's steward. Pausanias argues thus: if Demosthenes had received any bribe from Harpalus, this had been discovered, by the papers of his steward: and if it had been discovered, Philoxenus would have named him in the catalogue he sent to the Athenians: for he had particular quarrels with Demosthenes, and he knew that Alexander was to the last degree enraged against that famous orator. But he makes no mention of Demosthenes in imparting to the Athenians the names of those whom Harpalus had corrupted, and the particular sums they had received. We must therefore conclude that Demosthenes was guiltless. Who will trust after this to such dictionary-makers? Who wont rather deplore the fate of innumerable readers, who have honestly believed that Pausanias gives us here an example of a very signal generosity, a man so full of admiration for Demosthenes, his enemy, that he stifles his resentment in his behalf, when he has the most favourable opportunity of revenge. So great is the force of eloquence! Will the young declaimers cry out, who shall seek their materials in this new Polyanthea (26).

[E] One of his friends treacherously killed him.] He was called Thimbron, as Diodorus Siculus says, and he was of Lacedæmon, as Arrian inform us. He seized upon all the effects of Harpalus. Others say it was a traveller that committed this murder (27); others attribute it to Harpalus's domestic (28), others to a Macedonian, named Pausanias (29). These disagreements put one out of patience, and disgrace the historians.

[F] The news which he received that he was expelled from Athens, made Alexander lay aside his design of returning . . . to chastise the Athenians.] This we are taught by Quintus Curtius. 'His cognitis, says he, Rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque juxta infestus, classem parari jubet; Athenas protinus petiturus. Quod consilium dum agitat, clam literæ ei redduntur, Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos, mox consilio plebis habito, jussu urbe excedere, ad Græcos milites pervenisse, à quibus interceptum & trucidatum à quodam viatore per insidias. His Lætus in Europam trajiciendi consilium omisit (30). — Upon bearing these things, the king being equally enraged against Harpalus and the Athenians, commanded that a fleet should be made ready; intending to go to Athens without delay. While this was in agitation he received secret advice that Harpalus had indeed entered Athens, and had by presents drawn over the principal inhabitants to his party, but that an assembly of the people being held, he was ordered to leave the city, that he had gone to the Grecian soldiers, by whom he was stopped, and that he was at last slain by a certain traveller who had lain in wait for him. Being overjoyed at this, he laid aside his design of passing over into Europe.' A man must be stupid, not to perceive that there is a pretty large gap betwixt the first and second chapters of the tenth book of Quintus Curtius. For is there any historian so void of common sense, as to speak of Harpalus in the manner Quintus Curtius does in the foregoing passage, unless he had before explained, who this person was, and what enterprize he had formed? There is no need of saying more upon this. If any one is not sensible of it, he is not capable of comprehending the reasons I should alledge to prove it.

[G] Alexander employed Harpalus to send him books.] Plutarch acquaints us with this fact. Read what follows, and you will find they did not think they should displease that prince by sending him poetry. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βιβλίων ἐκ εὐπορῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνατόποις, Ἀρπαλον ἐκίλευσε πικρῶς καὶ κακῶς ἐπεμψέν αὐτῷ τὰς τε φιλικὰς βίβλους, καὶ τῶν Εὐεπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Αἰσχύλου τραγῳδιῶν συγχράς, καὶ Τελείου καὶ Φιλοξένου διθύραμβους. Alorum librorum quum in superioribus provinciis non esset ei facultas, mandavit Harpalo ut mitteret. Ille misit ei Philisti libros, Euripidisque & Sophoclis, & Aeschyli tragediarum magnam vim, Telestis quoque Philoxenique dithyrambos (31). — Alexander not finding any other books in the upper provinces, sent orders to Harpalus to send him some. Accordingly he sent him Philistus's writings, and a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, together with the dithyrambs of Telestes and Philoxenus.

[H] The sepulchre which Harpalus erected to one of his mistresses was very sumptuous.] He had been at incredible expences for Pythionice, whilst she lived, and he was not at less to bury her. The funeral was solemnized with the most magnificent symphony in the world. Whatever was fine in music, either vocal or instrumental, was brought together (32). He erected to her memory two stately monuments, one at Babylon, the other near Athens. The expence was above 200 talents. He consecrated a temple and a grove to her,

(27) Quint. Curt.
lib. x, cap. ii.

(28) Pausanias,
lib. ii, pag. 76.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) Quint. Curt.
lib. x, cap. ii.

(31) Plot. in
Alexander, pag.
668. D.

(32) Pausanias,
lib. xxii, Histor.
apud Athen.
lib. xiii, pag.
594.

(17) Id. in De-
mosthenes, pag.
875. E.

(18) Lib. x, cap.
ii.

(19) Vid. Scali-
ger. Animad.
in Eusebium, n.
1691, pag. m.
127.

(20) Pausanias,
lib. i, pag. 35.

(21) Philoxenus,
a Macedonian.
Pausan. lib. ii,
pag. 76.

(22) Id. ibid.

FAULTS of
the Supplement
to Moreri.

(23) It is the
Supplement to
Moreri's Dictio-
nary.

(24) Pausanias,
lib. ii, pag. 76.

(25) Id. ibid.

(26) That is, in
Moreri's Dictio-
nary.

do not think that a certain complaint against providence, which Cicero has preserved to us, relates to our Harpalus [I]. If I am in the right, the moral reflexions of Father Lescapier are but ill applied. There is a fault in Eusebius, which I shall take notice of [K].

her, under the name of Venus Pythonice. Ταύτης ἐτόλμουν ὁ φίλος εἶναι ὃν ἑσέων ἱερὸν καὶ τῆμεν ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν Πυθιονικῆς Ἀφροδίτης. *Aulus hic est qui de amicitia tua gloriaretur, illi et lucum et templum consecrare, adaeque illam et aram Pythonicæ Veneris nuncupare* (33). The tomb that he caused to be built in Attica, in the way to Eleusis, exceeded all that were near it. One would have taken it for that of one of the greatest men that Athens had produced. What surprize then must it be to strangers to understand, it was erected to a strumpet? What judgment would they pass upon the Athenians? This is Dicaearchus's reflexion (34). An author, who was well versed in these matters, assures us, that Pythonice's tomb, in the way to Eleusis, was the finest of all the ancient monuments that were to be seen in Greece. *Ὅς καὶ μνημεῖον ἀποθανόντος ποιεῖται πάντων ὁπότε ἑλλήσιν εἶναι ἀρχαία, θείας μάστιγος ἀξίον. Ut mortui monumentum posuerit omnium quæ in Græcia veterum operum quod spectetur dignissimum* (35). It is even true, that Harpalus's intentions were not faithfully executed. The whole sum that he appointed for it, was not laid out upon that monument. Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, undertook the direction of that work, at the request of Harpalus, and did not lay out upon it the thirty talents deposited in his hand. He disgraced himself two ways: I. in taking upon him the direction of a monument designed for a whore; II. in appropriating to himself part of the money deposited with him. *Μνημεῖον ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐπιτελεῖται θελήσας περὶ ταῦτα τῷ Χαικίλῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. Ἐσάν δὲ τὴν ὑπερλίαν ταύτην, ἀγεννῆ περὶ καταρτήσιν οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ διαμένει γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐν Ἑρμείῳ, ἢ βαδίζοντες ἐξ ἑσέως εἰς Ἑλευσίνα, μὴδὲν ἔχον τῶν τριδκοντα ταλάντων ἀξίον, ὅσα τῷ Ἀρπάλῳ λογισθῆναι θαρσύνει εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῷ Χαικίλῳ. Quum Harpalus monumentum sumptuosum locare vellet faciendum, ejus rei demandavit Chariclei curam. Hoc ministerium per se turpe sedavit insuper sepulcrum absolutum. Exstat enim et hac ætate in Hermio, qua Athenis Eleusina itur, neque in eo triginta talenta, quantum summam expensam tulisse in id opus Harpalus autumant Chariclem, comparent* (36). Pausanias confessed, that he knows nothing, either of the country or family of Pythonice, but only that she exercised the trade of a courtesan at Athens and Corinth. Athenæus knew a little more of her. He says, she had been a servant of Bacchis the famous artist on the flute, and that afterwards she lifted her self under a bawd of Thrace, who lived at Ægina, and that she followed her to Athens, whither she removed her brothel house, so that Pythonice was a triple slave, and a triple prostitute; *ὥς γίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ μόνον τριδκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριπλοῦρον αὐτὴν. Ut non solum ter mancipium, sed etiam ter scortum fuerit* (37). [I] I do not believe that a certain complaint against providence relates to our Harpalus. The words of Cicero are these (38): 'Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat, Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo felix habebatur contra Deos testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret. — Diogenes the Cynic, used to say, that Harpalus, a famous pirate in those days, did bear witness against the gods, because he lived so long blest with so much good fortune.' I am of Menage's opinion. The Harpalus of Cicero, the Scirpalus of Diogenes Laërtius (39), and the Scirtalus of Suidas (40), seem to me to be one and

the same man. But the Scirpalus of Diogenes Laërtius, and the Scirtalus of Suidas, was a famous pirate, who took Diogenes the Cynic, and sold him. I therefore believe that the Harpalus of Cicero was a pirate, and not a captain of Alexander the Great. The character Cicero has given of Harpalus, by no means agrees with Alexander's captain. The Harpalus of Cicero was a famous pirate, as well known for the good luck that accompanied his piracies, as for his piracies themselves: his long prosperity was well known, as appears from the consequence Diogenes drew from it; since a man would render himself ridiculous that should argue in that manner, in a town where the successes of a pirate had not been taken notice of above four or five years. Add to this, that there is nothing tempts a man more to make murmuring reflexions upon providence, for the prosperity of the wicked, than the seeing ones self miserable by reason of their prosperity (41). If therefore there was any robber that could draw from Diogenes's mouth the complaint which Cicero mentions, it was doubtless he that made Diogenes his slave. But since he became a slave to a pirate, and not to the governor of Babylon, we must conclude, that the witness who he thought might be produced against the existence of the gods, was the pirate who had taken him captive.

It is to little purpose therefore, that Father Lescapier (42) represents to his readers, that Harpalus, the governor of Babylon, continued not long unpunished, after he had carried off the treasures of the king his master. It is in vain he shews, that this robber fell from one misfortune into another, and that he was miserably killed about a year after. He does but reason against himself. The farther he advances towards his design, the farther he deviates from his subject. The question is concerning a robber, who had been a long time fortunate; this is the objection; and here you alledge to us a robber that was punished almost upon the spot. This is not to answer; it is rather to labour unwarily to make of an inconsiderable difficulty, a stumbling block for the simple, who will be scandalized to see a libertine answered by overturning the whole state of the question. And now is not this conclusion of this Jesuit very edifying? 'Omitte Harpalum, fume Diogenem: ne querere quod regie pecunie prædo unum annum vivat in sua fortuna: quere quod prædo divinæ providentiæ in sua impietate longam vitam vivat: sed neque id certe conquerendum est, nam longa vita miserissimi canis omnibus feli, omnibus exosi, longum supplicium fuit, longior tamen supplicii breve præludium' (43). — Instead of Harpalus choose Diogenes for an example: do not complain, that a person who robbed a royal treasury is allowed to enjoy it one year: complain rather that one who robs GOD of his providence is suffered to live for a great number of years in his impiety: but neither is this any ground of complaint, for the long life of this miserable dog who bated all men, and was bated by all, was a long punishment, though indeed only the short prelude, to a much longer punishment.

[K] There is a fault in Eusebius, which I will take notice of. He says under the third year of the CXIIth Olympiad, that Harpalus fled into Asia. Harpalus fugit in Asiam. Scaliger approves of that chronology. But he corrects Asiam, by Atticam, and it is certain, that if Eusebius did not say Atticam, he ought to have done it. Bongarsius (44) had corrected it, fugit ex Asia.

HARRAVAD (ISAAC BEN) a noted Rabbi, toward the end of the XIIIth Century. He has written something, but we know not truly what it is. There are two wonderful qualities ascribed to him: one is, that he could discover by peoples faces, whether their soul was transmigrated from another body, or began to exist at the moment of it's union with their own; the other, that though he was blind, he distinguished certainly by the smell, whether a man were alive or not (a). The criticism of Father Bartolucci is somewhat dull on this occasion [A].

[A] The criticism of Father Bartolucci is somewhat dull on this occasion. Having quoted these words of Rabbi Rekanati, ' & licet fuisset cæcus, sensibiliter percipiebat ex aëre an ille fuisset vivus an vero mortuus. — And though he was blind, he could sensibly distinguish by the air, whether a man was dead or alive.'

X x x

(1) Bartoloccius, Biblioth. Rabinica, Tom. III, pag. 889.

'alive,' he adds (1), 'cognoscere cadaver ex olfactu mira res apud Judæos: quia cum Judæi male olentes inter se continuo versentur, illorum olfaciendi sensus videtur depravatus, ut inter cadaveris & latinarum malum odorem distinguere nesciant, nisi prodigium fiat. — To know a carcase by the smell, is a wonderful thing among the Jews: because it would seem that the sinking Jews, by constantly herding among one another, deprave their sense of smelling to such a degree, that they cannot, without a miracle, distinguish betwixt the stink of a carcase, and of a jakes.' This is a silly piece of rallery; and if one would lay aside the spirit of cavillings, he might see that the smell of that Rabbi had something very particular in it, provided he had that nicety of sense that is pretended. For it must not be supposed, the meaning of it is, that he could discern that a man who had been dead some days, was not alive. All blind men can easily do this. But the meaning is, that the change he perceived in the air as soon as a man expired, gave him certainly to understand that the man was dead. Will it not be acknowledged, that this change is imperceptible? Father Bartolocci has censured another thing. He asks how that blind Rabbi could know the age of the soul, by looking on the face? This reflexion cannot be solid, unless the same authors, who have mentioned that faculty of our Rabbi, have expressly declared, that he was then blind, and that he made

use of the inspection of the face. Now there is no appearance of any such declaration in them. 'Pius ista Ben Haravad cognoscebat ex vultu, utrum anima creata in ipso actu infusionis informaretur homo, an vero aliunde ex transmigratione animam haberet adventiciam (2). — The pious Ben Haravad knew by the face, whether the soul of a man was created in the very act of infusion; or if it was given by way of transmigration.' These words of Rabbi Rekanati (3), shew indeed, that the other Rabbi knew by the face, whether peoples souls were new, or not; but they do not determine whether he knew this, by looking on the face, or touching it. Now either of these ways is equally wonderful, and the latter even seems to be more difficult than the former. It will be objected to me in favour of Bartolocci, that Rekanati, making mention of the other faculty, observes, that Rabbi Haravad was blind; but I shall still ask, whether he says, that this marvellous physiognomist was blind at that time, when he could discern whether souls were in the place of their nativity? for if he only meant, that Haravad had that faculty before he grew blind, what will become of the ralleries, exclamations, and invectives of Bartolocci? He had reason enough to laugh at those tales, but it ought to have been upon other motives. Exactness is necessary, who ever it be, that is to be confuted.

(2) R. Rekanati apud Bartolocci, ibid. pag. 888.

(3) They are inserted by Gruterus in the second Tome of Theſaurus Criticus.

(a) A town in Germany on the Main.

HARTUNGUS (JOHN) born a Miltemberg (a), in the year 1505, studied first in his own country, and afterwards in the university of Heidelberg. He afterwards took arms, which he bore in Hungary against the Turks; but some time after he returned again to the gentle service of the Muses, and became professor of the Greek tongue in the university of Heidelberg. He acquitted himself gloriously of that profession fifteen years together; nor would he have resigned it, had not the Protestant religion been established in the Palatinate, in the year 1546. That change obliged him to seek another employment; and he found one at Friburg in Brisgaw, with which he was so well contented, that he kept it as long as he lived. He held an honourable rank amongst the professors at Friburg, and had many scholars. He read lectures upon Homer, and some other poets; and he composed some pretty good books [A]. He died in the same town, the 16th of June, 1579, after having taught the *Belles Lettres* there thirty three years. The epitaph he made for himself, testifies, that in the instruction of youth, he both suffered and learned a great deal (b) [B].

(b) Taken from Melchior Adam, in Vitis Philol. German. pag. 300, 301.

[A] He composed some pretty good books.] Some Prolegomena, and notes upon the three first books of the *Odyſſey*. *Cbiliades locorum Homericorum: Decuriae locorum quorundam memorabilium* (1). He translated Apollonius's poem upon the Argonaut, into Latin. That version is not in esteem. This is the judgment of a good critic upon it (2). 'Miratus sum hominem & eruditum, & in Græca præsertim lingua cum laude versatum ita transulisse [Apollonium] ut non paulò facilius sit Apollonium sua, hoc est Græca, lingua assequi, quam ea qua cum Hartungus loquentem fecit, latina. — I have wondered that a man so learned, and especially so versed in the Greek language, should have translated Apollonius in such a manner, that it is much easier to understand Apollonius's Greek, than Hartungus's Latin.' He afterwards shews some errors of this version, and lets us know, that he could point out abundance more (3).

[B] The epitaph he made upon himself, declares, that . . . he had suffered . . . and learned much.] It deserves to be set down here,

Πολλὰ παθὼν, καὶ πολλὰ μαθὼν ἐν παιδείᾳ διδάσκειν

Ἐνθα δὲ νῦν κῆμαι σὺν Θεῷ ἡσύχῃ.

In teaching youth I learn'd and suffer'd much,
And now, in dust, I quietly rest with GOD.

The Latin version of it, which is found in Melchior Adam (4), is very bad: it no way answers the author's intention, which was to shew, that his professorship had been a heavy burden. I will not insert here the other epitaph which Hartungus made upon himself in Greek; it may be seen in Melchior Adam. I am sure that Lorenzo Crafso would have placed him in his list of Greek poets, if he had known as much as has been here said of him. The forgetfulness of that Italian puts me in mind, that Mr Baillet has not given Hartungus a place among the critics.

(4) This is it. Multa tuli, edici, docui dum fata ſinebant. Mortuus in ſummo nunc requiesco Deo.

(a) Vitz. A. B. DISSI. See the article.

(b) This is the title of it: Histoire Critique de la Crenace & des Coutumes des Nations du Le-

HEBEDJESU, Patriarch of the Nestorians re-united to the Church of Rome, under Pius IV in 1562. I have already spoken of him under another name (a), which has been given him by divers authors; but what I have farther to say concerning him, I thought worthy to be told in this place. Since the printing of the Article ABDISSI, I have observed in a very curious work (b), that after the death of Simon Julacha [A], a Monk of the order of St Pachomus, who had been created Patriarch

vant, publiée par le Sr de Mont, à Francfort chez Frederic Arnoud (or rather at Rotterdam, by Remer Leers), 1684. It is believed that Father Simon is the author of this History.

(1) Simon Julacha.] It should be written Sulacha, as Aubertus Miræus writes it (1). We need not wonder that the critics can collect out of manuscripts an infinity of *varie Lectiones*, when printed books are not exempt from them. The Sieur de Moni gives the name *Caremit*, to a town of Mesopotamia, which Aubertus Miræus calls *Charemet*. The latter calls him *Denba Simon*, whom the other names *Denba Simon*. The one uses the word *Zeinalbach*, the other chooseth

rather to say, *Zeinalbech*. They have both drawn from the same fountain, viz. from Peter Strozza's book *de Chaldeorum Dogmatibus*; why therefore do not they agree? Is it easier to write *Sulacha*, than *Julacha*, *Denba*, than *Denba*? Mr Arnoud, from the same original, says (2), that Simon Sulacha established his see at Caramit. Mr Claude (3) makes use of the word Sulak. Father Paul, at the beginning of his fifth book (4), says, one Simon Sultakam. Mr Amelot makes

(2) Perpet défendue, lib. vi, cap. xx.

(3) Réponse à la Perp. défendue, lib. iv, cap. v.

(4) Of the History of the Council of Trent.

triarch of the Nestorians, by Julius III, "Abdjefu, or, according to the Chaldaic pronunciation, Hebedjesu was made Patriarch in his room. Abraham Ecchellenfis, who has printed a little Syriac treatise of Abdjesu [B], gives him the title of Metropolitan of Soba, in the preface he prefixed to that work. He observes, that this Hebedjesu had composed several books in defence of the religion of the Nestorians; but that coming to Rome in Julius the third's pontificate, he abjured Nestorianism. It is he that is spoken of in the life of Pius IV, in whose time he made a second voyage to Rome [C], to obtain the confirmation of his Patriarchate; and he assisted at the Council of Trent [D]. As he was a man of parts, he had the dexterity to bring over a great number of Nestorians to the church of Rome. But his successors could not retain them in it, having neither his capacity, nor his address. Athathalla, who was also a Monk of St Pachomus, succeeded Hebedjesu, and living but a little while, had Denha Simon for his successor, who was before archbishop of Gelu. But he was obliged to leave Caremit [E], and to retire into the province of Zeinalbech, in the extremity of Persia, having been forced to submit to the power of the Patriarch of Babylon. His successor, whose name also was Simon, resided at the same place, which much diminished the authority of this second Patriarch". This is what I have found in this book (c). I was of opinion, when I drew up the article of ABDISSI, that we might rely on the narrative of Father Paul. But I ought not to pass over in silence, what I have since observed in Father Pallavicini, viz. that it is not true, that this Patriarch wrote letters to the Council. The following notes will give an account of what has been criticised in Father Paul's Narrative [F].

makes no correction here. These are trifles I confess: but from such trifles as these, do often arise very considerable and important disputes. *Hæ nugæ seria ducunt in mala.* It would go better with the Republic of Letters, if every one would think himself obliged to avoid even the least faults.

[B] *Abraham Ecchellenfis printed a little Syriac treatise of Abdjesu.* I believe it is the same treatise Mr Arnaud speaks of, when he cites (5) the notes of Abraham Ecchellenfis, a Maronite, upon a catalogue of Chaldean books, made by Abdjesu, or Hebedjesu, a Nestorian bishop, who came over to the church of Rome. Some pages after (6) he touches upon some circumstances, which deserve a place here, as giving us a more particular account what sort of man our Hebedjesu was. He had formerly been one of the most violent Nestorians, says Mr Arnaud, and written several books whilst he himself was in that error, which he reckons up at the end of the catalogue of the Chaldean books which he wrote, and which has been translated by Ecchellenfis. It appears by that catalogue, that the book intitled *Margaritarum*, was composed by him whilst he was yet a Nestorian. The Supplement to Moretti's Dictionary observes (7), that the catalogue of the Syrian writers (it is doubtless that whereof Hebedjesu is the author) was published at Rome, in Syriac in the year 1653, with a Latin version and notes, by Abraham Ecchellenfis. That this catalogue makes mention of several works composed in Syriac by Hebedjesu; that there are two poems composed in Syriac, and written with his own hand, preserved in the Vatican, where he gives the reasons of his re-union, &c. Aubertus Miræus relates (8) that the picture of that Patriarch was placed in the palace of the Vatican, amongst the cardinals and prelates, that accompanied Alexander III, when he received the submissions of the emperor Frederic at Venice.

[C] *He made a second voyage to Rome.* I am surprised, that neither Father Paul, nor his censor, cardinal Pallavicini, or any one of the many authors I have consulted concerning Hebedjesu, have mentioned a voyage which he made to Rome in Julius the third's time. It had not been a superfluous, nor an useless, circumstance; and I am persuaded, they would not have omitted it, had they known it.

[D] *He assisted at the council of Trent.* I have

elsewhere refuted this falshood. It suffices to add here, that there is no writer, though never so inconsiderable, who sometimes does not cause the greatest authors to stumble. Peter Strozza, secretary to Paul V, was very likely misled by some wretched chronicler; and it is no doubt upon the credit of that secretary, that the Sieur de Moni, and before him Mr Arnaud (9), have published, that Hebedjesu assisted at that council.

[E] *Denha Simon was obliged . . . to leave Caremit.* This happened at the time that Leonard Abel, bishop of Sidon, went to the Levant with the character of Apostolic Nuncio (10). He was a native of Malta, and understood perfectly the Arabian tongue, which is as it were natural in that island. He died at Rome, in the year 1605, or 1606. He composed a book concerning the state of the Oriental Christians, whence Aubertus Miræus, from whom I copy this whole remark, confesses he has taken many things, in his *Notitia Episcopatum.* He adds, that this work of Leonard Abel, is in manuscript in the library of the deceased cardinal Alcanio Colonna, protector of the churches of the east, and that this library was wonderfully increased, by the addition of the books of cardinal William Sirlet.

[F] *The following notes will give an account of what has been criticised in Father Paul's Narrative.* That author relates, that the letters of cardinal Amulius were read, who, in quality of protector of the Oriental Christians, sent the news to the council of the arrival of Abdissi . . . He related, that the people under this prelate's jurisdiction, had been instructed in the faith by St Thomas and St Thaddæus, &c. (11). The historian adds, that afterwards the Patriarch's confession of faith was read, and lastly, the letters he addressed to the council, to excuse himself for not being able to come there, &c. (12). Cardinal Pallavicino (13) tells the story more at large, and with greater exactness, not confounding what Amulius said by the Pope's order, with the consequences which he drew himself from the narratives of the Nestorian prelate. It does not appear, that Father Paul has made that distinction, but his principal fault lies in affirming, that a letter wrote by Abdissi to the council was read. Pallavicino maintains, that that letter never had a being but in the imagination of Father Paul (14).

HEGESILOCHUS was one of those who committed infinite violences in the isle of Rhodes, when it's Democratical government was chang'd into an Aristocratical, by the authority of Mausolus, King of Caria (a). Athenæus has preserved us a specimen of the lewdness of these new masters (b). They debauched the wives of the most eminent citizens, and abused many boys. In short, they carried their licentiousness so far, as to stake the honour of women at the game of hazard [A]. They made

[A] *He was one of those Rhodians who carried men, at the game of hazard.* The abbot Lancelotti of Perugia, had here a fair opportunity to carry

(5) Perpetuité de la Foi défendu. livr. v, chap. v.

(6) Chap. x.

(7) Article E-BEDJESU.

(8) Polit. Eccles. pag. 217.

(9) Perpet. défendu, chap. x.

(10) See Aubert. Miræus, pag. 218, & seq. of his Status Politicæ Ecclesiæ in Syria printed at Lyons in 1620.

(11) Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, lib. vi, pag. 557.

(12) See article ABDISSI.

(13) Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. xviii, cap. ix, n. 5.

(14) Sed hæc epistola non in littera wrote by Abdissi to the council was read. Pallavicino maintains, that that letter never had a being but in the imagination of Father Paul (14).

(a) See Libanius, in Argum. Ont. Demosth. pro Rhod. liberate.

(b) Athen. lib. xx, cap. xii, pag. m 444. ex Theopomp.

(c) Ταύτην τὴν
κυβέλαν ἔτα-
ζον καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων Ῥωδίων
τινές, ἐκφα-
νίσαντα δὲ καὶ
πλεῖστα αὐ-
τὸς ὁ Ἡγεσίλο-
χος. Telleris
sic lustrant Rho-
diorum quidam,
sed apertissime
& sepiissime
(The Lyons edition
of 1657 has se-
piissime) Hegesi-
lochus ipse.
Id. ibid. pag.
445.

it a rule, that the loser should be obliged to bring the lady that was played for, to him that had won her, and should use all sorts of methods to convey her into his arms. No trick or evasion was allowed; persuasions and violences were to succeed one another, to proceed or to follow, according to the exigence of the case, till the wager that was played for was actually paid. He who most frequently, and most impudently, put in practice this new game at hazard, was Hegesilochus (c). His drunkenness and other debaucheries rendered him so incapable of business, that he lost his dignity, and was look'd upon, even by his friends, as an infamous wretch. This Hegesilochus ought not to be confounded with one of that name, who came ambassador from the Rhodians to Rome [B], after he had exercised the principal dignity of their state [C]. This man lived in the time of Perseus king of Macedonia, the other in the time of Philip, Father of Alexander the Great.

on his Hoggidiani; for I do not believe, that our age has seen in any country of Europe, disorders equal to those of these Rhodians. I have heard indeed, that the footmen of a great minister of state, who has not been many years dead, used to play at cards or dice for captains commissions; but besides that this is very uncertain, it may be reduced to a small matter, viz. that each of these footmen obtained for his new-year's gift the promise that such a number of companies should be given at his recommendation: after which they played this fund among themselves, and when any one lost a company, it was no longer in his power, but the winner's, to recommend any body. In all this disorder it was still easy to hinder the commissions from being given to people unfit for service. So that this is nothing comparable to the debauchery of these petty tyrants at Rhodes, who staked down at play, maiden-heads and cuckoldoms, and gave no respite to the loser, till he had delivered them their prey. They were not content to venture the honour of the finest women, which

is inseparable, as the world will have it, from that of their husbands: they also ventured their own: for the loser was under a necessity of turning procurer. Here was reason, with a witness, to cry out, *O tempora? O mores?*

[B] Another Hegesilochus was ambassador at Rome from Rhodes. This we learn from Polybius (1). Hegesilochus was the word in the manuscripts; but Fulvius Ursinus (2) having observed in Livy (3) that this Rhodian was called Hegesilus, corrected these two authors by one another, and restored Hegesilochus to both.

[C] He had exercised the chief dignity of their state. It was called *πρυτανεία* (4), and the exercising of it was expressed by the verb *πρυτανεύειν*. The Latins called those who exercised that dignity, Prytanes. 'Quadräginta navibus autore Hegesilochi comparatis,' says Livy (5), qui cum in summo magistratu esset (Prytania ipsi vocant). — Having got together forty ships, by the advice of Hegesilochus, who being chief magistrate (or Prytani) as they call him.

(1) Excerpt. ex Legat. cap. lxxv.

(2) Notis in ea Excerpta.

(3) Titus Livius, lib. xlii.

(4) See Meursius de Rhodo, pag. 65.

(5) Lib. xlii.

HEIDANUS (ABRAHAM) divinity professor at Leyden, was born at Frankendal, in the Palatinate, the 10th of August, 1597. He began his studies at Amsterdam, whither Gaspar Heidanus, his father, was called to the office of the ministry in the year 1608. An Englishman, called Matthew Slade, who was then rector of the college of Amsterdam, took particular care of Abraham Heidanus, whom he saw to be a youth of promising parts. Daniel Colonius applied himself with no less zeal to further the progress of this his disciple, when he was committed to his instruction at Leyden, in the Walloon college. Colonius not being one of those fiery spirits who were for carrying all things to the last extremities, when the Arminian disputes began to rise, made himself to be suspected, as inclining that way [A]; so that there were many persons who expressed their dislike at Gaspar Heidanus's suffering his son to study under such a tutor. But the rashness of this sort of detraction produced a contrary effect to what these zealots aimed at: the minister of Amsterdam continued his son with Colonius, his old friend, whose orthodoxy he was assured of: he continued him with him, I say, that he might give his friend an authentic proof of their agreement in opinion. This scholar made good progress under Colonius, not doing as the generality did, who only stuffed their heads with the dispute about the five articles of the Remonstrants

[A] Colonius being none of those fiery spirits . . . made himself suspected of Arminianism. This is one of the most vexatious inconveniences that attend disputes about religion. They who either through their natural temper, or an exact knowledge of the true interests of the church, are for healing and uniting things, and talk not of cutting off corrupted members, become suspected of heterodoxy. They of a hot choleric, and furious spirit, the zealots, who have always at their tongues end *Principii obsta*, and the maxim, *that evil must be stifled in its cradle*, cry down the moderate men, and make them odious to the people; and this causes many who cannot kindle into passion, to abandon however the shew of moderation: they choose rather to offer a little violence to their natures and consciences, than to pass for base prevaricators. The hot men know well enough, that their calumnies will have this effect, and therefore they spread them as much as possible, both in conversation and in the pulpit, without any scruple. This is what happened at the beginning of the Arminian disputes, if we will believe Wittichius. 'Vigebat illo tempore ob discrepantes de prædestinatione sententias non tantum inter dissentientes magna contentio quæ animos à se invicem alienabat, & disjungebat, sed etiam inter *δυσλόγους*, & idem de controversia illa sentientes obscura quædam diffi-

dentia, qua locus dabatur suspicionibus quibus alii alios tanquam bonæ causæ minus addictos differabant. Qui enim ferventioris erant ingenii, & omnia summa tentanda in initiis putabant, ut in herba opprimeretur malum, quoscunque videbant moderatius & lentius agere, ac de reconciliatione animorum potius laborare si vulnus forte posset consolidari, ac schisma, quod ad opera carnis pertinet, evitari, eos tanquam prævaricatores bonæ causæ apud plebem criminabantur (1). — The different opinions about predestination, at that time, produced not only great contentions, among men from one another, which totally alienated the minds of those who thought differently on that subject, but even produced amongst those who agreed in opinion concerning that controversy, a sort of dissidence which made way for suspicions, every one accusing another of want of zeal, in the good cause. For they who were of warmer tempers, and thought that the utmost severities ought to be used to check the evil in the bud, accused those to the people, as prevaricators in the cause of GOD, whom they observed to be of more moderate sentiments, and who laboured to heal the wounds and prevent schism, which is one of the works of the flesh. This seems to be a true picture. These disputes cause a violent war without, and sow the wicked seeds of suspicious within, which

(1) Wittich. in Orat. Funeb. Heidani.

Remonstrants (4). He learned that and the rest. He was made proponent at the synod of the Walloon churches, in the year 1618, and he preached in several French churches, with the applause of his auditors. He preached also in some Dutch churches with the like success. He travelled two years, and saw part of Germany, Swisserland, France, and England. A little after his return he was promoted to the ministry, and he exercised his function at Naerden, to the year 1627, when he accepted of a call from the consistory of Leyden. He was contracted to a daughter of one of the principal merchants in Amsterdam, when he took possession of his new church, and a little after he celebrated his marriage. He was a good preacher, which, together with other good qualities, both of temper and parts, procured him a fair reputation. He was fifty years old, when the province of Guelderland, having resolved to establish an university at Harderwic, offered him the divinity professorship, upon very advantageous conditions. The church of Leyden, to keep him with them, allowed him either the same advantages, or, in general, what should make him ample amends for his refusal. The curators of the university found a still better expedient to prevent his going to Guelderland; they gave him the professorship of divinity, which became vacant by the death of Constantine l'Empereur. He was so well satisfied with Leyden, that he would not hearken to the offers which the Elector Palatin made him, in the most pressing manner. And yet that refusal did not hinder that prince from giving him many honourable marks of his esteem [B] when he pass'd through Heidelberg, in the year 1656, in the journey he made to Strasburg with his family. The professor Smidius, who invited him to a publick disputation, and desired him to impugn, did not come off honourably from the dispute [C]. But Heidanus's victory on that occasion, was not so plain as that in the Jesuits college at Cologne [D]. This learned man died at Leyden very piously, the 15th of October 1678, having exceeded his eighty first year, which of all the climacteric years is look'd upon as the most dangerous, and with good reason. He left four children, two sons and two daughters, thirteen grand-children, and three great grand-children. He had a great share in Mr Des Cartes's friendship, and by that means he finished the work he had begun, under Jachæus, philosophy professor at Leyden, one of the most subtle peripatetics then living. This Jachæus brought the question

(3) Studiosi juvenes in partes distracti, & quæstionibus illis quotidianis agitati, sæpe quo se ererent nescirent, & neglecto pietatis studio ille doctissimus haberetur, qui de quinque istis articulis argute disserteret & adversarium argumentis retinere possit, securi de reliquis fideliculis cognoscendis, quæ in hoc solo omnino eruditio in culmen possum esset. Wittichius, in Orat. Fun. Heidanus.

which are wonderfully fruitful. They produce, amongst other things, as I said just now, a great change in those whom reason inspires with a spirit of moderation. They are derided as secret traitors (2), and there are some among them, who will not continue reasonable at that rate, and who believe their honesty would cost them too dear, if they must lose their reputation for it; and therefore they turn persecutors, to refute the calumny:

(2) See the article FERRIER (JEREMIAH), remark [D], at the end, and remark [L].

(3) Juvenal. Satyr. x, ver. 140.

Tanto major famæ sitis est, quam virtutis (3),

This was the conduct of a great many Catholics in France, who had disapproved the rigour that was exercised against the Protestants under Francis I, and Henry II.

[B] The elector Palatine gave him many honourable marks of esteem. They who shall think it strange that I give the particulars, will censure Mr Wittichius, rather than me. For there must be a greater allowance to mention these things in a dictionary of two volumes in Folio, when one meets with them in a funeral oration, than to display them in a funeral oration, when they are only taken from a memoir in manuscript. Let it be how it will, Mr Wittichius says, that Abraham Heidanus was invited to dinner every day by a new messenger, and he does not forget the presents he received. 'Dum Heidelbergam appulit, nihil omisit Serenissimus Elector quod non serventissimum erga ipsum spiraret affectum. Ad mensam quotidie, novis semper missis nunciis, invitabat in colloquiis benevole complectebatur, donabat medio cervo & aliquot leporibus, nuntiatio hanc omnem esse prædam quam illo die cepisset; quæcumque in diversorio cum familia consumperat liberalissimè solvit, & cum Bacheracum rediisset, ad suos Leidenses reversurus, magno dolio optimi & generosissimi vini Bacheracensis voluit donatum. — When he arrived at Heidelberg; the elector omitted nothing that could express his great affection towards him. He invited him daily to his table, and always by a new messenger; and conversed with him in the most affable manner. He presented him with a side of venison, and some hares, telling him, that this was all the game he had killed that day. He defrayed all his and his families expences, while there, in the most liberal manner; and when he returned to Bacherac in his way to Leyden, he was pleased to make him a present of a hog'shead of excellent Bacherac wine'.

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[C] The professor Smidius who invited him to dispute . . . did not come off honourably. After Heidanus had excused himself several times from entering the lists, he at last gave way to his repeated civilities, and attacked him upon the point of universal grace, which the Lutherans teach: great was the attention of the auditors, and the success very glorious to the opponent. Smidius ipsum palam non semel, sed quia declinabat noster, iteratis vicibus ad opponendum invitavit, quod, cum non videretur sibi salvo honore suo posse detestare, ea soliditate, ea efficacia Gratiam quam Lutherani urgent, Universalem ita oppugnavit, ut omnium oculos in se converterit, & apud omnes præsentis magnam admirationem suæ consummate eruditionis excitaverit, disputationis vero præter multorum judicio parum honorificè ex illa disputatione discessit (4).

[D] Heidanus's victory . . . was not so plain as that in the Jesuits college at Cologne. If this last victory was easier to be observed than the foregoing, it was in other respects not so honourable; for it consisted in a jest, to which the Jesuit, who had shewn him whatever was to be seen in the college of Cologne, and perhaps was a lay-brother, could not answer a word. Heidanus asked the Jesuit, whether JESUS CHRIST had done and suffered all that was necessary for our Salvation? Yes, said the Jesuit: Then replied he, you are not his companions (5a). The Jesuit, confounded with shame and astonishment, had nothing to say for himself. Malincrot, dean of Munster, who heard this conversation, and had got acquainted with Heidanus (5), congratulated him upon that victory, obtained, said he, over my enemies. Wittichius, who also heard this discourse, relates it in this manner: Accidit ut postquam Collegium lustraveramus Jesuitarum, & jam in arca eramus constituti ut patri-bus valere diceremus, conversus Heidanus ad Jesuitam qui nos ducebat, ex ipso rogaverit annon Jesus omnia illa quæ ad salutem essent necessaria egisset & posset? At Jesuita nihil sinistri metuens, respondit, Omnino: Heidanus rigescit: Ergo eos non essis Socii Jesu; atque sic illo in ruborem dato & minis Pontificie attonito ut ne verbum quidem respondere posset, discessit noster & nos cum ipso, atque patribus valere dixit. Quod Malincrotium tanto affectu gaudio, ut hoc nomine gratias solennes illi egerit, quod sic suos hostes Heidanus de re (ita vocabat Jesuita) ad incitas ex improviso redigisset. I must confess, that hitherto I have sought in vain wherein the jest lies. I cannot guess to what he alluded,

(4) Wittichius, in Oratione Funebri Heidanus.

(5) Dum Coloniæ initio itineris aliquot dies subsisteret, in diversorio inderit in familiaritatem Malincrotii viri elegantissimi ingenii qui inter literatos primatum jure merebatur, honestus Pontificie quidem religioni addictus, sed moderatus, qui etiam nunquam cum Heidanus de re vultu credere, id. ibid.

question concerning substantial forms into great repute in the university [E]. The young Heidanus, excited by the noise it made, examined the objections to the bottom, and compared them with the answers of Jachæus. He found, that philosophizing upon these principles, was but losing time, and he was in hopes, that some time or other a more certain road would appear (b). He thought he had found it in the conversation and writings of Descartes. But if this was more proper to lead him to the truth, it was not so commodious with respect to his fortune. For it exposed him to a thousand crosses and persecutions [F], over which his panegyrist Wittichius, who supplies me with this article, thought it fit to draw a curtain. Heidanus was of a good family [G].

I shall

(b) Taken from the Funeral Oration of Heidanus, spoke at Leyden, the twentieth of October, 1678, by the professor Wittichius.

cluded, or what rules of logic he made use of on this occasion.

[§ 2] Strictly speaking, to call ones self companion to a person, signifies, that we pretend to be so in all respects. Now the Jesuit confessed, that they of his society were not companions of JESUS in the work of redemption. Therefore the Jesuits, without reason, stile themselves companions of JESUS. This was Heidanus's argument, to which the Jesuit having made no reply, Malincrotius considered it as a victory for his friend Heidanus. REM. CRIT.]

[E] Jachæus brought the question concerning substantial forms into great repute.] There is no question in Physics, that is a clearer proof of the power of prejudices than this. They must needs darken the mind with respect to the most evident notions, since there are so many people, who cannot see the impossibility of extracting a substance from the bosom of matter, unless it was there before, or unless it be produced by a true creation. The peripatetics tell you very coldly, or rather they passionately maintain, that forms do not exist in their subject, and that nevertheless they are drawn out of it by an action which must not be called creation but education (6). This opinion would be the most monstrous thing in the world, if it were not a more amazing prodigy to see such a number of learned and ingenious men, espouse still at this day, the doctrine of substantial forms. Wittichius could not better prepare his auditors to observe in Heidanus a disciple of Descartes, than by telling them what Heidanus, as yet but a scholar, judged of the principles of the school, from the inexplicable confusion in which Jachæus involved himself. 'Fervebat

(6) A Jesuit named John Guillemain, doctor of divinity in the university of Pont à Mousson, printed, at Paris in the year 1679, two dissertations de principis intrinsecis rerum corporearum, in which he racks his brains a thousand times to prove against Father Marignau, that the production of forms is not a proper creation. All in vain.

in Academia quæstio de formis substantialibus, earumque ex potentia materie productione, quæ mirifice non tantum Auditoribus, sed & ipsum defensorem eorum acerrimum Jachæum vexabat & torquebat. Quam cum universa distinctionum suarum paenolâ expedire non posset, & ad liquidum ostendere quænam illæ formæ substantiales essent, à materia realiter distinctæ & tamen materiales, quænam illa potentia materie, an pars ejus quædam conversa in formam, an vero ejus cum producitur tantum sustentaculum, an autem ut ex asserere figura scamni educitur, ita eodem modo præxisteret in materia forma; cumque aliæ plurimæ superessent difficultates, nec ulum suppedietaretur solum ex hoc labyrintho emergendi, factum est ut auditores & peripateticiores discipuli, inter quos Heidanus primas obtinebat de tota hac philosophandi ratione quam intelligendo assequi se non posse videbant, plane desperarent (7). — The

(7) See the article GORLÆUS (DAVID), remark [A].

question concerning substantial forms, and their production out of the power of matter, was then much debated in that university, and wonderfully perplexed the scholars, and even Jachæus himself, a warm defender of them. And he not being able to extricate himself with all his distinctions, nor clearly show what these substantial forms are, which are really distinct from matter, and yet are material, nor what this power of matter is, whether a part of it converted into form, or only a prop to it when it is produced, or whether as the figure of a bench is taken out of a plank, so form, in the same manner, pre-exists in matter. There being likewise many other difficulties, and no thread left to get out of this labyrinth, many of his most sagacious bearers, and scholars, among the chief of which was Heidanus, gave over all hopes of this whole system of philosophy, which they found so unintelligible.

[F] Des Cartes's method exposed him to a thousand crosses and persecutions.] I do not know the particulars: but I remember a passage of his Considerations, where he relates that he had made himself many enemies, and had been exposed to horrible slanders, for having always been averse to too rigid maxims.

He had not declared war against Protestant canons: he had not thundered in the pulpit against periwigs: he was not of opinion, that the Remonstrants ought to be rigorously examined, who returned to the bosom of their ancient mother. Hereupon they represented him as an enemy to the new model of reformation, that was to be introduced; all his other opinions were scanned and sifted; he was accused of being addicted to Des Cartes's opinions, and of contemning the Lord's day. But it is better to hear Heidanus himself. *Etatem illam meam ancipitem duxi, modo tempestates, hinc expertus balconia, intra & extra nos passus adversarios, hinc hostes, inde fratres, nec nunquam mordacis linguæ exceptus flogellis. Fuit, cum scissam in partes charissimam hanc nostram Ecclesiam metu prævidimus: tum nobis sed eam sapientiam simul largitus est Deus, ut quidvis pati possumus, quam idipsum permittere, maluerimus: Hinc jam Moderatores, per contemptum (ac si probrosum hoc nomen foret) audivimus; jam ut Cartesii plus satis additi Philosophiæ; hinc Sabbatibi contemptores; inde novæ quam urgebant quidam Reformationis hostes traducti sumus: quod fœneratoribus trapeziticis plusculum illis concedere visum, nec Canonici bellum indicere, neque de suggestis in comas detonare, neque Ecclesiæ disciplinam striccius exercere, nec Remonstrantes ad nos transeuntes rigidius examinare, & quæ sunt id genus alia (8).* Matters were carried

so high, that he was deposed from his place of professor of divinity, upon the following account. The curators of the university of Leyden published a decree the sixteenth of January, 1676, forbidding the professors to treat in any wise of certain propositions (9), which had for some time been a subject of dispute, and of Des Cartes's metaphysics. Heidanus acted against that decree, almost in the same manner as the Janseists did against the mandate of the archbishop of Paris, who forbade the reading of the New Testament of Mons. He animadverted upon it; and pretended to find nullities or irregularities in it: he maintained, that the twenty propositions which had been condemned, had not been discussed in the university of Leyden, as the curators affirmed. He complained, that these gentlemen had suffered themselves to be imposed on by unfaithful extracts, and he made odious comparisons betwixt the Jesuits, and those who had furnished these extracts, the Jesuits, I say, who had caused to be condemned at Rome for Janseius's propositions, what was not to be found in his writings. He made another comparison: for he alleged Giles Hunnius, a Lutheran, who, from artificial extracts out of the works of John Calvin, pretended to convict him of Judaism. Lastly, he illustrated the condemned propositions, and tried to shew, that in the sense of the authors they were taken from, they were orthodox. That work of Heidanus was printed in Dutch and afterwards in Latin (10). This offended the curators to that degree, that they degraded him. Heidanus's friends pretend, that nothing could have happened to him more seasonably, since his great age would not suffer him to acquire a new reputation by his lectures, nor even to support that which he had already gained; and besides that, his degradation rendered him more dear and venerable to his own party (11), and might cast an odium on the adverse side.

[G] Heidanus was of a good family.] His great grand-father, Gerhard vander Heyden, was of Mechelen (12): so was his grand-father, Gaspar vander Heyden, who was expelled his father's house on the account of his having embraced the reformed religion. He was minister at Antwerp, from whence he retired to Franckfort by reason of the persecution. Here he found many refugees, whom the rigid Lutherans would not tolerate; which obliged them to petition Frederic II Elector Palatine, for a place of retreat. Peter Dathenus was at the head of them. The elector granted

(8) Heidanus, Consideration, ad res quasdam muper gestas in Academia Batava, pag. 40.

(9) They named twenty, some theological, and others philosophical.

(10) I make use of the Latin translation, printed at Hamburg, 1678, in 8vo.

(11) Florus, lib. iv, cap. iv, ex prelois that by injuria favorabilis; and Tacit. Anna. lib. iii, cap. lxxv, by commendatio ex injuria.

(12) Procerus illi fuit Gerhardus vander Heyden, antiqua & honesta familia natus Mechliniæ. Wittich. ubi supra.

I shall speak of his writings below [H].

granted them the monastery of Frankendal, the monks being ordered to depart: these refugees performed their religious exercises in Flemish, and by degrees enlarged that monastery into a town. Dathenus being called to Heidelberg, our Gaspar vander Heyden succeeded him as pastor of that church. He was desired to be present at the national synod of Embden, in the year 1571, and was even chosen president of that assembly. There the canons of discipline were made. A little after, returning to the Palatinate, the elector appointed him to attend his son, whom he sent with some troops to the assistance of the Protestants, in the Low-Countries. These troops were beaten. Vander Heyden retired into Holland, and presided in the national synod assembled at Dort, 1574. He served for some time the church of Middleburg; afterwards thinking himself safe by virtue of the pacification of Ghent, he returned to take the charge of his first flock at Antwerp. When that town was taken by the Spaniards, he returned to the Palatinate, and was made superintendent of the churches about Bacharach. He was disposed to quit that employ, in compliance with the desires of the church of Frankendal, who desired him for their minister again; when he died, leaving an only son of the same name, Gaspar, who was born in the year 1566. The latter was first minister at

Wolmersheim, afterwards at Frankendal, and then at Amsterdam, where he died in the year 1626. He married Clara Vanden Borne, a daughter of the bailiff of Frankendal, by whom he had six sons, and eight daughters. Our Abraham Heidanus was one of his sons (13).

[H] I shall speak of his writings below.] He published some orations on divers subjects; the examination of the Remonstrants Catechism; a book in 4to *de Origine Erroris*; and a Dutch book, where he maintains the cause of God, against the Pelagians, and Semi-Pelagians, with such force, that no body has been able to answer it. *Evolue solidissimum & nunquam satis laudandum Commentarium de Causa Dei Belgice ante plures annos conscriptum (qui dignissimus videtur ut in Latinam linguam transferatur, ut ab exteris legi possit) in quo adeo nervose, adeo eloquenter partes Dei defendit contra hominem, ut Pelagiani nihil in hunc usque diem potuerint reperire quo vires suas plane attritas & fractas quant restaurare* (14). As to his *Corpus Theologiæ Christianæ in quinddecim locos digestum*, it was published after his death, in two volumes in quarto, by the care of Mr Crucius, his grandson, in the year 1686. See the *News from the Republic of Letters* (15).

(13) Taken from Wittichius's Funeral Oration.

(14) Wittichius, ubi supra.

(15) Month of June, in the Catalogue of new Books, n. 8, pag. 729.

HELEN, daughter of Tyndarus, king of Lacedemon, was the finest woman of her age [A]; but otherwise, without honour and virtue, and of a life full of unhappy adventures. There are some authors, who have been so particular in describing the perfections of her body [B], that they can by no means be excused, though they should say, in express terms, they only did it by way of amusement. She was fought in marriage by a great number of princes, and as her father did not know what course to take

(1) Dares Phrygius, Cedrenus.

[A] She was the finest woman of her age.] There are some authors (1) who have described the particulars of Helen's beauty. He who has done it most at large, is Constantine Manasse: he has included in eleven Greek verses, a good number of epithets, representing the corporeal perfections of this woman. He does not forget to tell us, that her beauty owed nothing to art, and that her complexion, without the help of washes, had a noble liltre (2). They have ascribed to her, legs finely made, a little mouth (3), a long, and very white neck (4), large eyes, and fine breasts (5). Brantome furnishes me with a passage upon this last part. *Helen*, says he (6), *desiring once to present to the temple of Diana a handsome cup, by reason of a vow, employed a goldsmith to make it for her, causing him to take the pattern from one of her handsome breasts, and to make it of white gold. In which it was hard to tell which was most to be admired, the cup, or the resemblance of the breast, which appeared so pretty, and so like, that the artificial one could not but create a desire for the natural. Pliny says this with great admiration, and is very particular, where he says that there is white gold, which is very strange, and that this cup was made of it. . . . He that would make golden cups by the great dugs of some women, had need furnish the goldsmith with a great deal of gold, and would not escape afterwards the laughter of the world, when it should be said, behold these cups are modelled after the breasts of such and such ladies. These, instead of being like cups, would resemble your round wooden pails the boys are served with, and the nipple would resemble a rotten cherry.* Brantome is mistaken in two things; for Helen did not consecrate that cup to the temple of Diana; nor is it true that Pliny says, it was made of white gold. *Minervæ templum habet Lindos insulæ Rhodiorum in quo Helena sacravit calicem ex electro. Adhuc historia mammæ suæ mensurâ.* These are Pliny's words in the fourth chapter of the thirty third book.

(2) Κάλαρος ἀνεστύχουτος, ἀβάρτιον, αὐτόχρον. Constantine Manasse, apud Meziriac p. 917. Ovid, pag. 917.

(3) Cruribus optimis, ore pulchro. Dares Phrygius.

(4) Δειρή καὶ κατὰλευκος. Constantine Manasse. He adds, that on this account the poets feigned her was born of a swan. Meziriac did not know that this thought came from Lucian. See the remark [2].

(5) Ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀφθαλμοῦσι, αἰὲς, ὀφθαλμοῦσι. Cedrenus.

(6) Mémoires des Dames Galantes, Tom. I, pag. m. 275.

But to return to Helen, I say that the descriptions which have been made of her beauty, do not give an idea of it comparable to what we form in reading some lines of the Iliad, which have nothing of a description in them. Homer contents himself with making the counsellors of Priamus say, upon seeing Helen coming whilst they were deliberating about state-affairs with their prince, that neither the Grecians nor the Trojans could be blamed, for enduring such pains for the sake of so divine a beauty.

Ὀδὲ νέμεσις Τρώας καὶ εὐνήμειδ' Ἀχαιῶς
Τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀλγέα
παύχ' ἔειπ'·
Αἰνῶς ἀθανάτοισι θεῶς εἰς ἅπα ἔοικεν.

Non est indigne ferendum, Trojans & bene ocreatos Achivos

Tali de muliere longum tempus dolores pati:
Omnino immortalibus deabus vultu similis est (7).

They cry'd no wonder such celestial charms,
For nine long years, have set the world in arms;
What winning graces! what celestial mein,
She moves a goddess, and she walks a queen.

POPE.

[B] There are some authors who have been very particular in describing the charms of her body.] A Spanish fryar observes, that the beauty of this woman was a miracle of nature; and that for a multitude of ages, it has been a common proverb, when any one intends to praise a beauty in the highest manner, to say, *she is an Helen*. He adds, that John Nevizan said, that of the thirty accomplishments which must be united to the making a woman perfectly handsome (8), not one was wanting in her. *Natio est tan aventajada, y enriquecida de hermosura, que fue un portento, un prodigio, y milagro de naturaleza. quedando desde aquel tiempo a este, y aun para muchos siglos, en proverbio, su belleza, y gallardía: de tal suerte, que quando havian de ser ponderados, y encarecer la hermosura de una muger, dezimos que es una Helena: y en tal lugar la pone, el Nivernienſe (8), Natal Comites, Bartolomeo Castañeda, Juan Nemizano (9); el qual pone las treynta cosas, que se requieren para que una muger sea perfecta en su hermosura: y dize que las tenia todas la Centilidá, he never saw the work of John Nevizan, and he speaks of it only upon the credit of Castañeda, who not pag. 181. Edit. of Salamanca, 1620.* (10) Balſar de pona, el Nivernienſe (8), Natal Comites, Bartolomeo Castañeda, Juan Nemizano (9); el qual pone las treynta cosas, que se requieren para que una muger sea perfecta en su hermosura: y dize que las tenia todas la Centilidá, he never saw the work of John Nevizan, and he speaks of it only upon the credit of Castañeda, who not pag. 181. Edit. of Salamanca, 1620.

(7) Homer. Iliad. lib. iii, ver. 156. See Athenæus, lib. v, pag. 183. & Quintil. lib. viii, cap. iv, pag. 378.

(8) That is R. vñus Texcor.

(9) He should bio, su belleza, y gallardía: de tal suerte, que quando havian de ser ponderados, y encarecer la hermosura de una muger, dezimos que es una Helena: y en tal lugar la pone, el Nivernienſe (8), Natal Comites, Bartolomeo Castañeda, Juan Nemizano (9); el qual pone las treynta cosas, que se requieren para que una muger sea perfecta en su hermosura: y dize que las tenia todas la Centilidá, he never saw the work of John Nevizan, and he speaks of it only upon the credit of Castañeda, who not pag. 181. Edit. of Salamanca, 1620.

(10) Balſar de pona, el Nivernienſe (8), Natal Comites, Bartolomeo Castañeda, Juan Nemizano (9); el qual pone las treynta cosas, que se requieren para que una muger sea perfecta en su hermosura: y dize que las tenia todas la Centilidá, he never saw the work of John Nevizan, and he speaks of it only upon the credit of Castañeda, who not pag. 181. Edit. of Salamanca, 1620.

(11) Bartholomæus Castañeda, *novus in Catalogo glorie mundi*, Part. II, Confiderat xxii, pag. m. 168.

operetur

(a) Apollodor.
lib. iii. *Paufanias*, lib. iii.
pag. 103, ob-
serves, that they
swore upon the
entrails (accord-
ing to *Amphi-
trion* upon the
vestiges) of an

take, for fear of provoking those that should not obtain her; he was taught by Ulysses, a very good expedient (a), which was to make all the rivals swear they would approve the choice he should make of a son-in-law, and that they should be ready to assist him against all pretenders that would go about to disturb his daughter's marriage. Tyndarus thereupon disposed of her to Menelaus [C]. She had already been stole away by Theseus; but they were so good-natured as to believe, upon her word, that she disengaged her self from that affair without the loss of her virginity [D]. And yet there was nothing less true: Theseus did not part with her, but after having been so fami-

liar
horse, which
was sacrificed,
and after-
wards buried in
that place. See
also *Menelaus* in
Encomio Heli-
nae.

* operetur pulchritudo mulieris. Et ibi dicit, quod
debet habere triginta quatuor, ad hoc, ut sit pulchra,
quæ his versibus ibi positus continentur:

Triginta hæc habeat, quæ vult formosa vocari
Fœmina, sic Helenam fama fuisse refert.
Alba tria, & totidem nigra, & tria rubra puella:
Tres habeat longas res, totidemque breves.
Tres crassas, totidem graciles, tria stricta, tot ampla
Sint idem huic formæ: sint quoque parva tria.
Alba cutis, nivei dentes, albique capilli,
Nigri oculi, &c.

— It is difficult to keep good watch over her, whom
many love, as we may sufficiently gather from the words
of John Nevizan *Affens*, in his *Nuptial Grove*, seventh
ampliation, on the words *quæro* &c. where he says
down the effects of a woman's beauty. And there
he says, she should have thirty four, which are there
contained in the following verses:

Tb' ambitious fair who strives for beauty's prize,
And hopes to Helen's glorious fame to rise,
These thirty charms must have to bless a lover's
eyes.
Three white, three black, and three of rosy hue,
Three long, three short, three slender to the view,
Three large, three small, three straight, as many wide,
All these together form the accomplish'd bride.
The skin, the teeth, be white, the flaxen hair,
Black eyes &c.

[(5a) See Brantome tom. II. pag. 330 of his
Dames Galantes. REM. CRIT.]

(12) It contains
eighteen verses.

I suppose the rest of that small Latin poem (12)
though Chassanæus, who was the first president in
in the parliament of Aix, has not scrupled to insert
it intire in his book. To which he adds, 'Non
'alter hic infisto circa talia, cum satis, & ultra
'quam decens sit, ponatur in dicta sylvia nuptiali.
'I shall not insist further on these things,
'enough, and more than is decent, being to be found
'in the said *Sylvia Nuptialis*.' I can assert with rea-
son, that they who thus cite John Nevizan, are not
exact, since he himself is but the copier of some
other writers, whom he names. The fountain from
which he traces it, is a French writer, whose book
has this title, *De la Louange & Beauté des Dames*.
The eighteen verses he gives us, and which Chassanæus
gives us after him, were a translation out of French
made by Francis Corniger. He says it was not yet
printed, but that there was an Italian version of it
in a work of Vincent Calmeta, which is published.
'Et triginta requisita, says he (13), enumerantur per
'Gallicum in libr. de la louange & beauté des dames
'circa fin. quas Latinas fecit Francisc. Corniger, quem
nunc refero, quia non est impressus: sed bene Vin-
centius Calmeta idem ponens in carm. vulgari. in-
cip. dulce Flaminia, & ecloga proxima seq. incip.
'per dare Risposta. Lege ergo versus Cornigeri.

(13) Joannes
Nevizanus, in
Sylvia Nuptiali,
Art. xciii. pag.
182. Edit. Lugd.
1572, in 8vo.

Triginta hæc habeat &c.

— And the thirty requisites are named by a French
author, in a book *De la louange & beauté des Da-
mes* near the end of these were translated into Latin
by Francis Corniger, which I now quote because it
is not printed. Vincentius Calmeta has given us
the same in an Italian poem, which begins *Dolce*
Flaminia, and in the eclogue which follows it, which
begins *per dare Risposta*, Corniger's verses are as fol-
lows:

Triginta hæc habeat &c.

If you consult a book intitled, *Les neuf Mari-
nées du Seigneur de Cholieres*, you will find (14) a
sonnet beginning thus:

Celle qui veut paroir des belles la plus belle,
Ces dix fois trois beautez, trois longs, trois courts,
trois blancs,
Trois rouges, & trois noirs, trois petis & trois
grands,
Trois estroits & trois gros, trois menus soient en elle.

That is,

She, who would excel other fair ones, must have these
thirty beauties: viz. three long, three short, three
white, three red, three black, three small, three large,
three strait, three big, three slender.

And which ends with *seves, doigts & cheveaux menus*
tel fut Helene. The conclusion is no less impertinent
than all the preceding verses. For to know that
Helen was thus formed, it had not been enough
to have seen her performing her exercises at Lacedæmon (15), it must have been either Paris, or Me-
nelaus, or some of her former husbands or gallants.

[C] Tyndarus . . . disposed of her to Menelaus.
Some say (16) that Tyndarus did not choose his son-
in-law himself, but left it to Helen to make choice
of an husband out of all her lovers, and that she pre-
ferred Menelaus before the rest. Apollodorus (17)
pretends, that Tyndarus resigned his kingdom to his
son-in-law; but others say (18), he only named him
for his successor. What a fortune then was Helen, who,
with so incomparable a beauty, brought also a crown
to her husband!

[D] Theseus had stole her . . . they believed that
she disengaged herself from that affair without the
loss of her virginity.] Plutarch says she was not
yet marriageable when Theseus stole her from the tem-
ple of Diana, where she was dancing (19). He com-
mitted her to his mother's care (20), and put them
both under the tuition of one of his good friends in Aphid-
na: and so went in pursuit of another rape (21), with
his friend Pirithous. Castor and Pollux, Helen's
brothers, lost no time, but entered Attica with sword
in hand, to demand their sister. The Athenians pro-
tested to them, they knew not where she was. That
answer did not satisfy them, and they were ready to
commit hostilities, when one Academicus acquainting
them, that she was at Aphidna (22), they assaulted
that town, and took it by storm. The gates of A-
thens were opened to them: they entered the town
without committing any disorders; only desiring to be
initiated into their mysteries. They carried Helen
back to Lacedæmon; it is said also, that they brought
Theseus's mother along with her, and that that good
woman accompanied Helen (23) even to Troy (24).

Hellanicus makes Theseus to be 50 (25) and He-
len seven years of (26) age, at the time of her being
stolen, and yet does not scruple to say that he de-
floured her. Duris, the Samian (27), affirms that
Helen was with child of Iphigenia, when she was
recovered from the hands of the ravisher. Pausanias
says the same thing, and adds that she lay-in at Ar-
gos, at her sister Clytemnestra's, wife to Agamemnon,
and that she committed her daughter's education to
her (28). He says that Euphorion, Alexander Pleu-
ronius, and Stesichorus, had wrote in their poems,
that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus and He-
len. The Argians were so far of this opinion, as
to believe that Helen caused the temple of Lucina,
which is in their city, to be built after her lying-in
(29). A great many were imposed upon on that
occasion. Agamemnon thought Iphigenia was his
daughter,

(14) Pag. 167,
of the Paris
edition, by John
Rider, 1585, in
8vo.

(15) Inter quos
Helene natus
capere arma pa-
pillis
Pertur, nec fratres
crubuisse Deon.
Propert. Elég.
xiii, lib. iii. See
the article L Y-
CURGUS, re-
mark [E].

(16) Hyginus,
cap. lxxiii.

(17) Biblioth.
lib. iii.

(18) Hyginus
ubi supra.

(19) Plutarch. in
Theseo, pag. 150.

(20) Her name
was *Estira*.

(21) That of
Proserpine,
daughter of Aida-
mon, king of the
Athenians.

(22) Herodotus,
lib. ix, cap.
lxxvii, attributes
this to the Dece-
lians, a tribe of
Athenians, or to De-
celius only.

(23) See the ar-
ticle ACAMAS,
remark [A].

(24) Plutarch.
in Theseo, pag.
150.

(25) Plut. ibid.
pag. 14.

(26) Apud Tract-
zen, in Lycoph-
roreum.

(27) Apud Mc-
ziriac, upon
Ovid's *Epistles*,
pag. 482.

(28) Pausanias,
lib. ii, pag. 65.

(29) Id. ibid.

liar with her as to get her with child, of which she lay-in at her sister's (b). The thing was kept secret, because her sister made the child (c) pass for her own (d). The common fate of young women when they are carried away, is to change their condition, whether they own it or deny it. The handsomer they are, the more credible it is they have submitted to this law. Our romance-writers have not observed this [E], or at least

(b) Clytemnestra, Agamemnon's wife.

(c) The child of which Helen lay-in, was the famous Iphigenia.

(d) See the remark [D].

daughter, for his wife told him so. Castor and Pollux were persuaded that their sister returned a maid: for when they questioned her on that nice point, she affirmed that no man had touched her. Οἰσῖος καὶ Ἑλένης τῆς Διδὸς ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ Ἰφιγένεια, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξέτρεφεν ἡ τῆς Ἑλένης ἀδελφὴ Κλυταιμνήστρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἶπεν αὐτὴ τέκνῃν. Ἑλένη γὰρ συνδανήμην τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ἐπὶ κόβῃ παρὰ Θουκυδῆος ἀπελθεῖν. Thesei & Helenæ, Jove natæ filia fuit Iphigenia, eamque soror Helenæ Clytemnestra educavit, Agamemnoni dicens se eam peperisse: nam Helenæ fratribus auscultans virginem se à Theseo discessisse aiebat (30). What shall we think then of Menelaus, who married her some time after? he honestly believed he had bedded a pure virgin, and yet he had married a mother.

(30) Nicander. lib. iv, Alterum, apud Anton. Libanum; Narrat. 27.

When I said Helen was questioned by her brothers, I followed the learned Mr Meziriac (31), who understood in that sense the Greek passage which I have quoted: but others, perhaps, with more reason, say, that Castor and Pollux advised their sister to give out that she had preserved her virginity. It was a very wise advice, and which might have been well spared to Helen as young as she was: she would have boasted of that advantage, without any one's suggestion. She declares, in Ovid, that Theseus obtained only some kisses of her by force; and that she came off clear, abating only her fear.

(31) On Ovid's Epist. pag. 483.

Non tamen è facto fructum tulit ille petitum,
Excepto redii passa timore nihil:
Oscula luctanti tantummodo pauca protervus
Abstulit: ulterius nil habet ille mei (32).

(32) Ovidius, Epist. Helenæ ad Parid. ver. 25, & seq.

No fruit his passion reap'd, tho' bolder grown,
And all I suffer'd was in fear alone.
'Tis true, he ravish'd a reluctant kiss;
From Helen he can boast no greater bliss.

She confesses however that Theseus was very young (33). Ovid has observed a decorum in making her speak in that manner; nor has he observed it less, in introducing another woman, who believed Helen told a lie:

(33) Et juvenem facti perbulisse patet. Ibid. ver. 32.

Illam de patria Theseus, (nisi nomine fallor)
Nescio quis Theseus, abstulit ante sua.
A juvenem & cupido credatur reddita virgo.
Unde hoc compererim tam bene, quæris? amo.
Vim licet appelles, & culpam nomine veles,
Quæ toties rapta est, præbuit ipsa rapi (34)

(34) Ovid. in Epist. Oenone ad Parid. ver. 227, & seq.

One Theseus (if I hit the name) before
Had born this fair one from her native shore.
Theseus was young: and can you think the dame
Return'd a virgin from so fierce a flame?
Call it a rape; yet Helen sure was kind:
Repeated rapes betray a willing mind.

The following remark will serve for a supplement to this.

[E] Our romance-writers have not observed this.] It is certain that Mr or Madam de Scuderi, and the other writers of romances, their contemporaries, have violently shocked probability, whilst they have feigned their heroines were carried off, and yet will not permit us to believe, that they granted any favours to their lovers either by consent or force. I confess they would be infinitely more inexcusable, if they did not suppose as they do, that they were stolen, without any manner of consent of theirs. There are countries where there is no punishment inflicted on such as steal away young women who consent to it: which is the cause that these sorts of thefts are very frequent: and there is no body that believes the ravishers are very dilatory in point of enjoyment: the

REFLEXION upon the rapes of fair damsels in romances.

first lodging they come to is the utmost, and most people are even inclined to suspect, that enjoyment has preceded the escape. However it be, this sort of rape is generally followed with matrimony; because, if the parents did not consent to the marriage, they would find themselves burthened with a daughter dishonoured in all mens opinion, and who is not like to find any other husband unless some one can be content with another man's leavings. Let us confess then that romance-writers secure themselves from the greatest part of the ridicule, by the care they take to suppose that the damsel opposes as much as possible her being carried off: but yet they cannot come off clear; they overturn common notions, and form a system diametrically opposite to the judgment of the public, and to good sense. What motives have their heroes when they carry off a mistress? Do they want to declare to her that they die for love of her, and that her cruelties throw them into despair? They have declared that over and over, and they have not recourse to this violent method, till they know that she is determined to make another man happy, and to be for ever indifferent to them. Do they hope their sighs, so vainly wasted before they had provoked her, will move her under the lively resentment she is in against her ravisher? This is not probable: what they propose to themselves must then be to take advantage of the condition, which submits her to their discretion, and to bring her under such terms as shall make it her interest to be the first to talk of marriage: this is no doubt one of the views of those who carry off a young woman against her will. They persuade themselves that after she has been some months in their power, her reputation at least will suffer very much, and cannot be restored but by the nuptial benediction. And it is seen, that if others marry such girls, they are suspected to have taken up with the leavings of the ravisher. They are rallied upon it, and regarded as men of no delicate taste: a new charge this against the romance-writers, whose heroes are passionately desirous of marrying those mistresses, whom their rivals have carried off more than once. You will find criticisms upon all this in Parnassus Reformed. Cyrus complains there, that they had not given him a heroin of an unblamable character. 'You will doubtless, says he (35), judge by this discourse, that I am not satisfied with Mandana, and truly what would you have me to think of her, after she has been so often run away with? Should I believe that she escaped untouched from the hands of four men who carried her off? Or will those that are the least clear sighted in these mysteries, doubt that you have given me another's leavings? Methinks you should have put her modestly to other sort of proofs, these are too rude for things so frail, and Mandana was not a sort that could withstand so many assaults? It may be she might come off well from the first attack: I am willing to believe her so fortified with virtue, as not to surrender at the very first, and her honour might be safe, without, a miracle, in that ticklish incident? But relapses are mortal in these matters: a second carrying off ruins all: and a heroin who has no more than the remains of a shaken constancy, or perhaps less, makes but useless efforts to defend her self. Apollo lent an ear to that complaint, and pronounced this decree. 'We declare that we acknowledge none for heroes that are cuckolds, nor for heroines, those who have been carried off more than once (36). Sarasin's ballad upon the carrying off of Mademoiselle de Bouteville by Monsieur de Coligny (37), is another decree of condemnation: Here is the opinion of that fine wit.

(35) Parnassus, Reformed, pag. 165. Dutch Edit.

(36) Ibid. pag. 187.

(37) Not he who fought with the duke of Guise, as the author of the Galleries of the Kings of France would have it, Tom. II, pag. 223, but his younger brother.

Ce gentil joli jeu d'amours
Chacun le pratique à sa guise,
Qui par Rondeaux & beaux discours,
Chapeau de fleurs, gentie coiffure,
Tournoy, bal, festin, ou devise
Pense les belles captiver;

Z z z z

Mais

least they have preferred the scene of adventures, to probability. Every Body knows that Helen was stole away by Paris, the son of Priamus, and that all Greece resented the injury Menelaus had received. Hence rose the Trojan war, which has been so celebrated by the poets. Paris losing his life in the last year of that war, his Brother Deiphobus supplied his place with Helen. The Grecians barbarously murdered him the night that Troy was taken: in which they were favoured by Helen as much as they could wish [F]. Menelaus behaved himself like a good-natured man; he reconciled himself to his wife without much difficulty, and took her very lovingly home again [G]. After his Death she was forced to fly, and to retire into the isle of Rhodes, where

Mais je pense, quoy qu'on en dise,
Qu'il n'est rien tel que d'enlever.
C'est bien des plus merveilleux tours
La passeroute & la maistrise:
Au mal d'aimer, c'est bien tousiours
Une prompte & sonëve crise,
C'est au gasteau de friandise
De Venus la sève trouver.
L'Amant est fol qui ne s'avise
Qu'il n'est rien tel que d'enlever.
Je sçay bien que les premiers jours
Que Becasse est bridée & prise,
Elle invoque Dieu au secours
Et ses parens à barbe grise:
Mais si l'Amant qui l'a conquise
Sçait bien la Rose cultiver,
Elle chante en face d'Eglise
Qu'il n'est rien tel que d'enlever (38).

(38) Sarasin,
Poësies, pag. 59,
60.

Love praëtises a thousand arts,
To carry captive female hearts:
The soft sing-song, the converse sweet,
The tournament, the ball, the treat.
But, let who will the truth contest,
Still I affirm, the rape is best.
It is love's boasted master-piece,
Of all it's pains the readiest ease;
The shortest way to Chloë's bed,
And hits the very nail o' th' head.
That lover is a fool confess'd,
Who sees not, that the rape is best.
At first, I own indeed 'tis odds
But the dear nymph invokes the gods,
Calls heaven and earth to help: 'tis true;
But, if the lover know his cue,
The fair one shall herself protest,
That of all things a rape's the best.

[F] The Grecians barbarously murdered Deiphobus
... favoured by Helen as much as they could wish.]
See in Virgil the horrible usage of Deiphobus's body,
and the manner how his wife betrayed him.

Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidit, & lacerum crudeliter ora;
Ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere nares (39).

(39) Virgil,
Æn. lib. vi,
ver. 424.

Here Priam's son, Deiphobus, he found,
Whose face and limbs were one continu'd wound,
Disbonest, with lopp'd arms, the youth appears,
Spoil'd of his nose, and shorten'd of his ears.

Sed me fata mea, & scelus exitiale Læmæ,
His mœsere malis: illa hæc monumenta reliquit (40).

(40) Ibid. ver.
511.

These are the monuments of Helen's love,
The shame I bear below, the marks I bore above.

----- flammam media ipsa tenebat
Ingentem, & summâ Danaos ex arce vocabat.
Tum me confectum curis, somnoque gravatum,
Infelix habuit thalamus: pressitque jacentem
Dulcis & alta quies, placidæque simillima morti.

Egregia interea conjux arma omnia testis
Emovet; & fidum capiti subduxerat ensem:
Intra testâ vocat Menelaum, & limina pandit.
Scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
Et famam extinguere veterum sic posse malorum (41). (41) Ibid. ver.
518.

Then waving high her torch the signal made,
Which rais'd the Grecians from their ambushade.
With watching overworn, with cares oppress'd,
Unhappy I had lain me down to rest,
And heavy sleep my weary limbs possess'd.
Mean time my worthy wife our arms mislay'd,
And from beneath my head my sword convey'd,
The door unlatch'd, and, with repeated calls,
Invites her former lord within my walls.
Thus in her crime her confidence she plac'd,
And with new treasons would redeem the past.

D R Y D E N.

She thought that this barbarous sacrifice was necessary
to appease the fury of Menelaus: she would have made
a better judgment, if she had considered more the
good nature of that Grecian prince, and reflected less
on the guilt of her own crimes.

[G] Menelaus . . . reconciled himself to his wife,
without much difficulty, and conducted her very lovingly
home.] That poor cuckold was so silly as to believe his
wife consumed herself with grief in the house of Pri-
amus, and this was the principal motive which induced
him to make war against Troy.

Μαλιστα δὲ ἴστο θυμῷ τίσασθαι
Ἑλένης ὀρμήματα τε σοναχάει τε.

Maxime vero cupiebat animo ulcisci
Helenæ raptumque gemituque (42).

(42) Homer.
Iliad. lib. ii,
ver. 96, describe
See the Penitence
sur les Comètes,
n. 237, 248, 249.

He has been handsomely reproached that his conjugal
flame, which was almost extinct, rekindled upon He-
len's quitting him for another man.

Acrius Hermionem idē dilexit Orestes,
Esse quod alterius coeperat illa viri.
Quid Menelae doles? ibas sine conjuge Creten,
Et poterat nupta lætus abesse tua:
Ut Paris hanc rapuit, tum demum uxore carere
Non potes, alterius crevit amore tuus.

'Tis said, when fair Hermione began
To look with pity on another's pain,
Orestes an increas'd affection prov'd,
And, whom he fear'd to lose, more fondly lov'd.
So Menelaus, when to Crete he went,
Found, ev'n in absence from his wife, content:
But when soft Paris stole the Grecian dame,
The rape reviv'd the jealous husband's flame;
Redoubt'd passion seiz'd his amorous heart:
What husband from so dear a wife cou'd part?

Antiquity must needs be strongly persuaded of the
good humour of cuckolds, since it represents the god
Vulcan so easy to his wife. The god of our poet,
when he caught one of his wife's gallants in bed
with her, was content only to make them ashamed.
And for all that suffers himself to be melted
with the soft caresses which she offered him, com-
plaining that she entertained a distrust of his love.

Quid

where she came to a miserable end [H]: for she was hanged on a tree. The scandalous disorders of her life [I], did not hinder the paying her divine honours after her death, and attributing miracles to her [K]. It is not probable that Paris waited to enjoy

* Virgil. Æneid.
lib. viii, ver.
395.

Quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit
Quo tibi, Diva, mei? - - - *

Why seek you reasons for a cause so just,
Or your own beauty, or my love, distrust.

DRYDEN.

† Ibid. ver. 383.

† Ibid. ver. 441.

‡ Cat. ad Mal.
(41) Montagne,
Essais, liv. iii,
chap. v, pag. m.
135.

(44) Pausanias,
lib. v, pag. 166.

* Nay, she makes a petition to him for one of her bastards †, *Arma rogo genitrix nato*, which is generously granted her, and Vulcan makes honourable mention of Æneas ‡: *Arma acri facienda viro*, with an humanity truly more than human: and such an excess of goodness, I am willing should be left to the gods †. *Nec divis homines componit æquum est* (43). These words of Montagne are too ingenious to displease the judicious in this place. But not to dissemble, I must needs own, there have been some so officious, as to do Menelaus the honour, to arm him with resentment against the infidelity of Helen. In the Troades of Euripides, he threatens to kill her; and she is forced to make use of all sorts of excuses to obtain pardon. She says, amongst other things, that after the death of Paris she often endeavoured to make her escape from Troy to the Grecian camp, and that the centinels surprised her endeavouring to come down the walls by a rope. She adds, that Deiphobus married her by force. Pausanias makes mention of a statue of Menelaus, pursuing Helen with his sword in hand, to kill her, when Troy was taken (44). But others suppose he threw away his sword when he saw her bosom, and suffered that treacherous bitch to kiss him, and returned her carefices.

Ἐλὼν δὲ Τροίαν, εἴμι γὰρ κἀνταῦθά σοι,
Οὐκ ἔκταπες γυναῖκα χειρίαν λάβων.
Ἄλλ' ὥς ἐσεῖδες μασὼν, ἐκβαλὼν ξίφος
φίλῳ ἐδέξω, πορδέτιν αἰκάλλων κύνα.

Capta autem Troja (nam & huc tua causa veniam)
Non interscisi uxorem redactam in tuam potestatem:
Sed postquam vidiſti ubera abjecto gladio
Osculum accepisti adulans canem proditricem (45).

(45) Eurip. in
Androm. ver.
617, pag. m.
320.

When Troy was sack'd, and Helen in your power,
Her life you spar'd, and seeing her fair bosom,
The avenging sword dropp'd from your coward band,
Basely you then receiv'd her false carefices,
And bugg'd the treacherous monster to your breast.

(46) Pausan. lib.
iii, pag. 102.

(47) Pag. m. 63.

(48) Photius,
pag. 479, ex
Prolem. Hephæ-
stione.

(49) Plin. lib.
xxi, cap. xxi.

(50) Ibid. cap. x.

(51) Photius,
pag. 479.

[H] Where she came to a miserable end.] Nicostatus and Megapenthus, bastards of Menelaus, had expelled her from Lacedæmon. She retired to Polyxo, her relation, the widow of Tlepolemus, king of Rhodes, and regent of the kingdom during her son's minority. Polyxo, remembering that her husband died at the siege of Troy, and so looking upon Helen as the cause of her widowhood, resolved to be revenged of her: and, to that end, when Helen was bathing, sent women dressed in the habit of furies, who hanged her on a tree. The Rhodians, desirous to immortalize that accident, built a temple, which they called the temple of *Helenia Dendritis*. This I have from Pausanias (46). The author of the old and new Athens, has reason to say (47), that a thousand people talk of the fair Helen, who know nothing of her being hanged. What is said in Moreri's Dictionary, that one of her companions murdered her, is not true. You will find in Photius that she strangled herself, and that near the oak on which she hung, there grew an herb, which they called *Helenion*, which made people quarrelsome who eat of it (48). Pliny attributes very different qualities to this herb: it beautified women, and exhilarated those who mixed it in their wine (49). He observes (50), that it was said to spring from the tears of Helen. You will find in the same Photius (51), that Thetis put Helen to death, during the return of the Greeks; and, according to others, that she went with Menelaus into Taurica Cheroneſus in quest of Orestes, and that there they were both sacrificed by Iphigenia. I have

read in Vigenere (52), that Herodotus relates that Nicostatus and Megapenthus expelled Helen, and that she retired to Rhodes to Polyxo, the widow of king Tlepolemus, and that Polyxo's maids hating Helen, because she had been the cause of their late lord's death, one day as she went out to recreate herself in an orchard without their mistress, they hung her up and strangled her on one of the trees. I find no such thing in Herodotus.

The Spanish monk whom I have above-cited, is grossly mistaken concerning the causes of the death of Helen. He says (53) that having retired to Rhodes, to Polyxena, wife of Ptolema, king of that isle, her conduct was very irregular, as it had always been from her earliest youth; that she fell in love with the king, and gave herself wholly up to his pleasures. Polyxena, enraged with jealousy, caused her to be hanged on a tree. Pausanias, adds he, affirms, that by reason of her having committed adultery with Ptolema, during the Trojan war, Polyxena put her to death. Judge by this, if that Spanish author is faithful, or skillful in his citations.

[I] The scandalous disorders of her life.] Several authors (54) have blamed her for her leudness, but especially Lycophron in his *Cassandra*, where he calls her *παντάλακτες*, that is to say, a woman of five husbands (55). . . . Euripides, in his *Andromache*, makes Hermione, Helen's daughter, to be thus reproached for the vice of her mother.

Μὴ τὴν τεκῆσαν τῇ φιλανδρίᾳ γυναι
Ζήτει παρελθεῖν.

Strive not in love's soft business to excell
A mother's skill, who knew the trade so well.

. . . . Ptolemaeus Hephæstion in Photius, tells a very particular story, which confirms Helen's incontinence. The fact is, that a certain Arcadian, called Peritaneus, meeting Helen with Paris Alexander, in the country of Arcadia, had to do with her. But Paris, to chastise the adulterer, cut off his parts of generation. And hence they that are thus castrated, are, in Arcadia, called *Peritanes*. Lycophron has used her more severely, than to call her a wife of five husbands; they pretend that he called her dove, because of her lasciviousness, and bitch because of her impudence, or her promiscuous use of men (56). I do not see that those who would excuse Helen, alledge any other reason than this (57). *But she was inticed by the gods to follow Paris* (58). There is no crime whatever, but may be justified by the same apology. But I confess, that taking the method of Homer's scholiast, one might make a good apology. What he says is this (59). *Alexander, son of Priamus, travelled out of Asia to Lacedæmon, where he formed the design of stealing Helen, who had lodged him in her palace: but she, who had been extremely educated, and loved her husband tenderly, would never consent to it, saying she liked a lawful marriage better than a shameful adultery, and that she chose rather to stay with Menelaus. So Paris not being like to succeed, it is said, that Venus betwought herself of a stratagem, which was to metamorphose Alexander into the shape of Menelaus, and that she cheated Helen by that means: for believing him to be the true Menelaus, she made no scruple to follow him, and to go even to his ships, where Paris having made her go aboard, presently boised his sails to the wind. Eustathius also, upon the same book of Homer, touches upon this story, and observes, that Penelope governed her self much more prudently: for though she thought she knew Ulysses again, yet she would not venture to gratify him with any thing, and especially to lie with him, till he had told her many particulars, and given her many signs, to assure her, that he was really her husband, and that she could not be mistaken (60).*

[K] Did not prevent paying her divine honours. . . . and attributing miracles to her.] I have already spoke of the temple consecrated to her by the Rhodians. Pausanias makes mention of that which was built to her in the country of Lacedæmon (61). As to her miracles,

(52) Upon the
Profluvium of
Philstratus,
fol. 235, verso,
Edit. in 4to.

(53) Balmás de
Victoris, Theat.
de los Dioses de
la Gentilidad.
lib. ii chap. xix,
pag. 183.

(54) Meziriac
upon Ovid's
Epistles, pag.
485, & seq.

(55) Viz. The-
seus, Menelaus,
Paris, Deiphobus,
and Achilles.

(56) Vid. Can-
surus and Meur-
sus, upon the
871b verse of
Lycophron.

(57) See Homer,
Odys. xxiii, and
Euripides in his
Troades, and in
Andromache,
apud Meziriac,
on Ovid's Epist.
pag. 486, 487.

(58) See the re-
mark [X].

(59) In lib. xxiii,
Odys. apud Me-
ziriac, pag. 487.

(60) See the Cri-
tical Observations
on Maimbourg,
concerning the ad-
venture of Alce-
mena.

Nouvell. Lettres,
pag. 284. See
also pag. 277.

(61) Pausan. lib.
iii, pag. 96.
racles,

joy her, till they landed in an island [L]. Nevertheless, it is said, that he built in that island a monument of his first enjoyment. It is added that Menelaus did not ruin that monument [M], but contented himself with signifying, that he had satisfaction given

racles, it suffices to observe, that she struck Stesichorus blind, who had ventured to slander her in his poems (62); and that she restored his sight upon his singing his Palinode (63). She bestowed extraordinary beauty upon an ugly girl, who was every day brought to her temple (64). See the article ACHILLEA, where we have said, she was the wife of Achilles in the other world; and that she knew how to make her self considerable there. See also Isocrates, in his panegyric on Helen; you will there find, that she not only obtained immortality, but also a divine power, which she employed in placing her brothers and husband in the number of the gods: so that if Castor and Pollux were capable of succouring those who during tempests made their prayers to them, it was because their sister had communicated that power to them, to prove to the world the metamorphosis she had wrought upon them. They were in their graves, when she made them gods. What is most laudable in this is, that having conferred the same gift on Menelaus, she desired to live with him eternally. Τὸς ἀδελφὸς ἰδὼν κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς θεὸς ἀνάγαγε· βολομένη δὲ πρὶν ποιῆσαι τὴν μεταβολὴν, ἔως αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμὰς ἐναργεῖς ἔδωκεν, ὥστ' ὁρῶμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κινδυνεύοντων σώζειν, οἱ τινες ἀν' εὐσεβείας αὐτὴς ἐπικαλέσονται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μενέλαος τῶσαυτὴν χρεὼν ἀπέδωκεν . . . ὥστε . . . ἡ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ θεὸν ἀντὶ θνητῆς ποιήσασα σύνοικον αὐτῇ καὶ παρὲς αὐτῆς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα κατεστήσατο. Frater, qui fato jam concesserant, inter Deos retulit. Cui mutationi cum auctoritatem et fidem asserere vellet, honores ita manifestos eis dedit, ut in mari confecti, periclitantes serarent, quicumque ipsos p̄ invocarent. Deinde Menelao tantam gratiam retulit, ut . . . non tantum: . . . sed mortalem ejus sortem divinitate mutaret, eumque contubernalem sibi et afflorem in omne ævum constituerit (65). Isocrates alleges, as a proof of this, the practice of the Lacedæmonians, who offered sacrifices to Menelaus and Helen, not as to heroes, but as to gods. The same author observes, it was at Therapnæ that these divine honours were paid them. But Pausanias does not say, that Helen had a temple in that city: he only says, that that of Menelaus was there, and that it was believed that Menelaus and Helen were buried in it (66).

I wish that Theodoret had built upon the authority of Isocrates, and not upon that of Euripides, to insult the Pagans with their numbring so famous an adulteress as Helen among the gods. For though Euripides has feigned that she did not die, but was exalted to the heavens, by the favour of the gods, and immortalized, it does not follow from thence, that this was the opinion of the Pagans. The episodes of a tragedy were so much at the poet's disposal, that unless they were known to be true on other grounds, they were looked upon as the particular fictions of the tragedian. These are Theodoret's words: Καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην δὲ, μετὰ τὴν πολυθρήνητον καὶ παμπόλλην μοιχείαν, τῷ Μενέλαω χωρίσαντες, εἰς τὸν ἕβρον, ἢ θῆσαν Εὐεπείδης, ἀνήγαγον (67).

[L] It is not probable that Paris delayed enjoying her till they came . . . into an island. Homer, who gives him so much patience, did not do him much honour, according to the principles of gallantry (68). See to what end he mentions that circumstance of place. Paris, being vanquished by Menelaus, was miserably reproached by Helen. He prays her not to insult him, but to go to bed with him, pretending he never felt so much of the fire of love, not even when he enjoyed her first in the isle of Cranaë. Hereupon he rose from his seat to go to bed, and was followed by the fair Helen without any reluctance.

Οὐ γὰρ πῶς ποτὲ μ' ὥδε ἔρως φρένας ἀμφοτέρων.

Οὐδ' ὅτε σε πρότερον Λακεδαιμόνων ἐξέεσταίνης.

*Ἐπλεον ἀπαΐξας ἐν ποταποβρίσι νέεσσι,

Νίσω δ' ἐν Κρανῇ ἐμίγην φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνῇ.

Ὡς σὺ νῦν ἔραμαι, καὶ με γλυκὺς ἔμεγαι.

*Ἡ ῥα, καὶ ἄρχε λείχε δὲ κίαν, ἄμα δ' εἶπετ' ἀποιτίς.

Non enim unquam me sic amor mentem complexus est,

Ne tunc quidem quando te pridem Lacedæmone ex amabili

Navigabam raptâ in transeuntibus pontum navibus, Infulâ vero in Cranaë mistus sum amore & concubitu:

Sicut te nunc amo, & me dulce desiderium capit. Dixit, & præibat in lectum ascendens, simul autem sequebatur uxor (69).

Not thus I lov'd thee when from Sparta's shore,

My forc'd, my willing, heavenly prize I bore,

When first entranc'd in Cranaë's isle I lay,

Mix'd with thy soul and all dissolv'd away.

Thus having spoke, the enamour'd Phrygian boy

Rush'd to the bed impatient for the joy:

Him Helen follow'd slow with bashful charms,

And clasp'd the blooming hero in her arms.

P O P E.

Jafon has a patience ascribed to him, more wonderful still than this of Paris would be; which makes it hard to discover, wherein your writers of romances employ their judgment. Ought they not above all things to stick to probability? And do not they transgress it, when they suppose, on one hand, Medea so much in love with Jafon, as to be carried by her passion into the greatest crimes, and, on the other, spending many months with him, without consummating the marriage? Observe too, that it had not been consummated so soon, but for the advice which was given to Jafon. Quem cum interrogaret Arete, quidnam esset judicaturus, respondit Alcinoüs, Si virgo fuerit Medea, parenti redditurum: sin autem mulier, conjugi. Hoc cum audiret Arete à conjuge, mittit nuntium ad Jafonem; & is Medeam noctu in antro devirginavit (70).

[M] That Menelaus did not ruin that monument. Here is a passage which would bring Homer off, if it were true. It is pretended, that on the shore of the main land, which is over-against the Isle of Cranaë, there was a temple of Venus, which Paris caused to be built, after that agreeable conquest . . . to testify the transports of his joy and gratitude. He gave this Venus the name Mignonitis, and called the territory Migionion, from a word signifying the amorous mystery that had been acted there. Menelaus, the unfortunate husband of that princess, 18 years after she had been carried away from him, went to visit this temple, the ground whereof had been witness to his misfortune, and the infidelity of his wife. He did not destroy it, but only placed on each side of the statue of Venus, the images of two other goddesses, viz. Thetis and Praxidice, meaning the goddesses of Punishment, to signify that he would not suffer the affront to pass unrevenge. But he had not the good fortune to see himself revenged of Helen; for she survived him (71).

The author of the News from the Republic of Letters, having cited this passage, adds this reflexion (72): These last words would furnish an occasion of criticizing, to any one that would seek it. For it is certain, that eighteen years after Helen was stolen, Menelaus had revenged himself, as amply as he could with, by the ruin of the kingdom of Priamus, the father of the ravisher. It is therefore very likely, that that image of the goddess Praxidice, had no reference to a future revenge, but to a revenge already taken, and it is not likely, that it had relation to any design of punishing Helen. For if Menelaus had not been sincerely reconciled to his wife, he would not have delayed so long to punish her. The history of that age assures us, that that artful woman made her peace with her husband, the very night the Greeks became masters of the town, which is very probable

(69) Homer. Iliad. lib. iii. ver. 442. See citation 441, of the article of the third duke of GUISE.

(70) Hygin. cap. 23, pag. m. 604.

(71) Guillet. Athenes anciennes & modernes. pag. 63.

Note. That I cite his own words, not only because they are well written, but also because they give occasion for criticism. The facts he mentions are taken from Pausanias. Lib. iii. pag. 105.

(72) News from the Republic of Letters, Jan. 1687, pag. 67.

(62) Id. ibid. pag. 102.

(63) Suidas, in Στεσιχορος, de ante ipsam Isocrates in Helenæ encomio.

(64) Herodot. lib. vi, cap. lxi.

(65) Isocrates in Helenæ encomio, pag. m. 320.

(66) Pausan. lib. iii, pag. 102.

(67) Theodoret. Therapeut. Serm. iii.

(68) See the News from the Republic of Letters, Jan. 1687, pag. 68.

given him for the injury. A modern author does not seem to have taken right Menelaus's meaning (e). Some authors say, that Paris did not long preserve his prize [N]. Many fables have been vented about the birth of Helen [O], I mean about the egg from

(e) See remark [M], citat. (71).

'probable, considering the character good Menelaus has in the Iliad.' Be it how it will, I will not maintain on one hand, that there was no temple of Venus Migonitis, near the isle of Cranaë; nor acknowledge on the other, that Paris caused it to be built for the reason that is given. I keep to probability, which strongly inclines one to believe, that Paris enjoyed Helen before he left Lacedæmon. What should hinder him? Menelaus was in the isle of Crete (73); his presence could not have hindered Helen from favouring her handsome guest, who made love to her; his absence was still less capable of doing it. See how Paris used him, and ridiculed his absence:

(73) Ovid. Epist. Helenæ ad Paris. Coluthus, de raptu Helenæ.

Sed tibi & hoc suadet rebus, non voce, maritus,
Neve sui furtis hospitii obesse abest.
Non habuit tempus, quo Cressia regna videret,
Aptius, ô mira calliditate virum! &c. (74)

(74) Ovid. Epist. Paris. ad Helen. ver. 297.

*That husbands for their wives shou'd pimp, is meet:
Thur's chose the properest time to visit Crete.
Kindly the good man favours your escape,
And, by his absence, ev'n persuades a rape.*

He was not bashful with the ladies: Helen confesses he was not so reserved as Theseus, who did no more than kiss her:

Quæ tua nequitia est, non his contenta fuisset
Di melius? similis non fuit ille tui,
Reddidit intactam (75).

(75) Id. in Epist. Helen ad Paris. ver. 29.

*Your boldness greater liberties had claim'd;
Theseus, more modest, gave me back unstain'd.*

Paris pressed her so warmly one day, that she ran away from him, and lost one of her shoes in her flight, the place in which she lost it was Sparta, and was called *Sandalion*, from that shoe (76).

(76) Ptolemæus Hephæst. apud Photium, pag. 480.

[N] Some authors say that Paris did not long preserve his prize. It is pretended that he failed towards Egypt, and landed at the mouth of the Nile, called Canopus, where there was a temple of Hercules, which was a sanctuary to fugitive slaves. Some of Paris's slaves having fled thither, acquainted the priests with the action of their master; whereupon king Proteus ordered him to be seized, reproached him severely, and afterwards commanded him immediately to depart. But he kept Helen, with all the other things of which they had robbed Menelaus (77). It is added, that Paris had not enjoyed that woman, before his arrival in Egypt (78); a tale that I have already refuted. I do not know very well, how Proteus used her, and whether, whilst he waited till he should restore her to her rightful lord, he did not obtain the last favours from her (79). I only know, that Herodotus thinks it very probable, that she was never brought to Troy; for he could not persuade himself that Priamus could be so stupid, as to choose rather to keep that woman, than avoid the fatal consequences of a refusal (80). He thinks then, that the Trojans answered the Grecian ambassadors sincerely, that Helen was not at Troy, and that they ought to search after her in Egypt, where she was kept by king Proteus (81). The Grecians taking this answer for a sharp railery, prepared to besiege the town, which when they had taken, without finding Helen in it, they were persuaded she was with king Proteus; whereupon Menelaus set sail for Egypt, and recovered his wife from thence (82). There is such a prodigious medley of variations in mythological authors, that I do not wonder to find Servius saying (83), I. That Theseus, after he had slain Helen, gave her to Proteus king of Egypt, and that Menelaus recovered her out of Proteus's hands, after the war of Troy: so that that war was not kindled upon the account of the rape of Helen by Paris, but of the affront which the Trojans offered Hercules, in shutting their gates against him, when he was in quest of Hylas. II. That Helen was taken out of the hands of Proteus, to whom The-

(77) See Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. vi, cap. xxiii, pag. m. 658. He should have cited Herodotus, and observed, that a temple forced Paris to put into Egypt.

(78) Quam deportavit in Ægyptum, atque ibi primum cum illa congressus sit. Id. ibid.

(79) Helen denies it in the prologue of Euripides's tragedy, entitled, Helenæ, but her testimony here is of no weight.

(80) Herodot. lib. ii, cap. cxx

(81) Id. ibid. cap. cxviii.

(82) Id. ibid. & cap. cxix.

(83) Servius in hæc verba, Virg. Æneid. lib. xi, ver. 862. Atque Protei Menelaus ad utroque columnas.

seus had given her, and put into the power of Menelaus, from whom Paris stole her.

I forgot to observe, that Proteus did not send Paris away, without leaving him some sort of consolation; for he restored him the picture of Helen (84). One of Lycophron's commentators applies to this very injudiciously, what Helen says in Euripides, that Juno, to punish Paris for not giving her the victory in the contest of beauty, gave him only a living image of Helen, instead of her real person, which image was formed in the air.

(84) See Canterus and Meursius upon Lycophron, ver. 113.

Ἥρα δὲ μεμρθεῖσ', ἔνεν' ἑ νικᾷ θεᾶς,
Ἐξνέμωσεν τᾷμ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λᾶχην.
Δίδωσι δ' ἐν ἑμ', ἀλλ' ἑμοιώσας' ἐμοὶ
Εἰδῶλον ἔμπνυν, ἱρὰν ἔνδρ' ἔνδρ' ὕπο.
Πριάμης τυράννου παῖδ' ἰ. καὶ δόκ' ἰ μ' ἔχειν
Κεῖν δόκῃσιν ἐκ ἔχων.

Sed Juno moleste ferens, quod non vicisset Deas,
Irritum fecit meum conjugium Alexandro:
Dedit enim non me: sed assimilatam mihi
Imaginem vivam, sub cælo compactam,
Filio regis Priami: putavit autem se habere me,
Falsa opinione deceptus, cum non haberet (85).

(85) Eurip. in Prologo Helenæ, ver. 31, pag. m. 303.

*Juno enrag'd at loss of beauty's prize,
Robb'd Priam's son of me, his promis'd bride,
And in my stead gave him an airy phantom,
Bearing my semblance. And this the cheated boy
Pres'd to his breast, thinking he me enjoy'd,
Vain thought!*

It is manifest, that the difference betwixt these two things lies not in this, as Canterus would have it, that Proteus is the actor in one, and Juno in the other. One may likewise observe, that Juno forgot her spirit of revenge on this occasion: Paris was as happy with a living image of Helen, as he would have been with the original. I remember I have read, that the poet Stesichorus said, that the Trojans, not knowing the true Helen, quarrelled among themselves about her image. Ὅσπερ τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης εἰδῶλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ Στρεσίχορος φησὶ γενέσθαι περιμύχνητον ἀγνοίᾳ τῶ ἀληθῆς. Quemadmodum Stesichorus Trojanos, inquit, veræ ignaros Helenæ de imagine ipsius invicem decertasse (86). This is, in the notion of some Libertines, an image of the disputes about religion.

(86) Plato, de Republica, lib. ix, pag. m. 738.

[O] Many fables have been vented about the birth of Helen. It has not been thought enough to say that she was born of an egg; they have added, that this egg fell from the orb of the moon, and that the women of that region lay eggs, from whence are bred men fifteen times bigger than those who inhabit the earth. This we learn from Athenæus (87), who says, upon the testimony of Herodotus of Heracles, that Neocles of Crotona had published it in one of his writings. Observe here some false quotations about that chimera. Cælius Rhodiginus (88) instead of Herodotus, says Herodotus. This error has been copied by Salmuth (89). Who could forbear laughing to read this passage in a Spanish physician? 'Nonne admirabilis adhuc in tota naturæ majestate rarissimum, quod mulieres quædam produxerit, quæ non more aliarum sætus, sed ova edant ac incubent, ex quibus homines nascuntur, qui ad gigantæam proceritatem excreverunt? Et tamen hoc in Selenitidis mulieribus accidere referunt ex Lycosthene Ravifius Textor, & ex Herodoto Heracleotes, ut quoque testator Rhodiginus, lib. 27. cap. 17. licet pro mera fabula hoc habeat Adrianus Junius, lib. 1. animad. cap. 15. citatus apud Pancirolum part. 2. memorab. titulo 2. histor. tamen cum iconæ exhibet (90). — Is it not still more admirable, and the most extraordinary thing in nature, that she has produced some women, who do not bring forth children as others do, but eggs which they hatch, and from which men are produced, which grow to a gigantic stature. And yet that the wo-

(87) Athen. lib. ii, cap. xvi, pag. 57.

(88) Antiq. Lect. lib. xxvii, cap. xvii, in fin.

(89) Salmuth. Commen in Pancirolum de novis reperiis, pag. 93.

(90) Caspar à Reia, in Elysio Juvenardum. Quæst. Camp. Quæst. xlvii, n. 14, pag. m. 582

of her had been good chronologers, her beauty must have lasted prodigiously [2], and we should be obliged to say, that the Grecians and Trojans had fought ten years for the

wards by Paris, is said by all the ancients to have been the first inventor of various pastures in the field of Venus. She is likewise reported to have published some books on this subject. In which science she was followed by the wellknown Phileas, and Elephantis, who have left writings treating of these matters with no less accuracy than immodesty. If that be true it will cast an indelible stain on Helen's memory; for it is probable if that servant gave lessons to her mistress, her mistress intrusted her with their effect; and that so both Helen and Altyanassa joined their endeavours, to perfect those horrid inventions. I have read in Photius (112) that Altyanassa stole an embroidered girdle, which Juno had obtained of Venus to give to Helen; but that Venus took it away from that maid.

(112) Photius ex Ptolem. Hierophant. pag. 480.

[2] If the authors . . . had been good chronologers, her beauty must have lasted prodigiously. It is pretended that Helen and Castor were hatched from the same egg: We may well suppose then that Helen was a woman grown, when the Argonauts went to Colchos; for her two brothers, Castor and Pollux, signalized themselves in that famous expedition. Let us allow her twenty years at least, which cannot be too much. We will not take advantage of Eusebius's error; I will speak of that hereafter. Let us make use of the chronology that is most exact. About thirty years are reckoned betwixt that expedition and that of Troy. Helen then was fifty years old, more or less, when Paris carried her off. The siege of Troy lasted ten years, and it was in the last year of the siege that Agamemnon and Achilles quarrelled. Now the admiration Priamus's counsellors (113) expressed for the divine beauty of Helen, must be referred to a time posterior to that quarrel. Thus Helen, at sixty years of age, by the extraordinary lustre of her beauty, obliged a whole senate to confess that she deserved that two powerful nations should ruin one another in a ten years war for her sake. Is not this very wonderful? Paris having been killed some time after, there arose a warm dispute between his brothers, who should marry his widow. Priamus appointed a combat, and promised her to him who should obtain the victory. Deiphobus had the best of it, and carried Helen. *Ἀλκίνοος τὸν ἑλάνης γάμον ἐπαδλον ἐθηκε τὸ αἰσιν-τεσσάνη κατά τὴν μάχην. ἀντίστοιχὸν δὲ γενναίῳ ἀγωνισμένῳ ἐγχευεν αὐτὴν ἡ ἰστορία παρὰ Διόδορον (114).* One of his brothers (115) was so enraged with his loss, that he departed from Troy, and contributed all he could to the ruin of his country.

(113) I have related above what they said, remark [d], citat. (7).

(114) Scholastes Homer. in Iliad. lib. ult. ver. 251.

(115) His name was Helenus. See the Bibliotheca of Photius, in the Extracts of Constantine, pag. 441.

(116) Lucian. in Gallo, Oper. Tom II, pag. m. 231.

(117) Diod. Sic. lib. iv, cap. xiv.

(118) Τὴν μὲν φησὶν ἡλικίαν ἔχειν. Nam & senectus haud obnoxium esse fama perhibetur. Quintus Calaber. lib. x, ver. 312.

(119) In the Peintures Morales of Rucier le Moine.

(120) La Mothe le Vayer. Lettere, pag. 14, Tom. XII.

(121) He speaks of an ugly woman grown handsome.

them is not very certain. A strange sort of rape, to see Helen ravished from herself, to see Helen, whom the three parts of the world, which then made all, acknowledged for the finest woman of her age, seeking for her face in a glass, which presented nothing now to her but what was frightful. That thought agrees with two verses of Ovid.

Flet quoque ut in speculo rugas conspexit aniles Tyndaris, & secum cur sit bis rapta, requirit (122).

(122) Ovid. Metamorph. lib. xv, ver. 232.

I must observe that if we follow Eusebius's chronology, we shall find that Helen had lived above an hundred years, when Paris stole her; for, according to his calculation, the expedition of the Argonauts was eighty nine years before the taking of Troy. He had observed the misreckoning of the Greek authors, and therefore he made this objection to them: 'Si inter Argonautas fuerunt Castor & Pollux, quomodo potest eorum soror Helena credi, quæ post multos annos virgo rapitur à Theseo (123). — If Castor and Pollux were in the number of the Argonauts, how can Helen be believed to be their sister, who many years after was carried away a virgin by Theseus. Observe here Scaliger's remark upon this Latin. 'In Græcis, says he (124), ἡ μὲν μετὰ πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, quæ non multis post annis virgo capitur. Sive culpa librariorum, sive quod verosimilius, Hieronymi proferantia accidit, ut negatio in latina interpretatione expressa non sit, omnino ridicula sententia efficitur. Nam quo remotior fuerit raptus Helenæ eo credibilior erit. Contra quo propior his temporibus eo remotior à Trojæ excidio, ideoque minus credibile Helenæ tempus in hujus sæculi tractum incidisse. — The Greek says, Who not many years after was carried away a virgin. But whether by a mistake of the transcribers, or, which is more probable, by Jeron's hurry, the negative particle is not expressed in the Latin version, and by that means the whole sentence is made ridiculous. For the farther back the rape of Helen is placed, the more credible it will be. And, on the contrary, the nearer it is placed to these times the farther it will be from the taking of Troy, and therefore it will be less credible that the age of Helen fell into this period of time.' This criticism appears to me very false, and the more I examine it the more I am surprized at it. I do not deny but the negative particle, the omission whereof Scaliger thinks a fault in St Jerome, may make a good sense; but I cannot comprehend that the sense would be ridiculous if that particle were suppressed; and on the contrary Eusebius's objection seems more intelligible to all sorts of readers, without that negative particle than with it. Eusebius's design is to prove that those who have said, that Castor and Pollux, Helen's brothers, were in the voyage of the Argonauts, and that Theseus stole Helen yet very young, have but ill concerted the times. If Castor and Pollux, says he, were in the number of the Argonauts, how can we believe they were the brothers of Helen, who was stole away young by Theseus many years after? The most stupid readers perceive the force of the objection, without any need of reasoning, without having recourse to any thing but to the very words of Eusebius; but if we suppose with Scaliger, that Eusebius expressed it in this manner. *If Castor and Pollux were in the number of the Argonauts, how can we believe they were the brothers of Helen, who was stole away young by Theseus a few years after?* Every one sees, that to be sensible of this objection, we must take our eyes off from the words that contain it, and have recourse to the arguments and calculations that are found in the following pages; for if one only considers Eusebius's expressions, one would imagine that he reasoned ill, and brought a proof directly contrary to what he pretended to assert.

(123) Euseb. in Chronic. n. 756.

(124) Animadv. in Eusebium, n. 756, pag. m. 47.

Here are some other words of Scaliger which to me seem unexact. 'Ab hoc tempore (125), says he (126), ad excidium Ilii, anni sunt LXXIX, ut Helenam admodum animum fuisse oportuerit, si Argonautica hoc tempore contigerunt. Nam adultis Castoribus, Helenam quoque maturam viro fuisse necesse est. Quod si Argonautica hic collocentur, tempore excidii Iliaci Helena fuerit major annorum CXX. Hoc est quod objicit Eusebius & merito. — From this time

(125) That is from the number 756 of Eusebius. But I wonder

that Scaliger did not observe, that Eusebius had already spoken of the Argonauts under the number 746.

(126) Ibid. pag. 46.

the possession of an old woman. This would make them very ridiculous, as they were indeed; though we allow her all the beauty that the poets ascribe to her. See in Herodotus, what value ought to be set on a woman who suffers her self to be run away with [R]. Opinions are different concerning Helen's children: some say she had only daughters (f), others assure us, that Menelaus had four boys by her (g). A son too has been mentioned that she had by Achilles, (h). She had by Menelaus, the beautiful Hermione; and by Paris, a daughter named Helen, whom Hecuba put to death. (i) Ptolemaeus says, that the father would have had her named Alexandra; but, as the mother opposed it (i), they cast lots who should give the name. Helen won, and gave her daughter her own name (k). There has been much talk of Helen's necklace [S], and of her Crater, and

(f) Stephanus, in voce αἰγυς.

(g) Scholiast. Homeri, & Eustathius in Iliad, lib. iii.

(h) See the article ACHILLEA, stat. (e).

(i) Ptolemaeus, Hephæst. apud Photium, pag. 480.

(j) Id. ibid.

* time to the sacking Troy there are seventy nine years; so that Helen must have been very old, if the expedition of the Argonauts happened at that time. For when Castor and his brother were grown men, Helen must likewise have been marriageable. But if the expedition of the Argonauts be placed late, Helen must have been above 120 years old. This is what Eusebius objects, and with reason. That is, if there was seventy nine years betwixt the voyage of the Argonauts and the taking of Troy, Helen must needs be above 120 years old when Troy was taken. What consequence is here? Is this worthy of the great Scalliger? Must a maid be above forty years old to be said to be marriageable, *matura viro*? This is the expression of the author whom I confute.

He has succeeded much better in his animadversions upon Eusebius's calculations; for it is not true, that the expedition of the Argonauts, and that of Troy, were at such a distance from one another, as Eusebius imagines. But it is certain that Eusebius followed very famous writers; and consequently I may affirm that if the ancient authors, who speak of Helen, had been good chronologers, her beauty must have lasted a prodigious while; for it would be above a century! Let us consider a little the calculations, which Clemens Alexandrinus borrows from Apollodorus, and some other celebrated historians. In one place (127) he says that there were thirty eight years betwixt the beginning of Hercules's reign in Argos, after the expedition of the Argonauts, and his deification; and that Castor and Pollux were deified fifty three years after Hercules, about the time that Troy was taken. Which is to reckon ninety one years betwixt the voyage of the Argonauts, and the taking of Troy, and to make Helen an hundred years old, or thereabouts, at the time that Paris carried her off as an accomplished beauty. In another place (128) the same father makes a computation, which puts sixty eight years betwixt Paris's stealing Helen, and the expedition of the Argonauts.

[R] See in Herodotus what value ought to be set on a woman who suffers herself to be run away with. Herodotus tracing up to their first original, the long continued wars betwixt Europe and Asia, owns the Asiatics were the aggressors, as having stole away the daughter of Inachus king of Argos (129). The Europeans (130) who stole away the king of Tyre's daughter, only did it by way of reprisal. But they did not stop there, they engaged in a second rape, viz. that of Medea, daughter to the king of Colchus. That prince demanded satisfaction for the injury. They answered they would give him none, because they had never received any for the rape of Io. The rape of Helen was undertaken by way of reprisal, and when the Greeks redemanded her, it was answered that they would deal by them as they had dealt by the Asiatics, when they demanded back Medea. They were not satisfied with that answer, but raising a great army they went to destroy the kingdom of Priamus. See now what pleas the Persians had to justify their wars. They pretended that the expedition against Troy gave them a right to hold the Europeans for enemies, and to treat them as such. They disapproved of the violence of those who carry off a woman, but they looked upon those as fools, who busied themselves about recovering her; and considered them as wife who despised her; since no women are carried off but such as are willing. As for us, said they, we never minded the women that were stole from Asia: it was the Greeks who first made war for the sake of a woman of Lacedæmon.

Τὸ μὲν νυν ἀπαγαγεῖν γυναῖκας, ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων ἔργον νομίζουσιν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀπαγαγεῖσθαι σπουδῇ ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρεῖν, ἀνομιῶν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμμενῆν ἄνθρωπον ἐχέειν ἀπαγαγεῖσθαι, σωφρονῶν. Διὸ γὰρ δὴ οὐκ εἰ μὴ αὐτὰς ἐκυλάτο, ἔκ

αὖν ἡρώδης οὐτο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀπαγαγεῖν τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον εἶναι ποιεῖσθαι. Σε γοῦν σεντρεῖν injuriorum virorum factum esse rapere feminas: amenitium vero, raptis ulciscendis operam dare: prudentium autem, pro nulla habere raptarum pulchritudinem: quippe quæ, nisi voluissent, baud dubie raptæ non fuissent. Eoque suarum seminarum ex Asia raptarum Persæ negant ullam se habuisse rationem (131). We must not omit Isocrates's observation here. The war of Troy, says he, was very advantageous to Greece: many things were invented during the continuance of it; and Europe began to have the superiority over Asia. Before that war, the Barbarians made conquests upon the Grecians. It was Helen that gave occasion to a new turn of affairs; for after that war, the Greeks took towns and provinces from the Barbarians (132).

We must not forget that passage of Euripides, where Peleus speaks such home-truths to Menelaus. He blames him especially for two great faults: the first was for having behaved to his wife as if she had been virtuous; the second was for having raised an army to recover her. You left her, says he, entirely at her own disposal; you left your house without ordering your doors to be locked, and your servants to look after her, as if she, who was the wickedest of women, had been very chaste.

* Ἀκλυστὸν ἀδελφὰ δάμαθ' ἐξίας λιπῶν,
ὧς δὴ γυναῖκα σώφρον' ἐν δόμοις ἔχων,
Πασῶν κακίστην.

Linquens domum non clausam, Et sine servis,
Quasi haberet castam mulierem in ædibus,
Quæ omnium est pessima (133).

She ran away with a young stranger; and you, forsooth, for the love of her, must call all Greece to arms: you should, on the contrary, after you had found out her infidelity, have left her where she was, and rather have paid a tribute, than that she should ever have set foot in your house again.

Ἦν χρεὶν σ' ἀποπύσαντα, μὴ κινεῖν δόρυ,
Κακὴν ἐφρονεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰδὼν αὐτὴ μένειν,
Μισθὸν τε δόντα, μὴ ποτ' εἰς οἶκον λαβεῖν. (134) Id. ibid. ver. 607.

Quam oportebat se conspuentem non movere hastam,
Cum invenisses malam, sed sinere ibi manere,
Mercedemque dare præterea, ne unquam in ædes eam reciperes (134).

Menelaus answers in a soft manner, that the adventures of his wife had been involuntary, and the work of fate (135), and that from thence great advantages to the Greeks had proceeded (136), who first began to learn the art of war, at the siege of Troy. This confirms Isocrates's observation.

[S] There has been much talk of Helen's necklace. Menelaus preparing for the expedition of Troy, went to Delphos with Ulysses to consult the oracle, and offered Helen's necklace there. Τότε δὴ Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ ὅρακος (137) Ἀθηνᾶ τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης ὄρμον ἀνέθηκεν ἐν Δελφοῖς. Tunc sane Menelaus Providæ Minervæ monile Helenæ Delphis dedicavit (138). The oracle ordered him to do it, and promised by that means the punishment of the ravisher. προνοία.

Athenæus (139) has preserved the oracle's answer: it contains only three verses, which shew, that this necklace was made of massy gold, and that Venus had given it to Helen. When the Phœceans pillaged the temple of Delphos in the CVIth Olympiad, this necklace

(131) Herodotus, lib. i, cap. iv.

(132) Isocrat. in Encomio Helen. He sub fin.

(133) Eurip. in Andromacha, ver. 593, pag. m. 518.

(135) See the remark [T], at the beginning.

(136) Eurip. in Andromacha, ver. 681, pag. 522.

(137) Menelaus, in 'ead of προνοία, reads προνοία, protēmniati. See his treatise de repho Lacónico, pag. 22, where he refers us to his Attic Lectiones, lib. ii, cap. xvii, concerning the two epistles of Minerva.

(139) Athen. lib. vi, pag. 233.

(127) Clemens Alexandr. lib. i Stromat 322, ex Apollodoro.

(128) Ibid. pag. 336.

(129) Herodotus, lib. i, init.

(130) They were Grecians.

and of the Nepenthes which she made Telemachus, the son of Ulysses, drink [T]. It is said

lace was a part of their booty; but it produced a strange effect; the lady who wore it became an infamous prostitute (140); she quitted her house to run all the world over, with a young Epirote whom she was in love with (141). It was either a very active contagion, or a manner of punishment very unworthy of the goddess to whom Menelaus had devoted it. It should rather have been by a natural than a moral evil, that this woman's boldness, who durst appropriate to her self the spoils of so sacred a place, ought to have been punished. See the remark [C] of the article EGIALEA.

Note that there are some who will have it, that the lady who got this necklace, was a leud woman before. It is said that the wives of those who plundered the temple disputed who should have the necklace of Helen, and that of Eriphyle, and that they at last decided it by lot. That of Eriphyle fell to a grave, severe woman, who afterwards killed her husband; the other fell to a very handsome, but very leud, woman (142).

[T] And of her Crater, and the Nepenthes, she made Telemachus, the son of Ulysses, drink.] The Crater was a work of Vulcan, and a nuptial present; for when Pelops married, Vulcan made him a present of it. Menelaus deriving his pedigree from Pelops, succeeded to that part of the inheritance, and lost it, when Paris carried away Helen, with the jewels and movables of his host. But it is pretended, that Helen threw this fine present into the sea, near the isle of Cos; which being found in the net of some fishermen, there arose a dispute concerning it, the conclusion whereof was, that it should be consecrated to Apollo. According to the author from whom I have this, it was a tripod (143); nevertheless, the interpreters (144) pretend, that Lycophron, Diogenes Laërtius, Apuleius, and Philostratus, have understood the same thing. Now Lycophron has called it (145), ταμείον νεπτήης: and these are the words of Apuleius (146), 'Nunquam apud eum (Homerum) marino aliquo & piscu- lento medicavit nec Proteus faciem, nec Ulysses ierobem, nec Æolus sollem, nec Helena CRATEREM, nec Circe poculum, nec Venus cingulum. — We never find in Homer, that Proteus made use of any thing from the sea, or of fishes, to enchant his face, nor Ulysses to enchant the furrow, nor Æolus the bellows, nor Helen the crater, nor Circe the cup, nor Venus the girdle.' As to Philostratus, he says as follows in the epistle dedicatory of the Life of the Sophists. Τὸς ἐφ' ὅτι τὸ αἶμα τὸ αἶμα ὑπάρχει, καὶ τὸ αἶμα τοῖς κατέει τῆς γυναικός, ὅπως ὁ νεπτήης τῆς ἑλένης τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις φάρμακός. It does not seem to me, that either he, or Apuleius, speak of a particular vessel which belonged to Helen, as a piece of exquisite work. It is plain, that they allude to what Homer relates, in the fourth book of the Odyssey, touching the Nepenthe, viz. that Helen, to exultate Telemachus, the son of Ulysses, and her other guests, and to hinder them from attending to their misfortunes, mingled in their wine a little Nepenthe, which was I know not what, that had an extraordinary virtue.

Εὐδ' αὖδ' ἀλλ' ἐνὸνσ' ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκ γυναικῶν.
Αὐτὴν δ' εἰς οἶνον βάλε φάρμακον, ἔνθεν ἔπινον.
Νηπενθὲς τ' ἄχολον τε, κακῶν ἐπὶ λανθόντων.
Ὅς τὸ καταβρόχθειεν ἐπὶ νῆν κρητῆρι μίγναι.

Ibi tum alia excogitavit Helena? Jove nata.
Protinus sane in vinum misit pharmacum unde bibebant.
Absque dolore & ira, malorum oblivionem inducens omnium
Qui illud deglutierit postquam crateri mixtum erit (147).

Helen had brought that wonderful remedy from Egypt, which she had learned of Polydamna, the wife of Theon. Homer says nothing at all about the vessel, VOL. III.

which contained the mixt wine; and therefore Apuleius and Philostratus consider there only the virtue of the Nepenthe, and consequently speak not of that fine vessel mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius, I mean the nuptial present, which Pelops received from Vulcan, &c. Call to mind here, what I have said in the first remark, in mentioning the cup which Helen offered to Minerva: and if you would know the reason why I have made use of the barbarous word Crater, I must tell you, it is because the words, glafs, cup, bowl, goblet, do not express what was meant by the word Crater in Homer's time. 'The Crater was a great vessel, which was not used to drink in, but only to mingle wine with water, . . . and from this vessel they took out the wine thus mingled with cups, or they first poured it into pots and pints, and then into drinking cups (148).' Note, that the vessel mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius, was thrown into the sea before the Trojan war, but that spoken of by the others, was in Menelaus's possession after that war.

I ought not to forget, that some learned men have made Homer's Nepenthe the subject of their studies and meditations; they have made many conjectures and have built several hypotheses. See Peter Perit's dissertation, intitled *Homeri Nepenthes*, and printed at Utrecht in the year 1689, in 8vo. There is both wit and learning in it. The author speaks of a civilian of Naples, who has treated of the same matter, and has given himself up to all the excuses of the spirit of digression. I insert this picture of that author, because it very naturally represents the character of an affectation of displaying all that one has read; and because likewise one may observe in it many frothy imaginations, concerning the Nepenthe. 'Non morabor hic studiosos variis questionibus, ut Petrus la Sena, an Nepenthes ex eorum numero esset medicamentorum quæ chimica arte parantur, an simplex quid & solius naturæ proprietate effiac. Ut scilicet habeat occasionem, quæ de artis ejus origine & antiquitate legerat, effundendi: qua in disputatione plures onerat paginas, abutiturque patientia lectorum. Nec minus inaniter & superflue operæ arguendus; cum tam sollicite de gemmarum virtutibus disserit, ceu non satis ex Homeri descriptione constaret Nepenthes plantis esse annumerandum quod ipse postea fatetur. Cum etiam professus non esset hominis frugis, tempus terere investigando, an forte hæc Helenæ potio (verba ejus refero) μαγικῆς, hujusmodi curationis efficaciam retinuerit, multa nihilo scius subjungit de Magia Ægyptiorum, verumque Medicorum incantationibus, locaque Homeri profert ex Odyssæa, quæ ad magiam pertinet: exultantur, eorum scilicet testimonio, qui, ut Plinius lib. 30. cap. 50. refert, Protea & Sirenum canus apud Homerum non aliter intelligi voluerunt. Tum multa interponit de cratere Helenæ captata occasione sermonis ex quodam Cælii Rhodigini loco. Et quid magis ἀποσπένδουσιν, quam de Clementide Ægyptia dicere, quo scommate Zenonem Citiæum solitum peti, quod procerò gracillique & fusco corpore esset, tradit Laërtius? His igitur (inquam) quæ nihil ad rem attinent, prætermisiss, aio Nepenthes fuisse unum e terra nascentibus quoddam scilicet herbæ aut virgulti genus (149). — I will not here detain my readers, as Peter la Sena doth, with various questions, as whether the Nepenthes was drug prepared by Chymistry, or a simple medicine; and all this, that he may have an occasion of giving out of his common places, all that he had read concerning the origin & antiquity of that art. With this he fills several pages, and abuses the patience of his readers. His laborious dissertation concerning the virtues of gems, is no less vain and superfluous, as if it was not obvious from Homer's description, that the Nepenthes was a plant as he himself afterwards owns. He owns that it is not worth while to spend time in enquiring, whether this potion of Helen's owed it's virtue to magic, and yet he is very copious concerning the magic of the Egyptians, and the incantations of the ancient physicians, and quotes passages out of Homer's Odyssey, which are thought to relate to magic, by those I mean, who, as Pliny tells us, think that what he says of Proteus and the Syrens songs, is to be so understood. He next subjoins a great deal concerning Helen's crater, taking

(148) Meziris upon Ovid, page 286, where he proves this, and censures Amiot and Vigenere for translating crater, drinking cup, or dish.

A N instance of the effects of a digressing spirit.

(149) Petrus Petrus in Homeri Nepenthes, cap. iii, init. pag. 6.

(140) Quin & principum in Phœidæ uxores quæ aurea ex Delphis monili sibi circumdederant, meritis impietatis penas incurrebant. Nam quæ Helenes torquem gestabat in turpitudinem meretriciam prolapsa, formæ elegantiam protæve scortatorum libidini prostitit. Diod. Sicul. lib. xvi, cap. lxxv.

(141) Athen. ubi supra, pag. 233.

(142) Id. ibid.

(143) Diog. Laërtius, in Thalete, lib. i, n. 32.

(144) Menag. in Laërt. ibid. Meursius in Lycophr. pag. 272.

(145) In Callian. dra, ver. 354.

(146) Apolog. pag. m. 294.

(147) Homer. Odyss. lib. iv, ver. 219.

said also that when she was going to be sacrificed, she was saved by a miracle [U]: And they have endeavoured to excuse her adulteries, by saying she was forced to them by the Gods [X]. The Heathens have made use of such like suppositions on so many occasions, that it will not be unreasonable to enquire what could have induced them to reason in that manner. I will bestow a remark upon this head [Z].

Some

taking occasion from a passage of Cælius Rhodiginus. And is there any thing more absurd than his bringing in the jest put upon Zeno, because he was of a tall slender make? neglecting therefore these questions, which are nothing to the purpose, I say that the Nephews of Meré imagine, that the Nephews was nothing else but the charms of Helen's conversation. See how he expresses himself in a treatise, where he addresses his discourse to a lady. Though Homer doth not enlarge upon the eloquence of Helen, he who speaks so much of that of Ulysses and of Nestor, he omits not however, by a mystery of poetry, to make us sensible, that it was a pleasure to hear her speak; and here is in a few words, what gives me reason to think so. Ulysses wandered a long time after the sacking of Troy, without being able to return into his isle of Ithaca; his son Telemachus was in pain about him, and, to know whether he was alive or dead, he made a visit to Nestor, who could not inform him what was become of him. From thence he continued his voyage, and came to Menelaus, where he had a fight of Helen, and supped with her. He was very melancholy, and that prince's having pity on him made use of a charm to make him forget all his sorrows. That charm, saith Homer, was a liquor which she mingled with the wine, before she sat down to table, which potion was of such a virtue, that after one had tasted it, it was impossible to shed a tear all the day after. She had another excellent secret, which was given her by the goddesses of the Graces. You know, Madam, that there is no lady who can imitate the sound of your words; but if she had observed you, she had made herself so perfect mistress of your voice and manners, that she would have been mistaken for you (150).

[U] She was saved by a miracle. The miracle was this: a great plague depopulated the town of Lacedæmon: the gods let them know that health should be restored, provided they sacrificed every year a maid of quality. The lot fell once upon the fair Helen; but as she was led to the altar, an eagle stooped and took away the knife, and put it on an heifer; and for this reason Helen's life was spared (151).

[X] They have endeavoured to excuse her adulteries, by saying she was forced to them by the gods. I have touched upon this point already (152), but there is something wanting. If some say, that Venus contrived this rape, to testify her gratitude to the judge, who had determined the cause in the dispute of beauty in her favour; others assure us, that she did it to revenge herself for an affront. Menelaus had promised her a hecatomb, in case he should obtain Helen; but having gained what he desired, he took no care of his vow. Venus took this heinously, and, to punish him, contrived the carrying away of his wife (153). Others date the original of this higher; they pretend (154) that Tyndarus forgot Venus in a sacrifice that he offered to all the gods; and that in punishment of this contempt, Venus made all the daughters of that prince bigamists, trigamists, and elopers from their husbands. The best of all was, that the same goddess, who had pushed Tyndarus's daughter into these disorders, reproached him for their adulteries. It is said, that these reproaches touched him so sensibly, that, to be revenged on her, he put her feet in irons. Pausanias cannot believe, that Tyndarus was so ridiculous as to imagine he could revenge himself on Venus, by a making a statue, which he should call by her name, and tying it by the legs. But in this the historian was unacquainted with his own religion. He did not know, that, on many occasions, the heathens discharged their fury upon the temples and statues of the gods, whom they believed the authors of their ill success (155). And, in effect, is it not affronting a prince to abuse his pictures and statues? consider the indignation of Theodosius against the city of Antioch; nothing moved him more sensibly, than the outrages that were done to the statue of the empress during the sedition. See

his history writ by Mr Flechier (156). For the rest, (156) Pag. 347, I must declare that when I spoke of the reproaches made by Venus to Tyndarus, I have only reported the opinion of some moderns, who have been misled by the translation of Pausanias. It is certain, that the Greek text does not import, that this goddess had reproached Tyndarus in that manner: they who understand the Greek tongue, will see that I am not mistaken.

Τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἔτερον λόγον, ὡς τὴν Θεὸν Πέδαις ἐπιμαρτυροῦτο ὁ Τυνδάρων γενέσθαι τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ἡγούμενος τὰ ὄνειδον, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν προσέειπε. ἢ γὰρ δὴ (157) These equivocal words, but which express more plainly the reproaches translation; Nam Deam ulcisci voluisse compedidit (sunt enim qui hoc etiam memoria prodiderint) exprobrantem (157) illi filiarum adulteria, ut credam, adduci non possum. Quam enim ridiculum, si putasset ab effigie, quam ei cedro fecisset Veneris nomine, injectis compedibus pœnas expeti posse (158).

[Z] I will bestow a remark upon this. Menelaus answering the severe reproaches of Peleus, declared, that the will of Helen had not been the cause of those adventures which she had undergone, but that it was done by the will of the gods.

Ἑλένη δ' ἐμύχθησ' ἔχ' ἐκὼς ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεῶν.

Helena vero venit in ærumnas non volens, sed divinitus (159).

This language was common enough among the Pagans. They imputed to fortune, that is to say, to Reflexions Go D, not only their ill success, but also their faults. Upon the Pagan This excuse, or this miserable comfort, seemed to be saying the gods always at hand, and they presently had recourse to it. forced them to Plutarch teaches us this, in rehearsing some verses, which contain what a father said to his son, and the son's answer.

Πολλὰ δ' τέκνον σφάλλεις ἀνθρώπους Θεοί. Τὸ ῥᾶτον εἶπας, αἰτιδίσασθαι Θεός.

Multis homines in rebus decipiunt Dii. Mea proles, atque dura conciliant mala. FIL. Dixi id, nihil quo facilius dictu est, Deos Inculans (160).

The gods, son, charge poor mortals oftentimes. Anf. 'Tis easy, Sir, on gods to lay our crimes.

You will imagine perhaps, that the great ease men found in making complaints against the gods, inclined them to make use of that subterfuge, without consideration and reflexion, and that it was one of those first motions that arise in our minds, before we have time to prepare ourselves to judge of things; but it is certain, that in many instances they spoke in this manner, after mature consideration. They who examine not to the bottom, what passes in their own breasts, easily persuade themselves that they are free, and that if their will inclines them to evil, it is their own fault, as being by a choice of which they are masters. They who pass another judgment, are persons who have carefully studied the springs and circumstances of their actions, and have well considered the progress of the motion of their souls. These persons for the most part doubt of their free-will; and proceed even to persuade themselves, that their reason and their understandings are slaves, incapable of resisting the force which drags them where they had no mind to go. Now it is this sort of persons especially who charged the gods as the causes of their evil actions. They remembered, that they had well considered, that they were going on in a way pernicious to their fortune, and scandalous to their reputation, and that they had made many endeavours to destroy the passion that made them continue in

(150) Cheval. de Meré Discours des Agrémens, pag. 140, Dutch Edit.

(151) Plutarch. in Parallelis, pag. 314.

(152) In the remark [1].

(153) Ptol. Hephæst. apud Photium, pag. 430.

(154) See the article EGIALEA, citation (10).

(155) See the Thoughts upon Comets, n. 132.

(158) See how Sylburgius would have this translation: Nam profecto solidum omnino foret, factu è cedro simulachro, & Veneris nomine ei indito, putare se hac ratione ulcisci.

(159) Eurip. in Androm. ver. 680, pag. 522.

(160) Plut. de Audiendis Poëtis, pag. 20. D.

Some say, that when she cut off her hair, being in mourning [Z], this did not at all abate

it; but they remembered still better, that all these endeavours had been useless, and that reason, though called to their assistance a thousand times, and vows and prayers, had been very weak helps. They concluded then, that it must be an occult cause, some superior force, that drove and dragged them; in a word, that the gods were the cause both of the passion which they felt, and of the pernicious and criminal consequences of those passions. Here then is the unfolding of the mystery: there is, said they, something divine in it, just as in some bodily distempers which nonplus the skill and experience of the ablest physicians. We know what we ought to do, what would be most useful, advantageous, and honourable, for us, and nevertheless we take a contrary course. This is the doing of the gods. The poet Perseus addresses himself to Jupiter, to beg the favour that he would be pleased to make tyrants acknowledge the power of virtue, and feel the severest regret for not having pursued it.

Magne pater divum sævos punire tryannos
Haud alia ratione velis, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium serventi tincta veneno;
Virtutem videant, intabescantque reliqua (161).

(161) Perseus,
Sat. III, ver. 35.

Great Jove! when impious tyrants you wou'd cross,
May they see virtue, and regret it's loss.

(162) Αἰ αἰ
τὸς ἦν ὁ θεὸς
ἀνθρώποις καὶ
ὅταν τις
εἰδῇ πῶς ἔστιν
ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ
ἐπεὶ, μάλιστ'
μὴ ἀλλὰ διὰ
τοῦτο
Venit, ut bo-
num videant,
non ulantur ta-
men. Plut. de
Audient. Poëtis,
pag. 33, E.

Plutarch recites a poetical sentence, which shews that the heathens reasoned in this manner: *they who know good, do it not; therefore the gods are the cause of it.* I put his Greek words in the margin (162). Medea argued in this manner, when she found she could not resist the love she entertained for Jason, when she could not, I say, resist it, though she clearly saw the shameful and criminal consequences of her conduct, and that her own reason condemned them.

Concipit iterea validos Aetia ignes,
Et luctata diu, postquam ratione furem
Vincere non poterat; Frustra Medea repugnas,
Nescio quis deus obstat, ait (163).

(163) Ovid.
Metam. lib vii,
ver. 9.

Excute virgineo conceptas pectore flammæ,
Si potes, infelix. Si possem, sanior essem;
Sed trahit invitam nova vis: aliudque Cupido,
Mens aliud suadet. Video meliora, proboque
Deteriora sequor (164).

(164) Id. ibid.
ver. 27.

Mean while Medea, seiz'd with fierce desire,
By reason strives in vain to quench the raging fire.
But strives in vain; some god, she said, withstands,
And reason's baffled counsel countermands.

Wretch, from thy virgin breast this rage expel,
And soon, as could I! all would then be well.
But love, resistless love, my soul invades,
Discretion this, affection that, persuades.
I see the right, and I approve it too,
Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue.

GARTH.

She proposed to herself all the arguments that might cure her of that passion; she represented to herself the heinousness of the fault which she should commit, and she had some intervals, wherein these lively images of duty were ready to carry the victory, but the sight of Jason easily defeated all her resolutions.

Conjugiumne putas? Speciosaque nomina culpæ
Imponis, Medea, tuæ? Quin aspice quantum
Aggrediari nefas; & dum licet, effuge crimen.
Dixit, & ante oculos rectum pietasque pudorque
Constitant, & vincta dabat jam terga Cupido.
Ibat ad antiquas Hecates Perseidos aras,
Quas nemus umbrosum, secretaque sylva tegebat:

Et jam fractus erat, pulsusque releserat ardor.
Cum videt Ælonidem, extinctaque flamma relax-
it (165).

(165) Id. ibid.
ver. 69.

Sic jam lentus amor, quem jam languere putares
Ut videt juvenem, specie præsentis inasit (166).

(166) Id. ibid.
ver. 82.

' Didst thou say husband, canst thou so deceive
' Thy self, fond maid, and thy own cheat believe,
' In vain thou strive'st to warnish o'er thy shame,
' And grace thy guilt with wedlock's sacred name.
' Pull off the cozening mask, and ob! in time,
' Discover and avoid the fatal crime.

She ceas'd, the Graces now, with kind surprize,
And virtue's lovely train before her eyes,
Present themselves and vanquish'd Cupid flies.
Then to a shrine of Hecate's that stood
Far in the covert of a shady wood;
She calm retir'd, and found her flames asswag'd,
But seeing Jason there, again they rag'd.

So in her breast the sleeping passions rise,
When kindled by the hero's sparkling eyes.

GARTH.

Abundance of people of both sexes, whom history has made no mention of, have found themselves in the same condition. Love has made them commit a thousand faults, whereof they have seen the shame and danger so clearly, as to have endeavoured to prevent them, by calling reason to their assistance, and making many wishes against their passion. It was natural for them to conclude, that they were not the cause of their evil conduct, inasmuch as they had a reasonable understanding, and a soul that was free, and mistress of it's will. This first conclusion led them to another, which was, that some cause, that was external and superior to all their forces, sway'd them. This second conclusion made them draw this third, that some god was an external and necessitating cause. This was the original of the pretended divinity of Venus and Cupid; and because we find by experience that jealousy, envy, avarice, drunkenness, the desire of revenge, and many other passions, make men commit a thousand things which reason condemns, and which are even contrary to the true interest of self-love, and which one would not wish for, it has been believed that the gods infligated us to these things. The heathens did not accuse them therefore because they made no reflexions, but rather because they made a great many observations upon what passed in the soul. If the Pagans had had the just idea of God that we have, which represents him to us as a being perfectly holy, they would have secured themselves from that rash judgment; but attributing to the gods the same faults that men are subject to, nothing hindered them from believing the gods urged men on to evil, and rendered the light of reason ineffectual, sometimes by a flattering view of pleasure, which necessitated the will; at other times by importunate pain, which had the same effect. Paris was agreeable to Helen, and Jason to Medea; they could not think of their union with these objects, without feeling before-hand an incredible satisfaction; nor could they consider themselves as separated from them, without feeling a great torment. These impressions depended not on their liberty, and were no more under it's command, than the agreeable or disagreeable sensations we feel upon tasting honey or gall. All that these two women could do, was to oppose reason and duty to these two fortresses; feeble weapons, if Paris and Jason continued to raise the same ideas and the same impressions; since in that case they would captivate their will sooner, or later, and extort a consent from it, whatever desire it had to be unsubdued, and to pass from love to indifference. Useless are the vows, weak the velleities, in the presence of those foretastes I have spoke, and whose cause proceeds not from ourselves. Whence proceeds it then? the Pagans might well look for it on all hands, they could not

(1) See citat.
(150).

abate her charms. A French author pretends she had a great deal of wit and eloquence, and was as amiable for that as for her beauty (1) [AA].

not find it upon the earth, and for that reason they attributed it to the gods. This they might do two ways, either by supposing a Cupid who wounded the heart, or by supposing that the author of human bodies had adjusted the parts of them with such an artifice, that, for example, that of Jason should excite in the heart and head of Medea, those motions of the spirits on which love mechanically and inevitably depends. According to this last principle, if Helen or Medea fell in love, he must be blamed who has fashioned and arranged the parts of their bodies; just as if a chimney should smoke when the wind blows, this must not be imputed to the wind, but to the Mason who made the chimney.

How much
most passions and
their effects are
involuntary.

This was an abyss the Pagans could not get out of, and they must needs fall into it, as often as they pretended to give a reason of the contrariety that is found betwixt what we do and what we know; and consequently they fell into it very often: for humane life is hardly any thing else but a continual combat betwixt the passions and the conscience, in which the latter has generally the worst of it. And what is the most strange and odd in this battle, is, that the victory very frequently declares for the side, which shocks all at once the ideas we have of virtue, and the knowledge which we have of our temporal interests. I am willing to believe there are many so brutishly stupid, as not to see that their life would be more happy, if they did not cherish in their breasts the passions which they cherish there; but I cannot believe but that the greatest part of the jealous and envious, are fully persuaded that it would be an incomparable temporal advantage to be exempt from jealousy and envy, and worthy to be purchased at any rate. A woman jealous of her husband or gallant, a husband jealous of his wife or mistress, are persons who have the most lively sense of their misery, and passionately wish to be delivered from this tormentor. They do all that is possible to drive away this fury which persecutes them; they employ all the reasons their mind can suggest to them to deceive or undeceive themselves; but in spite of all these efforts jealousy stands its ground, and they find, to their great regret, that they are more ingenious at inventing what can nourish it, than what can weaken it. The same ailment may be said of the envious; they know very well that self-love would find its account incomparably better, in being content with their own condition, and looking on the prosperity of others with pleasure, than in afflicting themselves because your neighbour is advanced and enriched above them; yet nevertheless in spite of their knowledge they torment themselves and pine away, when they see the good fortune of others (167), and instead of rejoicing at it, as they ought to do for their own advantage, they are reduced to seek some remedy in base and perfidious actions. By reproaches and treacherous blows, they oppose their neighbour's success, and thereby endeavour to mitigate the malignant fever that preys upon them. What could a Heathen philosopher say to this? ought not he to acknowledge a superior cause in it, and rank all this sort of people in the number of phantoms, the possessors of the enthusiast, and, in general, of all those whom they believed to be acted by a divine furor (168)? Note, that Ovid supposes that the jealousy which Aglaure, the daughter of Cecrops king of Athens, conceived against her sister, was inspired into her by a divinity (169). The true system of the Christians is the only one that can resolve these difficulties; it teaches us, that since the first man fell from the state of innocence, all his posterity have been subjected to such corruption, that without a supernatural grace they are necessarily slaves of iniquity, inclined to do evil, unprofitable to all good (170). Reason, philosophy, the ideas of virtue, the knowledge of the true interest of self-love, all this is unable to resist the passions. The empire which was given to the superior faculty of the soul, over the inferior, was taken from man, from the time of Adam's sin. Thus it is that divines explain the change which this sin introduced; but as the greatest part of metaphors must not be pressed beyond a certain point, we must not abuse this; for it would not be reasonable to say, that in the state of innocence, the inferior faculty was in the same condition it is at present, but that no disorder could arise from it, because the superior could always seasonably interpose to withstand it. This would be to

suppose that the body of man, as it came from the hands of his creator, was actually inclined towards sensuality and blameable passions, this would be to injure the perfections of the supreme being.

[Z] *She cut off her hair being in mourning* What I have to say upon this point was communicated to me by a professor at Geneva (171): I will transcribe his words. 'The subject of the first letter of John Michael Brutus's collection, is diverting: Victorius, who writes to John della Casa, pretends that Helen, to express her sorrow for the death of her sister Clytemnestra, cut off her hair to the root, without prejudice to her beauty; and Monsignor della Casa is of opinion, that she only cut off the ends, as is sometimes done to hinder them from branching; and he produces on this subject some verses of an ingenious poem of that archbishop, addressed to count Geleazzo de Florimont, wherein the prelate makes an ingenious confession, that he has not quitted the world but very superficially, and that so he has imitated Helen, who sacrificed to her grief for her sister only the extremities of her locks: the poetry of it is noble.

(171) Mr Mionetti, of whom before in the remarks 1. and (M) of the article EPICURUS.

Ut captâ rediens Helena cum conjuge Troia
Lento homine, atque animi lenis, nimiumque remissi,
Incidit in cædem ipsam, & funus prope fororis,
Quam præcepit miseri virtus jugularat Orestis,
Succisam de more comam missura sepulcro
Germanæ cineri, fertur dempsisse capillo
Vix tandem è summo paulum, ne forte placeret
Tonfa minus metuens Spartanis improba mœchis.
Haud aliter Galatæe malis erroribus actus
Nuper ego, & Phrygios nautos Paridemque secutus
Aufugi longè, atque idem rediit tamen ut mens
Ad sese, peregrè nimium remorata protervæ
Ornamenta fugæ sensim lenteque repono, &c.

When Menelaus, Troy in ashes lost,
Return'd, with Helen, to his native coast,
Where the sad news of poor Electra slain
By mad Orestes, gave him added pain:
Fore'd by a law, which tyrant custom made,
Her hair to offer to her sister's shade,
Fair Helen clipt th' extremes alone, 'tis said.
To spare the honours of her head she chose,
Left, shorn too close, she left shou'd please the beaux.
So I, whom lately wandring error drew
To follow Paris, and the Phrygian crew,
Reason return'd, and judgment now set right,
Put off the trappings of too rash a flight.

The fashions of head-dresses may be so diversified, that some may be found where the charms of a face may not perhaps suffer any diminution by the loss of hair; but in general it is certain this loss is reckoned a very dreadful accident to beauty. See the note [C] in the article ANACREON.

[AA] A French author pretends she had a great deal of wit, and eloquence, and owed her conquests to these as much as to her beauty. That French author is the chevalier de Meré: he proves, by two great examples, that women ought not to put too much confidence in their beauty, nor men in their genteel carriage, and that it is address, and the turn of wit, which does almost all in all, provided the person has but nothing disgusting in him (172). The first example is Cleopatra: she had no great share of beauty, saith he (173), and as the world spoke of her, she was not so handsome as to surprise at the first sight: but when she came to be considered, she was charming to a miracle, and it was by the delicacy of her manners, that she kept Cæsar enchanted three or four years. . . . For a certain proof that it was her wit that made that prince so admired, we may observe that Antony, who had as nice a taste as Cæsar, did not see her till an age, in which few women retain their beauty; yet he became so desperately in love with her, that he chose rather to renounce the empire of the world, than to lose her out of his sight. See here his second example.

(172) Chevalier de Meré, Dis cours des Agrémens, pag. 136, Dutch Edit.

(173) Id. ibid.

(167) Vides ingratos intabescitque vidento
Successus hominum; carpitque
& carpit una;
Suppliciumque solum est.
Ovidius, Metam.
lib. ii, vers. 782.
He speaks of
Envy.

(168) Est Deus in nobis, agitante
calceiculus illo.
Imperus hic facere semina mentis habet.
Ovidius, Fastor.
lib. vi, circa init.
He speaks of the
Poets.

(169) Ovid.
Metam. lib. ii,
Fab. xii.

(170) See the
prayers of the
Geneva liturgy.

Helen par même voye

Aux rares beautez de son corps

Ajoutant de l'esprit les aimables thresors;

Causa l'embrasement de Troye.

Si son esprit n'eust eu des charmes

Ce peuple n'eust jamais voulu,

Contre le droit des gens d'un pouvoir absolu;

Pour la garder prendre les armes.

La Grece aussi l'eust oubliée

Entre les bras de son amant,

Mais elle fe souvint de son esprit charmant,

Et la guerre fut publiée.

The force of wit and beauty cou'd destroy

(In Helen met) the lofty walls of Troy.

Trojans and Greeks (renew'd in ancient song)

For vulgar wit had never fought so long.

But the remembrance of her wond'rous charms

Kindled revenge, and set all Greece in arms.

There is great probability, Madam, that her beauty was not alone, since all the gods interested themselves to give it to those whom they favoured; and if she had no more than a good face and a fine shape, they must have made them but an indifferent present. I imagine that what they more esteemed in her, was the art of pleasing which she possessed, and of making herself beloved by her conversation (174). Add to this the words of the same author, which I have related in mentioning the Nepenthes (175).

I do not examine whether he be in the right as to the particular instance of the beautiful Helen; but his maxim in general seems to be true (176). Beauty without the charms of wit and language, is of no great force; and if it makes any conquests, it is after the manner of those brave generals, who quickly subdue a province, but know not how to keep it: The empire of the fair is at least as much maintained by

the charms of wit, as by those of the face. These are two sorts of graces that stand in need of one another, and mutually perform good offices to each other. Some insipid and ridiculous discourses would be extremely distastful, if the beauty of the person did not lend them. I know not what charms to adorn them: and some beauties of the body would make no impression, if they did not borrow charms from the graces of the mind. These are assistances that are reciprocally given. But as the wit is most times the principal instrument in preserving the conquest, and very frequently in making it, it may be asserted to be that which contributes most to the establishing the dominion of beauty. The poet that assures us, there is no less force required to preserve than to obtain a conquest,

Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri:

Casus inest illis; hic erit artis opus (177).

Not less the boast to keep, than to acquire:

Chance may bestow; to keep, will art require.

is one of the greatest legislators in the empire of love; and he applies that sentence to the case we are now treating of. Nay, he goes farther, he will have the acquisition to be less difficult than the preservation.

Nunc mihi, si quando, Puer & Cytheræ, favete:

Nunc Erato: nam tu nomen amoris habes.

Magna paro; quas possit Amor remanere per artes

Dicere, tam vasto pervagus orbe puer (178).

Thy aid, bright goddess of the Cyprian shore,

And, Erato, thy favour I implore.

Vast my design, to fix love's fleeting joy,

And show what arts confine the wanton boy.

This is likewise the opinion of many historians, concerning the progress of arms (179).

(177) Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. ii, vet. 13.

(178) Id. ibid. vet. 15.

(179) Plus est Provinciam retinere, quam facere. Flor. lib. ii, cap. xvii. Facilius est quamdam vincere quam tueri. Q. Curtius, lib. iv, cap. xi. See Freintheimius's Commentaries on those two passages.

HELIODORUS, a native of Emesa in Phœnicia (a), is more known by the romance which he composed in his youth [A], than by the bishopric of Trica (b) to which he was afterwards preferred. There are few who believe that he was deposed by a synod, because he would not consent to the suppression of that romance [B]. Nicephorus

(a) Heliodor. Æthiop. lib. x, sub. fin.

(b) In Theophyl.

[A] The romance which he composed in his youth.

The title of it is Αἰθιοπικά, and it contains the amours of Theagenes and Chariclea. We find an extract of it in Photius (1). Mr Huet is of opinion that Heliodorus has been, with respect to writers of romances, what Homer was with respect to poets; that is, that his work has served as an original and plan for a great number of succeeding romances. *Eum sibi sequentium temporum fabulatores Romanesque tanquam exemplum proposuerunt ad imitandum, & tam erede omnes dici possunt ex hoc fonte, quàm Poetæ ex Homericis suas, sic ut dicam, aquas hausisse* (2). The first edition of this book is, as I take it, that of Basil 1534. Opiopæus, who dedicated it to the senate of Nuremberg, assures us, that a soldier saved the manuscripts, when the library of Buda was pillaged (3). Stanislaus Warzewiczki, a Polish knight, is the author of the Latin translation, which was printed at Basil, with the Greek, in the year 1551. Amiôt began his French versions with this work. Melin of St Gelais, bishop of Angoulême (4), has turned a good part of it into French verse (4). John Bourdelot's notes upon this romance are very learned; they were printed at Paris in the year 1619, with the Greek of Heliodorus, and the translation of the Polish knight.

[§ a] If Sorel has said what Mr Bayle seems to make him say, to wit, that the poet Melin de St Gelais was bishop of Angoulême, he must neither have consulted the Elogies of Sammarthanus, nor the *Gallia Christiana*. It was Orlavian de S. Gelais, natural father of Melin, who was bishop of that city. He lived under Charles VIII and Louis XII, and several pieces of poetry of this bishop, are to be found in a collection in 4to. in Gothic characters, intitled *Verger d'Honneur*.

It is surprising that Mr Bayle suffered such a mistake to escape him; it has probably been occasioned one of those by inattentions, to which the greatest

V O L. III.

genius's are subject. In copying Sorel (a), from whom he has taken this, he has not observed this author's mistake; otherwise he would have, as usual, acquainted us with it. Sorel likewise probably fell into this, led by inadvertency; but still it is a great fault, since, besides Mr Bayle, this has made the author of the *Essais de Literature* (b), and even the famous Mr Fabricius (c), fall into the same error. Instead of Melin de St Gelais, he ought to have said Octavain de St Gelais, his father, who was indeed bishop of Angoulême (d), and who was the person they meant. However neither du Verdier (e), nor la Croix du Maine (f), nor any other author that I know, has made mention of this translation in verse, of a part of the amours of Theagenes and Chariclea; and Sorel is perhaps the only person who has spoke of it.

By the by, I shall observe that in the *Incunabula Typographiæ of Brughem*, pag. 176, they have changed this *Orlavian de St Gelais* into *Orlavianus de St Gervais*. This is to disfigure names strangely. R E M. 364. C R I T.]

[B] There are few who believe that he was deposed by a synod, because he would not consent to the suppression of that romance. Nicephorus relates, that a synod having given Heliodorus his choice, either to burn his romance or renounce his bishopric, the author chose rather to cease from being a bishop than to throw his work into the fire (5). This seems fabulous; a thing so remarkable, would have been related by many historians; and we should not have had it preserved only by Nicephorus, a man of great credulity and little judgment. Quæ omnia eo me facile reducant, ut diffidam iis maxime quæ addit Nicephorus, scriptor credulus, sapientiæ & fidei non satis spectatæ, Sy nodum scilicet Provinciale cognito periculo, in quod lectio fabulæ hujus, cui auctor sui dignitas tantum ponderis & autoritatis dabat, juvenes suaspe naturâ ad id propensos & quasi nutantes impelleret, eam ipsi conditionem obulisse, ut aut opus suum

(a) Sorel, Remarques sur le xiii livre du Berger Extravagant, pag. 477.

(b) Tom. II, pag. 304, 305. Edit. de Hollande.

(c) Biblioth. Græca, Tom. VI, pag. 787.

(d) Sammarth. Elog. pag. 39.

(e) Biblioth. Française, pag. 928.

(f) Ibid. pag. 364.

(5) Nicephor. Histor. lib. xii, cap. xxxiv.

5 C

(c) Hist. Eccl.
lib. v. cap. xxii.

cephorus is the only author who says so. Socrates (c) says, that Heliodorus introduced the custom of deposing ecclesiastics, who lay with their wives after their ordination. This is a favourable prejudice for the chastity of that prelate. His romance even shews him to be a lover of this virtue. For the hero of the piece is of such a modesty as has given occasion to severe raileries [C]. The translator of Photius does not well express

(6) Hæcilius, ubi
supra, pag. 36.

flammis aboleret, aut sua dignitate cederet; eumque, quod ultimum erat, prætulisse (6). — All these things make me doubt, especially what Nicephorus adds, (a credulous author, and of no great judgment or credit) to wit, that a provincial synod, being aware of the danger into which the reading of that romance might lead the youth, who are too prone by nature to be hurried away by that passion: and considering that the dignity of it's author would make it still more dangerous, offered him these terms, that he should either burn his book, or resign his bishopric, and that he chose the last. Would Socrates have been silent of it in the passage where he says that Heliodorus composed some books of love in his youth? Οὐ λήγεται παρρησια ἐρωτικά βιβλία, ἃ νῦν ἐν ἐταῖροις καὶ ἀδιστοῖς προσηγορεύουσιν: Cujus nomine circumferuntur amatorii libri quos ille dum juvenis effret composuit, & Æthiopicos inscripsit (7). — Under whose name we have some books of love adventures, which he composed in his youth, and intitled Æthiopics. Valefius, not content to reject as a fable what Nicephorus tells, will not so much as believe that this romance was composed by Heliodorus the bishop. See his notes upon this passage of Socrates. Let us hear what Mr Sorel says. I cannot believe that Heliodorus was a bishop, and so foolish as to choose rather to lose his bishopric than to burn his book, according to the option that was given him. These are little stories forged at pleasure; for if his book was so scandalous, that it could not be suffered to be published, they would not have failed to have forbidden it, tho' he had quitted his dignity, so that he would have lost his aim (8). This author had better have given his judgment without any reason; for the reason he offers is good for nothing. The condemnation of a book by a synod, does not hinder it from being read, known, and commended according to it's merit; and consequently Heliodorus would not have been defeated of his end, tho' the bishops, who gave him his choice, had condemned his romance. Father Vavasseur has argued in a more solid manner, in saying that it was no longer in Heliodorus's power to suppress his book; from whence we ought to conclude that the bishops did not give him that option which is pretended. What advantage could accrue to morality from it? Neutrum, quantum opinio mea est, vere dicitur. Neque lata Episcopo conditio tam præpostera, tamque gravis: neque ab illo accepta, aut repudiata quoquo modo: quod ipse, qui narrat, abunde narratione sua refellit. An vero fuit in potestate Heliodori, ut aboleret igni, ac perderet opus suum, aut omnino suppressum teneret, quod jam exisset in vulgus, & manibus omnium evolveretur, quodque juvenis periculo aliquo, damnoque morum, ut vult Nicephorus, legendo contrivisset (9). —

(7) Socrat. Hist.
Eccl. lib. v. cap.
xxii.

(8) Sorel, ubi
supra, lib. xiii,
pag. 685.

(9) Vavasseur, de
Ludica Dictione,
pag. 150.

Neither of these, in my opinion is true, either that so preposterous and hard conditions were imposed on the bishop, or that he accepted of, or refused, them in any sort: the relater of the story methinks abundantly confutes it. For was it any longer in the power of Heliodorus to destroy or altogether to suppress his work which had been published, and was in every body's hands, and which, as Nicephorus pretends, had been so well received by the youth as to endanger their morals? He adds, that Petavius did not think this story of Nicephorus worthy of any credit.

[C] The hero of the piece is of such a modesty as has given occasion to severe raileries. Observe a little this passage of Parnassus Reformed, where Theagenes speaks. 'If things had been faithfully reported as they were transacted, I should have no reason to complain, I should not find fault with my romancer: but he represents me as an insensible creature, and attributes to me that stupid baseness, which is offended with the most innocent liberties; making me give my mistress a box on the ear, rather than permit her to kiss me. It is my part (Chariclea interrupts him) to complain of the box on the ear you speak of. If it be scandalous for you to have given it, it is much more so for me to have received it, and the reparation you may pre-

tend to expect from Heliodorus, belongs to me alone.' Now observe Heliodorus's answer. The box on the ear which disturbs you, is an argument of your modesty, says he to Theagenes; it is the effect of a virtue which is much to your advantage, and thereby I have preserved that decorum which the dignity of my character obliged me to. It is true, replied Theagenes, that for a bishop (10), you have represented your own character well enough in that place, but you would have represented it better, if you had burnt your romance, or if you had never thought of writing it. Lovers have nothing to do with episcopal virtues, and bishops do not well agree with the liberties of lovers. A vestal chastity ill becomes heroes, whose love ought to be disengaged from all those scrupulous formalities which check it's noble transports and charming raptures. It is observable that the author is supposed to have nothing to answer to Chariclea's complaint. And indeed what could be said to an accusation so well grounded? the heroine of a romance, who would kiss her lover, and receives a box on the ear from him in return from the favour. Doth not she make a very ridiculous figure in such a piece?

Thus I finished this remark, in the first edition of this Dictionary. I supposed that Mr Gueret having shewn a great deal of wit and good taste, in his Parnassus Reformed, had not founded his raileries upon a fallshood of his own invention: for nothing could have been more contrary to the laws of criticism and satire (11). Believing therefore he could not be guilty of such a fault, I did not question but the fact was so as he relates it; and for that reason I was not at the pains of examining the original. But Mr du Rondel had no sooner read the remark [C] of this article, but he wrote to me, that the matter was not at all as Mr Gueret has represented it; he shewed me the circumstances of the action, and made it appear that Theagenes deserved not the least censure. I have just now read the place where Heliodorus recites that adventure, and am convinced with my own eyes that Mr du Rondel is in the right, and that the author of Parnassus Reformed, imposed on the public, and took the liberty to make raileries which ought rather to be called impostures. Theagenes and Chariclea, separated from each other by the strokes of capricious fortune, which are so frequent in romances, happened to come near Memphis at the same time. They had made no assignation, nor taken so much as the same road; it happened that Chariclea arrived near the town, when Theagenes was walking round the walls, on an occasion which furnished the inhabitants with a shew. She knew him at a great distance; for, as Heliodorus observes, lovers eyes are very subtle (12). She felt such emotions on the sight of that object, that, as if a wisp had stung her, she ran with transport towards Theagenes, and threw her arms about his neck without speaking a word. She was in a sorry dress and her face all besmeared, so that he took her for a prostitute and pushed her from him: but not being able to get rid of her, he gave her a box on the ear. Χαρικλεία πῶρ' ὥρ' ἀναγνώρισα τὴν Θεαγένην ὥσπερ οἰσθηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἵεται καὶ περιφύσα τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰχέτο καὶ ἐξήρτητο, καὶ γοῶντις τισὶ κατησπάετο θύραις. ὁ δὲ, οἷον εἶδε, ὅτι τὴν ῥῶσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ αἰσχρῶς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν καὶ κατεργασμένην, ὥσπερ τινα τῶν ἀγροικῶν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἀλμυρῶν, διωδεῖτο καὶ παρηγοριάζετο καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μέσην, ὥς ἐνοχλῶσαν καὶ τῇ δὲ τῶν ἀμφοῖν Κελάσιον ἐμποδὼν ἱσχυμένην, καὶ διεπράττειεν. Chariclea cum longinquo cognovisset Theagenem tanquam ista illius aspectu, furibunda ad ipsum fertur, & hærens in amplexu, & collo nulla voce edita pendebat, lugubribusque quibusdam lamentis eum salutabat. Ille autem, ut est verisimile, vultum squalidum, & ex industria contaminatum & pollutum videns, & vestem vilem ac laceram, veluti aliquam ex circulatoribus, & revera vagabundam repellebat, ac

(10) Heliodorus was not bishop when he composed his Romance. Socrates assures us he wrote it when he was young.

(11) Compare this with the remark [C] of the article C. O. LOMIES.

(12) 'Οὐδὲ γὰρ τι πρὸς ἐλπί-
νυσιν ἱσχυρίζου-
μαι, καὶ νῦν
μα, πολλὰ καὶ
μὲν ὅτι τῶν
ῥῶσαν καὶ πρὸς
τὸ αἰσχρῶς ἐπὶ
τὴν κεφαλὴν
αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν
ἰσχυρίαν καὶ
κατεργασμένην
ὥσπερ τινα
τῶν ἀγροικῶν
καὶ ἀλλοτρίων
ἀλμυρῶν, διω-
δεῖτο καὶ παρ-
γοριάζετο καὶ
τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ
τὴν μέσην, ὥς
ἐνοχλῶσαν καὶ
τῇ δὲ τῶν ἀμ-
φοῖν Κελάσιον
ἐμποδὼν ἱσχυ-
μένην, καὶ διε-
πράττειεν. Heliodor. lib. vii. pag. 311. Edit. Par. 1619.

(d) De Origine
Fabularum Ro-
manensium, pag.
e 28.

(17) Id. *ibid.*

(14) Id. *ibid.*
pag. 312.

(15) Photius, n.
73, pag. 157.

(16) Obsopneus
Epist. Dedicat.
apud Gesner.
Biblioth fol 301

(17) Sorel, ubi
supra.

[F] *A modern writer knew some men who would have done what is attributed to the bishop of Trifa.* This modern writer is Father Vavaler. He does not at all believe what Nicephorus relates, it appears to be ridiculous to him; whether we consider the persons proposing such an alternative, or the choice that was made (19). Nevertheless, he assures us, that he knows people to fond of their works, that they had rather lose the best benefices in the kingdom, than give up the praises they think they have merited by their romances. *Cujus tamen saltem ne magnopere vituperetur, aut ne reprehendatur ex toto, nonnulli obstant, quos ego scio, si isto loco essent, foretque potissimum eligendi; hoc idem ad amplius salutis; talesque parvi ingenii, qualia Heliodori Æthiopica sunt, non Tribacii modo, sed omnium Gallicæ sacerdotibus omnibus anteposituos, & loco graduque & quovis dignitate celsiores potius, quam laboris, & industriæ, & bonæ civitatis & nationis fructum bunc qualemcumque amitterent* (20).

HELOISA, concubine, and afterwards wife of Peter Abelard, a nun; and afterwards prioress of Argenteuil; and lastly, abbess of the Paraclet, has occasioned too much discourse of her, not to deserve an article of some length in this work. She had an uncle, by her mother's side, named Fulbert [A], who was a canon of Paris, and who

(x) Ad Oper.
Abælardi.

(2) Notis ad Hist.
Calamitat. Abae-
lardi.

(3) Quanto amplius te pro me humiliando satisfeceris, & me pariter & totum genus meum sublimaveris, tanto te minus tam apud Deum, quam apud illos proditores obnoxium pœne reddideras. Pag. 57.

(4) Annal. lib. iii.

[A] She had an uncle by her mother's side, named the Fairbairn. This is all I have found of certainty concerning Heloise's genealogy; and therefore I have not said that she was legitimately descended from the ancient house of Montmorenci. I have read this indeed, in the apologetical preface of Francis d'Amboise (1); but as he cites no author for it, and Andrew du Chêne (2) makes no mention of it, I suspect the credit of it; and the more, because Heloise owns in her letters, that her family had been much honoured by her marriage with Abelard, and that he had married much beneath himself (3). Papyrius Masso (4) asserts,

that Heloïsa was the natural daughter of one John, a canon of Paris. Andrew du Chêne is in the right not to lay much weight on this, since he does not say whence he had this curious circumstance; but he has no reason to oppose against that annalist, the calendar of the Paraclet, where are these words. *VII Cal. Januar. obiit Hubertus 55 Canonicus Domine Heloïse aconculce.* — *The twenty sixth of December died canon Hubert, uncle to Heloïsa.* For what is easier than to reconcile Papyrus Mallo with this calendar? cannot the same woman be the bastard of one canon, and the niece of another? but once more: he who

(5) It should be
Fubertus.

loved her tenderly. He took an extraordinary care to have her well educated; and as she had a great deal of wit, she in a little time grew so learned, that her reputation was spread all over the kingdom [B]. And besides, she was pretty handsome [C]. There was, at that time, a famous doctor in Paris, who read public lectures with wonderful reputation. His name was Peter Abelard, the most subtle logician of his age, and he who first brought the scholastic philosophy and divinity in vogue. He enjoyed all the glory that a man of his profession could desire: he had an infinite number of scholars, was look'd upon as a very able master, and got a great deal of money; but he did not make love; and this he thought was a considerable flaw in his good fortune. That nothing therefore might be wanting to his happiness, he resolv'd to become a lover, and chose Heloisa for his mistress. We have told, in another place (a), the reasons that led him to this choice, and how he got into the canon's family, under the notion of a domestic tutor. Poor honest Fulbert hoped, that, under such a master, Heloisa would make a wonderful proficiency in the sciences; but he found she learnt only the art of making love. She had an incomparable disposition for it. She was taught to make so great progress in a little time, that her master soon pass'd from the first to the last favour; and that without any thoughts of demanding a promise of marriage.

(a) In the article
ABELARD.

says that Heloisa was the natural daughter of one canon John, without quoting any author for it, will not merit credit. If any canon were to be suspected in this matter, it would rather be canon Fulbert than any other. For that tender affection for Heloisa which Abelard ascribes to him, is so uncommon among uncles (6), and so naturally resembles the affection of the best fathers, that there might be some grounds to imagine, that Fulbert acted as a great many others do, who cannot be fathers according to the canons: they conceal that relation, under that of uncle, and educate their children under the title of nephews. This is what may be suspected. But this ought not to regulate the style, nor hinder us from giving people the titles, under which the public has known them. Fulbert in a book, must be only an uncle. Note, that according to Papyrius Masso, the canon who took care to have Heloisa educated, and caused Peter Abelard to be castrated, was called John. That historian therefore does not pretend that she was the niece of one canon, and the natural daughter of another. He pretends, that the canon whom all the other authors name Fulbert, and whom they take to be the uncle of Heloisa, was her father, and that his name was John (7).

(6) See the Testimonies quoted by Lambinus, upon these words of the twelfth Ode of the third book of Horace, *Mitentes patres verbera lingua.*

(7) Joannes Catholicon Parisius Heloysiam naturalem filiam habebat praestanti ingenio formosae. Papyrius Masso, *Annal. lib. iii.*, pag. m. 256.

(8) Abel. Oper. pag. 10.

(9) Abelardi Oper. pag. 260.

of Prefat. ologist.

[B] She grew so learned, that her reputation was spread. Let us hear Abelard. 'Qui (Fulbertus) eam quanto amplius diligebat, tanto diligentius in omnem quam poterat scientiam literarum promoveri studerat. Quae cum per faciem non esset infima, per abundantiam literarum erat suprema. Nam quo bonum hoc, literariae scilicet scientiae, in mulieribus est rarius, eo amplius puellam commendabat, & in toto regio nominatissimam fecerat (8). — As Fulbert loved her exceedingly, he took the utmost pains to have her instructed in all manner of learning. And as she was not the last of her sex in beauty, so in letters she was the first. For the rarer letters are among women, so much the more was she distinguished by them, and celebrated all over the kingdom on that account.' In that age a young woman with a very moderate share of erudition, might have passed for a miracle. This ought to be well observed by those who would not carry their ideas of our Heloisa beyond due bounds; and yet it must be granted that she deserves an honourable place, among the learned women. She not only understood the Latin tongue, but also the Greek and Hebrew: Abelard testifies this also, in the letter he wrote to the nuns of the Paraclet. *Magisterium habetis in matre, quod ad omnia vobis sufficere tam ad exemplum scilicet virtutem, quam ad doctrinam literarum potest, quae non solum Latinae, verum etiam tam Hebraicae quam Graecae non experta literatura, sola hoc tempore illam trium linguarum adepta peritiam videtur, quae ab omnibus in beato Hieronymo tanquam singularis gratia praedicatur (9).* Francis d'Amboise tells us (10), how she subtilly fascinated St Bernard, who asked the reason why in the monastery of the Paraclet, when they repeated the lord's prayer, they did not say, *Panem nostrum quotidianum*, but *panem nostrum super substantialium*. She gave him a reason for it, taken from the originals, and told him we must follow the Greek version of the gospel, which St Matthew wrote in

Hebrew. I know not whether such an answer would have pleased St Bernard, but I doubt not that it was able to puzzle him, and make him give over the dispute; and I wish with all my heart the story were true; it would be an instance how a woman would heartily perplex a great author in a controversial point, by alleging the Greek text. I was sorry therefore, I confess, when, consulting the letter (11) quoted by Francis d'Amboise I found that Heloisa had no hand in it, and that the whole remark is Abelard's, who wrote thereupon to St Bernard, after having known from Heloisa the exceptions that were made to *panem super substantialium*. Let this be said without prejudice to the learning of that abbess. But if any one should imagine that she did not become learned till after she was a recluse, I would refer him to a letter of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugni, which declares, that before that time she had acquired great knowledge; 'Necdum, says he to her (12), metas adolescentiae excefferam, necdum in juveniles annos evaseram, quando nomen non quidem adhuc religionis tuae, sed honestorum, tamen & laudabilium studiorum mihi fama innotuit. Audiebam tunc tum poris mulierem, licet necdum saeculi nexibus expectatam, literariae scientiae & studio saecularis sapientiae summam operam dare, quo efferrando studio tuo & mulieres omnes evicisti, & pene viros universos superasti. — When I was only a boy, and had not arrived to manhood, the fame, not indeed as yet, of your piety, but of your polite and laudable studies, reached my ears. I was told that a woman tho' not then retired from worldly avocations, gave the closest application to letters and the study of human learning, and by that means, you not only excelled all your own sex, but almost out-did all ours.' The monk of Auxerre says, she was well acquainted with Latin and Hebrew, and the Calender of the Paraclet thus speaks of her: *Heloise mere & premiere Abbesse de ceaux, de doctrine & religion tres-resplendissante (13)*

(11) It is the fifth of the second book.

(12) Vide Oper. Abelardi, pag. 337.

(13) See Andrew du Chesne's Notes upon Abelard's letter de *Histor. Calamitatis* pag. 1187.

[C] She was pretty handsome. I observe a great many authors ascribe to her a ravishing beauty; but are they more credible than Abelard himself, who having more reason to enlarge than diminish things, contents himself to say, that she was not the last of her sex in beauty, but that she was the first in erudition. *Cum per faciem non esset infima, per abundantiam literarum erat suprema* — As she was not last of her sex in beauty, so in letters she was the first. Would a man speak thus of an accomplished beauty? would a lover, concerned to justify his choice, and the violence of his passion, employ such a figure of rhetoric? and Abelard, some (14) observe that Heloisa was eighteen years old when Abelard debauched her? I have not met with that circumstance in any ancient author. It is true. The word *adolescentula*, which which Abelard makes use of (15), may very well suit the age of eighteen; and so may that of *juvencula*, which she useth (16). (16) Ibid. pag. but nothing can be concluded from such a proof. It 47. is a meer chimera to say, that Abelard in his *Roman de la Rose*, drew the picture of Heloisa, under the name of *Beauty* (17). That romance did not see the light till after their death.

(14) The History of Heloisa and Abelard, abridged at the Hague, 1693.

(15) Oper. pag. 10.

(16) Ibid. pag.

(17) The author of the History abridged; before cited, says in

[D] Abelard

marriage. Abelard so gave himself up to his pleasures with her [D], that he grew negligent of his lectures. He confesses himself, that he kept no measures, but plunged into those pleasures, without distinction of times and places; without distinction of holy-days, or worky-days, or of holy and profane places; that he made no further progress in Philosophy; and that all the productions of his genius dwindled into sonnets and love-verses [F]. His scholars quickly found out the matter, upon enquiring into the reasons of the abatement of his lectures. The scandal was quickly propagated all over the town, and at last it reached the ears of her uncle [G], but found him

[D] *Abelard gave himself up to his pleasures.* We must hear himself speak, that we may lose nothing of the force of his expressions. 'Nullus à cupidis intermissus est gradus amoris, & si quid insolitum amor excogitare potuit, est additum. Et quo minus illa fueramus experti gaudia ardentius illis insisteremus, & minus in fastidium vertebantur (18). — *So fond we were, that no degree of love was left untried, and if ought new love could invent, it was added. And the less we were accustomed to these joys the more greedily we devoured them, and the less were cloyed.*' He compares himself to those who have suffered a long famine, and come afterwards to a plentiful table. A man who has lived chastely, is more apt to fall into excess with his wife, than a debauchee.

[E] *Without distinction of times and places.* We must again hear him speak, in a letter he wrote to Heloisa, a long time after their monastic engagements. He puts her a little in mind of their past conduct, and how he caressed her in a corner of the refectory of the nuns of Argenteuil, finding no other convenient place, and having no respect to the Holy Virgin, to whom that place was consecrated. 'Nosti post nostri confederationem conjugii cum Argenteoli cum Sanctimonialibus in claustris conversabaris, me die quadam privatim ad te visitandum venisse, & quid ibi tecum mea libidinis egerit intemperantia in quadam etiam parte ipsius refectorii, cum quò alias diverteremus non haberemus. Nosti, inquam, id impudentissime tunc actum esse, in tam reverendo loco & summe Virgini consecrato . . . Quid pristinas fornicationes & impudentissimas referam pollutiones quæ conjugium præcesserunt (19)? — *You remember when after our marriage you lived in the nunnery at Argenteuil, that I one day came secretly to see you, and what my unbridled passion made me do, even in the refectory, having no other place to which we could retire. You know, I say, what was acted there in that sacred place, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Why should I call to mind the follies and pollutions which preceded our marriage?*' A little after he tells her, that she knows very well, that neither the most solemn feasts, nor even the Passion-Day, discouraged them from wallowing in that filthy course; and that whenever she began to be scrupulous, he made use of threatenings and whipping to bring her to consent (20). Behold a man perfectly free from the superstitions of those who observed days and feasts, new-moons, and sabbaths (21).

[F] *All the productions of his genius, dwindled into sonnets and love-verses.* This we learn from himself. 'Ita negligentem & tepidum lectio tunc habebat ut jam nihil ex ingenio, sed ex usu cuncta proferrem, nec jam nisi recitator pristinorum essem inventorum, & si qua invenire liceret, carmina essent amatoriae, non philosophicæ secreta (22). — *I then was so careless and negligent in my lectures, that all I said was rather by rote than from any study, I only recited my former inventions, and if I then invented any thing it was rather love-sonnets, than secrets in Philosophy.*' He adds, that these verses were still sung in many provinces, and especially amongst persons that made love: 'Quorum etiam carminum pleraque adhuc in multis, sicut & ipsa nosti, frequentantur & decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime quos vita similis oblectat. Heloisa tells us more of it. She says, that her Abelard had two qualifications which other philosophers wanted, by which he could soon gain all womens hearts; viz. that he wrote finely, and sung well; his love verses were so pretty, and his songs so agreeable, both as to the words and airs, that every body was charmed with them, and full of the author's praises. Women were not satisfied with being charmed with Abelard's songs and verses; they were as much taken with his person, and loved him passionately; and as the greatest part of his verses were filled with nothing but his love

for Heloisa; the name of that mistress, flew presently into the provinces, and made an infinite number of women envy her good fortune. I enervate much the force of Heloisa's expressions, and I believe they ought not to be literally taken. As she loved Abelard even to distraction, she fancied no woman could look upon him, but must fall into the same passion; which made her say, that there was neither wife nor maid, who in Abelard's absence did not wish for him, and in his presence was not inflamed with love; and that even queens and great ladies envied the pleasures she reaped by the enjoyment of such a man. See here the Latin, which speaks still more significantly (23). 'Quæ conjugata, quæ virgo non concupiscebat absentem, & non exardebant in præsentem? Quæ Regina vel præpotens femina gaudiis meis non inviderebat vel thalamis? Duo autem, fateor, tibi specialiter inerant quibus seminarum quarumlibet animos statim allicere poteras, dictandi videlicet & cantandi gratia, quæ cæteros minimè Philosophos affectos esse novimus. Quibus quidem quasi ludo quodam laborem exercitii recreans philosophici, pleraque amatorio metro vel ritmo composita reliquisti carmina, quæ præ nimia suavitatem dictaminis quam cantus sæpius frequentata tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant, ut etiam illiteratos melodiarum dulcedo tui non sineret immemor esse. Atque hinc maxime in amorem tui feminas suspirabant. Et cum horum pars maxima carminum nostros decantaret amores, multis me regionibus brevi tempore nunciavit (24), & multarum in me seminarum accendit invidiam. — *What wife, what maid, did not languish for you when absent, and was not inflamed with love when you was near? What queen, what lady, did not envy my joys? Two qualities you had, rare to be found among the learned, by which you could not fail to gain all womens hearts, Poetry I mean, and Music. With these you unbended your mind after it's philosophic labours, and wrote many love verses, which because of the sweetness both of the words and music, were in every mouth, and carried your fame to every corner, and made even the illiterate sound your praise. By this it was that you chiefly gained the womens love. And as the greatest part of your songs celebrated our loves, they spread my name to many nations, and kindled there the envy of the women against me.*' If the Romance of the Rose had been Abelard's performance, and if he had characterized his Heloisa under the name of Beauty, no doubt she would not have concealed it; and here was the proper place to speak of it. So that though we did know that this romance was written an hundred years after Abelard, we might learn from Heloisa's silence, that there is no reason for ascribing it to him in the little book I have quoted more than once (25). Much less has any one had reason to make Heloisa say this in the translation of her letter. But to return to our subject: a man would not believe, were it not for experience, that verses, letters, and sonnets, had the power of advancing so much the affairs of a lover (26); but here is a witness of it that is worth a thousand. The wits of this age complain, that their wares have not the same effect as in the time of our ancestors. The times are changed, I confess, but not entirely. See the New Letters against Maimbourg's History of Calvinism (27). As for what Heloisa declares concerning the weakness of those of her own sex with respect to Abelard, it is confirmed by a certain prior named Foulques; whose article must be consulted.

[G] *The scandal . . . at last . . . reached the ears of her uncle.* That word at last seems at first somewhat strange; but they who know the world, are not ignorant that on such occasions, they who are most concerned in a piece of news, are the last who hear it. Abelard cites upon this subject, a notable passage from a letter of St Jerome to Sabinian (28). 'Solemus mala domus nostræ scire novissimi, ac liberorum ac conjugum i, Epist. xlviii, vitia

(18) Pag. 11.

(19) Pag. 69.

(20) Nosti quantis turpitudinibus immoderata mea libido corpora nostra addixerat, ut nulla honestas vel Dei reverentia in ipsis etiam diebus Dominice passionis, vel quantumcumque solemnitate, ad hujusmodi voluntatem me revocaret. Sed & te nolentem & prout poterat reluctanter & dissuadentem, quæ natura infirmior erat, sæpius minis ac flagellis ad consensum traherem.

(21) See Colof. 11, chap. 11, ver. 16.

(22) Pag. 12.

(23) Oper. Abelardi, pag. 46.

(24) See what she says, pag. 48. Cum me ad temporalia omnia voluptates expectares cœcis me epistolæ visitabas, frequenti carmine tuum in ore omnium Heloissim ponebas: me plures omnes, me domus singulas resonabant.

(25) History of Heloisa and Abelard, printed at the Hague, 1693.

(26) See Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. iii, pag. 205.

(27) Pag. 590, 745, & seq.

(28) Ex Tom. i, Epist. xlviii, vitia

him at first incredulous, so much had he trusted to the discretion of Abelard and of Heloisa; but at last, by repeated assaults, his incredulity was over-powered. The pretended tutor left the canon's house, from whence he likewise removed Heloisa, when he found that she was with child; and having disguised her in the habit of a Nun (b), sent her into Bretagne, to one of his sisters, where she was brought to bed of a boy. Fulbert was enraged to the last degree against Abelard, who stood upon his guard, not without hopes that they durst not proceed to kill or mutilate him, whilst they might fear reprisals upon Heloisa. To get clear of all his trouble, he promised her uncle to marry her, provided the marriage might be kept secret. He had all the difficulty in the world to bring Heloisa to consent to it, who brought a thousand arguments to put him out of conceit with the conjugal tie [H]. She had conceived so strong and unbounded a passion for him, that it stifled all sentiments of honour in her soul

(b) Nosti etiam quando te gravidam in meam transmissi patriam, sacro te habitu indutam Monialem te finxisse, & tali simulatione tum quam nunc habes religioni irreverenter illuisse. Abelard. Epist. ad Helen, pag. 70.

vitia vicinis canentibus ignorare. The disorders of our wives and children, are the theme of all the neighbourhood, when we as yet know nothing of these disorders; but we come to know them at last, it being impossible a single person should be ignorant of what is known by all the world besides. Sed quod novissimè

(29) These words are cited in the edition of Abelard, as a sequel of what I have already quoted from St Jerome's letter to Sabina, but they are not in that letter.

(30) D. Hieronymus adversus Jovinian.

(31) Dion Cassius, lib. ix. Juv. Satyra X. ver. 342, said upon it, Deducit ille domus (siet ultimus.

(32) Epigr. IX, lib. vii.

(33) Ὅτι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα. Homer. Odyss. lib. iv.

(34) Jo. Michael. Brutus in præceptis conjugali-bus, pag. 798, Edit. 1698.

A writer of the XVIth century, brings a famous example to prove the maxim he had laid down, that they who have the greatest interest in knowing their family misfortunes, are the last that know them; whereas they are the first who learn the news of what should but little concern them. Solet usu venire, (says he) (34), ut domestica mala ultimi sint qui norint, quorum maxime interest ea non ignorare, iidem principes norint aliena, & quorum nullus ad eos pertinet sensus. After having given some reasons of this odd phenomenon, he says, that it was not long since a great king punished with death the dishonours of his nuptial bed, and that the execution was so sudden, that there did not intervene one hour betwixt their accusation and their death; an argument, that that prince had not heard of that disorder before, though the news of it had spread far and wide into foreign countries. Accidit hoc quidem, me puero, in magna atque illustri Europæ regia, quod prius diu obscura res esse possit, ut in regina, lesa pu-

doris fama prius apud exterarum gentes longe lateque evagata emanaret, quam is, cujus in eo erat lesa majestas, maculam regio nomini impostam, eorum sanguine quorum erat scelere violata, elueret. Satis quidem potuit indicio esse, postremum omnium revertisse, ita sumptum de reis supplicium, ut inter id, & delatum tantum nomen, ne bona quidem momentum intercedere sit passus (35).

[H] She brought a thousand arguments to put him out of conceit with the conjugal tie. These arguments were reduced to two heads; the danger and the dishonour to which marriage would expose Abelard. I know my uncle's temper, (said she to him) nothing will appease his rage against you; and then what glory will it be to me to be your wife, since I shall ruin your reputation by it? What curses have not I reason to fear, if I shall rob the world of so bright a luminary as you are? What injury shall I not do the church? What sorrow shall I not give the philosophers? What a shame and injury will it be to you, whom nature has formed for the public good, to give yourself up entirely to a woman? Consider these words of St Paul, Art thou loosed from a wife, seek not a wife. And if the counsel of this great apostle, and the exhortations of the holy fathers, cannot dissuade you from that heavy burden; consider at least what the philosophers have said of it. Hear Theophrastus who has proved by so many reasons, that a wife man ought not to marry. Hear what Cicero, when he had divorced his wife Terentia, answered to Hirtius, who proposed a match to him with his sister; that he could not accept that offer, because he could not divide his thoughts betwixt philosophy and a wife. Besides, what conformity is there betwixt servant maids and scholars, ink-horns and cradles, books and distaffs, pens and spindles? How will you be able to bear in the midst of theological and philosophical meditations, the cries of children, the songs of nurses, and the disturbance of house-keeping? I say nothing of the stink and nauseness that attends little children (36). The rich can screen themselves from all these inconveniences, by the several apartments in their houses. The daily cares and expences cannot disquiet them; but it is not so with philosophers; and whoever would heap up wealth, and engage in worldly affairs, makes himself incapable of the functions of a divine, and of a philosopher. Observe the conduct of the ancient sages, both amongst the Jews and Heathens; in what if Pagans and laymen have preferred celibacy to marriage, what a disgrace would it be for a clergyman and a canon to prefer sensual pleasures before divine offices? But if you are but in little concern for the prerogative of your priesthood, maintain at least the character and dignity of a philosopher. The conclusion of her sermon was, that there would be more honour for himself, and more delight for her in the quality of a galant, than of a husband; that she desired to be united to him, not by the necessity of a conjugal bond, but by the sole affection of her heart, and that their pleasures would be infinitely more sensible, if they saw each other only from time to time. We shall speak of this last reason in the remark [U]. In the mean time, observe Pasquier's opinion on Heloisa's discourse. I will not (says he) (37) represent to you all the reasons whereby she tried to gain him; but I can assure you I never read in any orator, so many elegant expressions and persuasive sentences to gain a point, as she made use of there. I must acquaint my reader, that I have extremely abridged this lady's remonstrance, and that I was surprized, not to find one reason borrowed from her lover's being in orders (38). Does not this seem to prove, that it was not as yet believed that the law of celibacy was obligatory to ecclesiastical persons?

[I] Her

(35) Id. ibid.

(36) Quis sacris vel philosophicis meditationibus intentus pueriles vagitus, nutricum que hos mitigant, mænia, tumultus, in viris quam in feminis turbam sustinere poterit? Quis etiam inhe- nestas illas parvulorum fœdæ, assiduas tolerare valebit? Opera Abelardi, pag. 14.

(37) Recherch. de la France, lib. vi, cap. xvii.

(38) I mean that she did not allude to that marriage that marriage was so odious to her as were in orders.

soul [I]; it struck its roots so deep, and made such a havock in her soul, that she never was cured of it [K]. In vain poor Abelard lost his virility [L], in vain she took the veil. There remained still a grain of that folly [M]. And it is not from the Portuguese letters that we first learned that it only belongs to Nuns to speak of love. The letters of Heloisa had been long before a proof of this truth. Be it how it will, this amorous creature in vain employed all her wit and eloquence to dissuade Abelard from the marriage. They were married in secret; but she always denied with oaths that she was his wife (c). This conduct made her uncle use her harshly, who, to cover the dishonour of his family, published the marriage in all places, though he had promised to Abelard not to mention it. The ill treatment to which Heloisa was exposed in the house of canon Fulbert, made her husband resolve to remove her from thence, and to put her into the nunnery of Argenteuil, where she had been educated. This second carrying of her away put her relations out of all manner of patience, and inspired

(c) Avunculus ipsius atque domestici ejus ignominie sue solatium querentes, intum matrimonium divulgare & fidem mihi super hoc datam violare coperunt. Illa autem contra anathematizare & jurare, qui falsissimum esset. Idem, *Hyst. Calamitatum*, pag. 17.

[I] Her love stifled all sentiments of honour in her soul. It often happens that the passion of love stifles or surmounts the sentiments of conscience; but it is rarely observed to suppress the sense of honour: and excepting a small number of persons of mean birth, who for the most part have not had even common education, all the young women who yield, put one or other of these four strings to their bow. They either hope they shall not conceive, or by some medicine to procure abortion, or to lye-in privately, or to oblige their galant to marry them: and this shews that if love be sometimes the strongest tyrant in the world, it is a tyrant who leaves honour in possession of its rights. See the famous sonnet on an abortion, where we have so fine a description of the power of honour, and the power of love, by turns conquered and victorious. Our Heloisa was so desperately in love, that she no longer regarded either her honour or reputation. For in the first place she was overjoyed when she found herself with child (39); and in the second place she did all that was possible to prevent her marriage with the father of it. Two things, which are not only rarer than the most frightful monsters, when they are joined together, but such as the first only is never found but in such cases, where love has little to do, and where the design is only to make sure of a good match, which they despair of obtaining without the noise of a great belly. How many young women are there that rather choose to have an husband given them by a decree of court against his inclination, than to live with a stained reputation. They are well satisfied that he will take his revenge with usury, and that this decree will cost them dear; but that signifies nothing, provided the title of husband repairs the breach made in their honour. Our Heloisa had none of these niceties. See the following remark, and especially the remark [U].

[K] She never was cured of it. Is this to be cured, to lay many years after she had renounced the world, and engaged in a monastic life, that she had rather be the whore of Peter Abelard, than the lawful wife of the emperor of the whole world. Now this is what our Heloisa, said when she was abbess of Paraclet, and what she was pleased to call God to witness to. *Deum testem invoco, si me Augustus universo præsidentis mundo matrimonii bonore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo præsidentum, cbarius mihi & dignius mihi videretur TUA DICIMERETRIX quam illius Imperatrix* (40). How can it be said that her passion had left her in the abbey of Paraclet, when she wrote an ingenuous confession there of the bad state of her soul, which shews that the fire of love preyed on her to the very marrow. I dare not express in French all that she accuses herself of: she confesses that the pleasures she tasted in the embraces of Abelard had been so delicious to her, that the thought of them night and day, sleeping and waking, and even during the celebration of the mass. She continually regretted the loss of them, and for want of a better way repeated them in imagination. They who understand Latin may see with what force of eloquence she could represent her thoughts. *In tantum vero ille, quas pariter exercuimus amantium voluptates, dulces mihi fuerunt, ut nec displicere mihi, nec vix à memoria labi possint. Quotunque loco me vertam semper se oculis meis cum suis ingerunt desiderii. Nec etiam dormienti suis illusionibus parant. Inter ipsa missarum solennia ubi parior esse debet oratio, obsecra earum voluptatum sanctissima ita sibi penitus miserrimam captivant animam, ut turpitudinibus illis magis quam*

orationi vacem. Quæ cum ingemiscere debeat de commissis, suspiro potius de amissis. Nec solum quæ egimus, sed loca pariter & tempora in quibus hæc egimus ita tecum nostro infixæ sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tecum agam, nec dormiens etiam ab his quiescam. Nonnuncquam & ipso motu corporis animi mei cogitationes deprehenduntur, nec à verbis temperant improvisi

(41). This obliged her to cry out with St Paul (42). O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? Would to God, continues she, I could truly add, the Grace of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST our Lord. That grace, says she, to her Abelard, has prevented you, my dear, in delivering you from all the incentives of sensuality, by that one stroke of a knife which made you an eunuch. . . . But my youth and experience of past pleasures kindle these fires in my soul; and the weaker my nature is, the more I am overpowered by those violent attacks. *Hæc te gratia, charissime, prævenit, & ab his tibi stimulis una corporis plaga medendo multas in anima sanavit. . . .*

... *bos autem in me stimulos carnis, hæc incentiva libidinis ipse juvenilis fervor ætatis & jucundissimarum experientia voluptatum plurimum accendunt, & tanto amplius sua me impugnatione opprimunt, quanto infirmior est natura quam oppugnant.* (43). Lastly, she recommends herself to his prayers with so much the more solicitude, and that was the only remedy which her incontinence could find in him. *Time, obsecro, semper de me potius quam confidas, ut tua semper sollicitudine adjuver. Nunc vero præcipue timendum est* (44), *ubi nullum incontinentiæ meæ superest in te remedium.* Those who censured Abelard's frequent visits to the Paraclet (45), were doubtless guilty of a rash judgment, since they knew not the internal dispositions of Heloisa: but had they known them, they had been obliged to have gotten these visits forbid; having reason to fear that it was impossible, humanly speaking, that this woman should not commit acts of impurity with that man. The holy fathers never trusted to mutilations. They compared an eunuch to an ox that has lost his horns, and yet does not leave off giving blows with his head. See a fine passage of St Basil on this subject, in our remarks upon the article COMBATUS (46). But as appearances are sometimes fallacious, I should not approve of those, who, knowing what Heloisa had in her heart, should imagine she transgressed the rules when she met again with her husband, and that she had sometimes occasion to write to him, *Si libidinosa essem, quererem decepta, nunc etiam languori tuo gratias ago: in umbra voluptatis diutius lusi* (47).

[L] In vain poor Abelard lost his virility. It was an effectual remedy for love, if we will believe some verses of Cyrano de Bergerac (48). They are addressed to a man whom he had bespoke in this manner.

*J'entens que le diminutif
Qu'on fit de vrai trop excessif
Sur votre chaque genitif,
Vous prohibe le conjunctif.*

Then he adds,

*O visage! ô portrait naïf!
O souverain expéditif
Pour guerir tout sexe lascif
D'amour naissant, ou effusif!
Genre neutre, genre metif,*

Qu

(39) Non multo autem post nulla se concepisse comperit, & cum summa exultatione mihi scripsit, hoc illico scripsit, confidens quid de hoc ipse facerem deliberandum Abelard. pag. 13.

(40) Pag. 45.

(41) Pag. 59.

(42) Rom. chap. vii.

(43) Pag. 60.

(44) Pag. 61.

(45) See the article ABELARD, rem. [7].

(46) Citat. (6).

(47) Circe Polyæno, apud Petronium.

(48) See the play intitled, le Pedant joué.

(4) Crudelissima
& pudentissima
ultione puni-
runt, & quam
summa admira-
tione mundus
exceptit, eis vide-
licet corporis mei
partibus ampu-
tatis, quibus id
quod plangebant
commiseram.
Ibid.

(6) See the article
PARACLET.

inspired them with an exquisite piece of revenge, which they executed by corrupting Peter Abelard's servant. That villain introduced, by night, into his master's chamber, the persons who were to commit the fact. They surprized him in his sleep, and cut off those parts which are not to be named (*d*). That action made a great noise [*N*]; people went the next morning, as in a procession, to Abelard's chamber. His scholars made still greater lamentations than the rest. The women distinguished themselves by their doleful complaints [*O*]. Some very curious letters of consolation were wrote to him [*P*]. That action was severely punished by the magistrates [*Q*]. But all that did not hinder Abelard, overwhelmed with shame and grief, from sequestering himself from the world, in the monastery of St Denys; after having taken care that Heloisa should become a nun at Argenteuil. We have said, in another place, what happened to him after he became a monk, and how he was condemned to burn, with his own hands, a book he had written, &c. The loss of that work afflicted him still more than the loss of his virility had done [*R*]: And yet the loss of a book may be made up by another, which cannot be said in the other case [*S*]. As for Heloisa, she was made prioress of the nuns at Argenteuil; but, as they behaved very ill in that monastery [*T*], the abbot of St Denys, who claimed a jurisdiction over it, expelled the nuns; and then Heloisa stood in great need of her husband. He had built an oratory near Troies, to which he had given the name of Paraclet (*e*), and afterwards he had accepted an abbey in Bretagne. Understanding that his Heloisa was quite destitute, after her expulsion from Argenteuil, he gave her that oratory, with all its dependencies, which

*Qui n'êtes homme qu'abstrais,
Grace à votre copulatif,
Qu'a rendu fort imparfaitif
Le cruel tranebant d'un canif.*

But as there is no rule so general but has an exception to it, the love of Heloisa was proof against this violent remedy. She had that in common with queen Stratonice whom I have mentioned before (49).

(49) In the article COMBATUS.

[*M*] There remained still a grain of that folly in her.] This appears by the passages I have cited in the remark [*K*]. They not only prove that the love of concupiscence prevailed in Heloisa, but also that she was somewhat besides her self: for a person in her perfect senses, would never have talked at that rate. It is probable that study began first to disorder her, and that love made a great addition to the breach. There appear in her writings many marks of a disordered imagination; something so extravagant, and so many inconsistencies, that she is a proof of Seneca's maxim, *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ* (50). — Great wits to madness nearly are allied.

(50) See, above, citat. (78), of the article CAR-DAN.

[*N*] That action made a great noise.] See what Abelard says of it (51); *Mane autem facto tota ad me civitas congregata quanta superet admiratione, quanta se affigeret lamentatione, quanto me clamore vexarent, quanto planctu perturbarent, difficile imo impossibile est exprimi. Maxime vero Clerici, ac præcipue Seculares nostri, intolerabilibus me lamentis & ejulatiibus cruciabant.* See the article to which I refer in the following remark.

(51) Oper. pag. 17.

[*O*] The women distinguished themselves by their doleful complaints.] Abelard does not speak of this: but we learn it from one of his friends who wrote a letter of consolation to him. See the article FOULQUES (52).

(52) Rem. [I].

[*P*] Some very curious letters of consolation were wrote to him.] Foulques, prior of Deuil, wrote him one which has been inserted in the edition of Abelard's works. We speak of it in the article of that prior, and we refer thither many things belonging to Heloisa and her husband, which would make their articles too long, if they were not separated, in order to be placed elsewhere. They who say they had rather find it altogether in the same place, have not well considered of the matter.

(53) Rem. [M].

(54) See, above, rem. [B] of the article HELIODORUS, what credit ought to be given to this.

[*Q*] That action was severely punished.] See the article FOULQUES (53) to which I refer for the two foregoing remarks.

(55) Un Aithur qui dans son esprit, Comme moi reçoit une offense, Souffre plus que Job ne souffrit, Bien, qu'il eût d'extrêmes souffrances. *Sarrasin, Poésies, pag. m. 87.*

[*R*] The loss of that work afflicted him yet more than the loss of his virility.] Authors have been sufficiently bantered upon their excessive fondness for their own works; and, amongst other instances, bishop Heliodorus, has been quoted, who chose rather to renounce his bishopric than to condemn his romance of Theagenes (54). What Sarrasin makes Voiture say has also been alleged (55). But I do not know that Abelard has been cited upon this occasion: though

there is something more strong in his example; for Job was restored to his prosperous state; he begat sons and daughters, and it is certain that Voiture would rather have been a Job for some time, than an Abelard to his grave; and that he would gladly have thrown away all his books and all his muses, if there had been a necessity for it, to preserve the fund of his love-intrigues. Where are the prelates who would refuse to sign the resignation of their bishoprics, should they be threatened with razor in hand with in case of their refusal. Doubtless Heliodorus would have consented to the condemnation of his romance, if they had reduced him to this sad alternative. But now here is a man who declares he reckons the loss of his natural parts, as an inconsiderable thing, in comparison of the loss of a work which he was obliged to cast into the fire. But to judge impartially in this case, we must not attribute Abelard's whole grief, to the paternal affection which his character of an author inspired him with for his book. There was another thing here that afflicted him more than this; which was, that by obliging him to burn his own book, they branded him with the mark of heresy, a punishment which answers to that of the hot iron. His murmurs against the providence of God are another testimony of his concern. See his words, which I ought to produce, that I may not be suspected of aggravating things, to divert my reader. 'Deus, qui judicas æquitatem quanto

tunc animi felle, quanta mentis amaritudine teipsum infamis arguebam, te furibundus accusabam, sæpius repetens illam beati Antonii (56) conquestionem, *Jesu bone, ubi eras?* Quanto autem dolore æstua rem, quanta erubescencia confunderer, quanta desperatione perturbarer sentire tunc potui, proferre non possum. Conferebam cum his quæ in corpore passus olim fueram, quanta nunc sustinerem, & omnium me æstimabam miserrimum. *Parvam* illam ducebam prodicionem in *Comparatione* hujus injuriæ, & longè amplius famæ quam corporis detrimentum plangebam (57). — *O righteous GOD! with what rage and bitterness of soul did I, wretch that I am, complain and desperately accuse thee, often repeating that complaint of St Anthony. Good JESUS, where was thou? The sorrow with which I then was torn, the shame which confounded me, and my horrible despair, I then could feel, but cannot now describe: I compared with this, what I before had suffered in my body, and what I now endured, and concluded, that I was the most miserable of men. I judged the former treachery but small compared to this, and lamented more this injury done to my fame, than that done to my body.*

(56) Apud S. Hieronymum, in ejus Vita.

(57) Oper. pag. 25.

[*S*] Which cannot be said in the other case.] See again the article FOULQUES, remark [*F*].

[*T*] They behaved ill in that monastery.] Suger, abbot of St Denys, took advantage of the disorderly life of the nuns of Argenteuil, to re-instate himself in the possession of that monastery. He sent his titles to Rome, and received a favourable answer. See what he says of it in the history of his life under the year

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which donation was confirmed by Pope Innocent II. Thus she was the first abbess of Paraclet. She obtained such favour with all ranks of men, that she was quickly loaded with riches. The bishops loved her as their daughter, the abbots as their sister, and the laity as their mother (f). However, she was very ill satisfied with the providence of God (g), and murmured much more than Job. She kept up a correspondence by letters with Abelard [U], and desired him to give her rules for her nuns, and the solution of several difficulties. He complied with her desire in both. I do not find, that the hope she had of seeing him dignified with the mitre was the reason of her reluctance to marry him [X]. When he died, being a monk of Clugni, she requested his corps of the abbot, and having obtained it, she interred it in the Paraclet, and desired that she might be buried in the same tomb (b). They tell a most surprizing miracle that happened, as is said, when the sepulchre was opened in order to lay Heloisa's body there,

1127. 'Nuntios nostros & chartas antiquas fundationis & donationis, & confirmationum privilegia bonæ memorie Papæ Honorio Romam delegavimus, postulantes ut justitiam nostram canonico investigaret & restitueret scrutinio. Qui, ut erat vir consilii & justitiæ tutor, tam pro nostra justitiâ, quàm pro enormitate Monacharum ibidem malè viventium, eundem nobis locum cum appendiciis suis, ut reformaretur ibi religionis ordo, restituit. — I sent messengers to Rome with the ancient charters of erection, donation, and confirmation of privileges, to be laid before Pope Honorius of blessed memory, and begged that he would be pleased to enquire into the justice of my pretensions, and restore me to my rights. Accordingly he being a wise and just man restored that place to me with all its privileges, not only upon account of my just claim, but because of the irregular lives of the nuns who then possessed it, that a religious order might be again established there.' He says the same thing in the life of Lewis the Burley (58). They

(58) Papa Honorius vir gravis & severus, justitiam nostram de Monasterio Argentensis puellarum conversatione infamato, &c.

(59) See, above, rem. [K]. citat. (41) and (42).

(60) It is a common-place upon this head, Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis; and Sequitur leviter filia matris iter.

(61) St John, chap. viii, ver. 10.

THE quality of mistress was more grateful than that of wife to Heloisa.

(62) Abelard Opera, pag. 45.

(64) Rationes nonnullas quibus te à conjugio nostro infuisti thalamis revocare conabar exonerare non es dignatus, sed plerique tacitis quibus amorem conjugio, libertatem vinculo præferbam.

who are inclined to judge ill of their neighbour, will not read this passage without violent suspicions of Heloisa's conduct. She confesses her self subject to the raging heats of lust (59): and it is often seen, that the abbess of a convent carries herself ill, when leudness is prevalent in the society (60). From these two principles, they who are fond of scandal, may easily draw this consequence, that the priorels of Argenteuil, was no better than her nuns. But for my part having never read that she was by name comprehended in the scandal her monastery gave, I shall be cautious of fixing the least blemish on her. We should imitate our lord, and make use of his maxim (61), *Has any body condemned, or accused, thee? Neither do I condemn, or accuse, thee.* And it is very true that inferiours imitate the bad and not the good life of their superiours. The court of France under Lewis XIII, was not chaster than under Henry IV.

[U] She kept up a correspondence by letters with Abelard.] That correspondence began but late, and it was a fortuitous adventure that occasioned it. Abelard had written to a friend a long relation of his misfortunes, which fell into the hands of Heloisa, then abbess of Paraclet. Having read it, she immediately wrote to Abelard the reflexions she had made upon it, and passionately desired him to write to her, that she might be no longer deprived of the consolation his letters might afford her in his absence. She represented to him the disinterestedness of her affection, and how she had neither sought the honour of marriage, nor the advantages of a dowry, nor her own pleasure, but the sole satisfaction of Abelard. She tells him that though the name of wife has something in it more great and sacred, she had always found that of his mistress, concubine, or whore, more agreeable. *Est uxoris nomen sanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper extitit amicæ vocabulum, aut si non indigneris, concubinæ vel sortis* (62). She adds, that he had related a part only of the reasons she had represented to dissuade him from marriage; but that he had almost suppressed all those which were drawn from the preference she gave to love, before the conjugal tie, and to liberty before necessity (63). I know not how this lady meant; but there is here one of the most mysterious refinements of love. It has been for several ages believed, that marriage destroys the principal poignancy of this sort of salt, and that when one does a thing by engagement, duty, and necessity, as a task and drudgery, he no longer finds the natural charms in it: so that, according to these nice judges, a man takes a wife *ad honores, et not ad delectationem.* Marriage has on

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it's side profit, justice, honour, and constancy; a flat but more universal pleasure. Love is founded only upon pleasure, which then is more touching, brightly, and poignant: a pleasure excited by difficulty, there must be a relish and smartness in it. It is no longer love, if it be destitute of darts and flames. The bounty of the ladies is too profuse in marriage, it blunts the edge of affection and desire (64). *Pater* (64) Montagne, *re me*, said a Roman emperor (65) to his wife, *per aliam* Exercere cupiditates meas, nam uxor nomen est dignitatis, non voluptatis (66). — Suffer me, to satisfy my desires with others, for spouse is a name of dignity, not of pleasure. One might therefore give an unlucky interpretation to Heloisa's design of never being the wife, but still mistress of the dear mistress of Peter Abelard. One might suspect she was afraid lest marriage should prove the grave of love, and hinder her from talking so deliciously as before, the caresses of her friend. The author, who here has paraphrased some pieces of our Heloisa's letters (67), at bottom ascribes this view and taste to her, though his words are nicely couched. He makes her say Maimbourg, and (68), *That she found nothing but what was dull and insipid in those public engagements which tie those knots, that only death can loose, and which make a sad necessity of life and love: that (69) it is not to love, to court wealth and honours, in the tasteless embraces of an insensible husband; that she never would believe one could this way taste the sensible pleasures of an agreeable union, or feel the secret and charming commotions of two hearts, which have a long time sought one another in order to be united; and that she is fully satisfied, that if there be any such thing as happiness in this world, it is only to be found in the union of two persons, who love with liberty, whom a secret inclination has joined, and a reciprocal merit has rendered satisfied.* We shall see presently that another cause has been supposed of Heloisa's design not to marry Abelard.

[X] I do not find, that the hope of seeing him dignified with the mitre, was the reason of her reluctance to marry him.] The Sieur d'Amboise (71) makes mention of an ancient French poet, who after having exhorted men not to submit their necks to the yoke of marriage, confirms his opinion by that of our Heloisa, who, says he, most importunately begged and intreated of her lover, that he would not marry her. She was much better satisfied to be loved by a man, whom she should one day see elevated to a good bishopric. *Satis esse dicitur si illa intimo prætoris amore mutuum servans, illum videret mitra & insulis Pontificalibus quibus dignus erat ornatum.* — Saying, it was enough, for her while she cherished their mutual love in her breast, to see him adorned with the mitre and pontifical robes which he so well deserved. The Sieur d'Amboise observes, I, that this poet gives another turn to illa innuere vocit, viz. that Heloisa intimated, that the embraces of married people are not attended with so delicious a pleasure, as those that are illegitimate (72). II. That we ought not to believe that Heloisa preferred a licentious concubinage, before the condition of a wife; *Id*, but that her love and respect for her gallant, inclined her rather to turn recluse, than by her marriage to hinder Abelard from receiving the rewards that were due to his wit and learning, as suppose a cardinal's cap (73). I have found no footing of this in Heloisa's letters, and for that reason, I have made the sixth fault of Mr Moreri, in the article of ABELARD. That which gives birth to these sorts of excellent insinuations, is the liberty an author takes to lend people those thoughts, which he thinks agreeable to their interests. There is sometimes more advantage for a

5 E

woman

(f) All this is taken from Abelard's letter, intitled, Historia Calamitatum, except a few things, the proofs of which I cite by themselves.

(g) See the article FOULQUES, remark [K].

(b) See the remark [X], of the article ABELARD.

(65) *Ælius* Verus apud Spartian. in ejus vitæ pag. m. 235.

(66) See many remarks of this nature in the ninth letter of the Calvinism of Maimbourg, and in the twenty first in the twenty second letters of the Criticism of

(67) Histoire d'Abelard & d'Heloise, printed at the Hague, 1693.

(68) Pag. 51.

(69) Pag. 53.

(70) Pag. 54.

(71) Prefat.

Apologet ad Oper. Abelardis.

(72) Sed poeta in

alium sensum hoc

cal robes which he so well deserved.

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there, viz. that Abelard stretched out his arms, to receive her, and closely embraced her [7]; and yet he had been above twenty years dead: but that's no great matter; they pretend that they have instances of things of this kind [Z]. She died the seventeenth of May 1163. The letters she wrote to her husband, are to be met with in the edition of Abelard's works. But what Mr Moreri advances, is not true, viz. that Andrew du Chefne has made remarks on these letters, and on Abelard's answers. He has only commented on the letter wherein Abelard gives the history of his misfortunes to a friend. John de Meun translated into French the letters which Heloisa and Abelard wrote to one another (i). A little book (k) was lately published, intituled, *The History of Heloisa and Abelard, with the passionate Letter she wrote to him, translated from the Latin*. This pretended translation, is nothing else but a collection of some passages taken at pleasure from this woman's letters, to which the author has given what form he thought fit, by suppressing what he did not like, and adding what he thought more to his purpose.

The Count de Buffi Rabutin translated into French some letters of Abelard and Heloisa. This translation was published after his death, in the second volume of his letters. *I never saw, (says he) (l) finer Latin, especially than that of Heloisa, nor more love and wit than she was mistress of.* If he had been as good a judge of the Latin style as he was of the French, he would not have given this elogy to the latinity of Heloisa.

woman to suffer a young galant to rise to the dignities of the church, than to stop his way to them by marrying him. But must we therefore suppose that Heloisa had such views? Here is a well known story. A man who had a prebend, quitted it to marry: the day after the wedding, he said to his wife, *See, my dear, how I love you, I have even quitted my prebend for your sake. You are a fool, says she, for your pains: you ought to have kept your prebend; and you might have had me notwithstanding* (74).

[Y] They tell us that Abelard stretched out his arms and closely embraced her.] A manuscript chronicle of Tours (75) relates this pretty miracle. 'Hæc, (Heloisa) sicut dicitur, in ægritudine ultima posita præcepit ut mortua intra mariti tumulum poneretur, & sic eadem defuncta ad tumulum apertum deportata, maritus ejus qui multis diebus ante eam defunctus fuerat, elevatis brachiis illam recepit, & ita eam amplexatus brachia sua strinxit. — Heloisa, as we are told, when a dying, ordered that she should be buried in her husband's grave, and accordingly after her death, being put in the grave, her husband, who, had died before her, received her with opened arms, and folding his arms together embraced her.' But how comes it then that they are not in the same tomb? Francis d'Amboise, who tells us, that he has seen at the Paraclet, the tombs of the founder and foundress by one another, *contigua fundatoris fundatrici sepulchra*, should have solved this small difficulty.

[Z] That they have instances of things of this kind.] See what Gregorius Turonensis relates (76) concern-

ing two married persons, who always remained virgins, and whom the inhabitants of the country (77) called *the two lovers*. The wife died first: the husband, in burying her, made use of this thanksgiving: *I thank thee, my Lord and my God, that I have returned thee this treasure in the same purity that thou was pleased to commit it to me.* The woman with a smile said to him: *Why do you talk of a thing which no body asks you about.* The husband died a little after, and was buried over against his spouse; but on the morrow their corps were found both in the same grave. That blunt interrogatory might give occasion to some of the profane to think, that the virgin wife was not willing she should know her husband had been so cold. She confined herself to the merit of her continence, without being willing to be exposed to the opinions, that might be formed to the prejudice of her charms. It is not thus that *depositum* ought to be preserved; it is not restoring it well, to render it just as we received it. It is not for this that God instituted marriage; *non hoc questum munus in usus*. One may therefore be sorry, that the public should think one has not sufficiently pleased the depositary. But the historian will remedy this inconvenience, if you consult the thirty second chapter, concerning the glory of confessors, where the discourse of the deceased wife is a little better turned. Ten chapters after, he relates, that a senator of Dijon, called Hilary (78), having been buried a whole year, lift up his hand to put it round his wife's neck, when she was laid in the same tomb.

(77) Clermont in Auvergne.

(78) See the notes of the abbot de Murelles, upon Gregor. Turon. Tom. II, pag. 283.

HELVICUS (CHRISTOPHER) professor of Divinity, of Greek, and of the Oriental languages in the university of Gießen, was born the 26th of December, 1581, at Sprendlingen (a), where his father was minister [A]. He was not one of those tardy wits, which do not shew themselves till the latter season. He was able, before the age of twenty, to teach Greek and Hebrew, and even philosophy; and he had composed many Greek verses at the age of fifteen or sixteen. He studied at Marburg, and was made master of arts there in 1599. He might have obtained it sooner if he would; for he was admitted bachelor at fourteen (b). He made himself such a master of the Hebrew, that he could speak it as his mother-tongue. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with a vast number of Greek authors. He studied also physic for some time, though he had dedicated himself to the ministry. In fine, he gave so many testimonies of his capacity, that he was chosen, in the year 1605, teacher of Greek and Hebrew in the college the Landgrave had then erected at Gießen (c). The

[A] His father was minister.] He was called Christopher as his son; he had been in his younger days, two years together, director of the college of Geraw. After which he studied divinity at Tubingen, and was made minister of the church of Griseim; but prince George, landgrave of Hesse, preferred him a little after to Sprendlingen; Helvicus served this church till his death, and went through many troubles. *Multa propter sinceram confessionem perpassus, tandem ibidem vitam banc terrestrem cum celesti commutavit.* He was son to QUIRINUS HELVICUS, who fig-

nalized himself in the defence of Darmstadt, during the war of Smalcalde. One may see in Sleidan, and Thuanus, the opinion which the count de Buren had of him. Seeing no prospect of relief, he went upon the ramparts to capitulate, but he received a shot which pierced his right-arm, after which the place was taken by storm. They designed to hang him, and perhaps they would have done it, if the ransom that was promised for him had not hindered them. He had attended the landgrave Philip in almost all his expeditions (1).

[B] He

(c) König is mistaken; he makes him professor at Marburg.

(1) Ex Oratione Funerari Christi Helvici habita a Joanne Wyneckelmanno.

(i) See the preface of Fauchet, in the 126th chapter of the ancient French Poets.

(k) Printed at the Hague, by John Alberts, 1693.

(l) Buffi, letter xvi, of the second Tome, pag. 49. Holland Edit. 1697.

(74) See a book called, *Le Moyen de parvenir*, made by a canon of Tours, at the Menagiana says, pag. 366, of the second edition of Holland.

(75) Apud Andream Quercetum, Notis ad Histor. Calamit. Abel. & apud Franc. Amboisium Prefat. Apologet.

(76) Hist. des François, livr. i, chap. xlii.

(a) A small town half a league from Frankfurt.

(b) XIV ætatis anno, perraro exemplo Baccalaureatus gradum consecutus. Christoph. Scheiblerus in Programmate de Funere Helvici. A bachelor of arts degree in Germany, must be different from what it is elsewhere.

The year following, the emperor honoured that college with the title of an university, and the privileges belonging thereto. Helvicus having for five years acquitted himself in the duties of his profession with great reputation, was advanced to be professor of divinity in the year 1610. He married the same year. I know not whether he deferred his marriage till he saw himself rais'd to a preferment that might help him to a better match, or whether he had other reasons that engaged him to continue in a single life till that time; for the author whom I shall cite, says nothing of it; but he observes, that marriage did not make Helvicus less diligent in the discharge of the duties of his function (d). He was offered a church in Moravia, in the year 1611, and a professorship at Ham-
burgh, with a considerable salary. However, he refused both these invitations. He took the degree of doctor in divinity, in the year 1613: the Landgrave desired it; as also, that he should go and see the libraries of the Jews at Francfort, who had been driven lately from thence, by popular commotions. Helvicus, who was much addicted to the reading of the Rabbies, purchased many of their books there. He died in the flower of his age, Sept. 10, 1617, having many designs of books in his head [B]; and had the reputation of a man who had the greatest dexterity, and best method of teaching languages (e) [C]. He was not only a good Grammarian, but a good Chronologer. His chronological tables have been much esteemed [D], though they are not entirely

(d) Neque vero inito matrimonio rã Oñia xxiip sũt, & in officio remittit. Jo. Wynckelmann, ubi infra.

(e) Taken from his Funeral Oration, pronounced by John Wynckelman, professor of Divinity at Giessen.

[B] He died having many designs of books in his head. He had published several grammars, a Latin, a Greek, a Hebrew, a Chaldee, and a Syriac. (2). But they were only abridgments. His Hebrew and Latin Lexicons, were only a sort of essay for the use of youth. He had a great desire to perfect all these Grammars, and to make Lexicons for the use of the learned, and he begged of God that he might live so long as to finish these undertakings. He moreover prayed for life sufficient to reduce the ecclesiastical histories into order, and to animadvert on Piscator's translation of the Old and New Testament, and on that author's commentaries on the Scripture. He thought also, it was requisite to publish a new edition of Luther's bible, with a good apology, and necessary explications. The edition of that bible, which Paul Tossanus had procured not long before, with marginal notes, containing the opinions of Calvin, put Helvicus upon that project, and gave him a vehement desire to execute it (3). 'Cum ante biennium Paulus Tossanus Heidelbergensis Doctor, versionem Bibli- cam B. Lutheri Germanicam in lucem edidisset, non solum variis notationibus marginalibus (quæ quales hinc inde sint viri cordati judicabunt) consperlam, sed etiam erroribus Calvinianorum contra ipsius Lutheri mentem & voluntatem proterva temeritate & impudentia contaminatam, judicabat operæ pretium esse, si opus illud Biblicum Lutheri cum solida ubi opus esset apologia, necessariis explicationibus, & modularum quas Pontificii & Calviniani illi asperferunt absterione in lucem prodiret. Ubi animadverti in ipso fingere hoc ipsum præstandi desiderium, si Domino ita visum esset (4). — Paul Tossanus, a doctor at Heidelberg, having two years before published Luther's German translation of the Bible, not only with many marginal notes (with what success let the learned judge), but likewise corrupted it most impudently, and contrary to the doctrine and intention of Luther, with many Calvinistical errors, Helvicus thought it would be a service to the public, to publish that work of Luther's, with a solid apology where there is occasion for it, with necessary explications, and purged from all these foul interpolations, by which the Papists and Calvinists had polluted it. I observed, that he vehemently desired to have executed this design if it had pleased GOD.'

(2) He published first a General Grammar. Grammatica universalis, continens ea quæ omnibus linguis sunt communia. They who have it, will do well to compare it with Mr Arnauld's Grammar.

(3) Ex Oratione Funebri. ubi supra.

(4) Wynckelm. ibid.

(5) See Spizelius, in Templo Honoris relecto, pag. 50.

art of teaching, nova Didactica author & informator felicissimus. The thing deserved it, titulus res digna sepulchri, and merited to be copied more exactly than has been done by the Sieur Freher, who, instead of Didactica, has put it Dialectica. One would think, that Helvicus had some idea of a project, which, they say, a very learned man is employed about, which is to reduce languages to common principles, which may serve to learn them very easily all together; one might believe this, I say, if we depended on this title of one of his books: Libri didactici Grammaticæ universalis Latina, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ (6): but it is plain by his funeral oration, that there is a comma wanting after universalis. See, above, quotation (2).

[D] His chronological tables have been much esteemed. I speak of the work which is intitled, Theatrum Historicum, sive Chronologia Systema novum. He published it in the year 1609. Seth Calvisius, who was a great master of history and chronology, much approved of that work, and found it a new and very useful invention, since things are there seen altogether, and at one view: Utpote in quibus exemplo antebac non viso omnia uno intuitu lectorum oculis subjiciantur. Wynckelman observes, that this approbation is found in the letter that Seth Calvisius wrote to Helvicus, September the seventh 1609. He adds, the work is at present reprinting, corrected, and enlarged by the author. Jam secundum emendatius & ex ipsius auctoritate auctius editur. We must say then, that the first edition of this work was in the year 1609, and the second in the year 1618, John Steuber, professor at Giessen, had the care of the latter, and dedicated it to a Danish lord (7), a patron of learned men, and who had honoured Helvicus with his friendship. Twenty years after a new edition of this book was published by the care of John Balthasar Schuppius, son-in-law to the author, and professor of Eloquence at Marburg. He advertises in his preface, that he will say nothing of the English edition. Since that time this Chronological Theatre has been often reprinted. Vossius hath not been exact in the account he gives of the date of the first edition, and hath given that for the second edition, which was not so. Anno 1610CXXII scilicet de (8). Christophorus Helvicus (8) De Scient. edidit systema Chronologicum, æqualibus denariorum Mathematic. pag. 404. quinquagenariorum, & centenariorum, intervallis. Id postea continuavit & recensuit Joannes Balthasar Schoppius. Emisit anno 1610CXXXVIII.

(6) This title is to be found in Spizelius, ibid. pag. 52.

(7) Olger Rosenkrantz. The epistle dedicatory of Steuber, is dated the eighteenth of March 1618.

(8) De Scient.

(9) Vide M. Eusebium Bohemum in epitome Historie Ecclesiastice Novi Testamenti, pag. 72, & seq. apud Joh. Justum Wynckelman, num. in Cippo deducta, cum præcipuis synchronismis virorum illustrium eventuum & politiarum caterarum (9). All is there accommodated to the prophecy in the second and seventh

libred a system of chronology, with equal intervals of tens, fifties, and hundreds. It was afterwards continued and revised by John Balthasar Schoppius. He published it in 1618. It cannot be objected to me, in favour of Vossius, that it is very true, that Helvicus published a book of chronology in the year 1612, which was augmented by Schuppius, in 1638, for that is not the book which Vossius speaks of; the title of it is Chronologia Universalis ab origine mundi per quatuor summa imperia, quas Monarchias appellant, ad annum usque MDCXII, num. in Cippo deducta, cum præcipuis synchronismis virorum illustrium eventuum & politiarum caterarum (9). All is there accommodated to the prophecy in the second and seventh

entirely free from errors [E]. We may conjecture by the books we have of his [F], that if he had attained the age of sixty, his works would have made many volumes in folio. As for the rest, he was a man of an unblameable life; he studied to have peace with all mankind, and never had any difference, either with his colleagues, or with other people (f): *Rara avis in terris*. He was much esteemed by several princes of Germany, and received Letters from them, full of civilities. Anne Dorothy, duchess of Saxony, did him the honour to write frequently to him. He was lamented in an extraordinary manner; all the poets of Germany, of the Ausburg confession, made funeral elegies, lamenting his untimely death. A collection of these poems has been printed, with the funeral oration, and some other pieces, under the title of *Cippus memorialis*, by the care of Wynckelman, colleague of the deceased. The son of this Wynckelman had the *Cippus* reprinted in the year 1650.

(f) Concoriam colebat cum omnibus: nullo enim unquam tempore cum ullo sine collega, sine extraneo in discordia vixit. Wynckel. *ibid.*

(10) Wynckelman. *ibid.*

seventh chapters of Daniel. This character doth not agree with the *Theatrum Historicum*. On the other hand, the title and character by which Vossius represents the book he speaks of, agree perfectly with the *Theatrum Historicum, sive Chronologiae systema novum*, where we see only divisions of tens, fifties, and hundreds, which do not exceed one another. In fine, John Justus Wynckelman, the son of him who pronounced the funeral oration, remarks very expressly (10), that Schuppius published two works of his father-in-law Helvicus, with Continuations until the year 1639; one is, *Theatrum Historicum*, in folio; the other *Chronologia Universalis*, in quarto. I forbear observing, that Helvicus did not at all publish his chronology himself, which he had continued to the year 1612. It was published by his colleague, Steuber, in the year 1618.

[E] . . . tho' they are not entirely free from errors.]

Tanquillus Faber, doth not find them exact as to the time in which the poets, philosophers, and other learned persons flourished. 'Primum hoc mihi credas velim, Helvicum non satis locupletis esse fidei in hac Chronologiae parte quæ virorum scriptis illustrium ætatem signat: dein hoc quoque habet Helvicus, quod fere plerumque recentiores scriptores sequatur, ut elegiarum, biolothecariorum, &c. quale ali- quid quoque in Calvisio improbat Scaliger, quem admodum ex Epistolis ejus apparet; quamvis Calvisii opus, ex quo totus est Helvicus, mirifice laudaret. Sed quod dico, allatis infra exemplis planius constabit (11). — In the first place, I desire you to observe, that Helvicus is not entirely to be depended upon, in that part of chronology, which relates to the age of famous authors: and likewise he for the most part follows modern authors, such as collectors and writers of Bibliothèques &c. Scaliger finds some such fault with Calvisius likewise, tho' he highly commended that work of Calvisius, from which Helvicus takes most of his. What I say will be more evident from some examples, which I shall afterwards produce.' The instances he promises and afterwards gives, relate to the errors of Helvicus concerning Athenæus, Lucian, Justin, and Hermogenes.

[F] By the books we have of him.] I have already taken notice of some of them, and here follow more. He published chronological dissertations on the four monarchies, on the seventy weeks of Daniel, on

Cyrus, and the other kings of Persia, &c. He so solidly confuted the opinions of Angelocrator, that nothing could be replied (12). And yet Angelocrator pretended to inspiration, declaring in the front of his book, that he had composed it, *Deo illuminante* (13). This much diminishes the glory of those who confused him, it being an easy thing to find a thousand chimeras in the writings of those pretended inspired men. Though they should not be actually Fanatics, and had only in view, the raising of the passions, they would, by their boast of such a thing against their conscience, betray such a disordered mind, as must needs expose them to the lashes of the meanest critic. Helvicus wrote some treatises, *de Dialecticis Græcis, de ratione carmina Græca conscribendi, de Paraphrasi Bibliorum Chaldaica, a Latin art of poetry, desiderium Evæ, cum aliorum dictorum Bibliorum a depravationibus Judæorum, Calvinianorum & Photinianorum erroribus annexa vindicatione: Synopsis historiae universalis*. He had put to the press the Hebrew art of poetry, and had already written the epistle dedicatory to it; but he suppressed it for some reasons (14). See the Sieur Witte, in his *Diarium Biographicum*; but especially see the Theatre of Paul Frenerus (15), and the *Templum Honoris* of Spizelius. You will there find a long, and, I think, a pretty exact catalogue of Helvicus's works. Most of them are in Latin, the rest in High-Dutch. Correct Frenerus in the epitaph XXXVI (16), and IX and make it XXXV, and IIX. It is strange, that they who have corrected this great book, should not see, that a man who was born the twenty sixth of December, 1581 (17), and died the tenth of September, 1617 (18), did not live thirty six years, nine months and a half. There are XXXV years and IIX months 393, in the epitaph recited by Wynckelman (19), he has likewise been guilty of a mistake by saying, in the funeral oration, that Helvicus died in the thirty seventh year of his age, *anno ætatis suæ trigesimo septimo*. He writ this all at length, and not in figures. He writes in the same manner the day of his birth, and the day of his death; the first is, according to him, the twenty sixth of December 1581, and the other is the tenth of September 1617. How then doth he make out the thirty seven years? the easier it is to avoid these faults, the more a man is obliged to avoid them.

(12) Contra ab Angelocratore opiniones, ut eis insignis Chronologus Scythos Calvinus in literis ad Helvicum datus indicat, quem ita errorum convicit, ut ne contra quidem hincere poterit. Wynckel. in Orat. Funerari.

(13) Apud Voss. de Scient. Mathem. pag. 402.

(14) Quam tamē post certis de causis paulo subdixit. Wynckel.

(15) Pag. 394.

(16) Magirus in Eponymol. h. b. alio XXXVI.

(17) Paul Frenerus, pag. cadem & 394.

(18) At his epitaphi testis in Frener, pag. cadem & 394.

(19) In Cippo Memoriali, pag. m. 16.

(11) T. Faber, Epistolæ lib. I, pag. 211.

(a) Valerius Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 514.

HEMELAR (JOHN) a canon of Antwerp, born at the Hague (a), was a very learned man. He applied himself much more to the study of polite learning, and the science of medals [A], than to theological disputes. He was both a poet and an orator. At Rome he made a panegyric upon Clement VIII, with so great success, that the choice was given him of being either keeper of the Vatican library, or of

(1) Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 514.

[A] He applied himself to the study of polite learning, and the science of medals.] He composed a book upon that science, and gave it to be published, on condition that they should not put his name to it. *Autor est Expositionis Numismatum Imperatorum Romanorum à Jul. Cæsare ad Heraclum quam operi suo Jac. Bizeus adjecit, tacito, ut stipulatus erat, nomine Antwerp. apud Verdus. 1614 4to (1).* This is what we find in Valerius Andreas. What follows is something more particular. 'In Numismata Regum & Imp. Romanorum à C. Julio Cæsare usque ad Fl. Justinianum ex Caroli Archotani reguli & Nic. Ro- coxii consularis viri armariis deprompta; commentarios edidit bonæ frugis plenos, in quibus quicquid in auro, argento, ære, flato percussio in urbe æterna, exquisitum, elegans, historiarum temporum &

genio principum conveniens, per notas figuras, ambages breves & serpos verborum significatur, acutissime paucis & planissime explicat, penu quoddam nummarie antiquitatis; & quo opere aliquis arrogantior superis se misceri posset arbitrari, in eo nomen suum diffimulavit (2). — He published most useful commentaries on the medals of the Roman emperors, from Julius Cæsar, down to Justinian, taken from the cabinets of Charles duke of Arsbet, and Nicholas Ro- coxius, a Burgomaster. In which he briefly and accurately, explains every thing that is exquisite elegant, or agreeable to the history of these times, or genius of princes, whether these medals be in gold, silver, or brass, whether cast or struck in that immortal city. It is a complete treasury of the knowledge of medals, and yet in this work, from which others would have ex-

(2) Gronovius, in Juv. Goldi, pag. 7 & 8.

(b) Joh. Fridericus Gronovius, in Orat. Funebri Jacobi Golii, pag. 7.

(c) Id. *ibid.*

(d) Id. pag. 8.

(e) It is full of elegies: you may find it in Swartius, Athen. Belg. pag. 435.

of having a very good benefice (b). He contented himself to be a canon of the cathedral of Antwerp (c). He had a great share in the esteem and friendship of Justus Lipsius, his professor; which appears by the letters that Lipsius wrote to him (d), and the testimony he gave him in the year 1600 (e). Hemelar was then preparing himself for his voyage to Italy. He lived six years at Rome with cardinal Cesi (f). He was a friend of Grotius, and published some verses, congratulating him on his escape out of prison (g). He was brother to the mother of James Golius, that learned professor at Leyden, who acquired so great a reputation by his profound knowledge of the Oriental tongues. He would doubtless have desired to bring over this nephew to the Roman communion, as he had done Peter Golius, the brother of James; but he would not have been able to accomplish this design. James Golius was a good Protestant, who all his life entertained a grudge against his uncle, for having persuaded his brother to change his religion (h). Moreri, who in the article of Golius, informs us, that he speaks elsewhere of our John Hemelar, gives us but a false information. I shall not imitate him with regard to the promise I have made in the same article, of saying something concerning PETER GOLIUS [B].

(f) Idem. Swert. *ibid.*

(g) Grotio arcam & angelum eisdem luculentis carmine gratulatus est. Gronov. *ibid.*

(h) Unum in eo non sine gemitu solebat accipere noster, quod fratrem Petrum revocasset ad religionem parentibus ejuratas. Id. *ibid.*

'passed the highest fame he conceals his name.' The words preceding these in Gronovius's oration, are too fine to be omitted. 'Mater (Golii) omni sexus laude prædita . . . vel unica Johannis Hemelarii fratris imagine sat nobilis est, viri & in veterum literarum tractatione cum primis exercitati, & poëtae disertæ, & probitate ac tranquillitate vitæ fugaque honorum & negotiorum T. aliquem Pomponium Atticum referentis. Panegyricum dixit votis tertiorum quinquennialium Clementis VIII tam illustri gratia exceptum, ut Vaticanæ bibliothecæ præfecturam, aut optimum sacerdotium (Canonicatum vocant) optare jussus sit: sacerdotio Antwerpiz contentus fuit. — His (Golii's) mother endowed with all the virtues of her sex . . . illustrious enough by all her resemblance to her brother John Hemelar, a man thoroughly acquainted with ancient learning, an excellent poet, and, for probity, tranquillity of life, and neglect of honours and employments, resembling a Pomponius Atticus. He delivered a panegyric on Clement the VIII, which gained him such applause, that, being desired to choose either the office of keeper of the Vatican library, or a rich benefice (a canonry as it is called), he contented himself with a living at Antwerp.' Mr Colomiés (3) assures us, that Hemelar's book upon medals is very scarce, and yet there were three editions of it (4). The other works of this canon of Antwerp, are, *Gratulationis in inaugurationem D. Christiani Michaëlis, D. Michaëlis apud Antwerpenses Præmonstratensis Canonici Abbatis*. Poëmata multa sparsim edita. Oratio in funere Joannis Malderi V. Antwerpensis Episcopi habita.

(3) Mélanges Historiques, pag. 75.

(4) The second is of the year 1627, in 4to, and the third of the year 1654, in folio, hab at Antwerp. See Father Labbé's Biblioth. Num. mar. pag. 262.

[B] I shall say something concerning PETER GOLIUS.] He had the same inclination as his brother for voyages to the Levant, and for the Oriental tongues. He turned a barefooted Carmelite, and took the name of Celestin of Saint Liduina. He sojourned many years upon mount Libanus, and was professor of the oriental tongues at Rome. He translated Thomas à Kempis, into Arabic, and undertook, at the age of seventy four, a voyage to the coasts of Malabar, to endeavour the conversion of the infidels. The diversity of religion and profession, did not hinder the two brothers from loving one another very affectionately. Peter wrote to James that he was beholden to him for the civil treatment which he received in Asia. 'Frater Ascetes è familia discalceatorum cum per vestigia fratris in Oriente decurreret,

scripsit ad nostrum diu jam reducem omnia sibi evenire præter expectationem: parasse se ad vincula carceres verbera, cruces, invenire amplexus, gratulationes, studia, gratias potentium ob nomen Golium: eam memoriam id desiderium sui reliquerat: ita gratiam absentis referebant. (5) — When his brother, the Carmelite was travelling in the east, in the same places where James had before been, he wrote to him that every thing had happened to him beyond his expectation, and that he had prepared himself for bonds, imprisonments, buffeting, and crosses, and instead of these he had found embraces, welcomes, civilities, and carresses, from the great, on account of his name Golius: so acceptable, so beloved, had he rendered himself when there, and so did they show their affection to him when absent.' Thus the name of Golius was in such esteem there, since James's travels, that a great deal of honour was paid to it in the person of Peter. For the rest, we must not imagine that Hemelar had need of much wit or industry to bring over his nephew to the Roman communion; for he persuaded him to it when he was but a child. Peter Golius was bred in his house from eight years of age. I will transcribe the words of Gronovius, upon which I ground this opinion. They will shew that this child had a very forward wit. 'Unum in eo (Hemelario) non sine gemitu solebat accusare noster, quod fratrem Petrum revocasset ad religionem parentibus ejuratas virum alioquin egregium, & fraterno secum animo, nec minus gnarum rerum & linguarum Orientis, dique in partibus iisdem versatum & Arabicæ linguæ Romæ Professore: qui quam præcoqui fuerit indole, testis est oratio, quam Christiano Michaëlio Abbati Præmonstratensi ab Hemelario scriptam gratulandi causa, puer octo annorum constanter, & quasi fecisset, memoriter pronuntiavit. — Our Golius used to accuse Hemelar of one thing, not without sighs, that he had seduced his brother Peter to the Roman communion, who was, in other respects, a very extraordinary person, and he always retained a brotherly affection to him, who was no less skilled in the affairs and languages of the east, where he had long sojourned, and was professor of the Arabic tongue at Rome: a proof of the forwardness of his wit, we have in a gratulatory oration composed by Hemelar, to Christian Michaelius, abbot of the Præmonstrants, which he, when a boy of eight years of age, pronounced with as much ease as if it had been his own performance.'

(5) Gronov. in Orat. Funebri Golii, pag. 19.

HEMMINGIUS (NICOLAS) professor of Divinity at Copenhagen, was born in the year 1513, in the isle of Laland (a). His first education could not be very advantageous to him, being under the direction of a Blacksmith, his father's brother. However he made some progress in learning, and afterwards went to Wittemberg, where for five years he was one of Melanchthon's most constant auditors. As he was obliged to get his living either by instructing scholars, or writing for them, we must the more admire the learning he acquired. He returned from thence to Denmark, and by Melanchthon's recommendation, was taken into a gentleman's house to instruct his daughters. He was afterwards made minister of the church of the Holy Ghost at Copenhagen, and afterwards professor of the Hebrew tongue. He took his doctor of divinity's degree in the year 1557, and immediately after was made professor in the same faculty at Copenhagen. He discharged the duties of it excellently well till the year 1579, when he was declared emeritus, and vested with a canonry in the church of Roschild. He peaceably enjoyed that preferment to his death; that is, to the twenty

(a) It belongs to the king of Denmark.

(b) Taken from
Paul Frider.
Theatr. Viror.
Illustr. pag. 312,
313.

third of May 1600. He was blind the last years of his life (b), which is the less surprising, when we consider that he was very studious, and lived eighty seven years. It ought to be observed, that he not only was not a very rigid Lutheran [A]; but that there is some probability, that if it had not been prevented, he would have shewn himself a good Calvinist. His inclination for the opinions of Geneva was perceived: he was obliged to explain himself, and even to make a recantation [B]. He gave a confession of the Lutheran faith, and yet not long since there has been a divine who has endeavoured to shew that it agrees with that of the Calvinists [C]. Hemmingius published

[A] He was not a very rigid Lutheran.] This one proof will be sufficient for me. The articles of union, which the divines of Saxony, and their adherents, endeavoured to establish over all the Lutheran world, were rejected with great indignation in Denmark. King Frederic II forbade all his subjects to sign them, and threatened all with banishment who should disobey that order, or bring copies of that book into his dominions (1). See the remark [E]. Now Hemmingius was the principal promoter of this affair (2), as Hopsinian observes, who in this fact has not been contradicted by Hutterus.

[B] He was obliged . . . to make a recantation.]

Hopsinian (3) relates that Hemmingius, in his *Synagoga Institutionum Christianarum*, published in the year 1574, explained himself upon the Real Presence like a Calvinist. Mr Masius does not disown this; but he adds, that Hemmingius, being admonished of his error, solemnly retracted it (4). "Non dissimulandum esse"

(says Masius) *Calvini sententia de S. Cæna aliquandiu indulsisse, (Hemmingium) sed monitum à cæteris Theologis ad meliorem mentem reversum deposito errore palinodiam cecinisse. Quam in rem ejus confessionem, ipsius manu scriptam (5) sibi quæ à Viro Illustri D. Engberg Consiliario Regis & Judice Provinciali Seelandiaæ dono datam, subiungit.* The author from whom I borrow these words, shews us, by some passages of the *Synagoga*, that Hemmingius impugned the ubiquity, and bestowed eulogies on Calvin for accusing, and on the magistrates of Geneva for punishing, Servetus. "Com his hæresiarchis damnatus etiam impius nebulonem Michaelem Servetum, qui ratione contentis sanctorum Patrum Conciliis, Arii & aliorum fanaticorum hominum damnatas hæreses revocare conatus est, quem iusto accusatum à D. Johanne Calvino, merito Genevates affecere supplicio"

(6). — *Together with these heresiarchs, we likewise condemn that impious villain Michael Servetus, who desperately contemning the councils of the holy fathers, endeavoured to revive the condemned heresies of Arius, and other fanatics, whom Mr John Calvin justly accused, and whom the magistrates of Geneva justly put to death.*

[C] A divine has endeavoured to shew that Hemmingius's confession agrees with that of the Calvinists.] Mr Masius, professor of divinity at Copenhagen, has communicated to the public the confession that was required of Hemmingius. It imports that he firmly believed that JESUS CHRIST wholly, God and man, is substantially present in the Lord's Supper, wherever it is celebrated according to his institution; and that he conveys and delivers to all communicants, worthy and unworthy, his true body and true blood, which he has shed for us, for the remission of sins; and that his body and blood are truly and really taken with the bread and wine by the communicants, inasmuch that it is a true meat, and a true drink, with which man is nourished, refreshed, and quickened to eternal life. *Se statum & firmiter credere totum Christum Deum & hominem substantialiter adesse presentem in Cæna sua ubique celebratur juxta ipsius ordinationem, ipsique adesse & exhibere omnibus communicantibus dignis & indignis suum verum corpus & verum sanguinem quem effudit pro nobis in remissionem peccatorum, & hoc corpus & hunc sanguinem vere & realiter eum pane & vino à communicantibus sumi, ita ut verus sit cibus & potus quo homo pascitur, reficitur & vivificatur ad vitam æternam (7).* For the rest, Hemmingius acknowledged that his confession was consonant to that of Augsburg, to the little Catechism of Luther, and to the system of the doctrine of the Saxon churches, and he declared that he disowned whatever in his *Synagoga* has offended the churches, and is agreeable to Calvin's opinion about the Holy Supper, or that is not consistent with his present confession. *Cum jam aliter in Synagoga sua scripsisset juxta sententiam Calvini de re sacramentaria quo Ecclesia offensa sint, & quod cum*

bas sua præsentis confessione pugnet, id quicquid sit in universum revocare, & hoc suo scripto revocatum velle (8). He begs pardon of the king, and of all those whom his *Synagoga* had offended (9). It is plain, that his confession is wholly Lutheran, and we ought to believe that the doctors who obliged him to retract, prescribed him the expressions that they thought most capable of taking away equivocations, and denoting precisely and formally his orthodoxy, and the abjuration of his error. And yet it is incredible what efforts the divine, whom I cite, hath made in order to shew that Hemmingius did not make a recantation. The Parentheses, and the Nota Bene's with which he intermixes the words of the confession, in order to evade the consequences and pretensions of Mr Masius, seem to him so solid, that he is not afraid to affirm that Hemmingius retracted but very little, and that good Calvinists might honestly sign that confession, explained and understood in it's true sense. *Videt itaque rursum vir clarissimus, quantum id sit quod hac confessione sua Hemmingius revocavit, cui & nos dummodo recte intelligantur & recte explicentur possumus assensu assensu: & quam preter ille adduc absque rum cum collegi à fide prænotis Lutherana (10).* From whence we may conclude, how difficult it is to draw up any Formula, that shall cut off all occasion of dispute. Men believe they have prevented all sorts of equivocations, but in the end they find that an adversary finds a thousand evasions, and would persuade us, that we had quite other thoughts than what we know very well we had. In certain cases this is to undertake what Pericles undertook, and in which he succeeded. Being thrown upon the ground in wrestling, he persuaded the spectators that he did not really fall (11). Some readers may possibly here call to mind an unlucky observation which they may have read in the *History of the Variations* remark [D].

(12). The Lutherans assure us in their book of Concord, that Luther was led to that expression (13) by the subtleties of the Sacramentarians, who found a way of variations, to accommodate to their moral presence, the strongest and most precise expressions of Luther, for the real and substantial presence; from which we, by the by, see once more, that we ought not to wonder if the defenders of the figurative sense, find a way of drawing the holy fathers to their side, since Luther himself, alive and speaking, who knew their subtleties, and undertook to confute them, was hard put to it to find words which they did not pervert to their own sense by their interpretations: being tired with their subtleties, he resolved to find an expression which they could no longer elude, and therefore composed the article of Smalcalde in the form that we have seen it. The bishop of Meaux might have found a famous instance of all this in his own church. The bull of Innocent X, against the opinions of Janse- nius, did not hinder the Jansemits from proceeding in their disputes. They intrenched themselves in abundance of subtleties and infinite distinctions. To drive them from that hold, Alexander VII was made to speak in a more precise manner, and they inserted in his bull whatever was thought proper to ruin the distinctions and subtleties of the Port Royal. That signified nothing. The Jansemits continued to maintain, that the doctrine of Jansenius was not yet condemned. Mr Arnould displayed a hundred observations borrowed from the subtlest logic (14). The reading of such a paper must have greatly astonished the Pope: he would have seen the vanity of his precautions, and perceived that they proved to him, that he did not mean what he knew very well he had meant. As far as I see (he might have said) you know my thoughts better than myself. What a pretty thing is the *Canonis* of cardinal Laurea (15)? And when we consider the infinite distinctions that are necessary in order to discover exactly what is ordained by the bulls, and what is not (16), we easily perceive that the infallibility of St Peter's chair is of no use, unless we suppose that every

(8) Apud Samuel. Andream, ibid. pag. 67.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

(11) See the remark PERICLES, in the *History of the Variations* remark [D].

(12) Bishop of Meaux's History of the Variations, book iv. n. 371, pag. m. 131.

(13) *Viz.* That the bread was the true body.

(14) See the writings that have been published, pag. 240, and following, of the fourth Tome of the Tradition of the Church of Rome concerning Grace, at Liege, 1690.

(15) See the fourth Tome of the Tradition of the Church of Rome concerning Grace, pag. 138, and following.

(16) See what is cited from Melchior Canus in the same Tome, pag. 120, &c.

(1) Taken from Hopsinian. de Origine & Progressu Libri Concordiæ, cap. 35, pag. 307.

(2) Promoventibus eiusdem hanc D. Hemmingio, & alicui concionatori, &c. Id. ibid.

(3) Idem, Histor. Sacrament. Parte II, pag. 595.

(4) Samuel Andream, in epistola ad Antonium Horneck qua Danie Orthodoxæ fidelis & pacificæ Autori respondetur, pag. 62. Edit. Marburg. 1690.

(5) The sixth of April, 1576.

(6) Hemmingius in *Synagoga Institutionum Christianarum*, Loco de Deo, n. 38, apud Samuel Andream, ubi supra, pag. 63.

(7) See Samuel Andream, ibid. pag. 65, 66.

lifted several books: his short theological treatises were so highly esteemed by Simon Goulart, that he caused them to be re-printed at Geneva, in the year 1586 [D]. Add to this, that at the age of seventy years, he composed a book, intituled, *Immanuel*, which seems principally to have been designed as a confutation of James Andreas, the great promoter of Ubiquitism (c). This work which is much praised (d), was not printed till after the death of the author. It was published at Francfort, in the year 1615 (e), with a preface which will furnish us with a supplement to what we have said concerning the vigour with which the king of Denmark rejected the Book of Concord [E].

every private person is thoroughly acquainted with the most subtle rules of logic, or that every curate is infallible.

[D] His short theological treatises were so highly esteemed by Simon Goulart, that he caused them to be re-printed at Geneva in the year 1586.] See the epistle dedicatory of the edition which he procured. For the rest, he acquaints the reader, that he has cleared some things which Hemmingius had not sufficiently explained, and which offended many people.

[E] Here follows a supplement to what we have said (17) concerning the vigour with which the king of Denmark rejected the book of the Concord. An Englishman (18), who wrote the preface to this posthumous Work of Hemmingius, acquaints us (19), that queen Elizabeth left no means untried to induce the king of Denmark to act in this manner. He relates several particulars of the indignation of this prince, and, among others, that he threw into the fire, the book of Concord, which was sent him covered with silk, and adorned with jewels: 'Imo quod memorabile imprimis est è pietissimo Danorum Rege Frederico 2. ab aula Electorali Saxoniâ, ut ut missus, holserico obductus, auro, gemmisque pretiosis affabre ornatus magno, & pio Zelo Vulcano traditus est, annexâ gravissimâ penâ & inspectione ejus rei universi Regni Episcopis demandata sub confiscatione, in regnum ne importaretur, ibidemve distraheretur, neve sub exilio certissimo ab ullo possideretur, eo quod in illo nova, & in istis regionibus antè inaudita, ac (prout habet ipsum diploma Regium in librum Concordiæ vibratum, à doctis viris mihi non semel in Regni explicatum) inusitata comprehenderentur dogmata: recepta verò ibi ex adverso sunt cum Lutheri, Philippi quoque scripta, inter hæc cum primis CORPUS DOCTRINÆ, tribunitiæque illæ, ac declaratorie conciones S. Cathedralis pulse (20). — Nay which above all deserves to be observed, it was with a holy zeal thrown into the flames, by that pious prince, Frederic II, king of Denmark, though it was sent to him from the electoral court of Saxony, covered with silk, and richly adorned with gold and jewels, the importing or vending of it in his kingdom, was likewise forbid under a high penalty, and the inspection was committed to all the bishops of the kingdom, under the penalty of confiscation, and that none should presume to keep it in their possession, under the pain of banishment; it containing many new, strange, and unheard-of doctrines, in these parts: (these are the words of the Royal Edit, published against the book of Concord, as I have heard it more than once explained by learned men in Denmark.) On the other hand, the books of Luther and Melancthon are here received, and above all his CORPUS DOCTRINÆ, and these seditious and declamatory harangues were banished from the pulpits.' He observes that Hutterus highly condemned this conduct of the king of Denmark. 'Heroicum istud Regis Frederici factum vocat (Hutterus in libro quem appellat CONCORDIA CONCORDS) durum nimis & Rhadamantheum plane, Regemque & quidem Christianum haud decens, sed cum enormi, tantoque Rege indignâ proflus animi impotentia, & nimia affectuum vehementia conjunctum, quod tanti Regis dignitatem, prudentiam, & exultationes haud leviter, omnibus, qui saltem aliquid judicare possunt, suspectas reddit. — Hutterus, in his book he entitles CONCORDIA CONCORDS, calls this heroic action of king Frederic, harsh, and altogether Rhadamantian, unbecoming a prince, and a Christian, attended with great folly and heat of passion, altogether unworthy of so great a king. And that it gives no small ground, to people of sense; at least to call in question his dignity, prudence, and reputation.' But that it has been highly celebrated by Christopher Knobius, in his funeral oration on that prince. I shall quote the passage which will show

us the warm zeal of that prince, who frequently said, that this controversy among the Lutherans, had done more mischief, than the Turks could have done, by sacking these provinces where it first arose. 'Christophorus Knobius Aulicus illius (Regis) Concionator in Concione funebri in exequiis Regis habita anno 1588. 5 Junii sic de illo loquitur: Sollicitus erat ne sui quoque Doctores in abyssum hujus periculis, & nocentissimæ disputationis abriperentur, ideoque voluit isti negotio immiseri: etiam querebatur, damnum quod Christiana Ecclesia ex hac disputatione sentiebat, non posse tali Concordiæ Bergenfis formula sanari: & sciunt complures honestissimi viri, quanto cum affectu id factum doleat, quinimo illum sæpius dixisse, si Turca illas regiones, in quibus hæc certamina nata sunt, & adoleverunt, depopulatus fuisset, non tantum damni potuisse inferri, quantum hæc disputatio intulit, nec finem posse videri hujus certaminis (21). — Christopher Knobius, chaplain to that prince, in an oration pronounced at his obsequies in the year 1588, June 5, speaks of him in this manner. Being afraid lest his clergy should be hurried into the abyss of this dangerous and hurtful controversy, he would not at all meddle in it; and he complained that the hurt which the Christian church had sustained by it, could not be healed by this form of Concord of Berg. Many men of great note know what sorrow he felt on that account, and that he has frequently said, that if the Turk had sacked these provinces wherein these disputes began, and were cherished, he could not have done so much hurt as this dispute had done, and that no end of that controversy could be foreseen.' Queen Elizabeth made use of the same comparison in her letter to the elector of Saxony. Your country, says she (22), has sustained more prejudice by this pretended Concord, than if the Turks, had entered it with fire and sword. The author (23) who mentions this particular, observes that the ministers in Holland, prevailed with this queen, to persuade the king of Denmark to reject the book of Concord. We see, in the preface to Hemmingius's book, that the success of this king continued to reject that book, for which the author of the preface bestows great praises on him. 'Robinson pag. 10. ejusdem ad Lectorem præfationis sic concludit. Deus qui nunquam deest Ecclesiæ suæ, irrequietorum talium hominum conatus ut olim per pios Magistratus, in Daniâ præsertim, mirè impedit: ita etiam nunc per optimi patris optimum filium, re & nomine verum Christianum, patris vestigiis severe insistentem, pietate, & justitiâ regna sua firmantem, Pontificiorum, Ubiquitariorum, & aliorum schismaticorum ac turbulentorum hominum studia maturè, & prudenter in ipsâ herbâ reprimentem, benignè retardavit (24). — Robinson in the tenth page of the said preface to the reader concludes thus. GOD, who never forsakes his church, put a wonderful stop to the attempts of these turbulent spirits, as in former times, by pious rulers, especially in Denmark. So likewise in our days has he graciously curbed them by the excellent son of an excellent father, a Christian, both in name and thing, and who worthily goes on in his father's foot-steps, establishing his kingdom in piety and justice, and prudently checking in the bud the designs of Popists, Ubiquitarians, and other schismatics, and seditious persons.'

I frankly own that I do not take those things from the fountain-head, I have no other original but the notes of Lewis Gerard de Renesse on a letter which he reprinted at Breda in 1651 (25); and which had been first published in 1579, in Latin, Dutch, and German. It is intituled, 'Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum Epistola, ad, & contra Auctores Libri Bergenfis, dicti, Concordiæ. — An Apology for the Reformed Churches in Holland, by way of Epistle to and against the authors of a book from Berg called Of Concord.' Mr Renesse was ignorant of

(17) In the remark [A].

(18) He is named Robert Aleson in the notes which I shall quote below; but afterwards he is always named Robinson.

(19) Preface to the book of Hemmingius, edited, Immanuel, and Ludovicum Gerardum à Renesse. In his notes on the Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum Epistola, ad, & contra Auctores libri Bergenfis, de Concordiæ dicti, pag. 111.

(20) Preface, above, cited from L. G. à Renesse, pag. 111.

(c) Lud. Gerard à Renesse, Not. in Apolog. Belg. Eccles. pag. 114.

(d) I. ibid.

(e) Id. ibid. pag. 112.

(21) Lud. Gerard à Renesse, Not. in Epist. Apolog. Eccles. Reform. in Belgio, pag. 113.

(22) Scribens ad Augustum Electorem sic inter alia à Turca totam tuam ditionem, ferro flammæque vastasset, tanta non dedisset damna contra ex concordie discordis negotio accepti. Id. ibid. pag. 114. ex Jo. Lampadii, Epist. Dedic. Consens. Ubiquitatis.

(23) Joh. Lam. pag. ibid.

(24) Lud. Gerard à Renesse, ibid.

(25) He was a minister there, and professor of Divinity.

(26) See the remark [S] of the article CHARLES V, the passage of Grotius's Annals, where the apology of the prince of Orange is ascribed to this Peter Villiers.

of the author of it; but I know it has been ascribed to Peter de Villiers (26), a French minister, and chaplain to the prince of Orange. 'Anno 1579, Petrus Villiers Gallus concionator aulicus Principis Auriaci, Polypragmaticus, sub ministrorum Belgicorum nomine Epistolam criminatorem contra Autores libri Con-

cordiae publicavit (27). — In the year 1579, Peter Villiers, a Frenchman, and chaplain to the prince of Orange, a pragmatical man, published a slanderous epistle under the names of the ministers of Holland, against the authors of the book of Concord.'

(27) Schyffelsburg. lib. ii, Theol. Calvinianae, cap. vii, apud Schulting. Bibl. Cathol. Tom. I, pag. 23.

HENAUULT (N). A French poet in the XVIIth Century, 'Author of the sonnet upon Mrs de Guerchi [A], and teacher to Madam des Houlieries, was pretty famous in Paris whilst he lived, and is so still, though he has been dead these fourteen years (a). It is true, his merit not being in print [B], to use Mr Menage's phrase, his reputation could not spread itself like that of some others, who at Paris never enjoyed so great a one as himself. He was a man of wit and learning, loving pleasure with refinement, and a debauchee with art and delicacy; but he had the worst turn of mind imaginable. He pretended to be an Atheist, and made ostentation of his sentiments with a fury and affectation that were abominable. He composed three different systems concerning the mortality of the soul [C], and made a voyage

(a) *Vin.* in 1682.

[A] Author of the sonnet upon Mrs de Guerchi. Before I published, in the remark [G] of the article SPINOZA, the extract of the letter where these words are contained, I had already observed (1) that the sonnet of the Abbotive was thought to be Mr Henault's, and that he had composed it upon Mrs de Guerchi. But as soon as my dictionary appeared at London, a learned English gentleman there, did me the honour to write to me, I. that he knew from the first hand, that this sonnet was seen two or three years before the death of Mrs de Guerchi; II. that some persons who pretended to know it very well, assured him, that it was made by Subligni, author of the Falsé Clelia. I communicated this to the ingenious gentleman, who had written to me the letter, whereof I had inserted an extract in the article of SPINOZA. He answered me, that Mr Lucas had assured him that the sonnet on the Abbotive was composed twenty years before the accident of Mrs de Guerchi, but that all connoisseurs in these matters, whom he had consulted, said, it was written upon a miscarriage of that handsome woman, but not that which cost her her life. Twenty of my friends, adds he, who have lived with Henault, have assured me, that the sonnet was positively his, and that he owned it. Subligni was still in the college when that piece was first published: his widow and his daughter have confirmed it to me, that he was not the author of it. Let us then lay down for certain, that it is a piece of our Henault; for we shall see, below, that it was put into the collection of that poet's works: but let us very much doubt that it was made on Mrs Guerchi. It is looked upon as a master-piece, though it be against the rules (2) and has even one barbarism in it (3).

(1) In the article P A T I N, pag. 744, letter (d), I have left it out in this second edition.

* He made himself esteemed at the Bar. There are some plays of his composition, and some critical remarks on Andromache.

(2) See the Amities Amours, and Amourettes, of Mr le Pays, book iii, letter iv.

(3) See Father Bouhours's Maniere de bien Penser, pag. 373. Edit. Holland.

† Judgment upon the works of St Evremont, 1668, in 12mo, at Paris by the Sieur Dumont. It is a false name: it is attributed to Mr Cotelendi, author of *Arlequiniana*; some think Mr Erard, a famous advocate, had a good hand in it.

[B] His merit not being in print. This is found to be false. 'Mr d'Henault himself in his life-time, caused a little collection of his works to be printed at Paris by Barbin in 1670, in 12mo. *Oeuvres diverses* . . . par le Sieur D. H. It is dedicated to Monsieur Doort without any other title, it contains prose and verse, and letters in prose and verse to Sappho, who very probably is Madam des Houlieries. The sonnet on the Abbotive is there . . . We must not forget the first piece in the book intitled, *Consolation to Olympia*. It will furnish me with two critical observations: one is, that the compilers of St Evremont's works, being perhaps deceived by some body, or by a pretended conformity of style, have placed this whole letter, which is very long, among his works, and a great many people who pretend to be nice judges, have taken it for a genuine piece of his. This is an example, which you may add to those which you have collected concerning the errors, into which this likeness of style daily leads the critics. The second observation falls directly upon a new censor . . . who has pretended to pass a judgment upon the works of St Evremont † . . . This man has fallen headlong into the snare that was laid by the compiler. He attacks that letter of Consolation to Olympia in the style, on the thoughts and sentiments, and he bestows a fourth part of his book on this notable criticism. This is what I have found in a collection of remarks, which a young advocate of the parliament of Paris did me the favour to send me in the year 1698, and which convinced me, that he has an infinite deal of wit, and an exact knowledge of

many curious matters of fact, and such as are very proper for this dictionary (4).

[C] He had made three different systems concerning the mortality of the soul. Let us give one passage more out of that collection of remarks just now mentioned. 'Henault saith, in his epistle dedicatory, *You know that I am a man wholly by my self, that I do not place my happiness in the opinion of others, that my maxims or my errors are very different from those of all the world besides*. By this he begins to discover what he was. Many of his verses are imitations of the Chorus of Seneca, and amongst others of the second act of the Troas, where the mortality of the soul is established: that subject hit his taste.'

(4) See, below, the end of the remark [Q], in the article of GUISE.

Comme se perd en un moment
Cette portion d'air dans les corps enfermée;
Que le plus actif élément
Développe & pousse en fumée;
Comme au souffle des aquilons
On voit bien-tôt évanouïe
Une grosse nuée ou de grêle ou de pluie,
Qui d'un déluge affreux menace les valons;
Ainsi s'épand cette âme vaine
Qui meut tous les ressorts de la machine humaine.
Tout meurt en nous quand nous mourons:
La mort ne laisse rien, & n'est rien elle-même,
Du peu de tems que nous durons
Ce n'est que le moment extrême, &c.

'I am surprized that this was printed with the king's privilege. This man had a tender heart; he said to his mistress:

Sappho fit des vers comme vous,
Faites l'amour comme elle.

'He would have her to renounce glory.

Pour moi je ne suis point la dupe de la gloire,
Je vous quitte ma place au Temple de mémoire,
Et je ne conçois point que la loi du trépas
Doive épargner mon nom & ne m'épargner pas.
Je me mets au dessus de cette erreur commune,
On meurt, & ressource & sans réserve aucune.
S'il est après ma mort quelque reste de moi,
Ce reste un peu plus tard suivra la même loi,
Fera place à son tour à de nouvelles choses,
Et se replongera dans le sein de ses causes.

† Mais les gens de de là les monts Aurent bien-tôt pleuré cet homme, Car il défend les sanctiones, chose très nécessaire à Rome. La Fontaine, in his *Posthumous works*, speaking of *Isaac cent XI*, Quand l'objet en mon cœur a place, Et qu'à mes yeux il est joli, Do nomen quod libet illi. *Id. ibid.*

'This is no translation, but an original, and thus it is, that this man scattered in his works the seeds of his errors. In the two pieces that have been inserted in the Furetieriana, you will find also the same opinions which he endeavours to insinuate every where. To his impieties he added gross impurities. Some are to be found in a piece intitled *le Bail d'un cœur à Chloris, the leasing of a heart to Chloris*, which is in that collection, and assuredly that Chloris might well be one of la Fontaine's Jeannetons †. These verses are bolder than all his

* voyage to Holland on purpose to see Spinoza, who yet made but little account of his learning. At his death matters changed extremely: he was converted, and would have carried things to excess: his confessor was obliged to hinder him from receiving the Viaticum in the midst of his chamber with a halter about his neck. D' Henault was of no considerable family, his father was a Baker, and he himself was at first receiver of the taxes in Forez, where he did not manage his affairs well. He taught Madam des Houlières all that he knew or fancied he knew. It is pretended that this appears in the works of that lady [D]. This is an extract of a letter which an ingenious gentleman honoured me with the twenty seventh of April, 1696. He writ to me another the nineteenth of July, 1697, in which he informed me, that d' Henault had drawn up the plea of Mr Clodré, governor of Martinico, against Mr de la Barre, governor of the isles of America, and a manifesto of Mr de Gadagne, about the affair of Gigeri. You will find in the Fureteriana, an elegy (b) and an eclogue (c) of this author. The elegy is usher'd in with this commendation, *Monsieur d'Henault was esteemed by every body . . . He was every way a gentleman, and amorous.* He composed a sonnet which gave occasion to Mr Colbert to do a handsome thing [E]. He was married, and left one daughter, who is a pensionary in a convent at Paris. Our remarks are filled with several particulars which have been communicated to us, to which I refer the reader.

* his tales, and better deserved the censures of the magistrate.

[D] It is pretended that this appears in the works of that lady. The reader may have seen in the first edition of this dictionary, pag 1088, of the second tome, that he, to whom the words of this text belong, immediately adds, *I have seen some people take notice, among other verses in the laylle, on a river* †

† Pag. 164, Tome I, of Madam des Houlières's Poems: you will find it also in the *Cosmographie Galante* of May 1693, pag. 552.

Courez, ruisseau, courez, fuyez & reportez
Vos ondes dans le sein des mers dont vous sortez;
Tandis que pour remplir la dure destinée
Où nous sommes assujettis,
Nous irons reporter la vie infortunée
Dans le sein du néant d'où nous sommes sortis.

Run, river, run, and hasten to the sea;
There lose yourself in it's immensity.
So we, the struggle ore with care and strife,
In non-existence lose a wretched life.

It is certain that a person, who should speak after this manner, dogmatically would deny the immortality of the soul. But for the honour of Madam des Houlières, let us say that she only followed poetical ideas which are not to be drawn into consequence. Thus in imitation of the ancient poets, she says in another place (s), that after our death our soul wanders on the infernal shores. This could not have been her belief, if Mr de Henault had taught her his impieties. Let us not judge her by poetical phrases. Not but that abundance of licentiousness may be concealed under the privileges of versification. The advocate I have mentioned, has a note upon this passage. *You have quoted, says he to me in his letter, some verses of*

(s) See the article PLOTI. NUS, remark [A].

Madam des Houlières which are suspected of Libertinism: but they have made you omit one † which is not the least emphatical, and which is in the edition of her poems. To speak the truth; there are many moral, and even Christian and sacred, pieces in her works, which correct this one. Some people however were at pains to represent her as a Libertine; for she complains of it in her epistle to Father la Chaise on the hypocrites. She was a very great wit, the honour of her sex, and the shame of ours.

Note, that under pretence that she says we are produced out of nothing, it could not be pretended, that she believed the creation; for Mr d'Henault shews plainly enough (6) that by the word *nothing*, he meant not the privation of existence, but the meer privation of life. In this sense he did not admit of the creation.

[E] He composed a sonnet which gave occasion to Mr Colbert to do a handsome thing. The collection of remarks before cited, furnishes me with another good commentary. To return to Mr d'Henault, it is of him Mr Boileau speaks in two places of his ninth satire: *Je le declare donc, Haynault est un Virgil. I declare it then, Haynault is a Virgil.* But Mr Boileau told me himself that he thought him a pretty good poet, and that his best piece, not for it's matter, but for the composition, was a sonnet against Mr Colbert, which began with this verse, *Ministre avare & lâche, esclave Malheureux. — O griping base minister, O miserable slave.* Mr Colbert on this occasion did a noble thing; he was told of this sonnet, which made a noise at that time. He asked whether there was nothing in it against the king, he was told there was not; whereupon he answered, that he minded it not, and would not resent it against the author. Is not this something nobler than the sonnet?

† Nous irons reporter la vie infortunée, QUE LE HAZARD NOUS A DONNÉS. Dans le sein du néant d'où nous sommes sortis.

(6) See the sonnet of the Abbotive.

• He calls him so to disguise him.

HENICHIUS (JOHN) professor of Divinity in the university of Rintel in the country of Hesse, was the son of a minister of Winhusen, and was born in the month of January 1616. He went through the Classics at Zell and Lunenburg, and then was sent to Helmstadt in the year 1634; where, after he had studied four years, he was admitted doctor of philosophy. Having afterwards read some lectures, and moderated in some public disputations, he gained, in a very particular manner, the friendship of Dr Calixtus and Dr Horneius, two celebrated divines. He went to Heldeſheim towards the end of the year 1639, and he lived there about three years with a gentleman of merit (a). He took a journey after that towards the Rhine, and then staid some time with James Lampadius at Hanover. He was made professor of Metaphysics, and of the Hebrew tongue in the university of Rintel, in the year 1643, and at the end of a year and a half he was called to Bardewic to be super-intendant there. He exercised the functions of that office five years together, with so much diligence, that Augustus, duke of Brunſwic, would have given him the inspection of the whole diocese of Wolfenbüttele; but he did not accept of it. He even quitted his employment, because the fatigues he had gone through had brought on him a tedious sickness. He returned to Rintel in the year 1651, to be professor of Divinity there. He was solemnly invested with the honour of a doctor's degree in the same faculty, and had a place soon assigned him in the ecclesiastical Consistory, and was made inspector of the churches of the county of V O L. II. 5 G Schawemburg

(a) Ad Nobilitatem Virum D. Fridericum Wilhelmum GANSIUM se contulit, apud quem triennium fere satis commode exegit. Apud Witte, Memor. Theolog. Detad. xii, pag. 1716.

(b) The town of Rinthel is in that county.

(c) Taken from his funeral Program, inserted by Mr Witte, in the XIII Decade Memoriarum Theolog. nostris seculi, pag. 1716, & seq.

(1) Witte, Memor. Theolog. Dec. XIII, pag. 1720.

Schawemburg (b). He gave proofs of his learning in several works which he published [A], he had a great deal of candour and moderation, and passionately desired an union betwixt the Lutherans and Calvinists [B], and it was probably this which exposed him to the malice of some zealots. He married in 1645, a very virtuous woman, who did not prove barren; for he had thirteen children by her. He died at Rinthel the twenty seventh of June, 1671 (c). His epitaph, made by Gerhard Walter Molan, is very fine. You will find it in the 338th and 339th pages of a book of Gaspar Sagittarius (d)

(d) Intituled, Introductio in Historiam Ecclesiasticam: and printed in 1694.

[A] Several works which he published.] Here is the catalogue that Mr Witte has given of them (1). *Dissertatio de Mosephate civili*: Rintel. 1653 in 4to. *De Cultu creaturarum & imaginum Dissert.* ibid 1653 in 4to. *De Libertate Arbitrii, imprimis de concursu causae secundae cum primis*: ibid. 1645 in 4to. *De officio boni Principis pique Subditi*: ibid. 1661 in 12mo. *Dissertatio de Penitentia lapsorum*: ibid. 1659 in 4to. *De Gratia & Prædestinatione Dissertatio*: ibid. 1663 in 4to. *Compendium S. Theologiae*: ibid. 1657, 1671, in 8vo. *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*: ibid. 1667 in 12mo. *Institutiones Theologicae*: Brunsvigae, 1665, in 4to. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae & Civilis, Pars I*: Rintel. 1669. *Pars II*. 1670. *Pars III*. 1674. in 4to. *Disputationes aliquot emittit publicae habuit, ex quibus est: de Mysterio SS. Trinitatis: De Confessione Augustini, de Fide & Operibus: &c.*

I have something to observe upon the book of *Veritate Religionis Christianae*, which is in that list. It is a very good supplement to that of Grotius on the same same subject: for Henichius explains, illustrates, and proves more at large the arguments that Grotius had made use of. He informs us of this in the title, where he says, *quod ea quae vir illustris Hugo Grotius de hac materia commentatus est, aliquanto uberius expenuntur*. By the way let us observe, that Grotius has been accused of plagiarism, and let us place here an addition, which was at the end of the first volume of this dictionary in the first edition, and which the Printer has not placed where it ought to be in the second. It contains these words: 'to me there seems nothing more false, than what was said to Mr Wheeler and Mr Spon, That Grotius had stole his principal argument for the truth of the Christian religion, from an Arabic author, and particularly from the works of an excellent man, whom the Latins held for an arch-heretic but whom the Copti look upon as a saint, who has written an excellent book against the Turks and Jews for the truth of the Christian religion' (2). Note as to the three volumes of our Henichius's Ecclesiastical History, that they reach but to the end of the Vth century; and though the title promises the civil as well as the ecclesiastical history, the author dwells principally on the latter. The first volume contains the three first centuries; the second contains the fourth, and the third, the fifth. Bosius who had said, in his *Sebediasma de comparanda notitia scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, that Henichius's work compre-

hended the six first centuries, was too rudely censured for it. He acknowledged his error, and corrected it with his own hand in the copy of his book. Such faults as these may be pointed out, but it should be done without bitterness and insulting, remembering that it is very easy to commit them. *Aberationem agnovit, ac manu sua in exemplari privato correxit: ut adeo acrem illam Clarissimi Slateri censuram non videatur meruisse. Et quam facili in his talibus sit lapsus, unusquisque intelligit* (3). The author who says this, observes, that Henichius, after giving the substance of what is said by the ancient authors, afterwards sets down the passages at full length. He has reason to say that this ought to recommend his work. *Cæterum Henichianum opus vel eo etiam nomine meretur commendari, quod integra auctorum veterum testimonia adscribat, quorum summam prius attulerat* (4).

[B] He passionately desired an union betwixt the Lutherans and Calvinists.] He is praised for it in his funeral Program (5): 'Pacis & concordiae perpetuus studiosus, nihilque magis in votis habebat, quam ut schisma inter Evangelicos funditus tolleretur, & togata praelia in suggellibus & Cathedris cum salutifera, DEO & hominibus gratâ pace, fausto omine, commutarentur: qua de causa immortalem nominis gloriam apud omnes bonos, adeptus est. — He was a constant lover of peace and concord, and desired nothing more earnestly, than that the schisms among Protestants should be entirely healed, and that instead of these contentions among divines, both in their chairs and pulpits, we might be blessed with peace grateful to God and man: and on this account his name will still be remembered with honour among all good men.' The author of the Program says a little after (6), 'Equidem invidia & malignitas, ut sunt virtutis fata, non unum in eum jaculata fuit pugilum: sed & illa, quæ viventis gravis fuit, mortui famæ, credo, favebit, suamque vel imperitiam vel livorem tandem profitebitur. — Indeed the envious and malicious, as the common fate of virtue, did not spare him, but these which afflicted him while living will, I do not doubt, add to his fame now he is dead, and at length own their ignorance or spite. He doth not point out the causes of that malicious envy which persecuted Henichius: but I conjecture, that the peaceable disposition of that professor, furnished pretences to slander him.'

* In Prologo Introductio in Historiam Christianam, pag. 26.

(3) Caspar Sagittarius, Introd. in Histor. Eccles. pag. 340.

(4) Id. Sagittarius, ibid.

(5) Witte, Memor. Theolog. Decid. XIII, pag. 1718.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 1719.

(2) Wheeler's Voyage to Dalmatia, &c. lib. ii, pag. 163, Edit. Holland. 1689.

(a) See Mainbourg's Decade de l'Empire, livr. v, pag. m. 476.

(b) See Mainbourg, ibid.

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 477.

(d) Id. ibid. citing the abb. of Ursperg.

HENRY VI, emperor of Germany, son of Frederic Barbarossa, was crowned by Pope Celestin III [A], the fifteenth day of April, 1191. He marched with a potent army to take possession of Naples and Sicily, which fell to the empress Constantia his wife, after the death of the young William, king of Sicily (a). He found so many oppositions to his taking possession of it, that we may almost say, that he obtained those two kingdoms by conquest. He made himself so much feared, that the emperor Alexis, surnamed The Angel, could not obtain peace of him without paying tribute (b). If he had only done that, his valour might have been praised; but all the applause he may have merited, on that account, is swallowed up by the cruelty and treachery he shewed, in exterminating, under false pretences, all that remained of the race of the brave Normans who had conquered that part of Italy, which the empress, his wife, their heirs, gave him right to possess (c). It is said, that this prince, to punish him for it, made him swallow poison, whereof he died at Messina, in the year 1198, being thirty two years old (d). He left a son, who was emperor under the name of Frederic II. Constantia was so old, when she brought that son into the world, that, to avoid all suspicions of imposture, she was brought to bed publicly [B]. These precautions did not

[A] Was crowned by Pope Celestin III.] They have changed their aspect since, and there is not tell this circumstance of that coronation. As the emperor 'was at his feet, Celestin, who put the crown on his head, lifted up his foot, and kicked it down, to shew that he could give it and take it away. Baronius praises this action, but things, in my opinion, have changed their aspect since, and there is not one prince who would sincerely subscribe to the opinion of that cardinal (1). I cite the author who speaks thus. [B] To avoid all suspicions of imposture, she lay in publicly.] Here is a passage of Brantôme, which deserves

(1) Chevreau, History of the World, book v, chap. ii, pag. 75, of the third Tome, Holland Edition, 1687.

not hinder the world from saying, that this child was supposititious [C]. There are authors who maintain, that Constantia was neither a nun, nor very old when she married Henry VI [D].

deserves to be read: 'Constantia, queen of Sicily, who had never stirred from the cloyster, leading all her youth and life in Vestal chastity, setting herself at liberty at the age of fifty, tho' not handsome, but quite decrepit, had a mind to taste the pleasures of the flesh; she married, and became with child at the age of fifty two, which she resolved to be delivered of publicly in the plains and meadows of Palermo, having caused a tent and pavilion to be erected there for that purpose, that no body might distrust the legitimacy of her fruit, which was one of the greatest miracles that has been seen since St Elizabeth. The history of Naples says, notwithstanding, that he was reputed supposititious: however, he proved a very great man: but most bastards are brave, as a great man once told me (2).

(2) Brantôme, *Dames Galantes*, Tom. II, pag. 207.

(3) Camerarius, *Meditat. Historiæ*, Vol. II, lib. iv, chap. vii, pag. 296.

* Book iv. of the History of Naples.

[C] *These precautions did not hinder the world from saying, that this child was supposititious.* Brantôme whom we have just quoted tells us this. But here is another author, who will point out the proofs of it better. 'It is certain, *says he* (3), that women fifty years old and upwards, have born children. We have an example of it in that renowned Nun Constantia, the mother of Frederic II, who, being taken from a cloyster, was the only heiress and queen of Sicily, being with child at the age of fifty two years compleat, to take away all suspicion, had a pavilion set up in a public place of a certain town in Sicily, and in the presence of the greatest ladies of that country, lay-in in public. Notwithstanding which many disputed that fact; amongst others the marquis of Ancona, named Marquardus, who offered to prove, that that child was not the issue of Henry and Constantia, and so was supposititious. As it is said by Pandolfo Collenuccio *. If it may be said, that the most exquisite precautions are useless against love, we may likewise say, that they are so against ambition.

Do whatever you please to convince the public that such or such a child-birth was not imaginary, but most real, they will always find answers ready for you; the expedient which cured St Thomas's incredulity, is the only one that can be proof against these cavils: *unless I put my finger, &c.* will they say to you, as that apostle did, *I will not believe* (4). Nay I know not but after feeling they would say, *I have seen and felt how the child came out, but not how it came in.* Was your husband capable of begetting it.

(4) St John, ch. xx, ver. 25.

[D] *Some authors . . . maintain that Constantia was neither a nun, nor very old, when she married Henry VI.* It is the common opinion, that she was taken from a cloyster, and that she obtained a dispensation to be married to the emperor Henry VI, and that she conceived about the age of fifty five. But there are historians who deny this. Let us see the sequel of the passage of Camerarius, which I have cited (5). 'Possibly John Michael Brutus (6) took occasion from this story, flatly to deny, that Constantia was ever a nun or abbess, or that Pope Celestin dispensed with her marriage, so far as according to his calculation she must have been sixty years old. On the contrary, he alleges Hugo Falcandus the historian, who says she was then in the flower of her age, and married to Henry, in the reign of William, surnamed the Good, when Frederic Barbarossa was yet alive: but that the confusion of times was the cause of that mistake. I am of opinion, *says he*, that she was conveyed from the palace royal to an abbey of nuns, when the people mutinying, imprisoned king William, surnamed the Bad, and that no more convenient place could be found for her security, during these commotions. When these were appeased, that prince, who was entirely at liberty, and was neither veiled nor professed, lived among the nuns, till she married Henry.

(5) Camerarius, ubi supra.

(6) Lib. ii, De Institutione Ital. *Thus Camerarius quotes him in the Latin edition of Franciscus*, 1653, pag. 276.

HENRY II, king of France, succeeded Francis I, his father, the last of March 1547. One of the first things he did, was to despise the order his father gave him on his death-bed. I mean, that a few days after he came to the crown, he recalled the constable of Montmorency [A], whom Francis I. had banished for very good reasons (a). That disobedience cost him dear [B]. For it may be affirmed, that the most grievous events that were the stain of his reign, were owing to the constable. It was he that by his evil conduct lost the famous battle of St Quintin (b); after which he was the cause

(a) See the remark [B].

(b) The tenth of August, 1557.

[A] *He recalled the constable of Montmorency.* His father had seriously recommended to him Annebault for his chief minister, in whom he had found great experience, wisdom, and zeal, and no stain of avarice or ambition; but more especially advised him to beware, if he loved the good of his kingdom, of recalling the constable of Montmorency. . . . Nevertheless, although he had paid a most dutiful obedience to his father during his whole life, yet he paid no deference to his commands after his death. He took the administration of all affairs, from Annebault and from the cardinal de Tournon, to give it to Montmorency (1). We shall see, that this most dutiful obedience had its exceptions, which will not permit us to think that Mezger had reason to give it so good a character as he has done. 'The precaution of Francis, reached even to the forbidding most expressly the Dauphin, his eldest son, who was afterwards king Henry II, from having any communication with the constable. . . . But all that he could obtain of his son, was to dissemble, for seven years together, his friendship for the constable. And he did not even dissemble with so much artifice, but that the whole court knew, that no day passed without their receiving letters from one another. But Francis I. was at no pains to break off that correspondence, whether because the Dauphin, and the constable were equally successful in concealing it from him: or that having no other son than the Dauphin, he was unwilling to do oblige him (2). These are Mr Varillas's words, and they may be very justly criticized; for first, if the Dauphin had dissembled his friendship seven years together, he would not so often have pressed his

(1) Mezger, at the beginning of the History of Henry II, pag. 105, of the second Volume of the History of France.

(2) Varillas's History of Henry II, book i, pag. 6.

father to re-call the constable; and yet Mr Varillas assures us, he did this (3). Secondly, how shall we reconcile this author's alternative, with what Mezger relates (4), that the king was much offended, that the Dauphin, in defiance of his orders, corresponded with the constable of Montmorency.

(3) History of Francis I, book xii, pag. 295.

(4) Chronological Abridgment, Tom. IV, pag. 635.

[B] *That disobedience cost him dear.* Mr Varillas will furnish me with a commentary upon this text! I will not content myself with citing him for Henry the second's reign, but shall take his words something higher; 'the disgraces of constable Montmorency, *says he* (5), of admiral Chabot, and of chancellor Poyet, are related in the ninth book in such a manner as not to surprise those, who have read in Bodin's republic, that Francis I. grew worse humoured as he advanced in years; that he had been convinced, by his own experience, that he could not have made choice of two men less fit for the intrigues of the cabinet, than Montmorency and Chabot; and that tho' he could not charge Poyet with the same defect, yet this chancellor had another as great, which was to carry things too far; that this had been the source of all the misfortunes which had happened to his majesty, and that if he continued the same ministry, he was not to expect a more favourable success. The event proved, that the three ministers, who succeeded to the places of the disgraced, were more capable of filling them than they: and that if Henry II had not restored the constable Montmorency, he had not been obliged to give up, in order to recover him, 198 towns, or strong places, and almost as much extent of ground, as one third of France.'

(5) Preface of the History of Francis I.

[C] *The*

(6) The treaty of Cateau, in Cambresis, concluded in the year 1559.

cause of a treaty of Peace (c), much more scandalous to the French monarchy [C], than the loss of that battle. Possibly he would not have been able to have made Henry II consent to that disadvantageous peace, had it not been for a spirit of persecution, which had got the mastery of this prince [D]. The constable deserves also much blame,

(6) Mezerai, Chronological Abridgment, Tom. IV, pag. 715.

(7) Id. History of France, Tom. II, pag. 1132.

(8) This brings to my mind the words of Terentius Pallus: Pudet numerate inter hæc tempora quam ista gererentur, quæ sæpe Gallienus malo generis humani quasi per jocum dixerit. Nam quom ei amentum esset, Ægyptum deservisset, dixisset ferretur, Quid? sine livo Ægyptio esse non possimus? Quom autem vallatam Aulam & elementorum concursionibus & Seytharum incurtionibus compertisset, Quid, inquit, sine apertis esse non possumus? Perdit Gallia arripisse ac dixisset perhibetur, Non sine atrocibus sagis tuta Respici? Sic denique de omnibus partibus mundi, quom eas amitteret, quasi detrimentum vilius ministeriorum videtur afflicti, joculariter Terentius Pallus in Gallienis, dicit, cap. vi, pag. m. 200.

[C] The constable was the cause of a treaty of peace much more scandalous to the French monarchy. Mr Mezerai, though, of all the historians of France, he is the highest favourer of the subjects against the court, yet he blames the joy that the people expressed for that peace. 'The people, says he (6), who always desire peace at any rate, greatly rejoiced at this . . . But the party of the Guises, the wise politicians, and all the nobility, highly condemned it, as a manifest cheat, which made France lose 198 strong places, only for three that were restored, which were Ham, Catelet, and St Quintin.' He speaks with greater force in his great history (7). For in relating the articles of that peace, he inserts after these words, that the more strongly to unite the hearts of the princes, this parenthesis (but rather to cover, with some honourable pretence, the shame and loss that France received by this unfortunate treaty); and towards the end of the same page he says as follows. 'These articles being brought to the king, and communicated by his majesty to the princes and grandees of his kingdom, there were few but judged them entirely disadvantageous, and shameful to France: all France indeed universally condemned them by their murmurs. Brisac having advice of it, though the articles had been disguised to him, dispatched Boyvin-Villars to court, he that has left us the memoirs of the war of Piedmont, with instructions to lay before the king his most humble remonstrances, and to dissuade him from so dishonourable a peace. Concluding, that if his majesty was resolved to give up what he possessed in Italy, which was worth the best province of his kingdom, and could bring him in, all expences defrayed, a revenue of 300000 crowns into his treasury, he only begged for all the recompence of his good services, that he would please to banish him, together with all the forces that were beyond the Alps, as rebels, and that he knew how to preserve the places which he held, at the expence of the Milanese, and the republic of Genoa, or at least would die gloriously, in a country, where all the forces of Europe had not been able to force him to lose an inch of ground, in the ten years time that he had the defence of it . . . The king expressed an approbation of his zeal, but having his heart wholly set upon peace, he answered, that he should make it upon the conditions proposed to him, he should still retain enough to make himself feared by his enemies (8). Whereupon Guise, moved either by his own interest, or by a sense of honour and conscience, boldly interrupting him, said, Sir, your majesty will pardon me, if I say, that this is not the right way to do it, and that though you should fight for twenty five years to come, as contrary a fortune as that of the last year, you would not lose in all that time, what they would have you give up in one day. It did not cost the late king, when he was vanquished and a prisoner, but, &c.' I omit all the reasons of the duke of Guise, but not what follows them in the historian; 'he said many other things with so much vehemence, as made the king often change his colour, but not his resolution; the dice were cast, and whoever was the cause of it, either his favourites, or his natural temper, his courage was so cast down, that he could no longer bear the war; he therefore ratified the treaty, and the peace was published the tenth of April . . . All the French authors, who have written of that time, have called it the unfortunate and cursed peace. Brisac hearing that it was made, cried out often, *ab miserable France, what evils* . . . He remained governor of the five towns and eight castles which the king retained, with 8000 foot and 450 horse, and restored the other places, but he first demolished the greatest part of them, and sold the ammunition according to the king's command; not without much difficulty of receiving the money, and orders that were necessary from court, because the constable, favouring the duke of Savoy, did all that he could to put the places entire

into his hands, and even those which the king had reserved to himself (9). We shall see below (10), that the court of France was so weak under Charles IX and Henry III, as to suffer itself to be persuaded to evacuate that little it had reserved; and there is no doubt but that in Charles IX's time, the constable had a great share in that mismanagement. When we consider the immense wealth he heaped together, we cannot say of him, as of many others; that in managing his master's affairs well, he managed his own very well; but we must say, that in managing his own affairs very well, he managed those of his master very ill. Did not he, under Charles IX, enter into a league with the Guises? was not he the cause of that prodigious power they rose to, that was so fatal to the monarchy, and had like to have given to France a fourth race of kings? when Francis I. disgraced the constable, he charged him with ignorance in the two principal parts of his employment, which was war and policy (11). See the character which the partisans of the Guises give of him in Mezerai (12).

Some critics will say perhaps, that Mr Mezerai does too much extenuate the advantages granted to Henry II by the treaty of Cateau. Why does he mention only the three towns that were restored to France? Why doth he suppress the conquest of Calais, Metz, Toul, and Verdun? but that criticism would be a very bad one; for the treaty of Cateau did not grant these four places to Henry II. It left the empire at full liberty to redemand the restitution of the three last; and it solemnly engaged France to restore Calais to England at the end of eight years. This is a thing which an anonymous historian has not observed who speaks thus (13). 'The king of France restored to the king of Spain, all that he had conquered of him on both sides the Alps. Item, to the prince of Piedmont, Bresse, Savoy, and Piedmont, except four towns: to the Genoese, the isle of Corsica; Siena, to the duke of Florence; and retained nothing but Calais, without gaining a foot of any other land in that long and pernicious war, which had laid waste so many provinces, plundered, burnt, ruined so many cities, towns, villages, castles, and had occasioned the death of so many princes, lords, gentlemen, captains, soldiers, citizens, and peasants, caused the rapes and violations of so many women and maids; in a word, that had turned all Europe topsy-turvy. The king gave up above 200 (others say almost twice that number) places, for the conquest whereof a sea of his subjects blood had been spilt, the treasures of the kingdom exhausted, his own demesns mortgaged, and himself indebted on all sides.' This historian supposes, that Henry II saw his dominions enlarged at least by the cession of Calais, but that is a falsehood: all the rest of his discourse is solid. And as it is certain, that one might have represented to the king of Spain, what Hannibal represented to the Roman general (14), what thunderbolts does that discourse level at the head of Henry II? it might have been said to the king of Spain, that the countries he had stripped France of by this treaty of peace, were not worth the immense sums which that war had cost him, nor so many soldiers and officers as he had lost. If this was capable of lessening the joy which an advantageous peace made him feel, how must it break the heart of the monarch to whom it was disadvantageous? to return from a long war with empty hands, is a disgrace, said Homer (15). He would have used much stronger expressions in such a case as this.

[D] The spirit of persecution . . . got the mastery of this prince. Henry II was extremely severe against the Protestants, he put them to death without mercy, and yet they increased much under his reign. If they were not concerned for the extreme consternation which seized the court of France, and the city of Paris, after the battle of St Quintin, it was but what nature inspired them; every sect which is ill used, and which can hope for no relaxation, unless the court finds itself embarrassed, will rejoice at the progress of an enemy, and be glad to see their persecutors so taken up with affairs abroad, as not to know

(9) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 1134.

(10) In the remarks [G] and [H], where more murmurs are to be seen against the peace of the year 1559.

(11) Varrillas, History of Francis I, book ix, pag. 397. Holl. Edition, 1690, ad ann. 1540.

(12) Mezerai, History of France, pag. 1135, Tom. II.

(13) Histoire des choses mémorables avenues en France depuis l'an 1547 jusqu'à au commencement de l'an 1597, pag. 614.

(14) See Penelope's divers sur les Cometes, n. 113, pag. 658.

(15) Αλοχρεν τοι δαπον τε μανειν, ηνασεν τε νεσεν, Turpe dique manere, inaneque redire. Homer. Iliad. lib. ii, ver. 298.

blame, for not having given better advice to his master, with relation to the duchess of Valentinois, who, at an age ill suited to that of Henry II, held him in her chains, and made a very unjust use of his slavery. Instead of fortifying this prince against the snares of that woman, the constable intrigued for her, and devoted himself to her faction (d). It is pity the reign of Henry II had these stains in it, for it was otherwise remarkable for glorious actions, and for very noble successes, which cruelly mortified Charles V. We cannot deny Henry II the glory of being brave, and it is said that queen Elizabeth of England admired him upon that account [E]. But after all, it will be an eternal testimony of his weakness, and of the dominion which his favourites had over him, that, contrary to the advice of the wisest heads of his kingdom, he signed the treaty of peace of Cateau in Cambresis. *A peace, not less scandalous to France than that which the emperor Jovian made with the king of Persia, so much decried by all antiquity* (e). A peace, which by one stroke of a pen, lost in one moment all the labours and conquests of many years, and an extent of country, equalling one third of the kingdom (f). No body profited so much by that disgrace of France, as the duke of Savoy; for, besides being restored to his dominions, he married the sister of Henry II, a princess of great merit [F], and who knew how to bubble the court of France

(d) See the article FORTIERS.

(e) Pasquier's Letters, Tome II, book xv, pag. 221, also Tome I, book iv, pag. 471.

(f) Monluc, Memoires, lib. iv, pag. m. 789.

know which way to turn themselves. Of all the Christian sects, there is none more disposed to this sort of conduct, than those of the Romish communion. And therefore we need not wonder, though what Mr Maimbourg affirms (16) should be true, namely, that the Protestants 'took advantage of the public affliction after the battle of St Quintin . . . and ventured to hold their meetings in open day, in the most frequented streets of Paris, and even to appear in public, and assemble openly in great bodies, in the *Pre-aux-Clercs*, there to sing aloud Clement Marot's Psalms.' This ought to teach princes, that their persecuting edicts expose them to great inconveniences. This is the cause why their bonfires afflict one part of their subjects, and why the successes of their enemies afford them comfort. If they complain they have bad subjects, it ought to be answered, it is you who make them such (17); for to pretend, that a persecuted party will afflict themselves for the public calamities, which are the source of their repose, and the foundation of a very plausible hope of prosperity, is to pretend, that the primitive ages of Christianity should return again; now those times will not come twice. It is to expect, that men should be like those of the Millennium if it ever comes. But let us return to Henry II. When he saw that the Protestants 'thought to take advantage of the loss which he had sustained in the battle of St Quintin, he published a new edict, forbidding all the judges to moderate the punishment of death, and confiscation of goods, with regard to all those, who should be found not only guilty of Heresy, but convicted of having brought into France books, printed at Geneva, against the doctrine of the Catholic church. Thus they proceeded against the Calvinists more rigorously than before (18). But as that hindered them not from multiplying, nor even from engaging persons of the first quality in their party, the king saw, that, in order to extirpate them, he must make peace with the house of Austria; and this doubtless was one of the great motives which made him shut his eyes upon the good condition in which he had settled his affairs (19). He had stopped the progress of his enemies, and had even taken some very strong places from them. But that signified nothing, he chose rather to grant them all they had a mind to, than not to have his hands at liberty to exterminate the Protestants of his kingdom. Thus we have seen the same court, let slip the most favourable occasions of aggrandizing itself in the year 1684, in order to apply itself solely to the suppression of the Edict of Nantes. They who suffer themselves to be possessed with this spirit, must renounce the title of conquerors. If Henry II had long survived this ignominious peace, which he accepted, we should have seen him entirely taken up with tournaments and persecutions, but he died a little after it was signed. Mr Maimbourg is an exceptionable witness, as to the joy he says the Heretics conceived upon it; his words are these (20). 'Thus he was lamented with most unfeigned tears, and infinitely regretted by all his subjects, except the Protestants alone, who thinking themselves delivered by his death, from what they called the persecution of the church, expressed in a most unworthy manner by their words and actions, and scandalous writings, the excessive joy which it gave them.'

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We may with regard to Henry II make the same observation which we made concerning Francis I (21). He attacked the party weakly on one side, while he made it stronger on the other. He put to death some inconsiderable private persons in France, and at the same time entered into alliance with the Protestants of Germany against Charles V, &c. (22). And was fond of the title of *protector of the German liberty*, which was to say at that time, protector of the Protestants (23). The other Catholic princes observed the same conduct (24). I think the following words of Mr le Laboureur are worthy of notice: 'To pluck the tares from amongst the wheat (*says he*) (25). GOD will only chuse princes who are innocent, and of a good life, and will not employ politic hands, as were those of the counsellors of all the Catholic crowns of that time, who only weeded their own fields to cast the darnel into those of their neighbours, and who persecuted Heresy only as a faction against authority.' Charles V, and the kings of Spain his successors, have favoured, on many occasions, the Protestants of Germany and France. See the proof of this in the first Tome of the Apology for the Catholics (26), composed by Mr Arnauld. The Spanish ambassador solicited success in England for the duke of Rohan. What Grotius writes concerning this is remarkable. 'Validus est rumor, Gonthomerum, & qui in aula Anglica Hispanice sunt factionis, aperte profiteri, non debere à Rege Britanniarum deserti religionis consortes in Gallia, ne si quando vetera jura repetere ipsi sit animus, desint, qui partes Anglicas sequantur (27). — It is confidently reported, that Gundamor, and those of the Spanish faction in the court of England, openly affirm, that the king of Great Britain ought not to desert those of his own religion in France; lest he might want their assistance, if ever he should think of asserting his ancient pretensions to that crown.' See in the *Political Testament* of the marquis de Louvois (28), some reflexions upon the violences exercised in Hungary against the Protestants, by order of the same court, which a little after rendered such great services to the Protestants of Great Britain and Holland, whom Lewis XIV and James II were resolved to oppress, as was reported.

[E] *Queen Elizabeth of England admired him for his bravery.* Brantôme will instruct us about this matter: 'I have heard, *says he* (29), the present queen of England say, that he was the king and the prince whom she most desired to see, for the great character she had heard of him, and the great renown which he every where had obtained. . . . Being at table, discoursing familiarly with those lords, she said these words, (after having bestowed great praises on the king) he was a prince that I most desired to see of any, and I had already sent him word that I would quickly see him, and for that purpose I had given order to have my galleys splendidly fitted out (these were her words), that I might go over to France on purpose to see him.' See the same story in the *Memoirs of the Dames Galantes*, where it is expressly observed, that the queen desired to see Henry II, because he was brave, valiant, generous, and very martial (30).

[F] *The duke of Savoy married the sister of Henry II, a princess of great merit.* Her name was Margaret, as was her aunt's the queen of Navarre, and she was like her,

(21) See the article FRANÇOIS I, remark [P].

(22) The king resolved to apply himself wholly to the great affair of religion, for which he had a mighty zeal, which he never relaxed in all his reign, not even when, for purely political interests, he made an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany, against the emperor Charles V. Maimbourg, ubi supra, pag. 110.

(23) See the remark [A.A].

(24) See the article of queen ELIZABETH, remarks [C] and [R].

(25) Addition to the Memoirs of Castelnau, Tom. II, pag. 577.

(26) Pag. 78, &c.

(27) Grotius, Epist. clvii, Part. I, pag. 60.

(28) Pag. 167. Edit. Collogue, 1695.

(29) Brantôme, Disc. of Henry II, Tom. II, of his Memoires, pag. 60, 61.

(30) Tom. II, pag. 261.

(16) Maimbourg, History of Calvinism, lib. II, pag. 96.

(17) Apply here this saying of Seneca, against those who complain of the ungrateful, *Multos experimus ingratos, plures fatuos*. Seneca, de Beneficiis, lib. I, cap. ix.

(18) Maimbourg, ubi supra, pag. 100.

(19) See, in the remark [M], the words of the cardinal de Lorraine.

(20) Ubi supra, pag. 114.

France very advantageously for her husband [G]. She was not young when she married; for which reason the murmurs against the peace reached even to her [H]. It is without reason that a modern author has attempted to justify the conduct of Henry III [I], who

paid

her, much addicted to study, and a patroness of the learned. She was suspected to have imbibed the new opinions, and to have communicated something of them to Catherine de Medicis (31). See her elogy in Brantôme (32), and in Mr. le Laboureur. The latter tells us a passage which deserves to be known. 'Margaret of France, *says he* (33), was married at forty six years of age (34), and as she seemed to be too old to bear children, it was believed that the noise of her great belly was a stratagem, to oblige the king to restore her more willingly the places he detained. It was on this account that the Sieur Huraut de Bois-Taillé, ambassador at Venice, wrote a letter of the twenty seventh of July 1561, to Bernardin Bochetel, bishop of Rennes, the French ambassador in Germany, wherein he had these words. *It is said that the duchess of Savoy is big with child, but I believe, that is done ad aliquid.* That report was verified by the birth of Charles Emanuel, grandfather to the present duke of Savoy (35).'

[G] *Who knew how to bubble the court of France, very advantageously for her husband* [The treaty of Cateau imported that in three years the rights which the king pretended to upon the territories of the duke of Savoy, should be examined and regulated by commissioners on both sides (36).] King Francis II, and the duke had named deputies for that purpose in the year 1560. The king's deputies made six very considerable demands; but instead of obtaining any thing, France abandoned all the towns he had kept. She ordered by Letters Patents the eighth of August 1561, 'that there should be restored to the duke, Turin, Chivas, Quiers, and Ville Neuve d'Ast, excepting the ammunition and artillery, in exchange for Pignerol, Savilian, and Perouse, with their dependencies. Imbert de la Platiere Bourdillon, the king's lieutenant beyond the Alps, formed many difficulties, and sent great remonstrances to the council, to hinder the execution of that order; and would not obey it till after three commands, and upon the most solemn discharges imaginable.' The duchess plaid her part very well in that negotiation; 'her prudence was praised for having obtained by her address the places that still remained undelivered, and which the king's commissioners could not guard against her gentle way of raising an innocent revolt in their hearts, and forcing the most impenetrable places.' It is Mr. le Laboureur who says this (37). Brantôme tells this whole affair at length; the diverse sentiments of the ministers, the oppositions formed by Bourdillon, and the manner in which he suffered himself to be wrought upon. It cost the duke and duchess of Savoy many presents (38). There remained still three places in Piedmont in the French hands, *viz.* Pignerol, Savilian, and Perouse. The duchess seconded her husband wonderfully to regain them, when Henry III passed by Turin in his return from Poland. I shall make use of the words of Mr. Varillas. 'The duke and duchess of Savoy, who proposed to do what Spain had not been able to accomplish, when in the most flourishing condition, that is, to send back the French beyond the Alps, made use of an artifice wholly new, which was that of diversions, and feasts succeeding one another so fast that there was scarce time left for sleeping. Some relations that come from very good hands, speak of a magnificent collation which cost 100000 crowns; the duke and duchess were at the expence of it, and to reimburse themselves they pressed Henry III to restore to them Pignerol, Savilian, and Perouse (39). Henry promised to gratify their requests, and kept his word: for holding a council at Lyons upon that affair, the evacuation of these three places was there concluded on; notwithstanding the strong reasons alleged against it by the person who commanded there. It was the duke of Nevers (§ a). 'He had the liberty of saying what he pleased, and the satisfaction that the memorial which he presented to second his speech, though very long, was read in the presence of Henry III; but the restitution of these three places was nevertheless resolved on, and his majesty gave him orders with his own mouth to evacuate them. He should have stopped there, since all the world did him the justice to believe he had satisfied his con-

science and his honour; but he had recourse to other precautions, which drew upon him the aversion of the court, and hindered him a long time from being re-admitted into the council of state. He obstinately solicited, that the order he had received from the king's mouth should be likewise written with the king's own hand; that the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, and the officers of the crown should sign it, and that it should be registered in the parliament together with the writing, which he had drawn up, desiring to be dispensed with from complying with it, and that the principal cities of the kingdom should insert it in their archives. All this was almost granted him, but not without reproaching him that he affected to signalize himself at his master's cost, and that he ought to imitate the marshal Bristac, who was content in a like case to redouble his most humble remonstrances and to desire that they would send him a successor (40).'

[(§ a) See his Memoirs, Tom. I. pag. 68. REM. pag. 84. CRIT.]

[H] *The murmurs against the peace reached even to her.* Brantôme, who lived at that time, tells us very freely some circumstances of these murmurs. 'This marriage . . . cost France dear, as being obliged to return in one hour all that had been conquered and preserved in Piedmont and Savoy for the space of thirty years, so much king Henry desired a peace and loved his sister, that he would spare nothing in the world to place her well, when yet the greatest part of France and Piedmont murmured at it, and said it was a little too much. Others thought it very strange, and others very incredible, until they had seen it with their own eyes; and even strangers laughed at us for it; and they who loved France and its interest, wept and lamented it, especially those of Piedmont, who did not desire to return to their first master. Can the dukes of Savoy justify themselves masters and lords of Piedmont, since the kings of France were so formerly, and are still lawful lords, titulars, and masters of it, as justly belonging to them. As for the soldiers who had been a long time accustomed to the garrisons, and to the ease and delicate sustenance of that country, we need not ask what they said, how they cried out against it, and lamented, and what fine speeches they made upon that occasion; not only the Gascons, but others. Hey-day, said they, must so many fine and large pieces of ground be given up for one little piece of flesh about a woman: others cried she had done mighty well to keep her virginity for forty five years (41), to lose it at last for the ruin of France. If they had been as disorderly, seditious, and mutinous, at that time, as we have seen them since in our civil wars, we may be assured every one of them would have taken his share and have seized those places, out of which they could not easily have been driven (42). Is it not strange that Mr. le Laboureur, who has had not long before read these words, should come and tell us notwithstanding, that only a few politicians found fault with her being married at so dear a rate, and that ALL OTHERS were glad that she carried with her a recompence suitable to her merit, and that she had got for her dowry, the territories which had been taken from her husband (43). This is the language of a panegyrist: such a man without any authority, takes upon him notwithstanding, in the name of the public, to make all the steps necessary to a panegyric, and is not at all concerned that the fact is related by authors of the greatest credit. Mezerai, who wrote a history, not a panegyric, agrees much better with the testimony of Brantôme, than with le Laboureur (44).'

I cannot read these words, and even strangers laughed at us for it (45), without crying out, *what a happy time was this for the writers of the Low-Countries, and all others, who had no good will to France? What insults had they not a fair opportunity to make upon it? What gasconades might they not have published? For I suppose they were within a little of the humour of the present time.*

[I] *A modern author has attempted to justify the conduct of Henry III.* That modern author is the antagonist of Collet. The latter was offended that Vol-

(31) See le Laboureur, Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnaud, Tom. I, pag. 750.

(32) Memoirs des Dames illustres.

(33) Le Laboureur, ubi supra, pag. 752.

(34) He mistakes; she was born the fifth of June, 1523, and married in 1559.

(35) Mr. le Laboureur published his Book in 1659.

(36) Mezerai, Abridg. Chronol. Tom. V, pag. 41.

(37) Addit. au Castelnaud, Tom. I, pag. 751.

(38) See in the Additions to Castelnaud's Memoirs, Tom. I, pag. 847, &c. what Brantôme says upon all this in the elogy of Imbert de la Platiere, lord Bourdillon.

(39) Varillas, Hist. of Henry III, book i, pag. 74.

(41) Mezerai, Abridg. Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 722, faith she was in the thirty seventh year of her age, he is in the right, for she was born the fifth of June, 1523. See citation (34).

(42) Memoirs des Dames illustres, pag. 325.

(43) Addit. to Castelnaud, Tom. I, pag. 751.

(44) See, above, remark [C], citat. (7).

(45) Brantôme, ubi supra.

paid so dear for the good reception which that princess gave him. The peace of Cateau is not the only monument of the too great weakness of Henry II. The impunity of his favourites after the prodigious wealth they had got by so unjust means [K], is another monument of it. He died of a wound he received in a tournament (g). A strange adventure, and still more extraordinary than fatal, for I do not believe there ever was a monarch who lost his life on such an occasion. It would have been infinitely more glorious for him to have lost his life in a battle, than in these mock-fights, or combats of peace; where besides, he behaved himself unsuitably to his dignity, and in a way more becoming a young cavalier, than the royal majesty [L]. Many reflexions were made upon this sad destiny [M].

(g) He was wounded the 30th of June 1559, and died the 10th of July following.

(45) A continuation of the Vindication of Voiture, pag. 272.

(47) Reply to Coltar, Sect. 1, pag. 8.

* Pag. 173.

† See Val. Max. lib. iv, cap. viii, Tit. Liv. liv. xxx. &c. Plut. of the Fort. of Alex. Disc. ii.

(48) See pag. 97, where he insinuates that Coltar ought to be put in the battle for having called Henry III fool. See also pag. 190.

(49) As long as she lived, she always persuaded and prevailed with the duke, her husband, to maintain the peace, and that he, who was a Spaniard in his heart, should not engage against France, as he did after the was dead. *Brantôme. Illustrious Women.* pag. 328.

ture (46) was censured for having said by way of railery, *that he valued a good soup more than the panegyric of Pliny, or the longest oration of Isocrates.* Monsieur de Girac, adds he, *thinks Monsieur de Voiture, is as great a fool as that profane person, who sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage, or that prince of ours, who gave Pignerol for a good meal.* To what length doth not one go when carried away by the heat of a dispute? The smallest faults which escape an adversary are converted into crimes. Girac, who with regard to another man, would probably have been content to have said, that the word *fool* was too strong to be employed to express the fault of a prince, accuseth Coltar, his enemy, as guilty of treason. Consider well all his words (47). 'He has dared, says he, by an attempt, which deserves the severest punishments, to dart his venom and malice against the sacred person of our kings. Does not he compare the liberality of Henry III, to the folly of Esau, who parted with his birth right for a mess of pottage? Does he not call that prince a fool for having restored Pignerol to the duke of Savoy, who had the honour to be his uncle, and from whom he expected great succours in the pressing necessity of his affairs? Was ever Lewis XII taken for a fool, who made a present of the principality of Bearne to the king of Navarre, and who dismembered his kingdoms of a part of that importance? Has any body accused the people of Rome of folly, though they frequently gave intire provinces and kingdoms to kings their allies? and if Alexander, as Plutarch says, willingly parted with the isle of Cyprus, as a price for some verses composed in his praise, can a king of France be looked upon as a mad man amongst any that have the least share of common sense, for having restored a place to his near relation, who had received him in his dominions with great cost and magnificence?' A little after he asks whether Mr Coltar is not afraid of being punished under the reign of a prince so nearly related to Henry, who lived not so very long ago? And he cites Guicciardin and Paul Jovius for the extreme veneration the French have for their monarch. He returns often to the same accusation (48); this must be attributed to the symptoms of a sort of fever, which seizes writers when they are upon replies and rejoinders.

Though he had named all the sovereigns that gave up cities, or provinces, or even kingdoms from the beginning of the world, he would never have persuaded men of sense, men versed in politics, that any one ever made such presents in circumstances like those of Henry III, without being guilty of a folly. Henry III gave up Pignerol in favour of a prince, who owed his glorious re-establishment to the Spaniards, who in his heart was a violent Spaniard (49), that is, was always ready to favour the most formidable enemy France then had. It was to such a duke of Savoy that a place was delivered which opened a way into the kingdom to the enemy, and which kept the same duke in awe, and hindered him from leaguings with Spain. But some will say, that duke had so much carested Henry III, and been at such vast expences to regale him at Turin, was it not reasonable to regard him as a good and constant friend? No, that was not reasonable: it is only the ignorant who can rely upon the constancy of friendship among sovereigns. To see the presents they make and the letters they write in time of peace to one another, one would swear they are most hearty friends, and would continue so all their life: but it is often true that they are negotiating at the same time a treaty in order to a rupture, and have no design of serving one another any farther than till a proper occasion shall present itself of beginning hostilities to advantage. This was never so true, as when Henry III was so infinitely carested at the court of Savoy.

The duke was entirely disposed to take advantage of the confusions he saw in France, and to make use of the assistance of the Spaniards to that purpose. And he left a son who inherited the same passion and not only seized the marquise of Saluces, but also formed designs for the dismembering of France, and totally ruining the monarchy (50). Can we then sufficiently blame this blunder of Henry III? See the remark [F] of his article.

[K] His favourites acquired great riches by unjust means. Left I should be accused of aggravating things, I will make use of Mezerai's words. 'The expences the disposers of his favour and affairs put him to, a good part whereof they converted to their own advantage, were so excessive, that he oppressed the kingdom with great imposts, and ran above forty millions of livres in debt. Besides this, they ruined abundance of families by their damnable avarice. The invention of farmings and monopolies being not then so much in use, they had another method, which was no less pernicious, namely, to accuse those who were richest under the pretence of Heresy, and other crimes, and to find, or to make, delinquents that they might have their spoils, or force them to purchase their pardon by their intercession (51).' This historian had just been saying that Henry II was not accused of any other fault, than of being too easy and more capable of being governed than governing himself. This is one of the greatest faults of a king, because generally they who govern him, when he is in that case, do more mischief than if he governed them.

[L] He behaved himself unsuitably to his dignity, and in a way more becoming a young cavalier, than the royal majesty. This was the judgment of the wife, as we learn from an author of that time (52). 'A tournament was appointed in St Anthony's street before the Tournelles, with all the magnificence and pomp imaginable, for as much as the king was one of the combatants, followed by the dukes of Ferrara, Guise, and Nemours, which a great many people of good sense thought strange; saying, the majesty of a king ought to be judge of the combat, and not enter the lists. Even in the old romances, kings, on such occasions, never attempted acts of common knights, but disguised themselves, if they had a mind to enter the lists, or abstained wholly from it; yet such was the misfortune of the king, that he would have the first honour of the jousts. And I believe the desire he expressed for it was to shew strangers how dextrous he was at arms, and skilled in the management of a horse. So that those that were near him, durst not dissuade him from that enterprise. A thing which has since opened a dismal scene to France.'

[M] Many reflexions were made upon this sad destiny. I will not alledge the testimony of Protestant writers; it is visible, that of Stephen Pasquier will have greater force (53). 'You see how our good king Henry died. And as the common people naturally fix their eyes upon the actions of their king, so that death did not happen without the commentaries and interpretations of some people. For to tell you at large how things happened in France; as soon as the peace was concluded, the cardinal of Lorraine, who had been one of the principal mediators of it, declared, in full parliament, that it had been the king's opinion that it should be made on any terms, that he might be more at liberty from thence forward to exterminate and banish the Heresy of Calvin. And in fact on the tenth day of June, he came actually in person into parliament to take the opinion of every councillor concerning the punishment of Heretics. Whereupon many gave it with great liberty; some being of opinion that he should suspend the punishment till the decision

(50) See the article GONTAUT (CHARLES), remark [D].

(51) History of France, T. vi. II, pag. 1138.

(52) Pasquier's Letters, Tom. I, book iv, pag. 172, 173.

(53) Id. ibid. pag. 174, 175.

He never spoke after he was wounded [N]; so that all the discourses which are ascribed to him, are only stories forged at pleasure. The sincerity wherewith the French historians have confessed the faults of this monarch, and the ignominy he brought upon the nation by preferring the counsels of the constable before the remonstrances of the duke of Guise [O], is scarce to be seen in other historians. The Protestants imagined, that they should be gainers by his death, but they experienced still greater severities under Francis II, and humanly speaking they had been intirely ruined in France, if he had lived two years longer [P]. They are accused of having expressed their joy in too insulting a manner upon the tragical end of Henry [Q]; but nothing can be more modest than Theodore Beza on that subject (b). I forgot to observe, that this prince, when he was only dauphin, lived in a misunderstanding with his brother,

(b) See the remark [Q], at the end.

decision of a general council, which they said was necessary. Whereupon the king was moved with so great and just a passion, that he commanded immediately Montgommery to seize some of the company, who had given their opinion more freely than he would have them. They were forthwith carried prisoners to the Bastille. For which reason, said these new commentators, this disaster befel the king, by God's just judgment, as a vengeance upon him for these unjust imprisonments. That opinions ought to be free, and not founded by a king, in order, after hearing them, to commit the counsellors to a close prison. That God had chastised him by the hand of that minister, who had assisted him in making those imprisonments. Likewise that, as on the tenth of June, he had done that dishonour to the court of parliament, so on the tenth of July following, day for day, he lost his life. Thus some of the people discoursed, according to their particular passions, concerning this death; being ignorant, at the same time, that the mysteries of God are wholly concealed from us, and such as, by reason of our weakness, we often refer them to our opinions than to truth. Anne du Bourg was one of those whom the king shut up in the Bastille, and against whom he was most enraged, for amongst other discourses, he said he would see him burnt with both his eyes (54). Father Paul observes, that the queen-mother was horribly provoked at the Lutherans publishing in their manifesto, that the wound of the king her husband in the eye was a punishment of God for his threats against Anne du Bourg, when he said to him, that he would see him burnt (55).

(54) La Place, Comment. of the State of Religion and Republic, fol. m. 19.

(55) Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, book v, pag. m. 400.

(56) Mezerai, Hist. of France, Tom. II, pag. 138.

(57) Mezerai, Abrégé, Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 721, abides by this opinion. That blow was so great, says he, that it threw him to the ground, and made him lose his sense and speech, which he never recovered again. Whence we may prove the falsity of the different speeches which have been ascribed to him, according to mens different interests and passions.

(58) See, above, remark [P], of the article Francis duke of GUISE.

all they had a mind to. And he so well knew the weak side of his master, that he easily persuaded him to consent to that treaty. In vain the duke of Guise employed a thousand demonstrative reasons (59), to make him reject a peace which sacrificed to the Spaniards, the glory of the French name, and more places in one day than they had been able to conquer in an age, the king was deaf to all that. We must mention here an observation of Brantôme (60); he pretends that Henry II, tired and disgusted with the influence of the Guises, resolved to send them home; for which end he was obliged to regain his constable, and to terminate the war; he wrote to him therefore, and to the marshal de St André (61), to negotiate a peace, which they did to our disadvantage. Let us not forget another artifice; these two prisoners and the dukes of Valentinois enriched themselves with the spoils of the Heretics, and who can doubt but that, to obtain a peace, they obliged the king to accept of any conditions, that they might more easily prosecute the business of the Inquisition? it is certain (62) that the cabals of that dukes, seconded by the constable, drew the king into that precipice.

(59) Mezerai gives them at large. See, above, the remark [G], between the citations (8) and (9).

(60) Elog. of Henry II, Tom. II, pag. 52.

(61) He was prisoner as well as the constable.

(62) See Belcarius, book xxviii, n. 17, &c.

[P] The Protestants had been intirely ruined in France, if Francis II had lived two years longer.] It is the opinion of Theodore Beza; for, having drawn out all the reasons that promised them a more prosperous time after Henry's death, he adds (63): 'But God had otherwise ordered it, being willing to have the honour that belongs to him, of re-establishing his church by his own arm and might alone, which is so much the more wonderful, as the resistance of the greatest men had been most furious against it. It was therefore in the reign of Francis II, successor to Henry, that the rage of Satan overflowed beyond all bounds; so that it might be said of this reign, which lasted but seventeen months, what Jesus Christ says in St Matthew, viz. that unless those days had been shortened, no man could be saved: but for the elects sake they were shortened.' The particulars of the measures that were taken to ruin that party entirely, are to be seen in a few pages of Maimbourg (64). Take notice of the words which he sets at the head of this detail (65).

(63) Ecclesiast. History of the Reformed Churches, book iii, pag. 212.

(64) Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. ii, pag. 157, 158, 159.

(65) All things were then (that is to say, when Francis II died) so disposed for the entire ruin of Calvinism in France, that it seemed to be utterly inevitable. Ibid. pag. 157.

[Q] They are accused of having expressed their joy in too insulting a manner upon the tragical end of Henry.] I have already cited (66), Maimbourg upon this, and here are the words of Mezerai (67). 'As he was a prince of great goodness, he was lamented by all his people, except the new sectaries, who believed his death would be their liberty and advancement. They were so over-joyed at it, that they made songs and thanksgivings to God, or rather blasphemies, daring to say, that the Almighty had smitten him under the walls of the Bastille, where he kept the innocent in prison. It must not be thought strange that, in a great number of people, there are some that are indiscreet; but the historian of the Reformed churches deserves to be very much praised for observing that moderation which the following words express. 'There remained nothing, in all probability, but a most horrible spectacle of extreme desolation, when the Lord prevented it. For king Henry, in the midst of his peaceful triumphs, joined with a marriage . . . tilting in the lists . . . was struck with a counter-blow of a lance . . . and died the tenth of July following. Strange things were observed in the unexpected death of that prince, who in his own nature was gracious and kind, but neither saw nor heard but with the eyes and ears of those, who possessed and governed him at their pleasure (68).

(66) In remark [D].

(67) History of France, Tom. II, pag. 1139.

(68) Theodore Beza, ubi supra, lib. ii, pag. 199.

[R] He

brother, the duke of Orleans, that cost France dear [R], and had been more fatal; if the duke had not died. Who knows but the duke of Orleans might have disputed the succession with him [S]. The ladies had the boldness to hand horoscopes about, which could not but foment the jealousy of these two brothers. They had shewn those pretended astrological predictions to Francis I. Castellan confuted them [T], and the event confuted them still more effectually. Several authors say, that a famous astrologer foretold that Henry II should be killed in a duel [U]. The different accounts that are given of

[R] He lived in a misunderstanding with the duke of Orleans, his brother, which cost France dear.] The chief of the Dauphin's faction was Diana of Poitiers, who was his mistress. Which was the reason the dukes of Etampes sided with the duke of Orleans. I have spoke elsewhere (69) of the prejudice the intrigues of that duchess did to the affairs of Francis I.

[S] Who knows whether the duke of Orleans might not have disputed the succession.] Tavares, who was in his service, and who had a boundless passion for aggrandizing himself, hoped much from the ambition of this prince, who thought of making himself master during the life of the Dauphin, his elder brother. The emperor Charles V flattered him very much with hopes, which had much exalted his courage; wherefore being at the point of death at Farenmonstier, where he had rashly defied death in an infected house, which he chose on purpose, Tavares, his confident, coming to tell him the news of the exploit he had performed against the garrison of Calais, whereof he had killed 800, and taken 400 prisoners he said to him these words; my friend, I am dead, all our measures are broken; my great sorrow is that I cannot recompense your merit (70).

[T] The ladies had shewn Francis I, these astrological predictions, Castellan refused them. About two years before the death of that prince, some ladies, who had a great share in his friendship, told him that the stars promised the duke of Orleans great conquests, and prognosticated that the Dauphin would perform nothing worthy of the quality of a king of France. They talked in this manner because they knew the particular affection of Francis I. for the duke, and they hoped to enrich themselves by the interest of that young prince. They praised him, they cried him up to the skies, and decried the Dauphin as having a dull and eavy genius, and who had the most unfortunate nativity in the world (71). Castellan could not bear either their flatteries or slanders: but turning to these ladies with a stern look, he told them that astrology was a difficult thing to understand, and that it was still more difficult to adjust it to human events; he added, that the vanity and impudence of astrologers rendered them unworthy of credit: that he had formerly studied those things under Turreau (72), and made as much progress in them as another; that for a sort of amusement, and for the satisfaction of the curious, he had erected the schemes of the Dauphin and the duke of Orleans with all possible exactness; and that according to the rules of the astrological art, he had found that the duke was to have a good, great, and warlike soul; that he was to be supported with the forces and friendship of the great, and should arrive at a very considerable power (73); that the Dauphin should not be inferior to him either with respect to military virtue, or those other qualities that are worthy of a prince; and that he should enjoy a happy reign, and be a most successful conqueror of his enemies (74). But that all these ways of predicting futurities, being vain and dubious, the surest way to guess at the fortunes of these two princes, was to ground our conjectures upon their manners and genius.

The king heard this discourse very favourably; the flatterers of both sexes were enraged at him. The Dauphin having heard what Castellan had said, was extremely pleased with it, not because he had been praised, but because his innocence had been declared before Francis I, to whom he afraid least they should render him odious (75), *apud quem ne in suspicionem aut odium traheretur metuebat* (76). Oh curbed pests of a court! who can sufficiently detest you? what malice is it to cherish by so many artifices the jealousy of two brothers! we must not forget that the astrology of Castellan proved false with respect to the duke of Orleans. He died a little while after; and yet it had promised him a very great power, which Castellan considered as a thing to come; and he could not consider it otherwise at that time;

for this prince died nineteen months or thereabouts before his father, and was not yet twenty four years old.

[U] Many authors say, that a famous astrologer foretold that Henry II should be killed in a duel.] See what Brantôme says of it (77). I have heard, and I have it from good hands, that some years before he died, (some say some days) there was an astrologer who calculated his nativity and presented it to him, in which he found, that he was to die in a duel and single combat. The constable was present, to whom the king said, see, friend, what death is foretold me; ah, Sir, answered the constable, will you believe these rascals, who are only liars and braggadoos? I throw it into the fire. Why so, friend, replied the king? they sometimes speak truth; I do not care whether I die that death or another, nay, I should rather chuse it and to die by the hand of any man whatever, provided he was brave and valiant, and I should purchase glory by it; and, without minding what the constable said to him, he gave that prophecy to be kept by Monsieur de l'Aupespine, ordering him to keep it till he asked him for it. . . . (78) Now the king was no sooner wounded, drest, and carried to his chamber, but the constable remembering that prophecy, called Monsieur de l'Aupespine, and ordered him to go and fetch it, which he did, and as soon as he had seen and read it, the tears came in his eyes; ah! says he, see here is the combat and the duel he was to die in, it is done, he is a dead man; it was not possible for a diviner to speak better and clearer than this, tho' by their natural temper, or by the inspiration of their familiar spirit, they are always ambiguous, and doubtful, and therefore always speak ambiguously, but here he spoke very clearly. Cursed be the astrologer who prophesied so truly and so fatally.

Thuanus does not, like Brantôme, omit the name of this diviner: he calls him Luke Gauric, and adds, that this scheme was erected at the request of Catherine de Medicis, and that it was laughed at till the king received his wound. Thuanus mentions this prediction as a certain matter of fact (79). But they who cite Luke Gauricus's own words, taken from the horoscope of Henry II, deserve more credit. Now it is certain by these words, that the astrologer promised a long life to this monarch, and never threatened him with a fatal duel. Gassendus has not failed to cite this great example, and to add that Cardan was no less mistaken in the horoscope of this prince than Gauricus (80). Constat ex Historiis Henricum II, Gallie nostrae Regem obiisse anno ætatis quadragesimo completo, ex oculari ulnere: En autem de eo Gaurici vaticinium in P. . . . nollitico Anni MDLVI. Quoniam in sui natalis pend. divini schemate habuit solem sub gradibus suæ altitudinis Veneri ferè partiliter alligatum; quin & Lunam atque Venerem sub Arietis Asterismo, per Horoscopum progredientem, vivet felicissimus annos LXX. deductis duobus mensibus, si nutu divino superaverit annos insalubres LXIII, LXIV, & semper vivet in terris pietissimus. Paria sunt quæ idem Gauricus antea ediderat, quæque à Sixto (81) referuntur. En & vaticinium Cardani, cum de eodem Henrico loquens. Erit certe, inquit, senectâ tantò felicior quanto etiam plura fuerit expertus, &c. — It is evident from history, that our king Henry II died in the forty first year of his age, of a wound in his eye: now see Gauric's prediction concerning him, in his prognostication for the year 1556. Because in the scheme of his almost divine nativity, he had the sun almost in partile aspect with Venus, and the Moon and Venus in the constellation of Aries, advancing thro' his horoscope, he shall live happily the space of seventy years, wanting two months, if, by the divine favour, he survive the critical years, sixty three and sixty four, and shall be remarkable for his piety. *Thi Gauricus had before published almost the same things as we find them related by Heminga. Here also follows a prediction of Cardan concerning the same Henry II.* His old-age says he, shall be so much the happier, as he shall have experienced the more vicissitudes.

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(69) In the remark [R] of the article FRANCES I. See also the remark [E] in the article ETAMPES.

(70) Le Laboureur, Addit. to Castellan's Memoirs, Tom. II, pag. 572.

(71) Animo lento & sapio infelici quodam systema positum. Gassendus, ubi supra, pag. 73.

(72) See, above, remark [C] of the article CASSANDER.

(73) Valde potentem futurum. Gassendus ubi supra, pag. 73.

(74) Suorum hostium late victorem felicissimum regnatum committit. Id. ibid.

(75) Taken from the Life of Peter Castellan by Gassendus, chap. xlv, pag. 72, &c.

(76) Id. ibid. pag. 74.

(77) Brantôme, Discours de Henry II, in the second Tome of his Memoires, pag. 50.

(78) Ibid. pag. 52.

(79) Genes ac tempus mortis à Luca Gaurico Mathematico Pauli tertii per familiarium prædictum CONSTAT, cum Catharina uxore futuri anxia femina eum super viri ac filiorum fato consoleretur, fore nimirum ut in duello caderet, vulnere in oculo accepto: quod irritum à multis ac pro tempore neglectum fuit, quasi regis conditio supra duellum posita esset. Thuan. lib. xxii, sub finem.

(80) Gassendus, Sect. II, Physicæ, lib. vi, pag. 745. Tom. I, Oper.

(81) He speaks of Sixtus ab Heminga, who hath shewn, by the example of thirty famous nativities, how the event belied them.

of that prediction, would be alone sufficient to make us doubt whether it was made by an astrologer [X]. He had ten lawful children, and two natural. Some pretty remarkable particulars are told concerning the mothers of the latter [Z].

Henry II was born at St Germain en Laie, the thirty first of March, 1519. He bore the title of duke of Orleans, when he married Catherine de Medicis, at Marfeilles, the twenty eighth of October, 1533. He was but fourteen years and some months old: which made Pope Clement VII, uncle to Catherine, fear that the marriage was not consummated the wedding-night; and some authors pretend, that by the curiosity he had to be

This matter is of such importance, as to deserve that I should cite a second witness; he is not a man who goes upon hear-say, he relates what he read in the very writings of Gauricus; he saw there the most fortunate predictions that could be wished to Henry II. 'Et memini in Italia quædam Ephemerides annuas Lucæ Gaurici, vidisse, in quibus cum pro libertate scribendi quæ tunc vigeat, singulis principibus Europæis maximas felicitates aut gravissima damna minaretur, nihil postea perinde cecidit, ac ipse futurum prædixerat. Atque utinam Henricus secundus, quem ille extremâ tantum senectute, & morbo placidissimo satis concessurum dixerat, non ætate potius florenti, & tam acerbo præcipientique fato nobis ereptus fuisset (82). — I remember to have seen in Italy, certain annual ephemerides of Luke Gauricus, in which, according to the liberty of those times, he had foretold either great felicity, or terrible disasters, to the several princes in Europe, but nothing happened of all that he had predicted. And would to GOD, that Henry II, who, according to him, was to arrive to an extreme old age, and to die of the most gentle disease, had not, on the contrary, been snatched away in the flower of his age, by a cruel and violent death.'

[X] The different accounts . . . were alone sufficient to make us doubt whether it was made by an astrologer.] Let us see Stephen Pasquier's account of it; wherein we do not so much as find the name of Gauricus. It turns quite upon other persons, and other circumstances. 'It seems that a long time before . . . this disaster had been secretly prognosticated to the king by Hierome Cardan, who, in a scheme which he erected of his nativity, promised him all things easy at the beginning of his reign, but assured him in the decline of his life of an unfortunate end, and which, for the Grandeur of a king, he thought himself obliged to conceal. There was likewise a report spread at court, that, upon the cardinal of Lorraine's return from his last voyage to Italy, a letter was presented to him from a Jew of Rome, who was greatly versed and practised in these fantastical predictions, and divinations, who admonished him carefully to avoid a single combat. Which letters the king having heard read, made no account of them, not imagining, considering his high rank, that he should ever fight a duel. These letters were from that time laid up by Monsieur de l'Aubespine, who after the king's death shewed them to several lords, as is reported. Besides it is added (I will not assert it for a truth) that the queen remembering these letters, and the time that had been prognosticated, intreated him several times, that since the two preceding days were past to his honour and contentment, he would for that third day not enter the lists, to avoid all accidents, and substitute some other lord in his room. To which however he would not condescend. And that on the very day in which he was wounded, the queen sent a gentleman from her seat on purpose to intreat him, in her name, to be content with what he had done; he made answer, that he would run but once more, in which, as ill fortune would have it, he was wounded (83). Observe well that Pasquier tells this story only upon an uncertain hear-say, of the truth whereof he was not himself persuaded. But takes still more particular notice, that it is not said, that Cardan published that pretended horoscope after the death of Henry II. And yet he was vain enough and sufficiently bigotted to astrology (84), to have desired to take the glory of so surprising a discovery. Nothing could have dignified his art so much as that, he might have called to witness the constable of Montmorency, Catherine de Medicis, Aubespine, and other persons of the highest rank. For what cause could he have neglected the interests of his glory and fortune (85) in such a manner? We have seen in the fore-

going remark, what Gauricus promised Henry II, in the year 1556. Let us see what he predicted to him four years before. *Inclitissimus Gallorum Rex*, this is what he put at the bottom of the scheme of the king's nativity in the Venice edition, 1552, printed by Curtius Trojanus Navò, 'Henricus Christianissimus, erit Regum quorundam Imperator, ante supremos cineres ad rerum culmina perveniet, felicissimamque ac viridem senectam, uti colligitur ex Sole Venere & Luna horoscopantibus, & potissimum, Sole in suo trono partiliter supputato. In civitatibus Arieti subjectis maximum fortietur dominium, si forte superaverit suæ ætatis annos 56, 63, 64, ad annos 69 Menses 10 dies 12 facili ac felici tramite perducetur' (86). — *The most Christian king Henry shall rule over certain kings, arrive at the height of power, and live to a happy and vigorous old age, as is plain from the Sun, Venus, and the Moon, strong in the ascendant in partile aspect, and chiefly from the Sun, being in his exaltation. He shall obtain great dominion in the states, lying under Aries, if he survive the fifty six, sixty three, sixty four, to the sixty ninth year, ten months, and twelve days of his age, and shall enjoy great felicity.*

[Y] Some pretty remarkable particulars are told concerning the mothers of the two natural children.] Read what follows out of Brantôme (87). 'Henry II who was of an amorous complexion, when he went to visit the ladies, did it in the most secret manner possible to prevent any suspicion of their dishonour; and if any of them were discovered, it was not by his fault, or by his will, but rather by the ladies, as I have heard say of one Madam Fleming, a Scotch lady of a good family, who being with child by the king, did not mince the matter, but speaking boldly in her French Scotch, said, I have done all that I could, so that by good fortune I am with child by the king, which I take to be a great honour and happiness; I think there is something sweeter and more delicate in the blood royal, than in any other, so well I find myself after it, without reckoning the good presents that attend it. His son whom he had by her then, was the late grand prior of France, who was lately killed at Marfeilles (88), which was a very great loss; for he was a very honourable, brave, and valiant lord.' What I have to say of the other mistress, is a singularity of another nature. 'The Dauphin, afterwards king Henry II, falling in love, with a young lady of Cony in Piedmont (89), in the journey that he made thither with the constable of Montmorency, his servants set the house on fire in the night; and the danger giving access to all people, they ran there in great numbers, crying *salva la Donna*, and taking her out, they carried her to the Dauphin (90). He had a daughter by her, called Diana, who had for her first husband, Horatio Farnese, duke of Castro, and for her second, Francis duke of Montmorency, eldest son to the constable. The second marriage commenced the fifth of May 1557 (91), and ended by the death of her husband, sixth of May 1579 (92). The only son they had, died before his father. The widow lived to the third of January 1619, being a widow eighty years of age. She mediated a reconciliation between Henry III and Henry IV, and tenderly loved Charles de Valois, her nephew, natural son to king Charles IX. She saved his life, when Henry IV would have involved him in the affair of the duke of Biron. She represented to that prince, that it was too much his interest to render sacred and inviolable the heads of the natural sons of kings, not carefully to avoid the establishing of so fatal a precedent against them. She married that nephew to Charlotte de Montmorency, her husband's niece, and left his children heirs of all her estate, and of the palace of Engoulême (93), which she had at Paris (94).

[Z] Some

(82) Naudæus in judicio de Cardano.

(83) Pasquier's Letters, Tom I, lib. iv, pag. 175.

(84) Confer quæ supra, remark [E] of the article CARDAN.

(85) He would have been much more largely paid for his prediction, if it had been known that he had found out by astrology, that a king of France should be killed in a duel.

(86) Lucas Gauricus in tractatu Astrologico in quo agitur de præteritis multorum hominum accidentibus per proprias eorum genituræ ad unguem examinatis, fol. 42, verso.

(87) Memoirs of Gallant Ladies, Tom. II, pag. 372.

(88) Father Anselm's Histoire Generale de la Maison de France, pag. 144, says, that he was born of N. de Levislon, a Scotch lady, and that he was killed at Aix in Provence, by Philip Altoviti, baron of Castellanes, the second day of June, 1586.

(89) Father Anselme, *ibid.* says, that she was called Philippa dea Ducs, and that she was still alive the first of July, 1572, and did not turn nun, as Peter Matthæa believed.

(90) Le Laboureur, Addit. to Castelnau's Memoirs, Tom. II, pag. 447.

(91) Anselm, *ubi supra*, pag. 144.

(92) Le Laboureur, *ubi supra*, Tom. II, pag. 413.

(93) Henry III gave him the duchies of Engoulême, and Chatelleraut, the county of Ponthieu, and the government of Limosin. Le Laboureur, *ibid.*

(94) Taken out of the Addition of Mr. Le Laboureur, *ibid.*

be informed about it, he found such proofs as satisfied him [Z]. This young prince came to be Dauphin, the tenth of April, 1536, by the death of his elder brother. We have seen elsewhere (i), that his wife was barren several years, and afterwards bore him many children. He persecuted his subjects of the Reformed religion, with the utmost cruelty; and yet he forged those arms himself, which aided them most effectually to maintain their cause [AA]; for by his means the Protestants of Germany put their affairs in so good a posture, as to be able to send great succours to the Calvinists of France. The comparison which has been made betwixt his reign, and the latter years of Francis I. teaches us, that a prince which is too liberal of his favours, is more prejudicial to his kingdom, than a prince who is excessively sparing of them [BB]. Henry the second's fault

(i) In the article
FERNEL,
remark [K].

[Z] Some authors pretend, that by the curiosity which Clement VII had to be informed about it, he found such proofs as set his mind at rest. I have read this, only in Mr Varillas. 'The interview of his holiness, saith he (95), and of his majesty, was at Marseilles, and the nuptials of the duke of Orleans and Catherine were there celebrated with great magnificence. As the bridegroom was but sixteen years old, and the bride but thirteen, the king, who was unwilling to hazard his son's health, would have had the consummation of the marriage deferred for two or three years. But this did not relish with the Pope; who feared, that if he should happen to die before his niece's marriage was consummated, she would be sent back to Italy. And indeed he was not satisfied, says Paul Jovius, till he had seen certain proofs of the consummation of the marriage.' If Paul Jovius has made mention of such a circumstance, it is not in the place of his history, where he speaks of that interview of the Pope and Francis I, which yet was the most proper place, and the most natural occasion of touching upon that particular, especially considering, that the author forgot not to take notice of the tender age of the duke of Orleans. And to make many other observations; and even to say, that the marriage was consummated the first night. 'Augebant suspitionem maturatæ nuptiæ, quæ impares regio sanguini viderentur. Siquidem nobilissimus adolescens Henricus, quamquam ætate tenerior, Catharinam celebratis insigni ceremonia nuptiis, ex virgine mulierem prima nocte reddiderat (96). — The hastening of the nuptials, which seemed unsuitable to the royal blood, increased the suspicion. For Henry, tho' very young, after celebrating the marriage with great magnificence, enjoyed Catharine the first night.'

(95) Varillas, preface to the fifth Tome of the History of Henry, fol. *23. Edit. of Holland.

(96) Jovius, Histor. lib. xxxi. fol. 230. Edit. Basil, 1555.

(97) See the Festes of Father du Lodel, p. 23, and 34, and Father Anselm's Hist. Genealog. pag. 137 and 139.

(98) Spondan. ad ann. 1533, n. 7.

(99) Pasquier's Letters, Tom. II, book xv, pag. 218.

I confess then, that Mr Varillas may be suspected to have cited Paul Jovius wrong. What he says of the bridegroom's being sixteen years old, and the bride thirteen, is not exact. For it is certain, that Henry II was born the thirty first of March, 1519, and that he married Catherine de Medicis, the twenty eighth of October, 1533 (97). Father Anselm, who dates his birth the thirty first of March, 1518, adds, that it was before Easter, and consequently, that that year was 1519, new stile. He says also, that Catherine was born the thirteenth of April, 1519. Gauricus sets down the same day and year in that lady's nativity. There was therefore but fourteen days difference betwixt their ages. Spondanus is no less mistaken than Varillas, since he says, that Catherine was but thirteen years, and that Henry was fifteen years and seven months (98).

[AA] He forged those arms himself which aided the Protestants: the most effectually to maintain their cause. See what I have said concerning this in the remark [D], and join to it this passage of Stephen Pasquier (99), 'we saw the emperor Charles V make war upon his German subjects, for having embraced heresy. . . . His affairs went on successfully; this made them implore our assistance. Could there be any thing more plausible in point of interest of state, as politicians judge of it, than to take their cause in hand, not to suffer a great prince to aggrandize himself still more at our very gates, by the ruin of all the princes of Germany? but, on the other hand, could there be any thing more unjust than to assist a subject against his lawful sovereign? and especially to take the part of a Heretic, against a Catholic emperor, who fought only for the honour of God, and the good of his church? our king was a Catholic prince, as were also the lords who had the greatest share in his favour; yet, notwithstanding, we take upon us the protection of the

German Heretics; and the king in full parliament caused himself to be proclaimed by the glorious title of protector of the German liberty, that was to say of the German heresy; and as such caused money to be coined bearing that inscription. Under that specious title he undertook this expedition with a powerful army; wherein things succeeded in such a manner, that upon the meer fame of our enterprise, when we were on the point of passing the Rhine, the emperor was forced to come to an agreement with his subjects, and to grant them many privileges against the honour of God, and his conscience, whom he would not otherwise have tolerated. As for my part, I firmly believe, that God afterwards was pleased to chastise us with the same rods, wherewith we afflicted the emperor. Having permitted, that, after Henry's decease, his children, while minors, should be made war upon by their subjects, for the maintenance of an opinion more violent than that of Luther, and that they should make use of the assistance of the German princes against them. And when God was pleased to exercise his vengeance upon us, it was past all human power to put a stop to it, whence all the remedies that we thought to apply to it, turned to our destruction.' Pasquier makes another remark, which doth not appear to me to be good. 'At our return, says he, from that fine German expedition (100), Calvin began to solicit one after another by letters, who suffered themselves to be easily overreached, thinking, probably, that since the king and his council had undertaken the protection of the Lutherans, they were in their hearts of the same religion. Thus by little and little the seeds of a new religion spread through France, which at length came to the noble parts, I mean, even to princes and great lords.' The author here commits two faults, he supposes, that Calvin did not begin to solicit the French by letters, till towards the end of the year 1552. Which is false; for he had never ceased to do it since the year 1536; and besides, it is not true, that the French could believe, that the king and his council were Lutherans in their hearts. They, of the very contrary, could not doubt, since they saw him persecute with fire and sword, those of the new religion over all his kingdom. The protection that he granted, and the good offices he did the Protestants of Germany, where of no force to elude this proof of his aversion to their sect. That only shewed, that he sacrificed the interests of his religion to the political interests of his state. This is the common course of sovereigns. Though they sometimes take another, and sacrifice to the spirit of persecution, not only the conquests they might make, but even those they have already made, and the most solid advantages of their kingdom. Henry II was an instance of this, when he accepted of the peace of Cateau.

[BB] A prince too liberal of his favours is more prejudicial to his kingdom, than a prince who is too niggardly of them.] A French civilian (101) has maintained, 'that they are in a great error, who praise and adore the goodness of a gentle, gracious, courteous, and simple prince; for such simplicity without prudence, is most dangerous and pernicious in a king, and much more to be feared than the cruelty of a severe, morose, rough, covetous, and inaccessible prince. And methinks our forefathers have not used this proverb without cause, An ill man makes a good king: which may seem strange to delicate ears, and which are not accustomed to weigh the reasons on both sides. By the indulgence and foolish simplicity of too good natured a prince, it comes to pass that flatterers and parasites, and the worst of men, carry off all of

(100) Id. lib. d. pag. 219.

(101) Bodin of a Republic, book II, chap. IV, towards the end, pag. m. 295. See also, book VI, chap. II, pag. 895.

(102) Note, That he gives not to that word its whole signification: he only takes it in the sense of austere and rigorous. See the end of that chapter of the second book of Bodin, fices,

(k) See, above, remark [I] of the article G A- RASSE.

(l) Remark [H] of the article PIENE.

fault was the ill management of his revenues, by which means he perverted the administration of them, and contracted immense debts [CC]. Some have reckoned, amongst the disorders of his reign, the mischief which the poets caused (k). Polygamy, under the preceding reigns, was not an *banging matter*: Henry II first made it capital [DD]. You will find, in other places of this Dictionary, what laws he made against clandestine marriages (l), and against mothers who destroy their new-born children (m).

(m) See the remark [C] of the article PATIN.

I shall

(103) Id. *ibid.* pag. 296.

'fices, employments, benefices, and grants, draining the treasures of a kingdom; by which means the poor people are gnawed to the very bones, and are cruelly enslaved by the great: so that for one tyrant there are ten thousand, &c. To confirm this position by examples, he afterwards adds what follows (103). 'We have seen this kingdom great, rich, and flourishing in arms and laws, towards the latter end of the reign of Francis I, when he became morose and inaccessible, and when no body durst approach him to ask any thing of him; then governments, offices, and benefices, were only given to the merit of men of honour; and pensions were so retrenched, that there was found in his treasury, when he died, a million of gold, and seven hundred thousand crowns, and the March quarter to receive, whilst there was nothing due, except a little to the Grisons, and to the bank of Lyons, which they did not pay, that they might keep them in their duty: peace was settled with all the princes of the earth; the frontiers extended even to the gates of Milan; the kingdom full of great commanders, and the learnedest men in the world. We have afterwards seen in the twelve years that Henry II reigned, (whose bounty was so great, as not to be paralleled by any prince of his age) the state almost quite changed; for as he was gentle, gracious, and good natured, he could refuse no body any thing: thus the treasures of his father in a few months being exhausted, places of trust were more than ever exposed to sale, benefices given without regard to merit, civil offices sold to the highest bidder, and consequently to the most unworthy: taxes greater than ever they were before; and yet when he died, his Exchequer was found in debt forty two millions: after having lost Piedmont, Savoy, Corsica, and the frontiers of the Low-Countries. And yet these losses were but inconsiderable in respect of reputation and honour. If the gentleness of this great king had been accompanied with severity; if his goodness had been mixed with rigour; his facility with austerity, they had not so easily drawn from him every thing that they asked of him.' The opinion of this learned man seems a paradox at first sight, but if it be examined nearly, it will be found to be well-grounded.

[CC] He perverted the administration of his finances, and contracted immense debts. 'There was an ordinance of Francis I. confirmed by his successor, importing, that there should be four keys to the Exchequer-chest, whereof the king should have one, and the others should be in the hands of commissioners appointed by him; and the disbursements of the money should be made by order of the king, in presence of the treasurer and of the comptroller of the Exchequer. But king Henry II, by an edict some time after granted * discharges to the commissioners and officers of the Exchequer, that no body afterwards might call them to an account: nay, one of these commissioners had at one time, purely as a gift, an hundred thousand crowns, given him, if the rumour which went of it every where be true: which was then a very great sum (104). It is Bodin who makes this observation, and a little after adds (105), that Francis I. did not make so many largesses during a reign of thirty two years, as his successor did in two. Francis I. had scarce closed his eyes, but the Tillage, or money which is given for the renewing of commissions, which was then a prodigious sum, was given to a single person (106). See how this is expressed in the Latin translation. *Nondum iusta Parenti fecerat (Henricus secundus) cum Hirado quædam Palatina Pecuniæ omni infinitam, quam officarii, accepta confirmatione, regibus initiatis fisco dependere, solent, uno absorbit & eodem haustu (107).* This prince's prodigality was the cause doubtless of his laying new taxes on his subjects, forgetting the promises he had made, when he imposed them. Consider well these

words of Bodin (108): 'When the Taillon was laid on (108) Id. *ibid.* the subjects in the year 1549, the king promised not pag. 898. 'to employ or appropriate it to any other use besides the paying the Gendarmery, without confounding this revenue with any other: which was also promised, when the tax for payment of fifty thousand foot was imposed in Francis the first's time, which was only to be raised in walled towns, and their suburbs, which did not suffer by the number of soldiers; and yet since it has been extended equally to cities, towns, and villages, great and small, in the year 1555, by which the poor countrymen are doubly oppressed; for they pay and are pillaged on all sides.' The bad management of this king, produced another disorder, which was the borrowing great sums at high interest: 'When king Henry had occasion for money, he borrowed at ten, twelve, nay sixteen, per cent. as he did in the year 1554, of the Caponi, the Albici, and their partners in Germany; and the interest was paid at the four fairs, or became part of the principal. The emperor did the like on his part; but it is true, he gave but ten or twelve per cent. at most; and the same year the king of England borrowed from the German merchants an hundred thousand crowns, at 12 per cent. And whereas Henry thought, by giving greater interest than the emperor, and the king of England, to command a greater supply, he began to sink his credit by it; for the wisest managers concluded, that at long run he would neither be able to pay principal nor interest; for as much as 16 per cent. came at least to 18, by means of the interest, which he could not pay (109).' Note, that he was not the inventor of this practice; it began in his father's time. 'This was also a project brought into France in the year MDXLIII by cardinal de Tournon. when he was in favour with Francis I, whom he persuaded, by the suggestion of some Italians, that there was no way of drawing money into France from all parts, and making a fund for the time to come, to frustrate its enemies, but by establishing a bank at Lyons, and taking in money from all hands, paying 8 per cent. But at bottom the cardinal wanted to secure a hundred thousand crowns, which he had in his coffers, and receive as much interest as he could for it. The letters-patent having passed the seals, and the Bank being opened in the manner above related, every one strove who should first get there from France, Germany, and Italy: so that Francis I, when he died, was indebted to the bank of Lyons five hundred thousand crowns, which he had in his coffers, and four times as much; and there was a settled peace with all the world (110).' Bodin (111) condemns that invention suggested to Francis I. He thinks that it ruins the foundation of the finances, and that it proved the origin of a thousand misfortunes. Let us cite him once more (112). *And as to the treasury, says he, it was so ill managed, that in less than twelve years that Henry II reigned, he (113) owed more interest, than all his predecessors, forty years before, had raised for all their expenses.*

I am persuaded these citations from Bodin, will not be disagreeable to such as desire to know the epochs of taxes, and the original of customs in general.

[DD] Henry II first made Polygamy a capital crime.]

This I find in Bodin, 'Imperatores, says he (114), *perpetua lege πολυγαμίαν infamiae poena subiecta veterunt: nos vero legibus poena capitalis Henrici II principatu irrogari cepit. — The emperors, by a perpetual law, prohibited Polygamy, under the penalty of infamy: but in the reign of Henry II it was first made a capital crime by our laws.'* The author of the *Miscellanies of History and Learning* was probably ignorant of this particular. For see how he expresses himself, 'Some parliaments in France, condemn to death those whose are convicted of Polygamy, because they suppose it to be a law of

(109) Id. *ibid.* pag. 893, 894.

(110) Id. *ibid.* pag. 893.

(111) Id. *ibid.* pag. 896.

(112) Id. *ibid.* pag. 895.

(113) See the foregoing remark, citat. (103).

(114) De Republ. lib. v, cap. i, pag. m. 793.

† L. neminem de incestis. Cod.

(104) Bodin. *ibid.* liv. vi, chap. ii, pag. 904.

(105) Id. *ibid.* pag. 905, of the Latin edition 1601, in 8vo.

(106) Id. *ibid.* pag. 905, of the French edition, 1608, in 8vo.

(107) *Ibid.* pag. 905.

(n) Bodin, in a Letter dated from Laon the twenty seventh of March, 1597,

I shall add a thing which I find in a letter of Bodin's. Pope Julius III summoned this prince to appear before GOD, to answer for the wrong he did to him by keeping possession of Miranda. The king answered that he would appear there, but that he was fully persuaded that the Pope would not appear (n).

and mentioned by Mr Menage, *Romances sur la Vie d'Ayraud*, pag. 250.

* of the kingdom. If we ask where is that law to be found? It lies upon our French lawyers to tell us. * The consequence of it well deserves that they should take the trouble. As for me, I believe it is not for

* Polygamy they send these people to the gallows; but for the impotures, whereby they surprize the women which they thus trepan into marriage (115).

(115) Vigneul Marville, *Me-lang. d'Hist. & de Litter.* pag. 275.

HENRY III, king of France, son of Henry II and Catherine de Medicis, had obtained so much renown before he was king, and even before he was twenty years old, that the Poles thought him worthy of their crown; but they had soon reason to repent of that election. The manner in which he stole away from Cracow, is one of the most shameful actions in the world. The reason of that flight, was his desire of inheriting the crown of France after Charles IX. He indeed reigned after him, and in such a manner, that the Poles had no reason to regret the loss of him. It may be said of him, as it was of Galba, that he would have been thought worthy of a crown, if he had never wore one [A]. His life was so divided betwixt debaucheries and devotions, that a more strange mixture was never seen. He gave himself into the hands of his minions, with so little reserve, that all France was offended with it; more especially, because the excessive expences he was at for them [B], turned to the charge of the poor people. He incurred the hatred of the ladies, which was very prejudicial to him [C].

The

[A] It may be said of him, as it was of Galba, that he would have been thought worthy of a crown if he had never wore one. Every body is acquainted with the following saying of Tacitus. 'Major privato vilis' (Galba) dum privatus fuit, & omnium consensu capax Imperii, nisi imperasset (1). — Galba was thought more than a subject while he was one, and would have been thought worthy of the empire by all, if he had not reigned. Suetonius says the same in other words, 'Majore adeo & favore & auctoritate adeptus est quam gessit Imperium' (2). — He obtained the empire with more favour and authority, than he governed it. The same judgment has been made of the emperor Jovian (3); but the quite contrary was said of Marius (4). Our Henry III verified, to his cost, this judicious maxim, *Magistratus virum prodest* (5): he shewed by wearing a crown, that they were mistaken, who thought him worthy to wear it. The words of Cassiodorus cannot reasonably be applied to him. *Hic est probata conscientie gratissimus fructus, ut quamvis summa potuerit adipisci; judicetur tamen ab omnibus plus mereri* (6). Much less could it be said of him, *magna cum præfesserat fama, qua major inventus est* (7).

[B] The excessive expences he was at for his minions. (8) The principal employment, and greatest pleasure of the king, consisting in pleasing two favourites (9), he declared that he could not be content till he had made them as great as himself, and rendered them, as he said, so potent, that it should not be in the power, either of envy or fortune to destroy them. He resolved then, having no daughters to bestow on them, to marry them to his wife's sisters, Margaret, and Christienne, though they were already betrothed to two other heiresses. . . but in order to honour them with some title that might qualify them for such an high alliance as his, he resolved to make them both dukes and peers of France. . . In the mean time, the duke of Lorraine brought his nieces with such a train and magnificence, as if he had been to marry them to kings. As for Christienne, being as yet very young, she was only betrothed to the duke of Epemon; and yet she never was married to him, but chose rather to take the veil. As for Margaret she was betrothed at the Louvre, in the queen's chamber, and the nuptials were celebrated eight days after, in the church of St Germain de l'Auxerrois. It would be superfluous to describe the Masquerades, Balls, Tournaments, Feasts, and Music, and all the other pomps which luxury invented, for the wedding. In a word, it lasted near six weeks; and Paris, the Theatre of Wonders, had never seen any thing like it. The king, dressed in the same manner as his favourite, led the bride to church. . . after the marriage, he appointed seventeen entertainments, which were made in order by the princes and lords who were related to the lady: the least of them came to more than a hundred thousand livres: at each of which, the guests had

changes of such rich and precious habits, that gold and silver cloth could make no figure there. There were suits which cost ten thousand crowns for the workmanship. In fine, the expence was so prodigious, that the king for his part only, spent no less than four millions of livres; besides, he promised to pay the husband, for his wife's fortune, four hundred thousand crowns in two years time: and when he was told, that these excessive profusions would ruin him, he answered, that after he had married his two children, he would be frugal. He meant Joyeuse and Epemon. The Swiss ambassadors coming to Paris to demand the money that was due to them, and the treasurers answering, that the king had none, and that they must have patience, they replied, according to the usual liberty of their nation, that it was not credible, that a prince, so wife and so prudent, should spend 1200000 crowns for his pleasure at the marriage of a gentleman, and not have much more in his coffers for the public occasions of his kingdom (10).

See in the same historian (11) the extravagant affection this prince expressed for Maugiron and Quelus, when they had fought a duel (12).

[C] He incurred the hatred of the ladies, which was very prejudicial to him. The ladies, to whom the minions told all, discovered to the duke of Guise, all the secrets of the cabinet, to revenge themselves of the king, whom they hated, for certain reasons which are not told (13). These are Mr Maimbourg's words, which shew plainly how much the ladies prejudiced the king; but the reasons of their hatred are intelligibly enough explained by many historians. See, in the margin, the words of Mezerai (14). The observation mentioned by the author of the News from the Republic of Letters, is a meer cavil. Some critics, says he (15), have found fault with Maimbourg for saying, That the ladies to whom the minions told all, &c. They say, that these words are highly disobliging to the fair sex, because they insinuate, that women conceive an aversion for men, who make no addresses to them. Now, say they, if they are chaste, what is it to them, if they are neglected? They ought sure to be very indifferent about it. If they are not so, it is a manifest sign they do not desire to be chaste. But I think myself obliged to take Mr Maimbourg's part, against such unreasonable critics: I say pag. 251, ad then, that he speaks only of the ladies that were in the intrigues of the duke of Guise (16); and it is not to be doubted, but that women of that character do violently hate, when they have such reasons for it as are here to be understood. Conclude as much as you please, that if they were virtuous, it would be indifferent to them. Say, if you will, that this conclusion is disobliging. Mr Maimbourg has taken precautions, in his preface, against such sort of subtilties: he declares, that he seeks for truth, and not for what may please, and that if any one finds fault with it, they must blame those

(10) Mezerai, Tom. III, pag. 500.

(11) Ibid. pag. 451, ad ann. 1578.

(12) Maugiron was killed upon the spot; Quelus received nineteen wounds and lived thirty three days.

(13) Maimbourg's History of the League.

(14) Since the death of the prince of Condé Henry III had little affection for women, and his Venice adventure had given him another inclination. Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* Tom. 2, pag. 251, ad ann. 1581.

(15) Month of April, 1684, art. III, pag. 235.

(16) It is certain he means the ladies in general.

(1) Tacitus, *Hist.* lib. i, cap. xlix.

(2) Sueton. in Galba, cap. xlv.

(3) Decessit suscepto clarior apice quam gesto. . . He died, having gained more glory before he came to the crown, than after he had wore it. Jo. Cluverus, *Epist. Historiar.* Mundi, pag. m. 308.

(4) Marius in potestatis eo modo agitavit, ut amplioris quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. . . Marius behaved so in all offices, as to appear worthy of a higher station than that which he enjoyed. Sallust. in Bello Jugurth.

(5) See Aristotle, de Morib. lib. v, cap. liii, pag. m. 44. G.

(6) Cassiodor. Varior. Lect. lib. 3, Epist. iv.

(7) Plin. Epist. lib. ii.

(8) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, Vol. III, pag. 499, 500, ad ann. 1580.

(9) They were the dukes of Joyeuse and of Epemon.

V O L. III.

5 K

The duchess of Montpensier revenged herself terribly for something the king had said of her [D]. The duke of Guise, by this concurrence of circumstances, and by the troubles of religion, growing bolder than he would have been otherwise, to prepare his way to the throne, found that the weakest princes are sometimes capable of a vigorous resolution. He was massacred by order of Henry III. I have spoke elsewhere

(a) In the article
GUISE (HEN-
RY).

(b) In the month
of May 1589.

(c) Mezerai,
Abregé Chronol.
Tom. V, pag.
355.

(d) In the article
HENRY II,
remark [G].

(a) of the consequences of that affair; but I have not said, that without the assistance of the Protestants, this monarch would have been oppressed at Tours, where the League attacked him (b), some months after he had put to death the duke and cardinal de Guise. Being delivered from that danger, he laid siege to Paris, and had doubtless brought that seditious city to it's duty, had he not been assassinated by James Clement, a Dominican. He died the second of August, 1589, the day after he was wounded (c). I have said in another place (d) that he has been justly blamed for yielding some towns to the duke of Savoy, who had accompanied him as far as the bridge of Beauvoisin in September 1574 [E]. He had reason to repent of that cession; for it encouraged the son of that duke to form some enterprizes against France [F].

There scarce ever was a prince born under a more capricious planet than Henry III. His capricious fortune made him experience a fate, not unlike that of those children, who are first educated by a tender mother, and afterwards by a cruel step-mother. The glory of his youth was very shining, and procured him the kingdom of Poland in a very glorious and shining manner, but that dazzling light was quickly eclipsed: He abandoned that crown a little after, more ignominiously than he gained it gloriously at his election; for what can be seen more strange and shameful, than a monarch running away in the darkness of the night, and flying out of his own dominions, as swiftly as if he had been a criminal who had discovered a provost-marshal at his heels? Thus it was that Henry III abandoned Poland (e). If that escape could be excused, upon the interest he had to make haste to succeed to an inheritance much better than the sceptre he wore; we might still justly say, that he must be born under a very unfortunate constellation, and *Dius iratus*, since he found himself reduced to such extremities,

(e) See *Thuanus*,
in the beginning
of book sixth.

who have formed the laws of history, who require us to tell things as they are, and not as they ought to be.

There is too much subtilty in this reflexion; it is natural for us to desire, that the talents should not fall into contempt. This, I say, is natural, though we desire not to make an ill use of those qualities. The railery is carried too far in the voyage of Messieurs la Chapelle and Bachaumont, upon the subject of the anger that is ascribed to the ladies of Montpellier, against the unfortunate Dauloucy.

(17) She was
sister to the duke
of Guise, killed
at Blois.

[D] The duchess of Montpensier (17) revenged herself terribly for something he said of her. It was told the king, that the League designed him no less a mischief than the making him a monk, and that the duchess of Montpensier shewed the scissars which she had prepared to cut off his hair. The reason was, that he had offended this widow, by holding some discourse, which discovered some secret blemishes of her's; a more unpardonable affront to the fair sex, than that which is offered to their honour (18).

(18) Mezerai,
ubi supra, pag.
316, ad ann.
1588. See the
Critique Générale,
Lettre iii,
pag. 44.

That affront was deeply rooted in that duchess's heart, if we judge of it by the active zeal she shewed to destroy Henry III. She brought a good part of the materials from the invention of her genteel wit, and the labour of her body to build the aforesaid league; so that after it had been well-formed, playing at cards one day at Primero (for she loved play), one saying to her, that she should shuffle the cards well, she answered before a great deal of company, I have shuffled them so well, that it is impossible to shuffle, or unshuffle, them better. This had been well, if her relations had not been killed, the loss of whom, without being dejected at it, she undertook to revenge. As soon as she heard the news in Paris, without shutting herself up in her chamber to lament and mourn for them, according to the fashion of other women, she came out of her palace, with her brother's children in her hands, and leading them through the city, she made her lamentation before the people, animating them with tears and cries, with her pitiful and moving discourse, which she made to all, to take up arms, to make a violent insurrection, and to insult the palace, and picture of the king, as we have seen, and I hope to relate in his life, to renounce their allegiance, and to enter into rebellion against him, which was quickly followed by his murder; from which we may know who are the men and women who advised it, and are guilty of it (19). It was she who prevailed most with James Clement to kill the king. She spared nothing to bring it about, not even what, as is said, they call the last favour (20).

[E] In September, 1574, the king arrived the fifth of September, 1574, at the bridge of Beauvoisin, and not on the twenty first of September, 1575, as is said by two or three historians (21), whom John Aymes de Chavigny censures, in the 224th page of the first face of his French *Janus*. Thus he calls his explication of Nostradamus.

[F] To form enterprizes against France. The author of the first *Savoisienne* (22) reports (23), that when Henry III returning from Poland passed by Savoy, he was asked as a recompence for a collation, the towns of Pignerol and Savilian, and that this prince, whose only fault was too much good-nature, granted it; that the duke of Savoy, son of him who received this noble present (24), took advantage of the confusions of France in 1588, for seeing king Henry III out of his capital city, he invaded the marquisate of Saluces; that after having sent an ambassador to the king, with promise to restore all into his hands, he degraded, all at once, the officers of his majesty, and established others by his ducal authority. . . . and at the same instant to display every where the trophies of his victory, he caused a proud medal to be struck, whereon was the figure of a centaur trampling under foot a crown reversed, with this device, *Oportune*. Which was to shew he knew how to take his opportunity (25). We see, in the second *Savoisienne*, that after the death of Henry III he made himself master of many places in Provence; which obliged Henry IV to seize Savoy, to bring him to reason. Observe, that in return for his medal (26), the king caused another to be struck, on which was a Hercules armed after the antique way, trampling a centaur under foot, over whom he lifts up his club with his right hand, and with his left a crown, which he seems to have taken up; and the device, which as a soul was to animate this body, was the word, *Oportunitus*; to shew that he knew better than he how to seize an opportunity, and more honourably; since he had employed force of arms instead of surprizes, which the other had practised with great ingratitude (27). This repaired the mischief, which the cession of Pignerol had occasioned; but the fault of Henry III was not thereby rendered the more excusable.

The author of a piece that reflects very much on the present duke of Savoy (28), has mentioned this affair, but not without some errors. Henry III, says he (29), being engaged in a war against a potent league, Charles Emanuel, grandfather (30) to his royal highness, acted much the same part he has done at present. He conceived great hopes, for his fortune, if he should lay hold on that opportunity of declaring against France, and in the year 1588 he actually joined his arms with

(21) Milles Piquette, John le Fiere, and he who has made the Appendix to the Annals of France.

(22) A piece published at the time that Henry IV obliged the duke of Savoy to do him justice as to the marquisate of Saluces.

(23) The first *Savoisienne*, pag. m. 16.

(24) Ibid. pag. 17, & seq.

(25) See the second *Savoisienne*, pag. 109.

(26) Ibid. pag. 132.

(27) See concerning the two inscriptions *opportunus, oportunitus*, Pasquier's Letters, Tom. II, book xix, pag. 450, & seq.

(28) This was written in October 1697.

(29) Memoirs of Mr. D. F. L. concerning the transactions in Italy between Victor Amadeus II, duke of Savoy, and the most Christian king, pag. 146. This book was published in 1696.

(30) He should say great-grandfather.

as not to be able to succeed to the king, his brother, but upon those terms. This would always be a sign, that his fortune maliciously led him through perplexed and entangled ways. The world looked for him in himself, after his return to France, but could not find him. The duke of Anjou, who had acquired so great a reputation (f), was quite lost in the person of Henry III. There was nothing to be seen in him then but the humour of a man-hater [G]. Here follow some other caprices of this monarch's fortune. He had a brother who was a heavy burthen upon his shoulders: death delivered him from this burden; he was overjoyed at that deliverance, and this itself ought to be reckoned a misfortune; for what can be more odd, than to be reduced to rejoice at the death of an only brother? But however, this would be still a sort of advantage, if it was the source of many lasting advantages. But it did not prove so to Henry III; for he quickly found, that the duke of Alençon's death, whatever advantages attended it, was more prejudicial than useful to him [H], since it furnished a pretext for caballing, and fomented that dangerous faction, which gave such frequent mortifications to the king, and at last overwhelmed him. The joy he conceived upon having got rid of the duke of Guise, was of the same nature. It lasted but a little while; he immediately found, that this decisive blow, which he thought absolutely necessary

(f) See the article
MARIAN A.
remark [O].

those of Henry the third's enemies, and having formed a powerful party, whereof he declared himself the head, he entered into Provence, and by stratagem seized on the towns of Marseilles and Arles, and grew so haughty upon his conquests, as to strike a medal to serve as an everlasting monument of his victories. He caused himself to be represented under the emblem of a centaur, &c. The author adds, that Henry IV carrying the war into Italy, in the year 1600, made himself master of almost all Savoy and Piedmont, and that he in his turn caused a medal to be struck, &c. This narration is not exact. The junction of the forces of Savoy, with the enemies of Henry III was not made in the year 1588, nor was it in that year, but in the year 1590, that he entered into Provence. He did not strike the medal of the centaur, after making himself master of Marseilles, but after the invasion of the marquise of Saluces. Henry IV did not carry the war into Italy in the year 1600, and he conquered nothing in Piedmont. The author perhaps is more judicious in his political reflexions than in his narrations. Henry IV, says he (31), after the conquest of Savoy and Piedmont, suffered himself to be wrought upon by the entreaties of Pope Clement VIII, who sought to reconcile the distressed duke with the king: though the opinion of all the politicians of that time was, that Henry IV ought to keep Savoy and Piedmont to chastise the rashness of that imprudent prince, and thereby to have a free passage to enter Italy whenever he thought fit. This was the advice of cardinal d'Osat, one of the greatest politicians of his age; but Henry IV on that occasion showed more generosity than policy, and restored all again to Charles Emanuel. What would cardinal d'Osat have said of the imprudence of Henry III in divesting himself of Pignerol, since he blames Henry IV for quitting Savoy at a time when he was a hundred times more capable of resisting his neighbours, than ever his predecessor was? France had been very unhappy, if she had not been possessed of Pignerol, when the duke of Savoy entered into the alliance with the house of Austria, England, and Holland in 1690. She was forced to part with it six years after, which is no small loss.

[G] There was nothing to be seen in him then, but the humour of a man-hater. At his return from Poland he was almost inaccessible, except to three or four, and would eat in private, contrary to the custom of our kings; but it was not liked, and remonstrances were made to him on that subject: wherefore being forced, as it were, by custom to eat in public, he ordered great rails to be set round his table, which are still in the hall of the Louvre at Paris, and the following verses were made on that occasion, and fixed up in several places of the Louvre.

Puis qu' Henry Roy des François
N'en sème que quatre ou trois,
Il faut que ces trois ou quatre,
Allent ses ennemis combattre.

Since Harry of France
Loves only a few,
These few must advance,
His foes to subdue.

He ordered, that no body should enter into his chamber without a bonnet (32). I imagine, that the motive of that order, was, that he himself wore a little bonnet like a child's, that had a roll cut with slashes across, and upon it a plume of feathers before, with some fine crotchet of flowers, and a great perriwig, and he never uncovered his head, not even at church, because his head was shaved (33). There was a great deal of humour in all this. For the rest, this will make you understand the words I am going to transcribe. Even his turban sufficiently represented his infidelity, being always covered like a Turk, which he never pulled off to do honour to JESUS CHRIST (34). This is what the author of the book, intituled, *The Martyrdom of the two Brothers*, reproaches Henry III with.

[H] The duke of Alençon's death, whatever advantages attended it, was rather prejudicial than useful to him. I study not only to say nothing without proof, but every where, as much as I can, to bring the testimony of cotemporary writers; it is easy to imagine therefore that it is with pleasure that I here make use of the words of Stephen Pasquier (35). He (36) had still a thorn in his foot, which in the midst of this peace (37) seemed to stop the course of his satisfaction: for though in appearance he was in no ill understanding with his brother, the duke, yet he was a second king, and had a distinct court and favours, sometimes in the city of Tours, sometimes in other towns of his appenage; who differed in their notions so much from those of the king, that he never would suffer either himself, or any of his followers, to be invested with the order of the Holy Ghost. Besides, his appenage was so great, that it took up a good part of France. He had his chamber of accounts in Tours, his exchequer at Alençon, which judged, without appeal, of the causes of the duchy, both civil and criminal. Besides, this prince preferred to the bishops and abbies of his appenage whom he pleased to be nominated to the Pope, by the king, according to the *Concordate*: all these were grandeurs in some measure like those of the king, and might cause jealousies in his soul, but he prudently dissembled them. Now it happened, that, in the year 1583, the duke died, and by his death his appenage was united to the crown. They who governed the king, rejoiced exceedingly in their hearts; and he himself sufficiently expressed, how much he thought his grandeur was thereby increased, when he writ with his own hand, the regulations of it, ordering, that the chancellor, sitting in council, should be clothed with a gown, and long robe of crimson velvet, and the counsellors of state with purple satin, and that his ushers and valets de chambre should have velvet-doublets, and upon them a thick chain of gold hanging about their necks. Then a long set of rooms before he could be come to, and a long train of lords that were to walk before him, when he went to church. Indeed, that death at first sight promised him a long repose, and yet it was the consummation of his and France's misery; for if the duke had lived, all pretences had been cut off from the Leaguers. . . . Immediately after his death, in the year 1584, the princes of the League made no scruple of displaying the discontents they had been a hatching, covered with the cloak of

(32) Du Verdier
Profographie,
Tom. III, pag.
2538.

(33) Id. ibid.
pag. 256c.

(34) Martyres
des deux Freres,
fol. G ii, verso.

(35) Pasquier's
Letters, Tom. II,
book xiv, pag.
140, et seq.

(36) He means
Henry III.

(37) That which
was concluded in
the year 1577.

cessary to his own repose and safety, plunged him into new troubles, and mortal disquiets [L]. It must be confessed, that he surpassed himself in the execution of the project of putting the duke of Guise to death [K]. He showed a great deal of prudence and resolution in that action, at least much more than on former occasions, wherein he behaved himself in such a manner, as made him despicable to the Pope [L]. One of the greatest odnesies of his destiny was, that he equally drew on himself the enmity of the Papists, and Huguenots. These two parties, that are opposite in all things both in temporals and spirituals, agreed in their aversion to this prince. This was a centre of unity to people, that in every thing else found a subject of division. Humanly speaking, the Huguenots had just reasons to hate him, for he persecuted them without measure; and he was looked upon as one of the great promoters of the Paris massacre, and he gloried

'the Catholic, Apostolic, Romish religion.' Note, that love-intrigues had sowed the seeds of discord betwixt these two brothers. They happened to be rivals in love: one of their hearts would dislodge the other, and not being able to bear partners in love, any more than in authority, they changed the affection of brothers into implacable hatred and spite (38). I leave you to consider, whether that twofold jealousy, one of love, the other of ambition, betwixt two brothers (39), the one a king, and the other presumptive heir to the crown, and who both had minds and inclinations ill enough disposed, was not capable of giving them a prodigious antipathy for one another (40).

[I] He found that the death of the duke of Guise plunged him into new troubles and mortal disquiets. Pasquier shall likewise here be my commentator. 'As soon as the duke of Guise was dead, says he (41), never was king so satisfied as ours, saying a loud, and clearly to every body, that he had no longer a companion, nor consequently a master; and the next day the death of the cardinal was the accomplishment of his wishes. In this ease and satisfaction of mind, he enjoyed himself some days, dispatching letters to all parts, to declare the reasons of what he had done, but he reaped little profit by them. Some eight or ten days after receiving no news from Paris, he began to bethink himself, and to abate something of that excessive joy. And afterwards hearing of that general revolt, he earnestly wished that what he had done were still to do . . . The king by degrees began to be displeased with every thing, even with himself. I can say it, and write it to you, as one that has been an eye witness of it. Diffidence more than ever took possession of his heart, as you shall presently hear.' Pasquier after these words gives four or five examples, that clearly express the unspeakable confusion of this prince. He had a mind to convey to the castle of Amboise, some persons whom he had ordered to be arrested after the death of the Guises, and he found no body that he durst trust but himself. I will tell you frankly, adds Pasquier, that the greatest part of us, who were at Blois, almost burst with indignation, to see the affairs of the king in so bad a posture, that he was forced to be master to his own prisoners. He had scarce gone when we received the news that the marshal d'Amont having abandoned the citadel and raised the siege of Orleans, upon the march of the Sieur de Mayenne, was retired with his troops to Baugency. Many of his wounded soldiers came to Blois. Then it was we all believed, that the conducting of these prisoners was a fine and studied pretence of the king, that so he might quit the town with less dishonour. And I can assure you that if the Sieur de Mayenne had fallen upon us, the fear was so great and general, that he would have found no resistance, and being once master of Blois, all the river Loire had been his own, especially as all the towns were wavering, and the king would have been wonderfully at a loss to find a place of retreat. GOD was pleased to rescue us from that misfortune (42). The author adds (43), that Longnac, who first induced the king to command that murderer, which had proved so unsuccessful, lost all his favour with him. Some historians relate, that this brave gentleman not thinking himself safe at court, asked the king for a place to which he might retire, in order to secure himself from the resentments of the league (44). This was to make the king sensible, in what a wretched condition his affairs were believed to be; the answer that is pretended he made to Longnac, is not unworthy of a great monarch. I mention it in another place (45).

[K] He surpassed himself in the execution of the project of putting the duke of Guise to death. His heart

had failed him on the day of the barricades, he had given up the day to his rival, he had made his escape from Paris, and left the duke of Guise all the glory of a triumph. His heart returned to him again at Blois, and there he humbled his haughty enemy. We may apply the words of the Æneid to him:

Quondam etiam victis redit in præcordia virtus, Victoresque cadunt - - - (46).

And then we might see the truth of a sentence of Homer, I mean the remonstrance that Calchas made to Achilles, that a king who is irritated against his inferior, has the better of him sooner or later.

Κρίσσαν γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χέσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρνι,
εἴτερ γὰρ τε χίλον γέ καὶ αὐτῆμας καταπέψῃ,
ἄλλὰ γέ καὶ μετέπισθεν ἔχει κίτον ὄφρα τελίσσῃ
ἐν στήθεσσιν ἑοῖσι.

Potentior enim Rex quando irascitur viro inferiori, Quamvis enim iram vel eodem die decoxerit, Tamen & postea retinet similitudinem donec perfecerit In præcordibus suis (47).

I have read, in several authors, the relation of that exploit of Henry III, but I have not seen any where the particulars are better connected and prosecuted, than in that which Mr Marcel hath inserted in the fourth tome (48) of his History of France. There one may see all the exactness of the measures that were taken to secure that great blow: the king therein discovered a great vigilance and resolution, and a soul so much master of itself, as carefully to observe the smallest things, that might be prejudicial (49). Consider well the encouragement he gave to the secretary of state, who was to acquaint the duke of Guise that the king would speak with him. 'Hereupon his majesty hearing the duke of Guise was in the council, said to Monsieur Revol, secretary of state; Revol, go and tell Monsieur de Guise, that he must come and speak with me in my old closet. The Sieur de Nambu having refused to admit him, he returned to the closet with a frightened countenance, he was a great man, but timorous; Good Lord, said the king, Revol, what ails you? what is the matter. How come you to be so pale? you will spoil all, rub your cheeks, Revol: there is no harm, Sir, said he, only Monsieur de Nambu would not open the door to me unless your majesty command him.

The king orders him from the door of his cabinet to let him come in again, and Monsieur de Guise also (50). I will on this occasion cite here, what I have read in the *Journal des Savans*. What passed at Blois, touching the proposal which was made to the States, not to suffer in France any other than the Catholic religion, shews sufficiently that Henry III, was more politic than the generality of the world imagine (51). [L] He had behaved in such a manner as made him despicable to the Pope. See the General Criticism on Maimbourg's History Calvinism; you will there find (52) two exclamations of Sixtus V. One, relating to the temerity he attributed to the duke of Guise, and the other the simplicity he ascribed to Henry III. He expressed himself on this subject very cavalierly. Some authors (53) relate, that considering one day the conduct this monarch, he said I have done all that I was able, to get out of the condition of a monk, and be doth all that he can to fall into it.

[M] The

(46) Virgil, Æneid lib. ii, ver. 367.

(47) Homer, Iliad. lib. i, ver. 80. See also the remonstrance of Nestor to the same Achilles, ibid. ver. 275.

(48) Pag. 626, & seq.

(49) What the author of the relation says of the uneasiness in which the king was, is not contrary to this, for they hindered neither his application nor his vigilance.

(50) Marcel, Hist. of France, Tom IV, pag. 631.

(51) Journal of the Learned, Jan. 25, 1666, pag. 83, 84, in the Extract of the Memoirs of the duke of Nevers.

(52) In the third Letter, n. 2, pag. 38, of the third Edition.

(53) See Naudé, chap. i, of his *Coups de Etat*, pag. m. 22.

(38) Matthieu apud Marcell. Hist. of France, Tom. IV, pag. 602.

(39) See, above, remark [B] of the article DRUSSELLA, what is said concerning the hatred of brothers. See likewise citation (29) of the article DRUSUS, son to Germanicus.

(40) It was so great, that Henry III one day charged the king of Navarre to kill the duke of Alençon. See Perrin, Hist. of Henry the Great, pag. m. 42, ad ann. 1575.

(41) Pasquier's Letters, Tom II, lib. xiii, pag. 61, & seq.

(42) Id. ibid. pag. 64.

(43) Id. ibid. pag. 65.

See the article LONGAC, remark

the same

gloried in it (g). This, joined with his zeal for the most monkish devotions, ought to have purchased him the friendship of the ecclesiastics, and of the most vehement bigots of the Romish church; and yet he was the object of their hatred more than can be imagined. This is one instance of the whimsicalness of his fate; and here follows another. Whatever he had most ardently loved, at last turned to his ruin (b). What we have already said (i) concerning the disorders, which were occasioned by Henry the second's prodigality, agrees still better with the reign of Henry III, a prince infinitely more prodigal than his father. So that they saw under his reign more imposts, more pecuniary edicts, and more waste of the finances, than was ever before known in the kingdom. The mischief had still been greater, if the king had obtained leave to alienate the crown-lands. But the States-General would not consent to it [M]. Let us observe that Henry III, who, in regard to his favourites, was not jealous of his authority, nor aspired to independence, passionately desired to enlarge the royal power [N]. I will say something of his devotions [O]: and I will

(g) Thuan. lib. xvi, pag. 302.

(b) Et fatale erat ut quicquid ardentius dilexerat, id illi postremo perniciem adferret. Id. lib. xvi, sub fin, pag. m. 193.

(i) Above, remark [BB] of the article HENRY II.

[M] The States-General would not consent to alienate the domains of the crown. Besides what I have already said of this in the article BODIN (54), I shall set down here a passage of Mezeral (55). 'As to the point of alienation of the crown-lands . . . Emar (56) by order of the assembly, answered Believre, whom the king had sent there, that the common, and the fundamental, laws of the state absolutely forbid that alienation; that the crown-lands resembled the jointure of a wife, which can neither be sold nor appropriated to any other use by her husband; that they were still more sacred than those of the church, because they could not be alienated for any reason whatsoever, even with solemnity; that it was a thing unheard of, that recourse was ever had to that expedient, even in the greatest necessities of France, and when it was in greater danger than it was at that time; as in the reign of king John, for whose deliverance, so much money, so many towns, and provinces, were given; that, in a word, they were one of the strongest pillars that supported the crown, upon which portions, dowries, and appennages, were founded, and therefore that the king's demesne ought rather to be strengthened than weakened, and raised higher, rather than be lowered; that as for the rest, if the third state so earnestly remonstrated the consequences of that alienation, it was because whatever should be taken from the crown-lands, must be made good at their expence, and the whole loss would fall upon it alone, and not on the other two estates, who for that reason did more easily consent to it.' If you will see the limitations of the royal authority in that respect, read what follows. 'By the edict that was made in the year 1565, at Moulins, where all the princes and great lords were convened, with a great number of presidents and counsellors of sovereign courts, it was expressly enacted, that all the alienations made, or to be made, of the crown-lands, should be null, except in two cases, namely, for provision for the younger children of our kings, and for mortgages necessary to raise sufficient sums for the necessities of the war; and that in these two cases, letters-patents should be passed and published, in the courts of parliament, it being expressly forbid them to have any regard to such letters, for any other cause or time whatever, though it were but for a single year (57).'

[N] Henry III who, in regard to his favourites, aspired not to independence, passionately desired to enlarge the royal power. Here are two points: I prove the first, by an observation that was made upon the great interests of the duke of Epemon, and on a Fortune of gilt-silver which the city of Rouen presented him (58). This goddess strictly embraced him in her arms, and below were these Italian words, E per non lasciar ti. — And not to leave thee. A device taken from an equivocal name; to show, that that grandeur could never be destroyed, as indeed, the king having an excessive favour for him, had protested to him before, that he would make him so great in the midst of his friends, that he himself should not have the power to lessen him, tho' he should afterwards desire to do it. This passage we have since learned from the duke of Epemon, in a very elegant letter, which he wrote to the king in his disgrace (59). They who say that kings never love any body, and look upon that as a great fault, are in a double error; for most monarchs are subject to an excess of friendship, which causes more disorders than could flow

from an indifferent and insensible heart. See, above, the comparison that Bodin has made betwixt the latter years of Francis the first's reign, and the reign of Henry II. See also the remark [B] of this article. It were perhaps a thing to be desired, that kings like the Stoics wife man, were without love and hatred. It is at least very certain, that the too kind, affectionate, beneficent and prodigal temper of our Henry, was the cause of infinite ills. Let us go on to the second point.

The States of the kingdom, in 1576, had resolved to name twelve deputies to assist in the king's council, when the papers which would be presented by the three estates to his majesty, should be examined there. That resolution was disagreeable to Henry III, because he feared these deputies of the States would hinder him from disposing of affairs to the advantage of his power; but when he was made sensible, that he would thereby gain a greater authority, he was glad that the States had taken such measures, and he was sorry that they changed their mind, and was very angry with Bodin, who had been the cause of that change (60). It will not be amiss to hear Thuanus himself: 'Cum Bodinus tertium ordinem, si ulterius

pergerent, intercessurum diceret, facer ordo, ac mox nobilitas acquievit, ac commune suffragiorum votum fuit, ne ulli delegati, qui cum regis consiliariis de postulatis decernerent, ab Ordinibus eligerentur, contrarium cum initio placuisset, eaque re non mediocriter Rex animo commotus esset, ut supra ostendimus, postea mutaverat, à Lugdunensi Archiepiscopo, ut putatur, inductus, qui principi POTENTIAE SUAE AMPLIFICANDAE SUPRAMODUM CUPIDO, ex quo majestati regie decrementum metuebat, ex eo incrementum accessurum artificiose persuaserat (61). — Bodin having said, that the third estate, would oppose it, if they pushed that matter any further, the ecclesiastical estate, and soon after the nobility, desisted, and it was carried, that no deputies should be chosen by the States to deliberate with the king's council, concerning petitions, tho' they had formerly resolved on the contrary, and thereby had highly offended the king, as we have before related. But the king afterwards changed his sentiments concerning this matter, by means, as it was thought, of the archbishop of Lyons, who artfully persuaded his majesty, WHO WAS EXCEEDINGLY DESIROUS OF INCREASING THE ROYAL AUTHORITY, that, instead of lessening his power, as he apprehended, this would be the means of encreasing it.'

The archbishop of Lyons acted a very politic part on this occasion. [O] Something of his devotions.] I will make use of the words of du Verdier Vau-Privas. 'He performed several extraordinary devotions, going sometimes at ten a clock at night, to the Carthusian monastery, to hear mass. He instituted the fraternity of the White Penitents, of the Annunciation of our Lady in the Augustins at Paris, and went in procession like the rest, with his sack-cloth, and whip at his girdle. . . . He would needs likewise erect many other fraternities, as that of St Jerome, called the Blew Penitents, in the college of Marmoutier; that of the Crucifix of the Black Penitents, in the college of St Michael; that of the Grey Penitents of St Francis, at St Eloy. He brought the Feuillans, which are certain reformed monks of the order of Cîteaux, from the abbey of Feuilliance, near Tholouse, and lodged them in the suburb of St Honoré,

(60) See, above, remark [I], of the article BODIN.

(61) Thuan. lib. lxiii, pag. 187.

(54) Rem. [I].

(55) Mezeral, Hist. of France, Tom. III, pag. 433.

(56) President of Bourdeaux, one of the deputies to the states of Blois, in 1576.

(57) Pasquier, ubi supra, Tom. I, livr. vi, pag. 341.

(58) When he made his entry into Rouen, as governor of Normandy.

(59) Pasquier's Letters, Tom. II, book xiii, pag. 72.

not forget, that he was eloquent, a lover of the sciences; and that he took great delight in the conversation of learned men; but he was charged with doing this unseasonably as also with respect to the pains he took in studying the Latin tongue [P]. I have received

more, and went often thither to perform his devotions; he had built a house near the Capuchins, where, on certain days, he went in like manner, to perform his spiritual exercises. Every one was porter, and performed the other offices in their turn, and he was called there, Brother Henry; and if any one asked for him, he must ask for Brother Henry, as if any courier came there, or any other matter happened whilst he was in that conclave. He erected another fraternity of Hieronimitans at Vicennes, and at St Mary de vie saine [of whole some life]. He caused a great and noble house to be built in the horse market, in a fantastical manner, with certain little cells, that he might go and pass some days there as a monk (62). He carried at his girdle a pair of beads containing ten Ave-maries (63).

(62) Du Verdier, *Prologos*, Tom. III., pag. 2559.

(63) *Id. ibid.* pag. 2560.

(64) *Id. ibid.* pag. 2559.

This author has reason to say, that many have looked upon all these things as grimace (64), for the writers of the League, and others, have much traduced him upon that account. I will content myself with relating a passage, which I find in a libel of the Leaguers. *The cells built by that hypocrite, served only for a cover to his lasciviousness, wickedness, ordures, and sodomies; John d'Esperson knows something of them, and cannot give me the lie in this matter. The wisest people have well said, that this was only to amuse fools, and cages designed for other sort of birds, and not a religious simplicity, which has always been the true motive for all the princes and honest men to sequester themselves, who were not (like that seeming hermit) touched at their hearts with a spirit of hypocrisy* (65).

(65) Martyrdom of the two Brothers, fol. 5, Edit. 1589, in 8vo.

Du Verdier observes, that the preachers, and amongst others, Maurice Poncet, cried out against the fraternities and processions of the king. This Poncet seems to me to have been the most furious of them all. I will cite what Peter Matthieu has said of him, by which you will see, that these external acts of devotion were looked upon only as grimace, without any inward amendment. 'On Sunday the twenty seventh of March, 1583, the king imprisoned Poncet the friar, who preached in Lent at Notre-dame, for having preached the Saturday before too freely against this new fraternity (66), calling it the fraternity of hypocrites and atheists, and in proof of this (I repeat his very words) I have been informed from very good hands, that last night, which was the Friday of their procession, the spit was turning for the supper of those fat penitents, and that after having eaten good capons, they for their night collations, young virgins that were made ready for them. Ah? wretched hypocrites, do you mock God then under a mask, and carry a whip at your girdle, only for fashion's sake? it is not there, by God, that you ought to carry it; but it ought to be laid on your backs and shoulders, and you ought to be threshed very well with it; for there is not one of you but hath well deserved it. For which words the king, without desiring otherwise to speak to him, saying he was an old fool, ordered him to be conducted in his coach by the captain of the watch, into the abbey of S. Pere at Melun, without doing him any other harm, than the fear they put him in, that they would cast him into the river (67).'

(67) Peter Matthieu, History of the late troubles, pag. m. 15.

[P] He was eloquent, . . . a lover of learning . . . but he was charged with applying to these unseasonably, and with respect to the pains he took in studying the Latin tongue.] Mezerai reports the substance of the speech which this prince made to the states of Blois, in the year 1576, and he adds (68): 'that fine oration pronounced by the mouth of a king, with an action that was truly majestic, and a wonderful grace, was received by all the auditory with a general applause; but not without some grief by the wiser part; who, admiring so many fine external qualities in that prince, lamented within themselves, that his education had not been answerable to his birth, and they could not praise the natural beauty of his genius, without delecting at the same time, those who had miserably corrupted it.' He gives also a summary of the speech which the same prince made at the opening of the states of Blois, in the year 1588, and he prepares his reader for it by these words (69). *He made a fine speech to them in which he observed this temper, that he was very willing to*

(69) *Id. ibid.* pag. 714.

assure them, that he had buried all past injuries in oblivion; but it was upon this condition, that, all factions being extinct, his authority should be restored to its full force; this he enlarged upon with so much art and politeness, that if the question had been only whether he was a good orator, he had doubtless carried his point. I will confirm this eulogy, with a letter written by one of the deputies (70) of the states of Blois, 'it was the finest and learnedest speech that was ever heard, not only from a king, but from one of the best orators in the world, and he had such grace, such assurance, such gravity and sweetness in pronouncing it, that he drew tears from the eyes of many persons, from which number I cannot exempt myself; for I found in my soul such a commotion, in hearing this prince speak, that my tears witnessed it, whether I would or no: he displayed with so much compassion, the miseries of this kingdom, set forth his sorrow for them with so much vivacity, compared the felicity, &c.

(70) In 1588.

(71). It would be in vain to object to me, that his speeches were made for him, for that will not prejudice his title to the character of eloquent, considering the manner with which he spoke. They who fill the first places in parliaments; are deservedly esteemed sometimes good orators, tho' they cause the discourses, which they make at the opening of their audiences, to be composed by others; and how many excellent preachers are there that do not compose the sermons which they deliver; but not to insist upon this, let us recite a passage of Mezerai, which will shew that this monarch spoke very well off-hand (72). 'He rendered himself so eloquent by the natural disposition that he had for it, that if there could be any excess in so fine an accomplishment, we might have reason to say, that he had too much of it. And indeed he was wonderfully delighted in the great assemblies, and solemnities, where it was found, that his speech was always the finest, and that even the answers he made without premeditation to the deputies and ambassadors, were much better than the discourses they had prepared with great art and pains (73). I do not know, whether this great historian has ever insinuated, that this prince's speeches were made by any body else. I know indeed, that Thuanus relates that Morvillier was thought to be the author of that which the king pronounced in the states of Blois, in the year 1576 (74). But I am sure that if that prince did not compose those pieces himself, he at least contributed his examination, advice, and corrections; I am persuaded to believe so, from what I am going to say.

(71) Marcel. Hist. of France, Tom. IV., pag. 602.

(72) Mezerai, *ubi supra*, pag. 799.

(73) See Mezerai, pag. 481.

(74) Thuanus, lib. lxiii., pag. 179.

He had a great ambition to understand the French tongue perfectly, and to speak it politely and correctly. The pains he took in this, had all the success that could be expected from it. 'Noster Galliae Rex Henricus III, elegantiae sermonis sui studiosus (aliquot praesertim ante obitum annis, quo tempore plura regia quam multi credunt, habebat) haud infelici & inutili studio, fuit. In eo enim tandem excelluit, & ita quidem ut not minus castigatum quam ornatum esse cuperet (75). — Our king Henry III was exceedingly curious about the elegance of our language, (especially some years before his death, at which time he possessed more truly royal qualities than is commonly believed) and was very successful in that study. For he at last arrived to a great excellency in it, and aimed no less at accuracy, than elegance.' He could guess at an author by the stile of a book; by which he judged, that Henry Stephens was the author of a work that had appeared without any name to it (76), and he was not mistaken. He was heartily zealous for the interests of his language, and having commanded Henry Stephens to shew the advantages and excellencies of it, he pressed him so earnestly to compose such a treatise, that he was obliged to bring him a copy of it very quickly (77). I have said elsewhere (78), that he desired that learned man to make a parallel betwixt the Ciceronians of Italy, and the Ciceronians of France. I have said also (79) that he loved Bodin for the learned discourses he heard from him. These were many other learned persons, whose conversation he loved. Note, that in the year 1579, he gave three thousand livres to Henry Stephens, and a pension of 300 livres per annum (80).

(75) Henricus Stephanus, Epist. Dedicat. Tractatus de Lipsii Latinitate, pag. 11.

(76) *Id. ibid.*

(77) Ita ergo dicitur fuisse, ut intra breve tempus spiritum non solum compositionis sed excusum etiam afferre ad illum oportuerit. *Id. ibid.*

(78) Above, citation (3) of the article B U N E L (PETER).

(79) Above, citation (27) of the article B O D I N.

(80) La Caillé, Hist. de l'imprimerie, pag. 135.

received two very curious memoirs: one relating to the proposal which he had been persuaded to approve of, declaring for his successor the eldest son of the duke of Lorraine [2]. The other relating to what the deputy of the League was ordered to represent to the Pope, after the king was assassinated by James Clement a Dominican [R]. That execrable murder was committed at St. Clou. Some Protestant writers have taken notice of

(81) That is at the time of the civil war which the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre raised against him at the beginning of his reign.

(82) Pasquier, ubi supra, Tom. II, lib. xix, pag. 432.

(83) Id. ibid. pag. 433.

(84) A young advocate of great hopes. Id. ibid.

(85) Id. ibid. pag. 434.

(86) Id. ibid.

(87) It was communicated to me by Mr Marais (of whom I have spoken in the end of the remark [2]) of the third duke of GUISE, an advocate of the parliament of Paris, to which he has added this note; In an instruction of Henry III to the Sieur de la Cayette going to Florence, I find that Mr de Schomberg is named counsellor of his majesty in his council of state, and marshal of his German soldiery.

It remains for me to prove, that it was the opinion of some that he employed that time in those things, which ought to have been employed in more urgent affairs. If ever any prince had reason to fear, it was then (81), nevertheless this new king, as if he had begun his reign in the tranquillity of a profound peace, instead of putting on his arms, fell to learning on one hand, grammar and the Latin tongue of Doron, (whom he afterwards made counsellor in the great council) and on the other hand, he held a kind of conference, and academy, with Pibrac, Ronlard, and other wits, on certain days, on which every one discoursed upon such subjects, as were before marked out. A noble and worthy exercise indeed, but not suitable to the affairs this prince had then upon his hands. These new lessons of grammar gave me occasion to vent, in a passion, these six Latin verses:

Gallia dum passim civilibus occidit armis,
Et cinere obruitur semisepulta suo,
Grammaticam exercet media Rex noster in aula,
Dicere jamque potest vir generosus, Amo.
Declinare cupit, verè declinat & ille,
Rex his qui fuerat, sit modo Grammaticus. (82).

While France is all inflam'd by civil rage,
And her own sons in impious war engage,
Immur'd our monarch cons his grammar rules,
Declines and conjugates with bearded fools.
Decline he surely doth, who, from twice king,
Is now a school-boy grown a nameless thing.

Mr de Pibrac having told Pasquier one day (83), that he had heard, that Marillac (84) was the author of that epigram, added, that if he was sure of it, he would make him repent it; for it does not belong to a subject to play in that manner upon the manners and deportment of his prince (85). That would be well enough, replied Pasquier (86), in any one's mouth but your's, who ought to consider that if a king, that is exposed to the view of all his subjects, does not bridle his actions, it will be very difficult for him, to prevent the discontents of those, that most respect him: he added, that such verses proceeded not from one that was an enemy to his majesty, but rather from one who adored him, but at the same time was troubled to see him fall by that means into the contempt of all his people, and that we ought all to wish, as the case then stood, that that epigram had fallen into the hands of our king, to be a lesson to him not of Latin grammar, but of what he had to do.

[2] They had persuaded him to declare for his successor, the eldest son of the duke of Lorraine. Monsieur de Schomberg warded off that blow: I have a copy (87) of a memorial which he drew up on that subject, and which, in my opinion, deserves very well to be inserted at length.

Memoir of the Sieur de Schomberg.

Some time after the death of Messieurs de Guise, which happened at Blois, it was proposed by the cardinal de . . . on the part of his holiness, that if his majesty would declare the marquis du Pont, his nephew, heir of the crown, and get him acknowledged as such, with all the requisite solemnities; his holiness assured himself, that the king of Spain would give the Infanta in marriage to the said marquis, which would bring all the troubles of France to an end. To which the king being ready to consent, by the persuasion of some who were then about his majesty, Mr de Schomberg broke the design, by these arguments: that this would be to invert the order of France, abolish the fundamental laws, and leave to posterity a certain monument of its cow-

ardice, and pusillanimity for which his majesty would be justly blamed by historians, and his servants and subjects branded with treachery and disloyalty, with which vice for his part he would not be tainted: that that war was betwixt the French against the French, who at first shew some heat, but afterwards of themselves return to reason: that his majesty should only be solicitous to live, and to gain time, and to be upon his guard against any resolute villain, who in these first furies might undertake something against his person, as a preservation against which, his majesty should command a waistcoat of mail to be made for him that he might ordinarily wear. A thing that was resolved upon but not executed. The Sieur Schomberg having made the king alter his opinion by the aforesaid remonstrance, his majesty commanded him, to tell him, by what means he thought that he might quell these commotions. To which the said Sieur Schomberg immediately gave obedience, and beseeched the king not to be guided any longer by the maxims that he had hitherto followed, and not to imagine that this affair could be accommodated by his usual connivance and lenity; that he must resolve to have recourse to arms and to make himself the strongest in the field; that for that purpose he should countermand Mr de Nevers, who was then before Garnache, and give a pledge to the king of Navarre to march with all his forces to his assistance, and that he should send into Germany, Italy, England, Denmark and to all other potentates, to let them know the justice of his cause, and the consequences of it, and desire their succours, and assistance to raise a great army of foreign troops. This proposal was violently opposed, and especially by Mr de Nevers, who went so far as to say that it was heretical; and that neither the Pope, nor any of the Catholic princes would approve of the king of Navarre's being so near his majesty. On the contrary, Mr de Schomberg steadfastly maintained that that war did not in any sort concern religion, but the state, and that his majesty could not so safely depend upon any person in the world, as the said king, as being himself interested in the preservation of the kingdom, to this he added many other strong reasons; which had so much weight, that from that time the treaty with the said king was set on foot at Blois, and was afterwards executed at Tours, where the first interview was held betwixt these two kings. It is therefore with great reason that the service, which the Sieur Schomberg did then to France in these two points, particularly to the house of Bourbon, was very much celebrated. The king likewise then advised, that the said Sieur de Schomberg should write to the president Jeanin; to keep the duke of Mayenne to his allegiance: but his majesty having heard of the departure of the said duke from Lyons, and his coming this way, the said letter was never sent, and it is still among my papers in Germany, full of excellent reasons and persuasions, which since have been assisting the reduction of the said duke of Mayenne.

[R] What the deputy of the League was ordered to represent to the Pope, after the king was assassinated by James Clement a Dominican. Those pieces cannot be too carefully preserved, which are authentic proofs of the fury most of the French were seized with, in the reign of Henry III, and some years after his death. Some people, will endeavour hereafter to darken the truth of these matters of fact: we must prevent their wicked attempts; for the farther men are from the age, these things were acted in, the easier it is for them to wrangle. Henry III had not been a hundred years dead, when an anonymous author was so bold as to publish a treatise (88), maintaining that James Clement did not kill that prince, which is to deny that it is day at noon. You will find some convincing circumstances against that monk in a writing, of which I have received a copy (89), which I here insert entire.

(88) Intituled, La Fatalité de St. Clou. It was printed in the year 1672. The Jesuit Maimbourg mentions and refutes it in few words, in the History of the League, l. h. iii, pag. m. 353.

(89) The same Mr Marais communicated to me.

of that circumstance, and have found some mysteries in it. The fact that they alledge

* *An extract of what was represented to the Pope by the commander of Diou, ambassador for the union of Catholics at Rome.*

(90) He had just before given an account of the murder of the Guises, and the revolutions that followed it.

It was then (90), most holy father, that the evil appeared most extreme, and that the prayers as well of the clergy, as of the people, continued with greater perseverance, and we must certainly believe, that they forced the divine majesty to commiseration, which would not leave so many good men, and so zealous for his holy cause, in a longer doubt of his goodness and mercy; but rather deliver them from their languishing, by so great and so wonderful an event, that the more it is considered, the more it raises our thoughts to the meditation and admiration of God's incomprehensible judgments. It is the death of the king that happened in so strange a manner, that the truth of the thing and the impossibility, that was objected against it, were long contending which should carry it. At last the news was confirmed by many concurrent advices, and tho' your holiness has had the particulars of it from other hands, I presume you will not be fatigued with the account which I shall give to your holiness of it. A monk of the order of St Dominic of the convent of Paris, named Brother James Clement, of twenty three or twenty four years of age, a native of the village of Sorbonne, in the diocese of Sens, and the last of 300 or 400 which are in the said convent, yet divinely elected, and chosen for so generous an exploit, which God has done by his hands, had often boasted (91) amongst his brethren, even after the rout of Senlis, that he saw the enemies affairs prospered, that the king should never die but by his hands, at which the rest took occasion to laugh at him, calling him, in derision, Captain Clement. But this did not make him depart from that opinion and inward motion. But, on the contrary, he confirmed himself in such a manner in the desire of executing it, that he became constant in that design, thinking only of the means, whereby he might accomplish it. In that enterprize he must resolve upon death, but what kind of death he could not guess, and he was willing to suffer the most cruel that could be invented for him, which is a constancy so admirable in a monk, that it is without example in this age. To bring the matter to an issue, he found the way to get very secretly the letters of some politicians, and concerted with them to inform the king of what was doing in the city to the advantage of his affairs. He received some words of credence from them, and obtained from the count de Brienne, prisoner in the castle of the Louvre, a passport that he might have the easier access into the enemies army. Now having all that was necessary for him, in order to go to the king, he left Paris the last day of July, to go to St Cloud, and took leave of all the other monks (92), exhorting them to put up their prayers for him, saying that he went for the service of God, to deliver the people from misery, without any hopes of returning; and he did not desire it, provided God should give him the grace not to fail in his design, of the event whereof they should hear in twenty four hours. The same day arriving at St Cloud he could not find means to get an audience of the king; he passed the night there which might have given him other counsel. The next day, being the first of August, he addressed himself to the Sieur de la Guesle, the king's attorney-general, in the court of the parliament of Paris, which he had relinquished; and acquainting him, that he was sent intrusted with letters from the king's good servants, and with some words of credence for things of great importance to the service of his majesty: he desired to be introduced by him that he might discharge his duty. The king having notice of it, commanded the monk should be brought in, and retiring into his closet, he there talked more than a quarter of an hour with him, and in the mean time, he gave him his letters one by one to the last; and the king asking him if that was all, the monk answered, I believe not, Sir, and that there must be some more behind; and putting his hand farther into his sleeve, he drew out the knife he had in it, strik-

ing the king the belly, who perceiving himself wounded, cried out, and seized the knife in the hand of the Dominican, holding it in the wound by which he hurt himself exceedingly, and with it gave the monk a blow in the face, who at the same instant received numberless stabs from those who ran in upon hearing the king cry out; and whilst he was thus massacred, it is said, that he spoke these words, *I thank GOD I die so easy a death, for I did not expect to depart this life in such a manner, and to come off at such a cheap rate.* His body was thrown into the open street, and was afterwards burnt, as it was reported to Mr de Mayenne. Thus the king died, the night after his wound, at two a clock in the morning. Your holiness may please to observe some of the most remarkable circumstances of that fact. It happened on the day on which the church celebrates the feast of St Peter in bonds, whom GOD miraculously delivered by his angel, from the hands of Herod, and from all the expectation of the Jews, to whom he was to have been given up; the Catholics may say, that on the same day GOD has delivered them from the hands of Heretics, and from the yoke of a prince, who designed in his heart to fill all Christendom with desolation. In what day, most holy father, could the monitory of your holiness against an impenitent king, and a despiser of the holy apostolical see, be better authorised with the power of GOD? when twenty four hours after the assassination of the duke of Guise, the said king, in cold blood, caused the cardinal, his brother, to be inhumanly massacred; it was observed, that the watch-word which he gave the murderer, was St Clement. Whilst they were committing that execrable crime, he was in his closet, making merry with his minions, and accomplices of the said murder; and GOD has permitted a monk, named Clement (93), to kill him in his closet, in the midst of a great army, which could not secure his detestable life. Impiety had so possessed him, after hypocrisy had made way for it, that he abhorred the preachers who had publicly reprov'd his vices, and for that reason he breathed nothing but ruin and revenge against them, which he protested commonly in his private discourses, wherein every one was allowed to give his opinion about the punishment that should be inflicted on them; but he has been prevented in his barbarous designs, by a poor monk of the order of the preaching friars, who has inflicted upon him the divine punishment that others had foretold him. These things, most holy father, are, in my opinion, of such consequences, as your holiness will judge worthy of consideration. Moreover it is notorious, that this is not the work of men: GOD has applied that great remedy to our miseries, by the ministry of your holiness. And it is to be hoped, that by your interposition he will effectually cure them; and to that end I shall make most humble requests and supplications to your holiness, as I am ordered to do both by the duke of Mayenne, and the aforesaid lords of the general council, whom I hope your holiness will so far please to honour as to accept of them.

This memoir, not only furnishes us with invincible proofs against those, who would deny James Clement to have committed the assassination, but also against all those who undertake to justify his brethren the Dominicans of Paris. Mr Varillas pretends to give the reasons of those wretched apologists (94), and says nothing to confute them. He displays at length all that is said in vindication of the Dominicans in general, and then he speaks thus (95): *but one of them, who was Father Bernard Guyart, has printed a book to which he durst not put his name, wherein he offers to justify the order of St Dominic from the murder of Henry III.* The word *but*, at the beginning of the period, prepares the reader for a particular apology for James Clement; no body can imagine, that Bernard Guyart designed any thing else, and yet Mr Varillas speaks only of a general justification of the order of St Dominic. Let the grammarians find fault with that historian, for placing so ill the particles that they call adverbatives; I leave that to them, and shall content myself with censuring him upon another point. The treatise intituled, *La Fatalité de St Cloud*, is doubt-

(91) *NOTA BENE.*

(92) *NOTA BENE.*

(93) *NOTA BENE.*

(94) Varillas, Hist. de Henri III, liv. xi, page 252. Edit. Holland.

(95) Id. *ibid.* page 253.

will appear very uncertain, whilst they leave the observations of Peter Victor Cayet unanswered [S].

lets the same work, which, according to Mr Varillas, was published by Bernard Guyart: now the principal drift of that book, is to shew that James Clement did not kill Henry III. Mr Varillas is therefore very much in the wrong, not to represent that work under that idea, but under that of a general apology for the Dominicans. This fault appears to me more excusable, than that of omitting to say, that the book intitled *La Fatalité de St Clou*, ought not to hinder one from holding the general opinion. Mr Maimbourg has done his duty, in saying, that notwithstanding that book, we ought to believe that James Clement was guilty of the parricide, and that *it is the best way, honestly to fall in with the public voice, whatever profession one may be of* (96). What he adds, has not so much reason in it. Especially, says he, *since the honour of the Dominicans does not suffer by it; for after all, faults are personal, and there is no man of good sense, who would lay the crime of a private person to the charge of an order so holy as that of St Dominic*. This discourse has nothing of solidity; the crime of James Clement was not personal, but the whole convent of the Dominicans at Paris, were guilty of it. They knew his design (97), they did not discourage him, but approved of the execution of it. The prior of that convent was punished with death, being fully convicted by many witnesses of having made an eulogy of that assassin (98) in the pulpit: and since the city of Paris, and the preachers especially, bestowed a thousand benedictions and praises upon the monk who killed the king, and all the other cities of the kingdom, that were in the interest of the League, and even the Pope himself (99), extolled that infamous action; we may be assured, that the crime of James Clement, was the crime of the whole League, and of the court of Rome; for the authors, advisers, and approvers of an action, are reputed to be under the same predicament. This I will demonstrate in some other place (100).

[S] Whilst they leave the observations of Peter Victor Cayet unanswered.] Consider well his words (101): 'The Huguenots say, Death has carried this king from this world into the other, but (which is a notable circumstance) it happened in the very chamber where it is believed the resolution was taken for the furious massacre on St Bartholomew's day, in the year 1572. These words are to be found in the additions to the *Inventaire de l'Histoire de France*, made by Montliard. The book, called the *History of the five Kings*, printed at Geneva, assures us of the same thing, almost in the same words. And in the *State of the Church*, written by John Tassin a minister, are these words: *It is observed, that, by the providence of GOD, this happened in the same chamber, in which, in the year 1572, that furious massacre on St Bartholomew's day was resolved upon*. Those are notable circumstances, and reflexions on the providence of GOD, rashly, and I will dare to say, falsely published. For at the time of the Paris massacre, the place where the king was wounded, belonged to a citizen of Paris, named Chapelier and he possessed it above two years after, into which his majesty never entered, whilst he was duke of Anjou, nor a long time after his return from Poland. When the queen, his mother, bought it, it was after the death of king Charles, with intention to build there; but as she found that place was too strait, she gave it, in the year 1577, to the wife of the Sieur Jerom de Gondy, who pulled down the house, and new modelled it quite, having adorned it with grotto's and fountains, and put it in such a condition, that it has been since frequented by lords and princes; which it never was before: now the compiler of the aforesaid *History of the five Kings*, from whom Montliard and Tassin have taken what they have inserted in their books (for he wrote before them) has these words, *It is said, that the consultation for the massacre was held in the same chamber, &c.* Behold a hear-say, invented by the author of the aforesaid collection. This story of his own invention, was put into the Memoirs, and little Discourses printed at Geneva in the year 1569, concerning what happened at the massacre on St Bartholomew's day, where it is said, the thing was resolved upon at St Clou, and at the Tuilleries.

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Now we find some colour for that calumny, the author of the said Historical Collections of the said five Kings, from the king's being killed in Gondy's house, draws this conjecture, and cunningly slips in this word; *it is said, that in the same chamber, &c.* Montliard, who wrote after him, goes farther, and says, *It is believed, &c.* It is not now a meer *hearsay*; there are some that believe it: but Tassin the minister, who wrote after them all, is more confident, he assures us of it, and says, that it was a providence of GOD. What a lye is this? accordingly the attorney-general having made his complaint in court against Montliard, these words were struck out of his book, as were a great many others, and he himself was greatly vexed, excusing himself upon a hear-say; but his book being since reprinted at Geneva, all this was again inserted in it, and is believed amongst the people of that party (102). If the facts, which Cayet relates, about the house where Henry III, were assassinated, be true, there is no doubt but the Protestant authors whom he confutes, were much in the wrong, and that the mysterious circumstances they have taken pains to observe, are meer illusions, and the vain imaginations of credulous minds. But if they had been able to prove, that Cayet was mistaken, it had been a commendable thing in them, to reprint in the Geneva edition, what Montliard had been forced to suppress. It is certain, that according to order, and the method of an exact proceeding, the public ought to have been acquainted in the Geneva edition, why that passage was restored; that is to say, it ought to have been made out by strong proofs, that the council about the massacre, was held at St Clou, in the same chamber where the Dominican killed Henry III. My edition of the *Inventaire* of John de Serres, is of Rouen, 1612 (103), and contains the passage which the attorney-general caused to be suppressed. Mezerei supposes, that the reflexions of the Huguenots descended into a more mysterious enumeration of particulars. They wrote, saith he, (104) *that the king was wounded at the same hour, and the same day, in the same place, and in the very chamber where he had concluded the Paris massacre*. He says nothing against it, he quotes no body, and does not imitate Peter Cayet in anything. That mysterious observation is still more strongly urged in a book intitled, a *Journal of the remarkable things, that happened in the reign of Henry III king of France and Poland*, and which has been printed perhaps above twenty times in Holland, with three or four satirical pieces (105); the last edition, is that of 1699. The journal is more large in it, than in the edition of 1693. Now these words are found at the end of the additions (106). *The farther we seek for observations and particularities, in so miraculous an accident (107), the more wonders we find in it, so that posterity that death will appear a wonder, full of innumerable wonders, amongst which this has been observed, as being most worthy of remark, and yet most true, that in the same place, the same house, the same day, and at the same hour, the king returning from his affairs, as he did when he was killed, the Paris massacre was concluded on, the late king (who then was called Monsieur) presided in the council, viz. in the town of St Clou, in Gondy's house, the first day of August 1572, in the same chamber, at the same hour, at eight of the clock in the morning, the breakfast, (which was three spits of partridge) being ready before for the conspirators of that cursed action*. Note, That this addition was superfluous; for all that is considerable in it, may be seen in the same words, in the *Journal of Henry III*, printed in 1693 (108), and 1699, (109), and I believe it is also in the editions that went before.

If we could be sure, that this Journal, such as the Bookellers of Holland have published it, was the work of a Catholic, it would be certain, that the reflexions of the Protestants upon the circumstances of Henry the third's death, are not so strong as those of a writer of the other party. The three Protestant authors which Victor Cayet confutes, go beyond one another; the first was contented with an *it is said*; the second was not satisfied with an expression so weak, he said, *it is believed*; and the third expressed himself still more positively. This is the ordinary method

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(96) Maimbourg, *History of the League*, lib. ii, pag. m. 354.

(97) See, above, the memoir of the deputy of the League to the court of Rome.

(98) Thuan. lib. xviii, pag. 346.

(99) Idem. lib. xcv, pag. 302.

(100) In the article PROBUS.

(101) Cayet Chronol. Novembre, ad ann. 1589, fol. 224, verso.

(102) Cayet, ubi supra, fol. 225.

(103) There is in the title, se vendent à Rouen chez Estienne Vereul dans la Court du Palais.

(104) Mezerei, Hist de France, Tom. III, pag. m. 799.

(105) The Divorce Sairique; les Amours du Grand Alexandre; the Confession Catholique de Sanci; Discours merveilleux de la vie de Catherine de Medicis.

(106) Journal de Henri III, pag. 316, 317, Edit. 1699.

(107) That is, Henry the third's death.

(108) Pag. 129.

(109) Ibid.

(110) Anselme, Histoire des Grands Officiers, pag. 375.

(111) These words are to be seen on the back of the title page, Journal du Regne de Henry III. composé par M. S. A. G. A. P. D. P. New these initial letters are very well filled up with these words, Monsieur Servin Avocat General au Parlement de Paris.

(112) Pellisson, Hist. de l'Académie Française, pag. m. 330.

in telling of news; the last relater is generally the most decisive, and fullest of circumstances. One would think that here is a sort of an auction, where people are to bid one higher than another, because the goods are adjudged to him that bids most. Be it how it will, the journalist of Henry III goes farther than the three Protestant bidders. He delivers the fact, not only as *most worthy of remark*, but also as *most true*. Father Anselme (110) ascribes that journal to Mr Servin; which agrees well enough with the initial letters which have been put in the editions of that book (111). But Mr Pellisson affirms (112), that Mr de l'Estoille, one of the forty members of the

French academy, was the son of an Audienccr of Chancery at Paris, 'who had collected many memoirs of the affairs of his time, from which one of his friends, to whom he had lent them, composed the book, intituled a *Journal of what happened in the reign of Henry III.*' The question is, to know, whether they into whose hands the manuscript fell, before it was published, or after the first edition of it, have neither added to, cut off, nor altered any thing in it. However it be, those who depend upon that part of the journal, are obliged to answer the reasons of Peter Cayet.

HENRY IV, king of France, was one of the greatest princes mentioned in the history of these last ages, and we may say, that if the love of women had suffered him to display all his fine qualities [A] in their whole extant, he would have surpassed, or at least equalled, the heroes that are most admired. If the first time that he debauched the daughter or wife of his neighbour, he had been punished in the same manner as Peter Abelard was, he would have been capable of conquering all Europe [B], and might have

(7) This comparison puts me in mind, that there is no creature more fearful, and more lascivious, than a hare.

(8) See his Life, in the fourth Tome, pag. 329, & seq.

(9) Veneris virique expertem tota ætate se fuisse iactaverat. . . . He boasted, that during his whole life he had lived without sin or women. Puffendorf, Rerum Suecicarum, lib. iv, pag. 64, col. 2. See also Blanc, Hist. de Bavière, Tom. IV, pag. 381.

(10) Discours Historique & Politique sur les causes de la Guerre de Hongrie, Cologne, 1666, pag. 264.

(11) Id. pag. 266.

(12) Erit Hælis eunuchus, sed corporis defectum animo penabat: de cetero statua brevi, fustilato corpore, colore buxo, subtristit vultu, torvis oculis, & inter latos & eminentes humeros depressio capite, ac prominentibus ex ore duobus veluti aprugnis dentibus deformis. . . . Hæly was an eunuch, but made amends for the defect of his body by the greatness of his soul. He was of a low stature, crooked, and of a sallow complexion, had a melancholy countenance and stern look, his head sloping between his high and broad shoulders, and two long teeth in the manner of tusks sticking out of his mouth. Thuanus, lib. xvii, pag. 361.

(13) Fractus ac inglorius Budam ex contulit, ubi dux, qui tantum de se initio expectationem excitaverat, dolore atque ingnomia expeditionis inauspicatè in vitam cum morte commutavit.

(14) Id. ibid.

[A] If the love of women had suffered him to display all his fine qualities. It cannot be said of him, as of some great commanders, who were much addicted to their pleasures (1), that he renounced them, when the exigency of his affairs required it; for he lost all the advantages of the victory of Contras to run after a mistress. Read what Mezerai says (2). 'The valour of the king of Navarre, signalized itself in that battle, more eminently, than his conduct in reaping the advantages of it; for so far was he from marching directly towards the foreign army, as the prince of Condé would have had him, promising, if he would give him troops, to go and possess himself of the passage of Saumur, that he suffered his victorious army to separate, being contented to take an oath from his officers, that they would be, on the twenty sixth of November, on the confines of Angoumois and Perigord, in order to march towards the Reisters. He only kept 500 horse, and taking the count de Soissons along with him, forced his way into Gascogne, whether the violent love he had for the beautiful countess de Guiche, drew him as it were by force (3).' One of the greatest affairs that Henry IV had ever upon his hands, was doubtless the siege of Amiens; and yet he took the fair Gabrielle along with him thither, and lodged her close by him; and would have kept her, during that difficult expedition, had he had his own devils: but he was quickly obliged to remove that scandal from his soldiers' eyes, not only because of their murmurs, that reached his ears, but also by reason of the reproaches of the marshal de Biron (4).

What I have said at the beginning of this remark, that there have been great commanders, who, though much addicted to their pleasures, knew how to quit them when there was occasion, is not unknown to those who know the characters of Alcibiades and Sylla. See what Sallust saith of the latter. 'Sulla . . . animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior, otio luxurioso esse, tamen ab negotiis nunquam voluptas remota (5). — Sylla . . . bad a great soul, he loved his pleasures, but loved glory still more, his leisure hours were spent luxuriously, but his pleasures never interrupted his affairs.' See what is said of Alcibiades. 'Quum tempus potest, laboriosus, (Alcibiades) patiens, liberalis, splendidus non minus in vita, quam victu: affabilis, blandus, temporibus callidissime inserviens. Idem simul ac se remiserat, nec causa fuberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus, intemperans reperiebatur, ut omnes admirarentur in uno homine tantam inesse dissimilitudinem, tamque diversam naturam (6). — Upon occasion he (Alcibiades) was laborious, patient, liberal, splendid both in his equipage and table: affable, courteous, and could, in the most artful manner, accommodate himself to all circumstances. But when once he had unbent his mind, and his affairs laid him under no obligation to fatigue, he was luxurious, dissolute, lewd, and intemperate; so that all men admired to see in the same person such different manners, and contrary characters.'

[B] If he had been punished in the same manner as Peter Abelard was, he would have been capable of conquering all Europe. On the contrary, you will say, he would have grown a sluggard and a coward; for the same spirits that inclined him to the love of women, made him valiant, and we have seen few great captains who have not been lascivious. I answer, that though it be certain, that many great generals have been of a very amorous complexion, yet it does not follow, that their courage and lust flowed from the same principle in their constitution. Each of those two qualities had its cause, and all that can be said is, that these two causes concurred in forming the constitutions of these men. But it is easy to prove, that there is no connexion between those two qualities. How many cowards are there, more timorous than hares (7), that have a prodigious vigour in the acts of Venus? Was there ever a man more brave and undaunted than the marshal de Gassion, who had a mortal hatred to women (8)? The count de Tilly, who lived chaste all his life-time (9), was one of the greatest commanders of the XVIIth century. Did not Mr de Turenne, though no debauchee, match those thunder-bolts of war, who lived at the same time with him, and whose lewdness made almost as much noise as their triumphs? And to give a still stronger proof, do not we know, that the brave Sigismund Bathori, prince of Transylvania, surnamed the Invincible (10), for his great exploits, was as great a poltroon in the wars of Venus, as he was brave in those of Mars, and that having confessed his impotence (11), his marriage with Mary Christina, daughter of Charles archduke of Grats, was declared null: Some eunuchs have been very brave generals of armies; for not to go so high as the famous Narles, who lived under the empire of Justin II, in the VIth century, do not we know, that one of the most valiant generals of Solymann, was an eunuch (12). He was not fortunate, I confess, in the expedition of Hungary, in the year 1556, and he died with vexation, for not having maintained his reputation, nor answered the public expectation (13): but for all that, he had a great soul, and his mortal chagrin was a proof of it. See Thuanus, who tells a pleasant humour of that eunuch, when a piece of ill news was brought him, it was the taking of Gran. A great matter indeed, answered he to the messenger, that is a small thing; behold here my great loss, shewing him the lower region of his belly. Ejus rei cum trepidus nuncius ad eum venisset, ipsa vultus conformatione magnum aliquod malum professus, purpuratus non sine circumstantium risu conformationi nuntii illudens, & Strigoni, quod nullo negotio recuperari posset, amissionem elevans; his verbis eum excepisse dicitur. Quam tu mihi cladem ingentem, fatue, quod tantum incommodum narras? ea demum mihi clades deploranda contigit, cum hinc (genitalium sedem ostentans) ea membra adempta sunt, quibus vir eram (§a) (14). Let us conclude from all this, that if Henry IV had been treated as Abelard was, he would have lost nothing, either of his courage, prudence, or wit. Origen, Photius, and Abelard, are a manifest proof, that the loss of the masculine organs doth not in the least prejudice the natural talents of the soul.

[§a] Taken from the Legat. Turcica of Busbekius, Letter III. pag. 196, of his Works, Edit. of 1633. REM. CRIT.]

[C] He

have eclipsed the glory of the Alexanders and the Cæsars. In vain it would be objected to me, that such a punishment would have taken away his courage [C]. It was his prodigious incontinence [D], that hindered him from raising himself to that pitch of grandeur that he might have done; but notwithstanding that powerful obstacle, he has justly deserved the surname which he bears (a). To convince us of this, we need only consider the astonishing difficulties he surmounted, before he was settled on the throne; and the flourishing condition to which he restored his kingdom, which he had found in the most dismal desolation that can be imagined. He inherited that crown

(a) He is called Henry the Great. See, above, the citation (47) of the article B A R C L A Y (John).

[C] It would be in vain to object to me, that such a punishment would have taken away his courage. You will find, in the preceding remark, the commentary, or proof, that this may require. However, I will add, by way of Appendix, the following observations. Was not Hannibal one of the greatest generals of antiquity, a chaste man? Constat Annibalem . . . pudicitiam tantam inter tot captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret (15). — It is certain that Hannibal . . . behaved with so much chastity towards his female captives, that no body would have thought him an African. We do not find, that Scipio Africanus was of a very amorous constitution, and he gave a notable example of his chastity, during his expedition in Spain; for which he is extremely praised by historians (16). Drusus, the brother of the emperor Tiberius, and one of the greatest commanders among the ancients, was extremely reserved in respect to women (17). The bravery of the emperor Aurelian was incomparable, and yet attended with the greatest chastity. We should injure him, should we make the least comparison betwixt his bravery, and that of the lascivious Proculus, who set up for a tyrant; a letter of whom Flavius Vopiscus has preserved to us, which I shall only insert in Latin. Tacendum non est, quod & ipse gloriatur in quadam sua epistola, quam ipsam melius est ponere quam de ea plurimum dicere. Proculus Metiano affini S. D. Centum ex Sarmatia virgines cepi. Ex his una nocte decem involi: omnes tamen quod in me erat, mulieres intra dies xv. reddidi. Gloriatur (ut vides) rem ineptam & satis libidinosam; atque inter fortis se haberi credit si criminum densitate coalescat. Hic tamen quum etiam post honores militares se improbe & libidinoso, tamen fortiter ageret . . . in imperium vocitatus esset (18). You see by this, that he was owned to be a good soldier, but allow me to say that his valour came not near to that of Aurelian. What shall we say of Alexander, whose courage was extraordinary? More praises have been bestowed upon his chastity, than he deserved; yet it must be confessed, that by his constitution he had more indifference than inclination for the fair sex; and this is sufficient to confute those who imagine I know not what mechanical connexion betwixt lust and valour. To the modern examples already alledged (19), I add one of a brave man, who lived in the XVth century, and who gained the title of the fearless and blameless knight. It will be easily understood by this, that I mean Bayard. Love never was his master, but he showed that he was master of it on some dangerous occasions. See his life. What a catalogue might I not give, if I should reckon up all that have resembled Sardanapalus; men that were valiant in bed only, but cowards and poltroons every where else? Were Caligula, Nero, and Helioabalus, great warriors? Did not they with the most infamous excesses, plunge themselves into the leudest debaucheries? Was ever Domitian, who was the author of a new name (20) for these base exercises, wherein he signalized his strength, reckoned a good soldier, or a good commander? Those sparks that were called formerly Mignons de Couchette, did sometimes pretend to make a campaign, in order to avoid the contempt to which the suspicion of cowardice exposed them among the brave; but they acquitted themselves so ill, that we may apply to them with a great deal of reason, what Jupiter answered Venus, when she complained to him of the wound she had received in assisting her son Æneas in a battle. Do not you pretend to war, which is not your province; your business is love.

(15) Justin, lib. xxxii, sub fin.

(16) Livius, lib. xxvi, sub fin. Valer. Maximus, lib. iv, cap. iii, n. 1.

(17) See, above, remark [B] in the article of the first ANTONIA.

(18) Flavius Vopiscus in Proculo, Tom. II, pag. m. 735.

(19) In the foregoing remark.

(20) Libidinis nimis assiduam concubitus velut exercitatio nis genus Climpalen vocabat. Sueton. in Domit. cap. xxii.

(21) Homer, Iliad. lib. v, ver. 423.

Not these, Ob daughter, are thy proper cares,
Thou milder arts best and softer wars,
Sweet smiles are thine, and kind endearing charms.

POPE.

Helen gives Paris the like advice, as I have observed, in another place, where I confute Mezerai (22). That historian fancies, that the ladies love brave men, because they suppose them no less vigorous in the exercise of love, than in war. He does not judge rightly of their motives; glory or vanity are the great springs of their prepossession in behalf of the brave. Monluc observes, that women would rather chuse to be widows, than see their husbands return from the army in good health, but loaded with shame and dishonour. It is plain, that lust has no share in that, and since this is a new proof against Mezerai, I shall here insert Monluc's words. He speaks to the governors of a place, and shews the prejudice they will do themselves, if they do not defend it well. 'Not only your master, continues he (23), and princes and lords, will look upon you with an evil eye, but also women and children. Nay, to go farther, even your own wife, though she pretends to love you, will hate you, and esteem you less in her heart. For it is the nature of all women to hate mortally cowards and poltroons, though they be never so sprucely dressed. And they love the bold and courageous, though they be never so ugly and deformed. They share in your disgrace; and though they are in your arms a-bed, pretending to be pleased with your return; they had rather you had been strangled, or that a bullet had taken you off. For as we think, that the greatest shame of a man is to have a whore to his wife; so the women think, that their greatest shame is to have cowards for their husbands. See then how you will come off, Mr Governour, if you lose your fort, since you will be cursed in your own bed for it.'

(22) Remark [O], citation (47), of the article of the third duke of GUISE.

(23) Monluc, Comment. lib. iii, pag. m. 500, 501.

[D] His prodigious incontinence. I may well call it so, after the stories d'Aubigné has published of him, especially after these words of a very grave historian. 'If it was the business of history to make apologies, it might justify him from the greatest part of these reproaches, but not however for his boundless passion for gaming . . . much less could it excuse him for his leudness with women, which was so public and universal, from his youth to his last days, that we can hardly give it the name of love and gallantry (24).' In what follows Mr de Perefex tells us something that is very strange. 'It were to be wished, for the honour of his memory, that gaming had been his only vice. But his continual weakness on the score of the fair sex was another, much more blamable in a Christian prince, in a man of his age, who was married, and whom God had so highly favoured, and who meditated so great enterprises in his mind. Sometimes he had desires that were transient, and which enslaved him but for a night; but when he met with beauties that struck him to the heart, he loved them even to extravagance, and in those transports, he appeared to be nothing less than Henry the Great. We are told, that Hercules took a distaff and spun, to please his fair Omphale; Henry did something meaner for his mistresses. He dressed himself one day in the habit of a peasant, and carried a burthen of straw upon his shoulders, to get access by that means to Madam Gabrielle; and it is said the marchioness of Verneuil has seen him more than once at her feet, suffering her disdain and insults (25). It must have been a cruel mortification to the good Huguenots, to see their Chief lead so scandalous a life, even in Rochelle. He debauched there the daughter of a gentleman of the long robe, and had a son by her. The church had often remonstrated his sin to him, which he confessed very ingenuously; but he could

(24) Mezerai, ubi supra, Tom. VI, pag. 392.

(25) Perefex, Hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. m. 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469.

in a very remote degree of kindred [E]. We should probably have known, and admired his merit more if he had lived five or six years longer than he did; for he was just upon the point of entering upon the execution of a prodigious design (b), when he was assassinated in his coach the fourteenth of May, 1610, by Ravaillac. Some historians say, that this was foretold him the day before [F]; but those who have examined the matter to the bottom, have found it to be false. He was of so noble a disposition that it is not at all probable that he ever advised the duke of Alençon to make away with Catherine de Medicis [G]; yet some memoirs affirm it. He had the usual fate of great men,

(b) See his History ad ann. 1610. Written by Hardouin de Perseigne.

(26) Vie de du Pleissis Mornai, pag. 108.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Perseigne, Hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. m. 514.

(29) Relation de la mort de Henry IV, pag. m. 24.

(30) Peter Petit, Jurveyor of the fortifications, Dissertation sur les Cometes, pag. 89.

† The duke of Vendôme.

‡ Madam de Chevreuse.

† Matthieu.

could not be persuaded to make a public acknowledgment of it, till a little before the battle of Coutras (26). You will find the circumstances of this, in the life of Mr du Pleissis Mornai (27).

[E] He inherited the crown in a very remote degree of kindred. It was doubtless an uncommon good fortune, that the crown of France devolved to him; there was never a more remote succession in any hereditary state than this: for there were betwixt ten and eleven degrees of distance betwixt Henry III and him, and when he was born, there were nine princes of the blood before him; namely, king Henry II, and his five sons; Antony, king of Navarre his father, and his two sons, who were elder brothers to our Henry. All these princes died to make way for him to the crown (28).

[F] Some historians say, that this was foretold him the day before. We will begin this remark with the words of Peter Matthieu (29). 'Hereupon la Brosse, a learned Physician and Mathematician, said to the duke of Vendôme, by way of conclusion to a long conversation, that if the king could avoid an accident wherewith he was threatened, he would live thirty years longer. No body is willing to tell kings any thing that may displease them: the duke of Vendôme thinking it more proper that la Brosse should be the messenger of his advice, besought the king to hear him: the king asked him what he would have? Upon that the duke of Vendôme was silent, his silence encreasing the king's desire to know it, he pressed him, the other excused himself; at last, the king's command drew from him what la Brosse had told him. You are a fool, says the king, you believe him? Sir, answered the duke of Vendôme, in these cases, credulity is a fault, but not fear? the safety of your majesty obliges every body, and me more than all the rest, to make light of nothing: I most humbly beseech you to be pleased to hear him. The king refused it, and forbade him to speak of it: I cannot, at least, says the duke, but tell the queen of it. The king replied to him twice, that if he mentioned it, he would never love him. And so la Brosse was sent away. I have this conversation word for word from the duke of Vendôme.' This is very positive; but here follows something that is no less so, which yet entirely overthrows this narrative of Peter Matthieu. 'So true it is, it is a philosopher who

speaks (30), that most historians are credulous and liars, and that thereby they always confirm people in the belief of prognostications, when they report these stories without confuting them. But without going farther, why should not the ancients have done it, since we often see it practised in our own time? Has not one of our historians, speaking of the death of our Henry the Great, said, that being warned of it by a prince that is yet alive, (whom it is not necessary to name) the day before that unfortunate stroke was given, his majesty slighting the information, answered him, that la Brosse was an old fool of an astrologer, &c. I being desirous to learn this from the mouth of that prince himself † above thirty years ago, in the presence of a prince ‡ of great worth, he did me the honour to tell me, that it was false. And within these two days, only to be farther informed of it, and that I might publish nothing of that consequence without being very sure it, I had the honour to speak to him about it again in the presence of several persons of his family, and he confirmed the same thing to me, adding besides, that the historian † had confounded both the times and the things; and that la Brosse had indeed told him, after that fatal accident, that he had foreseen it by his majesty's horoscope, (as astrologers always do when things are come to pass) but that he had not given him notice of it the day before to acquaint his majesty with it. This however is written by a

French author, who lived at the same time; who will not believe him then in after times? Will any one think, that a man appointed and paid for writing history, durst say a thing of this consequence, and even cite a prince then living who could witness it, if it were not true? And yet it is as I say. If any one doubts of it, he may inform himself about it, and I am not sorry that I have an occasion here to mention it, as well to undeceive posterity, as to shew, that there are a great many things of this nature written, which deserve no sort of credit. Observe, that Mr Petit doth not relate this altogether so faithfully as he should have done. He supposes that the historian makes the king give this answer, *La Brosse is an old fool of an astrologer*; but the historian doth not say so; for according to him, it was to the duke of Vendôme that the king said, *You are a fool*.

Let us produce a second witness, with the confutation of what he says. 'The evening of the same coronation, la Brosse, an excellent Physician and Mathematician, said to the duke of Vendôme, that if the king could avoid a dangerous accident, which threatened him, near at hand, he would live thirty years longer, and desired him to procure him an audience of his majesty: But the king understanding what he designed to talk to him about, would neither see nor hear la Brosse (31). The confutation of this is contained in the words of marshal Bassompierre (32). *It is false that la Brosse desired to speak with the king; but if he had done it, the answer that he (33) has invented had been true, that he (34) would have scorned to speak with him, for he looked upon him as a fool*. We find in a discourse upon the death of Henry IV, printed at the end of the Memoirs of the duke of Nevers, that the duke of Vendôme told several persons, that la Brosse did not speak to him about it.

[G] It is not at all probable that he ever advised the duke of Alençon to make away with Catherine de Medicis. Mr le Laboureur relates, that this queen, seeing Charles IX near his end, was afraid lest the duke of Alençon should be advised to pretend to the regency, and even to the crown, to the prejudice of his brother the king of Poland. She contrived upon this a pretended conspiracy, which might give her occasion to secure his person, as also that of the king of Navarre: She kept them under a good guard in the wood of Vincennes, till the king's death, tho' without declaring them prisoners; in the mean time, she spread abroad the report of that conspiracy, for which she caused the marshals of Montmorenci and Cossé to be arrested, and, in order to remove all occasions of doubting of it, she sacrificed to this state-intrigue, two favourites of the duke la Molle and Coconnaz. . . the duke of Alençon himself betrayed his cause, and his domestics, in the fear he was in; and he who kept up best to the character of a king oppressed, but incapable of doing any thing below his dignity, was Henry IV, then king of Navarre. Not but that he feared he was undone, and it was with that design, as I have learnt from some memoirs, that he was accused of having advised Monsieur to pretend to be sick, to oblige the queen to come and see him, and under pretence of having both something to say to her in private, to cause her retinue to withdraw, and then to strangle her. His reasons for it were, their own safety, the opportunity of the king's death, who was ready to expire, the credit that time would give to their friends, and that the same policy which made her renounce the laws of nature, to destroy her own son, and her son-in-law, dispensed them, upon a stronger motive than that of reigning, from abhorring an action, which would preserve to the state two princes that were necessary

(31) Du Pleix, Hist. de Henry IV, pag. 411.

(32) Remarques sur Du-Pleix, pag. 172.

(33) That it, Du-Pleix.

(34) That it, Henry IV.

men, which was to be unfortunate in his family. The two wives whom he successively married, the latter, in the former's lifetime, gave him a thousand vexations [H]. He deserved it, since he had so little regard to the sacred laws of marriage. His second wife was one of those princesses against whom he had raised objections in examining, with Roni, what sort of a wife was proper for him (c). His notions about marriage are very curious [I], and there are few conversations more solid and more pleasant than that which he had upon that subject. It plainly appeared, that religion was only a false pretence of the League, and of the king of Spain; this, I say, plainly appeared, from the endeavours that were used to hinder the Pope from giving him absolution.

' necessary to it, by the death of a woman who disturbed the peace, and caused the ruin of it. He had neither the courage to do it, nor the discretion to conceal it some time after, which was the reason of the mortal and implacable hatred of Catherine de Medicis, against the king of Navarre; and therefore she did not scruple to have a hand in the conspiracy against her own son Henry III, and to embroil the state, when she saw that he had no children, that she might hinder Henry IV from succeeding him, and substitute, in his room, Henry duke of Lorraine her grand-son by her daughter (35). According to these memoirs, Henry IV designed to be one of the murderers of the queen-mother.'

[H] His two wives . . . gave him a thousand vexations. There is no need of proving this with relation to Margaret de Valois. I will therefore only alledge the proof relating to Mary de Medicis. The high esteem and affection the French had for him (36), prevented their being so much offended with his scandalous way of living; but the queen, his wife, was extremely vexed at it, which occasioned daily disputes betwixt them, and made her disdainful and ill humoured. The discontent and uneasiness of these domestic quarrels, no doubt retarded the execution of the great design he had formed for the good and perpetual repose of Christendom, and afterwards for the destruction of the Ottoman power (37).

[I] His notions about marriage are very curious. I have a very long passage to quote, which yet I am confident will seem short to curious readers; for it contains a kind of a criticism upon many princesses and a very solid reasoning of Henry IV, about the choice of a wife. Here follows what he said to Monsieur de Roni, his favourite (38). So that nothing more seems wanting to the accomplishment of this design, but to see whether I can get another wife so well qualified, that I may not be exposed to the greatest misfortune of this life, which is (in my opinion) to have an ugly, ill-humoured, and quarrelsome wife, instead of that ease, repose, and satisfaction, I should propose to my self in that condition: if a wife could be had according to one's wishes, that I might have no cause to repent of so hazardous a bargain, mine should be endowed, amongst other good qualities, which these seven principal ones; namely, beauty in her person, chastity in her life, complaisance in her humour, ingenuity of mind, fruitfulness of body, eminence of birth, and great estate in possession. But I believe, my friend, that this woman is dead, or rather she is not yet born, nor ready to be born, and therefore, let us consider a little, what maids or women, which we have heard of, would be fit for me, either within or without the kingdom. And so far as I have, in my opinion, thought of it more than you, I will tell you briefly, that I could content my self with the Infanta of Spain, as old and ugly as she is, provided I could marry with her the Low-Countries, tho' it should be upon condition of restoring to you the county of Bethune; neither would I refuse the princess Reibelle (39) of England, if, as they say, that the crown is justly hers, she was only declared presumptive heiress of the kingdom; but I must not expect either the one or the other, for the king of Spain and the queen of England are very far from having such a design. Sometimes I have heard mentioned some princesses of Germany, whose names I do not remember; but the women of that country would never agree with me; and I should believe, if I had married one of them, that I must always have a barrel of wine by my bed-side; besides, I have heard there was once a queen of France of that nation, who almost ruined the kingdom. So that all these considerations disgust me. Some have also

spoke to me of one of the sisters of prince Maurice, but besides that they are all Huguenots, and that such a match might make me suspected at Rome, and amongst the zealous Catholics, that their mother was a nun, and something else, which I will tell you another time, makes me averse to it. The duke of Florence has a niece, who they say is pretty handsome; but he being of one of the least families of Christendom, that bears the name of a prince, it being but sixty or eighty years since his predecessors were ranked only amongst the most illustrious citizens of Florence, and being of the same race with Catherine the queen-mother, who has been the cause of so much misery to France, and still more to me in particular, I am apprehensive of such a match, least it should prove as prejudicial to me, my friends, and my kingdom. There are all the foreign women which I think I have heard of. As to those within the kingdom, my niece of Guise is one of those that would please me best, notwithstanding the report that some malicious people have spread, that she is a little wanton; for as to my own humour, besides that I believe it to be false, I had rather have a wife given to gallantry, than one that should prove ill-humoured; of which she is not suspected: On the contrary, she is of a very sweet and agreeable humour, and of a complaisant conversation, and likewise of a good family, handsome, tall, and likely to have fine children soon. I fear only the too great passion she expresses for her family, especially for her brothers, which might possess her with desires of raising them to my prejudice, and more still to that of my children, if ever the regency of the state should fall into her hands. There are also two daughters of the house of Mayne, the eldest of which, as swarthy as she is, would not displease me, being modest and well educated; but they are too young. There are also two in the family of Aumalle, and three in that of Longueville, which are not contemptible for their persons, but other reasons hinder me from thinking of them. So much for princesses. You have besides a daughter of the house of Luxemburg, one of the house Guiméné, and my cousin Catherine of Rohan; but she is a Huguenot, and the others do not please me; and then the daughter of my cousin the prince of Conchy, of the house of Lucé, who is a very fine young lady, and well bred, and who would please me best of any, if she was somewhat older. But tho' they should all please me, as far as I can know them, who can assure me, that I shall meet with the three principal qualities which I desire in a woman, and without which I would not marry; namely, that I shall have male children by them, that they shall be of a sweet and complaisant humour, and sufficiently qualified to help me in sedentary affairs, and to govern my kingdom and my children well, if I should happen to die before they come to age, sense, and judgment, to endeavour to imitate me: as this is like to happen, if I marry at so advanced age. But pray (answered you) may it please your majesty, what do you mean by so many affirmatives and negatives, from which I can conclude only, that you are desirous to be married, but that there are no women to be found upon earth that are fit for you? At this rate we should implore the assistance of heaven to make young again the queen of England, and raise from the dead Margaret of Flanders, Mademoiselle de Bourgogne, Jane la Loca, Anne of Bretagne, and Mary Stuart, all rich heiresses, that you might take your choice of them. For according to the humour that you have expressed, speaking of Clara Eugenia, you would likewise of those ladies who possessed so great estates: but laying aside all these impossibilities and vain imaginations, let us consider a little what is to be done, &c.

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[K] I

(35) Le Laboureur, Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. II, pag. 381.

(36) That is, for Henry IV.

(37) Preface, Hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. m. 463, ad ann. 1609.

(38) Mémoires de Sully, Tom. II, pag. 112, Edit. Holland, in 2amo.

WHAT the king desired in a wife.

SEVERAL women proposed for the king.

(39) I give this word as I find it in my edition.

RONI'S answer to the king's discourse.

(d) In the article solution. I have related in another place (d) the pleasantries of d'Aubigné, about the strokes of a switch, which the proxies of that prince received, when he was absolved at Rome. I will say something of it again, in this place [K].

(e) Perefice, Hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. m. 15. Henry IV was born at Pau in Bern, the thirteenth of December, 1553 (e). Antony de Bourbon, his father, and Jane d'Albret, his mother, brought him to the court of France when he was five years old; but they stayed there but a few months, and returned to Bern (f).

(f) Ibid. pag. 20. Antony came again to court after the death of Henry II. He was declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom after Francis the second's death. He ordered the queen, his wife, and the prince, his son, to come to him. He died of a wound which he received at the siege of Roüen in the year 1562, and then his wife, whom he had used pretty harshly [L], returned to Bern, where she openly professed Calvinism (g).

(g) Ibid. pag. 22. She left her son at the court of France, under the conduct of a prudent tutor, named la Gaucherie. She sent for him to Pau in the year 1566, and put Florent Chrestien in the room of la Gaucherie deceased (h).

(h) Ibid. pag. 23. This new preceptor, a good Huguenot, brought up the prince in the Protestant religion: Jane d'Albret declared herself their protectress in the year 1569, and came with that intent to Rochelle with her son, whom she from that time devoted to the defence of this new religion. In that quality he was declared chief of the party, and his uncle the prince of Condé his lieutenant, with admiral Coligny (i).

(i) Ibid. pag. 24. He was in the army at the battle of Moncontour, and was eager to be in the action, but he was not suffered, for fear of hazarding his person (k).

(k) Ibid. pag. 25. He followed the army from that time to the peace which was concluded the eleventh of August, 1570, and then he returned to Bern. His marriage with princess Margaret, sister to Charles IX, was celebrated at Paris in August 1572. His mother arrived there some months before, to make preparations for the wedding, and died there as her son was on the road thither. He took upon him the title of king, when he received in Poictou the news of her death (l).

(l) Ibid. pag. 26. All the world knows, that the massacre on St Bartholomew's day, was committed a few days after the wedding of this new king; and that this prince seeing himself reduced to choose to die, or to go to mass, chose the latter. The answers that some authors ascribe to him, are only fancies of their own brain [M], and only testify their desire of employing

(40) Jeremie de Pours, Divine Melodie du Psalmiste, pag. 686. [K] I will again say something of the strokes of a switch. I will make use of the words of a Walloon minister (40). The psalm *Miserere* was sung at the reconciliation of Henry the Great, where du Perron and d'Ossat prostrated all along on their faces, representing the king of France, in the presence of the Pope, and the Consistory, received in the king's stead his penance decreed by the Holy See, which was to adjust to every verse, a stroke of a switch, over head, shoulders, and back, down to the feet, from the beginning of the Psalm to the end. Du Perron in his letters, fol. 172. shows the verbal process of the absolution of the king by Pope Clement VIII. . . . d'Ossat, his companion, in the royal penance, shows how gentle it was. In the instruction of the Inquisition, there was this hyperbolical expression (41), when the choristers sung *miserere mei*, the Pope at every verse, *verberabat & percutiebat humeros procuratorum cuiuslibet ipsorum virga, quam in manibus tenebat. — Beat and smote the shoulders of the proxies, with a rod which he held in his hand.* It was a ceremony we no more felt, than we could have felt a fly creeping upon our cloaths.

(41) D'Ossat's Letters, fol. 172.

[L] Jane d'Albret whom her husband had used pretty harshly. The lure made use of to bring him off from the new religion, was the promise of the kingdom of Sardinia. He was so simple as to believe these promises; and he began by degrees to withdraw from the Protestants, and to vex the queen, all sorts of snares being laid for him, by which a man given, as he was, to women, might be surprised; so by little and little, forgetting every thing else, he had nothing in his head but Sardinia, and women, amongst which, a maid of honour to the queen began to have a great share of his affection. Mean time, the queen of Navarre, as a most wise and virtuous princess, endeavoured to reclaim him, enduring all that was possible, and remonstrating to him what he owed both to GOD and his people. But all was in vain, he was so bewitched. Which the queen seeing, she had only recourse to her prayers and tears, moving compassion in every one but the said king her husband. The queen-mother, during these transactions, endeavoured to persuade her to bear with the king her husband: To whom she gave this final answer; that if the kingdom and her son were in her hands, she would throw them both to the bottom of the sea, that they might be no impediment to her, rather than ever go to mass, which was the reason they troubled her no more upon that subject (42).

[M] The answers some authors ascribe to him, are only fancies of their own brain. During the massacre,

Charles IX sent for the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, into his closet, and declared to them, if they did not renounce their Heresy, they should be treated as the admiral. The king of Navarre extremely astonished at these words, pronounced with a menacing voice, and at the dreadful spectacle he had seen before his eyes, answered with great humility and trembling; that he begged of his majesty to leave them their life and conscience undisturbed, and that in all other things they were ready to obey him (43). Tho' I make use of these words of Mezerai, yet we may Hist. de France, Tom. III, pag. 257. be assured it is the same thing as if I had used the very words of a Calvinist historian; for d'Aubigné (44) relates the answer of the king of Navarre in the same manner: it runs thus in the *Inventaire* of John de Serres; Tom. II, livr. i. 'The king of Navarre beseeches his majesty, to remember his promise, and the consanguinity so lately contracted, and not to do him any violence on account of the religion, which he hath learned from his youth' (45). The author of the *Historie* of the *Memorable Things*, says no more than that: nor is the author of the *Invent. de l'Hist. de France*, commentary de *Statu Religionis & Republicæ in regno Galliarum* more prolix, as to the sense, tho' he uses more words (46); and note, that he expressly observes, that the answer was made with a trembling voice (47). Thus you see four Protestant writers, who agree with Mezerai; which shews, that his sincerity cannot be questioned. Which being so, ought we not to laugh at the historian, who lengthens out the answer we are mo & confuted, speaking of for three or four pages? 'Our Henry, says he (48), made an answer, which shewed from that time what the height of his courage, the depth of his sense, and the great sweetness of his clemency, should be. He beseeched his majesty to remember his word that he had given him, the nearness of their blood, and their new alliance, and not to offer any violence to the religion which he had sucked in from his childhood, with his nurse's milk. He said, that it was a great misfortune that so great a king, who had in his soul the seeds of all great virtues, should be so perniciously counselled to force his subjects by murders and massacres, to serve God according to his own fancy. That there was nothing that could subdue a courageous people, and particularly the French, but the lenity of their prince, whom they reverence as a God. That this was the method Flaminius took to make the Romans masters of all Greece: so that though he had the superior force in the city of Thebes, yet he used as much persuasion to gain the people, as an orator would

(43) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. III, pag. 257.

(44) D'Aubigné, *Inventaire* of John de Serres; Tom. II, livr. i.

(45) The king of Navarre beseeches his majesty, to remember his promise, and the consanguinity so lately contracted, and not to do him any violence on account of the religion, which he hath learned from his youth

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(51) That there was nothing that could subdue a courageous people, and particularly the French, but the lenity of their prince, whom they reverence as a God.

(52) That this was the method Flaminius took to make the Romans masters of all Greece: so that though he had the superior force in the city of Thebes, yet he used as much persuasion to gain the people, as an orator would

ploying their reading. He was obliged against his will to stay some years at the court of France: He knew very well how to dissemble his chagrin, and he often drove it away, by the help of some gallantry, which his own constitution, and the corruption of the ladies made very easy to him. The lady de Sauves, married to one of the secretaries of state, was one of his chief mistresses (m). But he was not so taken up with love, as altogether to neglect political intrigues. He had a hand in those that were formed to take away the government from the queen-mother, and to expel the Guises from court (n). That queen discovering these practices (o), caused him, and the duke of Alençon to be arrested, set guards upon them, and ordered them to be examined, upon many beinous allegations (p) [N]. These two princes were set at liberty by Henry III, before whom Catherine de Medicis carried them as far as Pont Beauvoisin (q). The king of Navarre at last made his escape in the year 1576, and retired to Alençon (r). He sided again with the Huguenots, and again professed his first religion (s). The Rochellers received him into their town, and after he had staid with them some months, he went to take possession of his government of Guienne (t). From that time to the year 1589, his life was a mixture of battles, negotiations, and love-intrigues. His wife was a great impediment to him, and yet she proved sometimes useful to him [O]. There were frequent ruptures and pacifications betwixt him and the court of France; but at last Henry III confederated with him sincerely, and in good earnest, to resist the League, which was more furious than ever since the death of the duke of Guise and of the cardinal, his brother. The reconciliation and confederacy of these two kings, was concluded in April 1589. Their interview was at Tours, the thirtieth of the same month, attended with great demonstrations of mutual satisfaction. They joined their troops some time after, to lay siege to Paris. They besieged it in person, and were upon the point of subduing that great city, and chastising it as it deserved, when the king of France was killed by James Clement at the village of St Clou. The king of Navarre succeeded him the second of August, 1589, but it was not without very great difficulties, and without renouncing the Protestant religion, that he forced the Leaguers to acknowledge his title. The city of Paris persisted in it's revolt till the twenty second of March 1594. I mean the king did not make his entry into it till that day. He declared war against the Spaniards the following year, and had not much reason to be pleased with it. He lost much more than he got by it, but by good fortune, unknown to all his predecessors, he made a treaty of peace, wherein he indemnified himself for his losses [P]. This treaty

would have done from his rostrum, and that he ought to know, that he commanded a people that could neither bear an entire liberty, nor a perfect slavery: and that the royal authority was not a sovereignty over slaves, but a government of fellow-citizens. That he had often heard that the Romans had commanded all nations, and made themselves lords of the world, to show that they were governed by reason, and did not give themselves up to revenge (49) . . . Your majesty knows, that one example of the Roman humanity was of greater effect to subdue the Persians, who were foreigners, than all their military power. What might not therefore your majesty's gentleness have done with respect to the Protestants your natural subjects? A great king, as you are, should not do all that he can do; but imitate the sun, who proceeds more gently, the higher he is raised (50) . . . They who have given you so ill advice, are more to blame than you; and deserve an equal punishment with those that poison the public fountains, causing as many to die as drink of them. I have omitted the greatest part of what this compiler of common places has put in the king of Navarre's mouth; but I shall take nothing from the reply which he falsely ascribes to Charles IX. These, said the king, are the fine things you have learned of Chrestien, your tutor. But I know a finer one than any of them, which is, that God has given the supreme command to the prince, the springs of which it is not lawful for a subject to meddle with: the glory of obedience is only his. Go and do as I command you upon pain of death. And though I am not bound to give any account of my actions, yet I am willing to let you know, that every great example seems to have something of injustice in it, which is compensated by the public good (51). Note, that he supposes, the king sent for the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé separately; the other historians relate that Charles IX sent for these two princes at the same time.

[N] The queen-mother ordered him and the duke of Alençon to be examined on many beinous allegations. (52) The chancellor went about to examine the king of Navarre; but though he was threatened, and a prisoner, he would not do so much injury to

his dignity, as to answer him. However, to satisfy the queen-mother, he made a long discourse, addressing himself to her, in which he gave a deduction of many things concerning the present posture of affairs; but he accused no body at all, as the duke of Alençon had weakly done (53).

[O] His wife was a great impediment to him, and yet she proved sometimes useful. Catherine de Medicis had brought her to him in the year 1578 (54). He kept his little court then at Nerac (55). Neither the husband nor the wife were pleased with seeing one another. (56) Margaret, who was fond of the great splendor of the court of France, where she swam, it we may so speak, in a full current of intrigues, thought that living in Guienne was a banishment to her; and Henry knowing her humour, and her conduct, wished her rather at a distance, than at home. Nevertheless, being sensible that it was an evil that could not be avoided, he resolved to suffer her, and left her at perfect liberty . . . (57) and accommodating himself to the times, and the necessity of his affairs, he endeavoured to draw some advantages from her intrigues and interest. He obtained a considerable one by her means, at the conference that he and the deputies of the Huguenots had at Nerac with the queen-mother. For whilst she hoped to enchant them by the charms of the handsome young ladies she had with her, and by the eloquence of Pibrac; Margaret played the same artifices against her, gained the gentlemen of her mother's retinue, by the charms of her own women, and employed so dexterously her own, that she captivated the soul and the heart of poor Pibrac; so that he was altogether acted by her spirit, and did every thing contrary to the queen-mother's intention, who not suspecting that so wise a man could be capable of such a folly, was deceived in many articles, and insensibly led to grant much more to the Huguenots, than she had resolved to do.

[P] By a good fortune, unknown to his predecessors, he made a treaty of peace, wherein he indemnified himself for his losses. Bodin (58) observes, that for 100 years the Spaniards had made no treaty with France, without having the better of it. He had reason for what he said; Henry IV was the first king of France who gained

(49) Id. ibid. pag. 831.

(50) Ibid. pag. 832.

(51) Id. ibid. pag. 833.

(52) Preface, Hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. m. 36, ad ann. 1574.

(53) See, above, remark [G].

(54) Preface, ibid. pag. 54.

(55) Ibid. pag. 57.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Ibid. pag. 58.

(58) Bodin, de la Republique, liv. v, chap. 3, pag. m. 676.

treaty was concluded at Vervins, the second of May 1598. From that time, till his death, the kingdom was free from civil and foreign wars, excepting the expedition in the year 1600. It was undertaken against the duke of Savoy, and lasted but a little while, and was followed by an advantageous treaty (u), as it had been attended with glorious actions. If the valour and great courage of this king had not shewn themselves on a hundred occasions, the wonderful generosity he exercised towards his most mortal enemies, had been looked upon as a weakness, and an effect of fear; but since he could not be suspected of cowardice, there is great reason to believe, that he treated them so out of a noble and generous clemency. And it is certain, that even the most refined policy required it of him, his enemies not being to be reconciled to him any other way: nay, even he found that way defective, for he gained but a part of the Leaguers: a great many priests obstinately refused to pray for him [Q]. It is observed in Moreri's Dictionary, that *more than fifty Historians, and five hundred Panegyrist, Poets,*

(a) That in which
Bress, &c. was
exchanged for the
marquise of
Saluces.

gained any thing by making peace with Spain. He recovered all the places he had lost in Picardy; and also Blavet, which the Spaniards were masters of. That peace did not escape the censure of the critics. Some blamed the king of Spain, and others, the king of France. I will cite Mr de Perfixe. 'Many among the French, who were not well acquainted with the miserable condition, the king of Spain and his affairs were in, could not apprehend how that prince could purchase peace so dear, as to give up six or seven good places, amongst others, Calais and Blavet, which might be called the keys of France. The Spaniards, on the contrary, who saw that their king was in a dying condition, his treasury exhausted, the Low-Countries tottering, Portugal, and his territories in Italy ready to revolt, the son that was to succeed him, a good prince indeed, but who loved a quiet life, were astonished that the French, who had so bravely retaken Amiens, and re-united all their forces after the treaty of the duke of Mercœur, had not made an irruption into the Low-Countries, because in all probability they would have conquered the whole country, or at least part of it. The king answered, that if he had desired peace, it was not because he was tired out with the inconveniences of war, but to afford Christendom a breathing-time; that he knew very well, that in the present conjuncture of affairs, he might have reaped great advantages; but that the hand of God frequently overturns princes, in the height of their prosperity, and that a wise man ought never, out of an opinion of some favourable event, to be averse to a good peace, nor trust too much to the appearance of a present good fortune, which may be changed by a thousand unforeseen accidents; it often happening, that a man overthrown, and wounded, has killed him, who would make him beg his life of him (59).' This answer of Henry IV does not agree with what is reported by others, that he told the duke of Epemnon, who was present at the signing of the treaty of peace, *With this stroke of a pen, I have done more exploits than I could have done in a long time with the best swords of my kingdom* (60). Indeed, there is great probability, that he promised himself no advantage by the continuation of the war, and I am sure, that those who were most disinterested, and capable of judging of things of this sort, were equally convinced of the weakness which Philip II shewed on that occasion, and of the prudence of Henry IV in accepting such a peace. The Spaniards were ashamed of their king's weakness. The prince, his son, passionately desired that so successful a war might be continued; and he put out of favour Don Christopher de Mora, who had represented in a council the most forcible arguments for a peace (61). The king of Spain was unmovable, desiring peace at any rate; he found no condition in the treaty of Vervins, capable of dissuading him from approving it, though his council judged the restitution of the towns so fortunately taken, and so hard to be re-taken, shameful and prejudicial. He urged that it might be sworn and executed (62). It is very probable, he would have had very different sentiments, had he been in the vigour of his age. But how can it be helped? It is one of the faults of old age, to make people timorous.

Multi senem circumveniunt incommoda; vel quod
Querit, & inventis miser abstinet, ac timet uti;
Vel quod res omnes TIMIDE GELIDEQUE mi-
nistat (63).

(63) Horat. de
Arte Poët. ver.
159.

*An old man's character is bit with ease,
For he is peevish, and all one disease.
Still covetous, and still he gripes for more,
And yet he fears to use his present store;
Slow, long in hope, still eager to live on,
And fond of no man's humour but his own.*

CREECH.

I have said elsewhere, that republics have an advantage which kingdoms want: the sovereign in a common-wealth is never too young, nor ever too old. He is not subject either to the infirmities of childhood, or those of old age. Kingdoms have not that good fortune; they experience one while the disorders of a minority, sometimes the heat of boiling blood, and at other times the slowness and heaviness of a declining age. A king is forced to complain more than once, that the number of his years take away the activity and resolution which he formerly enjoyed, and which a young prince, his enemy, possesses.

- - - Non laudis amor, nec gloria cessit
Pulsa metu: sed enim gelidus tardante senectâ
Sanguis hebet, frigentque effusæ in corpore vires.
Si mihi, quæ quondam fuerat, quæque improbus iste
Exultat fidens, si nunc foret illa juvena (64).

(64) Virgil.
Æneid. lib. vi.
ver. 394.

- - - my soul is still the same,
Unmov'd with fear, and mov'd with martial fame:
But my chill blood is curdled in my veins,
And scarce the shadow of a man remains.
Oh could I turn to that fair prime again.
That prime of which this boaster is so vain:
The brave who this decrepid age defies,
Should feel my force without the promis'd prize.

DRYDEN.

For the rest, we must not wonder that the critics found fault with the peace of Vervins, and that some blamed France, others Spain, and a third fort Spain and France together. It is the fate of those great negotiations; it was the fate of the treaty of the peace at Ryswic in the year 1697. Many people blamed the Allies for not having demanded better conditions; others blamed France for having given up so great an extent of country. The French repined at it, and the Parisians refused to make bon fires, till they were forced to it by repeated menaces. They would not have had the nation return to the condition of passed ages, in which it might be justly said, they knew to make war better than peace, and understood as well the art of restoring as of taking. They wished the popular discourses of the Flemings had proved false. They knew that abundance of ignorant people had said that there was no reason to be alarmed at the loss of some towns, but rather to rejoice at it, since they would be recovered again fortified, according to Vauban's method. Scholars expressed this in another manner: we lose towns built with brick, they shall be restored built with marble (65).

[Q] Abundance of priests obstinately resolved not to pray for him.] The king's attorney-general in the parliament of Toulouse having notice, that a great number of priests in saying mass, omitted the prayer for the king (66), and that it was suppressed in many printed Missals (67), complained of it in parliament. It was there ordered, that all priests should be obliged

(65) It is an al-
lusion to a thought
of the emperor
Augustus, con-
cerning the state
into which he had
put the city of
Rome.

(66) In Missæ
canone passim à
Sacerdotibus per
cunctas dioceses
celebrantibus
orationem pro
Rege omitti.
Thuan. lib.
cxviii. pag.
123.

(67) Printed at
Paris, at Bure-
aux, and at
Lyon.

Poets, or Orators, have mentioned this great monarch with commendation. It is certain, on the other hand, that a great many authors have spitefully stained his glory, and have made it their business to extenuate his good actions, and to set his faults in the strongest light. The duke of Sulli complains of them, and confutes their obloquies, and, among other things, maintains, that it is false, that this prince granted every thing to the importunities of his mistresses [R]. Nevertheless, I believe, that if he had not had faith-
ful

obliged to observe the ancient custom of using that prayer, in celebrating divine service, and the use of those missals was forbidden where that prayer was omitted, and all Printers and Booksellers were commanded to add immediately the leaf that was wanting, and, in case of refusal, threatened them with corporal punishment, and the loss of their copies. That decree was made the seventh of June, 1606

(68) Taken from
Thuanus, lib.
cxxxvi, pag.
1123, 1124.

(69) Preface,
ubi supra, pag.
225.

(70) That is on
the day on which
he made his en-
try into Paris.

(71) See, above,
the remark [D]
of the article of
HENRY III.

(72) Matthew,
xx, 12.

(73) Ibid. ver.
15.

(74) Compare
with this the re-
mark [A] of
the article
CHARLES V.

(75) Virgil.
Ænied. lib. i,
ver. 567.

(76) Memoirs of
Du Pleſſis Mor-
nai, Tom. II,
p. 398, 399.

(77) See Sulli's
Memoirs, in the
preliminary
Epistle of the
third Tome,
fol. m. c. ii.

(68) If twelve years after the king had abjured Huguenotism, and had given a good many tokens of his zeal for Popery, and many testimonies of his kindness to the Leaguers, there were still so many ecclesiastics, that mortally hated him; what could he have expected from a contrary conduct? the fury of the bigots and the obstinate, had been infinitely more terrible, if he had neglected the outward profession of religion, and acted like a prince full of resentment. One of his historians (69) gives us, as an Instance of admirable policy, what I am going to transcribe: *that very night (70) he played at cards with the duchess of Montpensier, who was of the house of Guise, and the strongest leaguer that was in the party (71).* Undoubtedly this displeased his ancient servants. He would have been less forward to have paid such an honour to a Huguenot lady; this is going beyond the parable of the gospel. Did they perhaps say, that duchess hath not yet laboured in your vine-yard, and she hath done all that was possible to ruin it; and yet she is better paid than we, who have born all the burden and heat of the day (72). In the parable it was thought enough to equal the recompence of those who had laboured but an hour, and had done no prejudices before, with that of those who had laboured all the day. There were doubtless a great many murmurs of this sort, which could not have been satisfied by this answer of the master of the family: *is your eye evil, because I am good (73).* This would have been but chafing the wound; Henry IV would rather have said for his vindication, that the necessity of the times required such a conduct (74). *Res dura & regni novitas me talia cogunt Moliri (75).*

Mr du Pleſſis Mornei, in a letter which he writ to Morlas in the year 1594, during the time that they who had followed the League, went off from it upon advantageous terms, uses these remarkable words: 'We do not envy your killing the fatted calf for the prodigal son; provided you say with a sincere heart to the obedient son, you know, my son, that all that I have is thine, provided you do not sacrifice the obedient son to give a better entertainment to the prodigal one. In short, I am glad of all that is done, if it be of some advantage. But I am afraid of such bargains, by which things are given away and nothing is got for them but words; words I say, spoken by men, who hitherto never kept their word (76).'

[R] Mr de Sulli complains of them, and . . . maintains that it is false . . . that he granted every thing to the importunity of his mistresses.] He speaks of some historiographers, who had distributed their praises and censures unjustly; for they found no blot in those that hired them, and hardly any thing good in Henry the Great, who gave them nothing. And (says he) (77) *forasmuch as they cannot deny him some praises, amongst an infinite number that are every where publicly bestowed upon him by the consent of all nations, they maliciously forget the most necessary to be known, disguise others, and extenuating them all as much as possible, they have made use of a malice of another sort, full of imposture, which is to ascribe to him, impudently and falsely, desires, projects, designs, enterprizes, and resolutions about affairs of state, the most absurd, foolish, impertinent, and ridiculous that can be imagined. And, on this occasion, they give themselves airs, and talk as if they had been the king's greatest confidants; and had been admitted into all his most secret thoughts and designs, or kept intelligence with one of his most familiar servants, both for peace and war, who told them all.*
V O L. III.

Then proceeding to speak of his private conversation, domestic life, and conduct in it, and, above all, of his recreations, diversions, sports, pleasures, pastimes, and gaities, tho' they were for the most part ordinary, common, and familiar to all men, nay, even to women, and always most general, universal, tolerated, lawful, and permitted to all kings, potentates, princes, and great lords, there being few to be found among the most wise, virtuous, debonaire, pious, and holy, who were not delighted with them, and which their people and subjects have not gladly suffered, when for such pleasures and pastimes there has been no injustice, rape, murder, violence, extortion, or pillage committed. Yet when they come to discourse of the gaities and mirth of this sweet and debonaire prince; they so exaggerate and misrepresent them, with so many lies and fallacious circumstances, and mischievous and pernicious consequences, ascribing to him so many vicious, shameful, infamous, nay execrable and scandalous passions, that to bear them speak, with so much boldness, impudence, and rashness, one would think, that they were searchers of the hearts and thoughts of men . . . or that they had been the king's confessors or great penitentiaries . . . Nay, they have been so bold, as to place in the number of his mistresses, a lady, whose qualities, eminence, virtue, and prudence, would have cautioned him, even though he had thought on her, not to take her for such a one; and consequently those impudent writers deserve to be severely punished for having talked at that rate. They say likewise, that the women had got such dominion over him, because vice was grown natural and habitual to him, by a long use, and great familiarity with wicked people, and that he was become so desperately fond of some of these beauties, that he had no other will but theirs, and that this weakness was the cause that all his most important affairs were managed by their mediation, and that they were refused nothing they could desire. They so frequently add so many other foolish and trifling things, that all these impostures being too long to be confuted in this present discourse, (which is otherways designed) we will refer those who are willing to see their calumnies exposed, to what shall be said of them in several places of these memoirs, from which it will appear by what means, and for what reasons, the king never intended to marry a lady of pleasure; that women disposed of no affairs, and that he had servants, who by his own command knew how to tell them their faults, even in his presence, and to refuse them such things as they judged unjust, or prejudicial to the state, the affairs and revenues of the king, or to his people; and they were obliged to bear it. I will confirm this by some words taken from a letter of Henry IV, in which we shall see the calumnies which were thrown upon him. 'Some blame me for being too fond of buildings and costly edifices. Others find fault with my hunting, with my dogs, and hawks; some censure me for cards, dice, and other sorts of games; others for loving the ladies; others for feasts, banquets, and dainties: others find fault with me for loving of comedies, balls, dances, and running at the ring, where (say they to reproach me) I am still seen with my grey beard, as jocund and vain for having made a handsome course, entered twice or thrice (as they merrily express it) and carried off the ring of a fine lady, as I could have been in my youth, nay, as the vainest man in my court. In all which discourses, I will not deny but there may be something true. But I say, at the same time, that whilst I exceed not bounds, this ought rather to be said in my commendation than as a fault; and I ought surely to be excused for using such diversions, as bring no damage or inconvenience to my people, by way of retribution, for the frequent bitterness I have tasted, and for those many disquietudes, vexations, and dangers, which I have run through from my childhood to fifty years of age . . . The scripture does not absolutely command us to be free from sin and failings. Forasmuch as such in-
mities

ful servants to disappoint the rapaciousness of those harpies, and whose opposition he approved of, they had been more despotic over him. The instances wherein he had the power to disengage himself from the snares that were laid for him, by fine ladies [S], were not common, yet some there were. Those servants whose fidelity he had experienced, might give him their advices, without disgusting him; and it has never been said, that Villeroi fell into disgrace, for having said a thing, that was likely enough to displease him [T]. It cannot be denied but that prince had a vast generosity, which banished from his conduct abundance of artifices, which are but too common among those that govern. We shall see, upon this head, the judgment [U] he made of an artifice of one of the kings of France.

'mities are the inseparable attendants, of the impetuosity and eagerness of humane nature; but only not to be enslaved by them, and not to suffer them to get an empire over our wills. Which is what I have studied to do, not being able to do better. And you can witness in abundance of things, relating to my mistresses, (which have been the passions the world believes I am most subject to) whether I have not often maintained your opinions, against their fancies, even so far as to tell them, when they pretended to make noise, that I had rather lose ten such mistresses as they, than one such servant as you, who was necessary to me in honourable and useful affairs' (78).

(78) Sully's Memoirs, Tom. II, pag. 137, 138.

(79) A castle near Cognac.

(80) Perefex, ubi supra, pag. 80. ad ann. 1586.

(81) Id. ibid. pag. 33.

[S] There have been instances wherein he had the power to disengage himself from the snares which were laid for him by fine ladies. Catherine de Medicis asking him at the conference of Saint Brix (79), What he would have? he answered, looking on the young ladies of her retinue: there is nothing there, Madam, that I am for, meaning, that he designed no longer to be caught by such sort of lures. He was not so prudent on other occasions: for some time after the Paris massacre (80), 'he suffered himself to be captivated by the charms of some young ladies of the court, whom it is said that queen made use of on purpose to amuse the princes and lords, and to discover all their thoughts (81).' Behold an abominable queen! every body knows what name is given to such a trade. Good God! what a school for young ladies of quality, whom they call maids of honour? observe that if this queen had desired to keep two or three hundred, she would have been supplied with them: so great was the corruption of that time; for it was well known what use she made of these maids of honour.

[T] Villeroi said a thing that was likely enough to displease him. There is none so ignorant, as not to know, that it is a very rude advice, and that toucheth to the quick, to tell a man he knows not how to keep his rank, and that he forgets the dignity of his character. And yet this was done by Villeroi to king Henry the Great. Naudé praises him for it. One of the best advices, says he (82), that ever Monsieur de Villeroi gave to Henry the Great, who had lived as a soldier during the wars, which happened at his coming to the crown, was, that a prince who is regardless of the reverence due to his majesty, permits it to be slighted and affronted. That the kings, his predecessors, in the greatest confusions, had always acted as kings, and that it was time that he should speak, write, and command, as a king.

(82) Naudé, Coups d'Etat, chap. I, pag. m. 22.

[U] We shall see the judgment he made of an artifice of one of the kings of France. He was a great observer of things, which concerned the preservation of the reputation of princes, in which he chose rather to recede from his right and power, than give the least occasion to doubt his sincerity, always blaming faithless and tricking princes, so far as not to spare his own predecessors, when the conversation fell upon any of their actions, wherein they failed of integrity in their promises and public faith, as he did one day, when the great affairs of king Philip de Valois, and his great courage, little seconded by his fortune, were the subject of discourse. He was great, said the king, but he had subtilties in his words, more becoming the wheelers of little children than such a king, which I do not at all approve. He had made a treaty with the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and by it engaged not to make war with the empire: contrary to which, notwithstanding, he

raised armies by sea and land, which he threw into the Low-Countries, under the conduct of the duke of Normandy, his eldest son, who was defeated by sea at Sluys, and having besieged Thion, the king, his father, was present at that siege as a soldier, fighting under his son, being nevertheless, one of his counsellors, thinking by that captious equivocation to escape the blame of breaking the treaty he had made as king of France, as if it was not the same thing to execute any enterprize, ones self, or by another (83). It is not long since a doctor, with whom I was walking, told me, that Henry IV, having heard a story of a fallacy of the king of Spain, cried out it must be confessed, that kings are great knaves: I asked him immediately, whether he had found that in any book; he answered me, it was one of the fine sayings of Henry the Great (84), in a collection that has been published of them, at the end of his history, composed by the bishop of Rhodéz (84), preceptor to Lewis XIV. I doubt it much, said I, for I have read that work of Mr Perefex from one end to the other, and there remains in my mind, no idea of what you tell me; and yet these are words so like to make an impression, that they are not easily forgot. I afterwards found it true, that it was not in the book of the bishop of Rhodéz, and I wrote so to the doctor. He sent me word, that after reflecting more maturely, he believed that exclamation of Henry IV was related in one of the English letters of Howel. I bring this here, only by way of advertisement, that we ought not to trust to bear-says, and that facts change very much in passing from one writer to another. What a vast difference is there betwixt the words of le Grain and those of Howel!

(83) Bastille le Grain, Decad. du Roy Henri le Grand, liv. viii, pag. m. 781.

(84) Hardeuin de l'esché.

[(84) We have a collection of them printed, but in it are wanting two repartees, which this prince said while only fifteen years of age, and which have been preserved to us by his illustrious mother, Jane d'Albret queen of Navarre. Catherine de Medicis the queen mother, in concert with the cardinal of Lorraine, had sent the Sieur de la Motte-Fenelon, to the queen of Navarre, to dissuade her from joining her forces with those which the Reformed, were raising under the command of the prince of Condé, in the year 1568, at the beginning of the third civil war. One day la Motte-Fenelon addressed himself particularly to the prince of Navarre, and seemed to appear surprized, that he, who was so young, should interest himself in a quarrel, which properly concerned only his uncle, the prince of Condé and the Huguenots, who were engaged in a war against the king. I do so, answered the prince, because it being evident, that under pretence of rebellion, with which they falsely charge the prince, my uncle, and the Huguenots, our enemies intend no less than the entire destruction of the royal branch of Bourbon, we have a mind to dye altogether, to have the expences of mourning, which otherways we should be obliged to wear for one after another.

Upon another occasion, the same gentleman, addressing his discourse to the same prince of Navarre, deplored the miseries with which the flames of that war were about to devour the whole kingdom, as he expressed himself. Very well, answered the prince, these flames may be quenched by one bucket of water. How so, replied la Motte-Fenelon? by making the cardinal of Lorraine, the real, and principal incendiary of France, drink it till he burst, said the prince. The queen of Navarre relates this in a long and elegant manifesto, to be found pag. 234, and 235, of a Collection printed in 12mo. in 1570 intitled *L'Histoire de nostre temps* &c. REM. CRIT.]

HERACLEOTES.

HERACLEOTES (DIONYSIUS), so called because he was of Heraclea (a), a city of Pontus, studied under several masters, and at last he attached himself to the founder of the Stoics (b). He learnt of him to say, that pain is no evil; that nothing but vice deserves that name, as nothing but virtue deserves the name of good, and that all other things are indifferent. He was steady in that doctrine, as long as he was in good health; but happening to feel some violent pains, he altered his opinion [A], and renounced the sect of the Stoics; and, which is worse, he embraced that of the Cyrenaics, who placed the *Summum Bonum* in pleasure. He resorted, without shame, publicly to the stews, and was willing, that the pleasures he indulged himself in should be known to all the world (c). There are some that say, that he was a debauchee from his youth [B], and that remembering as he was going by a brothel-house, that he had left it the day before, without paying what was due to the women of pleasure, he put

(a) Diog. Laërt. lib. vii, n. 166.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Idem, n. 167

[A] Happening to feel some violent pains, he altered his opinion. This change acquired him the title of *ματαδόμενος* (1), which we may translate *deserter*. Some say, that sore eyes made him change his opinion; others attribute it to the pains of the gravel. Cicero relates both these traditions (2). 'Nobis Heracleotes ille Dionysius flagitiose deliville videtur a Stoicis propter oculorum dolorem. Quis verò hoc didicisset à Zenone, non dolere quum doleret? Illud audierat nec tamen didicerat malum illud non esse quia turpe non esset, & esset ferendum viro: Hic si peripateticus fuisset, permanisset, credo in sententia, quoniam dolorem dicunt malum esse, de asperitate autem ejus fortiter ferenda præcipiunt eadem quæ Stoici (3). — This Dionysius Heracleotes appears to have deserted the Stoics infamously, on account of a pain in his eyes. For to whom did ever Zeno teach that what is painful is not painful? He had heard, but without understanding it, that pain is not an evil, because it is not shameful, and that a man ought to suffer it. If he had been a Peripatetic, I am of opinion, that he would have continued so, for they maintain that pain is an evil, but they teach, as the Stoics do, that a man ought to suffer it with courage.' I have let down more words than I needed to prove what I had said, and yet I do not think my labour lost; for, by the way, I discover to my reader, that the controversies of the Stoics and Peripatetics, upon the nature of pain, was but a dispute of words. They both agreed, that it ought to be born courageously: but the former denied that it ought to be called an evil, and the latter maintained it ought. A matter of consequence indeed to make such a stir about. We dispute at this day, both in divinity and philosophy, about things wherein the misunderstanding is no less visible. Here is a passage of Cicero, which I will set down entire, that we may have a full view of the way of reasoning of our Heracleotes. He presumed much upon the strength of philosophy; for he judged, that it being inferior to the force of pain, pain must needs be an evil. 'Homo sane levis Heracleotes Dionysius, cum à Zenone fortis esse didicisset, à dolore deductus est. Nam cum ex renibus laboraret, ipso in ejulatu clamitabat, falsa esse illa, quæ antea de dolore ipse sensisset. Quem cum Cleanthes condiscipulus rogaret quantum ratio eum de sententia deduxisset, respondit, Quia cum tantum operæ Philosophiæ dedissem, dolorem tamen ferre non possem satis esset argumenti malum esse dolorem! Plurimos autem annos in Philosophia consumpsi, nec ferre possum: malum est igitur dolor. Tum Cleanthes, cum pede terram percussisset, versum ex Epigonis ferunt dixisse:

Audisne hæc Amphiaræ, sub terram addite?

(4) Cicero Tusc. II, cap. xxv.

Zenonem significabat, à quo illum degenerare dolebat. — Dionysius Heracleotes, being a man of no constancy, after he had been taught hardiness by Zeno, fell from it, being overcome by pain. For being afflicted with the gravel, in the anguish of his pain, he cried out, that his former opinion concerning pain was false. And, when his condisciple Cleanthes asked him, why he had changed his opinion, he answered, since I have studied Philosophy so long, yet am not able to suffer pain, that is a sufficient reason to believe that pain is an evil. Cleanthes upon this, after stamping with his foot on the ground, as the story goes, repeated this verse out of the Epigonia,

Audisne hæc Amphiaræ sub terram addite?

Amphiaræus, now thou art entomb'd in earth,
Dost thou bear this?

Meaning Zeno, from whom he lamented that Dionysius had degenerated.

[B] There are some who say that he was a debauchee from his youth. We have just now seen, that he philosophized many years upon the austere maxims of the Stoics; he himself affirms it, if we believe Cicero. What must we think then of the story we find in Athenæus? Shall we say that this author diverted himself with collecting all the scandalous stories, true or false, that he found in the most satirical writers? I leave the decision to my readers. I only insert the Greek of Athenæus, with Dalecampius's version, which should be rectified by Casaubon's notes. 'Ἦν δὲ ὁ Διονύσιος ἐπὶ ἐκ νέου, ὡς οἱσι Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς πρὸς τὰ Ἀποδίσια ἐκμαθὴς, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας εἰσὶν παίδων ἀδελφῶν. καὶ ποτὶ παρευόμενος μετὰ τινὲν γυναικῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ παιδισκίον εἰς ὃ τὴ προτέρα παρρηλυδὸς ἀπέλθ' ἡλκῆς, ἔχων τότε κατὰ τύχην, ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα πάλιν ὁρῶντων ἀπεδίδα. Fuit autem Dionysius ille, quod ait Nicæas Nicæensis libro de Successionibus, jam ab adolescentia, tam immani furiosaque libidine percitus, ut sine discrimine cum plebeis ancillis ac pedissequis coiret, & aliquando cum familiaribus inambulans, ubi ad ancillarum cedes venit, quas pridie ingressus aliquot obolos quos debebat non solverat, casu tunc forte in oculis habens, distenta manu coram omnibus numeravit (5). — Nicæas Nicæensis, in his book of Successions, says, that this Dionysius was from his youth so abandoned to his pleasures, that he lay promiscuously with all the wenches he could come at. And that one day walking with some of his friends, and passing by the house of some wenches, with whom he had lain the day before, and to whom he owed some pence, he having then some in his pocket, held out his hand, and publicly paid his debt. They who well remember the seventh book of Athenæus, will be easily determined on Cicero's side, and believe, that Dionysius did not desert the Stoics, till he was grown grey amongst them; for Athenæus gives him the name of old man, at the time of this desertion, and cites Timon the jester, who said, that this wise man had begun to devote himself to pleasures, when the season of them was over. But let us give the original, it is in the sixth chapter of the seventh book of Athenæus, pag. 281. Περὶ δὲ Διονυσίου τῷ Ἡρακλεάτῃ τι δὲ καὶ λέγουσι δὲ ἀντίκρυς ἀποδὲς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς χεῖρα ἀδύνα μνημοσάτω, καὶ μεταδόμενος καλέμενος ἔχων, καὶ τοὶ γυναικῶν ἀποδὲς τῶν τῆς σῶας λόγων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον μεταπαύσας περὶ οὗ ἀρχαίως ὁ Τίμων ἔφη,

Ἦν δὲ ἔχων δύνειν, οὐν ἀρχεται ἡδύνασθαι.

Ἦν ἔρῃ, ἂν δὲ γαμῆν, ἂν δὲ πεπαύσθαι.

Quid autem de Heracleote Dionysio attinet dicere? Aperte quidem & palam virtutis exuta veste, cum indumentum mutasse & alienum lumpsisse criminarentur, gaudebat, quamvis jam natu grandis à Stoicorum schola defecisset, & transivisset ad Epicurum. De illo non invenisse Timon scripsit:

Ille

put his hand in his pocket, and paid his debts regularly in the face of the world. There was a perplexing objection made to him [C] upon his admitting with all the Dogmatists, a rule for distinguishing of truth and falsehood. He composed several philosophical works, and also some poems (d). He brought Heraclides into a snare by one of his poems [D]. He lived to the age of eighty years, after which, choosing not to live any longer, he put an end to his life by refusing all nourishment (e). His lascivious desires accompanied him to an age, wherein nature could not satisfy them [E]. Mr Moreri is grossly mistaken [F].

Ille voluptati se tradit jam moriturus.

Tempus amandi, tempus habendæ conjugis est quod
Rebus ab his tandem moneat desistere tempus.

What shall we say of Dionysius Heracleotes? Who, having openly thrown off the robe of virtue, laughed at the title of Apostate, that was given him on that account, though he had in his old age deserted from the Stoics to the Epicurean sect. Timon pleasantly wrote concerning him: Heracleotes devotes the days of life to Venus. There is a season for love, a season for marriage, and a time when we should attempt neither.

I add, that Lucian observes, that Dionysius was a very sober man, when he quitted the Stoics (6). I dare not affirm, with Mr Menage (7), that he had been in Asia in Alexander's retinue, and had danced to the sound of flutes at this conqueror's nuptials. Athenæus indeed says this of one Dionysius Heracleotes but how many people of the same name doth he mention, without any mark of distinction?

[C] A perplexing objection was made to him. Antiochus was the man that made this objection; he had embraced a sect, which admitted no science, that is, no proposition certainly true, and afterwards he forsook that party, when he had for a long time maintained incomprehensibility, and written subtilly for that cause, 'Scriptis de his rebus acutissime, & idem hoc acris accusavit in senectute quam antea desensitaverat. Quamvis igitur fuerit acutus, ut fuit tamen inconstantia elevatur autoritas. Quis, inquam, etiam iste dies illuxerit, quæro, qui illi ostenderit eam quam multos annos esse negavisset veri & falsi notam (8)?' — He wrote very acutely on these subjects, and in his old age, impugned his former doctrine with more vehemency than he had before defended it. Therefore tho' he was a very acute writer, as certainly he was, yet his authority was lessened by his inconstancy. For I would ask him on what happy day it was that he luckily found, that criterion of truth and falsehood, which he had so long denied. Now whilst he was opposing certainty, he cruelly teased our Dionysius; you believed a long time, said he, that there was no other good but virtue; afterwards you maintained that virtue was a vain name, and that the supreme good consists in pleasure. You ought therefore to believe, that falsehood presents itself to our minds, and stamps itself there in the same character, to truth, and consequently, that the characteristic or mark of true and false, which you truit to in affirming or denying, is fallacious and delusive. All the force of this objection lay in this, that Dionysius had successively maintained two contradictory propositions. Antiochus felt the force of his own objection, when he changed his opinion; for he was beaten with the same weapons, that he had employed against Dionysius. Here follow Cicero's words (9): 'Quoque solebat uti'

argumentum, cum ei placebat, nihil posse percipi, cum quereretur, Dionysius ille Heracleotes, utrum comprehendisset certa illa nota qua assentiri dicitur oportere, illudne, quod multos annos tenuisset, Zenonique magistro credidisset, honestum quodesset, id bonum solum esse; an quod postea desensitavisset, honesti inane nomen esse, voluptatem esse summum bonum: qui ex illius commutata sententia docere vellet, nihil ita signari in animis nostris à vero posse, quod non eodem modo possit à falso, is curavit, quod argumentum ex Dionysio ipse sumpisset, ex eo cæteri fumerent. — He used the following argument, while he was of opinion that we could not arrive at certainty of truth. Which of these two opinions, said he, did Dionysius Heracleotes discover by that criterion, to which you say we ought to submit, whether the first, which he long main-

tained, and which he had learned from his master Zeno, that nothing is good but what is virtuous; or that which he defended afterwards, that virtue is an empty sound, and that pleasure is the chief good: designing to show, from Dionysius's change of opinion, that truth makes no other impression on the mind, but what it may receive from falsehood. He took care that those who came after him, should draw the same argument, from his inconstancy, which he had drawn from that of Dionysius. This objection may perplex those modern Protestants, who maintain that the truths of the gospel enter not into the mind by the way of evidence, but by sense. What will they say, if we shew them Christians who change their religion, and, like our Dionysius, for a long time violently espouse the same opinions, which afterwards they reject with an equal zeal? Doth not the sense of falsehood, might one ask, imprint itself on the soul, with all the same characters as the sense of truth?

[D] He brought Heraclides into a snare by one of his poems. Having written a poem, called Παρθενοναίον, Parthenonæum, he published it, and ascribed it to Sophocles. Heraclides honestly took this work for a production of Sophocles, and cited it as such in one of his books. Then Dionysius discovered the trick to him, and Heraclides would not believe him; he maintained, that it was Sophocles's work; and even when Dionysius sent him his manuscript, he persisted in his opinion, and pretended, that chance might cause two poets to jump (10). So disagreeable it is to an author to acknowledge himself caught in that manner. Scaliger, being deceived the same way by Muretus, was not so obstinate, but he was very much vexed at it.

[E] His lascivious desires accompanied him to an age wherein nature could not satisfy them. Upon a great festival, which he celebrated as agreeably as he could, he sent for a courtesan, that nothing might be wanting to the pleasures of the day; but age had so subdued him, that his attempts were vain. He confessed his infirmity, making use of the words (11) which Homer puts in the mouth of one Penelope's galants, who not being able to bend Ulysses's bow, cried out, let another take it, I am not able to do it (12). Dionysius in like manner declared, that since his strength failed him, another should make use of the Courtesan. Φησὶ τὸν Διονύσιον τοῖς οἰκέταις συνορτοῦντα, ἐν τῇ τῶν Χθον ἑστῇ, καὶ μὴ δύναμενον διὰ γῆρας χρῆσθαι τῇ παρειλήθεσαν ἐταίρᾳ, ὑποσφύζαντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὰς συνδείκνυντας, ὅτι δύναμαι πάντως, λαβέτω δὲ καὶ ἄλλος. Tradit Dionysium cum domesticis, diebus festis congorum, ferias illas agentem, cum ob senectutem meretrice quam adduxerant uti non posset, ad convivias facie versa, dixisset. Arrigere neque, sumat alius (13). Antigonus Carysius related this in the life of our Dionysius Heracleotes.

[F] Mr Moreri is grossly mistaken. I. He says, that Dionysius of Heraclea having quitted the school of Zeno, followed the Cynics. He should have said Cyrenaics, whose sect was extremely different from that of the Cynics. We may judge of it, from the opposite characters, which were found in Arisippus and Diogenes. There is not at the bottom any great difference betwixt Diogenes Laërtius, who makes our Dionysius go over to the camp of the Cyrenaics, and Athenæus, who makes him go over to the sect of Epicurus; for tho' Epicurus gave a more virtuous explication of the word Pleasure, he agreed with the Cyrenaics, that the last end of man, the supreme good, the happiness of man, was pleasure. II. These words, he did not scruple . . . to do publicly, what might give him pleasure, are a consequence of his first error, and a new error. If Dionysius had embraced Cynicism, he would not have been ashamed to have lain with a woman in the middle of the streets; but as he only went over to the school of Arisippus, who was a pleasant debauchee, and a polite libertine, who knew the world admirably

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Id. ibid.

(6) "Ἀνδρᾶ
τάτῃ ἐσφρονα.
Virum tunc mo-
destum.
Lucian. in his
Acusato, pag.
325, Tom. II.

(7) In Laërt.
lib. vii, pag. 334.

(8) Cicero, Aca-
demic. Question.
lib. ii, cap. xxii.

A PYRRHO-
NIAN objection.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Diog. Laërt.
lib. v, n. 92, 93.

(11) He made
some alteration
in those words,
by way of parody.
See Casaubon
upon Athenæus,
p. 733.

(12) Olyff. lib.
xxi, pag. m. 647.

(13) Athen. lib.
x, pag. 437, et
Antigono Cary-
sio.

admirably well, and that the Cyrenaics, who gave nature all it desired, had not however adopted the impudence of the Cynics, it is wrong to pretend; that he had no more respect than Diogenes for the eyes of his neighbours. I confess he was willing to be seen to enter into the public stews, and to have it known that he had do with prostitutes (14), but every body knows, that this doth not signify that he knew women publicly, and in the sight of every body, as was the practice of the Cynics. III. Our Philosopher's deserting from the Stoics, could not be more confusedly represented than Moreri has done it. *Dionysius*, saith

(14) Εἰς τὰ χαμαῖα τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ πάλαι ἀπαρνησάμενος ἡδονὰς. Lustra ingreditur, ceterisque voluptatibus aperte operam dabat. *Lactantius*, lib. vii, c. 167. The common translation imports too much, and it is likely Moreri was deceived by it. *Palam lustra ingreditur cateraque sub omnium gerebat oculis qua ad voluptatem pertinebant.*

HERACLIUS, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the XIIth century, was the maker of his own fortune. He was born at Auvergne, without fortune or friends, and yet he was promoted to the archbishopric of Cæsarea, and afterwards to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. His good mein and address brought him into the strictest intimacy with the king's mother; so that the oppositions of the archbishop of Tyre, proved vain, though he grounded them upon prophecies [A]. In vain he protested against the election of Heraclius, in vain he appealed to the Pope, and even went to Rome, in order to get it declared void: he had not time to put an end to that affair. Heraclius caused him to be poisoned [B], and afterwards going to Rome, got his election confirmed by the Pope. He succeeded the Patriarch Almeric, who died in the year 1180. He led a very scandalous life with a merchant's wife of Napoli in Syria, whom he brought to Jerusalem after the death of her husband (a). You will see, below, some circumstances of it [C]. We must not distinguish him from the Patriarch Heraclius, mentioned in the History of the Crusades; and who expressed so much passion against Henry II king of England [D], when he found that that prince excused himself from going in person to the

(14) *Citat. (3) and (4).*

(a) See Histoire de la Conquête du Royaume de Jerusalem par Saladin, printed at Paris, in 1679.

[A] Though he grounded them upon prophecies. He said, that the prophecies foretold, that as the cross was conquered by one Eraclius, it should be lost under another (1). I believe he would have spoke more agreeably to history, if he had said, that as the Infidels had taken the cross under one Heraclius, they should retake it under another Heraclius. I know the emperor or Heraclius recovered, by a treaty of peace, the cross which the Persians had carried off; but can this be called a conquering of the cross?

[B] The archbishop of Tyre had not time to put an end to that affair. Heraclius caused him to be poisoned. I have found this in a preface, that Bongarsius has placed before the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. He tells us, that William archbishop of Tyre, the same that has written the history of this times, remonstrated in vain to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, against their nomination of Heraclius to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Healleged to them the above-mentioned prophecy; and that they might not think that he aspired to the vacant dignity, he conjured them neither to nominate Heraclius nor himself. Nevertheless, they were the two that were nominated. The king, according to the promises he had made to his mother, made choice of Heraclius, who immediately published his mandate, requiring obedience from the archbishops and bishops, depending on the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. None but the archbishop of Tyre refused to appear. He appealed to the Pope, and undertook to shew that Heraclius was not worthy of the Patriarchate. He immediately set out for Rome, and was very well received there, and put things on such a foot, that the deposition of Heraclius was looked upon as unavoidable; but the new Patriarch prevented the blow, by corrupting a Physician, who poisoned William. He afterwards made a voyage to Rome, and obtained all that he desired from the Pope. Bongarsius found this only in French authors.

[C] You will see, below, some circumstances of it. The history of the Conquest of Jerusalem, which I have cited, was published at Paris in the year 1679. The publisher had taken it from an old manuscript which Mr Cabart de Villermont had given him. These words are to be seen in it: *The Patriarch kept her*

(2) That is, the widow of the merchant of Napoli in Syria.

(2) openly, as if she had been his wife, only she did not live with him, and when the Patriarch went to the church, she was as magnificently dressed, as if she had been an empress or a queen; and when any body who did not know her, asked who that lady was; those that knew her, answered, that she was the Patriarch's wife. Her name was Pasque de Ri-

veri, and she had many children by the Patriarch. There goes a story, that this Patriarch being in council about important affairs, a madman having thrust into the room, ran to him and told him, my Lord Patriarch, get a good reward ready for me; for I bring you a piece of good news, your wife, Pasque de Riveri, is happily delivered of a fine girl.

Bongarsius relates in Latin, the same history, and more at large (3); for he says that the French author who reports it, observes, that that conduct of the Patriarch served as a model for others, and that the priests, the clerks, and the monks, were so addicted to lewdness and adultery, that there was scarce a chaste woman in Jerusalem, and that JESUS CHRIST seeing these impurities in a city, where he had shed his blood for the redemption of his people, would no more suffer them, than those of Sodom and Gomorrah; wherefore, he again so well purged it of that abominable filth, that of all those who lived there in the time of Heraclius, there were only two persons, who escaped captivity, when that city was taken by Saladin. The same Bongarsius quotes Marinus Sanutus, and Paulus Amilius, the first whereof says that the people called Heraclius's concubine Patriarchels (4); and the other assures us, that this Patriarch and his clergy led a disorderly life: *Sacerdotes fuisse flagitiosos, sceleribusque obrutos: atque adeo ipsum Patriarcham neque caste neque integre vitam egisse* (5).

[D] It was he who expressed so much passion against Henry II king of England. That prince, to expiate the crime he had committed by giving occasion to the assassins of St Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, to murder him in his own church, had accepted a penance from the Pope, by which he was obliged to bring in person in three years time a considerable succour to the Holy-Land. More than ten were lapsed after that term was expired, and yet he had not put himself in a capacity to accomplish his promise (6). This made Heraclius hope for a good success in his negotiation. He made a very pathetic discourse to this monarch after he had presented to him the keys of Jerusalem, and of the holy sepulchre (7). He was made to hope that he should be soon satisfied, but the king broke his word with him. Henry consulted his clergy, to know whether in the present posture of affairs, he was obliged to make good his promise, and to accomplish that part of the penance which the Pope had laid on him, and to which he had solemnly obliged himself (8). The Patriarch Heraclius was present at the assembly where this case of conscience was examined. All the bishops and abbots . . . concluded unanimously

(3) Bongarsius prefat *Gestorum Dei per Francos*

(4) *Cuius (Almerici) successit Heraclius tam perniciosi exempli ut procedentem ornatiorem quam publico tenebat, vulgus Patriarchism vocaret.* *Marinus Sanutus, Part. IV, lib. iii, cap. xxiv, apud Bongarsius, ibid.*

(5) *Paulus Amilius de rebus sacris, lib. v, sub fin.*

(6) *Paulus Amilius de rebus sacris, lib. v, sub fin.*

(7) *Ibid. pag. 58, ad ann. 1185.*

(8) *Ibid. pag. 59.*

(6) Maimbourg, Hist. des Croisades, Tom. II, livr. iv, pag. 65, Dutch Ed't.

the succour of Jerusalem. He was the chief of the embassy, which the princes of the Holy-Land sent into the West to demand assistance, and had undertaken in Palestine to bring back with him, either the king of England, or one of the three princes his sons (b).

... that not only the king was not at present obliged to make a voyage into Palestine, but that he would do much better for the salvation of his soul to remain in his own dominions; because the promise he had made in accepting of the penance, from which he might and ought to have been dispensed with, could not prejudice that which is absolutely indispensable, and which he made at his coronation, to govern his subjects well, and to defend them from the insults of domestic and foreign enemies; which he could not do in his absence in the condition affairs were in. They all unanimously added, as also did the lords, that as to one of the king's sons, who was demanded in his stead, the assembly could determine nothing thereupon, since they were absent, and the resolution they were to take, depended solely upon them (9). The Patriarch, who was a man of a violent temper, was so provoked at that resolution, that he had like to have spoiled all by losing altogether the respect which he owed to the king, and treating him in a manner which cannot at all be excused, whatever attempt may be made to cover it with the name and false appearance of zeal (10). He answered the king, who offered 50 thousand marks of silver for that war (11). 'That they had no occasion for his money but for him; that they had more gold and silver than they desired, and that they did not come so far but to find out a man, who had need of money, to make an advantageous war against the Infidels, and not to look for money which wanted a man skilled in the art of using it well in that war. For the rest, added he, speaking in a very insolent manner, you have reigned hitherto with great glory; but know, that God, whose cause you have forsaken, will immediately forsake you. To be satisfied of it, you need only compare the benefits you have received from him

(9) Ibid. pag. 61.

(10) Ibid. pag. 62.

(11) Ibid. pag. 63.

with the enormous crimes with which you have repaid him by a most horrid ingratitude. You have violated the faith, which you owe to the king of France, your sovereign, and now you alledge the war, which you fear he will declare against you as a pretence for your refusal. You have caused the holy archbishop of Canterbury to be barbarously massacred, and you refuse at present to go to the defence of the Holy-Land, after having solemnly engaged in it upon the holy sacrament. And when he saw the king changing colour, reddened through indignation and anger, do not believe, continued he, trusting out his neck, that I am afraid of the effects of that fury, which the truth I speak, and you cannot bear, kindles in your soul. Behold my head here's treat me as you have done St. Thomas: I shall be as satisfied to die by your hands in England, as by those of the Saracens in Syria: and indeed you are little better than a Saracen (12). The king bore all he said patiently, and continued to treat the Patriarch very civilly, even to the conducting him in his own ship to Rouën, from whence he carried him to the frontier, to the end he might be witness of the conference he had there for three days with king Philip, on the subject of the holy war (13). Heracles went away without obtaining his desires, and even without the assistance that was offered him, which his passion made him foolishly slight against all the rules of prudence and good sense, and to the great prejudice of the affairs of his master: so much it is requisite that kings should not abandon their interests to the discretion of those who have hardly any, and who frequently by the violent passions that govern them are deprived of the little that they have.

(12) According to Maimbourg, pag. 64, the patriarch said things to the king, that were still more offensive, which, adds he, I will not repeat.

(13) Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 65.

(a) The Jesuit Eudemon Joannes answered it.

HERALDUS (DESIDERIUS) in French Herauld, advocate in the parliament of Paris, has given good proofs of his learning, in several books that he has published [A]. He disguised himself under the name of David Leidbrefferus, to write a political dissertation upon the independence of kings (a), some time after the death of Henry IV. He died in June 1649, and left some children [B]. Salmasius and he wrote against one another [C].

[A] He gave proofs of his learning in several books that he has published. His *Adversaria* appeared in the year 1599. It is a little book which he repented the publishing of, if we may believe the Scaligerana. His notes upon Tertullian's Apology, Minutius Felix, and Arnobius have been esteemed. He has also commented upon Martial's epigrams.

(1) Replique à Adam & a Cottib, Part. II, chap. xxi, pag. 127.

[B] And left some children. When Mr Daillé (1) speaks of the Proteflant writers who condemned the execution of Charles I king of England, he quotes *Le Pacifique Royal en deuil*, written by Mr Heraud. That author, the son of our *Desiderius Heraldus*, was minister in Normandy when he was called to the service of the Walloon church in London, in Charles the first's time, and he was so good a royalist, that he found himself obliged to return into France, to escape the fury of the republicans, who were displeased with his exhortations to submit themselves to their lawful prince. He returned into England after the restoration of the royal family, and again took possession of his former station in the Walloon church at London, and some time after he obtained a canonry of Canterbury, which he kept till his death. This is what has been lately told me by a person who had opportunities of being acquainted with his history. See also the last page of Mr Bochart's letter to Mr Morley.

[C] Salmasius and he wrote against one another.]

An old and very learned advocate is dead here, called Monsieur Heraut (*Desiderius Heraldus*) who had a dispute with Salmasius, who had writ against him, *Observationes ad Jus Atticum & Romanum* about four years since. Monsieur Heraut, who was offended with that book, was writing an answer to it in folio; but death having surprized him, I think it must be sold, such as it is, and an end must be put to it where the author found his own. He seemed to be about seventy years of age... He had the reputation of a very learned man, as well in the civil law, as in polite learning, and he wrote very easily upon what subject he pleased (2). I learn from a letter of Sarravius (3), that after twenty seven years silence, Heraldus having examined his papers at the instance of his friends, was ready to publish his book *de Autoritate rerum judicatorum*. What he had prepared against Salmasius was printed in the year 1650, it is a folio, intitled, *Questiones quotidianæ, & Observationes ad Jus Atticum ac Romanum*. There are two books in the catalogue of the Bodleian library, ascribed to Hier. Herbarius, which certainly were misplaced by the Printers; they ought to have been a little higher under *Desiderius Heraldus*. These are the titles of them, *De de Rerum judicatorum autoritate Libri II.* at Paris, 1640. *Observationum & Emendationum Liber unus*, ibid.

(2) Patin, letter xxix, pag. 121, of the first Tome, dated the third of November, 1649.

(3) It was written in 1639. See Sarravius, Epist. pag. 16.

HERCULES. There have been several heroes of this name [A]; but he of Thebes has been the most famous, because the Greeks have ascribed to him the actions of the others, and talked very much of him according to the fabulous genius of their nation.

[A] There have been many heroes of this name. Cicero reckons six heroes of that name. Quamquam quem potissimum Herculem colamus scire sane velim, plures enim tradunt nobis ii qui interiores scrutantur

& reconditas Literas: antiquissimum Jove natum, sed item Jove antiquissimo; nam Joves quoque plures in priores Græcorum literis invenimus. Ex eo igitur & Lyfio est Hercules quem concertavisse cum Apolline

nation. I design only to speak of him. He passed for the son of Jupiter and Alcmena. I have said, in another place (a), how this lady was deceived by that god, and I will neither repeat that, nor what is to be found in Moreri. Our Hercules had a prodigious strength both in the combats of Mars and Venus [B]. He was also a great eater [C]. I will mention some circumstances of it that are very singular, as also his being

(a) See the article ALCMENA and AMPHITRYON.

(1) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. iii, cap. xvi.

(2) Inde proximum annis (Nili) os dicatum Herculi, quem Indigenae ortum apud se antiquissimum perhibent, eoque qui postea pari virtute fuerint in cognomentum ejus adscito. Tacit. Annal. lib. ii, cap. ix.

(3) Lib. iii, sub finem.

(4) Athenæus, lib. xiii, pag. 556.

(5) Pausan. lib. ix, pag. 302.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Ἐκείνῳ δὲ εἰς τὸν ὅπως ἡγάγετο τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ τοσούτων ὀνύχων ἀνδρὸς Φίλων ἀνταρτὴ ἀφικέσθαι. Ergo vero adduci nunquam possum ut credam, Herculem in amici hominis filiam iram acti incitari potuisse. Id. ib.

(9) Lib. iv, cap. xxix.

(10) The father of those fifty maids is called Thestius by some, and Thestius by others.

(11) Vigenere upon Philostratus, Tom. I, pag. 98. Edit. in 4to.

(12) Lactant. lib. i, cap. ix.

* Apolline de tripode accepimus. Alter traditur Nilonatus Ægyptius, quem aiunt Phrygiæ literas conscripsisse. Tertius est ex Idæis Dactylis, cui inferias afferunt. Quartus Jovis est, & Alteræ Latone sororis quem Tyrii maxime colunt, cujus Carthaginem filiam ferunt. Quintus in India, qui Belus dicitur. Sextus hic ex Alcmena, quem Jupiter genuit; sed tertius Jupiter: quoniam, ut jam docebo, plures Joves etiam accepimus (1). — I would gladly know which of the Hercules's we worship, for the curious enquirers into secret history, give us account of several who have bore that name; the most ancient of all was the son of Jupiter, and of the most ancient of the Jupiters too, for we find likewise several Jupiters in the ancient Greek writers. It was this Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Lyctio, who strove with Apollo about a tripod, as history informs us. We are told of another Hercules, an Egyptian, the son of Nilus, who is said to have invented the Phrygian characters. A third we owe to the Idæi Dactyli, to whom infernal rites are paid. A fourth was the son of Jupiter and Asteria, sister to Latona, and is highly worshipped by the Tyrians, and, as they tell us, had a daughter named Carthago. A fifth of India, who is named Belus: and a sixth, the son of Alcmena by Jupiter, but a third Jupiter: because, as I shall prove, by and by, we have accounts of several Jupiters. According to this account the Egyptian Hercules will be only the third; but the Egyptians give him the first place (2). Diodorus Siculus (3) who mentions but three Hercules's, gives the Egyptian the birth-right, and confesses, that the conformity of name and inclinations has been the reason, that the actions of the others have been ascribed to the Theban Hercules, who was the youngest of them all. It is said that Varro has reckoned up forty four Hercules's.

[B] He had a prodigious strength . . . in the combats of . . . Venus. Some say (4) that in seven days he despoiled the fifty daughters of Thestius; others (5) will allow but one night for it, and add, that he impregnated them all with boys, and that two of them, the oldest and the youngest, brought him two sons a piece. According to some (6) the youngest would not at all consent to the loss of her virginity, and that as a punishment for her obstinacy he condemned her to keep it for her life, and ordered her to serve him as a priestess. This was the reason why the temple of Hercules at Thestis was served by a priestess who was obliged to remain a virgin as long as she lived (7). Pausanias could not persuade himself that Hercules could be so much enraged against the daughter of his good friend (8): he therefore looked upon the penalty, which Hercules had inflicted upon her as a very severe punishment. What he says of Thestius's friendship for Hercules, agrees very well with what we read in Diodorus Siculus (9), that Thestius (10) being desirous that his daughters might give him a posterity whereof Hercules should be the father, invited him to a noble feast, and entertained him magnificently, after which he sent him his fifty daughters one after another. Vigenere has pleasantly said, that it was the stoutest battle that Hercules was ever engaged in, in all his life (11). And yet the antients have not placed this in the catalogue of his labours. It has been observed that because he made war, sometimes in one country, and sometimes in another, being a great lover of the fair sex, he had dispersed women in several provinces of the world, that he might every where find some at his disposal. Lactantius was not in the wrong for laughing at the Pagans, who placed in the number of the gods a man who had left every where marks of his leudness: 'Hercules . . . nonne orbem terræ quem peragrasset ac purgasset narratur, stupris, libidinibus, adulteriis inquinavit? nec mirum, cum esset adulterio genitus Alcmenæ. Quid tandem potuit in eo esse divini, qui suis ipse vitiis mancipatus & mares, & fœminas, contra omnes leges infamia, dedecore, flagitio afficit (12)? — Did not Hercules (which they tell us travelled over the world, and purged it from monsters) pollute it with suboredoms, leudness, and adulteries? And no wonder,

since he owed his birth to the adultery of Alcmena. What could there be in him that was divine, who being a slave to his lusts, contrary to all laws, entailed infamy, disgrace, and crimes, both on males and females.' Arnobius very agreeably ridicules the Pagans for making nine nights necessary to Jupiter to get one child, and allowing but one night to Hercules to get fifty maids with child. 'Quis illum (Jovem) in Alcmena novem noctibus fecit pervigilasse continuis? non vos? . . . Et sane adjungitis beneficia non parva: siquidem vobis Deus Hercules natus est, qui in rebus humanis patris sui transfret exuperaretque virtutes. Ille noctibus vix novem unam potuit prolem extundere, concinere, compingere: at Hercules sanctus Deus natus quinquaginta de Thestio nocte una perdocuit & nomen virginittatis exponere, & genitricum pondera sustinere (13). — Who told us that this Jupiter lay nine whole nights with Alcmena? Was it not you? And indeed you make him do something worthy of all this labour: for hence sprung your mighty Hercules, who far excelled his father in feats of this nature. He with much ado could hardly strike out one child in nine nights: but the good god Hercules in one night not only despoiled Thestius's fifty daughters, but made them all mothers.' Note that Thestius was amazed at that vigour of Hercules (14).

[C] He was also a great eater. He gloried in being able to eat more than others, and he was extremely vexed to find a man that could match him in that point. He disputed the prize of voracity with one Lepreus, and did not get the victory (15). They each of them sacrificed an ox, and if Hercules eat all his at one meal, his antagonist was no less expeditious and vigorous upon his victim. Lepreus should have stopped there, but he had the boldness to provoke Hercules to another sort of combat, to a duel, wherein he was killed. I shall speak more fully of this dispute at the end of this remark. Here is another story. Hercules travelling with his wife and his little son Hyllus, and seeing the little boy distressed with hunger, applied himself to a husband-man for some food for him; but obtaining nothing he unyoked one of the oxen from his plough, and sacrificed him to the gods and eat him (16). That canine appetite did not leave him even in heaven; hence it is that Callimachus exhorts Diana not to catch hares, but wild-boars and bulls, because Hercules had not lost the quality of a great eater amongst the gods which he had amongst men.

Οὐ γὰρ ὅτε Φρυγίῃ περὶ ὑπὸ δρυὶ γυῖα θεώ-
δεις
Παύσατ' ἀδραργίης ἐτι οἱ πάρα νηδὺς ἐκείνῃ
τῇ ποτ' ἀεστεύοντι συνήντητο Θεϊοδάμαντι.

Non hic in Phrygia sub quercu membra levatus
Atque Deus factus, sit edax minus: alvus at illi
Est eadem, taurum quæ quondam Thiodamantis
Edit planitiem cum latu scinderet agri (17).

For tho' a god, his appetite's as strong,
As when Theodamas's plough he loos'd,
And at one meal the labouring ox devour'd.

Athenæus cites some verses of Epicharmus, which admirably express the voracity of this hero.

Πρῶτον μὲν αἰὲν ἔσονται ἰδὼς νιν, ἀποδάνοισ,
Βρέμει μὲν ὁ φάρυγξ ἐνδοθ', ἀερεῖ δ' ἂν
γυῖάδω,
Υποεί δ' ὁ γόμφω, τετὲρ ὁ κυρδών,
Σίξει δὲ ταῖς βίνοισι, κινεῖ δ' ἄτα, τῶν
τετρεπιδών ἐδὲν ἥττον.

Primum quidem, eum comedentem si videas, perieris:

Fremunt intus fauces: strepunt buccæ:

Molares

(13) Arnobius, lib. vi, pag. 145.

(14) Qualemve vagæ post crimina noctis Thestius obstupuit toties focer. Stat. Silv. I, lib. iii, ver. 42.

(15) Pausanias, lib. v, pag. 251.

(16) See Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. vii, pag. m. 693, 694.

(17) Apollodorus, lib. ii, pag. 145, does not say so much, and has not the same circumstances; but he owns that Hercules killed and eat that ox. The Scholiast upon Apollonius, in lib. i, ver. 1212, says the same as Natalis Comes.

(17) Callimachus in Hymno Diane, ver. 159, pag. m. 78.

being a great drinker [D], in which he did not less excel. He shewed his voracity upon an occasion that gave rise to a very singular ceremony, which was, that they cursed him during the sacrifices which the Lindians offered to him [E]. Some, upon considering his inclination to wine and women, have denied that he performed those great

(18) Athen. lib. 5, init.
Molares dentes sonant: caninus stridet:
Sibilat naribus: aurem utramque movet (18).

*You'd die if you shou'd see his horrid meal:
And bear the action of his hollow gorge:
And crafhing of his grinders when wide stretch'd:
His nostrils blow: and both his ears do move.*

He cites some other poets to prove his position that Hercules was a very great eater, *ὅτι ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐσθλὸς φάγας*, and he forgets not the competition of Lepreus. Here follows what he says of it.

Lepreus challenged Hercules to a trial of gluttony, and was worsted. *Εἰσδύεται δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Λεπρεὺς ἀεὶ πολυφαγίας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκείνου περκαλεσάμενος, καὶ νενίκηκε.* Inducitur Hercules de voracitate cum Lepreo certans qui eum provocaverat, in qua contentione Hercules victor evasit (19). — Hercules is introduced striving with Lepreus for the prize of gluttony, to which the latter had challenged him, and in which he was defeated by Hercules. Zeno-dorus says that Hercules had put in chains Lepreus the grandson of Neptune, after he had cleansed Augeas's stable; he set him at liberty when he had finished his labours, at which time he had three trials of skill with him. They plaid at quoits, they strove who should pump water best, and who could eat up an ox soonest, in all which Hercules had the victory. At last Lepreus, being drunk, challenged Hercules a-fresh, and was killed by him. Others say they did not dispute who should eat most, but who should drink most, and that Hercules had the better of Lepreus (20). Others pretend that the dispute was, both who should eat up an ox soonest, and who should drink most (21). I will mention some other facts in the note [H].

(19) Id. ibid.
(20) Matris in Herculis laudatione. Causalus Rhetor Chius, frater Theopompri Historiographi in Herculis laudatione apud Athen. ibid.

(21) Elian. Var. Histor. lib. 1, cap. xxiv.

(22) Statius, Theb. vi, lib. ver. 531.

Huic pretium palmæ gemini cratera ferebant
Herculeum juvenes. Illum Tyrrhinus olim
Ferre manu sola, spumantemque ore supino
Vertere seu monstri Victor, seu marte solebat (22).

*A massy cup, the prize, was carry'd big
By two fair youths; this Hercules of old
Was wont, with ease, to carry in one hand,
And at one draught to empty, when returning
From his fell labours, or the bloody field.*

It appears by the history of Alexander, that in feasts, where there was extraordinary drinking, they drank round in a great cup, which was called the cup of Hercules. It was reserved for the last, as we may infer from Alexander's not having yet drank it, when he fell sick at table (23) at an entertainment where he had already drank a great deal. Others say, he did drink it, and that it was his fatal cup. *Alexandrum . . . intemperantia bibendi atque ille Herculeanus & fatalis scyphus condidit* (24). Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Alexander having already drunk much, to conclude, drank off Hercules's cup, and immediately fell into a swoon (25). To reconcile these differences, I believe, we must suppose this prince was struck as he was drinking this cup, and before he had made an end of it. This historian observes this cup of Hercules was very large. But what can be alleged more decisive hereupon than the words of Macrobius? 'Scyphus Herculis poculum est ita ut Liberi patris cantharus: Herculeum vero fiores veteres non sine causa cum poculo fecerant & nonnunquam casabundum & ebrum, non solum quod is heros bibax fuisse perhibetur, sed etiam quod antiqua Historia est Herculeum poculo tanquam navigio ventis immensa maria transisse. Sed de utraque re pauca ex Græcis antiquitatibus dicam, & multibilibum Heroa istum fuisse, ut

(23) Nondum Herculis scypho epoto repente velut telo confixus ingemuit Q. Curtius, lib. 5, cap. iv, n. 28. Editionis Freisheim. See also Plutarch in Alexandro, sub fin.

(24) Seneca, Epist. lxxxiil.

(25) Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii, cap. cxvii.

taceam quæ vulgo nota sunt, illud non obscurum argumentum est, quod Ehippus in Bufride inducit 'Herculem sic loquentem, &c (26). — The icy-phus is the cup of Hercules, as the cantharus is that of Bacchus: It was not without cause, that the ancient sculptors represented Hercules with a cup in his hand, in a tottering condition, and drunk, not only because this hero is said to have been a lover of wine; but likewise because ancient history informs us, that Hercules made long navigations in a cup instead of a ship. I shall relate a few things concerning both these from the antiquities of the Greeks. As to the first, that Hercules was a lover of wine, not to mention what is commonly known, we have no obscure proof of it in Ehippus, who in his Bufris introduces Hercules speaking thus, &c.' Athenæus seems to point out to us the capacity of this cup, for he says (27), that that which was the cause of Alexander's death, contained two gallons. The poet Stesichorus can teach us a very notable particular. He says that Pholus drank a health to Hercules in a pitcher that held forty eight gallons. Centaurorum & Lapitharum convivium describens (Stesichorus) ait Pholum (quem propterea hospitalem Alcide nuncupat Lacanus) implevisse Herculi craterem trium lagenarum capacem, quem prior ipse obbibisset: amplum autem fuisse oportuit, qui urnam, hoc est, quatuor & viginti sextarios caperet (28). He drank it off first, and was immediately pledged by Hercules.

(26) Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. 5, cap. xxi. See Dempsterus, lib. 1, cap. xxxi, pag. m. 856.

(27) Lib. x, cap. ix, pag. 434.

(28) Hadrianus Junius, Animadv. lib. 5, cap. v, pag. m. 410.

Σκυρίον δὲ λαβὼν δέπας ἑμμετῶν ὡς τεῖ-
λάχυνον
Πῶς ἐπισχόμενον, τὸ πᾶν οἱ παρίηκε Φίλα-
κράσας (29).

(29) Apud Hadrian. Junium, ibid.

Hercules (*de eo enim loquitur*) acceptum in manus scyphum plenum, trium lagenarum capacem, ori admodum obbibit, quem Pholus ipsi infuderat.

*The bowl capacious in his hand he took,
Which Pholus with a liberal hand had fill'd,
With three lagenæ, and at one huge draught
Empty'd the foaming cup.*

Athenæus explains in a very probable manner, why the poets have feigned Hercules to have crossed the seas in a drinking-bowl. That fiction, says he (30), is in all likelihood founded upon the delight this hero took in drinking in great glasses; for he was a notable drinker: 'Ὅτι δὲ εἰς ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῶν πλεόντων πινόντων περιπόμην. Bibacem inter alios Herculem fuisse antea nos memoravimus (31).

(30) Μὴ ποτε μεγάλοις ἔχασ-
σι ποτήριον ὁ
ἦρος, διὰ τὸ
μυῖνος παρὰ
τὸς οἱ τοῦτο
καὶ συγγί-
αται.

[E] They cursed him during the sacrifices which the Lindians offered to him.] I have told above, that Hercules eat an ox that he took from a countryman; but I add here, that as he was eating it, the countryman poured out a thousand curses against him, which was only a diversion to Hercules: so that when an altar was built to him he chose this countryman for his priest, and commanded him to repeat the same curses as often as they should offer sacrifices; for, said he, I never eat with a better stomach. Lactantius tells the story at large: 'Apud Lindum, quod est oppidum

(31) Id. ibid.

'Rhodi, Hercules sacra sunt, quorum à cæteris longe diversus est ritus. Si quidem non, εὐφημία, ut Græci appellant, sed maledictis & execratione celebrantur: eaque pro violatis habent, si quando inter solemnes ritus vel imprudenti alicui exciderit bonum verbum. Cujus rei hæc ratio redditur, si tamen ulla esse ratio in rebus vanissimis potest. Hercules, cum eo delatus esset, famemque pateretur, aratorem quandam aspexit operantem, ab eoque petere cepit, ut sibi unum bovem venderet. Ille negavit fieri posse, quia spes sua omnis colendæ terræ duobus illis juvenis niteretur. Hercules solita violentia usus, quia unum accipere non potuit, utrumque fustulit. At ille infelix, cum boves suos mactari videret, injuriam suam maledictis ultus est, quod homini eleganti & urbano gratissimum fuit. Nam dum comitibus suis epulas apparat, dumque alienos boves devorat,

(31) Id. ibid.

great achievements which are ascribed to him [F]. There is a very particular circumstance related concerning his voracious way of eating; for it is pretended that he moved his ears (b): that phenomenon is very rare [G]. I believe it is a mistake to say, that he would

(32) Lactant. lib. i. cap. xxi. pag. m. 70. See also Photium, pag. 429.

devorat, illum sibi amarissime conviciantem, cum risu, & cachinnis audiebat. Sed postquam Herculi divinos honores ob admirationem virtutis deferri placuit, à civibus ei ara posita est, quam de facto βούζων, id est bovis jugum nominavit: ad quam duo juncti boves immolarentur, sicut illi, quos abstulerat aratori, eumque ipsum sibi constituit Sacerdotem, ac præcepit, ut iisdem maledictis semper in celebrandis sacrificiis uteretur, quod negaret, se unquam epulatum esse jucundius (32). — At Lindus, a town in the island of Rhodes, Hercules is worshipped with rites very different from those used in other places. For the sacrifice is performed not with praises, but with curses and execrations, and it is thought to be profaned, if a good word should even ignorantly escape from any who assist at the solemnity. For this they give the following reason, if there can be any reason for such foolish observances. Hercules, say they, passing that way, was hungry, and seeing a peasant at plough, desired him to sell him an ox. He answered, that he could not do so, having no other means of ploughing his land but by these two oxen. Hercules, making use of his usual violence, since he would not give him one, took them both from him. The poor man, seeing his cattle slain, revenged himself by execrations, which were very pleasing to this polite and elegant traveller. For while he was making ready this entertainment for his companions, and devouring these stolen cattle, he jeered and laughed at the misfortunate owner, who bitterly cursed him. But when afterwards it was thought fit, in admiration of his virtue, to decree divine honours to him, the inhabitants of that city erected an altar to him, which he actually called the yoke of oxen: at which they were to offer two oxen yoked, as these were which he took from the peasant, whom he appointed his priest, and ordered, that he should make use of the same execrations in celebrating the sacrifices, affirming that he had never eat with more pleasure.

[F] Some have denied that he performed those great achievements which are ascribed to him. Megacles in Athenæus censures the poets that came after Homer and Hesiod, for saying that Hercules commanded armies and took towns, when it is certain that he was a man who led a very voluptuous life, having many lawful wives, and getting children clandestinely upon a great many young women (33), addicted likewise to eating and drinking; so that after his example, they who made libations to him, left nothing in the glass, they drank it all up. Other proofs are brought (34) of his effeminacy, and it is pretended that Stesichorus was the first that armed him with a club, a bow, and a lion's skin. We find in Erasmus a passage that violently shakes that tradition of Hercules's effeminacy. It is in the explication of the proverb. Take heed of a man with a black breech (35). Erasmus tells us, that a mother gave this advice to her two boys, who were unlucky rogues. They had a mind to attack Hercules sleeping under a tree, but he awaked and tied them to his club (36), and laid them over his shoulders with their heads downwards. That posture discovered to them, that Hercules's back was very hairy, and that the hairs were very black and thick, which made them remember the advice of their mother, and made them fall a laughing. Hercules understanding what they laughed at, gave them their liberty. The words of Erasmus, which I am to cite, are these:

(32) Μη τῷ μελαμπύγῳ περιττόν. In Melampygon incidit. It is the forty third proverb of the first century of the second Chilian in Erasmus. (33) See Moreri at the word Achæmon. (34) Melampygon Græcis significat eum qui nigro sit potest: quo quidem cognomento notatus est Hercules quod eam corporis partem, non Lydorum more vulgari, neque candidam (quemadmodum effeminati solent) sed nigris pilis hirsutam ac sylvosam haberet. Nam Græci quemadmodum molles & imbelles, frædolose delicias, πυγάρους καὶ λευκοπύγους appellabant: itidem à diversis fortibus ac strenuis, μελαμπύγους vocare consueverunt, ut author est Lycophronis interpres. — Melampygon, among the Greeks, signifies one who has a black breech. This surname was given to Hercules, because that part of his body was rough with black hair and shaggy, and not shaved after the manner of the Lydians, or white (as those effeminate people are). For as the Greeks called the effeminate, and weak, and those who were enervated

by luxury, white breeched; so, on the contrary, they usually called the brave and strong black breeched, as the interpreter of Lycophron assures us. See Suidas, in the article μελαμπύγῳ τῷ οἷς, in Melampygon incidit. See also Apostolius, Zenobius, & Diogenianus, in their Collections of Proverbs.

[G] That phenomenon is very rare. The journal A Collection of the Academiæ Naturæ curiosorum (37) speaks of a maid who moved her ears. The author of the News from the Republic of Letters, giving an extract of this journal, observed (38), that there was not reason to doubt of this particular, 'after what the abbot de Marolles attests of the philosopher Crassius, in the thirty second page of his Memoirs. He had a great resemblance, says he, to those pictures of the Cynic philosophers, which are to be found in the cabinets of the curious, being slovenly like them, with a long and bushy beard, and hair ill combed. He had one thing very particular, and which I never observed in any one else, which was, that he could move his ears backwards and forwards when he would, without touching them. Peter Messie relates, in the twenty fourth chapter of his first part, that St Austin saw (39) a man, who not only moved his ears as he pleased, but also his hair, without any motion of his hands or head. Give me leave to join to this some passages relating to this. I begin with a pretty long one of Casaubon (40). 'Istud planè communi hominum naturæ contrarium est, quibus [solis (41) ex omnibus animantibus (nisi forte simias excipias)] dedit aureis in ὁλοποιεῖται τῷ ΘΕΟΤΙ σοφία moveri suapte sponte nescias. [Nam quod scribit Martialis, Cinnae cuidam natum filium auribus: longis Quæ se moventur, ut solent asellorum, poetica sine dubio licentia est, non rei veritas.] Narrat tamen Eustathius sacerdotem fuisse quendam aureis motantem. Accepimus etiam à viris fide dignis, vias manifeste aures movere viro cuidam eruditissimo (42), cum per Allobrogum fines transiens, vivicomburii periculum sibi à magistratu imminere intellexisset: quod diceretur nefandis criminis reus Tolosa in Italiam fugere. — This is quite contrary to the common nature of men, to whom alone of all animals (unless you should except apes) God has given ears which have no self motion. (For what Martial writes of the son of one Cinna, who had long ears, which moved like those of asses, is undoubtedly rather a poetical invention than a true story). However Eustathius tells us of a certain priest who moved his ears. I have been informed likewise by men worthy of credit, that the ears of a certain learned man were plainly seen to move, when, passing through the confines of Savoy, he understood that he was in hazard of being burnt alive by the magistrates, upon a report that he was then flying from Toulouse into Italy, on account of his having been guilty of a heinous sin. Since Casaubon doth not doubt of the truth of Eustathius's report, nor of what was told him of the learned man that escaped from Toulouse, why doth he doubt of the story of Cinna's child, in the thirty ninth epigram of the sixth book of Martial? He would have less doubted of it, if he had taken notice of what St Austin says in the twenty fourth chapter of the fourteenth book, De Civitate Dei: sunt qui & aures moveant vel singulas vel ambas simul. — There are some people who move their ears, either singly, or both together; but also of what Vesalius attests. That great anatomist affirms (43) that he saw at Padua two men, whose ears moved. He elsewhere explains the cause of this motion. 'Interdum, says he (44), quibusdam raris fibris carnalis membrana quam carnosa vocamus supra aures augeatur, & modice auri proximam cutem, & ipsam quæ aures motu agit arbitrio. — Sometimes by means of certain delicate fibres, the fleshy membrane, which we call the carnosia, is enlarged above the ears, and gives a gentle arbitrary motion to the skin next to the ear, and even to the ear itself. Du Laurent affirms, that he has seen people that caused their ears to move (45). Valverdu saw the same thing in a Spaniard at Rome (46). Procopius compares Justinian to an ass, not only because of his dulness and stupidity, but also with respect to his moveable ears, which occasioned his being called in a full theatre δεινός γαῖδρος.

(b) See the remark [C].

(37) In the volume of the year 1685.

(38) Nouvel. de la Repub. des Lettres, Septemb. 1686, pag. 1021.

(39) St Augustin's words, quoted here below, do not import, that he had seen that, and therefore Father Harduin, in Plin. lib. xi. pag. 543, should not have said, que vidit Augustinus.

(40) Casaubon. in Athen. lib. x. cap. i, pag. 702.

(41) This is taken from Aristotle, μὲν ἀνθρώπος ὅς ἐστι νῦν, says he, lib. i. Hist. Animal. cap. ix, Pliny likewise, Aures hominum tantum immobiles, lib. xi, cap. xxxvii.

(42) It is likely that Anany Murus is meant in this place.

(43) De humani corporis fabrica, lib. ii, cap. xiii, apud Coquæum. Not. in August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xiv, cap. xiv.

(44) Ibid. cap. xvii, apud eundem Coquæum, ibid.

(45) Laurent. lib. xi, Histor. Anat. cap. xii, apud eundem, ibid. I have observed this posture.

(46) Valverdu, lib. ii, Anatom. Cap. ii, cap. ii, apud eundem, ibid. Terret. Ciguani, who call him Valvæ.

would be drawn in that posture, in one of his most famous pictures [H]. It is not true that his club was in a chapel at Rome [I], and that it kept away the dogs and flies.

It

γὰρ δὲ αὖτε, (which is to say, word for word, Mr Als) 'by those of the green faction, or the Praefini, which he was an enemy to.' I have read these words in la Mothe le Vayer, page 134 of the third Tome in 12mo. He cites the 36th page of Procopius's Secret History.

[H] I believe it is a mistake, to say that he would be drawn in that posture, in one of his most famous pictures. Coltar says so in his Dialogues. Let us set down the latter part of what he says there concerning Hercules. 'In the Anthologia a peasant praises very much Mercury's moderation, who is contented with milk and fruits, and he complains of Hercules, who would have abundance of oxen and sheep sacrificed to him. And being told, but this god preserves your flocks and herds so well. What is the difference, replied he, whether my flocks be eaten by the wolves, or by their keeper.'

----- Τί τὸ πλεον εἰ τὸ φυλακτὴν
ὈΑΛΥΤΑΙ ὑπὸ λύκων εἴθ' ὑπὸ τῷ φυλακῶς (47).

(47) Entretien de Voiture de Coltar, pag. 32.

Here is Voiture's answer to Coltar. It is true, that Hercules gladly eat sheep, and in great quantities. The Argonauts, when they sailed to Colchos, left him in an island. Many pleasant reasons are given for it. Some say, that he broke all the oars in rowing: others say, that he was too heavy; some say, the Argonauts were afraid, he would carry away all the glory; and others, that it was because he eat too much. I remember I have read in a Greek poet, (that is to say Greek and Latin) that he moved his ears in eating, &c (48). Coltar answering his friend, tells him (49), that Hercules eat like a devil, and that, according to Athenæus, he had an ox for every meal. He cites Philostratus, in his picture of Theodamas. We there find these words, according to Vigenere's version, pag. 906 of the first tome. You have perhaps found it in Pindar, where, at Corenus's house, he eat an ox so entire, that he scarce left the bones behind him. Coltar cites also Lactantius, in the twenty first chapter of the Christian Institution (50), it is to acquaint his friend with the ceremony of the maledictions the Lindians used in sacrificing to Hercules. He tells him, that in that case Hercules was of the humour of Fortune, who is never honoured so much, as when she is reviled, and accused for all the changes and disorders that happen in the world, cum convitiis colitur, it is a saying of Pliny (51). He adds, that 'this Beef-eater (for so he was surnamed βουφάγος and βοθόινος), was in such reputation for gluttony, that the ancients consecrated a bird to him, called the Glutton: it is that which the French call la Foulque, the Latins Gavia, or Furca, and the Greeks ἀεγυς. It may be said of him, continues he, what Martial said of Tuca, that he was not contented to be a glutton, but would have it known and talked off.

(48) Ibid. pag. 33.

(49) Ibid. pag. 55.

(50) He should have added, of the first book. Besides, that work of Lactantius is mentioned Christian Institution, but Divine Institutions. Vigenere deceived Coltar.

(51) Those words of Pliny are in the seventh chapter of the fifth book; but they do not signify that fortune is never so much honoured, as when she is reviled.

(52) Martial. lib. xii, Epigr. xii.

(53) Οἷος δ' ἐν νύκτιον φαντάζετο πολλὰ μὲν φοιτῶν Περσέος δὲ ἐνὶ δρόμῳ. Qualem noctu sæpe videndum se obiectabat dormienti Parrhasio, talem hinc videre licet. Athen. lib. vi, pag. 344.

Non est Tuca satis, quod es gulosus, et dici cupis, Et cupis videri (52).

Once upon a time he appeared to the Painter Parrhasius, in the same state he was in, when his ears moved, and would be painted in that same posture, in which Theodamas had seen him. He quotes for that apparition, the twelfth book of Athenæus, and he observes, that in the thirty fifth book, and tenth chapter, of Pliny, one Dæmon, an Athenian Painter, brags that he drew this picture. It cannot be denied, that Athenæus reports, that Parrhasius boasted to have painted Hercules in the town of Lindus, just as he saw him in his sleep: he carried his boast so far, as to put this in the inscription of his picture (53), but it doth not follow from thence, that he gave Hercules that mobility of ears mentioned by Coltar. It is a strange boldness to affirm, first that Athenæus says, that Hercules appeared to Parrhasius, in the same condition he was in when his ears moved. Secondly, that Theodamas had seen Hercules in that same posture, but these two faults are inconsiderable, in comparison of the blunder I am going to observe. These are the words of Pliny. 'Pinxit Dæmon Athenienium, argumento quoque ingenio. Volebat namque varium, iracundum, injustum, inconstantem; eundem exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum,

gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque; & omnia pariter offendere. Idem pinxit Thesea . . . & in una tabula, quæ est Rhodi, Melæagrum, Herculem, Persea (54). — He painted the people of Athens, and the design of his piece was very ingenious. For he intended to represent them at once sickle, passionate, unjust, inconstant; exorable, merciful, gentle, proud, humble, fierce, and cowardly. He painted like wise Thebes . . . and in one piece, which is at Rhodes, Melæager, Hercules, and Perseus.' Pliny there reckons up the works of Parrhasius; the word Dæmon signifies the people of Athens, whose contrary passions Parrhasius had ingeniously represented. But here you see Coltar metamorphoses that picture of Parrhasius into a Painter, and pretends, that this chimerical Painter ascribed to himself the picture of Hercules, where that hero moved his ears. This is a new blunder; for in supposing that Dæmon was a Painter, no other picture could be ascribed to him, but that of Rhodes, wherein Melæager, Hercules, and Perseus, were painted, and which Pliny manifestly distinguishes from the Hercules at Lindus, which was drawn according to the Painter's dreams; & Herculem qui est Lindi talem à se pictum, qualem sæpe in quiete vidisset (55). But if we make the pretended Dæmon the author of the Hercules at Lindus, we must likewise ascribe to him almost all Parrhasius's paintings.

(54) Plinius, lib. xxxv, cap. x, pag. m. 202.

(55) Id. ibid. pag. 204.

[I] It is not true that his club was in a chapel at Rome. A famous Protestant divine has spoke thus (56): You will frequently hear in our temples, Atheism and error assaulted and destroyed; these pests are driven thence by the odour of the word of GOD, which is purely preached there, as in old time at Rome, Hercules's club kept the dogs and flies from the chapel where it was. He cites the second chapter of Solinus, where there is nothing of this; but here follows what he says in the first chapter. 'Hoc sacellum Herculi in boario foro est, in quo argumenta & convivii & majestatis ipsius remanent. Nam divinitus illud neque canibus neque muscis ingressus est. Etenim cum viscificationem sacrificolis daret, Myiagræ deum dicitur impetratus, clavam vero in aditu reliquisse, cujus olfactum refrigerent canes: id usque nunc durat. — This little temple of Hercules is situate in the Forum Boarium, and there still remain in it proofs both of the sacrifice, and of the majesty of the god. By his divine Power, neither flies nor dogs enter into it. For when he gave the bowels to the priests, he is reported to have prayed to the god Myiagræ, and to have left his club at the door, the smell of which made the dogs run from it, and its influence continues to this day.' It is plain, that Solinus doth not affirm, that Hercules's club was still there, he only says, that Hercules left it in the entrance of the place, where he gave the priests an entertainment after a sacrifice, and that the smell of the club kept off the dogs. This was the club's effect; as to the flies, it was not that club that drove them away, but the prayers that Hercules made to the god Myiagræ. What was observed on that occasion, namely, that dogs and flies kept at a distance from this place, continued to succeeding ages. This is what Solinus says; but it was not necessary that the club should be preserved in the chapel, nor doth Solinus say it. If the Protestant divine had given us a true matter of fact, that club might be reckoned in the number of Talismans, and be compared to the fly which is engraven, as is said, upon the door of the shambles of Toledo, and which hinders the flies from entering in. To this purpose, I will relate a thing which I have read in a modern author (57), which is, that, at Misitra, the dogs do not enter into the mosques of the Turks, nor into the churches of the Christians. The Turks explain this by a miracle as to themselves, and by a natural reason as to the Greeks. Let us hear Mr Guillet.

(56) Sam. des Marets, Eschatalogue des Maximes du Clergé Romaines Provinces Unies, pag. 59.

(57) Guillet, Les célestes an-cienne & nouvelle. pag. 232, Dutch Edit.

The Turks speak of the discretion of these dogs, as of a miracle. These creatures sometimes slip into private houses, when they find the doors open; but the mosques need not be shut at all, the dogs never go into them. The Turks take occasion to make a wonder of it, and call that a miraculous respect, which is only an imitation of the young dogs, who have always seen the old ones keep off from the entrance of the mosques, where, in all likelihood formerly the Turks

Does that do not go into churches.

It is still less true that he set up columns at Cape Finisterre [K], and placed there a looking-glass of a wonderful Virtue [L]. Some say, that he lived but fifty years, and that he burnt himself at that age, because he was no longer able to bend his bow [M]. He was the last child that Jupiter had by mortal women [N]. It is said, that he was three days in the belly of a whale [O], and that he came out safe and sound, having lost nothing

‘Turks had soundly beat them, to make them lose the habit of running thither. Neither are dogs to be seen in the Grecian churches. The Turks do not wonder at that; but give a reason for it, which I find probable enough. I have said before, that when the Greek schismatics enter into their churches, they make so low a bow, that by the inclination of their bodies, they bring their hands to the ground. The Turks say, that the dogs, seeing them put their hands so low, imagine, it is to take up stones, to throw at their heads, and that the fear of that drives them from the churches.’

To return to Hercules's club, a great miracle has been told of it, namely, that being fixed in the ground it took root, and shot up into a tree. Περὶς τὴν τῶ ἀγάλματι τὸ ῥοπαλὸν θείναι φασιν Ἡρακλῆα. καὶ ὅτι γὰρ κοτὶναι τὴν μὲν (ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἐνθου τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἀνεβλάστησεν αὐτῆς. Et clavum ab Hercule dedicatam perhibent, factam ex oleastro. Quod adjuvanti miraculum, haud scio an cuiquam fide dignum videri possit, eam clavum radicibus altis regerminasse (58). I add, that it was the Troezenians, who told this story. They had the image of Mercury Polygius, to whom Hercules had dedicated his club. Every body knows it was made of olive-wood. Pausanias says, that the tree was still shewn, from which it was taken. Hercules found it near the marsh of Saronis (59). Here is an article for any one that will undertake the collection of historical parallels, relating to certain stories of the Pagans and Christians; for we are told by travellers, that at the gate of the old fortrefs of Smyrna, there is a great wild cherry-tree, which the Greeks of the country say was the staff of St Polycarp, the first bishop of Smyrna, which a moment after it was planted in the earth, sent out branches (60).

[K] Nor that he erected columns at Cape Finisterre. The fable concerning the foundation of Corunna, which I shall speak of in the following remark, has persuaded some learned men, that Hercules erected columns in that place. Paul Jovius has fallen into that error: for which he has been thus censured by Ludovicus Nonnius. ‘Ab hac fabula persuasi nonnulli, credidere arcem Herculis fuisse, & alteras columnas ab illo hic fixas, non secus ac circa Gades, dictamque urbem hanc Corunna tamquam columnam: quod egregiam etymon apud Paulum Jovium, virum aliàs gravem & doctum, tantum valuit, ut ab imperito aliquo Hispanie antiquitatis persuasus, huic opinioni etiam subscriberet, cum in vita Gonsalvi Ferdinandi d'Aguilar, agens de adventu Regis Philippi I. in Hispaniam, ita scriberet: Nec diu Philippi amicorum suorum studia, votaque frustratus, ut sua regna ex arditro administranda susciperet, in Cantabriam Oceanum decedens, pervenit in portum, qui vocatur ad Columnas, fortasse quod ibi quoque alteræ Herculis columnæ, sicuti Gadibus, positæ fuerunt, quum eo externo litore terræ Hispanicæ finis. Sed opinio hæc infirmiori tibicine fulta, quam ut rationibus convelli mereatur (61). — This fable has made some people believe that it was a fortress built by Hercules, and that he erected pillars here, as well as near Cadiz, and that, the town was called Corunna, as it were Columna; this notable etymology weighed so much with Paulus Jovius, otherwise a learned and judicious man, that, on the authority of some person ignorant of the antiquities of Spain, he has gone into it. For he writes as follows in the life of Gonsalvo Ferdinando d'Aguilar, speaking of the arrival of Philip I. into Spain. Neither did Philip long frustrate the desires and wishes of his friends, that he might take upon himself the administration of his dominions. Having arrived in the bay of Biscay, he landed in the port of Columna, so called, probably, because certain pillars of Hercules were placed here as well as at Cadiz, this being the utmost point of Spain. But this opinion is so very ill founded, that it do not deserve a confutation.

[L] Nor that he placed there a looking-glass of a wonderful virtue. Ludovicus Nonnius having laid,

that Flavius Brigantium of the ancients, is the present Corunna, adds, that the inhabitants attribute the foundation of it to Hercules, and that they say he built a tower in it, in which he set a mirror, which brought the most distant ships in view (62). The original of this fable is almost as ridiculous as the fable itself. ‘In tam ridiculam opinionem vocum ignorantia & antiquitatis imperitia ita lapsi sunt, nam cum turris illa specula dicatur, speculum illud mirandum sine opifice ullo confinxere (63). — They fell in to this ridiculous opinion, through their ignorance of language and antiquity, for this tower being called Specula in Latin, they without any artist formed this wonderful mirror or Speculum.

[M] He burnt himself because he was no longer able to bend his bow. Ως αὐτὸν ἀνέλκε μὴ δύνασθαι τὸ δεικνὺν ἐντέλναι τὸ βέλος πᾶντων κοτῶν γινόμενος. Ut igne vitam sibi abstulerit, quod arcum suum intendere non posset annos jam natus quinquaginta (64). — That he burnt himself to death, because being fifty years of age he could not bend his bow. Some who mispend their time in seeking out allegories, imagine, that in covered words here is signified, that Hercules no longer found himself capable of contenting a woman, and upon consideration of that grievous change, fell into so deep a melancholy, that he would live no longer. He would at this rate have been more impatient than Milo the wrestler (65), who seeing in his old age the weakness of his arms, which had been so strong and vigorous in his youth, was contented to lament this change with tears. If we give the article of Penelope, we will speak of these allegory-seekers; for they explain in the same manner, the nemo meo melius arcum tendebat Ulyssæ. — None could bend his bow like my Ulyssæ.

[N] He was the last child that Jupiter had by mortal women. Diodorus Siculus makes that observation to raise the glory of Hercules. He supposes, that Jupiter renounced all commerce with women, because he would not have his last productions inferior to his foregoing (66). He feared then, that the children he should get after Hercules, would not come up to him. Pliny the younger has said something (67) which puts me in mind of this thought. It turns upon Nerva's dying a little after he had adopted Trajan. I have read in Lactantius, a strong railery upon the greatest of the gods at last ceasing to beget children. ‘Cum vero dicantur aliqui (Dii) ex aliquibus nati, consequens est, ut semper nascantur, siquidem aliquando sunt nati; vel si aliquando nasci desierunt, scire nos convenit, cur, aut quando desierint. Non illepe Seneca in libris moralibus Philosophiz. QUID ergo est (inquit) quare apud Poetas salacissimus Jupiter desierit liberos tollere? Utrum sexagenarius factus est, & illi lex Papia fibulam imposuit? an imprevit jus trium liberorum? An tandem illi venit in mentem,

Ab alio expectes alteri quod feceris?

‘Et timet, ne quis sibi faciat quod ipse Saturno (68)? — Since some gods are said to be born of other gods, it follows, that they should continue to be born if they were once so, or if at any time they gave over, being born, it is fit that we should know why, or when, they did so. Seneca, in his moral writing, says very pleasantly: For what reason, pray, do the poets pretend that Jupiter, who was so great a lover of the sex, has now ceased from begetting children? Is it that being now past sixty, the lex papia has put a stop to his game? or has he got the privileges arising from being father to three children? or does he at last remember the proverb,

Expect that what you have done to others, should be done to you.

‘And is afraid lest some of his own sons should serve him as he served his father Saturn.’

[O] It is said that he was three days in the belly of a whale. I will make use of the words of the commentator

(62) Incolæ ab Hercule conditam referunt, turrimque hic esse ab eodem extructam, in qua speculum arcana arte fabricatum erat, unde naves vel longissimo spatio distantes contemplari liceret.

Id. ib. pag. 196.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) Ptol. Heptast. apud Photium, cod. 190, pag. 472.

(65) See the article ACHILLES, citation (128).

(66) In hac ipsa (Alcmena) tandem desit, nec cum illa deinceps mortali rem habere sibi liceret, prociare voluit, ne præstantioribus scilicet deteriora substitueret. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv, cap. xiv. See the remark [C] of the article ALCMENA.

(67) Hunc (Nervam) Dii celo vindicaverunt, ne quid post illud divinum & immortale factum mortale faceret. Plin. in Panegyro Trejani.

(68) Lactantius, lib. i, cap. xvi, pag. m. 51, 52.

(58) Pausanias, lib. ii, pag. 74.

(59) Pausanias, ibid.

(60) Spon, Voyage de Grece, Tom. I, pag. 232, Dutch edit.

(61) Ludov. Nonnius, in Hispania, cap. liv, pag. m. 170.

nothing but his hair. After his death he was adopted by Juno; but it is said, that he refused to be associated in the college of the twelve great gods [P]. We must say something of the Gallic Hercules [2].

One

commentator upon Philostratus, to express that adventure, and the occasion of it. 'The gods having on a time conspired together to poison their sovereign Jupiter, as he came to discover the plot by Themis, he prevented them, and punished them, some in one manner, and some in another. As for Neptune and Apollo, he sent them in his rage to serve the masons, who were building the walls of Ilion; where being hired by Laomedon, after the work was finished, he indeed recompensed Apollo with abundance of sacrifices and offerings, but he made no account of satisfying Neptune. Whereupon the enraged god sent a horrible great whale, which disgorging great floods of sea-water upon the country, drowned it all; and Laomedon was obliged, by the oracle's advice, in order to deliver himself from this calamity, to expose his daughter Hesione, adorned with royal robes, as a prey to be devoured by this monster. Hercules, passing by chance that way, moved with compassion, offered the father to deliver her, if he would give him the horses that came of an immortal race, which he had received of Jupiter, for Ganymede who was ravished and carried away by him to heaven, to serve him as cup-bearer. The terms being agreed upon, Hercules, armed cap-a-pee, threw himself headlong into the throat of this monster; and descending from thence into his belly, remained enclosed there three days, hacking and hewing till he had quite destroyed it. Laomedon afterwards not fulfilling his agreement, Hercules returned to Troy with six ships, filled with soldiers, and sacked it; put Laomedon to death, carried Hesione captive, and made a present of her to Telamon, the father of Ajax, for being the first that scaled the wall (69). Vigener quotes no body. To supply that defect I will set down a passage of Tzetzes, which Mr Drelin-court has communicated to me (70). Τριςπερὸν γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καλεῖ διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ κύτει τρεῖς ἡμέρας εἶναι ὡς ἑσπέρας καλεῖ Λυκόφρων διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν εἶναι τὴν γαστέρα τῷ θυμῷ (71). The scholiast upon Homer (72) relates most of the things that I have cited from the commentator of Philostratus, and tells us this story was to be found in Hellanicus. Hercules did not come out the same way he went in; he came out through the breach, I mean through the belly of the whale, I have not been able to verify whether Natalis Comes has faithfully related what he cites from Andronicus of Tenedos concerning the loss of Hercules's hair (73): 'Ubi vero cetus accessisset hians in ejus os Hercules irruit, ubi cum per triduum fuisset, ceto disrupto exiit omnibus amissis capillis capitis, ut scriptum reliquit Andronicus Tenedius in navigatione Propontidis (74). — When the whale approached with open mouth, Hercules rushed into it, where, after continuing three days, upon the bursting of the whale, he came out having lost all his hair, as we are told by Andronicus of Tenedos, in his voyage to the Propontis.' Lycophron plainly intimates, that it was the heat of the whale's belly, which made Hercules's hair fall off:

Ἐμῶν δὲ δαιτὸς ἡπάτων φλοιδέμενος,
Τινδῶ λείβτος ἀργόμοις ἐπ' ἑσχαρμῆς,
Σμύνηςας ἐσάλαζε κωδείας πείδω.

Vivus autem disseñor intestinorum ambustus,
In calido campo, in olla focis non ignitis
Jubas capitis distillavit (75).

(75) Lycophron, ver. 35.

[P] He was adopted by Juno, but it is said that he refused to be associated into the college of the twelve great gods. Juno, who had persecuted him so much while alive, found herself much disposed to love him when he was dead. Which verifies these verses of Horace:

— — — Diram qui contudit Hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit invidiam supremo sine domari (76).

(76) Horat. Epist. i, lib. ii.

He that kill'd Hydra, he design'd by fate,
To quell the monsters rais'd by Juno's hate,

Tho' he, the mighty he, had always try'd,
Found envy vanquish'd only when he dy'd.

Here follows what we are told by Diodorus Siculus. After Hercules was placed in the number of the gods, he was adopted by Juno, who loved him afterwards as a good mother. The ceremony of the adoption was this: Juno went to bed, and to imitate a true child-birth, she placed Hercules in such a manner, that he fell to the ground from under her petticoats. The Barbarians still observed that ceremony in their adoptions in Diodorus Siculus's time. Hercules was afterwards married to Hebe; but he refused the honour which Jupiter would have done him, of associating him in the college of the twelve great gods, and he justified his refusal by this reason, that there being no place vacant in that college, he ought not to be admitted into it, and that it would be very unreasonable to degrade any other God to make room for him (77). Juno had for a long time begun to act as a mother with respect to Hercules, but it was without knowing him. The matter of fact was this. Alcmena fearing the jealousy of this goddess, durst not own herself the mother of Hercules, but exposed him in the middle of a field, as soon as he was born. Minerva and Juno passed that way soon after, and Minerva beheld the infant with admiration, and advised Juno to give him suck, Juno did it; but the infant pressed her nipple so strongly, as gave her an intolerable pain, so that she left him there. Hereupon Minerva took him, and carried him to Alcmena, as to a nurse, to which she would recommend him (78). Here one might make a parallel betwixt Moses and Hercules.

[2] We must say something of the Gallic Hercules. A modern author (79) has imitated the Greeks, whilst he refused them. He has transferred to this Hercules almost all the actions of the others, and has left nothing to the Grecian but moral conquests, that is to say, triumphs over his passions. According to him, the Gallic Hercules built in Gaul, the city Alexia (80), he was attacked by Albion, king of Great Britain, and by Bergiona, both of them sons of Neptune. He defeated them in Provence, by the succours he received from his father Jupiter, who seeing the army of his son unprovided with arrows, discharged upon his enemies a shower of stones, which overwhelmed them (81). In quo (lapideo campo) Herculem contra Albionem & Bergiona Neptuni liberos dimicantem cum tela deficiente, ab invocato Jove adjutum imbre lapidum ferunt, credas pluisse, adeo multum passim, & late jacent (82). — In this story field, we are told, that Hercules, being engaged against Albion and Bergion, two sons of Neptune, after having spent all his arrows, invoked Jupiter, who sent him a shower of stones to his assistance, and indeed you would believe that it had rained stones there, they lie so thick and widely spread. He was the first of the Gauls, who penetrated into Italy thro' the Alps (83). He rendered Ombria habitable, having formed the river Arno out of it's marshes. He conducted some colonies of Gauls beyond the Pyrenees, where Gerion king of Spain was conquered. . . . He died in that expedition into Spain, and was honoured there with a stately temple, dedicated to him by the Tyrians, in the city of Gades, where his bones still remained in Pomponius Mela's time, who assures us of it (84). His accoutrements were, a quiver upon his back, a club in his right hand, a bow in his left, having the face of an old man, bald, wrinkled, swarthy, but venerable, drawing a croud of people after him, that were fastened with little chains of gold and silver hanging from his tongue, and though the chains were extremely small, none of these captives endeavoured to break them, but all, on the contrary, expressed by their looks, that they would be sorry to be delivered from so sweet a vassalage, as being less conquered by the force of arms of this Gallic Hercules, than by his eloquence, this is the description Lucian hath left us of him (85). This description agrees but ill with what Mr Menage has read somewhere, which is, that our old Gauls had a great veneration for Hercules, because he was GREAT and STRONG, and having declared upon their turning Christians, that

(77) Ex Diodoro Siculo. lib. iv, cap. xl.

(78) Ex eodem. ibid. cap. ix.

(79) Audigier, Origines des François, & de leur empire. Part. I, pag. 225, & seq.

(80) Ibid. pag. 230.

(81) Ibid. pag. 231.

(82) Pomponius Mela, lib. ii, cap. v, pag. m. 38, 39.

(83) Audigier, ibid. pag. 230.

(84) Lib. iii, cap. vi. But Pomponius speaks of the Egyptian Hercules.

(85) Audigier, ibid. pag. 230.

One of the most famous Athenian orators observes, that writers were extremely fond of celebrating the combats and courage of Hercules, but made no mention of his other qualities, which might yet have afforded them a very noble theme. He says that that part of Hercules's greatness which they had so much neglected, would require an excellent orator, and that if he had thought of treating of it in his youth, he would have shewn that that hero excelled other men, in prudence, knowledge, and justice, still more than in strength of body. Old age, adds he, will not permit me to undertake his panegyric in that light: I find myself too weak to handle a subject so important, and so copious (c). The reflexion of this orator may give us an occasion of reflecting upon the bad taste of mankind [R]. What this great Rhetorician has said of this hero's know-

(c) Taken from Isocrates, *Orat. ad Philippum*, pag. m. 152.

* it would be one of their greatest troubles not to see
* his image any more, they were comforted by being
* told, that the Christians had a saint, who, for his
* BULK and STRENGTH, was a match for six
* Hercules's (86) (§ a).'

(86) Suite du
Mensonge, pag.
284. Dutch
Edit.

[§ a] That is, six Hercules's, Alexicaci or averters of evil, in which sense St Christopher is the Hercules of the French, and in general of all Roman Catholics, witness these fine verses quoted by St Aldegonde, in his *Tableau des différens de la Religion*, Tom. II. pag. 136, edition 1605.

Christophori sancti faciem quicumque tuetur,
Illa nempe die mala morte non morietur.

Whoever sees the face of holy Christopher,
Death's fatal dart that day he need not fear.
REM. CRIT.]

Mr Audiger applies the best he can to his hypothesis a story of Diodorus Siculus. *Viz.* that a daughter of the king of the Celtæ, proud of her extraordinary stature, and great beauty, despised all who sought her in marriage; but when she had seen Hercules, she was seized with a strong desire to have to do with him by her father's consent. Her passion was gratified. Hercules got a son by her, named Galates (87). The historian doth not tell her name; but others say, her name was Galatea (88). This story is told otherwise in the *Erotica* of Parthenius. There we find that Hercules, as he drove Gerion's oxen from Erythia, went through Gaul, and came to Bretannus, the father of Celtina, who fell so deeply in love with this hero, that having stole Gerion's oxen from him, he would not restore them but upon condition of his lying with her. Hercules as well to recover his oxen, as on the account of Celtina's beauty, agreed to it, and got her with child of a boy called Celtus, from whom the Celtæ took their name. Herodotus (89) tells us that Hercules being in Scythia lay on the ground on his lion's skin and fell asleep. When he awaked he could not see his mares; he sought them every where; and when he came to the country of Hylæa, he entered into a cave where he found a damsel who had a human shape from her head to her waist, but downwards she had the form of a serpent. He asked her whether she had seen his mares? yes, said she, I have them in my custody, but I will not restore them unless you lie with me. He was glad to regain them at that price, but when the sport was ended she delayed as long as possible the restitution of the mares, for she vehemently wished to begin it again. At last not not being able to retain a man any longer, who was desirous to be gone with his mares, she said to him I have kept them for you, and you have rewarded me for it; for you have gotten me with child of three boys. Την δὲ γυναικα ἐαυτὴν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκ ἀποδόσειν ἐκείνην αὖτις οἱ μὴ δύναται, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα μὴ δύναται ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τέττα. κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβαλόντα τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τὸν Ἰππῶν, βαλόντων ὡς πλείστον χρόνον συνείναι τῷ Ἡρακλέῃ. Illamque respondisse, se quidem illas habere: sed non prius reddituram ei quam cum ipsa coisset: Hercules pro ea mercede cum femina concubuisse. Sed quum illa differret reddere equas, cupida diutissime cum Hercule concubendi (§c) (90).

(89) Herod. lib. iv, cap. ix.

(90) Herod. lib. iv, cap. ix.

(91) Herod. lib. iv, cap. ix.

(92) Pag. 223.

(93) Pag. 223.

(94) See the
Nov. de la Rep.
des Lettres,
February 1685,
pag. 140.

Mr Audiger pretends (91) that the Celtic Jupiter, the most ancient of the Jupiters, was the father of our Gallic Hercules, and that all the great divinities of Greece, were first known in Gaul (92). This is a very strange pretension, but not so chimerical as that of the learned Rudbeck (93).

[R] A remark of Isocrates may make us reflect on the bad taste of mankind.] The prudence, philo-

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phy, and justice of Hercules were qualities infinitely more valuable than the strength of his arms: and yet the orators and poets praised him only for the actions he performed by that strength; and they suffered the perfections of his mind to fall into oblivion. Καὶ τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, πλεον διεγεγονότα παρὰ τῶν προγεγενημένων. ἢ τῇ πόρῃ τῇ τῷ σώματι. Et prudentia, & literis, & justitia plus antecelluisse (Herculem) superiorum temporum hominibus omnibus quam robore corporis (94). They did so as well because they themselves were more affected with what is shining, than with what is solid, as because they were persuaded that their auditors and readers would much more applaud stories of battles, than a description of virtues which are exercised in times of peace. Horace has very well observed this in supposing that the shades lent a favourable ear to the poems of Sappho and Alceus, but were more delighted with the latter, because they treated only of war, revolutions of state, banishments, &c. (95).

(94) Isocrat. *Orat. ad Philippum*, pag. m. 152.

(95) Dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala,
dura belli. Horat.
ubi infra.

(96) Horat. *Ode*
xiii, lib. ii.

Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur Umbrae dicere: Sed MAGIS
Pugnas, & exactos tyrannos
Densum humeris bibit aure vulgus (96)

With silent reverence ghosts admire
The wondrous fury of his lyre:
The vulgar shades throng most to hear,
Of kings deposed, of seats of war,
And drink them with a greedy ear.

CREECH.

Besides, it must be observed that tyrants overcome and monsters subdued, and, in a word, times of confusion and slaughter, are subjects more proper to shew the wit and eloquence of a writer, than is the conduct of an uniform life led according to the rules of virtue. A historian who has no great events to describe, falls asleep over his work, and makes his readers yawn; but a civil-war, two or three conspiracies, as many battles, the same leaders sometimes humbled, sometimes exalted, sharpen his pen, warm his imagination, and always keep his readers in breath. I really believe that if he were commanded to write a history of a quiet reign, and all of a piece, he would complain of his fate much in the same manner with Caligula, who complained that in his reign there did not happen any great misfortunes. Queri etiam palam de conditione temporum, suorum solebat: quod nullis calamitatibus publici insignirentur. Augusti principatum clade Variana: Tiberii, ruina spectaculorum apud Fidenas, memorabilem factum: sui oblivionem imminere prosperitate rerum. Atque identidem exercituum cædes, famem, pestilentiam, incendia, hiatus aliquem terræ optabat (97). He used openly to lament the condition of the times in which he lived, because they were not distinguished by any public calamities. Saying that the reign of Augustus would still be remembered, on account of the defeat of Varius; and that of Tiberius, by the fall of the theatre at Fidenæ; but that he was in hazard of falling into oblivion, because of the prosperity of the times. He would often express his wishes for the cutting off of armies, for famine, burning of cities, and earthquakes. Delolations, and public calamities, are an advantage to an historian, and give lustre to his writings. He pities, if he be a good man, the illustrious Vestal who was buried alive; he abhors the tyrant who, to make his reign more remarkable, oppressed her (98); but yet it is a favourable topic, and very advantageous to his pen, and an ornament to his book. His work is a vessel that never fails better than

(97) Sueton. in
Calig. cap. xxxv.

(98) Cum Corneliæ Vestalium maximum defodire vivam concupisset (Domitianus) et qui illustri seculum suum ejusmodi exemplo arbitraretur Plin. *Epist.* xi, lib. iv.

5 R

(d) See *Passerat*,
upon *Propertius*,
Elog. x, lib. iv.

ledge, may be confirmed from antiquity, which has owned a most intimate relation between the Muses and Hercules (d). Hence he was surnamed *Musagetes*, that is, the companion and conductor of the Muses, and on this account these nine goddesses were put under his protection in the temple which Fulvius Nobilior caused to be built to him [S]. The thought which Posidonius made use of to ridicule a passage of Æschylus's tragedies was not just; Strabo, who censured him, did not know wherein the real fault of it lay [T]. It concerns a certain shower of stones, which fell in favour of Hercules when he was fighting the Ligurians.

(99) Tacitus,
Hist. lib. i,
cap. ii.

than in a storm; a tempest is his best gale: a calm is as disagreeable to it as to a real ship: and when an historian can begin like Tacitus with 'Opus agredior optimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. Quatuor Principes ferro interempti. Tria bella civilia, plura externa, ac plerumque permixta (99). — I begin a work fruitful in great events, horrid with wars, divided by seditions, and terrible even in peace. Four princes slain: three civil wars, more foreign, and for the most part both joined together; he prepossesses his readers in his favour, and knows very well he has found an advantageous subject. But after all, it is a mark of a depraved taste to prefer an account of warlike actions before that of an equitable conduct; and to admire a man more for the strength of his arms and for his boldness, than for his virtue, that makes him master of his passions, and moves him to establish good laws amongst his neighbours. This virtue, tho' it shines less than the other, has much more of true grandeur in it; there is more reality in the qualities of Hercules, which writers have passed over in silence, than in those which they have so pompously magnified. But what shall we say, they followed the taste of the public. Note, that young people are much more delighted with romantic than real histories, and that after age has ripened and rectified our judgment, we would rather read a Thuanus and a Mezerai, than a Calprene or a Scuderi. But few people lose the taste of their childhood with respect to the description of a peacable reign, and to the history of one full of troubles and great events.

[S] The Muses were put under his protection in the temple. This temple was built by Fulvius Nobilior, who conquered the Ætolians in the year of Rome 565. He was then consul. The principal of their cities was called Ambracia; he made himself master of it, and finding the statues of the nine Muses there, he carried them to Rome, and consecrated them in the temple which he built to Hercules, and put them under that god's protection. I believe we should not have known these circumstances, had not an orator, who lived five or six ages after, made mention of them. His words deserve to be cited. 'Ædem Herculis Musarum in circo Flaminio Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia Censoria fecit, non id modo secutus, quod ipse litteris & summa Poëtae amicitia duceretur, sed quod in Græcia cum esset imperator, acceperat Herculem Musagetem esse, id est comitem ducemque Musarum, idemque primus novem signæ, hoc est omnium Camænarum, ex Ambracienſi oppido translata, sub tutela fortissimi numinis consecravit, ut res est, quia mutuis operibus & præmiis juvari ornarique deberent: Musarum quies defensione Herculis & virtus Herculis voce Musarum

(100) Eumenius,
in Oratione pro
Scholis inſtauran-
tibus.

(100). — Fulvius Nobilior built a temple to Hercules and the Muses, in the Circus Flaminian, out of the money arising from the office of censor, this he did not only because he was a friend to letters and to the Muses, but because he had learnt, while he was general in Greece; that Hercules was named Musagetes, or the companion and leader of the Muses. It was he likewise, who first put the statues of the nine Muses, which he brought from the city of Ambracia, under the protection of this powerful deity. And very properly too, because they ought to assist and adorn one another with mutual service and rewards. The Muses should owe their repose to the valour of Hercules, and the valour of Hercules should be celebrated by the voice of the Muses. This orator has reason to say that great warriors and the Muses stand in need of one another; it belongs to the former to procure repose and security of the Muses, and to the latter to immortalize the noble actions of heroes by their songs. One might, according to the notion of the same orator, apply to our Hercules what has been said, that they who do noble actions worthy to be celebrated by the poets,

are lovers of verse (101). Observe that Statius supposes that Hercules understood music well.

Dic age Calliope, socius tibi grande sonabit,
Alcides, tenſoque modos imitabitur arcu (102).

Arise Calliope and tune the lyre,
Alcides to the air divine ſhall raiſe,
His voice ſublime, and, with his twanging bow,
ſhall join in conſort.

Others observe that he understood Astrology: Gabriel Naudé gives this for certain, but he makes use of it somewhat ignorantly, by his leave. It is in that part of his *Coups d'Etat* where he speaks of some persons who have used fraud to arrive at the honour of deification: what Hercules did, says he (103), was more ingenious; for being well versed in Astrology, witness the fables of his life which make him carry the heavens together with Atlas, he chose exactly the hour and time of the appearance of a great comet, to put himself upon the burning pile in which he was to finish his days, to the end that this new fire from heaven might be present as a witness, and make it believed of him, what the Romans afterwards would have the world to believe of their emperors, by means of an eagle which flew up from the midst of the flames, as it were to carry the soul of the deceased into the arms of Jupiter. Here is an author who supposes that the appearance of comets can be foreseen by Astrology. He is mistaken; his commentator has censured him for it (104).

Note, that the temple which Fulvius Nobilior caused to be built to Hercules, was almost ruined in the time of Augustus, but Lucius Martius Philippus (105) caused it to be rebuilt, and joined a portico to it. See Ovid at the end of his sixth book of *Faſti* and *Marſial Epigram* 51 book 5.

[T] Strabo, who censured a thought of Posidonius, did not know wherein the real fault of it lay. Æschylus supposes (106), that Hercules was admonished, that being to fight the Ligurians he should be destitute of arrows, fate having so ordained it, and in a place where he could not get a single stone; but that in that extremity he should be pitied by Jupiter, who by means of a cloud filled with stones would furnish him with arms with which he should beat the Ligurians. How much better had it been, said Posidonius, for Jupiter to have darted these stones upon the Ligurians and destroyed them, than to have reduced Hercules to such an indigence, ἢ τοσούτων δόλον ποιῆσαι λίθον τὸν Ἡρακλῆα. Quam ad tot lapidum indigentiam redigere Herculem (107). Strabo has answered this censure, and said two things, one is, that was need of abundance of stones, since the business was to beat a great number of enemies, so that in that respect the thought of the poet Æschylus was more probable than that of his censor. Τὸ μὲν ἐν τοσούτων ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, εἴπερ καὶ πρὸς ὄχλον παμπληθῆ. Ἐς τὰ ταῦτα γὰρ πειθανώτερος ὁ μυθογράφος τῷ ἀναγκαιότητι τὸν μῦθον. At verò tot lapidibus opus erat contra tantam multitudinem, ut hac quidem in parte fabulæ auctor probabiliora dixerit, quam fabulæ reprehensor (108). Secondly, he adds, that the poet having expressly said it was a thing ordered by fate, should have stopped the mouth of all critics; for if one should attempt to dispute upon predestination and providence, many things would be found both in the moral and physical world, which might give occasion to say, that they might have been better ordered in another manner; for example, it had been better to pour rain upon Ægypt than to moisten it with the waters of Æthiopia; it had been better if Paris had been ship-wrecked in going to Lacedæmon, than to suffer him to carry away Helen, and to punish him for it afterwards to the great damage of the

(101) Cormen
amat qui quis cer-
mine digna genit.

(102) Statius,
Silv. i, lib. iii,
ver. 50.

(103) Naudé,
Coups d'Etat,
cap. ii, pag. 229.

(104) See Letour
de May's Reflexi-
ons upon Naudé's
Coups d'Etat,
pag. 144.

(105) The mother
of Augustus was
married again to
that Philippus.

(106) See Strabo,
lib. iv, pag. 226.

(107) Id. lib. ii.

(108) Id. lib. ii,
pag. 127.

the Greeks and Trojans: a thing which Euripides attributes to Jupiter. Καὶ τὸν Πάριον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην πλῆοντα, ναυαγίῳ πειρασθέντα. ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἑλάνην ἀρπάσαντα, δίκας τίσαι τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσιν ὄψεσθαι, ἥνικα τοσούτον ἀπερσάσατο φθόρον Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, ὅπως Ἐνυπιδίης ἀνέστηκεν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Ζεὺς γὰρ κακὸν μὲν Τρωσὶ πῦμα δ' Ἑλλάδι
Θέλων γενέσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐβέλευσεν πατὴρ.

Et Paridem cum Spartam peterit debuisse potius naufragium facere, quam rapta Helena pœnas postmodo sceleris dare, autorem tanta cladis Græcorum ac Barbarorum: quam Euripides Jovi imputat:

Jupiter malam Troibus, & cladem Græciæ
Volens contingere, ista decrevit pater (109).

(109) Id. ibid.

HERLICIUS (DAVID), a Philosopher, Physician, and Astrologer, was born at Zeitz in Misnia the twenty eighth of December 1557. He stood in need of the assistance of his mother's relations to subsist at school; his father not being in a condition to advance what was necessary. He learned to make verses and to sing, and he gained something by that means on several occasions, when his necessities pressed hard upon him [A]. He staid but a short while in the university of Wittemberg, because Peucer, whose lectures he principally desired to hear, was imprisoned. Not being able therefore to improve under so learned a professor, he went to Leipzig, and studied there with very good success. He went afterwards to Rostoc, where the professors permitted him to give private lectures. He acquitted himself so well in them, that the duke of Mecklenburg made him sub-principal of the college of Gustraw. He continued in that station two years, and spent all the time he had to spare in the practice of Physic, and in calculating nativities (a). He spent the two following years at Prenslow (b), where he taught Natural Philosophy, and afterwards, in the year 1583, he accepted a like employ at Anclam, where he also practised Physic. He published the following year an Almanack, which was highly applauded [B]. From that time he made one every year for the space of fifty two years. He was called in the year 1585 to teach Mathematics in the university of Gripfswald, and he continued in that employment thirteen years, and published several books. He took his doctor of Physic's degree with great solemnity in that university in the year 1597, and a year after he accepted of the post of professor of Natural Philosophy at Stargard, a town of Pomerania, from whence he removed to Lubec in the year 1606, to exercise the same profession. He practised Physic there with great reputation (c), and yet, by I know not what fickleness of temper, he left that town in the year 1614, and retired to Stargard, where he spent the rest of his days. He died the fifteenth of August 1636. He had suffered a very grievous loss the year before, his house and all his papers being burnt in the fire that reduced Stargard to ashes the seventh of

I believe that Strabo acted more subtly than sincerely. There is no probability that Posidonius founded his raillery upon Hercules's wanting so many stones; yet because his words were capable of that sense, Strabo took advantage of it. But still he has not observed the true fault of the criticism; he should have answered Posidonius, that if Jupiter had intended only, and in general, to kill the Ligurians in the head, he had better have caused the shower of stones to fall upon their heads, than about Hercules; but designing that Hercules should be the author of the defeat of these people, it was requisite that he stones should fall near him and not upon his enemies. The critic went upon a notion which is an inexhaustible source of paralogisms. He did not consider that destiny includes all at once both the end and the means.

(a) Quicquid temporis extrordinarii lucrari potuit Astrologia studio, constructioni & judicio geniturarum tribuit, & insuper ad Medicinam faciliendam se applicuit. Eichstadius, ubi infra, citation (d).

(b) In the March of Brandenburg.

(c) See, remark [E], citat. (12), in the margin.

[A] He gained something by that means on several occasions, when his necessities pressed hard upon him.] This is what his friend Eichstadius ingeniously confesses. 'Sponte, says he (1), ad Poësin & Musicam exercendam se dedit, à quo utroque studio etiam posita in Academiis, quoties aliquā inopia laborabat, fructus non penitendos percepit, eoque sibi viros bonos & homines doctos patronos atque amicos conciliavit; sicut & habuit duos alios fratres Stralsundi in Pomerania & Musica Instrumentali & Vocali (quorum unus Cantorem Scholæ, alter Musicum organicum in templo Nicolaitano inibi egit) celebres atque excellentes. — He applied himself to poetry and music, from both which studies he afterwards, even in the universities, reaped no small advantages, when he was straitened in his circumstances; and he also thereby procured the friendship and protection of several good and learned men. He had two brothers in Stralsund, in Pomerania, who were famous for their skill, in vocal and instrumental music, one of which was a singing master, and the other was organist to St Nicholas's church there.'

[B] He published . . . an Almanack which was highly applauded.] See the words of Eichstadius (2): 'Anno 1584. primum suum Calendarium & prognosticon de mutationibus auræ & tempestatum in hoc physcatu publicavit, quod magno hominum applausu statim exceptum fuit. — In the year 1584 he first published his Calendar and prognostication of the changes of the wind and weather, which was received great applause.' This good success encouraged him to go on, and he had the satisfaction to observe that his Almanacks were translated into several languages, and that he on their account was looked upon as the ornament of Pomerania. Sed & prognostica annua de

statu aeris, quæ jam per quatuor ac decem annos conscripserat, maximo labore, summa fide, indefessisque observationibus, in usum Pomeraniæ & regionum regnorumque adjacentium quotannis per 52. annos continuavit. Qui labor progressu annorum in tantam lucem venit, ut non tantum à Germanis in suo idiomate expetitus, verum etiam ab exteris in Latinam, Bohemicam, Polonicam, Danicam & denique Suevicam linguam translatus, mox hinc inde in vicina climata illatus, atque HERLICIUS noster tam utili anniversario opere decus & ornamentum Pomeraniæ factus sit (3). — He likewise continued his yearly Almanacks, which he had already published fourteen years successively, with great labour, fidelity, and unwearied observation for fifty two years together, for the use of Pomerania, and the neighbouring countries and kingdoms. Which work of his became so famous, that it was not only sought after by the Germans in their own language, but translated by foreigners into the Latin, Bohemian, Polish, Danish, and even Swedish languages, and being carried every where, our HERLICIUS was on account of this useful yearful performance considered as the honour and ornament of Pomerania. He loved this sort of labour so much, that one of the reasons why he quitted Lubbeck, was the hopes of having so much leisure at Stargard, as was necessary to finish a great work, where in Astrology was to have a considerable share (4). 'Ut defatigatus istis plurimis negotiis, curis, turbis, honestum sibi otium quæreretur, & Deo, suis Musis atque affinis (5) vacare commodius posset, rursus valdicens Lubecæ anno 1614 cum universa sua familiaria rebus compositis Stargardiam Pomeranorum se contulit, ubi majore tranquillitate literariâ ad absol-

(3) Ibid. pag. 77.

(4) Ibid. pag. 77, 78.

(5) His wife was of Stargard. She was a widow when he married her in the beginning of the year 1611. Ibid. pag. 78.

vendum

(1) Eichstadius in vita Davidis Herlicii, apud Henning. Witte Memor Medicorum, Decad. i, pag. 74.

(2) Apud Witte, Ibid. pag. 76.

d) Taken from a letter of Laurence Eichstadius, inserted in the Memoirs Medicorum of Hennings Witte, Decad. 3, pag. 73, & seq.

of October 1635. Had it not been for this accident the public would have seen an infinite number of his astrological observations [C], it being a science he had very much studied (d). He had got money by calculating nativities [D]; and as he did not want wit, he took great care that the uncertainty of his art should not be too much exposed [E]. The prediction which he published against the Turks had not it's accomplishment

(6) That is, in the year 1635.

‘ vendum & expoliendum opus illud magnum, quod de triplici Kalendario Ecclesiastico, Astronomico, & Astrologico conscribere inceperat, sed ante annum (6), prohi dolor, in communi Civitatis Stargardensis flamma una conflagravit, se frui posse sperabat — Being tired with a multiplicity of affairs, and with the cares and crowds that attended him there, and in order to find some repose, wherein he might at more leisure serve his GOD, his muse, and his friends, he again, in 1614, left Lubec, and all affairs being settled, went with his whole family to Stargard, in Pomerania, where he hoped to enjoy more leisure to finish and correct a great work which he had begun, intitled a Triple Calendar, Ecclesiastical, Astronomical, and Astrological; but alas! not a year after, it was consumed in that fire which laid the town of Stargard in ashes.’ See the following remark.

[C] Had it not been for that conflagration, the public could have seen an infinite number of his astrological observations.] To shew this man's application to the minutest particulars of astrology, I will here insert an instance which I find in his life. ‘ Interea suas observationes Astrologicas publici juris facere decreverat; sæpe enim ad me scripsit, quod ultra mille & ducenta collegerit Themata, quæ suo tertio operi Calendariographico & Astrologico inferere, siquæ veritatem aliquot Aphorismorum Astrologicorum probare nitetur: e. g. Quod Planetæ benefici, Jupiter, & Venus conjuncti, imprimis in octava domo longam vitam & annos (ultra 70) diuturnos polliceantur. Item quod Fomabant, insignis stella asterismi Aquarii, in octava domo celestem & gloriosum post mortem faciat. Item, quod Cauda Draconis in prima domo Cæli vel altero oculo carentem vel gibbosum fore minetur. Ut complures alios taceam. At hæc cum reliqua sua instructissima bibliotheca (cujus similem vix privatus alius tota nostra in Pomerania quoad Mathematicos, Historicos, & Medicos libros possedit) in communi Stargardiensi excidio flammis conflagravit (7). — In the mean while he had resolved to publish his astrological observations; for he frequently wrote to me, that he had collected above twelve hundred nativities, which he designed to insert in his third Calendar and astrologic work, intending thereby to prove the truth of several astrologic aphorisms. Such as, that the benign planets, Jupiter and Venus, in conjunction, especially in the eighth house, foretel a long life (of more than seventy years). Secondly, That Fomahant, a famous star in the constellation Aquarius, in the eighth house, makes a person famous, and celebrated after his death. Thirdly, that the Dragon's Tail, in the first house of heaven, threatens that a person shall want one eye or be crook backed. Not to mention many others. But all these, with his large library (which hardly had it's equal in Pomerania for mathematical, historical, and physical books) were burnt in the general conflagration of the town of Stargard.’

(9) Witte, Memor. Medicor. Decad. i, pag. 81.

(8) Ibid. pag. 80.

(9) Et quia in sua ingravescente ætate parcere oculis, & ad plures annos eorum usum referre volebat, haud raro à me petiit, ut sibi ad calculum geniturarum perficiendum & aliquod breve judicium de his ferendum subvenirem, cui lubens annui.

[D] He had got money by calculating nativities.] The Bohemians and Polanders were his best customers. ‘ Diversæ sæpe nationes ad eum confluxerant, & ob multa experimenta nominisq; celebritatem judicium de suis genituris ab eo poscebant Germani & exteri, præsertim Bohemi & Poloni, quorum liberalitatem præ reliquis predicabat (8). — People of different nations flocked to him, both Germans, and foreigners, because of his many experiments, and great fame, and asked his opinion concerning their nativities, and above all the Bohemians and Poles, whose liberality he used to extol above all others.’ And being one of those who take care of themselves, he was very careful of his eyes, that they might be of service to him in his old age; for which reason he had recourse to the assistance of his friend Eichstadius, who was likewise a lover of Astrology: He gave him nativities to calculate, and desired his judgment on them (9).

[E] He took great care that the uncertainty of his art should not be too much exposed.] He would never work for those who could not tell the hour of their nativity, choosing rather to be without their money,

than to expose his credit (10). What he wrote to Eichstadius shows that he was sincere, and looked upon Astrology as a venerable science, the honour whereof he ought to preserve, tho' he were a looser by it. He could not endure that any one should ask him of what colour horses and cloaths must be of to bring good luck. He saw plainly, that he run a risk of being deceived in questions of that nature. He was angry with several Astrologers, who not using the like discretion, exposed judicial Astrology to contempt and censure; and, at bottom, he would gladly have been so rich as not to be necessitated to gain a livelihood by this low profession. ‘ Sobriè quoque hanc artem tractari volebat: hinc aliquando in suis literis ita ad me perscripsit: Utinam amicis fortuna me intueretur oculis, ut sine Astrologicis gerris senectuti meæ (quæ mihi cæcitatem minatur) prospicere possem, nunquam γὰρ ὧσα calculo inquirerem. Interim quando multi plura inquirunt, & scire desiderant, quàm Astra fert, aut patitur, aut habet, aut explicat, malo juxta conscientiam agere, quàm sanctam Uraniam nostram deturpare & velut stuprare, eique nigrum solem vel atrem notam aspergere: quum alias tot superstitionibus Chaldaicis nostra Ars cæteat, quas multi ex nostratibus adhuc mordicus tenent. Multi ex me scire laborant, qui colores vestimentorum & equorum fortunati sibi sint futuri? Hac & alia monstra quæstionum sæpè albis dentibus rideo, sæpè etiam detestor. Amo enim virginitatem nostræ Artis nec patiar eam ita nefario stupro pollui, ne Mifastologi hocce abusus in contemptum Astronomiæ nobis objicere possint (11).’ It is hard to imagine how a man, who had so much business in Physic (12), and who never had any children should fear to want necessities in his old age, unless he calculated nativities. This might give credit to those scandalous stories that went of him, and make one believe that he was too expensive in his amours.

[F] The prediction which he published against the Turks had not it's accomplishment.] Mr Thomafius made an oration at Leipzig the fifteenth of August 1665, by way of thanksgiving for the peace concluded betwixt the emperor and the the Ottoman Porte. That peace had very much disgusted the Millenarians, because they had foretold that the downfall of the Turkish empire was near. They founded their predictions upon some texts of Scripture, and upon many prefaces which they interpreted according to their fancy (13). This is their way, they renew it every day. Thomafius is amazed that after so many false prophecies, which have been vended concerning this pretended approaching downfall of the Turks, people are not more cautious in prophesying. It seems that the more people have been deceived, the less one ought for the future to fear being so, since, after all, the word of God, which cannot lie, has promised us the overthrow that potent monarchy. It is this therefore that emboldens the new prophets. The orator doth not stop at this reason; he thinks that the desire these gentlemen have of enjoying the golden age upon earth seduces them. ‘ Sed fortasse curiositati huic nihil potentiorum stimulum admovent, quàm nescio cujus aurei seculi per mille duraturi annos persuasio, ubi profligatis ab omni latere hostibus Deo dilecta cohors in otio sit suavissimo victura. Trahimur omnes beatæ his in terris vitæ cupiditate. Itaque si qua nobis eam fama polliceatur, ei sententissimas aures adjungimus inque omnes articulos temporis, qui favore huic affectui videntur, enixè vigilamus (14).’ After this he represents to his auditory, that there has not been any considerable war in the XVIIth century against the enemies of the true church, but predictions have been propagated, promising an utter ruin of the Pope or the Turk, or of both together. The glory of this defeat was promised to Frederic king of Bohemia, afterwards to Gustavus Adolphus, and then to Charles Gustavus. ‘ Tantæ victoriæ lauream erant qui superioris Germanici belli tempore Friderico Palatino, erant qui Gustavo Adolpho Suecorum Regi, erant qui Carolo Gustavo destinarent, cum is Poloniam

(10) Nunquam illis γὰρ ἐλπίδα suum æternare volebat, quod sine cognita nativitate hora ad eum accedebant; maluitque dignitatis artis, quam pecunie turpique lucro consulere. Ibid.

(11) Id. pag. 76.

(12) In amplia praxi Medica vixit (Lubecæ) ita ut mihi aliquoties retuleret, se sæpius subobscurum mane agere extra ædes pedem extulisse, & usque ad vesperam, ut numerum eorum in chartam relatum absolveret, contentius per plateas ambulasse, demumque tenetibus obortis domum reverium esse. Id. ibid. pag. 77.

(13) Non alius armis instructi prodierunt, qui per hos annos credi à nobis oportere, fore brevi, ut jam delectum Ottomanidarum imperium cerneremus: non levibus opinor, cum sacre Scriptura profanatione, quam & generis diversissimi prædictionibus sociarent, & sui ceteri somnia cogent interpretari Thomafius, in Orationib. pag. m. 397.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 395.

complishment [F]. He was twice married, and was very unfortunate in his first wife [G]. It was perhaps his own fault; for he was accused of being one of those lechers, who go abroad to seek mistresses. His friend makes but an ill apology for him on this score [H].

(15) *Ibid.*
pag. 396.

ante hos novem annos infestaret (15). Afterwards he speaks of our David Herlicius, who promised about the end of the XVth century, that the Turk should be soon destroyed. 'Plenus talium in primis est, Davidis Herlicii, in aliis fortasse prædictionibus, quam in hæc felicioris Astrologi, libellus, quem sub finem ævi superioris, miserè Pannoniam vexante Turcâ, vulgavit. Ibi Daniele, Apocalypsin, dictum Eliæ, prælagia Johannis Hilteni, Antonii Torquati Ferrarientis, Turcarum ipsorum, cursus siderum, conjunctiones planetarum, quasi in exercitum unum conscribi video, quo in animis hominum ultimo prælio cum Turcâ decidatur (16). — But above all, a book of David Herlicius, (an Astrologer who was perhaps more successful in some of his other predictions than in this) which he published about the end of the last century, when Hungary was miserably ravaged by the Turks, is full of such predictions. There we find Daniel, the Apocalypse, the promise of Elias, the prophecies of John Hilten, Antonius Torquatus of Ferrara, of the Turks themselves, the courses of the stars, the conjunctions of the planets, all drawn together, as it were into one army, to fight this final battle against the Turks in the minds of men.'

(16) *Ibid.*

[G] He was very unfortunate in his first wife. God knows why, faith the historian. 'Anno 1593, honestissimam virginem Reginam Hungers primarii civis Primislavensis filiam in matrimonium accepit, cum qua tamen non adeo concorditer (causam novit Deus) vixit, & sine fructu matrimonii per 17 annos (17). — In the year 1593, he married Regina Hungers, daughter to one of the chief citizens of Preslaw, and lived with her, tho' not so amicably, as were to have been wished, (for what reason GOD knows) seventeen years, without having any children by her.'

(17) Eichstadius, ubi supra, pag. 76.

Seventeen years to people ill-matched is a pretty long term. We seldom find in the writers of the lives of famous men the ingenuity which we see here. Since I have been employed in this work, I have run over a great many elegies, and lives of learned men; but I have scarce ever read there that they lived ill with their wives: we are generally assured that the sweetest agreement imaginable has been the benediction of their hymen. The neighbourhood frequently know the contrary. I remember a story which deserves some attention. A learned Roman (18), who died in the year 1640, had kept his wife in so severe a captivity as not to suffer any body to see her, or her to see any body (19). He suffered not so much as the parson of the parish to enter his house at Easter, to take an account of the persons in his family, and to sprinkle holy-water, as is the custom at Rome. He said that the Pope going that way gave his benediction to the house, and that it was enough; and if the parson was importunate the gentleman threatened to cudgel him (20). One day demanding a dispensation for his wife from keeping Lent, the priest answered he would not grant it, unless he saw with his own eyes the condition of the sick person; the husband replied aloud that the disease lay in her matrix: do you want, added he, to see the seat of the distemper? Niccius Erythræus was present at this discourse. 'Atque ipsemet adfui, cum in sacario S. Spiritus in Saxia Parocho, neganti, non aliter se uxori ejus potestatem facturum velle, carnibus in quadragesima, nisi suis ipse oculis, quo morbo affecta esset, aspexisset, palam multis audientibus, dixit, Uxori meæ morbus in matrice inhæret, placet ne morbi locum aspicere?' It is easy to judge whether a man of this humour could live forty five years with his wife, without any sort of dispute. And yet this is asserted in his epitaph placed in the 275th page of the *Bibliotheca Romana* of Prosper Mandosio. 'Sed quod raro contingit cum Claudia Sebastiani Tiburtina uxore sine querela conjunctissime vixit annis XLV. — But what very seldom happens, he lived forty five years with Claudia Sebastiani of Tivoli, his wife, in the strictest amity, without the least misunderstanding.' Neither epitaphs nor elegies are to be trusted to.

(18) His name was Gaspar Cæsius.

(19) Uxorem adeo amplius quadraginta annos quibus cum ea vixit custoditâ suis domi subiectam habuit, ut mortuum nemini fas fuerit aspicere. Niccius Erythræus, *Pinnacul. i.*, pag. 226.

(20) Parochus, quibus mos est quotannis, Paschilibus fratribus, suis in parochia capta hominum recensere, ac singulorum domos aqua lustrali conspergere, verborum contumeliis, ac metu etiam fustis, si aui essent accedere, domi sue foribus abiebat, quod diceret, Pontificem Max. cum illic iter faceret bene domui sue dicere, proinde nihil opus esse conjugium ad eam rem opera. *Ibid.*

[H] His friend makes but an indifferent apology for him on this score. Some, says he, maintain, that Herlicius loved young women, and his stars would have it so; but if any one would conclude from hence, that the troubles of his first marriage rose from this, I answer in his justification that he had no child by either of his wives, and that he was used to say that he sowed in barren ground; and consequently he desired only to be loved by young women, and not to enjoy them. 'Ferunt nonnulli cum, quum ætas ferret, non abhoruisse à puellarum amoribus, id quod in genesi ejus conjunctio Veneris cum Marte præ se ferre videtur. Quod si quis hinc eum fortè salacem, & hinc multas turbas in priore matrimonio ortas esse dixerit, ille sciat, D. HERLICIUM ex utraque sua conjuge nullos liberos vel Herlicium suscepisse, sed illorum exortem fuisse, atque in sterili agro (ut dicere solebat) laborasse, & proinde animo juvenularum mutuo potius, quam coitu captum esse (21).' To confirm this apology Cardan is alleged, who has proved himself lascivious by the multitude of his children (22). Never was a more wretched apology; for, in the first place, Herlicius did not boast of any continence or moderation; he only complained that he had cultivated a barren soil. He had there fore laboured, and he confessed it. What conclusion will you draw after this, from his having never had any children? Will you hence conclude, that if he endeavoured to get the love of young women, it was only for the pleasure of being loved by them, without any farther pretensions? But there are no engines strong enough to draw that conclusion. In the second place a barren wedlock is no proof of a lesser incontinence; on the contrary, Physicians say, that too great a lasciviousness is one of the obstacles to conception; and that the reason why there are unfruitful marriages the first year, is the two frequent commerce of the new married couple; so that before the first fires are over, nature being interrupted and diverted cannot take her measures right. Read Aristotle cited by Montagne (23). 'It is requisite, faith Aristotle, to approach a wife prudently and severely, least the too irritating pleasure should carry her beyond the rules of reason. What he says for continence, Physicians say for health; that an ardent, voluptuous, and too frequent pleasure, adulterates the seed, and hinders conception. On the other hand they say, that as to a languishing congress, such as this is naturally, the use of it must be rare, and with considerable intervals in order to furnish it with a just and fertile heat.'

'Quo rapiat sitien Venerem, interiusque recondat.'

Laurence Joubert, a famous Physician, employs one of the chapters (24) of his vulgar errors to oppugn those, who think by frequent embraces to have children, and those who think to have fewer by a contrary method. The ignorant vulgar, says he (25), mistake two contrary ways, totally contradicting their intentions; some being very desirous of children, think to obtain them by the frequency of their embraces; and others by much abstaining from their wives, think to avoid the increase of their family. The first imagine that if they fail at one time, they shall succeed at another: but it happens quite otherwise; for what might have been effected by the first enjoyment may be destroyed by a second. And which is more, these frequent returns, without the invitation of nature, give not the seed time to elaborate and perfect itself, and therefore it is not fecund and prolific, but rather as insignificant as water.

'Quo rapiat sitien Venerem, interiusque recondat.'

It is a true saying that it is better not to have one's cause pleaded than to commit it to a bad advocate. Eichstadius deserves to be compared to him whom the Prætor Scipio recommended to one that was at law. Ille Siculus cui Prætor Scipio patronum causæ datat hospitem suum, hominem nobilem, sed admodum stultum: Quælo, inquit, Prætor, adversario meo da istum patronum, deinde mihi neminem dederis (26). — The Prætor Scipio having assigned a guest of his, who was a man of quality indeed, but of very mean parts, to be advocate to a Sicilian, in a cause which he was prosecuting: I beg, said the Sicilian, that you will give that advocate to my adversary, and then I shall have occasion for none.

[I] He

(21) Eichstadius, ubi supra, pag. 78.

(22) Hieron. Cardanus quidem in iudicio fure genitorum se lascivum fuisse multitudinem procreatorum liberorum probat. *Ibid.*

(23) Montagne, *Essais*, livr. iii. chap. v, pag. 112.

(24) It is the sixth of the second book.

(25) Joubert, *Errours Populaires*, livr. ii, chap. vi, pag. 74.

(26) Cicero, de Orat. lib. ii, cap. lxxix.

He published a good many books [1]. I forgot to say that he was a good Lutheran.

[1] He published a good many books. Most of them orations, or tracts of Philosophy and Physics: the Sieur (27) *Memorie Medicor. Decad.* i, pag. 87. are in High-Dutch: the Latin are either poems or Witte gives a catalogue of them (27).

HERMANT (GODFREY) one of the most famous writers of the XVIIth century, was born at Beauvais the seventh of February 1617. He gave in his childhood proofs of a very lively wit and happy memory, qualities which he preserved to the day of his death. He learned the Latin and Greek tongues with a wonderful ease, and at an age at which others can hardly read and write. He was but twelve years old when Augustine Potier, bishop and count of Beauvais, sent him to Paris to study Rhetoric under the Jesuits. After he had finished his course of philosophy in the college of Navarre, and of Divinity in the Sorbonne, this good prelate, who loved him, called him back to Beauvais to teach the Classics and Rhetoric. He sent him again to Paris in the year 1640, to be tutor to Mr d'Occerre, his nephew. That employ did not hinder him from teaching Philosophy in the college of Beauvais, in order to be admitted into the house of Sorbonne. He was made bachelor in 1641, and canon of the cathedral church of Beauvais in 1642. Hitherto his merit was known only to his friends, but the Jesuits having presented a request to the king in the year 1643, to be incorporated into the university of Paris, Mr Hermant was made choice of to write against it, and he composed three or four pieces which got him great reputation. Mr le Camus, bishop of Bellai, congratulated him upon it, in a manner that deserves to be related [A]. He represented to him the resentment of the Jesuits against him; but as Mr Hermant was no ambitious man, he did not give them an opportunity to employ their great interest to his prejudice. He was made prior of the Sorbonne in 1644, a licentiate and rector in 1646. It was in the second year of his rectorship that there happened one of these fortuitous conjunctures, which hinders some people from seeing the vanity of judicial Astrology [B], and from absolutely condemning

[A] Mr le Camus congratulated him upon it in a manner that deserves to be related. Mr Hermant wrote four pieces on that occasion. I. Observations upon the Request of the Jesuits. II. The first Apology for the University. III. Academical truths. IV. The second Apology, which is a reply to the answer which the Jesuits published. He did not prefix his name to these pieces. Mr le Camus, bishop of Bellai, having discovered Mr Hermant to be the author of those pieces, made him a visit at Albiac-House, where he lodged, and, embracing him, said, that he blessed God for having not only given him so much sense and learning at so early an age, but also a heart and courage not to fear the hatred and vengeance of so terrible a society as that he wrote against. Yet all the evil that the Jesuits could do him whilst he lived, did only consist in their not loving him, nor speaking of him with esteem, though he had been their disciple. His modesty sheltered him from their most formidable resentment, and they could not oppose him in his pretensions to the first dignities of the church which they dispose of, because he was so far from seeking them, that he sincerely slighted them, and even refused them when he was pressed to accept of them (1). The want of ambition often proves the best sanctuary.

[B] While he was rector, there one of those fortuitous conjunctures, which hinders some people from seeing the vanity of judicial Astrology. Here are the words of a Memoir which has been imparted to us (2). Marcellus, professor of Rhetoric in the college of Lisieux, had composed in Latin an elogy on mareschal de Gassion, who was killed with a musket-shot at the siege of Lens, and he was ready to deliver it in public, when an old doctor, who made it his chief business to read all the papers that were posted up, being surprized to find that which gave notice of Marcellus's oration at two of the clock, ran to complain of it to Mr Hermant, and represented to him, that it ought not to suffer, that, in a Catholic university, a man should deliver a funeral oration in praise of a person who died in the Protestant religion, and desired him to call a convocation to determine the matter. Mr Hermant not being able to refuse this to him, it was resolved by a majority of votes, that Marcellus should be immediately forbid to deliver the panegyric on Mr de Gassion; and the Astrologers triumphed upon it, observing to every body that in the Almanack of the famous Larrivey, amongst the predictions of that same month, there was written in great characters, LATIN PERDU, Latin lost. That we may the better under-

stand the circumstances of this prohibition I shall set down a passage of du Boulay (3). Mr Marcel, professor of Rhetoric in Lisieux's college, having advertised that he was to pronounce the funeral oration of mareschal de Gassion, the rector forbade him, because the said Gassion died a Huguenot; whereupon Mr James Desperiers, principal of the said college, going with the said Marcel to complain to the chancellor of France, they were ordered to submit to the rector's sentence. The act taken from the registers of the German nation testifies it, 22 December (an. 1647.) Ampl. D. Rector habitus Comitibus ex consilio D. D. Decanorum & 4. Procuratorum prohibuit D. Guillelmum Marcel, eloquentiae Professore in Collegio Lexovæo declamare laudes & præconia demortui Marescalli nomine Gassion, quod prolixo programme publico notum fecerat omnibus Studiosis; sed quia res erat pessimi exempli & contra Religionem laudare hominem in hæresi mortuum, noluit Academia acquiescere instantissimis precibus D. Marcelli neque D. Desperiers Gymnasiarchæ Lexovæi, qui provocarunt ad D. Seguier Franciæ Cancellarium, qui eos auditos ad Ampl. D. Rectorem hujus rei Judicem remisit. Et sic silentium illis impositum est. — December 22. 1647. The rector in convocation, with advice of the Deans, and of the four Procurators, prohibited Mr William Marcel, professor of Eloquence in the college of Lisieux, to pronounce any panegyric on the late mareschal de Gassion, as he had advertised that he intended to do; but it being of very bad example, and contrary to religion, to praise a person who died a Heretic, the university rejected the earnest suit of Mr Marcel, and of Mr Desperiers, head of the said college of Lisieux, and they having thereupon applied to Mr Seguier, chancellor of France, he, after hearing them, referred the matter to the rector as the proper judge in this case. And by that means they were put to silence.

How many reflexions might be made upon that spirit of policy, or false devotion, which makes the church of Rome deny to Heretics the praises that are due to them? But, setting reflexions aside, I shall confine myself some facts, and shall begin with a passage in the News from the Republic of Letters, taken from the extract of a book of Daniel Francus *de Populorum Indicibus Librorum prohibitorum & expurgandorum*. He recites the instructions that are given to the inquisitors, wherein we see amongst other things an order to expunge without exception all praises given to Heretics. These are things, which we must see with our own eyes, in order to believe them, it being otherwise impossible to imagine that religion could give such a turn to our minds. Bellarmine

(1) Cefor Epasse du Boulay, remarques sur la Dignité Préfance, &c. du Recteur de l'Université de Paris, pag. 91.

(1) Taken from a memorial communicated to the bookseller.

(2) Ibid.

A COLLECTION of several things relating to the scruples of the church of Rome, about the praises bestowed upon Heretics.

'condemning it.' I will give an exact catalogue of the works which he published [C], and I will say something of his difference with Father Maimbourg [D]. He died a sudden death at Paris in the street the eleventh of July 1690, as we shall see in his epitaph. I will insert it entire, tho' it was not put upon his tomb [E], his enemies having had malice

* De Not. Eccl. cap. xvi, art. 1.

'was so persuaded, that it is part of the character of an orthodox never to praise a Heretic, that the author censures him for having positively said *, that it was never known that the Catholics have praised the doctrine or the life of Heretics. However, he shews by the commendations which Cochleus, Aeneas Sylvius, Poggius Florentinus, the Jesuit Clavius, Mr de l'Aubespine, bishop of Orleans, and Caramuel, have given to Heretics, that Bellarmine's touchstone is not very certain. However, by this we discover the spirit of the Inquisition. It is something very singular; for the gentlemen of the Inquisition will have the prefaces of books, epistles dedicatory, and, in general, whatever doth any honour to persons out of the Roman communion, without excepting princes, to be expunged. Hence the Expurgatory Index's order, that if any historian has said, such a day Christopher the illustrious duke of Wirtemberg was born, Præclarus Dux Wirtembergensis, that the word illustrious, præclarus, shall be struck out, which yet is of so little consequence, that it is given in Latin to the meanest school-boy. They order also that all the capital letters put before proper names, to signify that a Heretic is called Doctor, Master, a famous divine, vir clarissimus, vir reverendus, be immediately expunged. The Jesuit Serrarius affirms in his *Minervæ*, that the praises of a Heretic in the book of a Catholic writer, are an abomination to God, like those abominable offerings mentioned in the twenty third chapter of Deuteronomy and eighteenth verse (4). I have read in a Paris Gazette, that, in 1633, the master of the sacred palace published at Rome 'a prohibition against the keeping of any prose, poetry, image, figure, or medal, made in memory of Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden (5). Mr Sallo, giving an extract of a book of Father Bona, hath the following reflexion: 'This author, says he (6), is the first that hath given the catalogue of the authors whom he cites with his judgment upon each in particular (7). There are in this criticism things that are very curious. For the rest, we need not think it strange that this good Father speaks so ill of heterodox authors in this criticism, even in things where faith is not concerned, because he wrote at Rome, where it is a crime to like a Heretic's book.' Let us add to this the following words of Balzac (8). 'Madam de Saumaise requested me, by Monsieur Conrart, that I would give her some lines to be engraved on her husband's tomb. But I took care not to promise her any thing, being in a condition wherein I could not perform it, and afflicted with a distemper which deprives me of rest, and leaves no room for poetic thoughts. Besides, interments and whatever concerns funeral obsequies belonging to religion, I thought that the epitaph of a Huguenot could not be composed by a Catholic. I say an epitaph like this; which must be placed in a church; which must be written in a Christian style; and in which it would be difficult not to give to understand by some word favourably explained, that the deceased was passed from this life to a better. But you know, my lord, that these terms are criminal in our church, and that they have been condemned at Rome, in the writings of the greatest men of our age.'

Note, that this maxim of Rome is not always observed; for if you consult James Laurent, in the second and sixth chapters of his *Prodiga Jesuitarum liberalitas*, you will there find praises bestowed by Catholic authors on the virtue and learning of the heterodox. See the margin (9).

[C] I will give an exact catalogue of the works which he published. I call it so without any scruple, because I take it from a Memoir which has been communicated to us. He published in 1644 an apology for Mr Arnaud, his friend, against a libel of F. Noüet, intitled, *Judicious Remarks upon the book concerning the frequent communion*. He wrote, in 1651, under the name of St Julian, against the visions of Labadie an apostate Jesuit; and, under that of Hie-

ronymus ab Angelo Forti, three Latin letters to Mr de Saintebeuve, against Mr des Marets, minister of Groningen, who had taken some advantage of a Catechism concerning grace, printed by order of a pious bishop. He published the life of St Chrysostome in 1644, that of St Athanasius in 1671, the Ascetics of St Basil in 1673, the life of St Basil and of St Gregory Nazianzen in 1674. He printed some spiritual dialogues upon St Matthew in 1690. Since his death his spiritual dialogues upon St Mark, and a little Treatise of Silence have been printed. A person of quality having begged of him the extracts he had made of the councils, he trusted them to a faithful amanuensis, who kept a copy of them, and published them at Lille in 1693, with this title, *Clavis Disciplinae Ecclesiasticae, seu Index universalis totius juris Ecclesiastici*. They are disgraced by some additions very unworthy of Mr Hermant, and which might prejudice his memory if the public was not told that they are none of his, especially the collection of letters falsely attributed to our first Popes. God grant we may one day see his ecclesiastical and secular history of Beauvais and Beauvaisis, and that it may not be lost in the hands of those who have seized upon it, to the prejudice of one of his friends, to whom the trusted it, and by his will appointed him to take care of the impression (10).

[D] I will say something of his difference with Father Maimbourg. This Jesuit, having in his history of Arianism transcribed all that was curious and fine in the life of St Athanasius, thought he had nothing to do but to cry down the author of it by an ill-natured preface, to disguise his plagiarism, fancying that no body would ever imagine he had vouchsafed to take any thing from a book which he treated with so much contempt. He blames Mr Hermant. I. For having inserted the passages of authors. II. For having put some illustrations at the end of his work upon the most difficult points. III. For having said that it is difficult to know any thing more about the order of the sitting of the council of Nice, except that simplicity, modesty and civility regulated it, and that the probabilities that are urged to the contrary upon this subject, are not solid reasons nor strong decisions. Mr Hermant printing the life of St Basil and St Gregory Nazianzen in 1674, after having justified himself in the preface against the three complaints of Father Maimbourg, ends his reply thus: 'But I am perhaps already blamed for having been so long in refuting an accusation which has no solid foundation; and in truth I might have intirely neglected it. For it is certain that an author draws upon himself the indignation of all equitable judges, when having profited by the labours of other men, and enriched and decked himself with their spoils, he makes them no other return for it but reproaches. This excuses me from answering in particular, a man who has thought fit to deal with me in this manner, and it suffices me that there is nothing more universally acknowledged by all the world, than this maxim of the canonists, which, in the first place, orders that restitution be made to those that have been robbed, *spoliatus ante omnia restituendus*. I ought to make a better use of my time, than to examine his faults, which are perhaps more numerous than he imagines. What he has censured in my history of St Athanasius, subsists by the invincible force of truth, and I need not bring new proofs for it, &c (11).'

[E] I will here insert his epitaph, though it was not put upon his tomb. Let us make use of the very words of the above quoted Memoir (12). 'A canon, who was his relation, had made him an epitaph, and the chapter approved of it; but some false brother having given notice of it to the Jesuits, they caused it to be suppressed by an order from court, at the same time that in the sight of all Paris, and to the scandal of the church, a chapel was profaned by Lully's Mausoleum. . . The epitaph designed for him was this:

(10) Taken from the above quoted memoir.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(4) *Nouvelles de la Reubl. des Lettres*, July 1685, art. ii, pag. 776, & seq.

(5) *Gazette de Paris*, March 14, 1633.

(6) *Journal des Savans*, January 19, 1665, in the *Abstract of a book de divina Plalmodia*.

(7) This is not true: Dempster had done it long before in his *Additions to Rosinus's Roman Antiquities*. The like may be seen in Nicolas Vignier's *Theatre de l'Antichrist*, of the Geneva edition, in 8vo, 1613.

(8) Balzac, *Extrait d'une Lettre à Mr le Marquis de Montausier, at the end of his letters to Mr Conrart*, pag. 416, of the Dutch edition, 1659.

(9) Lorenzo Crasso has placed several Prolegomena for example Gustavus Adolphus and Salmasius among the great captains and learned men, whose eulogies he published in Italy.

(a) Taken from a memorial communicated to the Bookfeller.

malice and authority enough to hinder it (a).

Heic resurrectionem expectat
GODEFRIDUS HERMANT BELLOVACUS,
Eruditione clarus, fama celebris, virtute præstantior,
Rector quondam Academiæ Parisiensis
strenuusque defensor,
Doctor & Socius Sorbonicus,
Hujus Ecclesiæ Canonicus,
Amans disciplinæ si quis unquam sanctioris
Excellsi viringenii, stupendæ doctrinæ, facundia mirabilis,
Debebantur majora.
Oblata recusavit modestiâ singulari.
Impendit
Doctis elucidata illustrium Patrum gesta,
Pilis Sacras in Matthæum & Marcum exercitationes,
Civibus urbis hujus & Diocesis historiam,
Omnibus seipsum, verbo, conversatione, charitate.
Super impendit
Egenis sua omnia.
Repentinâ morte ereptus non improvisâ
Parisiis ictu sanguinis exanimatus viâ publicâ
A. R. S. M D C X C. x. Julii. Æt. LXXIII.

Ad facilli hujus cancellos tumulum designavit sibi
Dignum cum Ambrosio ratus requiescere, sacerdotem
ubi offerre consueverat.

Here lies expecting the resurrection, Godfrey Hermant born at Beauvais, famous for his learning, but more so for his piety, some time rector of the university of Paris and it's strenuous defender. Doctor and Fellow of the Sorbonne, and canon of this church, a lover of the holy discipline, if ever any man was so. Of an elevated genius, prodigious learning, and admirable eloquence. Tho' he deserved greater honours, he with a singular modesty refused those that were offered to him. To the learned he gave his Lives of the holy Fathers. To the pious, his Sacred Exerciſations on Matthew and Mark. To his citizens, his History of this city and diocese. To all men himself, in word, conversation, and charity. And to the poor all his possessions. He was snatched away by a sudden, tho' not an unexpected, death, being seized with a violent bleeding in the streets of Paris, of which he died there, in the year of our Lord 1690, 11. July, in the LXXIII year of his age. He was buried near the rails of this chapel, as he had desired, being of St Ambrose's opinion, that a priest was worthy rest where he had usually offered.

HERMESIANAX, an elegiac poet, born at Colophon, was honoured with a statue in his country (a). See the remarks of the article LEONTIUM (b).

(a) Pausanias, in Eliacis, (and not Illicis, as we read in Vossius de Histor. Græc. pag. 374.) or lib. vi, pag. 194.
(b) See Remark [A].

HERMIAS, a philosopher of Alexandria, in the Vth century, studied with Proclus under Syrianus. He had two sons, Ammonius and Heliodorus, who were of his profession, the first whereof became much more famous than the latter. Hermias was a very virtuous man, good-natured and sincere. He was as laborious as possible, but of a mean genius, and he could not invent the strong proofs which are necessary in philosophizing. He had an admirable memory, and recited to a miracle the lectures of his professor, and what he had read in books: his chief talent lay in this; for when he undertook to solve the objections and doubts of a disputant, he quickly exposed his weak side. His morals were wonderful [A]. It is said, that he did not approve the use of diminutive and fondling words, which mothers and nurses use to children, and that he severely reprimanded his wife (a) upon that account (b)

(a) 'Ο δὲ ἀνδρὶς ἡγανάκτων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ματρὶ τὸν παιδὶν τῶτον ὑποκομιζόμεν. Pater audiens conqueſtus eſt, & increpuit hanc puerilem diminutionem. Photius, ubi infra.

[A] His morals were wonderful.] We may judge of them by the maxims upon which he went in his bargains. He maintained, that we ought not to take advantage of the seller's ignorance, but acquaint him with the just price of the merchandize, if he is ignorant of it. They who did otherwise, were, according to him, guilty of a very great injustice. They did not rob like highway-men, and at the peril of their lives, but they defrauded the law, and corrupted justice. He did not approve the axiom, *Volenti non fit injuria*. He pretended that besides the injuries which are done by violence, there is another sort, which people may be guilty of without forcing the will of those we injure. He practised this fine theory; for one day perceiving that a man

who was selling him a book did not put it at the just price, he acquainted him with it, and paid him more than he asked: he did the same thing on many other occasions, and as often as there was opportunity (1). Καὶ ὅτε ἀπαῖξεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ταύτην, ἥς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδίδετο ἐπιτρέφειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰκις, ὁσάκις συνέβαιεν ἀφιστῆναι τὸν πωπράσκοντα τὸ δίκαιον τίμημα ἐπεδείκνυτο. Nec semel hanc justitiam, cujus nullam alii rationem habent, verum etiam sæpius quoties venditorem debitum pretium ignorare contigisset offendit (2). Is there any thing more worthy of a philosopher? Christians who do so, are very rare.

(b) Taken from Photius, in the the Abstract of Damascius, pag. m. 1044.

(1) Taken from Photius, pag. 1044.

(2) Photius ex Damascio, Biblioth. ibid.
(3) Joven. Seta VI, ver. 164.

Rara avis in terris, nigroque similima cygno (3)

HEROLD (BASIL JOHN) was born at Hochstet (a) upon the Danube, in Suabia, in the year 1511. He applied himself diligently to learning, and went, in the year 1539, to Basil, where he studied at the same time Divinity and History. He married there, and was appointed minister of a village of that canton; but as the Bookfellers found him fit for their service, they caused him to return to Basil in the year 1546. His application in preparing work for them, was incredible, and it was in acknowledgment of his long labours, that the magistrates of Basil made him a burgher in the year 1556. From that time he took the name of Basil: he was alive in the year 1566 (b). I will give the titles of most of his books [A]. Lezana, the annalist of the Carmelites, has committed a gross

(a) Hence it is, that he surnames himself *sciro-paſta* in his Bibliotheca.

(b) Taken from Martin Hankius, de Scriptoribus Rerum Romanarum, Tom II, pag. 142.

(1) In the remark (C) of the article ERAS- M U S.

(2) Gesnerus, in Biblioth. fol. 425, verso.

[A] I will give the titles of most of his books.] I have spoke elsewhere (1) of his *Philopseudes*, five declamatio pro Des. Erasmo Rot. contra dialogum famulum anonymi cujusdam medici. That piece was printed at Basil in the year 1541 (2). His six books *Belli sacri historica continuata*, were printed with *Gulielmus Tyrius*, in folio, in the year 1560. They begin at the year 1185, and end at 1521. His *Leges antiquæ Germanorum* were printed at Basil in 1557, as also his *Princeps juvenu-*

tis, five panegyricus Ferdinando Archiduci Austriae dictatus, cum historiola Turcici belli anno 1556 gestæ. He translated many books into the German tongue, whose titles you will see in the Epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca. His *Pannoniæ Chronologia* is commonly joined with the decads of Bonfinius. His treatise de *Germania veteris veræ quam primam vocant locis antiquissimis*; item de *Romanorum in Rhætia littoralis stationibus*, & hinc ortorum ibidem vicorum atque municipiorum *budis*

a gross blunder speaking of this author [B]. König has made two writers of John Herold, and Basil John Herold. They are one and the same man. There was, in the XVth century, a Dominican, named JOHN HEROLDUS, a German. He was an eminent Divine, and a very good preacher. He composed several books, which have been published in diverse places. An edition of his works was published at Mentz in the year 1612, in three volumes in quarto (c).

(c) See Dr. Core's
Scriptor. Histor.
Eccles. Literar.
Part. II. pag.
314, 315. Edit.
Genev. 1699.

bodie superstitum originibus, has been inserted in the first volume of Simon Schardius *de scriptoribus rerum Germanicarum*. Christopher Lehman (3) has censured him in the first book of his Chronicle of Spire; but an apology has been made for Heroldus. One may see how laborious he was, by consulting the preface (4), which he prefixed to the first Tome of the Treasures of Egyptus. He there promises a Collection of Stratagems, and I see in the Epitome of Gefner, that he published six chiliads of them. He composed a funeral oration upon the emperor Ferdinand, which was printed at Francfort, in the year 1564. It must not be forgot that he published (5) the writings of seventy six authors, under the title of *Orthodoxographia*, and a *Hæresologia*, seu *Syntagma veterum Theologorum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum numero 18 qui grassati in Ecclesia hæreses confutaverunt*, & *præcipua Theologiæ capita tractarunt* (6).

(3) See Zeiller de
Historicis, Part.
II, pag. 74.

(4) Gefner, ubi
supra, gives a
small part of it.

(5) At Basil in
1555.

(6) At Basil in
1556.

[B] Lezana . . . has committed a gross blunder speaking of this author.] He says under the year 1159, that St Antoninus was in the wrong to set down word for word a passage of John Heroldus, without consulting him. That passage contains a description of the original habit of the Carmelites. The Jesuit Papebroch took notice of that blunder, by saying, that St Antoninus lived a century before John Heroldus; for, adds he, St Antoninus died in the year 1459, and the *Principis juventutis*, which Herold dedicated

to the archduke Ferdinand, was printed in the year 1557 (7). The difference is not quite a century: we have some books of Heroldus printed in the year 1540. Nevertheless, Lezana was very much mistaken. Here is a question which that Jesuit proposed to a Carmelite, who wrote against him (8): 'An Joannes Heroldus Hochstetensis, continuator belli sacri, cujus Continuationis singulos libros Catholicis Prælati dedicavit, semper cum laude etiam de religiosis mendicantibus locutus, sed in solis Carmelitis explodens enormem quem fingebant sese in Syria habuisse, monasteriorum ac Fratrum numerum; an, inquam Heroldus iste in dignus sit qui citetur, tanquam infelissimus sedis Apostolicæ hostis: esse juvenis sub nomine Heroldi Acropolitani scripserit Apologiam pro Erasmo, inter prohibitos relatum. — Whether John Heroldus of Hochstet, the continuator of the History of the Holy War, each book of which Continuation he dedicated to Catholic prelates, and who always mentions the friars, even of the mendicant orders, with honour, and only explodes the great number of monasteries and friars, which the Carmelites pretended to have in Syria; whether, I say, this Heroldus be unworthy of being quoted, as being an inveterate enemy of the holy see: to which we grant that, in his youth, he wrote an Apology for Erasmus, under the name of Heroldus Acropolitani, which is in the Index Expurgatorius.'

(7) See Daniel
Papebroch Ref-
ponf. ad Exhibit.
Errorum, pag.
153.

(8) Papebroch. in
Synopsi Quest.
curiosorum, Art.
xxiv, pag. 43.

HERWART (JOHN GEORGE) chancellor of Bavaria, about the beginning of the XVIIth century, made himself famous by the Apology he wrote for the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, against the falsehoods of Bzovius, many other faults of whom he censured besides. Scaliger looked upon him as a bad chronologer (a).

(a) See the Scal-
geriana, at the
word Chancellor,
pag. m. 43.

Our Herwart was originally descended from a Patrician family of Augsburg. I will give the title of a chronological work which he composed, and that of a book published by his son [A], containing a very particular opinion concerning the first deities of Paganism; for the author asserts, that the winds, the needle touched with the load-stone, &c. were the first gods of the Egyptians, and that they were adored under mysterious names. A branch of the family of Herwart transplanted to Paris, makes there a considerable figure (b).

(b) Mr Boetius,
des Mores,
whom I mentioned
before, citation
(3) of the article
EPPENDORF,
has imparted to
me the greatest
part of what I
say in this addi-
tion, both in the
text and the com-
mentary.

[A] I will give the title of a chronological work which he composed, and that of a book published by his son. *Chronologia nova, vera, & ad calculum astronomicum revocata*, at Munich in the year 1612. in quarto, *pars prima*. The other part was printed in the year 1626. *Pars altera quæ est Chronologicorum seu emendatæ temporum rationis, adversus incredibiles aliorum errores*, in quarto. You will see his son's Christian name in the title, which I have promised to insert. Admiranda Ethnicæ Theologiæ mysteria propalata, ubi lapidem magnetem antiquissimis passim nationibus pro Deo cultum, & artem qua navigationes magneticæ per universum orbem instituerentur à veterum sacerdotibus sub involucribus deorum dearumque, & aliarum perinde fabularum cortice summo studio occultatam esse noviter commonstratur. Accessit exacta temporum ratio adversus incredibiles Chronologiæ vulgaris errores. Opus diu desideratum. Jo. Fridericus Herwart ab Hohenburg in Schwindeck S. E. Bavarie &c. à Confiliis ex incompletis optimi parentis P. M. eruit monumentis, atque ad finem perduxit, à Munich 1626 in quarto. — The wonderful mysteries of the Pagan theology discovered; wherein is shown, that the load-stone was commonly worshipped by the ancients, and that the art of navigation by the magnet, was carefully concealed by the priests under the notions of gods and goddesses, and other fables. To which is added, an exact computation of time, in opposition to the prodigious errors of the common chronologers. A work long wished

for. Completed by John Frederic Herwart of Hohenburg in Schwindeck, counsellor to the elector of Bavaria, from the unfinished labours of his deceased father, at Munich, 1626, in quarto. This book has a great deal of learning in it. There is a table before it, intitled, *Tabula nauticæ & hieroglyphicæ descriptionis totius mundi vetustissima, quæ Theologiam Chaldeorum Babylonis, Hierogrammateon Egypti, & Orphei Phrygiæ, nec non Magiæ, Sophiæque Zoroastriæ & Magorum Persidis ostendit originem*. — An ancient, nautical, and hieroglyphical description of the World, which shows that the Theology of the Chaldeans at Babylon, was the origin of the Hierogrammati of Egypt, of the Phrygian Orpheus, and also of Magic, and of the learning of Zoroaster, and the Persian magi. Vossius's silence about the books that I have mentioned may be well wondered at. That learned man doth not speak of them, either in his Collection of Chronologers, or in his great work of the Origin of Idolatry, where he has heaped together abundance of things concerning the load-stone, and where he has not forgotten to say, that the winds were worshipped as gods. Could he be intirely ignorant that Herwart the father, and Herwart the son, were authors? that would be wonderful in a man of so much reading. Could he have omitted to cite them, when he knew their works? that would be no less strange in an author, who was so apt to make a shew of his reading.

HESHUSIUS (TILEMANNUS), a divine of the Augsburg confession, born at Wesel [A] in the year 1526, has been famous for his restless and impetuous temper. He was very young when he had two considerable posts given him at Heidelberg, that of professor of Divinity, and that of preacher in the church of the Holy Ghost. He did not discharge them without many troubles; for there arose a violent dispute betwixt him and William Clebitius, concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist. The elector Palatine, Frederick III, being persuaded that Melanchthon's suffrage would be of great weight to terminate the dispute, consulted him upon that subject. His answer provoked Heshusius, who would not bate any thing of Luther's opinions; and as there was no appearance of seeing an end of these quarrels [B] whilst he staid at Heidelberg, he was ordered to depart. He retired into Saxony, and published some contentious writings in the university of Jena. Being called into Prussia, he taught divinity in Königsberg, till he was driven thence in the year 1577, with the ministers of his faction. He had a furious contention with Wigandus, upon controversies of small importance (a) [C]. He retired with his family to Lubec, and afterwards to Helmstadt, where he was made professor of Divinity. He died there the twenty fifth of September 1588. He strongly combated the doctrine of Ubiquity, in the conference of Quedlinburg, in the year 1583. [D].

Melchior

(a) Ingens inter ipsum & Wigandum diffidium fuit exortum propter abstracti- uam. Melch. Adam in Vita Theol. pag. 622.

(2) Quenstedt, de Patriis Viror. Illustr. pag. 203.

(2) Publice post mortem auctoris contraque voluntatem ejus editum exstat in Consil. Th. Part. II, pag. 378. Melch. Adam in Vita Theol. pag. 622.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Calvin. in dilucida Explicit. sine Doctrina de vera participatione, pag. 840. Tractat. Theol.

(5) Intituled, Assertio contra Bezanian Exegesis Sacramento- rum.

(6) Micrælius, Syntagm. Hist. Eccles. pag. m. 367.

(7) Micrælius, ibid.

(8) Wigandus Episcopus Pome- ranicus, Id. ib.

[A] Born at Wesel.] According to Moreri he was born at Ober Wesel upon the Rhine, in the diocese of Triers; but Quenstedt (1) who says it was at Wesel in the country of Cleves, seems more worthy to be believed.

[B] There was no appearance of seeing an end of these quarrels.] Melanchthon's answer was composed in the year 1559, and was published after his death, contrary to his intention (2). Heshusius raged furiously against him, and forgot all the respect that was due to that great master. 'Heshusius itaque cum Lutheri de cena sacra sententiam mordicus retineret ac propugnaret, à principe Electore, ut finis esset conviciorum & infestationem in sua urbe, dimissus of- fensusque vehementer judicio Melanchthonis de se acerbè respondit, ac ne mortuo quidem & benè merito preceptorì pepercit (3). — Heshusius therefore being very tenacious of Luther's doctrine concerning the Eucharist, the elector, in order to put an end to quarrels and invectives in the city of his own residence, dismissed him, and he being highly offended at Melanchthon, on account of the judgment he had given against him, wrote a most bitter answer against him, and did not even spare him after his death, tho' he had been his master, and had deserved other treatment from him.' Calvin censures him for that fury against Melanchthon. 'Paulisper expendant lectores, says he (4), quam atrociter Philippum Melanchthonem suum præceptorem, ejus memoriam sanctè revereri debu- erat, fugillet ac laceret . . . Probrosi elogii, Philippum ita digito monstrat, ut videri possit data opera materiam ejus traducendi in scribendo libro cap- tasse. — Let the readers only observe how outrageously he calumniates and maltreats Philip Melanchthon, his own master, whose memory he ought to have re- vered . . . He points him out with such spiteful eulogies, that he seems on purpose to have laid hold of all occasions of traducing him in that book.'

[C] He had a furious contention with Wigandus, upon controversies of small importance.] This is the ground of the quarrel. Heshusius, in a book against Theodore Beza (5), advanced, that the flesh of JESUS CHRIST in abstracto, is adorable (6). 'Non solum in concreto dici debere, filium Dei esse adorandum, omnipotentem & vivificum, sed etiam in abstracto carnem Christi esse adorandam: quia majestas adorationis sit carni communicata. — We ought not only to maintain in the concrete, that the Son of GOD is adorable, omnipotent, and enlivening, but likewise that the flesh of CHRIST is to be adored in the abstract: because the majesty of adoration is communicated to the flesh.' His adversaries assaulted him, pretending that he taught, that the flesh of JESUS CHRIST is adorable in itself, independently on the hypostatic union: 'Quod in abstracto & in sua essentia caro Christi, etiam extra unionem considerata, sit adoranda (7). — That the flesh of CHRIST is to be adored in the abstract and it's own essence, even considered separately from the union.' He denied this to be his opinion, and explained his notion; but his adversaries were not content with it. Bishop Wigandus (8), maintained this to be a dangerous proposition: 'Humanitas Christi in abstracto est adoranda omnipotens, vivifica. — The humanity of CHRIST in the abstract is adorable, omnipotent and enlivening.'

Heshusius maintained that he had not advanced it, and explained himself once more, but got nothing by it. A synod was called, who rejected Heshusius's expression, and Wigandus would even force him to retract it publicly. Heshusius refusing to do it, was expelled the country, tho' he promised to correct any improper expressions that might have escaped him: all the ministers who sided with him, had the same treatment. The administrator of Prussia, in the year 1578, consulted the divines that met at Hertzberg, for the Formula of the Concord, and receiving an answer that was favourable to Heshusius, he ordered Wigandus to speak no more of that dispute. This was the eleventh schism of the Lutheran church (9). It is of greater use than is imagined, to know this sort of histories; we therein discover the factious spirit, which animates the authors of these disputes.

[D] He strongly combated the doctrine of the Ubiquity, in the conference of Quedlinburg in the year 1583.] This conference was held the fourteenth and sixteenth of January 1583 (10), betwixt the divines of H. E. H. of Saxony, and those of Brunswic. The latter were headed by Heshusius. The acts of this dispute were published. 'In eo (colloquio) præcipue partes de- mandata à Theologis Brunswicensibus Heshusio fuerunt, qui διαφύσιν negavit dogma illud generalis Ubiquitatis . . . in sacra scriptura canone haberi, neque inde posse demonstrari (11). — The divines of Brunswic committed the chief part of this conference to Heshusius, who positively denied that the doctrine of a general Ubiquity was to be found in scripture, or could be demonstrated from thence.' Quenstedt pretends, that Heshusius did not know the state of the question, imputing to his adversaries a doctrine which they did not hold, and which was a vain phantom of his own imagination. This is very useful in disputes of this kind. I shall set down the words of Quenstedt; they are historical, with respect to our doctor.

'Vesalia inferior vulgo Unter-Wesel . . . urbs Clivie clarissima, . . . exceptit in hanc lucem editum . . . Tilemannus Heshusius Theologum Lutheranum insignem, multisque scriptis Didacticis & Polemicis contra Calvinianos clarum, qui ante Librum Concordiæ defendit Omnipræsentiam Carnis Christi, postmodum verò non tam ipsam in Libro Concordiæ de Majestate Christi hominis doctrinam, quam præconceptum cerebri sui idolum impugnavit, talem scilicet omnipræsentiam, quæ substantia Carnis Christi sit localiter, extensive, diffusivè & objectivè in omnibus creaturis, cum qua portentosa ubiquitate nostris Ecclesiis nihil quicquam fuit commercii. — Unter-Wesel, a town of Cleves, gave birth to Tilemannus Heshusius, a Lutheran divine, famous for his many didactic and polemical writings against the Calvinists; he maintained the omnipresence of CHRIST's body before the publication of the book of Concord, but afterwards he attacked not the doctrine contained in the book of Concord, concerning the dignity of CHRIST's human nature, but rather a phantom of his own imagination, that is, such an omnipresence whereby the substance of the flesh of CHRIST is locally, extensively, diffusively, and objectively, in all creatures, which monstrous Ubiquity our churches never maintained.' Vide Concord. Concord. Hutteri cap. XLVI (12). Micrælius pretends, that Heshusius dis-

(9) Taken from Micrælius, ibid.

(10) According to Melchior Adam, ubi supra. Micrælius places it in the year 1585. I use him below, citation (14).

(11) Melchior Adam, ibid. pag. 622.

(12) Quenstedt, de Patriis Viror. Illustr. pag. 622.

puted

Melchior Adam, from whom I borrow what is above, has been very barren in his account of our author's adventures. I advise those who would see them more at large to consult the life of Heshusius, written by his son-in-law [E]. Heshusius was banished four times [F]. And he took care, if we may believe Calvin (b), that it should do him no prejudice. He wrote many books [G]. They who speak of the sect of the Heshusians, and impute to him the doctrine of Arius, deserve the utmost contempt [H].

(b) See the remark [F].

And

puted only out of spite against the doctrine of Ubiquity. An assembly met to deliberate upon the apology that was to be made for the book of the Concord, and some measures were taken that were disagreeable to Heshusius. There needed no more to exasperate his spirit of contradiction, and to engage him to take up arms against the Ubiquitarians. 'Contra Calvinianos ore & calamo omnipræsentiam carnis Christi fortiter usque ad annum Christi 1582 defendit. Tandem cum nonnulli theologorum ad conscribendam pro Formula concordie apologiam convenissent: ille suum ad arbitrium non omnia agi indignatus, majestatem Christi, libro Concordie insertam, quam ubi quitatem generalem vocant, oppugnare cepit, & cum Dan. Hoffmanno, collega, orthodoxis eam sententiam affinxit, ac si substantiam carnis Christi extensivè ac localiter in omnibus creaturis esse dicerent. Sic igitur proprii cerebri commentum impugnan, loco omnipræsentie introduxit multipræsentiam (13). — He boldly, both by word and writing, defended the omnipresence of CHRIST's body against the Calvinists till the year 1582. But some time after, some divines having assembled in order to write an apology for the form of Concord, and being piqued, because every thing was not done there according to his humour, he began to impugn the doctrine of the book of Concord concerning the majesty of CHRIST, which is called the General Ubiquity, and together with Daniel Hoffman, his colleague, misrepresented the doctrine of the orthodox, as if they maintained that the substance of the flesh of CHRIST was extensively and locally in all creatures. And thus fighting with a phantom of his own brain instead of an omnipresence he introduced a multipresence.' Daniel Hoffman vigorously seconded him, and would bate nothing in the conference of Quedlenburg (14).

(13) Micrælius, ubi supra, pag. 758.

(14) Nec pertinacia ejus in Quedlenburgensi colloquio anno 1585, frangit voluit. Id ibid. pag. 759.

(15) Acta erudit. Lipsien. mens. Junio 1684, pag. 288.

(16) That is in the book intitled, Historie Ecclesiastice seculi à nato Christo sexti decimi supplementum celebrimum ex illo anno Theologorum Epistolæ ad Joannem, Erasmus, & Philippum Marbachios constant. . . . editum à Jo. Fechtio.

[E] Melchior Adam has been very barren. . . I advise the reader . . . to consult the life of Heshusius wrote by his son-in-law.] The journalists of Leipzig had reason to observe it (15). 'Tillemanni Heshusii vitam conscribam admodum & manca ad nos transmisit Melchior Adamus Vit. Germ. Theolog. p. 621. seq. multo locupletiore, eamque carmine heroico exaratum, & Heshusii commentariis in Esaiam adjecit, gener ejus D. Jo. Olearius: ubi & quartum, quod sumendum illi fuit, mentionem reperies exilii; cujus historiam illustrant egregie quæ (16) Parte II. sub anno 1565. p. 182. seqq. tum in ipsius Heshusii, tum in aliorum epistolis leguntur. — Melchior Adam, in his Lives of the German Divines, has given us a very short and imperfect history of Tillemannus Heshusius. We have a much fuller account of him wrote in heroic verse by his son-in-law John Olearius, which is subjoined to Heshusius's Commentaries on Isaiah: in it we find a fourth banishment of Heshusius mentioned, the history of which is greatly illustrated by what we read in the second part, under the year 1565, both in the letters of Heshusius himself, and in those of others.'

[F] Heshusius was banished four times.] This may be seen in the passage of the Journal of Leipzig, which I have just now cited. Here is a distich which confirms the same thing, and is not very honourable to that doctor's memory.

Quæritur, Heshu, quarta cur pulsus ab urbe;
In promptu causa est, seditiosus eras (17).

Banish'd four times! Good doctor, tell us why?
The reason's plain, sedition made you fly.

(17) See the article ACRONIUS, in the text.

(18) Calv. Tract. Theolog. pag. 82, col. 1.

(19) That is, ad paradoxam & opinionem absurditatem.

The description which Calvin (18) gives us of Heshusius, wonderfully confirms this distich. 'Ille (19) cum rapit nature intemperies, vel quod videt in moderata docendi ratione nullum sibi laudis gradum relinqui, qui tamen ambitione totus ad insaniam usque flagret. Certe in suo libello turbulenti se ingenii hominem, præcipiti etiam audaciæ & temeritatis

esse prodit. . . Concionatur de ingentibus suis periculis, qui semper non minus secure, quam laute, delicias suas coluit. Prædicat multiplices ærumnas, qui cum largos thesauros habeat domi repositos, semper amplis stipendiis suas operas vendideret, omnia tamen solus ingurgitat. Verum quidem est, quum multis locis tranquillum nidum figere voluerit, sæpius propria inquietudine fuisse excussum. Sic Glosario (20), Rostochio, Heidelbergæ, Brema pulsus, Magdeburgum nuper concessit. Ac laudi quidem danda essent exilia, si pro constanti veritatis confessione solum vertere sæpius coactus esset: sed quum homo inexplibili ambitione plenus, contentionibus & rixis deditus, immani verò ferocia ubique fuerit intolerabilis, non est cur queratur aliorum injuria fuisse vexatum, qui sua importunitate, molestias homini delicato graves exhibuit. Interè tamen providè sibi cavit, ne damnosæ essent migrationes: quin etiam divitiæ ipsum magis animosum reddunt. —

He is hurried on to this by the restlessness of his temper, or because he feels that he cannot distinguish himself by a moderate manner of teaching, which is insupportable to a man ambitious even to madness. In his book he certainly shows himself to be a person of a very turbulent spirit, and precipitate boldness. . . . He makes great boasts of the many hazards he has undergone, though he has always taken care to enjoy the pleasures of life, not only securely, but even opulently. He talks of his manifold straits, when, notwithstanding his great riches, has always sold his labours at the highest rate, and swallowed all up by himself. It is true indeed that he has endeavoured to settle in many different places, but his own restless temper has still been the cause of his disgrace. In this manner, after being banished from Glosar, Rostock, Heidelberg, and Bremen, he has lately settled at Magdeburg. His banishments indeed would be honourable, if he had suffered them on account of his constant profession of the truth: but being insatiably ambitious, contentious beyond measure, and haughty beyond all sufferance, it is in vain for him to complain of the injuries of others, who has himself by his turbulent temper raised troubles not to be born by persons of any delicacy. He has however taken care that these migrations of his should not hurt his fortune, nay his riches add to his boldness.

We might infer from this passage, that Heshusius was banished above four times; for it is not said there, that he was expelled from Jena, and afterwards from Prussia; nor could this be said, since these events were posterior to this book of Calvin (21). He was expelled from Jena in the year 1573 (22), and went thence into Prussia, where he was made bishop of Samia in Morlin's place.

(21) It was written in 1565.

(22) Micrælius, ubi supra, pag. 758.

[G] He wrote many books.] A Commentary on the Psalms, on Isaiah, and all the Epistles of St Paul: a Treatise upon the Lord's-Supper, and Justification; Assertio Testamenti Jesu Christi contra blasphemias Calvinistarum: Antidotum contra impium dogma Math. Flacii Illyrici, quo adserit quod peccatum originis sit substantia: de servo hominis arbitrio, & conversione ejus per Dei gratiam contra Synergiz adseriores: de vera Ecclesia ejusque autoritate, &c. The Testament of JESUS CHRIST asserted against the blasphemies of the Calvinists: an antidote against the impious doctrine of Matthew Flacius Illyricus, who asserts that original sin is a substance: on the necessity of the will and man's conversion by the Grace of GOD, against the maintainers of cooperation. On the true church and its authority, &c.

[H] They who speak of the sect of the Heshusians deserve the utmost contempt.] I have given my opinion more than once (23) upon those wretched writers of catalogues of Heretics. The only authority they have here, is a dialogue of Lindanus, wherein NIFES are these words (24): 'Heshusii, à Tilmanno Heshusio quem Calvinus Servetianum infamat, Boquinus, Arrianum: Wilhelmus Cleinwitzius vero præter peccatum plurimum de fidei capitibus æculat: quibus

(23) See the article BEZÆ.

(24) Lindanus, in Dialectico Dial. II, pag. 155.

hoc

And yet Mr Moreri does it after them.

(25) That is, in the year 1664, which is the date of Lindanus's epistle dedicatory.

hoc anno (25) sua respondit defensione objecta inficiatus, nisi quod illud Trinitas est unitas negat se meminisse an dixerit in lectionibus: cum ita disertè doceat de præsentia Christi corporis in cœna objectione quinta. — Heshusians, from Tilmannus Heshusius, whom Calvin accuseth of being a follower of Servetus, and Boquinus accuseth of Arianism, and William Cleinwitzius accuseth him not only of extortion, but also with respect to several articles of faith: to all these he has answered this year, by denying the whole charge, only he says that he doth not remember to have said in his lectures, that Trinity is Unity: tho' he has expressly taught this in the fifth objection, concerning the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist. There are three things in this passage to be animadverted on. I. It is an impertinent piece of injustice to charge a man with the heresies, of which his adversaries accuse him in the heat of a dispute. Has not Hunnius, a Lutheran author, written a pretty large book, in which he boasts that he has convicted John Calvin of Judaism? Who but a madman would infer from thence that Calvin entertained Jewish notions? Thus, under pretence that Calvin, Boquin, and other such adversaries of Heshusius, exasperated by his slanders, have imputed Arian doctrines to him, a wise man will not think he has sufficient grounds to call him an A-

rian. He will judge that such accusations may easily be the fruits of too great leisure, which is often abused to sift all the words of an enemy and to wrest them, in order to find heresies in them, by means of far fetched consequences. II. This injustice, which would be only impertinent, if one were ignorant of Heshusius's answer, becomes wholly criminal, when one knows that he has publicly denied the things his adversaries accused him of. Now Lindanus himself confesses that he knew this. III. Though this divine should have taught some heresies, it doth not follow, that there was a sect of Heshusians in Germany. A professor, who teaches particular doctrines, has not always disciples, much less has he always some, who separate from the body, which they must do to deserve the name of a sect.

Prætolus, upon the bare authority of Lindanus, has ranked the Heshusians in the catalogue of Heretics. Father Gaultier (26) has done the same upon the sole credit of Prætolus.

(26) In Tabula Chronographica.

O imitatores servum pecus, ut mihi sæpe Bilem, sæpe jocum vestri movere tumultus (27)!

Base imitators, slaves to others wills, How oft you move my frowns, how oft my smiles.

(27) Horat. Epist. x, lib. i, ver. 19.

(a) Steph. Byzant. voce Βραχυμάνης & Ταρμυρία.

(b) Tzetzes. Chil. vii, Histor. cxlvi, ex Hierocle.

(c) Steph. Byzant. voce Τηλαρμυρία.

HIEROCLES, author of a book intituled Φιλίστορες, *The Lovers of History* (a), vented a great many fables, if we may judge of his book by Tzetzes's quotations out of it. He said, that in the Torrid Zone there were men whose ears serv'd them for umbrello's, and others, whose feet did them the same service, when they lifted them up. He boasted to have seen these, and to have heard say, that there were men who wanted heads, and others who had ten heads, four hands, and four feet (b). It is not known at what time he lived, but it is not at all probable that he was the same HIEROCLES, who from a Wrestler became a Philosopher, and who was a native of Hyllarima, a town of Caria (c).

HIEROCLES, a great persecutor of the Christians, in the beginning of the IVth century, was president in Bithynia, and then governour of Alexandria. He was the chief promoter of the bloody persecution, in the reign of Dioclesian. He was not satisfied with oppressing them, by the power which his post conferred on him, but would likewise ruin them by his pen. To this end he wrote two pieces, which he addressed to them, wherein he endeavoured to shew that the scripture confuted itself by the contradictions that it contained, as he pretended. He wrote violently against the person of our LORD and his Apostles, and made a parallel betwixt the miracles of JESUS CHRIST, and those of Apollonius Tyanæus, to shew that Apollonius equalled or even excelled our Saviour in that particular (a). Two fathers of the church have confuted him [A]. 'Tis said that the holy martyr Ædelsius, animated with a strong zeal, came up

(a) Taken from Lactantius, chap. ii, and iii, Divin. Institut. See remark [A].

(1) Lact. Divin. Institut. lib. v, cap. ii.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. m. 307.

(3) Id. ibid. cap. iii, pag. 308.

[A] Two fathers of the church have confuted him. That is to say, Lactantius and Eusebius. The first relates that at the time when he taught Rhetoric in Bithynia (1), and when the temple of the Christians was demolished there, there were two writers who wrote to insult the oppressed truth. One was a Philosopher, whose work was despised and quickly fell to the ground: the other was one of the judges, and treated that subject more maliciously. Alius eandem materiam mordaciùs scripsit, qui erat tum è numero judicum, & qui auctor in primis faciendæ præsecutionis fuit, quo scelere non contentus, etiam scriptis eos, quos affixerat, infectus est. Composuit enim libellos duos non contra Christianos, ne inimicè infestari videretur, sed ad Christianos, ut humanè, ac benignè consulere putaretur; in quibus ita falsitatem scripturæ sacræ arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria; nam quædam capita, quæ repugnare sibi videbantur, exposuit, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videatur . . . præcipuè tamen Paulum, Petrumque laceravit, cæterosque discipulos, tanquam fallaciæ feminatores, quos eisdem tamen rudis, & indoctos fuisse testatus est: nam quosdam eorum piscatorio artificio fuisse quæstum . . . (2) Ipsum autem Christum affirmavit à Judæis fugatum, collecta novingentorum hominum manu latrociniâ fecisse . . . Item cum facta ejus mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit offendere Apollonium vel paria, vel etiam majora fecisse (3). — Another writer treat-

ed the same subject in a more satirical manner. He was at that time one of the judges, and had been one of the chief advisers of the persecution, and not content with that crime he attacked those by his writings whom he had before persecuted. He composed two books, not against the Christians, lest he should be thought to fall upon them as an enemy, but to the Christians, that he might pass for a humane and benevolent counsellor; in which he endeavoured to prove the falsehood of the holy scriptures, by the contradictions of which he accuseth them; he there produceth certain chapters which seemed to him to contradict one another, and advanced so many particulars, and appears so well acquainted with them, that he seems to have some time professed Christianity. . . . Above all he inveighs bitterly against Peter and Paul, and the other disciples, as deceivers of mankind, and yet he owns that they were rude and illiterate men: some of them fishermen by trade . . . He affirms that CHRIST, being banished by the Jews, gathered together 9000 men, and lived by robbery . . . And in order to invalidate his miracles, which however he doth not deny, he pretends to shew that Apollonius performed equal, or even greater. We do not see here the name of this writer; but we need not doubt that Lactantius spoke of the same judge, whom he calls Hierocles in another book (4), and to confirm this, I observe two things: one is the title of the book of this great persecutor of Christianity, the other is the name which Eusebius gives to the author of it. Ausus est libros suos

(4) Incidisti . . . in Hieroclem ex Vicario præsidem, qui societ & consiliarius ad faciliendam persecutionem fuit. Lactantius, de Mortib. Persecut. cap. xvi, pag. m. 124.

up to him, as he presided at the condemnation of the Christians in Alexandria, and confounded him with shame both by words and deeds; I mean that Ædesius, gave Hierocles a box on the ear upon the tribunal, reproaching him with his infamous barbarities [B]. We will point out some errors of Moreri and of Cardinal Baronius [C].

suos nefarios, ac Dei hostes φιλαληθείας annotare. — He had the boldness to name his impious and profane books Lovers of Truth. These are Lactantius's words (5). Now Eusebius has named Hierocles for the author of the book intitled φιλαλήθης (6). It is therefore certain that he whose name is not mentioned in the fifth book of Lactantius, is the same whom he calls Hierocles in his tract *de Mortibus Persecutorum*.

Note, that Eusebius, in refuting this author, insisted only on the parallel of the miracles of JESUS CHRIST, and Apollonius Tyaneus, not touching upon other points, but contenting himself with saying, that Origen had confuted them before in his book against Celsum, and that Hierocles was only a bold copier of other men's thoughts and words. Note farther, that with respect to this parallel, he contented himself with slightly running over, and criticizing the life of Apollonius wrote by Philostratus. It is certain Eusebius did no great exploits upon that subject. See what Dr Cave says of it: 'Posterioris hujus operis partem de comparatione Apollonii cum Christo refutandam in se suscepit Eusebius libro contra Hieroclem; quod & SATIS JEJUNE præstitit, cum potius Philostrati libros de vita Apollonii in eo opusculo breviter percurrit & refellit (7). — Eusebius, in his book against Hierocles, undertook to answer the latter part of this work, which contained a comparison of Apollonius with CHRIST. This he executed very indifferently, giving us only a short confutation of Philostratus's book concerning the life of Apollonius.' Note lastly, that Lactantius did not undertake a particular confutation of Hierocles, and that he is so far from following him step by step, that he never expressly answers any objections taken from the work of this enemy of our Lord. The end he proposed to himself was, to establish in general the foundations of the gospel, and to ruin those of Paganism, and he thought this was sufficient to overturn at once all that the adversaries had published, or should publish for the time to come. 'Ii ergo, de quibus dixi, cum præsentem me ac dolente, sacrilegas suas literas explicassent, & illorum superba impietate stimulatus, & veritatis ipsius conscientia, (& ut ego arbitror) Deo, suscepti hoc munus, ut omnibus ingenii mei viribus accusatores justitiæ refutarem; non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant, sed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt, aut effecerunt, uno semel impetu profigerem. Non dubito enim, quin & alii plurimi, & multis in locis, & non modò græcis, sed etiam latinis literis monumentum injustitiæ suæ fruxerint, quibus singulis quoniam respondere non poteram, sic agendam mihi hanc causam putavi, ut & priores cum omnibus suis scriptis perverterem, & futuris omnem facultatem scribendi, aut respondendi amputarem (8). — The persons above-mentioned, having explained their impious letters in my presence, I heard them with sorrow, and being stimulated by their daring wickedness, by the consciousness of the truth, and (as I verily believe) by GOD himself, I undertook this task, to confute to the utmost of my abilities the enemies of the truth; not with a design to answer these particular persons only, who might be easily put to silence by a very few words, but that I may at one blow confound all those who have been, or are, employed in that impious cause in all parts of the world. For I do not doubt but many others, in various places, and in writings, both Greek and Latin, have left monuments of their impiety; since therefore it is impossible to answer them all particularly, I have endeavoured to handle this subject in such a manner, that I might not only confute all former writers, but likewise take away all possibility either of writing, or answering, from those who shall come after.'

[B] It is reported that Ædesius gave Hierocles a box on the ear upon the tribunal, reproaching him with his infamous barbarities. Eusebius doth not express this so clearly, but we must believe that the thing is implicitly contained in the words he makes use of. Λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν δικάσαν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀτιμία περιβαλόν. Cum verbis simul & factis illum pudore atque ignominia perdidisset (9). — When he had both by words and deed, covered him with shame and ignominy. Here is the note of Valefius upon this passage (10): 'In hoc Eusebii loco, ἀτιμία quidem designat verbera quibus iudex affectus est ab Ædesio: αἰσχρὸν verò denotat convicia, quibus Ædesius iudicem ipsum appetiit. Utrumque autem indicat Eusebius his verbis: λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν δικάσαν, &c. Eusebius doth not tell us the name of the judge who was thus treated, but we learn from other authors that it was Hierocles. Read these words of Metaphrastes, you will there find this, and some other particulars of the holy zeal of the martyr Ædesius; you will there find, that he boxed the governor of all Ægypt, threw him upon the ground and redoubled his blows. 'Post hanc calamitatem, incidit in Hieroclem, qui totam Ægyptum administrabat. Hunc cum in Dei martyres injuria sæviret animadvertisset, sanctasque Dei virgines tradente lenonibus, nec tantam iniquitatem perferre posset, simile fraterno facinus aggreditur. Namque Divino repletus zelo procedit, & verbis ac factis Hieroclem confundit. Manu enim sua plagas illi in os infligit, humique supinum prostermit & cædit: ac monet, ne audeat contra naturæ leges, Dei servos offendere (11). — After this calamity, he fell upon Hierocles, the governor of all Ægypt. Having observed how he raged against the martyrs of GOD, and delivered the holy virgins to panderers, not being able to suffer such wickedness, he did an action equal to that of his brother. For, being filled with a divine zeal, he confounded Hierocles both by words and deeds. He struck him on the face with his hand, and, throwing him down to the ground, beat him, admonishing him not to dare to injure the servants of GOD, against the laws of nature.' Valefius quotes the *Menæum* of the Greeks, where it is observed that the governor Hierocles was struck in Alexandria by Ædesius (12).

[C] We will point out some errors of Moreri and cardinal Baronius. I. He gives the title of Platonic Philosopher to our Hierocles, who was not even a Philosopher generally speaking. I have not found any author among the ancients who makes him of that profession, and I see that Dr Cave, amongst the moderns, doubts whether he should be called a philosopher (13). II. Mr Moreri speaks of another 'Hierocles, a Pagan philosopher, one of the judges of the Areopagus, who undertook to demonstrate that Apollonius Tyaneus and JESUS CHRIST, were the same man.' He adds, 'that Eusebius wrote against him.' This is to multiply beings without necessity; for the Hierocles whom Eusebius confuted, was the same that Mr Moreri mentioned in the preceding article, and called a Platonic Philosopher. III. Besides, we do not know any Hierocles that was a judge of the Areopagus. Cardinal Baronius, who missed Moreri in that, might have easily avoided that mistake: for he grounds himself upon Lactantius whose words he even sets down (14). Now Lactantius saith expressly, that the author who wrote against the Christians, was one of the judges in Bythinia. Seeing then Baronius very justly supposed, that this enemy of the Christians was called Hierocles, he might easily conceive that he was not to be placed among the judges of the Areopagus. Note, that he saith, and with reason, that Eusebius and Lactantius wrote against the same Hierocles, and yet Moreri, who copies him, has given us two Hierocles, one refuted by Lactantius and the other by Eusebius. IV. He has not well understood these words of Baronius: 'Nihil magis monstrare conatus est (Hierocles) quam Apollonium æqualem fuisse Christo (15). — Hierocles has chiefly endeavoured to prove that Apollonius was equal to CHRIST.' For he thought they meant that Hierocles pretended to prove that Apollonius was the same with JESUS CHRIST (16). What I have further to say, doth not so much concern him as the cardinal. We have seen above that Lactantius makes mention of two heathens, who wrote against the Christians. Baronius pretends, that our Hierocles is the second of those authors, and that Porphyrius is the first. Moreri mentions this without finding fault with it. It is true he declares that he in this follows the opinion of the cardinal. Let us turn then to Baronius and tell him, that he could not have found Porphyrius in that place of Lactantius, if he had

(10) Valefius, Not. in Eusebium, ibid. pag. m. 277.

(11) Metaphrastes, apud Valefius, ibid.

(12) Αὐτοματίας τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου.

(13) Philosophus, an solum homo politicus, non liquet. Cave, Hist. Literat. Part. I, pag. m. 279. He calls him a Philosopher, in the second Part, pag. 61, but without telling us how he was resolved of his doubt.

(14) Baron. ad. ann. 68, n. 37, pag. m. 654.

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) This error has been corrected in the Dutch edition, and in that of Paris.

(5) Id. Divin. Instit. lib. v, cap. iii, pag. 311.

(6) Euseb. contra Hieroclem. init. pag. 511, 514. Volum. de Demonstr. Evangel.

(7) Cave, Hist. Literat. Script. Eccles. Part. II, pag. m. 61.

(8) Lactant. Div. Instit. lib. v, cap. iv, pag. 311, 312.

(9) Euseb. de Martyr. Palest. nar. cap. v, pag. m. 326.

(17) Lactant.
lib. v, cap. ii,
& iv.

(18) Taken from
Lactantius, *ibid.*
cap. ii.

(19) Baronius, ad
ann. 302, n. 51,
p. 739.

(20) Ineptus,
vanus, ridiculus
apparuit.
Lactant. *ubi*
supra, pag. 307.

(21) *Id. ibid.*

(22) Baron. *ubi*
supra, n. 51,
ubi citat Socratem,
lib. iii, cap. xix.

(23) Lactant.
lib. v, cap. ii.

(a) Omnia laniena
excruciat ut
verba placencia
Principi, vel po-
tius necessitati
loqueretur, quo
cum penis non
sufficerent mem-
bra vivo exulto,
&c. Ammian.
Marc. lib. xxix,
cap. i, pag. 556.

(1) Amm. Mar-
cellin. lib. xxix,
p. 557.

had well examined things. The first of these two heathen authors was at Nicomedia at the same time with Lactantius, and there published his invective against the Christians (17). He was a man notoriously vicious, covetous, voluptuous, and very sumptuous at his table. He was very rich, and made his court to the judges very diligently, in order to grow still richer, that is to say in order to sell their sentences, and to stop the proceedings of his neighbours, whom he drove out of their possessions. The three books he published against the Christians were foolish and ridiculous; he understood nothing of the matter and knew not what he said. The Christians ridiculed him for it, and he failed miserably in his attempt (18). This is the character of that author and of his book, if we credit Lactantius. How comes it then that Baronius (19) could discover Porphyrius by such marks? Where has he found that this philosopher made a long stay at Nicomedia? Men never sollicite the favour of the judges to maintain themselves in possession of lands, which they have unjustly usurped about their country-houses: they never do this, I say, upon a journey; it is a way of acting which supposes a fixed abode and a constant settlement. Porphyrius then must have been thus established in Nicomedia, if Baronius was in the right; now this is a fact which no body hath mentioned; his abode at Rome and Sicily, took up the greatest part of his life: besides, he was never accused of having been addicted to a voluptuous life; and after all he did not write foolishly against the Christians. He has been complained of for his cavils, his malice, and his calumnies; but no body ever said that he wanted wit, or that his books were impertinent and ridiculous (20), and even exposed him to the censure of the Heathens, instead of the glory that he promised to himself. 'Verum hic pro sua inanimata contemptus est; qui & gratiam, quam speravit, non est adeptus; & gloria, quam captavit, in culpam, reprehensionemque conversa est (21). — But he was despised as his folly deserved; and did not obtain that favour, which he hoped for; and instead of the glory which he aimed at, he got only reproof and blame.' According to Baronius (22) he had been a Christian; so that he could not be so grossly ignorant of the matter he treated of, as he that is mentioned by Lactantius; for you may observe, that when this father tells us that the other writer canvassed many particular things, he adds: *He seems to have been formerly a Christian, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videatur* (23). This observation might have been of some use to Baronius, not to have found Porphyrius in the description that Lactantius has given of a Philosopher, who impertinently and ignorantly attacked the persecuted Christians.

For the rest, the preface which that philosopher prefixed to his book, may teach us the conformity between the Pagan and Christian persecutions. An interested and flattering writer never fails to use his pen

against the persecuted party: he imagines it a fine opportunity of praising his prince, he takes hold of it and displays the importance of the service done to God, and shews how charitable it is to join instruction to the authority of the laws, that erring men, being thus enlightened, may be delivered from the punishments to which their obstinacy would expose them. This voluptuous Philosopher of Nicomedia forgot none of these common places: one would think that he has been the model of many French authors, who have written during the persecution of the Protestants. See what a turn he gave to things. 'Professus omnia philosophi officium esse, erroribus hominum subvenire; atque illos ad veram viam revocare, id est, ad cultus Deorum; quorum numine, ac majestate (ut ille dicebat) mundus gubernetur, nec pati homines imperitos quorundam fraudibus illici: ne simplicitas eorum præde, ac pabulo sit hominibus astutis. Itaque se suscepisse hoc munus, philosophia dignum; ut præferret non videntibus lumen sapientiæ; non modo ut susceptis Deorum cultibus resanescant, sed etiam ut pertinaci obstinatione deposita corporis cruciamenta devitent; neu sævas membrorum lacerationes frustra perpetui velint. Ut autem appareret, ejus rei gratia opus illud elaborasset; effusus est in principum laudes; quorum pietas, & providentia (ut quidem ipse dicebat) cum in cæteris rebus humanis, tum præcipue in defendendis Deorum religionibus claruisset; consultum esse tandem rebus humanis, ut cohibita impia, & anili superstitione, universi homines legitimis sacris vacarent, ac propitios sibi Deos experirentur. — Affirming that it was the chief business of a Philosopher, to assist those who err, and to bring them back into the right way, that is, to the worship of the gods; by whose power and majesty (said he) the world is governed; and not to suffer the ignorant to be deceived by the guile of a few, lest their simplicity should make them fall a prey to the crafty. That on this account he had undertaken this task worthy of a Philosopher; to hold out the light of wisdom to those who do not see, not only that by returning to the worship of the gods, they may be restored to health, but also, that, laying aside their pertinacious obstinacy, they may escape the torturing of their bodies, and that they may not without reason expose themselves to such cruel mangling of their persons. But that it might appear to what end he had composed this work, he launched out in the praise of those princes, whose piety and care (said he) had been illustrious, not only in governing in humane affairs, but especially in protecting the worship of the gods, that at length the welfare of mankind had been provided for, that a stop being put to impious and idle superstition, all men might now enjoy a lawful worship and experience the favour of the gods.' It is easier to depart from the method of the persecutor Dioclesian, than from that of his panegyrist.

HIEROCLES, the son of that Alypius who commanded in England, and whom Julian the apostate had sent to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple there, was accused jointly with his father in the reign of Valens, and so many were tortured that they could no longer tell what member to rack, in order to make him speak through the violence of his pains what they wanted him to declare (a). Order was given at last that he should be led to execution; but as he was going thither, the people in a body addressed themselves to the emperor, and so earnestly interceded for him as to obtain his pardon. This we may learn by comparing a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus with another of St Chrysostome [A]. Our Hierocles had been a disciple of Libanius and was much esteemed by him [B].

[A] He was pardoned. This we may learn by comparing a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus with a passage of Chrysostome. It is this: 'Ipse quoque Alypius post multationem bonorum exulare præceptus, filium miserabiliter ductum ad mortem, casu quodam prope revocatum excepit (1). — Alypius likewise, after being condemned to forfeit his estate, and to suffer banishment, had his son restored to him, who being led out to execution was saved from death by a singular piece of good fortune.' The passage of St Chrysostome is in the third Homily upon the incomprehensible nature of God. This father designing to shew to his hearers the force of the united prayers of a whole people, alledges an example that

they had seen ten years before, when a criminal, who was led gagged to the place of punishment, obtained his pardon at the request of all the people of Antioch, who went in a body to beg it of the emperor. Valerius (2) does not doubt that this criminal was Hierocles the son of Alypius.

[B] He was much esteemed by Libanius. Libanius writing to Alypius, told him (3) that his son, though a child, shewed greater wisdom than grown up persons; and that many fathers in chiding their sons exhorted them to take example by the son of Alypius. The testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus agrees in substance with that of Libanius (4).

(2) Henr. Valerius, in Marcell. *ubi supra*.

(3) Lib. iv, Epist. cclxxxix, apud Valerium, *ibid.*

(4) Citatus est cum Hierocle, filio adolescentis indolis bonæ. Amm. Marcell. *ibid.* pag. 556.

HIEROCLES,

HIEROCLES, a platonic Philosopher in the Vth century, taught in Alexandria with great reputation; he was admired on account of the strength of his parts, and the readiness and beauty of his expressions (a). He composed seven books upon Providence and Fate, and inscribed them to the Philosopher Olympiodorus, who by his embassies did great service to the Roman empire in the reigns of Honorius and Theodosius junior (b). Those books are not now extant, and we only know them by the extracts which we find in Photius. These extracts teach us, that Hierocles had demonstrated that there is a perfect agreement betwixt the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, and that they who had denied it did not well understand the opinions of these two great men (c). He turned his wits a thousand ways in order to explain the difficulties of providence, fate, and free-will, and pretended that the ground or key of all these things consisted in the passage of souls from one body to another, and in the life they had led before they entered into humane bodies. He laid out all his strength on this, and had none left to furnish him with good arguments to establish the doctrine he undertook to prove (d). For which reason Photius observes, that all that great train of reasonings dwindled into meer trifles (e). There is one thing very singular in the doctrine of this Philosopher; he maintained that Plato had taught that the world was produced out of nothing [A]. He married only with a view to have children [B]. His wife happened to be possessed (f); and he employed fair words in vain to deliver her from the demon, that spirit having no regard to his compliments; but Theosebius (g) without any skill in magic, exorcised him in such a manner as forced him to retire. Jonsius, who very solidly proves our Hierocles to have lived after Eusebius, is however mistaken [C] in supposing him the

(a) Photius, Bibl. Cod. 242, pag. m. 1037.

(b) Id. Cod. 214, pag. 549.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Id. ibid. pag. 552.

(e) Εἰς ἄβρον αὐτὸ τὸ πολὺ-μοχθὸν διαλύειται στυβαρια. In nugis operosa illa machinatio abit. Id. ibid.

(f) Photius, Cod. 242, pag. 1037.

(g) He was Hierocles's disciple.

[A] He maintained that Plato had taught that the world was produced out of nothing. Hierocles (1) most solidly confuted the Platonists, who maintained that tho' God should from all eternity employ his power and wisdom, he would not be able to form a world without the concurrence of an increated matter. Therefore they said that he produced things only by co-operating with matter, whose existence did not depend upon him. All things, added they, were virtually contained in matter, and God had nothing to do but to draw them out, and set them in order. Hierocles argued with a great deal of judgment against that supposition: he said, that such a work of God would not be so much a sign of his goodness, as the effect of a superfluous diligence (2), for why should he go about to dispose and set in order what he has not made? Is not good order sufficiently found in this, that a being subsists eternally of itself? whatever happens to such a being, is it not extraneous to its nature? And is it not consequently an imperfection? Τί γὰρ δὴ μὴδὲν ἂν μὴ ὑπέστησε διατάττειν περὶ αὐτῶν, πάντας αὖ τῆς εὐταξίας αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀγενεσίᾳ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως κειμένους, τὸ γὰρ ἀγενετός καδ' ἐαυτὸν ὡς εἶναι εἰ τι προσλαβοί, παρὰ φύσιν προσλήψεται. τὸ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν διατείναναι, κακὸν τὸ μετατρέψαι ὥστε ἐκ ἀγαθὸν τῇ λεγομένη ὕλῃ τὸ κοσμεῖσθαι, εἴπερ ἀγενετός εἰναι μὴ ἀπὸ γένου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ. Quorsum enim ea, quæ non condidit, digere conatur, cum omnino bona ordinatio in natura eorum ingenta consistat. Si quid enim ingenta, ac per se subsistenti addatur, præter naturam fiet. Quod autem præter naturam efficitur, vitiat: quare diſtam materiam ornari minime bonum, siquidem non solum in tempore, sed et absque causa ingenta fit (3). He concludes from hence, that God would have begun his work with an ill action (4), namely by undertaking to dispose of it's natural state, a substance that was increased as well as himself, and his own filer. These reasons are so strong (5), that whoever considers them well, and is concerned for the glory of Plato, will endeavour to shew that he did not admit two principles collateral, eternal, and independent of one another, God and matter. This doubtless was the reason of our Hierocles attributing to him the doctrine of a true creation. I believe he had read it in the Christian writings, and that being struck with the arguments that oppose the existence of an increated matter, and joining withal the idea of a creator, which carries the divine power and majesty to the highest point, he supposed, for the honour of his sect, that it's founder had known God under the idea of a nature, the simple act of whose will was sufficient for the formation of the universe.

Ὅτι δημιουργὸν θεόν, φησι, πρῶτιστον ὁ Πλάτων ἐρεῖσα παῖς ἐμφανὲς τε καὶ ἀφανὲς διακοσμήσας, ἐκ μηδενὸς ἀντικειμένην γενέμενους ἀρκύνει γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνη βέλγημα εἰς ὑπόστασιν τῶν ὄντων. Plato opifitem Deum censuit sustinere omnes aspeſtabilem et inaspeſtabilem mundum,

nulla prius existente materia produſum. Sufficere enim illius voluntatem ad sustinendum uniuersum (6). But it were easy to shew, that this is an officious lie, since Plato has clearly maintained the concurrence of an independent and increated matter. We may say then, that Hierocles has here shewn his industry as much as on any other occasion, I mean the industry of giving to the expressions of dead authors such a sense as one has a mind to (7), or of finding at least two or three different systems in their works. He understood that game; for the two explications he gave of Plato's Gorgias were in nothing like one another, and yet they seemed to agree with the Platonic doctrine. These are sports of wit, but they require a very fruitful imagination. Ἀντιπαρεβαλὼν τὰ πρότερα καὶ τὰ ὕστερα εὖρεν ἄδεν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἱκατέρᾳ δὲ ὁμῶς, ὃ καὶ παράλογον ἀκούσαι, τῆς Πλάτωνος ἐχόμενα, καθόσον οὐκ ἐπὶ σεμνότητι, τὰ μὲν ἐν ἐπιδείκνυνται. τὸ ἀδρὲς ἡλικόν ἢν ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων πέλγῃ. Collatis prioribus cum secundis, nihil, ut sic dicam, eundem inuenit. Utraque tamen, quod sanè audisti uocum est, Platonis, quod ejus fieri poterat, institutum continebat. Hinc colligitur quanta vi illius in sententia copia (8).

[B] He married only with a view to have children. Damascius makes the same observation, speaking of Theosebius, Hierocles's scholar, which shews that the most famous Platonists were persuaded, that these were the just rules and true bounds of marriage, and that whatever went beyond these limits was an irregularity, or at least, a liberty which wise men ought not to allow themselves. This Theosebius seeing his wife was barren, made a ring of chastity and gave it her. I presented you, said he, formerly with a ring of generation (9), but now I give you a ring of continence, which will always assist you to behave chastly (10), live with me if you please, or if you can contain; but if that condition doth not suit with you, I am willing you should marry another man, and I only ask one thing, which is, that we may part good friends. She willingly accepted the condition. My author stops there, and leaves us in uncertainty, for we do not know, whether his wife accepted the first or the last. He should not have left such an ambiguity in his story.

[C] Jonsius who proves . . . our Hierocles to have lived after Eusebius is however mistaken. His first proof is taken from the mention Hierocles made of Plutarch the Athenian, who lived after Iamblicus (11). Now the latter flourished under Julian the apostate; we have still some letters which that emperor wrote to him. The second proof is taken from this, that Olympiodorus, to whom Hierocles dedicated his books, did not precede the reign of Honorius and Theodosius the younger; for he wrote a history commencing at the seventh consulship of Honorius and the second of Theodosius the younger, and he continued it to Valentinian, Honorius's successor, or as far as the year 425 (12). Jonsius had reason after this to maintain that Eusebius, who

(6) Photius, Bibl. ubi supra, pag. 1381.

(7) See the remark [C] of the article HEMMINGIUS.

(8) Photius, Bibl. Cod. 242, pag. 1037.

(9) Δαυτάλειον ἀρμυρὴν παιδουργοῦ συμβώσεως. Annuum procretrici conjunctionis conciliatio rem. Id. ibid.

(10) Ἐχέμεν σοι παραδόμενον αἰὲ τῆς εὐφρονοῦς εὐκλειᾶς. Adjutorem tibi semper futurum temperantis officii. Id. ibid.

(11) Jonsius, de Script. Hist. Phil. pag. 303. He cites Ptolemy, Eccl. 244.

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 304. He cites Ptolemy, tm. who 30.

(1) Photius, Bibl. Cod. 251, pag. 1380.

(2) Ὁ περιεργὰ μᾶλλον ἂν εἴη ἢ ἀγαθότης θεοῦ. Quod supererogatione potius effect diligentia quam bonitatis Del. Id. ibid.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς δημιουργίας ἀπὸ τινος κακοποιίας ἐνεργήσαντος. Initium creationis à quodam maleficio inchoans. Id. ib.

(5) Compare what is above, remark [R] of the article EPICURUS.

the author of a history of Apollonius Tyanæus, and that the seven books of Providence were answered by a writer named Eusebius, who was different from him who wrote the Ecclesiastical History, &c.

who was the author of the Ecclesiastical History, the Evangelical Preparation, &c. did not confute the writings of this Hierocles; but he errs in saying that another Eusebius did. The cause of his error was this. He imagined that the same Hierocles who wrote the seven books upon Fate, composed a history of Apollonius Tyanæus, intitled *Philalethes*, the refutation whereof we have in the works of Eusebius. This was to confound Hierocles, the persecutor of the Christians under the emperor Dioclesian, with Hierocles the philosopher of Alexandria, under Theodosius the younger.

It is a little surprizing that Jonsius, who had a vast and exact knowledge of authors who have bore the same name, did not know the president of Bithynia, and the governor of Alexandria, who did so much mischief to the Christians, and who wrote against them, and was called Hierocles. Besides, this learned man was mistaken in thinking that Eusebius refutes the opinions of one Hierocles concerning Fate. It is certain that Eusebius only confuted the opinion of Apollonius, as he found it in Philostratus (13).

(13) Note, that Dr. Grew, Hist. Literat. Script. Eccles. Part I, pag. 131, has taken notice of this error of Jonsius.

HIERO I, king of Syracuse, was the son of Dinomenes, and brother of Gelon, who after he had gained the sovereignty of Gela, had the good fortune to see the city of Syracuse submit to him, when he intended no more than to restore some inhabitants that the populace had banished out of it. He was so well pleased with this new acquisition, that he voluntarily resigned Gela to his brother Hiero, and wholly employed himself to find out the means of rendring Syracuse a most flourishing city (a). He reigned there gloriously and happily; he acquired a great reputation by his victories, and the love of his subjects by his equity and moderation (b). Hiero, who succeeded him, did not tread in his steps; he was covetous, violent, and altogether different in his conduct from the virtuous Gelon: which was the reason that many were ready for an insurrection; but the memory of his predecessor was so dear and glorious, that it kept them in their duty (c). He had a great desire to put his brother Polyzelus to death, whom he saw beloved by the Syracusans, and whom he suspected of aspiring to the crown. He would have sent him to the assistance of the Sybarites who were besieged by the Crotoniates, to the end that he might cause him to be slain in the battle; but Polyzelus who foresaw the design, refused that employ; and seeing that this furiously provoked the king, his brother, he retired to Theron who reigned in Agrigentum. They were afterwards reconciled by the mediation of Theron (d). The latter might have taken advantage of that misunderstanding, but he was a good man (e), and would do one good office for another [A]. His son Thrasyldeus succeeded him, and was unfortunate in the war that he undertook against the Syracusans. Hiero with a good army made an irruption into the country of the Agrigentines and gained a battle, whereby Thrasyldeus lost his crown (f). Observe here a difference betwixt poets and historians. The same Hiero who appears such an accomplished prince in the odes of Pindar [B], is a wicked king in the history of Diodorus Siculus. I fancy that if the poet flatters him too much, the historian treats him too severely; for he doth not say all the good of him that he might, I mean that Hiero civilized himself and reformed many of his vices, by the conversations he had with some ingenious men whom he loved and loaded with his favours [C]. He died in the town of Catana in the second year of the LXXVIIIth Olympiad

(a) Herodot. lib. vii, cap. civ, clvi.

(b) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi, cap. lxxvii. See also Plutarch. de sera Numinis vindicta, pag. 551, 552.

(c) Id. Diod. ib.

(d) Id. ibid. cap. xlviii.

(e) Id. ibid. cap. 53.

(f) Id. ibid.

[A] Theron would do one good office for another.] Whilst Hiero was preparing to make war against Theron, to whom his brother had retired, the inhabitants of Himera sent him deputies to offer him their succours, and even to declare they would live under his government. Thrasyldeus, Theron's son, had been made their governor, and was become odious to them by his violences and cruelty. Hiero made use of that conjuncture not to push on his design of war, but to turn things towards a pacification. He informed the king of Agrigentum of the design of the inhabitants of Himera. This intelligence caused Theron to take the necessary measures to frustrate the conspiracy, and to make peace with the king of Syracuse, and to reconcile the two brothers (1). Moreri, citing the eleventh book of Diodorus Siculus, remarks, that Hiero defeated Theron the tyrant of Agrigentum who despised him. I have found nothing like this in Diodorus Siculus. Note, that the historian Timæus had related that Theron, who could not abide that his son-in-law Polyzelus should be ill used by Hiero, declared war against him; but it was immediately terminated before the hostilities were begun (2). Let us say by the way that Demarata (3), Theron's daughter, was married to king Gelon, who ordered when he died, that she should marry Polyzelus (4).

[B] Hiero appears a very accomplished prince in the odes of Pindar.] He won the prize in the horse-race in the Olympic games. He did the same at the Pythic games; and was also victor in the chariot-course. These victories were magnificently celebrated by the poet Pindar (5), and you may believe that those digressions take up more than three fourths of his odes, he forgot not to say that Hiero had all the virtues of a good and brave king. Note, that the inscription of his ex voto (6), testifies that he won the prize three times at the Olympic games, twice in the horse-race, and once in the chariot-course. John Benedictus, has fully affirmed in his Commentary on Pindar (7), that Hiero gained the prize of the horse-race at the Olympic games in the LXXIII Olympiad; for that prince was king of Syracuse when he gained that prize (8): now he did not begin to reign there till the third year of the LXXVth Olympiad (9). The same commentator pretends that he gained a like prize at the games of the LXXVIIth Olympiad. But this is to give him a reign of more than sixteen years, and groundlessly to contradict the best historians.

[C] Hiero civilized himself, and reformed many of his faults, by the conversations which he had with some ingenious men.] He was exceedingly ignorant, and as rustic as his brother Gelon; but falling sick, he spent the time which the weakness of his body gave him in the conversation of the learned, and became himself a learned man; and afterwards recovering his health he continued to love these sorts of conversation, and often discoursed with Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchiide (10). The author from whom I have this, adds, that Hiero was a great lover of learning, and very liberal, that he had a great soul, lived without jealousy with his three brothers, whom he affectionately loved, and was mutually beloved by them, and that his inclination to make noble presents, determined Simonides, tho' very old, to cross the sea to wait upon him (11). Some critics (12) pretend that Chronology will not permit us to affirm that Hiero ever saw Simonides, but they have been shewn their

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi, cap. xlviii.

(2) See Benedictus upon Pindar, Od. II. Olymp. pag. 43.

(3) See concerning that woman, Diodorus Siculus, lib. xi, cap. xxvi.

(4) See the same commentator upon Pindar. Od. II, lib. xi, cap. xlviii.

(5) See the first Ode of his Olympics, and the fifth, second, and third of Pythics.

(6) See Pausanias, lib. viii, pag. 637.

(7) Jo. Benedictus in Pindar. Od. I, Olymp. pag. 2.

(8) Pindar. Od. I, Olymp.

(9) Diod. Sicul. lib. xi, cap. xxxviii, xxxix.

(10) Eliam div. Hist. lib. iv, cap. xv.

(11) Ibid. lib. ix, cap. i.

(12) Bionola, Torn. II. Hor. Subsecl. lib. ii, cap. xix.

(g) Id. *ibid.*
cap. lxvi.

(b) Id. *ibid.* cap.
xxxviii, pag. m.
397.

(7) Id. *ibid.* cap.
xlix.

(4) See Pindar,
Pyth. Od. i. &
ibid. Commentar.
Jo. Benedicli.

(1) Diod. Sicul.
ubi supra, cap.
lxvi.
Note, that the
ancient inhabi-
tants of Catana
retained possession of
it, and destroyed
Hiero's tomb.
See Strabo, lib.
vi, pag. 183.

(13) See Kubrius's
Notes upon JE-
lian, lib. iv,
cap. xv.

(14) Intituled,
"ἱερὸν ἢ τυραν-
νικόν, Hieron,
five Tyrannicus

(15) See Benedi-
ctus in Pindar.
Od. ii, Olymp.
pag. 43.

(16) Athen. lib.
xiv, pag. 656.

(17) Pausan. lib.
i, pag. 6.

(18) Μερὲ δὲ
τὴν ἱερῶος
τελευτῶν πα-
ραβῶν τῆν
ἀρχὴν θρασυ-
βουλῶς ὁ ἀδελ-
φὸς ὑπερβῶλας
τῇ κακίᾳ τὸν
πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασι-
λεύσαντα. Sub-
lato ē vivis Hiero-
ne, inito Thra-
sybulus regno, im-
probitate germa-
num ante se re-
gem excelsit.
Diod. Sicul. lib.
xii, cap. lxxvii.

(19) Plut. de
sera Numinis
vindicte, pag.
551, & in
Apophthegm.
pag. 175.

(20) Horat. Epist.
i, lib. i, ver. 330

(21) See Bene-
dictus in Pindar.
pag. 260, 296.

Olympiad (g) in the twelfth year of his reign (b). It was a town that he had peopled anew, having driven out the inhabitants and seated there a colony of Greeks drawn out of Peloponnesus and Syracuse (i). He changed the name of Catana into that of Ætna, and would himself be surnamed Ætneus, when he was proclaimed victor in the Pythic games (k). The funeral honours that were paid to him in this new town, were like those paid to heroes (l). His brother Thraſybulus reigned after him, but his tyrannical actions moved the Syracusans to an insurrection, and reduced him to such a condition as to be forced to submit to a hard capitulation. He retired into Italy into the country of the Locrians, and there spent the rest of his days in a private life, having reigned but one year. The Syracusans having restored the Republican government, maintained it till the tyranny of Dionysius, that is for sixty years (m). For the rest, it is somewhat strange that Dinomenes, Hiero's son, did not reign after him. He survived him as we learn from the inscription of the gifts which his father had vowed to Jupiter Olympius (n). The offerings which the king of Syracuse consecrated to the temple of Delphis were magnificent (o). His first wife, who was the daughter of Anaxilaus king of Rhegium and cousin to Theron, bore him no children (p); but by his second wife daughter of Nico- cles, he had Dinomenes abovementioned (q). Some will have it that he gave him the government of the town of Catana, with the title of king of Ætna [D]. I do not know to which of his two wives we must ascribe the answer mentioned by Plutarch (r).

(m) Id. Diodor.
ibid. cap. lxxv.
lxviii.

(n) See Pausa-
nias, lib. viii,
cap. xii, pag.
687, & lib. vi,
cap. xii, pag.
479.

(o) See Athe-
neus, lib. vi,
pag. 231, 232.

(p) See Bene-
dictus upon Pja-
dir, Od. i, Pyth.
pag. 263.

(q) *ibid.*

(r) Plut. in
Apophtheg. pag.
175. See aboves
remark [E] of
the article DUEL-
LUS.

[D] Some will have it that he gave him the com-
mand of the city of Catana, with the title of king of
Ætna. They go upon these words of Pindar (22).

Μῦσα καὶ παρ' Δεινομένην κελᾷ ἦσαι
πεῖθει μαι ποινὴν τεθρίπτων,
χάρμα δ' ἢ ἀλλότριον τι-
καροῖα πατέρῳ.
ἀγ' ἔπει' Ἀσπας βασιλεῖ
φίλιον ἐξέρωμεν ὕμνον.
τῷ πῶλιν κείνῳ θεοδμά-
τῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ,
ἄλλιδ' ὁ σάθμας ἱερῶν
ἐν νόμοις ἐκίσσῃ.

Musa etiam apud Dinomenem ad canendum mihi ob-
quere, præmium quadrigarum, Gaudium enim non alienum
a filio victoria patris. Agendum postea Ætnæ regi
gratum excogitemus hymnum: cui urbem illam cum di-
vinitus fundata libertate, Doricæ libræ in legibus Hiero
condidit. Benedictus makes this note upon it. Post-
quam poëta laudavit Hieronem ab eutrenia, & filium
Dinomenem à studio in patrem: ad alias ejusdem Dino-
menis laudes digreditur: quem Ætnæ regem appellat: nam
illam à se conditam Hiero dedit filio administrandum:
eumque ducem Ætnæorum constituit. This increases
our wonder to see Thraſybulus succeed Hiero. I be-
lieve the Syracusans favoured the brother in prejudice
of the son, to do greater honour to the memory of
Gelon; for Dinomenes, Hiero's son, was only Gelon's
nephew, but Thraſybulus was Gelon's brother; and
thus setting those upon the throne who were more nearly
related to Gelon, they more plainly shewed that
they looked upon him as the ground of the preten-
sion to the crown.

Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem (20).

- - - - none so wild,
But may be tam'd, and may be wisely mild.
If they consult true virtue's rules with care.
And lend to good advice a patient ear.

CREECH.

The sickness which made our Hiero fond of learned
conversation was the gravel. The scholiast on Pindar
(21) cites upon this a work of Aristotle that is lost.
Moreri is grossly out in ascribing to Hiero II what
belongs to Hiero I. I mean this learning that
he got upon his sick bed, &c.

HIERO II, king of Syracuse, descended from the family of Gelon, who had reigned in the same place; but because his mother was a servant, Hierocles, his father, looked upon him as a child that dishonoured his house, and abandoned him to the mercy of fortune (a). He was fed many days by bees, and as the soothsayers declared, that this was a presage that he should be king, Hierocles ordered him to be brought back to his house, and educated him with all possible care. The child improved very much by such an education, and distinguished himself many ways. He was a man of admirable beauty and strength, a graceful speaker, and he often fought with those that provoked him, and always had the victory. Pyrrhus gave him several military rewards (b). The Syracusans made him prætor [A], after the departure of Pyrrhus; and

(a) Ex ancilla
natus, ac prop-
terea à patre,
velut de hone-
famentum ge-
neris, exp-
fatus fuerat. Justin.
lib. xxiii, cap. iv.

(b) A Pyrrho
rege multis mili-
taribus donis do-
natus est.
Id. *ibid.*

[A] The Syracusans made him prætor. I have used the compendious expressions of Justin; but I will here clear up this matter, which is somewhat maimed in that author's narration. I say then, there was a misunderstanding betwixt the citizens of Syracuse and their army, and that the army encamping near Mergana proceeded to the creation of magistrates, and conferred that dignity upon two officers, Artemidorus and Hiero. The latter being introduced into Syracuse by the secret intrigues of his friends, surmounted the

opposition of the contrary party, and behaved himself with so much humanity and greatness of soul, that the inhabitants agreed to acknowledge him for their prætor, though they looked upon those assemblies as unlawful, in which the soldiers pretended to confer magistracies (1). Polybius, who is here my author, relates two instances of Hiero's ability. The first was that he remedied a disorder which was very prejudicial to the state. The Syracusans who staid in the town, whilst the troops and the prætors were in the field, raised

(c) Justin. lib.
xxiii. cap. iv.

as he discharged that office with great wisdom, all the cities unanimously agreed to appoint him Captain-general against the Carthaginians, and afterwards to raise him to the throne (c). He soon after carried on the war vigorously against the Mamertines, whom he had already defeated in some engagements, and he resolved to drive them out of Messina, which they had seized against all right and reason. They found themselves incapable of resisting him, and therefore they had recourse, some to the Carthaginians, others to the Romans. The question whether they should be succoured, was warmly debated at Rome, it was carried in the affirmative, and this was the occasion of the first Punic war. The consul Appius Claudius being ordered to succour the Mamertines, landed his troops in Sicily in the year of Rome 490. They delivered up their town to him, and obliged the Carthaginian general, who commanded in their fortrefs, to leave it. The Carthaginians laid siege to Messina, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops with theirs. The Roman consul resolved upon giving battle, and first attacked the Syracusans: the battle was very sharp; Hiero behaved himself there valiantly, but was beaten, and thought it convenient to return to Syracuse. Appius Claudius having likewise gained a victory over the Carthaginians, found himself master of the field, and advanced as far as Syracuse, and besieged it. Hiero seeing Sicily in consternation, and the Carthaginian forces much weakened, sent proposals of peace to the Romans: They were accepted, and from that time till his death, he faithfully adhered to their interests (d), and gave them all the proofs of the most sincere friendship [B]. If he had lived only five or six years after this alliance, to judge of things

(d) Ex Polybio,
lib. i, cap. x, &
seq.

raised a thousand seditions, and laboured to introduce innovations. It was therefore necessary that in the army's absence some persons should keep the citizens in their duty. Lepines was a very proper man for this, as having a great many clients, and much credit with the people. For this reason Hiero secured him, by marrying his daughter, and by that means obtained that the public tranquillity should be preserved in Syracuse whilst he was abroad at the head of the army. His second piece of policy, was his getting rid of the old foreign soldiers, who were mutinous and debauched. He took the field under pretence of engaging the Mamertines (2), and when he came in sight of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts; he placed his Syracusan soldiers on one side, and the foreigners on the other; and putting himself at the head of the former, as if to make an attack, he left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces. He raised other troops, and attacked the enemy so seasonably, that he obtained a glorious victory. He was created king after that exploit (3).

(2) The soldiers,
who possessed
themselves of
Messina in a
treacherous man-
ner, called them-
selves by that
name. See Poly-
bius in the seventh
chapter of the first
book.

(3) Taken from
Polybius, ibid.
cap. viii. & ix.

(4) In the year
of Rome 537.

(5) Titus Livius,
lib. xxii, pag. m.
340, 341. See
also Val. Maxim.
lib. iv, cap. viii.
n. 1, in Ext.

[B] He gave the Romans all the proofs of a sincere friendship.] In proof of this I shall relate what he did, when the Roman affairs were in a great confusion, after the victory that Hannibal obtained over them, near the lake Thrasymenus (4). It was the third battle they had lost in Italy from the time Hannibal entered it, that is, in a year's time. Less than that now-a-days would incline a prince to quit his allies, and take the conqueror's side; a prince, I say, whose territories should be situated as Syracuse was with respect to the republic of Carthage. And yet Hiero proved a generous ally, he stood fast to the interest of the Romans, and sent them good supplies. Read these words of Livy (5): 'Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Hostiam cum magno comœatu accessit. Legati Syracusani in Senatum introducti nuntiaverunt, eadem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam adeo ægrè tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sui propria, regni-que sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probè sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem propè adversus rebus, quàm secundis, esse, missa tamen à se omnia, quibus à bonis fidelibusque sociis bella juvari soleant. Quæ ne accipere abnuant, magnoperè se P. C. orare. Jam omnium primum omnis causa victoriam auream pondo CCCXX. afferre sese: acciperent eam, tenerentque & haberent propriam & perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia modiorum tritici, ducenta hordei, ne comœatus deessent. Et quantum præterea opus esset, & quod iussissent, subvecturos. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latiniq; nominis non uti populum Romanum: levium armatorum auxilia etiam externæ vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque missis mille sagittariorum ac funditorum aptam manum adversus Baleares ac Mauros, pugnacesque alias missi telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut Prætor, cui provincia Sicilia enensisset, classem in Africam trajiceret, ut & hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minisque laxamenti daretur his ad

auxilia Annibali summittenda. Ab Senatu ita responsum regi est, Virum bonum, egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse, ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munificè adjuvisse: id, perinde ac deberet, pergratum populo Romano esse. Aurum & à civitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum: victoriam, omneque accipere: sedemque ei se divæ dare, dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis Optimi Maximi. In ea arce urbis Romæ sacratam, volentem propitiâque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores, sagittariique, & frumentum traditum consulibus. — About this time a fleet arrived at Ostia from Hiero, with large supplies. The Syracusan ambassadors being introduced to the senate, said that Hiero, on receiving the news of the defeat of the consul Flaminius and his army, was as sensibly touched as it was possible for him to be for his own, or his kingdom's, misfortunes. That on that account, though he well knew that the Roman greatness was rather more admirable in adverse than in prosperous circumstances, he had sent such supplies as were usual from good and faithful allies to one another, when engaged in wars: and most earnestly begged that the senate would do him the honour to accept of them. That first of all, by way of good omen, they had brought a golden Victory of 320 pound weight: wishing they would receive it, and retain it, as their peculiar property for ever. That they had likewise brought 300000 measures of wheat, and 200000 measures of barley, lest provisions should fail, and that they were ready to bring as much more as they should have occasion for, to what port the senate should please to command them. That they knew that the Romans admitted of no legionary soldiers, or cavalry, but their own and those of the Latins, but they had observed light armed auxiliaries, even of foreign nations, in the Roman camps; and for that reason Hiero had sent a thousand archers and slingers, which would be of service against the Baleares, Mauritanians, and other nations, which used missile weapons. Together with these presents, they gave the following advice, that the prætor, to whose share the province of Sicily should fall, should send a fleet to Africa, that the enemy might not only have war in their own country, but might be left at liberty to send succours to Hannibal. The senate sent the following answer to the king. That Hiero had acted like a man of honour, and a faithful ally, had shown an uninterrupted fidelity, from the time he had first joined in amity with the Roman state, and had at all times, and on all occasions, liberally assisted them in their affairs: that the Romans had such sentiments of these favours as they deserved. That gold had been brought by some other states, and had, after returning them thanks, been refused by the Romans, but that they accepted the Victory, and the omen: and had appointed the capitol, the temple of Jupiter, for the abode of that goddess. In which fortrefs of the city of Rome she would be sacred, willing, and propitious,

(e) See Polybius, *ibid.* cap. xvi.

(f) Pausan. *lib.* vi, cap. xii, pag. 430.

(g) *Id.* *ibid.* cap. xv, pag. 489. But note, that he says, pag. 480, that his sons erected two statues to him, and pag. 489, that they erected but one, and that the Syracusans erected two.

(h) See Polybius, *lib.* v, cap. xxxviii.

(i) Concerning the cure Hiero took to get Archimedes's Geometrical speculations applied to mechanical uses. See Plutarch, in *Vita Marcelli*, pag. 305.

things by the present age, we should have reason to wonder at his constancy. How great therefore ought our admiration to be, when we consider that he lived near fifty years after? This long reign was a very happy one; for Hiero's conduct was attended with so much prudence, that it preserved him secure amongst his own subjects, procured him a great reputation abroad, and gave success to all his public and private affairs. He cultivated the friendship of the Greeks, and was proud of sharing in the prizes which they bestowed on the victors in their games (e). His sons erected him a statue on horse-back, and another on foot in Olympia (f); his subjects erected others also in the same place (g). The money he gave to the Rhodians, and the presents he sent them after that great earthquake, which had made havock of their island, and over-turned their Colossus, is a very noble instance of his liberality, and magnificence (b). He ordered a ship to be built which was one of the most famous vessels in antiquity; Archimedes (i) was the director of the work. You will find the description of it in Athenæus (k), who cites a book written purely upon that subject by one Moschion. The 16th Idyl of Theocritus is addressed to this king of Syracuse, and the author seems to complain of having praised him without obtaining a recompence. Hiero composed some books of Agriculture (l), and died at the age of ninety [C], in the second year of the CXLII Olympiad, and the 539 (m) of Rome. He out-lived his son Gelon (n), who was married to Nereis, daughter of Pyrrhus (o), by whom he left a son, named Hieronymus (p). He observed that this Hieronymus was vain, and he feared lest the good condition in which he had settled his kingdom, would quickly change under such a prince. This made him desirous to restore the Syracusans to their liberty; but his daughters hindered him [D], and in his great

(k) Athen. *lib.* vi, pag. 206, & seq. See the article ARCHIMELUS.

(l) See the remark [C].

(m) And not 529, as Mareri says.

(n) Calvisius ad ann. Romæ 538, supposes the contrary, and is mistaken.

(o) Pausan. *lib.* vi, cap. xii, pag. 479.

(p) Polybius, in excerpt. Legat. cap. i. Titus Liv. *lib.* xxiv, pag. 382.

'tious, firm and constant to the Roman people. The slingers and archers, and the corn was delivered to the consuls.' We scarce now see so generous a conduct amongst private persons. Gelon, the son of Hiero, had not strength of mind sufficient to imitate so great an example. He forsook the vanquished party without any regard to the trouble he should thereby give his father. You will see Livy's words in this passage of Calaubon. 'Fides vera & constantia ejusdem (Hieronis) in conservanda Po. Ro. majestate laudari satis pro merito non queat; quum præsertim ea mox & deinceps perpæsecuta sint tempora, quæ ejus constantiam eximie probarent. Quot & quantas clades populus Ro. bello Punico primo, & secundi initio sit perpeffus, nemo nescit. Solent adverfa hominum voluntates, & addita mentium nudare. Hieronis propositum & constantiam in suscepta semel amicitia Romanorum, non Reguli calamitas, non Claudii naufragium, non Thrafymenus, non Trebia, postremo ne Cannensis quidem dies potuit labefactare. Mansit inconcussa illi fides, etiam tunc quum & in Italia & extra Italiam omnes Po. Ro. focii & amici ad Pænos fortunam secuti inclinabant: ne domus quidem Hieronis tota (verba sunt Livii) ab defectione abstinuit, namque Gelo maximus stirpis contempta simul senectute patris, simul post Cannensium cladem Romana societate ad Pænos defecit. Hiero tamen nihil fecius immotus stetit, ceu Marpesia quædam cautes, eique etiam tunc fides constitit: quam etiam ad extremum vitæ constantissime servavit (6). —

(6) Calaubonus, *Commentar. in Polyb.* pag. 151, 152.

The extraordinary fidelity and constancy of Hiero in preserving the majesty of Rome, cannot be sufficiently praised; especially if we consider that then, and frequently afterwards, there happened conjunctures, which put his constancy to very singular trials. Every body knows how great, and how many disasters the Romans suffered in the first Punic war, and in the beginning of the second. Adversity usually discovers peoples inclinations, and strips the mind of all disguises. Neither the calamity of Regulus, the shipwreck of Claudius, neither Thrafymene, nor Trebia, nor even Cannæ itself, could shake the resolution and constancy of Hiero in the alliance he had contracted with the Romans. It continued firm even when all the allies and friends of Rome, both in Italy and out of it, following fortune, inclined to the Carthaginians. Even Hiero's own family (to use the words of Livy) was not free from this defection, for his eldest son Gelo, despising at once the old age of his father, and the alliance of the Romans after the battle of Cannæ, went over to the Carthaginians. Hiero, notwithstanding, remained unmoved, and continued in that fidelity, which he constantly preserved to the end of his life. Let us add another observation. This prince's fidelity to the Romans was sometimes very burdensome to him; for sometimes the Carthaginian vessels made great ravage in his country (7). Lastly, let us observe that on his death-bed he recommended it to the tutors of his grandson, who was to be his successor, not

(7) See Livy, *lib.* xxii, pag. m. 349.

to suffer any change in the alliance he had so faithfully kept with the Romans (8).

[C] Hiero died at the age of ninety. Livy affirms it as we shall see in the following remark. Lucian (9) cites Demetrius Calistianus, who wrote that Hiero died of sickness at ninety two years of age, having reigned seventy. Let us keep to the round number of Livy and Valerius Maximus. *Siciliæ rex Hiero ad nonagesimum annum pervenit* (10). — Hiero, the king of Sicily, lived ninety years. Note, by the way, a small mistake of Father Hardouin. Hieron, Siciliæ Rex, quem inter scriptores de agricultura memorant Varro, & Columella l. i. c. i. cum Attalo Philometore Pergami rege. Multa de eo præclare habet Valerius Max. l. 8. c. 13. p. 405 (11). — Hiero, king of Sicily, is mentioned by Varro and Columella, among the writers on Agriculture, together with Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus. Valerius Maximus tells many extraordinary things concerning him. Consult Valerius Maximus in the place that Father Hardouin has quoted, and you will find nothing about Hiero but the seven words that I have set down, but you will there a great many curious things concerning Massaniassa, king of Numidia. I am persuaded that a false glance of the eye was the cause of Father Hardouin's mistake. One line skipped, made him believe that the whole page related to Hiero: that little leap eclipsed Massaniassa in the following line: this is a cause of mistakes that spreads itself farther than is imagined. A writer, who is to consult many authors, dwells upon things as little as he can; his eyes run over the pages with great swiftness; they glance sometimes too lightly upon certain lines, that the mind retains no idea of them, and then the pen joins facts together which it ought to separate. To conclude, Hiero did not reign seventy years as Lucian affirms: he was prætor seven years before he was proclaimed king (12).

(8) Livius, *lib.* xxiv, pag. 381.

(9) Lucian, in Macrobiis, pag. 635. Tom. II. Oper.

(10) Valer. Maxim. *lib.* viii, cap. xiii, n. 1, in Ext.

(11) Hardouin. in cap. xiii, n. 1, pag. 115.

(12) See Calaubon, *lib.* i, pag. m. 99, 100.

[D] He desired to restore the Syracusans to their liberty, but his daughters hindered him. It was because they saw that their husbands and themselves should have the chief management of the kingdom. Livy describes this admirably well. In Siciliæ, says he, (13), Romanis omnia mutaverat mors Hieronis, regnumque ad Hieronymum nepotem ejus translatum, puerum vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem modicè laturum. Læte id ingenium tutores atque amici ad præcipitandum in omnia vitia acceperunt. Quæ ita futura cernens Hiero, ultima senectæ voluisse dicitur liberas Syracusas relinquere, ne sub dominio puerili per ludibrium bonis artibus partum firmatumque interiret regnum. Huic consilio ejus summa ope obfistere filia: nomen regum penes puerum futurum ratæ, regimen rerum omnium penes se, virosque suos, Andronodorum, & Zoilum, nam ii tutorum primi relinquebantur. Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum, circumfesso dies noctisque muliebris blanditiis liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privatamque curam. Itaque tutores numero quindecim puero reliquit.

(13) Tit. Livius, *lib.* xxiv, pag. 381.

great age he had not sufficient resolution to resist the caresses and artifices of these two women who beset him day and night. He was therefore obliged to leave the kingdom to his grandson, under the tuition of fifteen persons. What the old man forefaw happened. There was nothing but confusion in Syracuse after his death [E]. Paufanias is mistaken in saying that Dinomenes killed him (q).

(p) Paufan. lib. vi, cap. xlii, pag. 480.

'quit. — In Sicily the Roman affairs were quite changed by the death of Hiero, and the succession of his nephew Hieronymus to the crown, a boy, who was not capable of enjoying liberty with moderation, much less dominion. His guardians and friends joyfully laid bold of this disposition of his to precipitate him into all manner of vice. It has been related that Hiero, in his old age having foreseen this, intended to have left the Syracusans a free state, to prevent the kingdom which he had obtained and established by his great abilities, to be shamefully lost under the government of a boy. His daughters earnestly opposed this design, thinking that though the name of king should be with Hieronymus, yet that the authority would be lodged with them and their husbands, Andronodorus and Zoilus: for they were appointed his chief guardians. It was too hard a task for him in the ninetieth year of his age, beset night and day with their female arts, to preserve a freedom of spirit, and to employ it in public and private cares. He therefore left fifteen guardians to him.'

[E] There was nothing but confusion in Syracuse after his death.] The first thing that was done, was to present to the people Hiero's will, and Hieronymus the new king, who was but fifteen years old. Some people hired to make acclamations approved of the will: others were filled with disquiet, and considered the kingdom as an orphan who had just lost his father. A little after they proceeded to the funeral solemnity, which if it was considerable for the number of those who attended it, it ought rather to be attributed to the love of the people than to the care of Hiero's family (14). After this Andronodorus, son-in-law of the deceased, and one of Hieronymus's fifteen tutors, declared, that the king was of age to govern, and that the minority was expired. By this he assumed to himself the power of all the others. Royal equipage was introduced, and whereas Hiero always went in a common dress, his grandson appeared in purple with a diadem and guards. This outward pomp was attended with an equal pride, cruelty, and debauchery; and one would have thought that Hieronymus was at pains to make them lament the loss of his grandfather. Had he had the qualities of the best princes, he would have scarce contented the Syracusans, they so adored his predecessor. What discontent then must they have had under a successor so unlike him? I cannot sufficiently admire the dignity of the expressions that Livy makes use of to represent it. 'Vix quidem ulli bono, moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ charitati Hieronis: Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu omnia quàm disparia essent, ostendit. Nam qui per tot annos Hieronem, filiumque ejus Gelonem, nec vestis habitu, nec alio ullo insigni differentes à cæteris civibus vidissent, conspexere purpuram, ac diadema, ac satellites armatos, quadrigisque etiam alborum equorum interdum ex regia procedentem, more Dionysii tyranni. Hunc tam superbum apparatus, habitumque convenientes sequebantur mores; contemptus omnium hominum, superbaures, contumeliosa dicta, aditus non alienis modo, sed tutoribus etiam difficiles, libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas (15). — It would have been no easy matter, even for a good and moderate prince, to have gained the love of the Syracusans who so adored their late king Hiero. But Hieronymus, as if he had designed by his vices to make his grandfather's memory more dear to them, all at once showed them how much every thing was altered. They who for so many years had seen Hiero and his son Gelo differing neither in

dress, nor by any other marks of distinction, from the other citizens, now saw the purple, the diadem, the armed guards and chariots drawn by white horses, issuing from the palace after the manner of the tyrant Dionysius. And this pomp and gorgeous dress was attended with suitable manners: with a contempt of all men, with pride, contumelious speeches, difficulty of access, not only to strangers, but to his guardians themselves, unheard-of lusts and inhuman cruelty.'

This young king preferred the alliance of the Carthaginians to that of Rome (16); but he had not time allowed him to do them service; they conspired against him and killed him (17). Andronodorus fortified himself as well as he could in some places of Syracuse; and yet, contrary to the advice of Demarata (18) his wife, Hiero's daughter, he submitted to the new republican government, and was created prætor: but new troubles arising, he tried to make an advantage of them, being teized with the continual infatigations of his wife (19). He concerted his enterprize with Themistius, the husband of Harmonia, Gelo's daughter, and PERIANDER, trusted it to a comedian, who betrayed him: so that he and Themistius were killed as they entered the senate (20). To justify this murder, it was necessary to represent to the people the crime of these two men. The orator who was appointed to do it, said, amongst other things, that their wives had filled them with ambition. The people upon this vehemently cried out, that these two women ought to die, and the whole race of the tyrants. This was immediately decreed and executed. Livy, in relating this tragical adventure, doth not forget to make a reflexion upon the capricious and changeable temper of the populace. 'Sub hanc vocem ex omnibus partibus concionis clamor oritur, nullam eorum vivere debere, nec quenquam superesse tyrannorum stirpis. Hæc natura multitudinis est: aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur; libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modicè, nec habere sciunt, & non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem & cædes, irriterent: sicut tum extemplo Prætores rogationem promulgant. Acceptaque penè prius quàm promulgata est, ut omnis regia stirps interficretur. Missique à Prætoribus Demaratam Hieronis, & Harmoniam Gelonis filias, conjuges Andronodori & Themistii, interfecerunt (21). — Up-

on this a cry arose from all parts of the assembly, that neither of them ought to live, and that none of the race of the tyrants should escape. Such is the nature of the populace: they either serve meekly or command insolently: and do not know with moderation, either to despise or enjoy liberty, which is the middle betwixt these two, and there are seldom wanting those who, indulging the popular fury, stir up their eager and headstrong passions to blood and slaughter. And so it happened in this case, the prætors without delay put it to the vote. And it was decreed, almost sooner than it was proposed, that all the royal family should be put to death. Accordingly the prætors sent and slew Demarata, daughter to Hiero, and Harmonia daughter to Gelo, and the wives of Andronodorus and Themistius. There remained a daughter of Hiero named Heracles: when she knew that they were come to kill her, she shut herself up with her two daughters in the chapel of her house, and placed herself by her Penates, using the most pathetic supplications and the strongest arguments to save her life, or at least that of her daughters; but all in vain, she was dragged from the chapel and murdered. Her two daughters who had escaped from the house, were killed in the streets (22). See the margin (23).

(14) Funus sit regium magis amore civium & charitate, quam cura suorum celeberr. T. Livius, lib. xxiiv, pag. 381.

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) Id. ibid.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Id. ibid.

(24) Id. ibid.

(25) Id. ibid.

(26) Id. ibid.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Id. ibid.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) Id. ibid.

(31) Id. ibid.

(32) Id. ibid.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) Id. ibid.

(35) Id. ibid.

(36) Id. ibid.

(37) Id. ibid.

(38) Id. ibid.

(39) Id. ibid.

(40) Id. ibid.

(41) Id. ibid.

(42) Id. ibid.

(43) Id. ibid.

(44) Id. ibid.

(45) Id. ibid.

(46) Id. ibid.

(47) Id. ibid.

(48) Id. ibid.

(49) Id. ibid.

(50) Id. ibid.

(51) Id. ibid.

(52) Id. ibid.

(53) Id. ibid.

(54) Id. ibid.

(55) Id. ibid.

(56) Id. ibid.

(57) Id. ibid.

(58) Id. ibid.

(59) Id. ibid.

(60) Id. ibid.

(61) Id. ibid.

(62) Id. ibid.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) Id. ibid.

(65) Id. ibid.

(66) Id. ibid.

(67) Id. ibid.

(68) Id. ibid.

(69) Id. ibid.

(70) Id. ibid.

(71) Id. ibid.

(72) Id. ibid.

(73) Id. ibid.

(74) Id. ibid.

(75) Id. ibid.

(76) Id. ibid.

(77) Id. ibid.

(78) Id. ibid.

(79) Id. ibid.

(80) Id. ibid.

(81) Id. ibid.

(82) Id. ibid.

(83) Id. ibid.

(84) Id. ibid.

(85) Id. ibid.

(86) Id. ibid.

(87) Id. ibid.

(88) Id. ibid.

(89) Id. ibid.

(90) Id. ibid.

(91) Id. ibid.

(92) Id. ibid.

(93) Id. ibid.

(94) Id. ibid.

(95) Id. ibid.

(96) Id. ibid.

(97) Id. ibid.

(98) Id. ibid.

(99) Id. ibid.

(100) Id. ibid.

(101) Id. ibid.

(102) Id. ibid.

(103) Id. ibid.

(104) Id. ibid.

(105) Id. ibid.

(106) Id. ibid.

(107) Id. ibid.

(108) Id. ibid.

(109) Id. ibid.

(110) Id. ibid.

(111) Id. ibid.

(112) Id. ibid.

(113) Id. ibid.

(114) Id. ibid.

(115) Id. ibid.

(116) Id. ibid.

(117) Id. ibid.

(118) Id. ibid.

(119) Id. ibid.

(120) Id. ibid.

(121) Id. ibid.

(122) Id. ibid.

(123) Id. ibid.

(124) Id. ibid.

(125) Id. ibid.

(126) Id. ibid.

(127) Id. ibid.

(128) Id. ibid.

(129) Id. ibid.

(130) Id. ibid.

(131) Id. ibid.

(132) Id. ibid.

(133) Id. ibid.

(134) Id. ibid.

(135) Id. ibid.

(136) Id. ibid.

(137) Id. ibid.

(138) Id. ibid.

(139) Id. ibid.

(140) Id. ibid.

(141) Id. ibid.

(142) Id. ibid.

(143) Id. ibid.

(144) Id. ibid.

(145) Id. ibid.

(146) Id. ibid.

(147) Id. ibid.

(148) Id. ibid.

(149) Id. ibid.

(150) Id. ibid.

(151) Id. ibid.

(152) Id. ibid.

(153) Id. ibid.

(154) Id. ibid.

(155) Id. ibid.

(156) Id. ibid.

(157) Id. ibid.

(158) Id. ibid.

(159) Id. ibid.

(160) Id. ibid.

(161) Id. ibid.

(162) Id. ibid.

(163) Id. ibid.

(164) Id. ibid.

(165) Id. ibid.

(166) Id. ibid.

(167) Id. ibid.

(168) Id. ibid.

(169) Id. ibid.

(170) Id. ibid.

(171) Id. ibid.

(172) Id. ibid.

(173) Id. ibid.

(174) Id. ibid.

(175) Id. ibid.

(176) Id. ibid.

(177) Id. ibid.

(178) Id. ibid.

(179) Id. ibid.

(180) Id. ibid.

(181) Id. ibid.

(182) Id. ibid.

(183) Id. ibid.

(184) Id. ibid.

(185) Id. ibid.

(186) Id. ibid.

(187) Id. ibid.

(188) Id. ibid.

(189) Id. ibid.

(190) Id. ibid.

(191) Id. ibid.

(192) Id. ibid.

(193) Id. ibid.

(194) Id. ibid.

(195) Id. ibid.

(196) Id. ibid.

(197) Id. ibid.

(198) Id. ibid.

(199) Id. ibid.

(200) Id. ibid.

(201) Id. ibid.

(202) Id. ibid.

(203) Id. ibid.

(204) Id. ibid.

(205) Id. ibid.

(206) Id. ibid.

(207) Id. ibid.

(208) Id. ibid.

(209) Id. ibid.

(210) Id. ibid.

(211) Id. ibid.

(212) Id. ibid.

(213) Id. ibid.

(214) Id. ibid.

(215) Id. ibid.

(216) Id. ibid.

(217) Id. ibid.

(218) Id. ibid.

(219) Id. ibid.

(220) Id. ibid.

(221) Id. ibid.

(222) Id. ibid.

(223) Id. ibid.

(224) Id. ibid.

(225) Id. ibid.

(226) Id. ibid.

(227) Id. ibid.

(228) Id. ibid.

(229) Id. ibid.

(230) Id. ibid.

(231) Id. ibid.

(232) Id. ibid.

(233) Id. ibid.

(234) Id. ibid.

(235) Id. ibid.

(236) Id. ibid.

(237) Id. ibid.

(238) Id. ibid.

(239) Id. ibid.

(240) Id. ibid.

HIERO, a great friend of Nicias, and head of the colony which rebuilt Thurium (a), pretended to be the son of Dionysius, surnamed Χαλκός [A], that is to say of brass, æneus. He was bred up at Nicias's house, who himself instructed him in Literature and Music. He in return used a great many artifices to recommend Nicias (b). I have found an error in Amiot, and in some Dictionaries (c).

[A] The son of Dionysius surnamed Χαλκός. This Dionysius was a poet. Some of his poems were still extant in Plutarch's time (1). His Elegies are cited by Athenæus (2), and by Aristotle (3). He was also an

orator; for he was surnamed Χαλκός, because the Athenians, being persuaded by one of his orations, made use of brass money (4). See the margin (5).

HIEROPHILUS, a Physician of whom I can say nothing else but that he taught his art to a certain maid called Agnodice. She was obliged to disguise herself in a man's dress; for there was a law among the Athenians, which prohibited women and slaves to study Physic (a). Agnodice becoming a Midwife, gave occasion to the repeal of that law. It is too curious a piece of history not to be related in a remark [A].

[A] It is too curious, a piece of history not to be related in a remark. Hyginus relates that the ancients having no midwives, abundance of women died in travel, because shame hindered them from applying to the Physicians; and there was a law among the Athenians forbidding women to practise Physic. hereupon Agnodice, a young woman, having a great inclination for that science, disguised herself in man's apparel, and learned it. After which she used to seek out women that were in labour, and to take away all scruples, she immediately shewed them what she was, and so brought them to bed. The Physicians, observing that they lost their practice with the women, sued her, accusing her of an unlawful commerce with the sex. They complained also of I know not what collusion, and certain pretended illnesses that they had to countenance the gallant. In a word they caused her to be condemned by the Areopagites; but she shewed so plainly the proofs of her innocence in a full senate, that the Physicians were forced to change their battery, to wit, to recur to the law that prohibited women the profession of Physic. The Athenian ladies interposed, and caused the law to be reformed; so that free women were permitted to learn that art (1). The author from whom I borrow these words, makes a reflexion against Hyginus. 'There is says he (2), but little exactness in these words of Hyginus: for one might conclude from his discourse, that from the time that Agnodice laid the women, they no longer employed the Physicians in that affair, which would prove against this author's own observation, that they made use of their assistance in it before. But tho' there be no exactness in his words, we may at least save him from a contradiction, by supposing he meant that the women having been assisted in their lyings-in by Agnodice, would no longer make use of any body but her in their other indispositions, wherein they had no scruple against employing the Physicians.' This author makes another remark upon Hyginus's observation, that before Agnodice practised Midwifery, several women had died, who had not the courage to make use of a Physician (3). 'It must be confessed, says the writer of the *News from the Republic of Letters* (4), that shame is no less subject than other things to the caprice of the fashion. Time has been that it was the fashion to be ashamed to make use of a Man-Midwife, and we read in Louise Bourgeois a very dexterous Midwife, that Henry IV charged her to do her duty so well with queen Mary de Medicis, that it might not be necessary to have recourse to a man; for her modesty, added he, would suffer too much by it. At present it is à la mode to be void of that shame; outrage is much more enlightened than the preceding.' This railery against the present age is not well grounded; for if on one hand there is now less shame in some respects, impudence on the other hand is less than it was at Athens. Are there any virtuous women at present, who would have the assurance in a full auditory to take up their pericots, and demonstrate to the judges that they are women? Agnodice did so in the Areopagus, the gravest and most venerable tribunal that was in the world. Quod cum vidissent medici, se ad feminas non admitti, Agnodicen acculare cœperunt, quod dicerent

eum glabrum esse & corruptorem earum, & illas famulare imbecillitatem. Quo cum Areopagitarum cœdissent, Agnodicen damnare cœperunt. Quibus Agnodice tunicam allevavit, & se offendit sceminam esse (5). Could there be a more consummate impudence than this? had she not before given sufficient proofs of her want of shame? could not she have discovered her sex by more modest methods than those she used to the women? Quæ cum credere se nolisset, æstimans virum esse, illa tunica sublata ostendebat se sceminam esse (6). Those prelates, who, to purge themselves of incontinency, have shewn their nakedness in full councils (7), do not come up to the impudence of this Athenian woman. I have said elsewhere, that Albertus Magnus practised Midwifery, if we may believe scandalous report (8). If this be so, it is a long time since the modesty of the Athenian women has been gone; and as the reputation of Albertus was very well established, who knows but that some women gloried in being delivered by his hand? just as Molier's precise ladies would have every thing, even their under stockings, made by the best hand. Since the first edition of this dictionary I have seen in the journalsists of Leipzig, an observation which will serve here for a supplement. It can be denied, say they, that the French are fitter than any other nation to instruct us how women may be assisted in their labour. It is not because they have a more happy genius, but because they have frequent occasions of being present at child births. It is the fashion in France, that even new married women, casting away all shame, permit themselves, without scruple, to be seen and handled by Chirurgeons, and all sorts of women desire their presence and assistance when they are ready to lie-in. A quite different custom prevails in other nations: for commonly women, and especially those who are newly married, are so scrupulous, that they can hardly be persuaded to put themselves into the hands of the midwives and their particular friends: It is only necessity brings them to it, and when the pain is so strong as to overcome their repugnance. As I do not translate this word for word, I will insert the Latin of the Leipzig Journal, to shew that I express the sense of it with all the necessary faithfulness. Non est negandum, de adjuvandis parturientibus Gallos præ cæteris nationibus nos instruere posse, non ingenio, sed occasione, qua licet ipsis quam frequentissime partui adesse, feliciores. Ita enim moris apud ipsos est, ut posito pudore, etiam recens nuptæ ad tactum atque explorationem omnem chirurgos admittant faciles, & partus tempore præsentis atque adjuvatores sceminæ qualibet eos expetant. Quod longe fit aliter apud ceteras nationes, ubi ple-rumque vix persuaderi possunt uxoreculæ, cumprimis nuper in matrimonium ductæ, ut obstericibus pro-prieque sexus amicis sui faciant copiam, nisi doloribus ac necessitate victæ (9). Thus the journalsists of Leipzig speak at the beginning of the extract of a book published by a Chirurgeon of Paris (10) in the year 1694, and intituled *The Practice of Midwifery*. That Chirurgeon did not print his observations, till after a long experience; he had assisted at the deliveries of four or

(a) A town of Italy.
(b) Taken from Plut. in Vita Nicias.
(c) See the quotation (5).

(a) Athenienses cavarent ne quis servus aut femina artem Medicinam diceret. Hygin. cap. cclxxiv.

(5) Hygin. cap. cclxxiv, pag. m. 329.
(6) Id. ibid. pag. 328.

(7) Concerning Dionysius, Patriarch of Constantinople, see the New Letters of Agnati Maimbourg, pag. 686, to which you may add these words; Attestantibus Nicephoro & Zonara, quum Macedonius Episcopus Constantinopolitani, sub Anastasio, falso atque fictitious Arrianorum & Manichæorum ab adolescentulis, impure Veneris; & Methodius Patriarcha, sub Michaeli, stupri accusati essent: ambos ut convincerent mendacium, tunicâ subductâ ostendisse, virilibus se erigere; & exinde à criminibus illis liberatos, acque immunes fuisse pronunciatum. - Nicephorus & Zonaras relate, that Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople under Anostolus, being falsely accused of unnatural lust, by certain young men, at the instigation of the Arrian and Manichean factions; and that Methodius, the patriarch, in the reign of the emperor Michael, being likewise accused of the same crime, put off their garments, and showed that they were castrated, and by that means were declared innocent of the crimes laid to their charge. Salmuth in Pancrolium, Part. II, pag. 88.

(8) See his article, remark [B]. (9) Actor. Eruditor. Lips. Supplem. Tom. II, Sect. x, pag. 470. (10) Called Philip Peu.

(11) Called Francis Mauricau.

(12) See the Leipzig Journal, January 1695, pag. 42.

five thousand women. Another Chirurgion of the same city (11) published another book the year following intitled, *Observations upon the pregnancy and deliveries of women, &c.* It contains 700 choice observations out of more than three thousand, which the author has made (12). This is enough to prove

that it is the prevailing fashion at Paris, to make use of men and not of women Midwives. The time will come perhaps that the same mode will prevail over the greatest part of Europe; shame will undergo the fate of a thousand other things, which are subject to the capricious and inconstant laws of custom.

HILDEBERT, bishop of Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours in the beginning of the XIIth century, had led a very scandalous life before he attained the mitre [A]. It is in vain they wrangle hereupon with the Annalist of the Romish church [B], and alledge the discoveries of a critic against him. Father Maimbourg successfully produced an action of this prelate [C], to insult those few bishops, who opposed the extension

[A] He led a very irregular life before he attained the mitre. Even after his promotion to the dignity of archdeacon, he kept so many concubines, that he had bastards of both sexes in abundance. This is what Ivo bishop of Chartres writ to him (1). 'Dicunt quidam de majoribus Cenomanensis Ecclesie qui antea vitam tuam se nosse testantur, quod ultra modum laxaveris fræna pudicitie, in tantum ut post acceptum Archidiaconatum, accubante lateribus tuis plebe muliercularum multam generis plebem puerorum & puellarum. — Some of the rulers of the church of Mans, who pretend to be well acquainted with your past life, testify that you set no bounds to your lust, in so much that even after you arrived at the degree of an archdeacon, you had numberless concubines constantly with you, by whom you had many, both sons and daughters.'

(1) This letter is 277th. See Menage, *Histoire de Sable*, pag. 107.

(2) Notis in Epist. 277. Ivonis Carnutensis.

[B] It is in vain to wrangle hereupon with the annalist of the church of Rome. Juret (2) censures Baronius for having written in Annals upon the authority of this letter of Ivo of Chartres, that Hildebert before he was a bishop was addicted to women, pretending that this letter was written to one Aldebert, and not to Hildebert. Aldebert, Cenomanensis Ecclesia electo, it is thus this letter is intitled at the end of the manuscript letters of Ivo of Chartres in the library of St Victor.

But Father Sirmond, in his notes upon Godfrey of Vendôme, has very well justified Baronius; these are his words. 'Hildebertus vir in Episcopatu eximius, ante illum, vitæ solutioris, ut indicat Ivonis epistola 277. 'Quid quidem, qui de Hildeberto, quo de agimus, scriptam, pertinaciter neget, is, opinor, clausis oculis sibi credi velit. Ecuq; enim alia Ivonis tempore Cenomanensis Episcopio electio fuit, quam Hildeberti? Quem præterea scimus ex Archidiacono, quod Ivo notat, ad Episcopalem Cathedram evectum. Neque tamen hæc ita dissero, ut viri docti, qui contra sensu, nominis obrectem: sed quia immortalis memoriæ Cardinali Baronio me debere iudico, ut quæ rectè & verè ab eo dicta sunt, ea ut pro veris habeantur, enitar quoad possum (3). — Hildebert was a very good bishop, but before he arrived at that dignity he was guilty of many irregularities, as we learn from Ivo in his 277th epistle. They who obstinately deny that this letter was wrote to this Hildebert, would have us blindly to believe whatever they say. For what other election of a bishop of Mans was there in the days of Ivo, but that of Hildebert? we know likewise, that he was advanced from being archdeacon (as Ivo observes) to the episcopal see. I do not say this with any intention of lessening the reputation of the learned man who has maintained the contrary opinion: but because I think I owe so much to the immortal memory of cardinal Baronius as to endeavour to the utmost my power that what he has justly and truly wrote, should be acknowledged to be true.' Mr Menage adds some good things to these reasons of Father Sirmond.

(4) Ibid. pag. 108.

Hildebertus, says he (4), and Aldebertus is the same name: and Hildebert bishop of Mans calls himself Aldebertus in one of his letters printed in the thirteenth volume of the Spicilegium. *Ranulfo, Dei gratia, Dunelmensis Episcopo, omni honore & gratia sublimando, ALDEBERTUS, humilis Cenomanorum Sacerdos.* He is thus called in a charter of the abbey of Etival, produced by Mr Pavillon in his observations upon the life of Abrissel. *Aldeberto Episcopo Cenomanensi*: for thus it ought to be read, and not *Alberto Episcopo Cenomanensi*: there having been no Albert bishop of Mans. In a charter of Frontevaux, produced by Colnier, page 131 of his notes upon the life of Arbrissel, he is also called Aldebertus; which is the same thing as Aldebertus. Courvaissier in the life of Hildebert, confirms the letter of Ivo of Chartres by this place of the Ne-

crologium of St Peter de La Cour of Mans: Tertio Idus Augusti, obiit Gervasius, Hildeberti Præfatus filius; matris Ecclesie Canonicus: qui vivens, ad hujus Ecclesie servitium quandam contulit Bibliothecam; cujus anima quiete fruatur æterna: On the elevenib of August died Gervasius son to bishop Hildebert; a canon of the mother church; who in his lifetime left a library for the use of this church; may his soul rest in eternal peace. Pretending that this Gervasius was the natural son of Hildebert, Bondonnet pretends he was only his spiritual son. But in the acts of the bishops of Mans, published by Dom Mabillon in the third volume of his *Analecæ*, the *delecta juventutis* of this bishop are mentioned, which farther confirms Ivo of Chartres's letter. Mr Menage mentions in his additions (5) two charters produced by Father de la Mainferme (6), in which our Hildebert is called Audebertus. Thus Juret's criticism (7) falls to the ground, together with the praises given him by Father Maimbourg. See the following remark.

[C] Father Maimbourg successfully produced an action of this prelate. He first praises this prelate. St Hildebert, says he (8), bishop of Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, was one of the most holy and learned prelates that the Gallican church ever had. 'We have some epistles and some other fine works of his in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. It is he whom St Bernard calls the excellent pontif, and the great pillar of the church; of whom the most famous writers speak with the greatest commendations, and whose sanctity God himself was pleased to declare and honour, by miracles wrought at his tomb. And upon this occasion I think my self obliged to say, that I may give the honour that is due to his memory, that those who have written upon the credit of an epistle of Ivo of Chartres, that when Hildebert was made bishop of Mans, he led a very scandalous life, have taken him for another, being misled by the inscription of that epistle, wherein they have found Hildebert instead of Aldebert, as it is read in the old copies, as Monsieur Juret, to whom we owe this important remark, has shewn in his learned notes upon Ivo of Chartres. After this Maimbourg says, that Hildebert was translated from the bishopric of Mans, to the archbishopric of Tours, by Pope Honorius II, in the year 1125, and that having found two canonies in his church which Lewis the Barly had filled during the vacancy of the archbishopric, he went himself to court to make his most humble remonstrances to the king (9). He was heard, but being not contented with the sentence that was pronounced, he demanded a canonical determination; his obstinacy occasioned the revenues of his archbishopric to be confiscated. Then he had only recourse to the most submissive entreaties, recommending himself to a bishop who was in the king's favour. 'I do not write to you, said he, to complain of the king's proceedings, to exasperate you by my complaints, to raise clamours, troubles, seditions, and tempests against the Lord's Anointed, and to demand the rigour and censures of the church against him. So far from that, I only desire that you would be so kind as to intercede for me, and by your good and charitable offices to prevail with the king, not to exercise his anger and indignation against a poor bishop loaded with years, who only desires to live a quiet life.'

Mr Menage does not fail to observe, that the king continued in full possession and enjoyment of his right, and that Pope Honorius, that most Holy Pontif and great protector of this archbishop, found no fault with it. Observe how this historian, in his history of Lutheranism, stuffs in an episode upon the affair of the Regale, in order to make his court to the king, by decrying the conduct of the bishop of Paris.

(5) Pag. 310.

(6) In Cyprien naktens Fontebaldensis Ordinis, pag. 62, & 73.

(7) Vossius, de Hist. Latin. pag. 44, and after him Moreri, has adopted this criticism.

(8) Hist. du Luthéranisme, liv. II, pag. m. 192.

(9) Ibid. pag. 193.

* Nec tamen hec loquor tanquam vobis clamorem super Christo Domini deprensus, tanquam postulant Ecclesiæ rigorem discipline. Subvenire Ecclesiæ & mihi per vestrum deprecor interventionem, & Regi ex charitate suggeri, ne legittas suas in se ne complet Geordote. Hildebert Epist. vii. ad Leonem Decretum, Tom. XIII, Spicilegium.

* But perhaps Aldebert was put here by contraction for Aldebertus, and perhaps Aldebertus is the same name.

tion of the Regale. The remark I shall make upon this subject, will contain some things relating to our Hildebert's history. Illyricus has reckoned him among the witnesses of the truth, because of a very smart letter which he wrote against the court of Rome [D]. He was of no great birth [E].

miers and Pope Innocent XI. He took the same method with respect to all the affairs of the time, as he has been upbraided with it in the fourth and fifth letter of the General Criticism on his History of Calvinism.

[D] He wrote a very smart letter against the court of Rome. It contains a very lively description of the disorders of that court, and I do not believe that it has lost any thing of its strength in Mr du Pleffis Morin's French translation of it (10). Hildebert was only bishop of Mans when he wrote this letter, but when he wrote another to Honorius II, complaining that all causes were carried to Rome by way of appeal, he was archbishop of Tours. He made a description of Rome in verse, concluding with these words.

*Urbs felix, si vel Dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel Dominis esset turpe carere fide.*

Happy city, if it had no masters, or if those masters were ashamed of their want of faith. Coëffeteau (11) does not deny that the letter to Honorius is Hildebert's; but he does not think so of the other. It is not credible, says he, that this epistle is his, since it is not to be found among those that are printed, nor even among those that are in manuscript, which we have seen amongst other rare books of Messieurs du Puy... but also because, excepting some youthful sallies of this prelate, we find that he was always very modest, and especially very respectful to the holy see, as we shall prove by and by (12). And indeed, neither Vignier, nor Illyricus, nor du Pleffis, mention upon what occasion it was written. They have only given us a fragment of it without any title or any other marks. It is fit the reader should know what was replied to this. 'If this will serve for a reason, we shall be double gainers

by it, and shall shew, by better arguments and testimonies, the baseness of his party, in forging new pieces and falsifying old ones. Illyricus finding it among others, published it according to the original, the style of which is plainly different from his. If he and others after him, publish it without any title or argument, this cannot surprise those who have seen these that are printed, amongst which there are many, which it is impossible to guess to whom they were written, and to know particularly on what occasion (13). It is Rivetus who speaks thus: a little after he observes that Gretlerus (14) cannot believe that the eighty second epistle, wherein he talks of taking away or moderating appeals, could come from Hildebert; though Coëffeteau says that is truly his. The curious may consult Father Hommey's *Supplementum Patrum*, where there are several pieces of Hildebert, with notes upon his epistles, together with the names of those to whom he wrote them (15).

[E] He was of no great birth. There is in the province of Maine, near Montoire, a place called Lavardin, which has given it's name to a very noble family of Vendômois... La Croix du Maine in his *Bibliothèque* says, in the article of James Lavardin, that Hildebert bishop of Mans, was of that family; which is not true. He was born at Lavardin, but was not of the house of Lavardin. He was a man of a great deal of learning and merit, but of no birth (16). The words of La Croix du Maine are these (17). That house of Lavardin (18) has usually produced learned men and long ago; for Hildebert, bishop of Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, five hundred years ago, was of that house, and surname, and was reckoned the most famous poet and orator of his time, as his epistles and Latin poems witness.

(13) Rivet, Remarques sur la Bibliothèque d'Iniquité, Part. II, pag. 240.

(14) In Examine Mystérii Pleffian, pag. 370.

(15) See the Acta Fraditor. 1685, pag. 465.

(16) Suite du Menapien, pag. 103 Dutch Edit.

(17) Bibliothèque Française, pag. 150.

(18) He is called the house of Lavardin near Montoire in Vendômois, different from the house of Lavardin six leagues from Mans, the lords whereof are named de Besumanoir, and are originally of Bretagne.

HILTEN (JOHN) a German Franciscan pretended to ground some predictions upon the book of Daniel in the year 1485 [A]. Melanchthon, who had seen the original of that work, says, that the author foretold, that in the year 1516 the power of the Pope should begin to decay, and that afterwards it should decline more and more, till it came to it's downfall, and never should rise again; and that about the year 1600, the Turks should be masters in Italy and Germany (a) [B]. Some tell us (b) that he foretold that in the year 1600, there should be seen a man extremely cruel, and that in 1606, Gog and Magog should reign over all Europe. After having, with a great deal

(a) Taken from a letter of Melanchthon to Mathesius. It is the 6th of the 2d book, pag. 200. Edit. London, 1642.

(b) See Pauli Recher. Theatr. pag. 97.

[A] He grounded some predictions upon the book of Daniel in the year 1485. I have met with this date in a passage mentioned by Melchior Adam, which teaches us also where this fryar had studied. 'Ego olim juvenis, in Hilten ubi speaks (1). almæ matris Universitatis Erphurdensis alumnus, ardens philosophus: nunc senex exili solitudini deditus ab anno Christi millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo primo, in hunc annum millesimum quadringentesimum octogesimum quintum ejusdem Domini Jesu Christi voluntate, qui & me instigavit ex suo libro cognoscere veritatem contra vacuos errores de futuro tempore nunc volantes. Quam me solum scire amor Dei & proximi non finit, sed & aliis piis & benevolis impertiri admonet. — I studied in my youth in the university of Erfurt, and warmly pursued philosophy, but am now in my old age fond of solitude, and retirement, from the year of our Lord 1471, to this present year 1485, it being the will of my Saviour, who likewise excited me to seek the knowledge of the truth from his word, in opposition to the vain errors now propagated concerning future times. Which truth, the love of GOD, and of my neighbour, would not allow me to board up, but obligeth me to impart it to the pious and well disposed.' Notwithstanding this, Melchior Adam, a few lines before, says, that Hilten lived in the XIVth century. This want of attention is very common among writers.

[B] He foretold that the Turks should be masters in Italy and Germany. He seemed to promise that the Turks should be the instrument of a wonderful reformation by the ruin of the papacy; but they who

should reform, were afterwards to abolish Mahometism; after which the Roman emperor was to resign his crown to JESUS CHRIST never to be restored. Ita digressit omnia Calchas (2). It appeared by the event that John Hilten knew no more of the matter than that diviner of the Grecian army. His words are these (3). Plures gloriantur Romanum Papam esse monarcham, quia Jesus omnia dedit Petro & ejus successoribus. Factor, verum quoad sunt ejus vicarii. Sed legantur revelationes S. Brigittæ: & videbitur querela Christi de perversione illius vicariatus. Quapropter Deus dedit gladium Mahometo, quo monarchiam illam à vicario ad ejus Dominum Jesum Christum compellit, vicariam & omnes Christianos reformando. Qui plenè reformati exurgent, & delebunt sectam Mahometi. Quo facto, ultimus Imperator Romanus resignabit cum effectu Jesu Christo coronam regalem & omne jus Imperiale; non recepturus, ut Constantinus. — Many boast that the Pope is a king, because CHRIST gave all things to Peter and his successors. I own this, but this is only while they are his vicars. Now if we read the revelations of St Bridget, we shall see CHRIST's complaints of the corruption of that Vicar. And for this reason GOD has given the sword to Mahomet, that he may take that kingdom from the vicar, and give it back to it's rightful sovereign JESUS CHRIST, by reforming his vicar, and all Christians, who being thoroughly reformed, shall destroy the Mahometan sect. After this the last Roman emperor, shall effectually resign his royal crown, and imperial title to JESUS CHRIST never to be restored, as did Constantine.

[C] Mr du

(10) In the 28th page of the *Mystère d'Iniquité*.

(11) Réponse au *Mystère d'Iniquité*, pag. 757.

(12) He says, in the next page, that, in the year 1107, Hildebert, being persecuted by the king of England, went to consult Pope Paschal, and to implore his assistance, and that having held a synod at Nantes, under Pope Honorius, he sent the acts of that synod to the said Pope.

(1) Apud Melchior. Adam. in *Vitis Theol.* pag. 3.

(2) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. II.

(3) Apud Melchior. Adam ubi supra, pag. 4.

(c) Multis fuit in exquirendo fine mundi. Melch. Ad. in Vita Theol. p. 5.

(d) Id. ibid.

of pains, endeavoured to find the time of the end of the world (c), he placed it in the year 1651 (d). Mr du Pleffis Mornai has only taken so much of those predictions as served his purpose [C]. Hilten was persuaded that charity did not suffer him to suppress that knowledge which God had given him about things to come (e). It is said that he died in the year 1502 (f).

(e) See the remark [d].

(f) Freherus, in Theatro, pag. 97.

[C] Mr du Pleffis has taken only so much of those predictions as served his purpose.] 'John Hilten, a monk of Henac in Thuringia, beyond all human foresight, being put into prison for having reproved some monastical abuses, being very sick, sent for the Guardian and told him, I have spoke no great matter against monkery, but there shall come one in the year 1516, who shall overturn it, and they shall

not be able to resist him.' And in that very year Luther began to preach (A). Du Pleffis Mornai is mistaken one year, for the Era of Lutheranism began not till 1517. I believe also that he mistakes the place, and that he should have said *Eisenach* instead of *Henac*. He should have added, that the thing happened about the year 1500 according to Melancthon (5).

(4) Du Pleffis Mornai, Mythere d'Iniquité, pag. 573. He quotes Philip Melancthon, in Apologie cap. de Votis Monasticis.

(5) See Melancthon, Syntagma, Hister Ecclesiæ, pag. 647.

HYPERIUS (ANDREW GERARD) a famous minister and professor of Divinity, was born at Ipres in Flanders the sixteenth of May 1511. He took the name he is known by from the place of his birth (a). His father, who was an advocate, and who had already made him study in several places, finding himself near his end in the year 1525, recommended it to his wife to send him to Paris to continue his studies there. This was done in the year 1528. Hyperius studied Philosophy there three years together in the college of Calvi; and after a short journey that he made to Ipres, returning to Paris in the year 1532, he studied Divinity till 1535. He afterwards went to Louvain, and made several journeys into several provinces of the Low-Countries, and into Germany, whereby the attempts his friends had made without his knowledge, to get him a benefice, proved ineffectual; for when it had been represented to Carondilet, archbishop of Palermo, and chancellor of the emperor, that Hyperius had travelled in Germany, he was so suspected of heresy, that it became necessary for him to think of a retreat. He went over into England, and lived above four years with an English gentleman a lover of learning [A]. He crossed the sea again in 1541, with a design to see the university of Straßburg, and particularly Bucer, who rendered it very famous; but going by the way of the country of Hesse, he met at Marburg with Geldenhaur, a professor of Divinity, who was one of his friends, who, to retain him, gave him hopes of an employment in the university of that city. He actually staid there, and a little while after succeeded his friend, who died in January 1542. He exercised that function somewhat more than two years without marrying; but thinking he could not live conveniently without a wife, especially his health being none of the best, (a reason which would have discouraged many others from thinking of it) he married in 1544 (b) a widow, by whom he had six sons and four daughters. He died at Marburg the first of February 1564, having exercised the professorship in Divinity above 22 years with the greatest application. He wrote several books [B], some of which were copied by a doctor of Louvain [C].

(a) The city of Ipres has been called *Hyperia* by several authors. Beza, in *Iconibus*, calls it so, and says that *Andreas Gerardus* a patria *Hyperius* fuit cognominatus.

(b) Animum & matrimonium adjecit quod non putaret se commode sine uxore, maxime cum non ita firmâ valetudine esset, vitam transigere posse. Melch. Adam, in Vita Theol. pag. 393.

[A] He lived with an English gentleman a lover of Learning.] He was son to William Montjoy, whom Erasmus has so much praised, and who lay under many obligations to him. 'In Carolus Montjoio, Guillelmi filium, Baronem incidit (*Hyperius*) quem Erasmus Roterodamus amplissime in scriptis suis ac sæpe commendat. Is amicè cum Hyperio multis ac variis de rebus colloctus cum ingenium ejus peripexisset, oblato liberali stipendio, domum suam eum invitavit, ubi annos quatuor amplius suavissime Hyperius cum Montjoio vixit in otio literario (1) — Hyperius accidentally met with Lord Charles Montjoy, son to that Lord William whom Erasmus so highly and frequently celebrates in his writings. My Lord having conversed freely with him, and various subjects, and seeing his genius, invited him to stay at his house, and offered him very handsome appointments. Here Hyperius continued above four years in the happiest condition a man of letters could desire.' Note that in Freherus's Theatrum (2) we find Monticius instead of Montjoio, and that though Erasmus dedicated his *Livy* to Montjoy the son, and praised him in some other places, yet those great and frequent praises mentioned here can properly belong only to the father. The son was very young when Erasmus died (3).

(1) Melch. Adam in Vita Hyperii, pag. 302. Vita Theol.

(2) Pag. 198.

(3) Vide Erasmus, Epist. xvii, lib. xxvi, & Epist. xv. lib. xxviii.

[B] He wrote several books.] If we may believe Verheiden, Hyperius's writings that are published would make seven volumes in *Folio*. Some of them concern Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Cosmography, Astronomy, Optics, Physics, &c. The rest are either commentaries upon the Scripture, or treatises of divinity. His book *de recte formando Theologiae studio*, and another, *de formando concionibus sacris*, were so well approved by a doctor of Louvain, that he inserted them almost intire in the books he published upon the same subject at Antwerp in the year 1565.

Hyperius was but a young student, when he made an oration at Paris (4), which has been since printed and which is in praise of one of his friends (5).

[C] Which were copied by a doctor of Louvain.] Valerius Andreas owns it (6). This doctor was a Spanish monk of the order of St Augustin, named *Laurentius à Villavicentio*. He is often quoted for a famous plagiarist. The first author that I have found to take notice of this plagiarism, was the learned Reynolds; he mentions it in the fourth chapter of the first book of his treatise *de Idolatria Romana* printed at Oxford in the year 1516, and he observes that this of it, as if it were the life of Ringelberg; but he is mistaken.

Some time after Keckerman (7) mentioned this same theft, owning that Reynolds had observed it before. Voëtius (8) spoke, of it, quoting Keckerman in a thesis maintained in 1655. But he would have the work which was stolen to be Hyperius's method of divinity. Now that method contains only three books, whereas the work that Reynolds, Keckerman, and the bibliographer of the Low-Countries, say the Spanish monk adopted, contains four, and is commonly quoted by this title *de ratione Studii Theologici*. Certainly this last is not the same book with Hyperius's *Methodus Theologiae*. We must believe that Voëtius has not been altogether exact. Mr Colomiès (9) likewise mentions this theft, citing Reynolds. Mr Placius (10) mentions it only upon the credit of one of his friends who wrote to him, that Simon Oomius spoke of it in the second preface to a Dutch book; and both he and Mr König (11) will have this plagiarism to relate to the book intitled *Methodus Theologiae*. A modern author (12) cites con-

(4) Quem Jos. chimun Ringelbergium & ex qua quæ exlat oratione ad senatum Parisiensem laudavit Hyperius à Villavicentio. He is often quoted for a famous plagiarist. The first author that I have found to take notice of this plagiarism, was the learned Reynolds; he mentions it in the fourth chapter of the first book of his treatise *de Idolatria Romana* printed at Oxford in the year 1516, and he observes that this of it, as if it were the life of Ringelberg; but he is mistaken.

(5) Mr Telfier, pag. 14, Catalogi Astorum, speaks of it, as if it were the life of Ringelberg; but he is mistaken.

(6) Quicquid boni habent ejusdem (*Hyperii*) de formando sacris concionibus libri duo, deque recte formando studio Theologico libri iv. id in suos similis argumenti librorum transtulit Laurentius à Villavicentio ex Ord. Augustiniano Doctor Theol. Lovanienfis. Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 49.

(7) In *Præcognitis* Logice.

(8) Disput. Select. Vol. III, pag. 687. (9) Gall. Oriental. pag. 10, (10) De Pseudonymis, pag. 273. (11) Bibl. pag. 420. See also pag. 836, where he quotes Rivetus, Tom. II, Oper. pag. 1005 it should be pag. 1065, qui vocat Villavicentium Hyperii interpolatorem & expilatores. (12) Joh. Albertus Fabric, Decade Decadum, n. 36. Lipsæ, 1689.

cerning

He laboured especially to teach the students in Divinity a good method of preaching. He had a very clear head; and besides his skill in the Languages, History, Philosophy, and Divinity, he had an excellent art of teaching. He had exercised that talent very early; for when he studied at Paris, he assisted many other scholars. He was modest at entertainments, affable and polite in conversation; and as much as he hated immoderate cups [D], and that idle buffoonry, which is too frequent in conversation, so he delighted in well ordered entertainments, and agreeable discourse. In a word, he was a man of a very elegant turn of wit, attended with virtue and zeal. Those who would know more of him, may read the writers I quote (c). There is some difference between Verheiden's and Melchior Adam's account [E]. I can scarce believe that Hyperius had been a monk [F]. Part of his books were not published till after his death [G], by the care either of Laurence Hyperius, his son, or of John Mylius (d).

(c) Wigandus Orthius, in Oratione Funeraria Hyperii. Melch. Adam. in Vita Hyperii, articulo est et an abstract of the Funeral Oration. Verheiden Praefant. aliquot Theol. Effig. pag. 95.

(d) Verheiden, Praefant. aliquot Theol. Effig. pag. 95.

cerning this plagiarism, not only Keckerman and Colomiés, but also John Heilsfeld cap. 25. *Sphingis Theologica-Philosophica*. It is to be observed, that none of these authors, except Valerius Andreas, speaks of the double plagiarism of the Spanish monk; they only observe that which relates to the book intitled *de Studio Theologico*. But, on the other hand, Nicolas Antonio does not only say, that Villaviciensis took all that he thought good in two books of Hyperius, to make two others upon the same subject; but besides, ascribes to him the same conduct with respect to two other books published by Protestants, one is *de Phrasibus sacrae Scripturae*; the other is, *Tabulae compendiosae in Evangelia & Epistolas*. Note, that he has added some faults to those of Valerius Andreas. Like him (13) he will have Hyperius to have been a Dominican: To this he has added other errors of his own. I. By giving Hyperius the name of Hisperius. II. By allowing but three books to the treatise *de formando Studio Theologico*. III. In making his treatise *de formandis sacris Concionibus*, to contain three books, whereas in contains only two.

(13) Nic. Anton. Biblioth. Hispan. Tom. II, pag. 9.

(14) Apud Melch. Adam. in Vita Theol. pag. 397.

[D] He hated immoderate cups. See what his funeral oration says it (14); 'In colloquiis & conversationibus humanis & æquus, & quemadmodum immania illa in conviviis hominum pocula, & scurriles in colloquiis nugæ ex animo fuit averfatus, ita moderatis conviviis, jucundisque amicorum confabulationibus nonnunquam interfuit.'

[E] There is some difference between Verheiden's and Melchior Adam's account. Verheiden has given us only a very short eulogy; but the account which the other gives is more historical, and the times more distinctly marked. The latter, does not say that Hyperius travelled into Spain: he only says that he saw the provinces of Italy between the Alps and Bologna; and that he saw them during his studies in Paris, and before his journey to Louvain. Verheiden, on the contrary, pretends that Hyperius travelled into Spain and Italy, after having studied at Paris and Louvain. He makes him first teach Philosophy at Marburg, and afterwards Divinity. Melchior Adam says nothing of his professing Philosophy.

[F] I can scarce believe that Hyperius had been a monk. The extract of his funeral oration does not speak of it: we may be sure then that Wigandus Orthius has not said it; for such a fact, good Melchior Adam would not have passed over in silence, even though he had given but a short extract, and not a long relation filled with a hundred particularities. However I would not trust to that reason; I have sought and at last found Wigandus Orthius's oration, and I can see nothing in it that can give me any suspicion that Hyperius was ever of any religious order. Hence I conclude, that he never was a monk. Let it not be objected to me that this is a negative argument: I do not pretend to plead the cause of that way of arguing (15); but I dare say it appears here conclusive, both because he who composed Hyperius's funeral oration, could not be ignorant whether he had been a monk or not, and because if he knew it, all the rea-

Reasons of Moretti and Valerius Andreas.

(15) Mr de Launoy has written some books concerning the authority of negative arguments, and Mr Thiers among others opposed his opinion.

son in the world obliged him to observe it. No body ever thought of concealing these sort of truths concerning Musculus, Marlorat, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, and many other other pillars of the growing reformation, who came from the cloisters, and there could not be perhaps a man more incapable of silence upon things of this nature than Orthius. He who thought himself obliged to tell in a funeral oration, that Hyperius went to wait for his baggage at Marburg, because he knew he could live cheaper there than in any other place on the banks of the Rhine (16). He tells you a hundred particulars of the same importance, which Melchior Adam has faithfully copied. And therefore I do not see that Moreri could say, without being mistaken, that Hyperius was a monk of the order of St Dominick, in which he distinguished himself by his learning; but that he afterwards basely apostatized. In this he has been only the transcriber of Valerius Andreas, who had told that lie before. This bibliographer of the Low-Countries, who is besides mistaken in placing Hyperius's death in the year 1560, is not excusable for not having said at least, that Hyperius had been a minister at Marburg; and Moreri who has said this (17) ought to be blamed for his silence about his professing divinity. His want of exactness appears also in this expression. *He fell into the errors of Luther which he taught*. To what end is this last remark expressed in an indeterminate manner. Was it not enough for him to have given him the title of a Protestant minister in the first line of the article? Would not this sufficiently import that Hyperius taught the Protestant doctrine? Besides, it is not true that he followed the reformation of Luther: the Index of prohibited books (18) might have instructed Mr Moreri in that point.

(16) Sciebat enim minores se apud Catos interea posse vivere, quam usum ad Rheni ripas.

(17) He has given a false name to the town, calling it Maiburge.

[G] Part of his books were not published till after his death. Consult the epitome of Geisner where you will find that several of Hyperius's works were printed in his life-time; so that I do not see that he can be alleged as an instance of that singular modesty, which makes an author defer the publication of his writings till after his death, that he may not be an ear-witness of his own praises. This ought to be observed by those who read in Mr Selden (19) what I am going to quote. 'Cujus (contemptus famæ vel gloriae propriae) illustre exemplum antehac præbuit Theologus sua ætate celeberrimus Andreas Hyperius, de quo testis est Justus Vultejus (20). quod ideo post mortem demum in lucem prodire sua voluerit, quia gloriam sibi nullam, nec vulgi applausus in captabat. Hos enim (inquit) si tanti faciendos esse putasset, utique vivo ei frui illis licuisset. — Andrew Hyperius a famous divine, in the age in which he lived, gave an illustrious example of this contempt of praise and personal honours; for, as Justus Vultejus relates, he desired that his works might be published after his death, because he did not desire any glory or popular applause that might arise from them. If (says he) he had put any value upon these things, he might have enjoyed them during his life.'

(18) The following words are to be found in it, pag. 16, of the edition in folio, 1667. *Andreas Hyperius, seu Hyperius, Theologus Calvinianus, Praefectus Marburgensis, Konig, Bibliothecarius, cap. 420, calls him a Protestant Divine; who, according to the style of the German Protestants, is the same as Calvinistical Divine.*

(19) De Libris & eorum Lectone, pag. 47.

(20) Vultejus in Dedic Opus Hyper. præfix.

HIPPARCHIA, wife to the Philosopher Crates, was so charmed with the discourses of that Cynic, that she was resolved to marry him at any rate. She saw herself surrounded by a great many admirers, distinguished by their nobility, riches, and the gentleness of their persons. She was pressed by her family to make choice of a husband amongst those rivals; but nothing could bring her off from Crates. She declared that she valued him above all the world, and that if she had him not, she would stab herself. The family, upon this declaration, addressed themselves to Crates, intreating him to use his eloquence and authority with her, to cure her of her passion. He did all that was possible, without gaining any thing upon her obstinacy. At last when he saw all his arguments

guments and counfels were of no weight, he displaid his poverty before her [A], he discovered his crooked back, he laid his staff, his wallet, and his cloak upon the ground, faying to her, *See here the man that you will have, and the goods that you will find with him; consider well of it, you cannot become my wife without leading the life which our sect prescribes.* He had scarce made an end of speaking, when she declared, that condition infinitely pleased her. She took the habit of the order, I mean the equipage of the Cynics, and stuck so close to Crates, that she followed him every where, went to feasts with him [B], and made no scruple to pay him the conjugal duty in the middle of the streets [C]. It was one of the tenets of that sect that we ought not to be ashamed of any bodily exercise which nature requires of us [D]. Hipparchia being at dinner one day

[A] Crates displaid his poverty before her.] No body has described this with so much exactness as Apuleius: he tells us that Hipparchia answered, that she had sufficiently considered that affair, and was persuaded it was impossible to find a handsomer or a richer husband than Crates; and that he might lead her where he pleased. He led her to the Portico. It was one of the most sumptuous public buildings, and the most frequented of all Athens, and there he consummated the marriage. All the people might have seen it, and the spouse was resolved to entertain the company with that shew; but a friend of Crates spread his cloak about them, and by that means made a sort of a curtain, which screened them from the view of the spectators. To shew that I lend nothing to my author, I will set down his words. 'Adeoque is (Crates) cupiebatur; ut virgo nobilis, spretis junioribus pro- cis, ultro cum sibi optaverit. Cumque intersepili- um Crates retexisset, quod erat aucto gibbere, peramque cum baculo & pallium humi posuisset, eamque suppellectilem sibi esse puellae profiteretur, eamque formam quam viderat: proinde sedulo con- suleret, ne post querelae causam caperet: enimvero Hipparche conditionem accipit. Jamdudum sibi provismum fatis, & satis consultum respondit: neque ditiores maritum, neque formosiores usquam gen- tium posse invenire. Proinde duceret quod liberet. Ducit Cynicus in porticum. Ibidem, in loco ce- lebris, coram luce clarissima accubuit: coramque vir- ginem imminuisset, paratam pari constantia; ni Ze- no procienda palliastri, à circumstantis coronae ob- tutu magistrum in secreto defendisset (1). Mr Men- sage (2) affirms that Clemens Alexandrinus says, that the wedding of Crates and Hipparchia was celebrated in the Portico called ποικίλη: but it is certain Clemens does not say it: We only can infer it from his words. In honour of Hipparchia, says he (3), the Cynogamia were celebrated in the Pæcile. The word Cynogamia signified, according to Mr Mensage (4), a feast which the Cynics kept to the honour and me- mory of Crates's marriage. He adds, that Mr Petit the Physician has made a fine poem upon the amours and nuptials of this Cynic. The poem is intituled, Cynogamia. Many will call to mind here a French verse, mentioned by Furetiere, *Poussant chauds de reini faire notes de chien* (5).

[B] She went to feasts with him.] This, and the custom of rambling about with Crates, were two things not practised by the other Grecian women. They were shut up in the remotest part of the house, and were visited by none but their relations, and never went to a feast but at the houses of their relations. Cornelius Nepos, who relates this, observes that the Romans had quite contrary customs. Women lived then at Rome, as they do now at Paris. The mode of Italy has very much changed: it has for a long time resembled that of ancient Greece. *Altri tempi, altri costumi. . . . Different times, different manners.* Let us see the words of Cornelius Nepos (6): 'Quem Ro- manorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? Aut ejus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate versatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Grecia. Nam neque in convivium adhibetur, nisi propinquorum: neque sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ γυναικωνίτης appellatur: quod nemo accedit nisi propinqua cognitione conjunctus. — What Roman (says he) is ashamed to carry his wife to a feast? Or whose wife doth not live in the principal apartment, and in the view of the world? In Greece it is quite otherwise. For there a wife is never carried to a feast, except in the houses of her relations: and she never sits in any other but the remotest part of the house; to which none ap- proach but near relations.'

[C] She made no scruple of paying the conjugal duty in the middle of the streets.] We shall not wonder that this philosophical lady, Hipparchia, set herself above custom, with respect to the two points I have mention- ed, when she was able to trample upon decorum with respect to the third. The contempt of custom cannot be carried farther. This was a great triumph of love, she sacrificed to it the virtue that is most natural to the fair sex, that shame, or that modesty, which is a thousand times deeper rooted in the heart of women, than chastity itself. And what is more strange, Hip- parchia was prepared for this impudence all at once; there was no need of leading her to it by degrees. Ju- venal observes that when the business is to satisfy love, nothing appears difficult to women. Are they to go on ship-board with their husbands whom they do not like, they know not how to resolve upon it; the dangers and fatigue of the sea are insupportable. But are they to embark with a gallant, they have the best stomach in the world for it, and a Tarpaulin's life is a pleasure to them.

Fortem animum præstant rebus quas turpiter audent. Si jubeat conjux durum est conscendere navim, Tunc sentina gravis, tunc summus vertitur ær: Quæ mœchum sequitur stomacho valet. Illa maritum Convomit hæc inter nautas & prandet & errat Per puppem, & duos gaudet tractare rudentes (7).

(7) Juvenal. Sat. VII, ver. 97.

Hipparchia justifies this observation; she doted upon Crates; he would have her to shake off all shame, *non aliter hæc sacra constant*, said he to her in all likeli- hood: she was satisfied to do it to gratify him. Ma- ny authors report the fact. Sextus Empiricus (8) and Theodoret (9) witness it; I have already cited others. But St Augustin had a very singular thought upon this subject; he believed that the Cynics used only pos- tures and vain efforts. 'Illum (Diogenem) vel illos qui hoc fecisse referuntur, potius arbitror concuben- tium motus dedidisse oculis hominum nescientium (9) Serm. XII, quid sub pallio gereretur, quam humano premente de Virtute Acti- conspectu potuisse illam peragi voluptatem. Ibi enim Philosophi non erubescere videri se velle concumbere, ubi libido ipsa erubescere surgere (10) De Civitate (10) As for Diogenes and some others, who are said to have done so, I imagine that they rather ini- tated the motions of lovers, before people who knew not what was transacted under the cloak, than that they were able really to consummate. For here Philosophers did not blush to desire to be thought to do, what lust it- self blushed to enable them to perform.' A modern has set up for a Cato against this father of the church, and has given him a severe reprimand for that thought. When St Augustin adds, says he, that he cannot be- lieve that Diogenes and those of his sect, who are re- ported to have done every thing in public, enjoyed a true and real pleasure there; he thinks they only im- itated, under the Cynic cloak, the motions of those who lye together, imposing by that means upon the eyes of the spectators. Tho' they in effect were not able to do any thing to purpose. I am ashamed to men- tion this, and I desire you to read his own words (11) Here he sets down the words of St Augustin. . . . How could so great a man allow his imagi- nation the liberty of diving into those Cynical se- crets? How could St Augustin's hand lift up Dioge- nes's cloak, to let us see some motions, which shame (tho' that Philosopher professed to have none) made him hide with his own cloak (12)?

[D] We ought not to be ashamed of any bodily exer- cise which nature requires of us.] See what was said above in the Remark [L] of the article DIOGE- NES. Some think the Cynics had their name, be- cause like dogs they lay with their wives in the streets: Nam quid ego de Cynicis loquar: quibus in pro- patula

(1) Apuleius, in Floridia, pag. m. 350.

(2) In Historia Mulierum Philo- sopharum, ad calcem Diogen. Laërt. pag. 497.

(3) 'Εἰς τὴν καλὴν καὶ ευφραδέα καὶ τῇ εὐαλαίᾳ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγάπη. Propter quam in Pæcile quoque celebrata fuerit Cynogamia. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. iv, pag. 523.

(4) In Laërte. lib. vi, n. 96.

(5) At the word *Rain*. This is a verse of Reignier, which relates to the fight of the Lapithe.

(6) In Præfat.

(12) La Mothe Vayer, Hexame- ron Rustique, pag. 63, 64, 65.

day at Lyfimachus's with the Atheist Theodorus, made a subtle objection to him, to which

patulo coire cum conjugibus mos fuit. Quid mirum si a canibus quorum vitam imitantur, etiam vocabulum nomenque traxerunt (13)? The Cynics pretended they acted agreeably to reason, for, said they, if it be lawful to know one's wife, it is lawful to know her in public: but it is lawful to know one's wife, therefore it is lawful to know her in public. 'Hoc illi canini Philosophi, hoc est Cynici non viderunt proferentes contra humanam verecundiam, quid aliud quam caninam hoc est immundam impudentemque sententiam, ut scilicet quoniam iustum est quod sit in uxore, palam non pudeat id agere, nec in vico, nec in platea qualibet, conjugalem concubitum devitare (14).' I have observed elsewhere (15) a like argument of Diogenes. It is the wretched sophism, a dicto simpliciter ad dictum secundum quid. It is as if one should say; it is good to drink wine, therefore it is good to drink it in a fever. These people did not know that there are many actions that are good only in certain circumstances, the omission of which may render an action evil, which with them would have been good. To lend money to a friend in order to pay his debts is a very commendable action: but to lend it him to make himself drunk, or to game, is an evil action. There are some actions essentially evil; which cannot be good under any circumstances whatsoever, but there are some things which are good or evil according to the times, and places, and other circumstances, wherein they are done. I confess that this is not sufficient to non-plus the Cynics; for they might turn their argument thus. When a thing is good and lawful in itself, one ought not to be ashamed of doing it: but the conjugal duty is in itself a thing good and lawful; and therefore one ought not to be ashamed of paying it: and consequently it may be lawfully paid in public. For if any thing could vitiate that public action, it would be only want of shame in circumstances, wherein men are obliged to have it. The difficulty then is reduced to this one question. *Ought one to be ashamed of paying the conjugal duty in the face of the world?* A pretty question, you will say; who doubts it? Diogenes would answer, I do, and do you prove that I am in the wrong. The answer to him would be, that shame, with relation to these actions is a natural impression, and that therefore it is to offend against nature not to be ashamed in these occurrences. But, he would reply, that if it were a natural impression, the animals, which so faithfully follow the instincts of nature, would seek shades and dark recesses for the work of generation. Now nothing is more false than this. At least all men would in the like cases seek the darkest retreats, which is likewise false; for many people in the Indies propagate in the sight of all the world. This is what the famous Pyrrhonist Sextus Empiricus observes, in order to shew, that the common practice is not grounded upon an immutable and eternal law of nature, but upon a meer custom, and the impression of education. Τὸ δημοσία γυναικὶ μίγνυσθαι καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν αἰσχροὺς εἶναι δοκεῖν, παρὰ τοῖς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐν αἰσχροῖς εἶναι νομίζεται μίγνυνται ἐν ἀδιαφόρῳ δημοσία καθάπερ καὶ περὶ τῶ φιλοσόφῳ Κράτῳ ἀκηκόαμεν. Public cum uxore congressi quamvis apud nos turpe esse videtur, apud quosdam ex Indis non videtur esse turpe. Congrediuntur enim indifferenter publice, quemadmodum etiam de Cratete Philosopho accepimus (16). He might have alledged the custom of the MOSYNIANS, whose article may be seen. A modern author has observed, that some nations have made love 'even in the temples, and said, that if that action displeased the deity, he would not suffer it in other animals (17).'

(13) Lactantius, lib. iii, cap. xv, Divin. Institut.

(14) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xiv, cap. xx.

(15) See, above, remark [E] of the article DIOGENES the Cynic.

(16) Sext. Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypoth. lib. iii, cap. xxiv, pag. 153.

(17) La Mothe le Vayer, Dialog. d'Orasius Tubero, pag. m. 156. He quotes Herodotus, lib. ii.

This shews how many different ways human reason may lead us astray. It was given us to direct us in the right way; but it is a desultory, wavering, and supple instrument, which turned every way like a weathercock. See how the Cynics made use of it to justify their abominable impudence. I may add, for the honour and glory of the true religion, that it alone furnishes us with strong weapons against the sophistry of these people; for though we could not shew in Scripture, any formal precept, for hiding the privacies of marriage in the dark, it suffices to say, in the first place, that the spirit of the Scripture engages us to avoid whatever may weaken the impressions of shame; and secondly, that there are precise texts, forbidding us to do any thing that shocks decency, or scandalizes our neighbour. I do not know whether any of the Casuists, who have so much abused their leisure in examining many cases of conscience, in some respects metaphysical, have ever thought to what kind of crime the impudence of a Crates, or of a Diogenes, ought to be reduced. They did not believe there was any divine law about it, nor that a man was obliged to conform to municipal customs. They believed that non-conformity in such cases would at most incur the blame of rusticity, and want of complaisance to a received custom: to be incivil, ill-bred, and an ill observer of fashions, is not a criminal or evil action, morally speaking. What then can be said against the Cynics, unless they be condemned by revealed truth? I have never read any thing whatever upon this point, and I do not know whether any one has said, that at present a Cynical action would only be criminal: 1. Because of the scandal given to one's neighbour. 2. Because of the contempt of the municipal customs. 3. Because of the negligence of preserving the barriers of chastity. I suppose a man persuaded that the action in itself is not expressly forbidden in scripture, nor contrary to the law of nature. If it was contrary to it, the sentences that command a congress, would be so many crimes chargeable upon the judges.

There are, no doubt, some Casuists who will take self-pollution which Diogenes was guilty of in the public market-place (18), to be a greater crime than this congress of Crates and Hipparchia. It is a very strange and scandalous thing, to see Chrypsippus, that celebrated and rigid Stoic, praise that infamous action of Diogenes. Ἐπαινέει τὸν Διογένην τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀποτελεῖσθαι ἐν παντὶ, καὶ λέγοντα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, εἶδε καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔως ἀποτρέφασθαι τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονήμην. Diogenem laudat qui in publico masturbasset, dixissetque adstantibus, utinam liceret sic etiam famem attrito ventre pellere (19). That Cynic could not have justified himself by his sophism, *It is lawful to pay the conjugal debt, therefore it is lawful to pay it in the street*; for his action is bad both in public and private. Sextus Empiricus owns, that it was looked upon as detestable, though Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, had approved it, and many others had recourse to it as a good action. Τότε αἰσχρουργεῖν ἐπὶ δεξιῶν ἐν παρ' ἡμῖν, ὁ Ζήνων ἐκ ἀποδοκιμαζέει καὶ ἄλλος δὲ ὡς ἀγαθὸν τινὶ τέτρω χρεῖσθαι τῷ κακῷ συνδανόμεθα. Quum præterea detestabile sit apud nos αἰσχρουργεῖν, Zeno approbat & alios quosdam ut bono quodam hoc usque malo accipimus (20). Diogenes made use of another sophism; he took what is done by some fish for a dictate of nature (21): but the sophism is no better than what one might draw from the practice of the Lydians. For the rest, the Cynics in vain sought out arguments to colour their abominable impudence. They durst not continue in it. The public indignation was probably a stronger bridle for them, than the ideas of virtue. St Augustin observes, that at last natural modesty got the better of this sort of people. 'Vicit tamen pudor naturalis opinionem huius erroris, nam essi perhibent, hoc aliquando gloriabundum fecisse Diogenem, ita putantem sectam suam nobiliorem futuram, si in hominum memoriam insignior ejus impudentia fingeretur, postea tamen à Cynicis fieri cessatum est: plique valuit pudor ut erubescerent homines hominibus, quam error, ut homines canibus esse similes affectarent (22). — But at last natural modesty got the better of this error, for though we are told that Diogenes sometimes ostentatiously did so, thinking that his

A REFLECTION upon the weakness of reason.

(18) See his article, remark [L].

(19) Plutarch de Stoicor. Repugn. pag. 1044.

(20) Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypoth. lib. iii, cap. xxiv, pag. 153.

(21) See his article, citat. (73).

(22) De Civitate Dei, lib. xiv, cap. xx.

(a) Taken from
Diogenes Laërt.
in Hipparchia,
lib. vi, n. 96,
& seq.

which he gave no verbal answer [E], but had recourse to his hands, and whatever he could do and say afterwards, he found a woman very resolute, and afraid of nothing (a). She wrote some books, which are not come to us [F]. Mr Moreri has committed some faults in her article [G]; and so has Lorenzo Craffo [H]. I forgot to say, that Hipparchia

'set would be more famous by fixing this extraordinary impudence of his in mens memoirs, yet afterwards the Cynics laid aside this practice. And shame was of more force to make men blush in the presence of men, than error, to make men affect to be like dogs.' But as there are always some exceptions to the most general rules, we see, in Lucian, the Cynic Peregrinus coming near the conduct of Diogenes. 'Εν πολλῷ δὲ τῶν περιεσώτων δῆμῳ ἀναγλῶν τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ τὸ ἀδιδόχον δὴ τὸ το καλύμενον ἐπιδείκνυνται. Multa autem in corona populi pudenda conturbabat, & hæc indifferentia vocari ostendat (23).

(23) Lucian. de
Morte Peregr.
pag. m. 767,
Tom. II.

AN Observation
for those who
may be offended
at what I have
now related.

They who may think it strange, that I should mention such horrible obscenities, ought to be reminded of the privileges or duties of an historian. Whoever at present writes the history, either of an ancient philosopher, or of any other person who has acquired a name in preceding ages, has a right to relate whatever he finds in books concerning them, whether it deserves the praise, or the horror and execration of the reader; and if he should be contented to collect only what is commendable, he would very ill discharge the duties which the nature of his work requires of him. In writing the life of a modern, there is more liberty allowed; for if he has committed filthy actions, which are unknown to the world, they may be passed over in silence, according as one thinks it necessary to prevent some inconveniences, that might arise from the publication of such things. But when the question is about a fact mentioned by a hundred authors, we are no longer masters of the like caution; and if one chooses to suppress it, it is an useless scruple, since the readers will easily find some other way, what you are so industrious to conceal from them. The impudence of Diogenes the Cynic, is so well known in the world, that some jests go about of him, which are not founded on the testimony of any ancient writer. 'Du Moutier put me in mind of a book of the same Orleans, intitled, *The human plant to the Queen*: it is a ridiculous title, which makes me remember Diogenes's *Planto Hominem* (24). These words are cardinal du Perron's. Abundance of people tell the same thing in their common conversations. It is found in several books, where it is said, that Diogenes embracing a woman in the middle of the streets, being asked what he did? answered, *φύτεύω ἄνθρωπον, I plant a man*. No ancient that I know of, tells this story, and Mr du Rondel, whom I have consulted upon it, answered me, that he had never found it but in modern authors. Now when a story so ill grounded, about the impudence of this ancient Philosopher is so generally known; it is not likely that people should be ignorant of what has been said of him by the authors whom I quote. To what end then should I suppress these facts? You ought at least, you will say, to make use of expressions which may veil these infamous actions. I answer, that this would be the way to diminish the horror they deserve; for these delicate and disguised phrases which are now commonly used in speaking of impurities, do not give so much disgust as more natural and strong expressions, and thereby more apt to raise our indignation, would do; let not an author therefore amuse himself with inventing ambiguous expressions, which, properly speaking, are only a covering to the deformity of these actions. I add, that it is more useful and important than people are aware of, to mention the horrible abominations which the Pagan Philosophers approved. This may humble and mortify human reason, and convince us of the infinite corruption of the heart of man, and teach us a truth, of which we should be always mindful, namely, that man wanted a revealed light to supply the defect of the philosophical; for you see, that the Stoics (25), who cultivated morality beyond the other Philosophers, and had very sublime ideas of it, did nevertheless approve of the impudent obscenities of Diogenes. To them we may particularly apply the general declaration of St Paul against the Heathens, *Thinking themselves wise, they became fools* (26).

(24) Perronius at
the word Orleans,
pag. m. 225.

(25) See, above,
citat. (19) and
(20).

(26) Romans,
chap. i, ver. 22.

[E] Hipparchia made an objection to which the Apostle Theodorus gave no verbal answer. It was a so-

phism easy to be resolved and retorted. *If I did, said she, the same action which you could justly do, I could not be accused of having done an unjust action: Now if you should beat yourself, you would do justly; therefore if I beat you, I cannot be accused of having done an unjust action.* Theodorus did not stand to answer her as a Logician; he threw himself upon her, and untied her gown. According to the present way of dressing and speaking, we might say, *he took up her coat*. This is the explication which Mr Menage (27) gives of these words of Diogenes Laërtius, *ἀνέσυρε δ' αὐτῆς στοματίον*. Here is a brisk and gallant way of answering the sophistry of a woman. Hipparchia was not out of countenance, and Theodorus having cited a verse of a tragedy, describing a woman who had quitted the spindle and the distaff, she answered him, *I see my own character there, I am that woman; but do you think I have made an ill choice, rather to spend my time in philosophizing, than in spinning? Let us now see what Theodorus might have answered her, if he would have given himself the trouble. Answering directly, he might have said, that the action of Theodorus beating himself, and that of Hipparchia beating Theodorus, were two different actions, and not one action of the same species. There were therefore four terms in Hipparchia's syllogism. To the end that two actions may be alike, it is requisite there should be the same relation in both, betwixt the agent and the patient; but such a relation was not to be found in Hipparchia's hypothesis. If Theodorus had chosen to answer by way of retortion, and puzzle Crates's wife he might have done it thus: *If I do the same action which your husband might lawfully do, I cannot be accused of an unjust action. But your husband acts lawfully when he kisses you, &c. therefore if I kiss you, &c. I cannot be accused of doing an unjust action.* One might have seen whether Hipparchia, who was a brazen faced woman, durst have answered him, before witnesses, *Concedo totum*.*

[F] *She wrote some books: which are not now extant.* Suidas says she composed *Hypotheses Philosophicas: Epibremata quadam, & Questiones ad Theodorum cognomento Atheum*. Mr Menage's conjecture is very probable, that we must read in Diogenes Laërtius (28), *not φέρεται δὲ τῷ Κράτητι βιβλίον ἐπιστολαί, but φέρεται δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κράτητα βιβλίον ἐπιστολαί*. According to this conjecture, we are told, that Hipparchia published some letters which she had written to her husband, in which the philosophized nobly, and in a stile resembling Plato's. We must likewise say, that she writ some tragedies, in which she employed the elevated philosophical stile. It would be very strange, that Diogenes Laërtius, who wrote the life of Crates, should speak of his writings in the life of Hipparchia. To clear him from such an incongruity, Mr Menage has made the conjecture above mentioned.

(28) In Hip-
parchia, lib. vi,
n. 93.

[G] *Mr Moreri has committed some faults.* He should not have said, that Hipparchia's love for learning made her prefer Crates before all her other suitors. It was Crates's person she was in love with, and it was her love for him that made her a Philosopher. It is true, he had charmed her by his fine and learned discourses; but we cannot from this conclude, that her preference of this Philosopher, before any other man, was founded upon her love of learning. There have been maids and women, who have fallen in love with ministers in hearing them preach, and have married them, preferably to more advantageous matches. The learning and eloquence of these ministers was indeed the cause of those womens falling in love with them, but it was not the love of sciences or books that made them marry these gentlemen. If Moreri had spoke of the correction (29) of the passage in Laërtius, he might have said, that according to that historian, Hipparchia's stile resembled Plato's, and that she wrote tragedies; but not having said that, he had no reason to say the rest.

(29) That of
Mr Menage,
which I have
mentioned in the
foregoing re-
mark.

[H] *And so has Lorenzo Craffo.* He only cites Diogenes Laërtius, he is in the wrong therefore to say, I. that Hipparchia studied first under her brother Metrocles.

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(b) Diog. Laërt. ibid. n. 94, & 96.

Hipparchia and Metrocles her brother, who was Crates's disciple (b), were born at Maronea (c). They flourished in Alexander's time. From the marriage of Hipparchia and Crates, was born a son called Pasicles (d).

(c) A town in Thracia called also Hipparchia. Menag. Not. ad Diog. Laërt. lib. vi, n. xvi.

(d) Diog. Laërt. in Cratete, lib. vi, n. 83.

Metrocles. II. That she was courted by many galants on the account of her youth, her wealth and beauty (30). III. That, in order to follow Crates, she dressed herself in man's habit. IV. That disputing with Theodorus, who denied a providence, she convinced him by most solid proofs, and incontestable arguments (31). Read the text of this article, and you will find, that Lorenzo Craffo has taken Laërtius quite wrong.

The riches, beauty, and nobility, which Laërtius speaks of, belong only to her galants. She did not dress herself as a man that she might follow Crates, but because he declared he would not marry any wife, who would not submit to the Cynical institutes. Lastly, in the dispute with Theodorus, we have seen, that neither providence nor any point of religion was concerned. It is not to be imagined how much authors deceive their readers.

Crates vecchio, povero e mal d'apparenza. Lor. Craffo, *Istoria de' Poeti Greci*, pag. 296.

(31) Rispettò così dotta che in disputa convinse con solidissime prove e incontrastabili ragioni, e con somma sua gloria Théodoro che negava la divina provvidenza. *Id. ibid.*

HIPPARCHUS, a great Astronomer, a native of Nicea in Bithynia (a), flourished between the CLIVth and CLXIIIrd Olympiad [A]. We have still one of his works; it is his commentary upon the phenomena of Aratus [B]. Mr Rohault has committed a great mistake in saying, that this Astronomer did not know the particular motion of the fixed stars, from the west to the east, which varies their longitude. Pliny makes frequent and very honourable mention of Hipparchus. He places him

(a) Suidas, pag. 1264.

[A] He flourished between the CLIVth and CLXIIIrd Olympiad. We have the strongest argument that can be for it, since it is drawn from the astronomical observations which he made in that interval of time. Ptolemy has related some of them (1). Vossius had reason to place Hipparchus under the reigns of Ptolemy Philometor, and Ptolemy Evergetes, and to censure Suidas, who contented himself to say, that this Astronomer lived in the time of the Roman consuls; he should have denoted a more determinate time; that of the third Punic war, and that of the war of Numantia. So far Vossius goes on sure grounds; but when he says he agrees with Suidas, as to the time of Hipparchus (2), he forgets himself, and says what is not true; for Suidas no more agrees with Vossius upon that point, than with an author who should place Hipparchus at the beginning of the IVth century of Rome, or at the end of the Vth. Calvisius (3) erred in saying, that Suidas has placed Hipparchus 130 years after the first of the Ptolemies. A French author (4) is no less mistaken in affirming, that Hipparchus lived in the time of Plato. Moreri, who had no other resource but Vossius upon this article, ought not he to have found there an infallible preservative against the mistakes he has made? He has placed Hipparchus in the year 570, and 80 of Rome, under the reigns of Ptolemy and Philometor Evergetes, kings of Egypt. Ought he not to have made time betwixt the 589th year of Rome, and the 625th, correspond to the Olympiads set down by Vossius (5). Besides, when one says barely Ptolemy, it is a sign one speaks of the first prince of that name who reigned in Egypt; and there are few exact writers, who do not more precisely denote him. It is therefore a gross fault to use the word Ptolemy simply, and absolutely, when one doth not mean that Ptolemy who had Egypt to his share, after the death of Alexander. It is plain, Moreri does not speak of him, or if he doth, he commits a great blunder; for a man who lived in the 570th, and 80th year of Rome, could not possibly flourish under the first Ptolemy, who died in the 468th year of Rome. He is mistaken in another thing; he supposes there was a king of Egypt, called Philometor Evergetes.

(1) Eight: the first in the second book, and the seven others in the third book. See Vossius, de Scient. Mathem. pag. 159.

(2) Convenit de estate Suidas. Vossius, *ibid.*

(3) Ad ann. mundi 3665.

(4) Contel, du Calcul. Eccles. pag. 189.

(5) The 154, and the 163.

[B] His commentary upon the phenomena of Aratus is still extant. It is properly a criticism on Aratus; for Hipparchus accuses him of having stole from Eudoxus's writings, and even in those things wherein Eudoxus was mistaken. He finds the same fault with Aratus the grammarian, who had wrote a commentary upon Aratus. The first publisher of Hipparchus's commentary was Peter Victorius. Petavius has given us a more correct edition of it, and has added to it a Latin translation of his own (6). The other works of Hipparchus were de Constitutione stellarum inerrantium, & statione immota, deque mensura lune motu secundum latitudinem &c (7).

(6) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 160.

(7) Idem, pag. 159, ex Suida.

(8) Compare, above, remark [R] of the third date of GUISE.

[C] Mr Rohault has committed a great mistake. Great Mathematicians, like him, are not commonly well versed in the knowledge of matters of fact, and historical blunders frequently escape them (8). However, let us see what this learned Cartesian says, who by the sole orthography of the word Hipparchus, shews that he did not understand Greek.

Hyparchus, says he (9), lived the greatest part of his life, without making any other observation about the fixed stars, than that they had a motion from east to west, in circles, which he thought exactly parallel to the equator; which made him conclude, that they were all inhaled in one and the same solid heaven, (which is called the firmament) which he placed above all the planets: and because he did not think it was necessary that the heaven should borrow this simple motion from any other heaven above it; he maintained that it was the last of all the heavens, and that it served to draw all the others the way that it turned, and so was the Primum Mobile. Hipparchus being then of this opinion, that the fixed stars did not change their places in the heaven, he thought they might serve to determine the course of the planets, just as rocks in the sea may serve to point out the courses of ships, which leave no footsteps of their passage behind them. He employed therefore his industry in measuring the distance betwixt every fixed star, and the sun's ecliptic; which is called the latitude of a star; then to determine the number of degrees, and minutes of the ecliptic, which are reckoned from west to east, from the first point of Aries to the point over against which every star corresponds, which is called it's longitude; but death having prevented him, posterity only could execute his designs. Ptolemy, who lived about two hundred years after Hyparchus, proposed to settle the motions of the planets; and having had the curiosity to observe, whether his predecessor had been exact in observing the longitudes and latitudes of the fixed stars, he found that their latitudes was just as Hipparchus had observed it, but that their longitude was augmented two degrees. He concluded from thence, that besides the motion the fixed stars had from east to west in twenty four hours, they had another from west to east in circles parallel to the ecliptic, by which being advanced two degrees in two hundred years, they would accomplish their entire revolution in thirty six thousand years. And whereas the firmament could have but one motion, which was properly it's own, he attributed to it that motion of thirty six thousand years, and maintained, that it borrowed it's diurnal motion from east to west, from a heaven beyond it. And thus people began to believe, that the Primum Mobile was a heaven, which had no star in it, and which embraced the firmament.

(9) Rohault, *Traité de Physique*, Tom. II, Part II, chap. viii, pag. m. 35

WHAT the longitude and the latitude of the stars are.

Mr Regis (10), another great Cartesian, advanceth the same thing in fewer words; but Mr Gadroys, another excellent Cartesian, well knew that the discovery of the particular motion of the fixed stars towards the east, ought to be ascribed to Hipparchus (11). Probably he had given greater attention than others to a thing which Gassendus has related. It is this. The Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Greeks, believed that all the fixed stars were placed in the concavity of the highest heaven, and consequently of the Primum Mobile, and therefore had no motion, but from east to west upon the poles of the equator. But at last, Hipparchus, 130 years before JESUS CHRIST, found that this hypothesis could not subsist; for having considered

(10) Regis, *Système de Philosophie*, Tom. III, pag. 42, & 43, Lyons Edit. 1691, in 12mo.

(11) Gadroys, *Système du Monde*, cap. II, pag. 27.

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in the number of those sublime genius's, who by the prediction of the eclipses showed that men ought not to be surprized at these phenomena [D], and that the gods themselves were subjected to some laws [E]. He admires him for having taken a review of the stars, for having counted them, and observed their situation and magnitudes, which put his posterity in a capacity of discovering not only whether they are born and die, but also whether they change their place, and increase or decrease. We learn from this passage of Pliny, that Hipparchus a scribed to our souls a celestial original [F].

Strabo

that according to Timocharis's observation, made 200 years before, there were eight degrees betwixt the Virgin's Spike towards the west, and the point of the autumnal equinox, and that he could find but six degrees distance betwixt that star, and that point of the firmament, he concluded, that the stars must have a proper motion from west to east upon the poles of the ecliptic; and that, if the observation of Timocharis was just, the progress of the fixed stars, by that particular motion, was one degree every hundred years. He wrote some treatises upon this new doctrine. 'Quare & intellexit si Timocharis quidem ritè observasset, ac Stellæ moveri sic perseverarent, peragî hoc motu unum gradum intra annos proximè centum. Intellexit præterea debere hunc motum fieri secundum Zodiacum, seu super Eclipticæ Polis, idque prodidit tam in Tractatu, quem inscripsit de transgressu Equinoctialium Solstitialiumque punctorum, quam in eo, quem conscripsit de Anni magnitudine, ut apud Ptolomæum habetur (12). Note that Gassendus doth not observe exactly the age of Timocharis; for that Astronomer flourished about the CXXIX Olympiad, 130 years only before the first observations of Hipparchus, of which Ptolomy makes mention. This mistake of Gassendus is much more tolerable than that of Mr Gaddroy's (13).

[D] Pliny places him in the number of those who, by the prediction of eclipses, showed that men ought not to be surprized at these phenomena. Thales was the first among the Greeks, who could foretell the time of eclipses. Sulpitius Gallus among the Romans, began to be successful in that sort of predictions, and he made a very seasonable trial thereof the night before the battle, in which Perseus was overcome (14). Hipparchus, after these two, extended this science much farther, for he made Ephemerides for six hundred years. 'Post eos utriusque sideris cursum in sexcentos annos præcinit Hipparchus, menses gentium, dielque & horas, ac fitas locorum & visus populorum complexus, ævo teste haud alio modo quam consiliorum naturæ participes (15). After them, Hipparchus calculated the motions of both these luminaries for 600 years to come, being thoroughly acquainted with the different computations of the months, days, and hours, situations of places, and the different aspects in the several nations, in such a manner as if he had been of nature's council. Pliny calls him, on this account, the confident of nature: the elegies he bestows upon the Astronomers on that occasion seem to be very well grounded. 'Viri ingenites supragæ mortalium naturam, tantorum numinum læge deprehensa, & misera hominum mente absoluta in defectibus stellarum scelera, aut mortem aliquam siderum pavente Maci ingenio este cœli interpretes, rerumque naturæ capaces, argumenti repletos, quo Deos hominesque vicistis. Quis enim hæc cernens, & statos siderum (quoniam ita placuit appellare) labores, non suæ necessitati mortalis genitrus ignoscat (16)? — Illustrious men, nay more than men, who first discovered the laws by which these great divinities are governed, and first set free the minds of men who used before to tremble at eclipses, fearing that they should occasion terrible calamities, or the extinction of these glorious luminaries. . . . Hail! ye interpreters of heaven, learned in the nature of all things, and discoverers of a subject whereby you have overcome both gods and men. For what mortal, seeing these things, and the stated labours of the stars (since we are pleased to call them labours) will not be content with the necessity to which his own nature is subjected. This elegy in prose is full as good as that which here follows in verse.

Felices animos, quibus hæc cognoscere primis,
Inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!
Credibile est illos pariter vitisque lotisque
Altiis humanis exsuperasse caput.

Non Venus & vinum sublimia pectora fregit;

Officiumve fori, militiæve labor.

Nec levis ambitio, persulsaque gloria fuco;

Magnarumque fames sollicitavit opum.

Admovere oculis distantia sidera nostris;

Ætheraque ingenio suppositura suo.

Sic petitur cælum: non ut ferat Offan Olympus;

Summaque Peliculus sidera tangat apex (17).

(17) Ovid Fast. lib. i, ver. 297, & seq.

Hipparchus did so carefully observe what concerns eclipses, that he found out the proportions of their intervals (18). He observed that the eclipses of the moon might return at five months end, and the eclipses of the sun at seven, and that the sun might be eclipsed twice in the space of thirty days with respect to different parts of the earth. Intra ducentos annos Hipparchi sagacitate compertum est & lunæ defectum aliquando quinto mense à priori fieri, solis vero septimo: eundem bis in triginta diebus supra terras occultari, sed ab aliis atque aliis hoc cerni. These words of Pliny have been misunderstood by some. There is a very learned man, who thought that by intra ducentos annos, was meant that two ages must intervene to the end, that an eclipse of the moon may succeed another, at five months end. This is not Pliny's meaning (19): his meaning is that Hipparchus had discovered that proportion two hundred years before. Pliny is right in his Chronology, there were two centuries betwixt Pliny and that famous Astronomer.

[E] That the gods themselves were subjected to some laws. There is no inconveniency in saying that God loves order, and good, by a necessary and indispensable law; for, on the contrary, it would be an imperfection to be able to violate this law. But it is doubtless an imperfection to be subject to an order which retards or weakens our functions; and therefore they who pretended the stars were gods, were obliged to say, if they argued consistently, that the Astronomers had discovered the weakness of the divine nature, and it's dependance on a very burdesome law, which subjected it to a sort of death, fainting, or slavery. To this it may be objected, that the sun is no less luminous in itself at the time of an eclipse, than before, or after; but may not I answer, that a courier who is stopped, loses nothing of his vigour, and health? It is nevertheless, a proof of his submission to a burdensome law; it is, in a word, a sign of weakness to see that he cannot continue his journey. Apply this to the sun, and you will find that his eclipses are a sign of imperfection. They hinder him from enlightening the earth; he is a prince, whose couriers are stopped, and whose functions are interrupted. If Pliny had purposed to reason, he had not drawn the consequence, which he has drawn from that phenomenon: he would not have said that this ought to comfort men on account of their mortality (20), he would have said, that this proves that the stars are not of a divine nature.

[F] We learn from a passage of Pliny, that Hipparchus attributed a heavenly original to our souls. It is so fine, that in giving it intire, I am sure to please those, who love not to change books, in order fully to satisfy their curiosity. Idem Hipparchus nunquam satis laudatus, ut quo nemo magis approbaverit: cognitionem cum homine siderum, animæque nostras partem esse cœli: novam stellam & aliam in ævo suo genitam deprehendit: ejusque motu, qua die fulsit, ad dubitationem est adductus, anne hoc sæpius fieret, moverenturque & cæ, quas putamus æfixas. Idemque ausus, rem etiam Deo improbam, annumerare posteris stellas, ac sidera ad normam expandere (21), organis excogitatis, per quæ singularum loca atque magnitudines signaret: ut facile discerni posset ex eo, non modo, an obirent, nascerenturque, sed an omnino aliqua transirent, moverenturque; item an crescerent, minuerenturque, cœlo in hæreditate cunctis relicto; si quisquam, qui rationem eam caperet, inveniret.

(18) Plin. lib. ii, cap. xiii.

(19) Neque vero scitus est, ut existimavit vir aliqui extra ingenium aleam positus, expectatæ deesse annos ducentos, ut recurret lunæ defectus quinto mense, cum vel intra annos decem animadvertendum fuerit, utate nostra gem nam ita recurrere. Harduinus, in Plin. lib. ii, cap. xiii, pag. 159, 160.

(20) This conclusion would be still stronger than that which Lactantius makes use of above, cited. (21) In Fastis Harduinus dicitur ut si ad normam expanderet. (WILLIAM).

(12) Gassendus, Physicæ, Sect. ii, lib. iii, pag. m. 596, primi Volum. Oper. ex Ptolomæo 7. Almag. 2, & 3.

(13) He reckons but two hundred years between Timocharis and Ptolomy the Astronomer, Syst. pag. 30, but he should have reckoned above four hundred. Robault, who reckons two hundred years between Hipparchus and Ptolomy, Tom. ii, Part. II, of his Physics, pag. 36, should at least have followed Gassendus, who reckons 260 years between these two Astronomers.

(14) Plinius, lib. ii, cap. xli.

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Id. ibid.

(6) Lib. i, & ii, passim.

Strabo (b) accuses this Astronomer of being too critical, and of having made use of a manner of criticising, which favoured more of chicane than accuracy. Pliny judges more favourably of him (c).

(c) Hipparchus & in coarguendo eo (Eratosthene) & in reliqua omni diligentia mirus. *Plin. lib. ii, cap. 108.*

(22) Plinius, lib. ii, cap. xxvi, pag. m. 182, 183.

ventus esset (22). — The same Hipparchus can never be sufficiently praised, for no body more clearly proved that men are allied to the stars, and that our souls are a part of heaven. He, I say, discovered a new star which was produced in his days; and by it's motion, at it's first appearance, he began to doubt whether this did not frequently happen, and whether those stars which we call fixed do not likewise move. He also first undertook to number the stars for the use of posterity, a task hard even to the gods, and reduced them to rule, having invented instruments by which he marked their places in the heavens and their magnitudes: so that by means of them it might be easily observed, not only whether they die and are born, but likewise whether they pass by one another or move; and whether they increase or decrease, leaving the heavens as an inheritance to all, if any should be found able to fathom these mysteries.

HIPPOMANES. There is in the Project of this Dictionary a long article upon Hippomanes. I do not place it here, having changed the design which I had of giving promiscuously, real, and personal articles; but I will place this article at the end of this work by way of dissertation.

(a) Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. v.

(b) Suidas, in Ἰππώναξ.

HIPPONAX, a Greek poet, born at Ephesus, lived not in the XXIII^d Olympiad, as Eusebius says [A], but in the LXth, as we are assured by Pliny (a). Being banished from Ephesus, by the tyrants Athenagoras and Comas (b), he went and settled at Clazomenæ [B]. He was deformed, little, and slender (c), but his deformity has by accident been the cause of his immortality; for he is scarce known but by the satirical verses which he made against two Statuaries [C], who had carved him in the most ridiculous figures imaginable (d). He discharged upon them a thundering legion of Iambic verses which so vexed them, that it has been reported they hanged themselves. Pliny maintains that this is false, and proves it by a great number of statues which they made after that time in the adjacent islands. Some authors have written, that they only obliged them to leave Ephesus where Hipponax lived (e). However it be, the humour and satirical vein of this poet distinguished him [D], and do so still in a very particular manner. His satire did not even spare those to whom he owed his life (f). There are some who pretend that he died of hunger [E]. It is observed that though he was little and slender,

(c) *Ælian. div. Hist. lib. x, cap. vi.*

(d) Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. v.

(e) Apud Tanaq. Fabrum. *Vie des Poëtes Grecs.*

(f) *ὁ καὶ τὸν αἰὶν ἐὼ βαύτας. Qui etiam parentes suos aliter vit. Antbal. lib. iii, cap. xxxv, n. 22, pag. m. 655.*

(1) Pag. 79.

[A] He did not live in the XXIII^d Olympiad, as Eusebius says. Scalliger (1) confutes him by the passage of Pliny; he believed therefore that Pliny was in the right. So far it is well: but he adds, that Eusebius followed Tatian, and he refers us to his notes number 908, in which we find nothing that relates to Hipponax. In this there is no great exactness. Eusebius may also be refuted by the testimony of Proclus (2), who says that Hipponax flourished under the reign of Darius. He means doubtless the son of Hytaspes, whose reign began in the LXIVth Olympiad.

[B] He settled at Clazomenæ. Hence the poetess Sulpicia describes him in this manner:

Nec trimetro jambo, nec qui pede fractus eodem
Fortiter irasci discit duce Clazomenio (3).

Nor in that verse Iambic-like engage,
Taught by the Clazomenian bard to rage,
In daring numbers, thro' the manly page.

If what Tanaquillus Faber says be true, namely, that Hipponax lived at Ephesus, when he revenged himself on those who had insulted him upon his deformity; he must either have returned into his country, or else his banishment did not precede that adventure. I have seen nothing in Pliny that shews that Hipponax was or was not born at Ephesus, or whether he, and the Statuaries whom he satirized, lived there or not. And yet Mr Dacier (4) assures us, that Pliny is of their opinion, who say that our poet's verses made his enemies quit Ephesus. Lloyd and Hofman say that Bupalus lived at Clazomenæ (5). I believe this is a discovery made by reasoning: they saw, on one hand, that Hipponax retired into that city; and, on the other, that Bupalus represented him in a grotesque manner, and from these two facts they concluded, that Bupalus lived at Clazomenæ.

[C] Against two Statuaries. They were two brothers, one called Bupalus and other Athenis, they were of the tribe of Chios, the sons of Anthemus, whose father's name was Micades, and the grandfather's Malas. All these were Sculptors from father to son in that island; so that this profession might be as ancient there as the Olympiads (6). Pausanias (7) speaks of Bupalus with praise, on occasion of the statue of Fortune, and that

of the Graces, which were at Smyrna of his carving. He makes him to have lived before Pindar. Two witnesses such as he and Pliny, deserve to be preferred to the scholiast upon Horace (8), who says Bupalus was a Painter, and who has been followed in this by Tanaquillus Faber (9) and Mr Dacier (10), and almost all the dictionaries (11). Suidas says these two brothers were Statuaries; and because he has given the last the name of Athenis, he has occasioned Father Hardouin to think the passage of Pliny is corrupted, where this Statuary is called Anthemus. He has therefore put Athenis in the room of that word. See the remark [E] and the article B U P A L U S.

[D] His humour and satirical vein distinguished him. Hence come those proverbs we find made use of by Cicero (12). *Eum additum jam tum puto esse Calvi Licinii Hipponacteo præconio.* Horace names Hipponax and Archilochus as the two greatest satirists (13). Pliny says as follows. *Hipponacti notabilis vultus scædita erat: quamobrem imaginem ejus lascivia jocorum ii proposuere ridendum circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum distinxit in tantum ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impulsisse: quod falsum est. — Hipponax was remarkably ugly; they therefore made a statue of him, which they set up for the diversion of the public. See also Cicero, Hipponax revenged this affront by such severe satires, that some have wrote, that his enemies hanged themselves: but there is no ground for that report.* There is in the *Antologia* (14) three or four epigrams, which represent Hipponax still terrible after his death. Passengers are there advised to keep far from his tomb, as being a place that sends out dreadful hail: *φειδ' ὅς τὸν καλὰς τὴν τάφον, τὸν φειδ' ὅς τὸν, fuge grandinatem tumulum borrendum* (15).

[E] Some pretend that he died of hunger. I believe all the foundation they have for it are these two verses:

Urque parum stabili qui carmine læst Athenas
Invisus pereas, deficiente cibo (16).

Hated by all, may famine be thy fate,
Like his, whose satire last'd in Athens state.

Some critics pretend that Ovid did not say *Athenas*, but *Atbenin*, whence it would follow, that he speaks here of

(10) Rem. sur Horace, Tom. V, pag. 151.

(11) See the art. B U P A L U S, remark [A].

(12) Epist. xxiv, lib. vii, ad Fam. mil.

(13) In *Malos asperimus Parata tollo cornua. Quales Lycambæ speritus infido gener, Aut acer hostis Bupalus.* Horat. Epod. vi.

(14) Lib. iii, cap. xxv.

(15) Ibid. n. xxiv, pag. m. 566.

(16) Ovid. in Ibin, ver. 525.

(3) De Edicto Domitiani, inter Cataleda Virgili, Edit. Ludg. Bat. 1617, pag. 247.

(4) In his notes upon Horace, Tom. V, p. 151.

(5) Charles Stephens says so too at the word Bupalus.

(6) Si quis horum familiam ad proavum usque retrogatur, inveniet artis ejus originem cum Olympiadum origine coexistere. *Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. v.*

(7) Pausan. lib. iv, pag. 147, & lib. ix, pag. 309.

(g) Metrodor.
Scepsius, apud
Athenæum, lib.
xii, pag. 552.

slender, yet he had great strength, and could throw an empty vessel farther than other men (g). He was neither the first, nor the only person who have forced people to make away with themselves by their invectives [F].

(17) *Adversar.*
lib. ix, cap. xxv.

(18) Comment.
in Ibin, pag.
100. 101.

(19) Lib. de In
terpret.

(20) Stromat.
lib. i.

(21) De Metri
Comiciis.

(22) See her
verses in the re-
mark [B].

(23) Plin. lib.
xxxvi. cap. v.

(24) Spizelius, in
Felicit. Literat.
pag. 718.

MORTAL effects
of detraction or
censure.

{25) See the article ARCHILOCHUS, remark [C].

(26) *Ælian.*
Var. Hist. lib v
cap. viii.

(47) Plutarch.
de Discrim.
Adul. & Amici,
pag. 70, F.

(18) Diogen.
Laërt. lib. ii, n.
cxii. See also
Pliny, lib. vii,
cap. lvii.

(29) Xiphilin.
in Hadriano,
pag. III, 258.

of Hipponax: ' Qui primus jambum claudicare fecit & scæzonta in Bupalum & Athenin composuit, ut est apud Suidam, ut recte Ovidius, parum stabile, id est claudum carmen ei tribuat.' These are Alciatus's words in the eighteenth chapter of the fifth book of his *Parerga*. Turnebus comes pretty near the same thought: ' Videtur, *says he* (17), de Hipponactis hoc intelligi qui claudicante & parum stabili versa, id est scæzonte in Bupalum & Athenin inuestus est Athenienis: quo in crimine ne Athenis quidem pepercit. Quid tamen fi pro *Athenas, Athenin* scribamus, quem ab eo probris oneratum accepimus! Ne hanc quidem lectionem improbarem, etiam alteram delere non ausifm.'

Mr. de Boissieu (18) who mentions these two passages, observes that Sanctius and Valerius approve of them. As for him, he is wholly for that conjecture, and finds it very probable, that Ovid has mentioned the two inventors of Iambic verses one after the other. Now he had been speaking of Archilochus, and we know from Dionysius Halicarnassensis (19), Clemens Alexandrinus (20), Rufinus (21), and the poetess Sulpitia (22), that Hipponax was the inventor of the scazons. Mr. de Boissieu might have criticised Turnebus for saying that Hipponax's enemies were Athenians; for Pliny says expressly they were of the isle of Chios, and that they expressed it so in their works: 'Qui-
'bus subjecerunt carmen non vitibus tantum celeri-
' Chium, sed et operibus Anthermi filiorum (23). —
To which they added a poem wherein they said that
'Chios was not only famous for vines, but likewise for
'the works of the sons of Anthermus.' There is no ground for what Turnebus says, that Hipponax did not spare the city of Athens in the verses he made against these two Statuaries; it is a random guess. A German minister (24), after applying to Hipponax the two verses of Ovid, goes on thus: 'Ex Plinio nimirum compertum est Atheniæ vel Athenam sculptorem in Hipponactis scripta incurresse, carmina ejus sustulisse maledica, aethorem verò lethali inedia fuisse confectum. — We learn from Pliny, that the
'Statuary Athenis, or Athenæ, fell under the lash of
'Hipponax's pen, that he bore with his satirical verses,
'but that the author of them died of hunger.' Pliny
says nothing like it.

[F] *He was neither the first nor the only person who have forced people to make away with themselves by their invectives.* Before him Archilochus wrote satires which forced two or three persons to hang themselves (25). Poligrius being abused in a comedy did the like (26). We need not wonder that a satire should cast men into despair, since a meer censure has sometimes had that fatal effect. Pythagoras having reprimanded one of his disciples somewhat harshly in a great company, cast him into so black a melancholy as made him strangle himself, and ever after that great Philosopher took care to censure only in private. Πυθαγόρας δὲ τρυφήν ἐν πολλοῖς γνώριμῳ προσέχευ' ἔχεντος, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὸν Πυθαγόραν αὖτις ἄλλα παρόντος ἄλλου ρυθιπῆαι. Ferunt, adolescentulum quendam a Pythagora, cui operam dabat, multis praefentibus compellatum asperius suspensio vitam finisse, atque ab eo tempore Pythagoram nunquam alio praesente quenquam

corripuisse (27). Diodorus Cronus died with vexation for having been insulted by a king of Egypt, upon his not being able to solve some logical difficulties, which Stilpo had propounded to him at that king's table (28). Some censures, without causing the death of the censured persons, have touched them so sensibly, as to make them attempt upon the life of the person who made the censure. The architect Apollodorus lost his life, for observing to the emperor Hadrian some faults of a temple that prince had built (29). The last ages furnish us with examples of all these different effects of censure. Muretus knew a man, who fell into folly to deperate a melancholy on account of some verses made against him, that he died of it. And on that occasion that writer cites Plato, who advised all those who loved their reputation to take heed of provoking the poets. *Λαέσιτοι (Poetae) ἴτα σε υλκίζονται, αὐτῶν δὲ ἐμὸν εὖς ἰς quibus offensus erant, ad mortem adegressi* *narrentur.* Nam praeter id quod de Archilochō accipimus, novi ego qui hac cetera tantum veribus suis inimico dolorem iniecerit, ut ex eo ille sit mortuus.

‘ . . . quo circa Plato in Minoe præcipit iis qui
‘ bone famæ studiosi sunt, ut diligenter caveant, ne
‘ cum poëis inimicitias suscipiant (30). — Poetis,
‘ *when provoked, revenge themselves in such a manner,*
‘ *that sometimes they have occasioned the death of those*
‘ *who had offended them. For besides the story we have*
‘ *concerning Archilochus, I know a person, in the age*
‘ *in which we live, who by his verses stung his enemy*
‘ *so to the quick, that he died of it* For this
‘ reason Plato, in his Minos, advised those who love
‘ their reputation, to take care not to provoke the poets.’
It is said that George Trapezuntius died with melan-
choly, upon seeing the errors in his translation of Pro-
tomey criticised by Regiomontanus, and that the sons of
the deceased poisoned the critic (31). I have said in
another place (32) that it was thought that Jason De-
nores would have died with grief, upon reading Gua-
rini’s reply, if he had lived long enough to have seen
that book out of the press. *Some zealous Calvinists*

(30) Muretus.
Varior. Lect. lib.
viii, cap. i.

(31) Naudé,
Considérations
sur les Coups
de Etat. See also
Thuan. lib. xc.

... published so bitter a libel against Quintin . . . (32) In the article GUARINI, remarks [B].

that that doctor being too sensible of it, took his bed upon reading it, and never rose again (33). He had made speech in the name of the clergy in the assembly of the states of the kingdom in the year 1560, it was the criticisms upon his speech which occasioned his death. Gregory de Valencia having read a passage of St Austin, otherwise than he should, before Clement VIII (34), was convicted of a falsification, upon which the Pope said to him (35). *Is it thus you pretend to deceive the church of GOD?* These words, like a thunderbolt, struck down Valencia, he fainted away in the presence of the Pope, and died two days after. See in the article CERA SI another blow of the same Pope. 'Mr de l'Etoile reprehended strongly, and boldly, and with a strange sort of severity, what did not please him in things submitted to his judgment. He is accused for having caused a young man that came from Languedoc to die with grief and vexation, who brought him a comedy which he thought a master-piece, in which he clearly shewed him a thousand faults.' I take these words from Mr Pellisson (36). Philip II king of Spain censured in as murdering a manner as the king of Egypt before mentioned. 'Cardinal Espinosa died on having heard this reproof uttered by that prince, *Cardenal yo soy el Presidente. Cardinal I am the president.* And the same king saying to a secretary who had poured ink upon some dispatch instead of sand, *Este es el tintero, y esto es la fundadora.* — That is the ink-born, and this is the sand-box. So pierced him with these two or three words that he immediately retired from the king's preference to his death-bed (38). We have examples which prove that some authors have assinated their critics. Murtola, enraged to see his reputation ruined by a satire of the cavalier Marini, fired a pistol at him in the middle of the streets of Turin; he missed him, tho' he had five bullets in his pistol, and shot at him very near; he confessed that his design was not to wound but to kill Marini (39). We find in Mr Baillet (40) that, Francis Robortellus having censured some books of Baptist Egnatius, a Venetian, had very near lost his life, by a stab in his belly, which this Egnatius gave him in answer to his criticisms.' He cites *Joh. Imperial. Musæi biflor.* pag 61. & *Theophr. Spizel. de scilicet. literat. comment.* 4. p. 485. These the words of Imperialis: 'Cum Alciato pariter, aliisque clarissimis ejus ævi luminibus, internecinas prope simulates exercevit (Robortellus) quo factum ut semel Venetiæ Baptistæ Egnatius optimus ac doctissimus vir crebris ab eo laceratis injuriis, educto fenili gladiolo in eum impetum facere non dubitavit. — Robortellus had mortal quarrels with Alciato, and other learned men of that age, to such a degree, that Baptistæ Egnatius, a good and learned man, whom he had frequently abused, meeting him once at Venice, attacked him sword in hand, tho' then far advanced in years.'

(33) Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX. Tom. 4.

(34) Morale pratique des Jésuites Tom. III, pag. 122. Where a falsity of the first Tom. is corrected.

(35) Morale pratique Tom. 4, pag. 268.

(36) Hist de l'Acad. Franç. pag. m. 322.

(37) I think it should be cited etc.

(38) La Mothe Vayer, letter Iiii, pag. 441, of the tenth Tome.

(39) See the Anti-Baillet, Tom. I, n. 95.

(40) Jugemens des Savans, Tom. I, pag. 66.

If I had dispersed this in several places of my work, I might have avoided their censures who will call this remark, *meer troef, and a trifling collection*. But as I feel more the advantage of my readers than my own, I am willing, tho' at the expence of censure, to save them the trouble of gathering together what I might have dispersed.

I add,

I add a fresh example to the foregoing. A poet having presumed to present to Pope Urban VIII a work, whereof the subject, the disposition, and the verse, were unbecoming a Christian, he reproached him for his impudence, with so much passion, that the poor wretch died with

confusion and grief. You will find these words in the third page of a book published by Father Menétrier at Paris 1681, intituled *Des Représentations en Musique anciennes & modernes*.

HIPSIPYLE, or HYPHIPYLE, the daughter of Thoas, king of the isle of Lemnos, saved her father's life when the women of the island made a general massacre of all the men that inhabited it (a). She did not do it openly; but was forced to make people believe that she had made away with him; upon which supposition, the other women chose her for their queen (b). The Argonauts some time after landed in the isle of Lemnos, and were received there with all the testimonies of the strictest friendship; for the women of the island had not killed the men out of any indifference for the male sex [A], but rather out of a spirit of revenge, which shewed they were very sensible of the soft pleasures of love. The Argonauts refreshed themselves from the fatigues of the sea in the arms of these widows as long as they pleased; neither did Hypsipyle forget herself: She applied herself to their leader, and was quickly with child of two boys. If her fate in that respect was not like Dido's [B], it was in this, that Jason was no less inconstant than Æneas [C]. See in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary what became of Hypsipyle, when her subjects understood that she had not killed her father.

[A] The women of the isle of Lemnos, had not killed the men out of any indifference for the male sex. They were induced to that massacre, only because the men no longer caressed them, and diverted themselves only with the slaves which they had brought from Thrace (1). The men used this practice because their wives were grown so stinking, that they could not come near them without the greatest disgust (2). This stench was an effect of the anger of Venus; either because this goddess was offended at their neglect of sacrificing to her for some years (3), or because she conceived an aversion for the isle of Lemnos, for having been caught there in the fact (4), for there it was that Medea being jealous of Hypsipyle, threw into that island some drugs, which caused the women to stink so. It is added, that in after ages they smelt so strong upon a certain day every year, that their husbands and even their own children could not abide to come near them. It is disputed whether this stink was from their breath, or their arm-pits. Eustathius (6) is for the first opinion, and Dion Chrysostome (7) for the second. Here follow some verses of Statius in which Hypsipyle represents the horrible state of the island in the interregnum of love:

Protinus à Lemno teneri, fugis amoris,
Motus Hymen, versæque faces, & frigida justæ
Cura tori: nullæ redeunt in gaudia noctes,
Nullus in amplexu sopor est: odia aspera ubique
Et furor, & medio recubat discordia lecto (8).

With torch inverted, Hymen took his flight —
The rites of wedlock, with the loves, are fled,
And hate and discord fill the marriage-bed.

That interregnum seemed so intolerable, that it moved them to the massacre before mentioned.

[B] Her fate in that respect was not like Dido's. For the amours of poor Dido with Æneas were barren, and it was that which grieved her. I have elsewhere

(9) observed the difference betwixt her taste, and that of the women of these later ages. The ladies nowadays when they are deserted by their gallants at the opening of a campaign, are over-joyed that the pleasures of the winter quarters are passed over without propagation, I make use of this example without excluding those that concern persons of other conditions: I use it, I say, because the stay of the Argonauts in the isle of Lemnos, may well be compared to a long winter quarter. I must add that Hypsipyle protests in the work of a Latin poet, that she married the lovely Jason against her will.

Cinerem, sariaque meorum
Testor, ut externas non sponte aut crimine cadas

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6 B

Attigerim (scit cura Deum) est blandus Jason
Virginibus dare vincla novis (10).

Neither by choice, nor passion, was I led
(The gods can witness) to this foreign bed;
Thou lovely Jason boasts the pleasing art
To captivate each wishing virgin's heart.

But a Greek poet represents her so much in love with him at first sight, as to offer him her kingdom.

Ναῖετ' αὖτ' ἰδὼν, καὶ τοὶ ἄδ' οἱ, ἢ δ' ἀνέριτα
Πατὴρ ἐμὸς Θάνατος ἔχ' οἷς γέρας.

Sin vero hic
Sedem figere velis, idque allubescat tibi, causa nihil
erit, quin

Augearis præmio Thoantis genitoris mei (11).

If in this land thou chusest to remain,
Thoas, my sire, shall give thee here to reign.

Valerius Flaccus in like manner represents her touched to the quick with the charms of this Hero, and ready to marry him as soon as she saw him:

Alloquio, & blandos paulatim, colligit ignes,
Jam non dura thoris, Veneri nec iniqua reverse (12):
Fast, as he speaks, with kindled love she burns,
And Hymen to her conquer'd heart returns.

[C] Jason was no less inconstant than Æneas. He forsook her and his two children, and pursued his voyage: so that she is one of the heroines of Ovid, who sung their sad complaints, and tender sighs, upon seeing themselves forsaken by the gallants, to whom they had refused nothing. Ariadne, grandmother to Hypsipyle (13), experienced the same fate. See in Ovid her complaints against Theseus. I make a reflexion upon this matter. The mythological authors and modern writers of romances have taken two different roads. The first come too near history; the latter keep too far from it. Only consider the description of manners, or the character which they give a hero. In Mythology the heroines are not only too amorous, but also too lavish of their favours: the heroes are inconstant; they get the heroines with child, or do what is necessary to it, and then they laugh at them. This looks too much like history, and affords an ill example to both sexes (14). It is better to take the opposite extreme, as our writers of romances do, and in spite of probability to seign heroines and heroines quite faultless.

HIRPINI,

(a) *Hirpus* was the word for *Wolf* in the language of the Samnites. Strabo, lib. v, pag. 173.

HIRPINI, a people of Italy in the country of the Samnites. They were so called from a wolf (a), that conducted them when they went to settle a colony. Some say that upon a certain solemn day, they trod upon fire without being burned [A]: but it is probable that this is attributing to them what belonged only to the Hirpi [B], who lived

[A] *Some say they trod upon fire without being burnt.* Varro, who opposes superstition as much as he could, having mentioned an ointment, immediately adds this reflexion; the Hirpini rub the bottoms of their feet with it, when they are to walk upon fire. *Varro ubique expugnator religionis, ait, cum quoddam medicamentum describeret: eo uti solent Hirpini ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento plantas ungunt* (1). These words give us no light concerning the situation of these Hirpini; so that we cannot tell, whether Varro speaks of a people who were part of the Samnites, or whether with Servius he gives the name of Hirpini to the people who lived near mount Soracte in Tuscany, and who were properly called Hirpi. Many imagine that Varro meant the Samnites called Hirpini, and if so, it is probable that the likeness of names misled him. They who walked upon fire were distinct from the Samnites, and lived at a good distance from them. They were called Hirpi and not Hirpini; the commentator Servius is mistaken in the name, and that first mistake has led him into some others concerning the situation of those who walked upon fire, upon the festival of mount Soracte, as we shall see in what follows.

[B] *... what belonged only to the Hirpi.* Virgil does not name those who walked on fire; he only gives us to understand that they bordered on mount Soracte.

Summe Deum sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
Pascitur, & medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna.
Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis (2).

(2) Virg. *Æneid.* lib. xi, ver. 785.

O patron of Soracte high abodes,
Phœbus the ruling power among the gods
Whom first we serve, whose woods of ancient pine
Are sell'd for thee, and to thy glory shine.
By thee protected, with our naked soles,
Thro' flames unsung'd we march, and tread the kindled coals,
Give me propitious power to wash away
The stains of this dishonourable day.

DRYDEN.

But Servius names them Hirpini; *Soractis*, says he, in commenting on this passage of Virgil, *mons est Hirpinorum in Flaminia collocatus*. He adds, that this mountain is consecrated to the infernal gods, and that one day whilst they were offering a sacrifice to Pluto, wolves came upon them which snatched the entrails of the victim out of the fire: the shepherds pursued them, and engaged them in a den, whence proceeded a mortal vapour. This caused a great pestilence, which the oracle promised a stop to, provided they should imitate the wolves, that is, should live by rapine. They did so, and were thence called *Hirpini Soracti*, that is, *Pluto's Wolves*; for in the Sabine language *Hirpus* signifies a *Wolf*, and *Soranus* is the name of Pluto. If we consult Strabo and Pliny, we cannot doubt but Servius has here committed a great blunder. He has confounded the names and history of two different people. Strabo (3) relates, that because a *Wolf* in the language of the Samnites is called *Hirpus*, and because a wolf was a guide to a colony that came to settle among the Samnites, this people were called *Hirpini*. As for Pliny, he affirms that in the country of the *Hirpini* there was a place that could not be entered without present death. *In Hirpinis Amfancti ad Mephitis adem, locum quem qui intraverit moriuntur* (4). Virgil gives a larger description of this execrable place, and observes not only that it sent out a cursed vapour, but also that it was a breathing hole of hell.

Est locus Italiae medio sub montibus aldis,
Nobilis, & famæ multis memoratus in oris,

Amfancti valles.

Hic specus horrendum, & savi spiracula Ditis
Monstrantur: ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Pelliferas aperit fauces - - - (5).

(5) *Æneid.* lib. vii, ver. 563.

In midst of Italy well known to fame,
There lies a lake, Amfanctus is the name.

Full in the center of the sacred wood,
An arm arises of the Stygian flood,
Which, breaking from beneath with bellowing sound,
Whirls the black waves, and rattling stones around.
Here Pluto pants for breath from out his cell,
And opens wide the grinning jaws of hell.

DRYDEN.

Mount Soracte had nothing of this nature; the vapour that proceeded from it was only fatal to birds, as Pliny expressly assures us: *Alibi volucris tantum ut Soracte vicino urbi tractu* (6). It is plain then that Servius made this mountain a place consecrated to Pluto, and placed it in the neighbourhood of the cave which killed men, because he confounded what concerned the *Hirpini*, with what related to the *Hirpi*. See Salmassius upon Solinus page 85.

Any one that has a mind to know what ancient authors say of the *Hirpi* may be quickly satisfied. The *Hirpi* were a small number of families in the country of the Falisci near Rome, who walked upon fire without harm. This spectacle was seen every year on mount Soracte, on the day on which they offered a solemn sacrifice to Apollo. The *Hirpi* walked upon burning piles of wood without being burnt, and on that account obtained many privileges. *Haud procul urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro Familia sunt parva quæ vocantur Hirpi: hæc sacrificio annuo quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur, Et ob id perpetuo Senatus consulto militiæ omniumque aliorum munerum vacationem habent* (7). Solinus thought he faithfully copied this, and did not perceive that he changed a notable circumstance. He expresses himself in a way that signifies, that the *Hirpi* walked a cross the flames; *Impune insulant ardentibus signorum struibus in bonorum divina rei flammis percentibus* (8). And yet Pliny has not said this, but plainly insinuates, that they walked only upon the burning embers, and it cannot be doubted but that they confined themselves to this; since Varro alledged, that they rubbed the soles of their feet with an ointment. Consider also the *multa premimus vestigia pruna* of Virgil, and the expressions of the authors we shall quote, and you will agree that Salmassius justly blames Solinus (9). A poet later than Virgil tells us, that they who walked on the fire were three times put to this trial, loaded with the entrails of the sacrifices, which they afterwards laid on Apollo's altars; *aliquando autem ex hostiis eis vana novis equis equum soletur, patrio cui ritus in arvo, Cum pius arcitenens accensis gaudet acervis, Extæ ter innocuos late portare per ignes; Sic in Apollinea semper vestigia pruna. Inviolata tæxæ, victorque vaporis ad aras: Dona serenato referas solemnia Phœbo* (10).

(7) Plin. lib. vii, cap. ii, pag. m.

(8) Solin. cap. ii.

(9) Sed in est Solinus: verba tantummodo curat rerum se curat quasi digerit, mire ubique abesse lacuna. Salmassius. in Plin. pag. 86.

(10) Silius Italicus, lib. v.

Tum Soracte satum præstantem corpore & armis
Equum nolescent, patrio cui ritus in arvo,
Cum pius arcitenens accensis gaudet acervis,
Extæ ter innocuos late portare per ignes;
Sic in Apollinea semper vestigia pruna.
Inviolata tæxæ, victorque vaporis ad aras:
Dona serenato referas solemnia Phœbo (10).

Knowing Equum from Soracte sprung,
For strength renew'd, and hardy deeds of arms,
Who, on Apollo's feast, the entrails bears
Thro' harmless flames: so may'st thou ever tread
The burning coal, and, victor o'er the bear,
Offer the solemn gift at Phœbus' shrine.

W e

lived in another place of Italy. There were antiently other feasts, wherein the same spectacle was seen [C].

We have seen that the feast of mount Soracte, where the walkers on fire plaid their part so well was dedicated to Apollo; we now shall see it consecrated to another deity. Strabo (11) observes that at the foot of this mountain there was a town called Feronia. This was also the name of a goddess who was mightily worshipped in that district, they celebrated an admirable sacrifice in the *lucus* or grove of this goddess. Some men who were seized with the spirit of that divinity, walked bare-foot upon a heap of burning coals and were not harmed by it. *Ἡς (ἑρῶνιδος) τέμενος ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τόπῳ δαυμάσιν ἱεροπολίαν ἔχον γυμνοὺς γὰρ ποσὶ διστάσιν ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ σποδὶαν μεγάλην οἱ κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς δαίμονος ταύτης ἀπαθείς. Ἰβὶ ἐστὶν ἡ Feronia, in quo sacrificium perpetratur mirabile: correpti enim ejus numinis afflata homines nudis pedibus prunarum ardentium struem illepsi perambulant* (12). There was every year a solemn assembly in that place, wherein people were diverted with that sight. It is not for the glory of the ancients to see them so little consistent one with another upon matters of fact, which must have been known to all people.

[C] There were antiently other feasts wherein the same spectacle was seen. There was at Castabala in

Cappadocia a temple of Diana called Pefasia. The priestesses of it walked bare-foot upon burning coals without being hurt. Strabo speaks of it by hear-say. *Ὅπου παρὰ τὰς ἱερέας γυμνοὺς τοῖς ποσὶ δὲ ἀνδραγαθίαν βασιλεὺς ἀπαθείς. Ubi aiant sacrificas mulieres illepsi pedibus per prunas ambulare* (13). There have been mountebanks in these latter ages, who have done things much more surprising (14), than what is told of the Hirpi and these priestesses. But the better to show the great conformity of the ancient and modern abuses in religion, I will here set down what I have heard related by the late Mr Fremont d'Ablandcourt, who being a zealous Huguenot, during his stay at Lisbon, was a most exact observer of the tricks of the monks. He told me that there is a certain convent in Spain (15) that every year furnishes a monk, who shuts himself up in a hot oven, and continues there some hours, being only clothed with linnen. He comes out in the sight of a multitude of people who look upon it as a great miracle. This show brings in a good income to the convent, and makes it worth while to harden a monk by degrees to bear the heat. I do not reckon all the artifices that may be used in it.

HOBBS, (THOMAS) one of the greatest genius's of the XVIIth century, was born at Malmesbury in England the fifth of April 1588 [A]. He had made great progress in the languages [B], when at fourteen years of age he was sent to Oxford, where he studied Aristotle's Philosophy five years. Afterwards he went to William Cavendish, baron of Hardwic, who a little after was made earl of Devonshire, in order to be governor to his eldest son. He travelled into France and Italy with his pupil; and finding that he remembered but little, either of his Greek or Latin, and that Aristotle's Philosophy, in which he had made a great progress, was despised by the wisest heads, he applied himself wholly to Literature when he returned into his own country. Thucydides appearing to him to be preferable to all the Greek historians, he translated him into English, and published his translation in the year 1628, in order to shew the English, in the history of the Athenians, the disorders and confusions of a democratical government [C]. In

[A] Was born at Malmesbury. . . the fifth of April 1588. His mother, frightened with the reports that were current of the approach of the Spanish Armada, was delivered of him before her time; it is a wonder therefore that he lived so long. Hobbes's father was a minister (1).

[B] He had made great progress in the languages. Before he went from Malmesbury school to Oxford, he translated Euripides's *Medea* into Latin verse: *Tanta tot autem jam adhibe in ludo literario degens in litera tam Latine quam Græce progressus fecit, ut Euripidis Medæam simili metro Latinis versibus eleganter expressisset* (2).

[C] The disorders and confusions of a democratical government. I have known men of sense who have wondered, that in kingdoms where the authority of the prince is almost boundless, the instructors of youth are suffered to read the antient Greek and Latin authors, which contain so many examples of the love of liberty, and so many antimonarchical maxims. But this is no more surprizing, than to see republican states suffer the professors of Law to explain the Code and the Digests, where there are so many principles which suppose the supreme and inviolable authority of the emperor. Here are therefore two things which seem equally surprizing, and which at the bottom ought to be no matter of surprize; for setting aside many reasons that might be offered, may we not say that the same works which contain the poison, either with respect to monarchies or republics, contain also the antidote? If you see on one hand the great maxims of liberty, and the noble examples of courage, with which it has been maintained or recovered; you see on the other, factions, seditions, and tumultuous feuds, that have troubled and at last ruined innumerable little states, which showed so great an aversion to tyranny in antient Greece. Does it not seem that this picture is a lesson very capable of undeceiving those, who are seized at the bare idea of monarchy? Hobbes believed so (3), since he, with that view, published a translation of an Athenian historian. Turn the tables; and you will find that this picture will give a very different

instruction from that before, and fortify the aversion to monarchy: for it will be asked, whence comes it that the Greeks and Romans chose rather to be exposed to these confusions than to live under a monarch? Was it not from the hard condition to which tyrants had reduced them? And must it not be a very severe, intolerable, and deplorable evil, which they would deliver themselves from at so high a price? It is certain, that the description which history gives us of the conduct of several monarchs, frights us and makes our hair stand an end. Object not to me that generally speaking, more confusion has been occasioned by the conspiracies which have put an end to tyranny, than there would have been by patiently enduring it. Do not urge what I have said above in the article of HIERO II (4). The Syracusans, who had enjoyed a wonderful happiness under the long reign of that prince, quickly lost patience under his successor, who governed tyrannically. They killed him at the beginning of the second year of his reign; and a little after they put to death the two daughters of Hiero, and his three grand-daughters. Of these five ladies, there were three, against whom they had not the least ground of complaint, and who took sanctuary, as we may say, at the foot of the altars. Was not this destroying one tyranny to establish a greater (5)? Has not Livy (6) justly observed upon this subject, that the populace is unable to keep within bounds; being humble even to baseness, when they obey, and insolent to the highest degree when they command? The massacre of these five ladies was not the rash action of some private men; it was commanded by the senate and the people of Syracuse, even whilst the memory of Hiero was still fresh in their minds, a prince whom they had so tenderly and so justly loved. The iniquity of their barbarous decree was so visible, that they quickly perceived it, and revoked it; but to no purpose; it was already executed. *Tandem vulneribus confectæ, cum omnia repleissent sanguine, exanimis corruerunt, eademque per se miserabilem, miserabilem casus fecit; quod paulo post nuntius venit, mutatis repente*

(11) Strab. lib. v, pag. 156.

(12) Id. ibid.

(1) Vita Hobbes, sup. pag. 32.

(2) Ibid. pag. 33.

(3) See the article PERICLES, remark [O].

(13) Ibid. lib. xii, pag. 370.

(14) See the Journal des Sav. 1677, pag. 44, & 222. Dutch Edit.

(15) He named the place; but I have forgot it.

(4) Remark [E].

(5) Ne tyrannos ulciscendo, quæ odissent scelera ipsi imitarentur. J. Livius, lib. xxiv, pag. 393. This is what Hieracles, Hiero's daughter, represented to those who murdered her.

(6) See his words above, citat. (21), of the article HIERO II.

(a) His name was
Gervase Clifton.
The father of his
first pupil died in
1620, and his
pupil in 1628.

(b) Widow of the
earl of Devon-
shire, father of
his first pupil.

(7) Tit. Liv. lib.
xxiv, cap. xxvii

(8) Sil. Italicus,
lib. xiv, pag. m.
589.

(9) Dolendum
nobile hoc inge-
nium eodem
quo & magnum
Scaligerum in-
fortunio labo-
rasse, quod Ma-
thematicis stu-
diis serius paulo
animum adiecit.
Vita Hobbesi, pag.
40.

(10) Ibid. pag.
39.

In the year 1629, he travelled into France with an English gentleman (a), in quality of his governour, and applied himself to the study of the Mathematics during that journey [D]. In the year 1631, he was invited by the countess of Devonshire (b), to be tutor to her son, who was thirteen years of age, and three years after he travelled with him into France and Italy. During his stay at Paris, he applied himself to the study of Natural Philosophy, and especially to the inquiring into the causes of the sensitive operations of animals. He daily discoursed with Father Merfennus, upon that subject. He was recalled into England in the year 1637, but having foreseen the civil war from the time that he had observed what happened in the first session of the parliament in the year 1640, he sought out an agreeable retreat at Paris, where he might quietly philosophize with Father Merfennus, Gasendus, and some other great men. There he composed his treatise de Cive [E], of which he published only a few copies in the year 1642.

penite ad misericordiam animis, ne interficerentur. Ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum ad supplicium, neque locus penitendi aut regressus ad ira reliquus esset. Itaque fremere multitudo (7). The factions did not cease by the intire extirpation of the royal family, they increased from day to day, and in a little time subverted the liberty and sovereignty of the country. They unseasonably exposed Syracuse to the enmity of the Romans, who besieged and subdued it. Silius Italicus very well describes the confusion that city fell into after they had put the tyrant Hieronymus, and all his family, to death. It was a chaos from which the Romans knew how to draw a famous conquest. The discord of the city encouraged them to besiege it.

Savos namque pati fastus, juvenemque cruento
Flagrantem luxu, & miscentem turpia duris,
Haud ultra faciles, quos ira metusque coquebat
Jurati obtruncant, nec jam modus ensibus, addunt
Fœmineam cædem, atque insontum rapta sororum
Corpora prosternunt ferro, nota sævit in armis
Libertas, jactatque jugum: pars Punica castra,
Pars Italos & nota volunt: nec turba furentum
Desit, quæ neutro sociari fœdere malit (8).

Impatient of his luxury, and pride,
United in conspiracy, they slay
The cruel tyrant, and avenge their wrongs.

Nor stop'd the bloody vengeance of the sword, till
Till, in his fate involv'd, his guiltless sisters fell.
Recover'd liberty now stalks in arms,
And shakes the galling yoke: some would submit
Their city freed to Carthaginian sway;
From Italy a master some require,
And madly some a neutral state demand.

Represent all this never so well, you will never convince those, who are prejudiced against monarchy: they will answer you, that since it's disorders are not to be remedied but by so horrible miseries, you ought to conclude that is a great evil.

[D] He applied to the study of the Mathematics during that journey. It is a misfortune that he applied himself to it so late (9), he was above forty years old when he began that study, which was the reason that he could not perfect himself in it so much as was necessary, not to give a handle to his critics. His fate resembled Scaliger's. For the rest, he knew perfectly well on what account one ought to study Mathematics; which is not to know the properties of angles, numbers, lines, or superficies; but to accustom one's mind to a solid method of reasoning and of proving. Euclid's operam dare cepit, non tam demonstrationum materia allectus, quam perspicuitate, certitudine & individua rationum serie delectatus. Non enim Mathematicas artes admiratus est vir perspicacissimus, ob laterum & angulorum affectiones, aut numerorum, linearum, superficiem, corporumque mutus inter se proportionem (de homogeneis intelligo quantitatibus) subtiliter indicatas; quippe istiusmodi omnia à communi vita remotiora facile animadvertit; licet ad praxin relata usus non adeo contemneret; sed quod methodo ipsi propriâ intellectus ad rerum cognitionem optime duceretur, atque difficulta inveniendi, vera asserendi, falsa redarguendi certissima ratione imbueretur (10). He began to study Euclid, not so much on account of the demon-

strations, as of the perspicuity, certainty, and uninterrupted series of the reasoning. For this great man did not admire the Mathematics, because of the subtle investigation of the properties of sides and angles, or of the mutual proportions of numbers, lines, superficies, and bodies (I mean homogeneous quantities); for he easily saw that these things were not necessary for the common uses in life, though when reduced to practice they be of no mean use. But that the understanding was thereby, in a method peculiar to them, led to the knowledge of things, and furnished with the most certain means of discovering difficult truths, of proving what is found to be true, and refuting what is false.

[E] He composed his treatise de Cive at Paris. He printed but a few copies of it at Paris in 1642. He revised it a little after, and enlarged it, as it came out in the Amsterdam edition in 1647. It was Sorbiere who procured that second edition. He did more, for he translated this book into French, and published it in that language (11). Hobbes got many enemies by that work; but he obliged the best judges to own, that the foundations of Politics had never been so well discovered before. I doubt not but he carried many things too far, which is usual with those who write in opposition to a party, against which they have conceived a great aversion. Hobbes was enraged against the principles of the parliamentarians (12), their conduct was the cause of his living out of his own country, and he learned every day in the place of his exile, that their rebellion triumphed over the royal authority. He went into the other extreme, and taught that the authority of kings ought to be absolute, and that in particular the externals of religion, as being the most fruitful cause of civil wars, ought to depend upon their will. Some people are of opinion, that if we consider only the theory, his system is well connected, and very suitable to the ideas that may be formed of a state well secured against commotions. But because the most reasonable notions are subject to a thousand inconveniences, when they come to be reduced into practice, that is, when they are set in opposition to a horrible multitude of passions, which prevail amongst mankind, it was no difficult thing to find many faults in the political system of this author. He might have answered, that the opposite system, even in the theory, includes a necessary principal of confusion and rebellion. However it be, it is said that the love of his country inspired him with the design of that work, and that he intended by it to undeceive his countrymen with respect to the false principles, which produced there an horrible contempt of the royal authority. Grassante interim per Angliam civili bello, Hobbes pro summo in patriam amore, quod bonum & fidelem subditum maxime decuit; populares suos sanioribus quam quæ hæcenus obtinuerant principiis imbueret, exacerbatos hominum animos ad pacis & concordie rationes revocare, & in summa potestatis obsequium adducere præstare annis est. Quare reliquis posthabitis studiis, quantum ipsi suppetiit tempore Politicæ scientiæ impendens, Librum de Cive (cujus pauca duntaxat Exemplaria Parisiis 1642, evulgaverat) revixit; & notis utilibus addauit, in quo subditorum contra summum imperatorem conjuratione, rebellionisque, & immanes illas de principe regnis vitæque exuendo opiniones penitus damnavit: potestati Civili jura ab Ecclesiasticis caliginosorum temporum beneficio præcepta restituit, & diram sectariorum hydra effraenem nempe conscientie libertatem heroico ausu perdomuit (13). While the civil wars raged in England, Hobbes, out of his great love to his country, and as became a good and loyal subject, endeavoured to teach his country-

(11) At Angler-
dam 1649.

(12) Tum pro
suo in Regem
officio atque ob-
sequio, tum pro
decumano quo
semper in Demo-
craticos odio la-
boravit, libellum
scripsit juris regii
asserendi gratia,
qui postea in
librum de Cive,
& tandem in Le-
viantham excrevit.
Vita Hobbesi,
pag. 45.

(13) Ibid. (2)

(14) Ibid. (2)

(15) Ibid. (2)

(16) Ibid. (2)

(17) Ibid. pag.
45.

(18) Ibid. (2)

1642. He taught Mathematics to the prince of Wales, who was forced to retire into France; and he bestowed all his leisure hours in composing his *Leviathan* [F], which he caused to be printed in England in 1651, being still at Paris. Though he had given proofs of his faith according to the rites of the church of England [G], yet he was made

“men sounder principles than had as yet obtained among them, to joyn their beated minds into a love of peace and concord, and to inspire them with more submission to the supreme powers. To this end, laying aside all other studies, he employed all his time in the study of politics, he revised his book *De Cive* (of which he had only printed a few copies at Paris in 1642), and enlarged it with useful notes, and therein for ever depreyed the doctrine of the lawfulness of subjects conspiring and rebelling against their sovereigns, and the monstrous opinions of detroning and executing of princes: restoring to the civil powers those rights of which they had been robbed by Ecclesiastics in the ages of ignorance, and heroically subduing that cruel hydra of the sectaries, I mean the boundless liberty of conscience.” I am persuaded none will be displeased to see here Mr Des Cartes’s judgment concerning this work of Hobbes’s. “I believe, says he

(14) *Tom. III. of his Letters, pag. 104, apud Bûllet, Vie de Des Cartes, Tom. II, pag. 174.*

(15) *He was not mistaken.*

(16) *See the article GUICCIARDIN, remark [E].*

(17) *The reason why innocence is not oppressed on many occasions, is the mediocrity I speak of here. See, above, remark [A] of the article EDWARD IV.*

POLITICAL ideas fall in practice.

(18) *Calestus Galatius Karlbergius, apud Deckerum de Scriptis adefpotis, pag. 318.*

politic. The divines of the church of England, who were in France with Charles II, made great out-cries against this work, saying that it contained many impieties, and that the author was not of the royal party (19). Their complaints were heard: Hobbes was ordered to come no more to court; and as he had extremely provoked the Papists, he thought it was not safe for him to be in France, after he had lost the protection of the king of England. “Hoc tanto præsidio orbatus Hobbius, Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Spiritualis Monarchiæ satellitum metu correptus est quorum odium implacabile sese merito incurrisse fenestrat, ob detectas in *Leviathane* Ecclesiasticorum technas, regni tenebrarum dolos, Pontificis Romani potestatum malis artibus occupatam, quâ in civilis Potestatis jura involando, quâ simplici ac imperitiæ plebeculæ sanctis præfignis illudendo; quare Parisiis se minus tutum judicans, mediâ Hyemis tempestate aufugens, in patriam se contulit” (20). — Hobbes being deprived of

this great protection, became afraid of the emissaries of the church of Rome, that spiritual monarchy, whose implacable hate he knew he had incurred, by detecting, in his *Leviathan*, the frauds of the Ecclesiastics, the deceptions of the kingdom of darkness, the authority of the Pope of Rome, acquired by wicked arts, viz. either by seizing on the rights of the civil powers, or by deceiving the simple and ignorant populace by holy cheats; therefore not thinking himself safe at Paris, he retired from thence in the middle of winter, and came over into England. He translated his *Leviathan* into Latin, and printed it with an appendix in the year 1668 (21). Ten years after it was printed in Dutch. The summary of this work is this, that without peace there can be no security in a state; and that peace cannot subsist without command, nor command without arms; and that arms are of no use, unless in the hand of a single person; and that the fear of arms cannot induce such persons to peace who are carried to war by an evil more terrible than death, that is, by dissensions about things necessary to salvation. *Ejus autem summa hæc fuit, sine Pace, impossibile esse incoluitatem, sine Imperio Pacem, sine Armis Imperium, sine opibus in unam manum collatis nihil valere Arma, neque metu Armorum quicquam ad pacem profici posse in illis, quos ad pugnandum concitat malum morte magis formidandum; nempe dum consensum non sit de iis rebus, quæ ad salutem æternam necessaria creduntur, pacem inter cives non posse esse diuturnam* (22). The *Leviathan* has been much written against, especially in England (23).

[G] He had given proofs of his faith according to the rites of the church of England. Being very sick near Paris, he was visited by Father Mercennus, who had been advised not to let him die out of the pale of the church. That good father sitting near the sick man, after the common preambles of consolation, began a discourse about the power of the Romish church to pardon sins; Father, replied Hobbes, I have long since examined all these things, and it would be uneasy to me to dispute about them at present; you can entertain me in a more agreeable manner. When did you see Mr Gassendus? The good monk easily understood what he meant by that question, and turned his discourse to another subject (24). Dr Cofins (25) a few days after offered to pray with Hobbes, which he agreed to, provided he made use of the prayers of the church of England (26). After prayers he received the sacrament. Cum non amplius cuiquam reliquus est sacrum faciendi locus eo momento se Religionis patrii legibus stabilitæ additissimum ostendit, & precibus juxta Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ritus præmissis supremum Viaticum recepit (27). Being returned into England in the year 1651, he found the churches in the possession of the rebels, as he said, who had no liturgy, and he was three months without knowing with whom to communicate. Concionantes quidem invenit in Ecclesiis, sed sediciosos: etiam preces extemporarias, & illas audaces, & nunquam blasphemias, Symbolum autem fidei nullum, Decalogum nullum: adeo ut per tres primos menses non invenerit quibuscum in sacris communicare poterit (28). — He found preachers indeed in the churches,

(19) *Hobbius tanquam partibus regis minus addictum tum ut novarum impiarumque in religionem opinionum auctorem criminabatur. Vita Hob. pag. 61.*

(20) *Ibid. pag. 62.*

(21) *At Amsterdam for J. B. Blaeuw with his other philosophical works, in two volumes, in 4to. He could not get a licence to have his books printed in England. Ibid. pag. 70.*

(22) *Ib. pag. 450.*

(23) *The Catalogue of the books printed against the Leviathan, and the other works of Hobbes, are to be found at the end of his Life.*

(24) *Ib. pag. 200.*

(25) *He was afterwards bishop of Durham.*

(26) *Obtulit se illi comprecato rem ad Deum. Cui ille cum gratias reddidisset, ita inquit si precibus præveris juxta ritum Ecclesiæ nostræ. Ibid.*

(27) *Ib. pag. 590.*

(28) *Ib. pag. 216.*

made odious to the episcopal party, and with such success as to be ordered to appear no more about the king (c). This occasioned his return into England, where considering his great merit, he lived but in an obscure manner with the earl of Devonshire [H]. He drew this advantage from his obscure condition, that he had more leisure to compose his book *de Corpore*, and some others [I]. He received great marks of esteem from Charles II at the restoration in 1660 [K]. From that time to his death, he applied himself to his studies, and to defend himself against his adversaries, who were very numerous. He retained the use of his understanding till his last sickness [L], though he had lived more than ninety one years. His long life was constantly that of a perfectly honest man; he loved his country, was faithful to his prince, a good friend, charitable, and obliging: notwithstanding all this, he has passed for an Atheist; but they who have written his life, maintain that he had very orthodox opinions about the nature of God [M]. It

* eburcetes, but seditious ones; extemporary prayers also.
* but these irreverent and sometimes blasphemous, no
* creed, no decalogue; so that he was three months with-
* out knowing with whom to communicate. But at three
months end he was carried to a congregation, where
the Lord's Supper was celebrated according to the
church of England, and he communicated there.
The author of his life makes this a characteristic of
his adherence to the episcopal party, and of the sin-
cerity of his Christianity, since no man was then ob-
liged to join with any particular communion. *Al-*
terum hoc signum erat non modo hominis partium Epis-
copalium, sed etiam Christiani sinceri; nam illo tem-
pore ad Ecclesiam quancumque legibus aut metu cog-
ebatur nemo (29).

[H] He lived in an obscure manner with the earl of
Devonshire. Not but that he had powerful friends;
but as he had great enemies, all that could be done
for him was to hinder his being oppressed. So his
condition was the effect of an equilibrium betwixt
his friends and enemies (30). He lived the rest of his days
with the earl of Devonshire.

[I] He composed his book *de Corpore*, and some others.
This book came out at London in 1655, intitled
Elementorum Philosophiæ sectio prima de corpore. The
year following Hobbes published *Prælectiones sex ad*
Professores Savilianos. His book *de Homine, sive ele-*
mentorum Philosophiæ sectio secunda, was printed at
London in the year 1658. And his *Questions concern-*
ing Liberty, and Necessity, and Chance, clearly stated
and debated between him and Dr Bramhall bishop of
London-Derry in 1656 in 4to. He had a dispute upon the
same subject with Benjamin Laney, bishop of Ely, which
he did not publish till 1676 (31). Dr Wallis, professor
of Geometry at Oxford, having published his *Elementus*
Geometriæ Hobbianæ in the year 1655, raised a war
which lasted till Hobbes's death, and had been car-
ried on with a great deal of bitterness on both sides.
* Diuturni illius belli Mathematici classicum cecinit,
* quod acerrimo Marte, adhibitis quadra & circino,
* intervolutibus nonnunquam acutissimis convitiis
* telis, utrinque gestum vicennium & amplius perdu-
* ravit, nec tandem nisi Hobbianæ morte conquievit (32).
* He founded the charge to that long mathematical
* war, which was carried on with great vigour with
* square and compass, and sometimes with great volleys
* of invectives on both sides, for above twenty years,
* and which only ended by Hobbes's death. Sorbieri
hath mentioned this dispute (33).

[K] He received great marks of esteem from Charles
II. Hobbes left the country to come to London, as
soon as he had notice of the king's arrival. This prince
passing in his coach by the house where Hobbes lived,
perceived him, and desired him to come to him.
He gave him his hand to kiss, and inquired about his
condition and health. Some time after he gave him
a particular audience, assured him of his affection, and
promised him an easy access to him (34). He caused
his picture to be drawn by an excellent Painter, and
placed it in his closet (35), and which was a more sub-
stantial mark of his affection, he gave him an annual
pension of (36) a hundred jacobus's (37).

[L] He retained the use of his understanding till his
last sickness. He was not only capable of studying
Mathematics, when above eighty six years old, but
also of writing very long poems. * Quod autem inter
* rara felicitatis exempla numerandum est, summo in-
* genii vigore & sensibus integris ad obitum usque in
* Philosophiæ & Mathesi se assidue exercitavit, & quod
* magis mirum, Poësin exercuit, quâ propriis animi
* conceptibus exprimendis, quâ aliorum transcreu-

* dis (38). — He had the rare good fortune to enjoy
* an entire vigour of mind, and the use of all his senses
* till his death, which he employed in the study of
* Philosophy and Mathematics, and which is still more
* extraordinary in poetry, sometimes composing, at other
* times translating. He translated into English verse,
some books of the *Odyssey* in the year 1674, and because
that Essay had the approbation of the learned, he pub-
lished a like version of the *Iliads*, and the whole *Odyssey*
a little after, with a dissertation upon the excellen-
cies of heroic poetry (39).

[M] The writers of his life maintain that he had
very orthodox opinions about the nature of G O D. Of
all the moral virtues there were hardly any
but religion, that could be a matter of dispute in the
person of Hobbes. He was frank (40), civil, and com-
municative of what he knew (41), a good friend, &
a good relation, charitable to the poor (42), a great observer
of equity (43), and was not at all sollicitous about
gathering wealth (44). This last quality is a favourable
prejudice for the goodness of his life. For there is
not a more copious source of bad actions than avarice.
So that they who knew Hobbes, had no occasion to
ask him whether he esteemed and loved virtue; but
one might have been tempted to put this question to
him:

Heus age, responde, minimum est quod scire la-
boro,

De Jove quid sentis (45)?

But prithee tell me, 'tis a small request,
What sort of thoughts of Jove has you possess'd.

The answer he might have sincerely made, if we be-
lieve those who wrote his life, had been this; that
there is one G O D who is the origin of all things, but
who ought not to be circumscribed in the sphere of
our narrow reason (46). He would have added, that
he embraced Christianity as it was by law established in
England (47), but that he had an aversion to theologi-
cal disputes; that he chiefly esteemed what tends to the
practice of piety and good manners, and that he was
used to blame the priests, who corrupted the simplicity
of religion, by the mixture of a superstitious worship,
or of many vain and profane speculations. *Quic-*
quid autem ad pietatis exercitia, aut bonos mores conser-
ret, plurimi fecit. Sanctius illi, & reverentius visum,
de Deo credere quam scire. Sacerdotes interim incul-
pare solitus est, qui Christianam Religionem absolutam
ac simplicem, vel superstitione macularent, vel inanibus
interdum profanis speculationibus implicarent (48). They
conclude, that persons who accuse him of Atheism,
are horrible slanderers, who could alledge no other
pretence for doing so than perhaps this, which was,
that he had rejected many scholastic doctrines, by which
certain attributes are ascribed to G O D, the model of
which are taken from our narrow genius. *Quare fortiter*
calumniati sunt, qui ipsum Atheismi reum detulerunt;
quod inde forsitan profectum quia Scholasticorum aliorum-
que isto de grege morem rejecerat, qui otiosi in Musæis
suis sedentes, juxta imbecilem ingenio sui captum,
Naturæ Divinæ incomperita offingunt attributa (49). It
is certain there is no accusation, that is fallen into
greater abuse than that of Atheism. Abundance of
narrow souls, or ill-natured people, fix it upon all those,
who, in their affirmations on this subject, confine them-
selves to the great and sublime truths of solid Metaphy-
sics, and the general doctrines of scripture. They
would fain oblige them, besides these, to adopt all the
particular articles which they are used to recommend
over

(29) Ibid.

(30) Stantem
inter amicos &
inimicos quasi
in æquilibrio, se-
cerunt illi ne ob
doctrinam oppri-
meretur, hi ne
augeretur. Ibid.
p. 22.

(31) Ib. pag. 99.

(32) Ibid. pag.
64, 65.

(33) Sorbieri
Relation d'Ang-
let. pag. 78.
Dutch Edit.

(34) Vita Hob-
besii, pag. 66.

(35) Ibid. pag.
28, & 103. See
Sorbieri, Rela-
tion d'Anglet.
pag. 79.

(36) Vita Hob-
besii, pag. 53.

(37) Sorbieri,
Ibid. supra.

(38) Vita Hob-
besii, pag. 98, 99.

(39) Ib. pag. 99.

(40) Ib. pag. 30
& 111.

(41) Ib. pag. 111.

(42) Ib. pag. 108.

(43) Justitia erat
cum se entissimus
tum tenacissimus
Ibid. pag. 30.

(44) Cum effect
pecunie negit-
gentissimus. Ib.

(45) Persius,
Sat. II. ver. 174.

(46) Deum ego
novit eumque
rerum omnium
originem, intra
angustias tamen
humanae rationis
cancellis nullius
nos circumscri-
bendum. Vita
Hobbesii, pag. 105.

(47) Religionem
Christianam qua-
tenus in Ecclesia
Anglicana, re-
flectis superstitio-
nis ineptiis regni
legibus stabilitis,
ex animo am-
plexus est. Ibid.
pag. 106.

(48) Ibid. pag.
107.

(49) Ibid.

(d) *Estote adhuc intra juventutis terminos con- stante (licet ve- rum fateri) nec abstinere fuit, nec pueri vovog.* Vita Hobbes, pag. 104.

It has been said also, that he was afraid of apparition and spirits [N]; but they main- tain that this is a fable. They honestly confess, that in his youth he was a little given to wine and women (d); but that nevertheless, he lived a bachelor, that he might not be diverted from his study of Philosophy. He had meditated much more than he had read [O]; and he never cared to collect a great library. He died the fourth of Decem- ber, 1679, at the earl of Devonshire's, after a sickness of six weeks (e).

(e) Taken from his Life, printed in 1682.

over and over to the people. All who dare deviate from that road, are Infidels and Libertines, if you will believe some doctors. It was on this account that Monconys incurred this bad imputation. He disputed sometimes very freely against those who debase the greatness of God, by the conduct which they ascribe to him, and by the weak reasons they alledge; and he was unjustly called a Libertine, tho' he had the sub- limest idea of God that can be imagined. Read what follows: 'that agreeable way which he took sometimes of contradicting some narrow-minded people, who, by their arguments, weaken the truths they would confirm, occasioned these prejudiced persons to take this effect of his openness and candour for a criminal li- cence. But his solid virtue, and sincere piety, were every where conspicuous, and he gave testimonies of it, which you may see in these travels. In his last sickness he confessed to one of his friends, that he had always preserved in his heart a profound sub- mission, and an infinite reverence for the Deity, of whom he had a more exalted idea, than all that men have conceived of him. When he was at A- lexandria, at a time when he seemed to deny nothing to his curiosity, being alone one night, upon one of the terraces, which serve for a roof to the Buildings of the Levant, he found himself suddenly so filled with a sensible knowledge of the Deity, that he spent part of that night with unspeakable consolation, in a con- tinual adoration of the principle of all beings (50).'

(50) Preface to the Voyages of Monconys, pag. 7.

[N] It has been said also that he was afraid of ap- paritions and spirits. His friends call this a fable. Nec minus falso a nonnullis insinulatus est, tanquam solitudinem fugeret, spectra metuens & phantasmata, vana stultorum terribilissima, quæ Philosophiæ suæ lumine dissipaverat (51). — He was as falsely accused by some of being unwilling to be alone, because he was afraid of spectres and apparitions, vain bagbears of fools, which he had chased away by the light of his Philosophy. But it seems they do not deny, that he durst not be alone, they only insinuate, that the reason of it was his fear of being assassinated. If his Philo- sophy freed him from the other fear, and not from this, it did not hinder him from being miserable, and a thought of Horace might be applied to him.

Somnia, terrores magicæ, miracula, sagæ,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Teſſala ridet?

(51) Horat. Epist. lib. ii. ver. 208.

Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?

To say this by the by, his principles of Philosophy were not proper to rid him from the fear of the apparitions of spirits: for to reason consequentially there are no Philosophers who have less right to reject magic, and sorcery, than those who deny the existence of a God. But you will say Hobbes denied the existence of spirits; say rather, that he believed there are no substances distinct from matter. Now, as that did not hinder him from believing, that there are many substances, which design, and do good or ill to others, he might and ought to believe, that there are beings in the air, or elsewhere, as capable of mischief as the corpuscles which, according to his system, form all our thoughts in our brain. How come these corpuscles to be better acquainted with the means of doing mischief than those other beings? And what reason is there to prove, that these other beings are ignorant of the manner of acting upon our brain, in order to make us see an apparition?

Let us consider the matter in another light. A man would not only be very rash, but also very extra-

vagant, who should pretend to prove that there never was any person that imagined he saw a spectre; and I do not think that the most obstinate and extravagant un- believers have maintained this. All that they say comes to this, that the persons who have thought themselves eye-witnesses of the apparition of spirits, had a disturb- ed imagination. They confess then, that there are cer- tain places in our brain, that, being affected in a cer- tain manner, excite the image of an object which has no real existence out of our selves, and make the man, whose brain is thus modified, believe he sees at two paces distance, a frightful spectre, a hobgoblin, a threatening phantome. The like happens in the heads of the most incredulous, either in their sleep, or in the paroxysms of a violent fever. Will they main- tain after this, that it is impossible for a man awake, and not in a Delirium, to receive in certain places of his brain, an impression almost like that which by the laws of nature is connected with the appearance of a phantome? if they are forced to acknowledge that this is possible, they cannot promise, that a spectre will never appear to them, that is, that they shall never, when awake, believe they see either a man, or a beast, when they are alone in a chamber. Hobbes then might believe, that a certain combination of atoms, agitated in his brain, might expose him to such a vision, though he was persuaded, that neither an angel nor the soul of a dead man was to be concerned in it. He was timorous to the last degree, and consequently he had reason to distrust his imagination, when he was alone in a chamber in the night; for in spite of him, the me- mory of what he had read, and heard concerning ap- paritions would revive, though he was not persuaded of the reality of these things. These images, joined with the timorousness of his temper, might play him an unlucky trick. And it is certain, that a man, as in- credulous as he was, but of greater courage, would be astonished to think he saw one whom he knew to be dead enter into his chamber. These apparitions in dreams are very frequent, whether a man believes the immortality of the soul or not. Supposing they should once happen to an incredulous man awake, as they do frequently in his sleep, we allow that he would be afraid, tho' he had never so much courage. And therefore for a stronger reason we ought to believe, that Hobbes would have been terribly affrighted at it.

[O] He had meditated much more than he had read.]

It is ingenuously confessed in his life, that for a man who lived so long, his reading was inconsiderable. Nay he was used to say, that if he had bestowed as much time on reading, as other men of letters, he should have been as ignorant as they (53). He con- sidered another thing, which induced him to make but a small account of vast libraries; which is, that most books are extracts, and copies of others. Lectio ejus pro tanto ætatis decursu non magna; Authores ver- sabat paucos, sed tamen optimos. *Homerus, Virgilius, Thucydides, Euclides*, illi in deliciis erant. Ingentem Librorum suppellectilem, quâ superbiunt Bibliothecæ, non magnificat, cum Mortales plerumque pecorum ritu antecedentium insistentes vestigiis, vix extra tri- tas calles, & semitas ab ipsis quorum Tutelæ & Re- gimini subsunt, præstitutas, evagari audeant (54). *Ibid.* — His reading, for a man of his years, was not great; he was well acquainted with a few, and those the best authors. He was a great admirer of *Homer, Virgil, Thucydides, and Euclid*. He made no great account of large libraries, observing that men for the most part following one another's steps like sheep, have seldom the courage to go out of the trodden paths and roads, which are prescribed to them by their guides.

(53) *Quin & li- sidered another thing, which induced him to make but a small account of vast libraries; which is, that most books are extracts, and copies of others. Lectio ejus pro tanto ætatis decursu non magna; Authores ver- sabat paucos, sed tamen optimos. Homerus, Virgilius, Thucydides, Euclides*, illi in deliciis erant. Ingentem Librorum suppellectilem, quâ superbiunt Bibliothecæ, non magnificat, cum Mortales plerumque pecorum ritu antecedentium insistentes vestigiis, vix extra tri-

(54) *Ibid.*

(a) *Hochstratus in Brabant, de- cussus Antwerp and Bergopsum.*

HOCHSTRATUS, or HOCHSTRATANUS, (JAMES) took his name from the village where he was born (a). He studied Philosophy at Louvain, and took his master of arts degree there in 1485. He became a Dominican friar, and was made prior of the monastery of Cologne, doctor and professor of Divinity, and in- quisitor in the three ecclesiastical electorates (b). Never was a man more worthy to be

(b) *Valer Andri Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 472.

honoured

honoured with this last employment, for he was amply provided with all the ill qualities that are necessary to inquisitors and informers. He was violent: he accused upon the slightest pretences; he would be both judge and party [A], he produced very unfaithful abstracts (c), and would never own himself a slanderer; he advanced heresies with impunity in the writings, wherein he pretended to confute heretics [B]. He once was

(c) See the remark [A].

THE dispute between Reuchlin and Hochstratus.

(1) Called Johannes Pfefferkornius.

(2) Dilucide & quod dicimus ad oculum ibi ostendit, adversarios pluribus quam triginta quatuor mendacis ad sui contumeliam usus esse. Jo. Henricus Mayus, in Oratone de Vita Reuchlini, fol. D 3, verso.

(3) Majus, ibid. fol. D 4.

(4) Id. ibid. fol. D 4, verso.

(c) Reuchlin. Epist. ad Wimpheingum, apud Majum, Not. in Vitam Reuchlini, pag. 39.

(6) Majus, ibid. fol. D 5.

(7) Causa ad Leonem X. devoluta, qui eam Spiritui Episcopo, Georgio Palatino Duci penitus committit. Id. ibid. verso. In the Bibliothecaque universitatis, Tom. VIII, pag. 601, these words have been understood so, as if they mentioned two men, the bishop of Spire, and the elector Palatine; but the bishop only is meant by them.

(8) Majus, ubi supra.

(9) Majus, ibid.

[A] He would be both judge and party.] This manifestly appeared in the business of Reuchlin. A Jew (1) converted to the Christian religion, had defamed him in a book, intitled *Manuale Speculum*. Reuchlin justified himself by a book, intitled, *Speculum Oculare*, in which, he shewed, that his enemies had vented against him above thirty four calumnies (2). Hochstratus, the principal abettor of the converted Jew, interested the divines of Cologne in that affair, and made them draw some extracts from the *Speculum Oculare*, which were published with artful notes, to defame Reuchlin every where as a favourer of Judaism. Nothing could be more unfaithful than these extracts. Has propositiones . . . ubi vidit Reuchlinus pessime ac non sine crimine falsi ex Oculari Speculo excerptas . . . rogat theologos illos &c. . . Erupit tota Theologorum concio suppetias Christi sacris recens initiato Judæo latura duce Tungro, qui articulos seu propositiones de Judaico favore nimis suspectas ex Speculo Oculari extruxit, adjectis annotationibus & animadversionibus: atque hoc omne non vernacula lingua, qua utrinque hætenus certatum fuit, adornat, sed Latina; eo haud dubie consilio, ut apud exterarum gentes nationesque nomen Capnionis invivum redderet, & cum perversa interpretatione, cum multa dictorum citatione securius falleret (3). Reuchlin answered this work by a Latin apology addressed to the emperor. Hereupon a process in form was entered against him before the elector of Mentz. His great age not permitting him to appear in person, he sent thither a proxy, who offered very just causes of exceptions against our James Hochstratus; but they were not heard. Cum propter senium & imbecillitatem corporis tantum iter tam brevi temporis spacio conficere non posset, mittebat eum curatorem Petrum Staffelmium Nürtingensem, qui ætorem Hochstratum tantquam inimicum sibi intensissimum & merito suspectum recusabat, ob eas causas, quas publice allegabat . . . Tametsi vero nil obtineret Reuchlinus (4). Hochstratus would not suffer himself to be accused (5). Hereupon Reuchlin's proxy sued him by an appeal the court of Rome. Hochstratus however caused the sentence to be passed; and without waiting till the fifteen days, before which it ought not to be promulged, were expired, he ordered all the curates of Mentz to give notice to the people, that all those who had Reuchlin's book, should bring it immediately to the commissioners, on pain of excommunication. Interea Hochstratus quasi jam acturus triumphum omnibus per Moguntiacum sacerdotibus mandat, ut publice populum sub profectionis pena monerent, si qui Oculare Speculum haberent, illud quantocyus eam in rem delatatis traderent (6). Reuchlin appealed to the Pope. Hochstratus did the same. The bishop of Spire, who was commissioned by the Pope to judge of that cause, (7) named judges, who cited the parties. Hochstratus did not appear, and was sentenced for contumacy to pay all the charges; he was forbid, under great penalties, to continue his proceedings, and the accusation of the divines of Cologne was declared null. Hochstratus licet more consueto per intervalla citatus, tamen non comparuit. Causa nihilo secius discutitur & secundum Reuchlinum pronunciator: nullum errorem ab Ecclesia damnatum in libro sæpius commemorato reperiri, nec plus eum favere Judæis, quam religio & jura sinant, injuste ergo ac præter veritatem eum delatum à Colonienfibus esse. Hochstratus autem contumaciæ criminis reus, &c. (8). However, the latter burnt John Reuchlin's book. Hæc dum aguntur Spire, Colonienfes nefario ausu librum Reuchlini dampnant, citra tamen contumeliam ut agebant, & Februario deinde mense anno supra millennium quingentesimum decimo quarto exurunt, approbantibus sacrum Lovaniensium, Erphordenfium, Moguntinæ & Parisiensium Universitatibus (9). While these things are transacting at Spire, they of Cologne, had the boldness to condemn Reuchlin's book, but without reflecting contumely on him as they pretended, and in the month of February 1514, burnt it, which action was approved by the universities of Louvain,

Erford, Mentz, and Paris. But I say this only occasionally; the main thing I am to prove is, that this monk would be both judge and party. It is this he is accused of more than once in a poem intitled, *Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini* (10).

Accusat Capnionem & judicat idem Acer Hogostratus (11).

Sed neque perditior neque flagitiosior alter In Capniona fuit, tunc, cum tu perditie judex Lectus, & absurdus in litibus arbiter effes Idem accusator. Dic quo vesane pudorem Fert omnem tibi livor edax (12).

Hochstratus would both accuse, and judge, his foe,

Yet against Capnio did'st thou vent thy rage, With unexampled spleen, when chosen judge In contest most absurd, you first accus'd, Then sentence pass'd: say, madman that thou art, Hast malice robb'd thee of all modesty?

[B] He advanced heresies with impunity. In the writings wherein he pretended to confute Heretics.] We might see the catalogue of them, if we had the book with which Agrippa threatened the Jacobins (13). For we see what he represents to the magistrates of Cologne: Unum tamen illorum excipio, Jacobum Hogstratum, tunc Prædicatorum ordinis hæreticorum Magistrum, vulgo & veraciter dictum, qui taliter scripsit contra Lutheranas hereses, ut ipse se proderet hæreticorum omnium pessilentissimum. Sed ne quis vestrum illius olim amicus, aut illius hypocritæ excecatus, vel aliter deceptus, me non favore veritatis, sed aut invidia aut alia offensa illa dicere putet rem ipsam digito monstrabo. Nam in libro suo contra Lutheranos, quem Reverendissimo Cardinali ac Illustri Principi & Episcopo Leodiensi dedicavit, in illius lib. 2. disp. 3. paulo ante finem 1. cap. sic ait: Scimus enim consecratione super debitam materiam ritè facta, Christum esse in Sacramento, non autem quod sub hac vel illa determinata hostia Christus continetur (§ 2). Neque tamen putetis, hunc solum articulum apud illum reperiri hæreticum, sed alii multi: quos cum hic nimis longum, vobisque tædiosum foret referre, enumerabo alibi, in eo scilicet libro, quem de Fratrum Prædicatorum sceleribus (14) — I except one of them, to wit James Hochstratus, who was then commonly and justly stiled master of the preachers of the order of the Heretics, who wrote in such a manner against the Lutheran Heresies, as to show himself the most pestilent of all Heretics. But lest any of you, who are his old friends, or blinded by his hypocrisy, or otherwise ways deceived, should imagine that I say this rather out of envy or revenge, than out of a love to truth. I shall demonstrate it. For in his book against the Lutherans, which he dedicated to the most reverend cardinal and illustrious prince and bishop of Liege; Book 2: Disp. 3. near the end of the first chapter he writes thus. We know that when consecration is rightly performed over a proper matter, CHRIST is in the sacrament, but not that CHRIST is contained under this or that particular host. But do not think that this is the only heretical proposition, that is to be found in his writings, there are many more, which it would be tedious to repeat here, I shall therefore enumerate them elsewhere, I mean in that book, which I have wrote concerning the vices of the preaching friars. See the sequel of these words in the remark [S] of the article AGRIPPA.

[(§ 2) Mr Bayle has not remarked all that is in Agrippa, concerning the Heresies with which he charges his adversaries, particularly Hochstratus. He speaks as follows in the second chapter of his apology, against the divines of Louvain: Jam vero etiam nostro seculum dogmatizarunt Colonienfes Theologi, Aristotelem sic esse præcursores Christi in naturalibus, quemadmodum Joannes Baptista in gratiis. Jacobus Hochstratus

(10) Mr Majus has inserted it in his Notes upon Reuchlin's Life, pag. 483, & seq. The author took the name of Eleutherius Byzænus.

(11) Annot. in Vitam Reuchlini, pag. 485.

(12) Ibid. pag. 493.

(14) Agrippa, Epist. xxvii, lib. viii, Oper. Tome II, pag. 1037, that Letter is dated the 11th of January 1533.

was obliged to make satisfaction to a worthy man whom he had slandered; but to bring him to it, they were forced to make use of a remarkable expedient, which was to take from his convent the privilege of begging [C]. He had not all the advantage he promised to himself in the troubles which he stirred up against Reuchlin; he was obliged to go Rome on account of that process; and notwithstanding the sums of money where-with he provided himself, he had much ado to avoid being condemned [D]. Besides, he

* *stratus* in suo de invocatione Sanctorum libello, hæreticum pronunciavit ad Scripturam confugere: & alius quidem Theologus palam concionari non erubuit, consuetudinem potius sequendam esse quam Scripturam divinam, adhuc præmonitus Hochstratus Hæreticorum (ut vocant) Magister in opere suo contra Lutheranos, inquit in hæc verba: Scimus enim consecratione super debita materia facta Christum esse Sacramento, non autem quod sub hac vel illa determinata hostia Christus contineatur, quia, ut subdit, hæreticum est fidem infallibilem & infusam ad talia particularia per certitudinem extendere, eademque ratione concludit, credendam esse remissionem peccatorum in generali, neminem autem in particulari sibi esse peccata dimissa. An non est hoc vere magistram Hæreticorum esse? — *Now even in our age the divines of Cologne have taught, that Aristotle was the forerunner of CHRIST in natural as John the Baptist was in spiritual things. James Hochstratus, in his book concerning the invocation of saints, has pronounced it heretical to appeal to scripture: and another divine was not ashamed to preach, that custom was rather to be followed than the holy scriptures, moreover the said Hochstraten, master of the Heretics (as he is commonly called) in his book against the Lutherans, has the following words: We know that consecration of fit matter being performed, CHRIST is present in the sacrament, but not that CHRIST is contained under this or that particular host; because, adds he, it is heretical to extend an infallible and infused faith to such particulars, with certainty; and for the same reason concludes, that we are to believe the remission of sins in general, but no particular person ought to believe that his sins in particular are forgiven. Is not this to be really the master of Heretics? REM. CRIT.]*

[C] They took from his convent the privilege of begging. It is in Erasmus's letters that we read this curious particular. The count of Nevenar, a lord of extraordinary merit, a learned man, and patron of the learned, was very much touched with the calumnies which James Hochstratus had published against him. He omitted nothing to oblige him to make him reparation; he made use of the most solid reasons, he had recourse to advice, hard words, and menaces; all this was to no purpose; but at last he and his relations forbade all their vassals to give any eggs or cheese to the Jacobins. These believed they were only vain threatenings, and continued their trade of begging in the territories of those gentlemen; but they were repulsed in a terrible manner, so that for a year together they were deprived of the subsistence they used to have from thence. They then obliged Hochstratus to give the count satisfaction, by a solemn recantation, some copies whereof were dispersed abroad. Erasmus, who had one them, found something comical in it; for the monk reciting in express words, the slanders he had published against the count of Nevenar, protested at the same time, that he had always had a very good opinion of him. The reader will be glad to see this in Erasmus's Latin (15). * Hermannus Comes à Nova Aquila indigne tulerat se notatum ab Jacobo Hochstrato Dominicano. Is erat Rabinus, Prior Monasterii quod Colonie sanctæ quàm magnificum est & opulentum. Non potuit hominem compescere, donec illius cognati denuntiarent Dominicanis, ne posthac colligerent caseos in ulla ditione vel Comitibus vel cognatorum illius. Illi rati minas esse inanes, clam tentarunt filito more venire ad ova & caseos. Factus est in illos impetus terribilis. Hoc damno totum annum multati sunt; itaque factum est, ut Jacobus à suis coactus pacis leges acceperit. Habeo illius palinodiam in qua cum recitet verba plena contumeliæ quæ scripserat in comitem, tamen affirmat ac propemodum dejerat, se semper de Comite præclare sensisse (16). Bella palinodia (§ 3) scurrâ quam Theologo dignior. He says in another place, that it is in vain to dispute against the persecutors of polite learning; He principally meant the monks and their favourites; these sort

of people, adds he, have inexhaustible resources in their factions, clamours, and tricks: nothing but the fasting and hunger can subdue them (17), and he brings as an instance of this, the count of Nevenar's conduct towards James Hochstratus. * Isti numero, phalanges, syncrético, improbate, clamoribus, adde si libet, fucis ac malis artibus, prorsus invicti sunt: Nec alia re quàm fustibus ac fame domari queunt. Sic vir clarissimus Hermannus à Novagula Comes, adegit * Jacobum Hochstratum ad abjectam & scurrilem palinodiam, cujus exemplar apud me est. Quibus, inquit, prædidi? Non argumentis, non æquis rationibus, non monitis, non minis, non conviciis; nihil enim horum non frustra tentatum fuit: Sed quibus prædidi? Caseis & ovis quorum in ditione Comitibus colligendorum jus illis ademptum fuerat (18). * Erasmus has reason to say, that count Nevenar tried what hard words would do; for what can be more severe than the following words: * Unica, crede mihi, pestis est in Germania Jacobus Hochstratus, quam si restrinxeris, esat πάντα καλώς. Homo præter ingentem suam audaciam insigniter impudens atque temerarius. Omnes interroga, si libet, per Germaniam doctos viros. Omnes læsit, omnibus æque infestus est (19). — I beg your Excellency will believe me, that James Hochstratus is the only plague of Germany, if you silence him all will be well. He is not only bold beyond expression, but remarkably impudent and furious. If your Excellency will enquire of all the learned men in Germany, you will find that he has injured them all, and is equally an enemy to them all. This is what the count of Nevenar represents to Charles V, in an oration, wherein he congratulated him in the name of the students of Germany, on his being elected king of the Romans. He had been exhorting him to give order that the monks should concern themselves only with the rules of their order. *Fraterculus quosdam magnis titulis insantes, jube suorum Cœnobiorum curam gerere, jube domi Fratribus suis regendis operam impendere, sacris faciendis invigilare* (20).

[[§ 3] Above, citation (9), the Faculty of Theology of Cologne, in their condemnation of a piece of Reuchlin, insert in their judgment the following clause, *Citra tamen Autoris contumeliam. — Without pretending, by this judgment, to mark the person of the author with infamy.* And here Hochstratus, one of the members of this Faculty, giving satisfaction to the count of Nevenar, whom he had slandered in several libels, declares, that he doth this the more willingly, because he always had a great respect and veneration for the count. According to the principles of these divines of Cologne, and of Hochstratus, his conduct is no more contradictory than theirs. It is founded on an ancient custom established in all the courts of Germany, wherein if the clause *Salvo honore*, is added to a penalty, of whatever kind that penalty be, it doth not render the sufferer infamous. REM. CRIT.]

[D] He was obliged to go to Rome on account of that process against Reuchlin; and notwithstanding his money he had much ado to avoid being condemned. I have said above (21), that the commissioners of the Pope's subdelegate passed a sentence very disadvantageous to our Dominican. The commissioners, which the Pope appointed to the parties in Rome itself, where Hochstratus was in person, would not have given a less favourable sentence for Reuchlin, had they had time to pronounce a decisive decree; but when they were met to put an end to the affair, they received an order from the Pope to suspend the judgment (22). Each of the judges gave in writing their suffrage with the reasons of it, it is known, that they gave it to the disadvantage of the Dominican, who, to ward off that terrible blow, extorted an order from the Pope for a demurrer, and to leave the suffrages in the secretary's hands (23). This is an authentic example of the immense power of these sort of men: if they cannot gain their cause, if it is too apparently bad to obtain a favourable sentence, they have at least interest enough to avoid condemnation; they obtain all the necessary delays, and they make

(15) Erasmus. Epist. xxix, lib. xix, pag. 841.

(16) This is more expressly described in the thirty first letter of the twenty second book, pag. 1196.

(17) We must not say of these devils, that they only get out, by prayer and fasting: take away prayer; fasting alone will do the business.

(18) Erasmus. Epist. I, lib. xx, pag. 958.

(19) Hermannus Nuenarius dum ann. 1510, in Comitibus Fracfortensibus Carolo Austriaco electo Romanorum Regi, nomine studiorum Germanie adgratulatur, apud Valer. Andream, Bibl. Belg. pag. 413.

(20) Apud eundem Valer. Andr. ibid.

(21) In its remark [A].

(22) The tenor of July, 1516, Not. in Vitam Reuchlini pag. 474.

(23) Major, Notis in Vitam Reuchlini pag. 474, 475.

he ran a great danger of his life in his return [E], for Reuchlin's party began already to make use of violent means. He perhaps deserved that kind of death, which, Paul Jovius says, carried him off; but it is not true, that he had the destiny which that historian mentions [F]: for he did not die with grief to see himself ridiculed in the satires of

the world believe, that this is an advantage; for they will never confess, that they have had the worst of it. But yet every body knows, that they are in the wrong. In this affair John Reuchlin's friends thought they had obtained a victory, and they composed many insulting poems (24).

Hochstratus made a journey to Rome with a sumptuous equipage, and provided with large sums of money. 'Huic igitur edito morem gerens Jacobus Romanam contendit, multis magnisque suarum aliarumque Universitatum, Principum item & aliorum summorum virorum commendationibus, pulchro equitatu, & qui rerum gerendarum, ut & olim fuerunt, & nunc quam maxime sunt corrupti hominum mores, nervus est, ingenti pecuniæ vi instructus, qua Capnio's iustam causam, famam fortunamque omnes facile se subversurum, iactavit (25). — Hochstratus obeyed this summons, and went to Rome, well provided with many and great recommendations from his own, and from other universities, and from princes and other great personages, with a handsome equipage, and above all, with what in the present corruption of manners is, and always was, the sinews of business, an immense sum of money, by which he boasted that he would easily ruin Capnio's just cause, fame, and fortune.' He who suspected that this money was designed for the purchase of some voices, knew well enough how matters go at these courts (26). His words are these (27): 'Item Theologitæ, ut etiam comperi, Jacobo Hochstraten proximis diebus mille quingentes aureos per Trapezitas Romam miserunt, non ad victum, qui Monachis tenuis esse debet, nec ad necessarias impensas litis, nam minore summa, ut reor, hæc administraretur. Sed quod vehementer suspicor & illis male vertat, ad faciendas largitiones, pro obtinendis auro suffragiis quæ jure non sperat (28). — The divines likewise, as I am informed, have lately sent James Hochstraten 500 golden crowns, by the Bankers, to Rome, not for his sustenance, for monks ought to live at small expence, not for the necessary expences of his process, for that I believe, may be carried on at a still smaller charge. But I grievously suspect what I hope shall not profit them, that it was sent to buy voices with gold, which he despairs of obtaining by right.' What he adds, is more surprizing. These same divines threatened to make a schism, if Reuchlin was not condemned, and spoke with the utmost contempt of Leo X. 'Nam modo reverendissimum Cardinalem Grimanium (29) ut indoctum cavillantur, modo ut semper suspectum infamant. Præterea audent aperte iactare perversissimi homines, nisi secundum se pronunciatum in urbe fuerit, ab Ecclesia & summo ejus Pontifice se deserturos, & schisma novum suscituros. Alii ad futurum Concilium provocatos se minantur. Alii dicunt, quicquid contra se statuerit Papa, nullius momenti esse, neque pro Papa habendum eum, qui ab se suæque sententia dissentiat. Tam cæca, tam præceptis est arrogantia istorum, ut non pudeat etiam postulare obnoxium sibi Summum Pontificem esse, se palam omnibus Ecclesiam esse dissidentem, sine se in rebus fidei Papam nihil decernere nec posse, nec debere, conclamant. Nihil hercle secius aut honorificentius de summo Pontifice loquuntur, quam de puero sub ferula adhuc vivente, cui nihil nisi ad prædicationem sui nutum integrum sit aut liberum loqui (30). — For sometimes they reproach cardinal Grimani with ignorance, at other times they slander him as one they always suspected. Besides, these seditious men have the boldness openly to boast, that unless this cause is decided in their favour, they will make a schism from the church and its head, and raise a new schism. Others threaten that they will appeal to a general council. Others say, that whatever the Pope decides against them will signify nothing, and that he is not to be acknowledged as Pope, if he differs from their opinions. So blind and furious is their arrogance, that they are not ashamed to pretend that the Pope is inferior to them, and proclaim that the Pope neither can, nor ought to decide any thing in matters of faith without them. And indeed they

'speak of the Pope with no more reverence, than of a school-boy, who is not at liberty either to say or do any thing, but by his master's direction.'

[E] He ran a great danger of his life in his return. If he had not had notice of the ambuscades that the Reuchlinists laid for him in the way from Nuremberg to Cologne, he had infallibly fallen into them; and even after he had intelligence of them, he could not have avoided the snare, had not he been preserved from the danger by the passport he obtained from the marquis of Brandenburg. Mr Majus acknowledges all this. *Non tantum honorum ædum, says he (31), sed ingens præterea periculum sibi acceperat, quod vix ac ne vix quidem evasit. Nam cum Roma discedens Noribergam iter scisset, Coloniam inde perireturus, insidiæ ipsi à Reuchlinistis parabantur, quas, si præmonitus non fuisset, certe baud effugisset. Ac ne sic quidem excessisset, evasisset, erupisset, nisi Marchionis Brandenburgensis salvo conductu à persecutoribus tutus fuisset.*

[F] It is not true that he had the destiny which Paul Jovius speaks of. He pretends, that the satires published by Reuchlin, against the barbarous stile of the monks, killed James Hochstratus with vexation, and obliged the fraternity of this inquisitor to have recourse in their distress to the court of Rome, to obtain a prohibition of printing and selling these satires. Paul Jovius means the *Obscurorum Virorum Epistolæ*: He will have Reuchlin to be the author of them, and he gives us an idea of them, which is very disobliging to the monks in general, and to Reuchlin's persecutors in particular. 'Admirabili facietiarum lepore conditæ, quibus ad excitandum risum, cucullatorum Theologorum ineptissimæ, atque ideo ridiculæ Latina lingua scribentium, stylus exprimitur. Ulciscēbatur enim infestam nomini suo turbam, jucundissimo satyræ illudentis genere, quum maligna cucullatorum conspiratione tanquam Judæis parum æquus hostis, ac ex animo planè recutitus impietatis accusaretur (32). — They are full of humour, and by imitating their Latin stile, exposteth the barbarous dialect of the monkish divines. He wrote this elegant satire against them, in revenge of their spiteful rage against him, they having accused him of favouring Judaism.' The way to convict this historian of falsity, is to say, that James Hochstratus survived Leo X and Reuchlin, and therefore it is not true, 1. that the *Obscurorum Virorum Epistolæ*, having been the cause of that inquisitor's death, his friends and accomplices supplicated Leo X to condemn the book. 2. That Reuchlin, to elude the prohibitions of Leo X, composed a second volume, under another title more satirical than the former. Thus here are two falsehoods of Paul Jovius. 'Hic liber avide comptus & evulgatus adeo graviter calumniatores ejus ordinis percussit, ut conjurationis principes Hochstratus letali dolore sauciatus interierit; & reliqui æstuant a Leone suppliciter impetrarint, ut edito divendi, atque imprimi vetaretur; sed editi majestatem Reuchlinus falso ingenio ludificatus, secundum Epistolæ volumen, tanquam ex titulo minime vetitum, altero quidem auleatius impressibus tradidit, ita ut cucullati misere cum Hydra luctantes, animos in ea lite deponderint (33). — This book was greedily bought, and by its publication, so mortified the malicious slanderers of that tribe, that Hochstraten, the head of the cabal, sickened upon it and died; and the rest, boiling with rage, obtained, by their humble applications to Leo, an order against the sale and impression of it; Reuchlin however eluded the prohibition by an ingenious artifice, giving a second volume to the press more severe than the former, under a name not included in the prohibition. So that the monks having to fight with this Hydra, were entirely defeated.' It will be objected perhaps, that notwithstanding these two chronological faults, it may still be true at bottom, that the letters *Obscurorum Virorum*, occasioned the death of James Hochstratus. I answer, that it is absolutely false that they had that effect; for they appeared at least ten years before the death of that monk. He died in the year 1527, and I have read in a letter written the sixteenth of August 1517, that Erasmus very much disapproved

(24) Ibid. pag. 478, & seq.

(25) Ibid. pag. 479.

(26) See the article FOULQUES, remark [L].

(27) Hermannus Bolchius Epistolas, in Epist. ad Reuchlinum, apud Majum, ibid. pag. 464.

(28) In the dialogue intitled Hochstratus Ovans, he is brought in speaking thus: Necesse habui vulgarem incedere viam, agere litis commendatilis, pecuniis niti, & largitionibus inmodicis, ut magnæ sunt opes nobis mendicis, atque mendacia struere contra infentem, quæ non insolens, neque imperite confinxit, atque haud difficulter credita sunt Romanensibus. Apud Majum, ibid. pag. 465.

(29) He was the president of the commission.

(30) Idem, Bolchius, apud Majum, ibid.

(31) Annotat in vit. Reuchlini, pag. 477.

(32) Jovius in Epistolis, cap. cxliiii, pag. m.

(33) Id. ibid.

of his adversaries. He was one of the first who wrote against Luther [G], and one of the persecutors of Erasmus [H]. In a word, whoever was an enemy to the scholastic barbarity, could not fail to be exposed to his anger. He died at Cologne in the year 1527 (d). We have several books of his, which for the most part relate to his disputes with Reuchlin and Luther. There was a cutting epitaph made upon him [I].

He did not do much honour to the divines at Paris, in publishing at Cologne, the judgment they passed upon Luther in 1521, upon the subject of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite [K].

(34) Magnopere mihi displice-
bant Epistolæ ob-
scuro-rum Viro-
rum. Erasmus,
Epist. ad Joann.
Cæsarium, inferia
lamentationibus
obscuro-rum viro-
rum, citante
Majo. Not. in
Vitam Reuchlin.
pag. 475.

(35) Jacob.
Thomæus in
prefatione ad
Pauli Manutii
Epistolæ, certa fi-
dei exploratum se
habere affirmat,
Mutenom esse
eorum autorem
Id. Majus, ibid.

(36) Majus, in
Vita Reuchlini.

(37) Maimbourg,
Hist. de Luther.
lib. i. pag. 30,
ad. ann. 1518.
He quotes Luth.
contra Jac.
Hoftra. Tom. I.

(38) Valer.
Andr. Bibl. Belg.
pag. 412.

(39) It is the last
of the sixteenth
book.

(40) The eigh-
teenth of the
twenty sixth book,
pag. 1249.

(41) Eras-
mus, lib. xiii. lib.
xix, pag. 829.
It is dated in
May, 1527.

disapproved of those letters (34). This criticism might be carried further; for it is very probable that they were written by Hutten (35), and not by Reuchlin.

I am less surprized at these faults of Paul Jovius, than to see them inserted as matter of fact in the life of Reuchlin, by Mr Majus, and that he did not perceive that he contradicted himself. He supposes, that after the *Speculum oculare* was burnt at Cologne, Reuchlin seeing himself attacked by several satires, published the *Epistolæ obscuro-rum viro-rum*, to revenge himself, which quickly caused James Hochstratus's death. *Hic liber adeo grauior calumniatores Colonien-
ses perculit, ut conjurationis caput Hochstratus PAU-
LO POST letali dolore confectus sauciatusque interierit* (36). He afterwards relates that Reuchlin brought the cause before the Pope, and that James Hochstratus made a voyage to Rome upon it, and had like to have fallen into an ambush of his enemies, as he returned to Cologne.

[G] He was one of the first who wrote against Luther. He went the wrong way to work, if we believe Father Maimbourg, who says, 'that what made Luther's cause still more plausible was this, that James Hochstratus, a Dominican inquisitor, writing against him, exhorted the Pope to treat such a wicked fellow only with fire and sword, that the world might be rid of him as soon as possible (37). I will now set down a passage of Valerius Andreas, which affords me at once a proof of my text, and an occasion for a critical reflexion. "Primos inter in Lutherum calumum frinxit: ob id tum ab hæreticis quos in primis oderat, tum etiam ab aliis vitæ atque ingenii liberioris, ut tunc tempora ferebant, scriptis laceffitus, & nominatim à Joan. Reuchlino five Capnione epistolis quas obscuro-rum viro-rum titulo vulgavit (38). — He was one of the first who wrote against Luther: and on that account was severely handled not only in the writings of the Heretics, whom he mortally hated, but likewise by others of a more liberal genius, and way of living, as times then went, particularly by John Reuchlin or Capnio, in the Epistolæ Obscuro-rum Viro-rum, as he called them.' The war of the monks against Reuchlin, began before Luther attacked the indulgencies, and dropped of itself when Luther raised his standard. Reuchlin continued with the strongest side all his life, and never concerned himself with the Lutheran disputes. It is therefore very false, that he teized Hochstratus with several satirical pieces to punish him for being one of the first that wrote against Luther. The *Epistolæ obscuro-rum viro-rum*, preceded the birth of the Protestant Reformation. Valerius Andreas is thereby fully convicted of an Anachronism. For the rest, the counsel which James Hochstratus gave to the Pope against Luther, plainly shews the violent temper of the man. Erasmus wrote a letter to him (39) in the year 1519, full of good advice, upon the inexcusable bitterness he had shewn in his writings against Reuchlin. See Erasmus's letters concerning Hochstratus's proceedings with respect to Martin Luther (40).

[H] And one of the persecutors of Erasmus. This we learn from these words (41): 'Aliquot ex hostium numero perierunt: Lovanii Emondanus Carmelita vomitu præfocatus. . . Coloniae perit Jacobus Hoghestratus coryphæus hujus tragediæ, qui tamen in morte dicitur nonnullis verbis prodidisse parum sinceram conscientiam. — Some of the enemies are dead. At Louvain Emond the Carmelite was suffocated by a vomit. . . At Cologne died James Hochstratus, the principal actor in this tragedy, who notwithstanding is said on his death-bed to have spoke some things which argued no very sincere conscience.' In the letter wherein Erasmus, gives so good advice to the inquisitor, he complains of his having been ill used

by him, for his opinion upon the dissolubility of marriage (42).

[I] There was a cutting epitaph made upon him. We find it in Paul Jovius: 'Hoftrati autem tumulo, *'says be (43), hoc nobile carmen, Capnionis puer af-
fixit (57).*

Hic jacet Hofstratus, viventem ferre patique
Quem potuere mali, non potuere boni.
Crescite ab hoc taxi, crescant aconita sepulchro:
Aulus erat sub eo, qui jacet, omne nefas.

Here Hochstrat lies, whom, breathing vital air,
Shunn'd by the good, the bad alone cou'd bear.
Grow yew, and aconite, upon this tomb,
Which such a wretch incloses in it's womb.

[(57) Reuchlin, as it is well known, died in the year 1523. Now if, as we are told, the author of these verses was actually a servant of Reuchlin when he died, these verses could not be composed on the real death of Hochstratus, which did not happen till 1527. But the truth of the matter is this. About the year 1515 the first volume of the famous *Epistolæ obscuro-rum viro-rum* appeared in 4to, to the number of forty one only. The second edition likewise in 4to, contains no greater number: but the third also in 4to, which, if we may judge by the character, was published soon after the two others, contains an Appendix of eight epistles, the last of which in the name of Hochstratus, and dated from Rome, contains four Pasquinades in form of epigrams upon himself; the first in four verses, the second and third contain each a distich, and the fourth four verses as the first. Now the pretended epitaph, recited by Paul Jovius, is nothing but the second of these Pasquinades, preceded by the first distich of the fourth.

Some unknown persons, as Hochstratus relates in this epistle, meeting him one day in the streets of Rome, dropt a paper at his feet, he took it up, and found in it several satirical epigrams on his pretended death, and out of this was formed that mentioned by Paul Jovius. So that this epitaph, far from being composed upon, and after the death of Hochstratus, is only an imitation of the following, which Politian composed on the death of the poet Mabile (Marullus) his enemy:

Fleste viator iter, seget * nam putre Mabili
Hac fovea corpus conditur atque animus.

* Fatens

This epitaph of Mabilus, who nevertheless survived Politian, is to be found among his poems; and the account Mr Bayle give of this is, that one may say such bitter things in an epitaph; and find so fruitful a field by turning this way, that many poets have falsely supposed the death of their adversaries, to have the advantage of this common-phrase. This reflexion in the remark [O] of the article POLITIAN, is the true key to this pretended epitaph, *Hic jacet Hofstratus*, &c. composed, as we see, about ten years before Hochstratus's death, in the height of his process against Reuchlin. REM. CRIT.]

[K] He published at Cologne the judgment of the divines at Paris. . . concerning the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite. It was in the year 1521. You will find this judgment in the second tome of Luther's works, in the Jena edition. You will find also other editions of it, and therefore Father Nourri had no reason to believe, that he first brought it to light by publishing it in his *Apparatus ad Bibliothecam maximam veterum Patrum* in 1694 (44).

(42) See the Acta Eroditorum, in the second Tome of the Supplements, pag. 737.

HOE (MATTHIAS) a famous Lutheran minister, was born at Vienna, in the year 1580. He was sent so soon to the Protestant colleges (a), that he found himself a Lutheran before he had made reflexion that he was born in the Romish communion. He studied Divinity at Wittemberg; and in the year 1602, he was invited to the court of Saxony, to preach before the Elector. In the year following he was made director of some churches in Voightland; and after having discharged that employment eight years, he was sent to Prague in the year 1611, to be superintendent of the German churches. Two years after he was recalled to the court of Saxony, where he was promoted to the degree of ecclesiastical counsellor, and first preacher to his highness. He enjoyed those posts all the rest of his life, and died the fourth of March, 1645. He was admitted doctor of Divinity at Wittemberg in the year 1604. His marriage, which lasted forty three years, and which gave him six sons and four daughters, made ample amends for all the troubles that could arise from other circumstances in life [A]. He was born a gentleman (b), and he had so warlike a pen, as proved he did not degenerate. He published a great number of books (c), some in Latin; and others in High-Dutch. He was a man who would not hear of the re-union of the Protestant churches [B]: but he was accused of having been bribed to endeavour a re-union of certain princes of the empire with the emperor [C], to the great prejudice of the Protestants. What he has published upon the Revelation, looks like the work of a man of a turbulent spirit [D].

I fancy he was more troubled to see the elector Palatine in possession of the crown of Bohemia, than to see him a fugitive after the battle of Prague; for the letter which he wrote to a nobleman of that country, shews that he did not approve the design of giving this

[A] His marriage . . . made amends for all the troubles that could arise from other circumstances in life.] I have given the most favourable construction to the Latin words of the Sieur Witte; for as they are somewhat obscure, one might think, that he meant, that Hoe's marriage was so happy, as to have less evil than good in it (1). This would be lessening the joys of that marriage; wherefore I chuse the other interpretation, which is, that those advantages being put in the scale with all the evil the husband was exposed to, weighed them down. Thus his dear spouse agreeably comforted him for all the troubles and fatigues he had to go through. He would therefore have had reason to complain, if he had lived a bachelor.

[B] He would not bear of the re-union of the Protestant churches.] Gustavus had a little before he died, called an assembly at Leipsic, of Lutherans and Calvinists, in order to endeavour at an accommodation. His authority caused them to separate like good friends, and with mighty hopes of peace; but they vanished away by his death. Nevertheless, Dury did not desist from the undertaking, and he came to Francfort, where the Protestants were assembled. A most severe letter of Hoe against the Calvinists came hereupon, and did a great deal of mischief. We have all this from Grotius. 'Rex Sueciæ magnus Gustavus . . . non multum ante mortem Lipsiæ conventum instituerat utriusque sententiæ protestantium . . . Effecit sua auctoritate ut amice discederetur cum magna spe restituenda unitatis. Sed tristis exitus tanti Regis salubre hoc cœptum interfecit. Neque tamen defuit ejusdem negotii commendator ex Anglia Duræus, multorum Angliæ antislitem instructus literis, qui francfortum ad Moenum venerat eo ipso tempore, cum ibi conventus Ordinum Protestantium haberetur. Sed rem per se difficilem implicationem etiam reddidit doctoris Hoi ex Aula Saxonica responsum immitte in eos quos Calvinianos vocat (2).' The doctors of the Augsburg Confession, extol to the skies, the vigilance with which he opposed the smallest innovations. They even say, that on this account he exposed himself to great dangers. 'In solis radiis pridem scriptum arbitror quos ille tuendæ fidei gratia pertulerit labores, quibusculum difficultatibus sit conflictatus, quæ subierit pericula, dum quidvis satius censebat, quam ut quicquam in Germania de Evangelicæ Religionis integritate (quam adversarum partium promachi contaminare sunt ausi,) decederet ac minueretur (3).'

[C] He was accused of having been bribed to endeavour a re-union between certain princes of the empire with the emperor.] In the year 1635, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, made a treaty with the emperor at Prague, and engaged themselves in his interests against the crown of Sweden, which was the way to destroy whatever Gustavus had done in Germany for the advantage of the Protestant religion. It is believed that the emperor, by a good

sum of money, engaged Dr Hoe to remove all the scruples which might have perplexed the elector of Saxony. Mr Puffendorf, whose words I quote, is my warrant for it. *Arguebatur quoque Saxonius Theologus Matthias Hoeus decem uncialium millia à Cæsare accepisse, eximendis Principis sui animo scrupulis, quos alias facile ista pax generare poterat* (4).

[D] What he has published upon the Revelation looks like the work of a man of a turbulent spirit.] According to the humour that he was of, it cannot be doubted but his Commentaries upon the Revelation, tended to raise a general war against the church of Rome, that is, to fill Europe with the most dreadful miseries that it could fall under. However it be, the bishop of Meaux reckons him amongst the interpreters of the Revelation, who do nothing but found an alarm for war. *The Lutherans, says he (5), were not more moderate than the Calvinists; and the principal minister of the court of Saxony, Matthias Hoe by name, dispersed a book at Francfort intituled, The judgment and total extirpation of the Whore of the Romish Babylon, or the sixth Book of the Commentary upon the Revelation. The book is no less extravagant than the title, and this is what was written in Germany, and in the North. The bishop of Meaux has taken this from a letter of an Arminian minister, I will set down the passage entire, because it contains some other matters, relating to this article. 'I have seen the catalogue of this last fair of Francfort, which contains abundance of polemical books against Popery, amongst others, one with this inscription. Judicium & excidium Meretricis Babylonie Romanæ, seu Commentariorum in Apocalypsin S. Johannis liber sextus, auctore Matthia Hobe Doctore Theologo, Lipsiæ in 4to. This Hoe is the principal minister of the court of Saxony, of noble extraction in Austria, and who for a long time has been suspected to be a secret Papist. I wonder that in such a conjuncture of time and affairs, he thinks fit to write against Popery in so satirical and odious a style, especially since the elector of Saxony has always earnestly endeavoured to preserve the emperor's favour towards his family (6).'* Hoe began his work upon the Revelation in the year 1610, and finished it in the year 1640. It contains eight books, which have been reprinted in folio at Leipsic, in 1671. Factious and turbulent men will never be hindered from abusing the obscurity of the Revelation, in order to stir up war. Peace doth not please them; it is war which they wish for, in which they run no hazards, and find a way to make themselves necessary. It is probable, that sovereigns are not displeased to entertain such pragmatical people they look upon them as fit persons to spread confidence among their people, by turning the prophecies, sometimes one way, sometimes another, according to the current of affairs. Such sort of people make themselves feared; and for that reason their masters keep fair with them.

[E] The

(a) Postea orthodoxa id sibi vindicavit Ecclesia, siquidem parentum cura frugis bonæ adolefcens parioris acri, hoc est fidei hauriendæ gratia, ad loca evangelicæ ablegatus. Spizelius, in Templi Honoris, Referat. pag. 165.

(b) Taken from Henning, Witte, Memor. Theol. Renovat. pag. 1014, & seq.

(c) See the catalogue of them, ibid. pag. 1021.

(1) Illius amore & convivio suavitudo totis usibus est nostra tribus & quadraginta annis, ut multo plura haberet de quibus gaudium quam dolorem conciperet.

Hoe, Witte, Memor. Theol. Renovat. pag. 1018.

(2) Grotius, Epist. cccclxv, Part. I, pag. 165.

(3) Spizelius, in Templo Honoris referat. pag. 165, 166. Henning, Witte, ubi supra, pag. 1016.

(4) Puffendorf. Rerum. Suecicar. lib. vii, pag. 223. See the Bibliotheca Universelle, Tome III. pag. 438.

(5) In his Epistolæ editione, pag. 27, of the advertisement, Dutch Edit.

(6) Charles began his work upon the Revelation in the year 1610, and finished it in the year 1640. It contains eight books, which have been reprinted in folio at Leipsic, in 1671. Factious and turbulent men will never be hindered from abusing the obscurity of the Revelation, in order to stir up war. Peace doth not please them; it is war which they wish for, in which they run no hazards, and find a way to make themselves necessary. It is probable, that sovereigns are not displeased to entertain such pragmatical people they look upon them as fit persons to spread confidence among their people, by turning the prophecies, sometimes one way, sometimes another, according to the current of affairs. Such sort of people make themselves feared; and for that reason their masters keep fair with them.

(7) He published them in 1610, and the last was printed in 1640. See Spizelius, ubi supra, pag. 1016.

this kingdom to that elector, and that he looked upon Calvinism as an Antichrist, that was not much better than the Popish Antichrist [E].

(8) Andreas Carolus, Memor. Eccles. pag. 482, ad ann. 1619.

[E] The letter which he wrote . . . shows that he looked on Calvinism as an Antichrist, which was little better than the Popish Antichrist. That letter has been printed. Read this passage of the *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica* of the XVIIth Century (8). 'Cum in eo essent occupati Bohemæ Proceres, Legatis Moraviæ, Silesiæ & Lusatiæ præsentibus, ut Fridericum quintum, Electorem Palatinum, sacris Calvinianis addictum, in Regem suum eligerent, Matthias Hoe t. r. Concionator Aulicus Dreidentis, Epistolam sub 23. Aug. scriptam ad Joachimum Andream Slikium quæ (postmodum typis excusa) vir celeberrimus fidelissimè monuit, ut quid, præsertim intuitu religionis, Ordines isti facerent, facere saltem deberent, probè perpendant? Inter alia spiritum Calvinisticum appellans Anti-Christum Orientalem atque componens cum Occidentali, ut non multò meliorem, allegante Hornbekio in summa Controversiarum religionis;

libro nono de Lutheranis p. m. 699. — When the nobles of Bohemia were deliberating concerning the election of Frederic V, Elector Palatine, a Calvinist, to be their king, the deputies from Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, being present, Matthias Hoe, court-preacher to the Elector of Saxony, wrote a letter dated August twenty-fourth, to Joachim Andream Slikius (which was printed afterwards) wherein that famous man faithfully admonished, that the States should carefully weigh what they were about to do, at least what they ought to do, especially as to what concerned religion. And among other things, he called the Calvinistic spirit, the eastern Antichrist, and comparing it with the western, declares it not much better. This letter is quoted by Hoornbeek, in his *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*. Probably the author I quote had not seen this letter; for he only speaks of it upon the credit of Hoornbeek.

HOELZLIN (a) (JEREMIAH) professor of Greek in the university of Leyden, was born at Nuremberg. He made so great a progress in his classical learning, at Augsburg, that he excelled all his school-fellows, both in the Greek and Latin tongues. After which he studied Philosophy in the university of Altorf. His method of studying it, was not like that of others; he little regarded what was dictated by the professors; as he was a good Grecian, he read the originals, and the ancient interpreters of Aristotle, Themistius, Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Simplicius, and Ammonius. He was not contented with Aristotle alone; he studied Plato likewise, and was a great admirer of the Stoics. After having spent eight years in this sort of study, he was admitted doctor of Philosophy, and applied himself to the Scriptures, and to Hebrew. He was afterwards rector of the college at Amberg, in the Upper Palatinate. The war drove him thence, and obliged him to retire to Bremen, after having lost the best part of his effects. The count of Bentheim designed to make him head of his college of Rhede; but the count died presently after, and then the town of Ham offered our Hoelzlin a like employment. The soldiers of the emperor made such ravages in that country, that he did not care to be exposed to their violences. He therefore sought a safe retreat, and found it in Holland; he retired to Leyden, and there published a translation of the Psalms, which was judged to be exact. The university did him the honour to retain him, when he was invited to Middleburg, and to the Brill [A]. He was thought worthy to appear on a greater stage, and had the Greek professorship given him, which Vossius had just laid down. He undertook the translation of Apollonius Rhodius [B], and notwithstanding his distempers, he accomplished it, and put his last hand to it, six days before he died. He was dropsical, and so weak, that at last he could not hold his pen in his hand, and yet he had this work so much at heart, that he dictated what he thought necessary to be added to it. He died the twenty fifth of January, 1641. He had been married a long time (b), but had no children. His happiness on that account is taken notice of in his funeral sermon, because of the troubles he was exposed to, when the rage of war forced him to leave his own country (c).

(a) He is always called Hoelzlin in his Funeral Orations.

(b) He married the daughter of a minister of Nuremberg.

(c) Taken from his Funeral Oration, spoken by Antony Thyssius.

[A] He was invited to the Brill. He was actually rector of the college of the Brill, if we may believe Vossius, whose words I set down the more willingly, because they have need of correction, since the proper name of our Hoelzlin is there miserably mangled, not without a gross solecism. Vossius had been saying, that Antony Emilius had refused the Greek professorship, which the curators of the university of Leyden had offered him, and then he says: 'Arbitror professionem eam deinceps offerendam Mag. Jeremie Hoelellus quondam correctori Ambergensis Gymnasii Electoralis Collegæ Beckmani: nunc Brillanæ est Scholæ Rector. Vir est moribus simplex, sed trium linguarum & Philosophiæ admodum gnarus (1).'

I am of opinion that this profession ought next to be offered to Jeremie Hoelzlin, formerly rector of the Electoral College at Amberg, and colleague to Beckman. He is now rector of the school at the Brill. He is a man unpolished in his manners, but well versed in Philosophy, and the three learned languages.

[B] He undertook the translation of Apollonius Rhodius. The edition of this poet, with the version and commentary of Hoelzlin, was published in the year 1641, at Leyden ex officina Elzeviriana. Mr Menage speaks very disadvantageously of it (2). First, he relates these words of Mr Baillet, 'We have some ancient

Scholia upon Apollonius . . . The new edition which Jeremie Hotzlin hath given of it, is esteemed by some, but others value it no more than many of those which are called *Variorum*;' and then having answered to what concerns the Scholia, he thus goes on. 'As for Jeremie Hotzlin, he is a wretched writer, he is wholly wrapped up in Hebraisms, he affects old words that are out of date, and invents new ones. I will here observe, by the by, that he speaks of Conradus Riterhusius as of his patron. Conradus Riterhusius sanctissimus ille juris interpres & vindex, idemque patronus olim meus, insigniter pius & constans animus (3). — Conrad Riterhusius that upright interpreter and restorer of the law, and formerly my patron, a man of distinguished piety, and my constant friend. It is at the 115th page. There are at the end of his edition of Apollonius, some notes of Holstenius, which are very judicious.' The Funeral oration tells us, that while Hoelzlin was at Altorf, he had an intimate friendship with Scipio Gentilis, Michael Picardus, Conrad Riterhusius, and Daniel Swenferus, and that they mutually wrote Greek and Latin verses to one another, and that part of them has been published: *Cum quibus Græcis Latinisque carminibus certabat, quorum non pauca in lucem venerunt.*

(3) It should be amicis.

(1) Vossius, Epist. cxlviii, ad Joann. Meursium, pag. 181, Londini 1693. That letter is dated the 30th of August, 1631.

(2) Anti Baillet, Tom. I, pag. 239, 390.

(a) Taken from
Spizelius in
Templo Honoris
referato, pag.
328, & seq. & ex
Theatro Frerheri,
pag. 1511, 1512.

HOESCHELIUS (DAVID), born at Augsburg in the fourteenth of April, 1556, was a very learned man. The public is indebted to him for the edition of several Greek authors [A]. He spent all his life in the instruction of youth in St Anne's college, of which at last he was made rector by the magistrates of Augsburg in the year 1593. They also made him library-keeper, and he cannot be sufficiently praised for the pains he took to enrich their library [B]. He was very well acquainted with good manuscripts, and good editions; and he took care that the manuscripts which were bought for the ornament of that library, should not lie buried like a treasure hid under ground, but he published the most curious of them, with notes of his own. He made good scholars, and many referred to Augsburg upon his account (a) [C]. He died there in 1617. I will mention what Scaliger said of him [D]. Mr Huet has not only commended his diligence in finding out old manuscripts, but also his skill in translating (b).

(b) Huetius, de
claris Interpeta-
bus, pag. 129.
See also Colo-
mia, Biblioth.
choicis, pag.
194.

[A] The public is indebted to him for the edition of several Greek authors. He published the eight books of Origen against Celsus, in Greek and Latin, at Augsburg 1605 in Quarto. The wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, in Greek and Latin, with notes, at Antwerp, in the year 1604. The Bibliotheca of Photius in Greek, with notes, at Augsburg in the year 1601, in Folio. The History of Procopius, in Greek, with notes, in the same city, in the year 1607, in Folio. These two last books had never been printed. Geographica aliquot excellentissimorum authorum Maritani, Scylacii, Artemidori, Dicæarchi, at Augsburg, in the year 1600. in Quarto. Three or four treatises of Philo. Eclogæ legationum Dexippi Abenientis, Eunapii, P. Patricii, Prisci Sophrisæ, Malchi Philad. Menandri cum excerptorum collatis & libris Diodori Siculi amissis, at Augsburg, 1603, in 8vo. Some treatises of the ancient fathers, &c.

[B] He cannot be sufficiently praised for the pains he took to enrich their library. Spizelius acquaints us with it: his words shew, that Antony Eparchus, bishop of Corfu, had collected excellent manuscripts, which fell into Hoeschelius's hands. 'Cum insuper celebratissimæ Bibliothecæ Augustanæ administratio ipsi esset demandata, omni virum nisu ejus procuravit incrementum, nec ulli parcens labori, libros excultos pariter ac manuscriptos, maxime Græcos, melioris item notæ auctores, ac librorum editiones conquisivit, sicque Bibliothecam Augustanam veluti publicum aliquod Erarium instruxit ad omnium promiscuè indigentiam sublevandam. Et cum rarissimorum Codicum MSS. Græcorum, magno ære ab Antonio Eparcho Episcopo Coreyrensi coemptorum copiam esset consecutus, maximam curam adhibuit, ne thesaurus iste librarius in arcanis Bibliothecæ hujus recessibus veluti in perpetuo quodam custodiretur carcere, sed in publicam etiam lucem magno cum totius Republicæ literariæ bono & commo-
' prodiret (1). Being appointed keeper of the famous library at Augsburg, he spared no pains to encrease it, and to seek out both books and manuscripts, especially of the Greek authors, and in general, all authors and editions of any note. And by that means made it a noble treasury to supply the wants

(1) Spizelius, in
Templo Honoris
referato, pag.
330.

(a) He succeeded
Tilmanus
Hesbuius in the
year 1588.
Melch. Adam.
in Vit. Theol.
pag. 622.

HOFFMAN (DANIEL) superintendant and professor at Helmstadt (a), was the head of a theological faction [A], which raised some disturbances towards the end of the XVIth century. He raised some difficulties upon the Formulary of Concord which was to be subscribed; and instead of concurring with Dr John Andreas, for the defence of that Formulary, he made use of captious distinctions. He would not admit the Ubiquity, but only the presence of JESUS CHRIST in many places. That quarrel, which lasted not long, left peoples minds disposed to division [B]. So that afterwards

(1) Micrælius,
Syntagma Histor.
Eccles. lib. iii,
sect. ii, pag. 871.
Edito 1679.

[A] He was head of a theological faction. This was the thirteenth schism that happened in the Lutheran church. 'Decimi tertii schismatis auctores Helms-tadiensis, interque eos præcipuus Hesbuius & Hoffmannus, pessimo exemplo extiterunt. Formulæ enim concordiæ cum subscribendum, & apologia conscientiæ da esset, illi, livore dicam an protervia, pium J. Andreas conatum spernentes, cum Christum exaltatum omnibus rebus ob realem idiomatum communicationem debere dicere præsentem, multipræsentiam ejus saltem defendebant (1). Hesbuius and Hoffman were the heads of the thirteenth schism at Helmstadt. For when the Form of Concord was to be subscribed, and an apology to be composed, whether

led by envy or obstinacy, despising the pious idea-
'ours of John Andreas, instead of owning as they
'ought, that CHRIST now exalted, is present
'with all things, because of the real communication of
'the idioms, only maintain his multipresence.' The
Jesuit Adam Contzen observes under the year 1584,
that Hoffman's antagonist was preacher to Henry Ju-
lius, duke of Brunswick (2), and that this prince, in
the quality of administrator of the bishopric of Hal-
berstadt, imposed silence on the parties. See also what
he says under the year 1592.

[B] That quarrel . . . left peoples minds disposed to
division. The first author that I quote in the prece-
ding remark, goes on thus. 'Sed in cineribus suffocata
est.

'of the learned in every science. And having got a
'large collection of very rare Greek manuscripts,
'bought at a great price from Antonius Eparchus,
'bishop of Corfu, he took effectual care that this precious
'treasure of learning should not lie hid in the corners
'of this library, as in a kind of perpetual confinement,
'but that it should appear in public to the great ad-
'vantage of the learned world.' The Catalogue of
the Greek manuscripts of that library, composed by
Hoeschelius, and published in the year 1595, is a
master-piece (2).

[C] He made good scholars, and many referred to
Augsburg on his account. I will make use again
of Spizelius's words. 'Quam præclare, says he (3),
'quamque feliciter demandatæ sibi functioni satisfecerit,
'plurimi testari possunt viri eruditi qui è variis Ger-
'manicæ, Italiæ, Belgicæ civitatibus Hoeschelii gratia
'Augustam se contulerunt, quibus viri hujus institu-
'tione uti, inque lingua Græca proficere curæ & cordi
'fuit. Vere de illo dici potest quod

(2) See Colomies,
Biblioth. choicis,
pag. 194.

(3) Spizelius, in
Templo Honoris,
pag. 329, 330.

Mille foro dedit juvenes, his mille ministrum
Adjecit numero purpureæque togæ.

'How successfully he performed the duties of his pro-
'fession, many learned men can testify, who came from
'several cities of Germany, Italy, and Holland, to Aug-
'sburg, that they might be under Hoeschelius's tuition, and
'make progress in the Greek language. It may be
'truly said of him, that thousands came from under his
'tuition who were ornaments to all the three learned
'professions.' Colomies names some travellers, who
mightily praised Hoeschelius (4).

[D] I will mention what Scaliger said of him. Hoeschelius a Lutheran, but a learned man: if Velsius did not support him, he had been expelled before now. He is a great pedant, but a good man. Scaliger sent him his Procopius, but he had one more complete from the library of Bavaria. Hoeschelius, in his Procopius, has printed some fragments of my letters, and of those of Casaubon. He is now printing Origen . . . Hoeschelius non est magnus Græcus, sed diligentissimus (5). Hoeschelius is no great critic in the Greek language, but very dili-

(4) Ubi supra;
pag. 195.

(5) In Scaligeri
his secundis, pag.
m. 112.

other matters were disputed with great heat, Hoffman being still head of a party. The question was, amongst other things, what use ought to be made of philosophical principles in Divinity; and it is to be observed, that the professors of Philosophy took that side which was most favourable to the orthodox [C]. Daniel Hoffman and Theodore Beza wrote against one

(3) Micrælius,
ubi supra.

(4) Thomæus,
Præfat. xlii, pag.
244.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Id. ibid. pag.
245.

* Confirmant
suspicionem, quæ
leguntur in velti-
bulo dicti Pervigilii:
aperta
enim ibi litis,
Helmstadii ab
Hoffmanno agi-
tate, mentio.
Facient huc &
que leguntur in
controversia Cra-
meriana Magde-
burgensi, nam &
huic aliquid offi-
nitatis cum Hof-
manniana constat
intercessisse. —
This suspicion is
confirmed by what
we read in the
preface to the
Pervigillum,
where he plainly
mentions the Hel-
mstadian controver-
sy, which was
begun by Hoffman.
This is likewise
confirmed by
what we read in
the Cramerian
controversy at
Magdeburg, for it
is plain, that this
had some affinity
with that of
Hoffman.

† Vide ibi Dis-
cursum IV, pag.
64, & seq.

‡ Pro defendenda
(quod ipsum quo-
que legitur in
titulo) Philo-
sophi ac Theo-
logi concordia.

* est controversia, cui utinam fomes novus postea non
esset quaestus? Sopita jaceat cum altera illa, qua de
resurrectione impiorum quærebatur, an virtute meriti
Christi futura sit, necne? ut & cum illa, qua quæ-
rebatur, an semper in forma syllogistica disputari de-
beat: & cum aliis questionibus vexatis, de philoso-
phie usu & abusu (3). — But this controversy was
buried in its own ashes, I wish that new fuel had
not afterwards been sought for to it! let it rest for-
ever together with that concerning the resurrection
of the wicked, to wit, whether it would be by vir-
tue of the merits of CHRIST? And this whether
we ought always to dispute in the syllogistic form?
& with many other questions, which were much
tossed concerning the use and abuse of Philosophy.

[C] The professors of Philosophy took that side which
is most favourable to orthodoxy. This is the testimony
James Thomæus gives them in one of his prefaces.

* Celebris est, says he, quæ parentum nostrorum me-
moriâ Julianam concussit Academiam, Hoffmanniana
controversia, siniente seculo proximè præterito cæpta,
ineunte hoc nostro seculo non sine Philosophorum,
qui tum ab ἀπαρτοῦ πατρίσιν stabant, laude sopi-
ta. De qua nihil addam, tum quod ob recentiorum
memoriam nemini res est ignota. . . . tum maxi-
mè, quod in personâ Theologi unus alteriusve incon-
siderati, sanctissimæ scientiæ parcendum esse omnino
existimo (4). — The famous Hoffmannian controversy,
which, in the days of our fathers, shook the Julian
academy, arose about the end of the last century, and
ended in the beginning of the present, much to the bo-
nour of the professors of Philosophy, who maintained
the orthodox side. I shall add no more concerning it,
because the affair is so recent that no body is ignorant
of it, but especially because I think the sacred science
of Theology ought not to suffer on account of the rash-
ness of a few divines. He examines in that discourse,
whether a thing can be true in Philosophy, and false
in Divinity, as some have pretended; and he observes,
that amongst those who have ventured to maintain such
a paradox, some have been induced to it by an
excessive respect for Aristotle, and others by an inordi-
nate hatred to that philosopher. These last were the
divines. * Ad Theologos venio, & diverso planè affectu
idem dogma defensores. Non enim amore, sed o-
dio Aristotelis, non veneratione, sed designatione
Philosophorum, in istam temeritatem, ne quid gra-
vius dicam, præcipitati sunt (5). — I come now
to the divines, who defended the same opinion from
quite contrary motives. For they fell into that rash
step, to say no worse of it, not from their love but
from their hatred to Aristotle, not from their veneration,
but from their contempt of Philosophers. That
the readers may the better understand what was Da-
niel Hoffman's opinion, I will add another passage of
Thomæus. It contains a thing which deserves on its
own account to be related (6). * Nisi enim fallor,
infelix illud & scandalo plenum certamen, quod nostrâ
memoriâ super Quæstione, sine Deo peccati causa
per accidens? certatum fuit, & sepultæ Hoffmannianæ
controversiæ cineribus aut propullulavit, aut videri
statem voluit propullulasse. Non planè abludere à ve-
ro quæ dixi, facile opinor perspiciet, qui CL. Viri,
Pauli Slevogni Pervigilium de diffidio Theologi &
Philosophi in utriusque principii fundato, (hoc enim
libello nomen est) pervolutaverit. * Enimverò hic
inter primos fuit, qui quæstionem modo dictam in
isthoc scripto, quod vicesimus tertius hujus seculi an-
nus produxit in scenam, excitaret, hujusque negati-
vam in Scholis Theologorum, affirmativam inter
Philosophos veram esse defendere. Cui anno sta-
tim sequente Vir non minori eruditionis laude clarus
Andreas Kesslerus discursuum Theologicorum quadri-
gam 1. opposuit. — If I am not mistaken that un-
fortunate controversy, which lately gave so much of
fence about the question, Whether GOD be the ac-
cidental cause of sin? arose or would seem to have
arisen from the ashes of the Hoffmannian controversy.
That I am not entirely mistaken in judging so, I believe
any body may perceive who will read the Pervigilium

de diffidio Theologi & Philosophi in utriusque princi-
piis fundato, of the learned Paulus Slevognus. For
he was one of the first who revived that question
in that book which appeared in the year 1623, and
therein maintained that the negative of it was true
in Theology, and the affirmative true in Philosophy. It
was answered the year following by the no less learned
Andreas Kesslerus in his Quadriga Discursuum Theo-
logicorum. Thomæus is in the right to say, it was a ve-
ry scandalous thing to see people maintain, that it is true
in Philosophy, that GOD is the author of sin by accident,
but that it is not true in Divinity. And he is in the right
to approve of Casmannus, who said that such a division
of truth gives a handle to maintain the most impious
errors (7); for indeed nothing is more proper to in-
troduce Scepticism, because by such sort of reasoning,
we reduce truth to the condition of corporal qualities.
From the same body appearing little or big, according
as we see it with glasses, or without, we have reason
to conclude, that we are ignorant whether it be great
or small, absolutely speaking, and that the absolute lit-
tleness or greatness of bodies, is unknown to us. If
therefore the same proposition was true and false, accord-
ing as it is considered either in Divinity or Philosophy,
it would necessarily follow, that we could not know truth
in itself, and that it consisted only in a mutable rela-
tion to the dispositions of our mind; as the pleasant-
ness of foods consists only in a certain relation to the
dispositions of the tongue; which when they happen to
change the foods which were agreeable are no longer
so. I am going to cite an author, who will tell us,
that our Hoffman, and his party, maintained, that Phi-
losophy ought to be banished the universities, as a most
pernicious discipline, according to which many theolo-
gical truths are false. The opposers of this faction
were excluded from the ministry. At last, by the au-
thority of the prince, those disputes were quieted, and
Hoffman was obliged to submit. * Contendebant Hoff-
mannus & ipsius asseclæ Philosophiam pugnare cum
Theologia: multa esse vera in Theologia quæ sint falsa
in Philosophia, & contra; exterminandam Christia-
nis Academicis ut noxiam, ut toties etiam graviter ab
antiqua Ecclesia damnatam. His se initio statim op-
posuerunt ejus Academicæ Philosophi, Duncanus Lid-
delius Scutus Med. D. Corn. Martini, Job. Caselius
& alii, rati ad se pertinere ejus defensionem, cujus
professores essent. Res contentione diu acta est,
ita ut Hoffmannus eos tandem à Ministerio excludere
ret qui contrarium sentirent. Habitu sæpius dispu-
tationes & magni fluctus in illo simpulo excitati.
Extant ejus tamen aliquam multa acta. Tandem lis
sopita est autoritate Principis: restitutus honos suus
Philosophiæ ejusque Doctoribus est. Hoffmanniani
cesserunt (8). — Hoffman and his party maintained,
that Philosophy was repugnant to Divinity: that ma-
ny things are true in Divinity, which are false in Phi-
losophy, and contrarywise: that Philosophy ought to
be banished from Christian universities, as pernicious;
and as a thing which has been frequently, and so-
lemnly condemned by the ancient church. The pro-
fessors of Philosophy in that university, viz. Duncan
Liddel a Scotchman Med. D. Corn. Martini, Jobn
Caselius, and some others, opposed themselves to these
opinions, thinking it their duty to defend Philosophy of
which they were teachers. The contentions con-
tinued fierce a long while, to such a degree that Hof-
man at last excluded those from the ministry, who
maintained the contrary opinion. Many disputations
were bad and great dissensions raised. Some of the
decisions are still extant. At last the controversy was
ended by the authority of the prince: Philosophy and
its professors were restored to their honours, and Hof-
man and his partisans were obliged to submit.

Henry Julius, duke of Brunswick, ordered that
Daniel Hoffman should publicly acknowledge his er-
ror, and make a public recantation of it. That or-
der was executed the seventh of March, 1601. See
the Memorabilia Ecclesiastica seculi a nato Christo de-
cimi septimi, pag. 23, and 24 (9), and Græwus in
his book De unica veritate.

To say that
what is true in
Philosophy, is
false in Divinity,
is a pernicious
error.

(7) Non erubue-
rim dicere, du-
pitem illam ve-
ritatem esse pseu-
dofideiasticum
figmentum ad
omnes errores &
atheismos excu-
sandos & defen-
dendos. Casman-
nus Cysmopæia,
cap. i. q. 6, apud
Thomæum, Præf.
xlii, pag. 243.

(8) Georgius
Hornius, Histor.
Philosoph. lib.
vi, cap. xii, pag.
321, 322. See
Nitschius, re-
mark [C].

(9) That book,
compiled by An-
dreas Carolus,
abbot of St
George, in the
duchy of Wir-
temberg, was
printed at Tu-
bingen, in 1697.

[D] I

one another, upon the controversy of the Eucharist. See the remark, where I give the titles of some of Hoffman's works [D].

It was not only upon the Ubiquity that our doctor quarrelled with the other ministers, but also about Predestination; for he accused Hunnius of explaining it contrary to the intent of the book of the Concord. Nay, he accused him of having vented in Luther's chair, a more pernicious doctrine than that of the Papists. The book of the Concord, *said he*, teaches, that the cause of election is wholly out of ourselves; but Hunnius and Mylius teach, that election is founded on the foresight of faith. Hunnius and Mylius caused Hoffman to be condemned in an assembly of divines in the year 1593, and threatened him with excommunication, if he did not subscribe to their opinion. He published an apology against them in the year following (b). Hospinian relates this more exactly. He says (c), that some divines of Leipzig, Jena, and Wittemberg, having assisted at the second marriage of Samuel Huber, in 1593, met at Polycarp Lyserus's house; and that some of them were of opinion, that it ought to be declared in a public and authentic form, that Daniel Hoffman was a Calvinist, and of the number of those Heretics, who ought to be avoided: but the greater number of them were for writing to him to exhort him to conform to their doctrine, under the penalty of excommunication, if he neglected to do so. Hunnius, in the name of the rest, wrote a long letter to him to that purpose. It was against this letter that Hoffman published an apology in the year following (d), in which he declared the reasons that hindered him from conforming to the divines of Wittemberg. He declared that he had found in their books above a hundred errors, quite contrary to the articles of the Christian faith (e).

(b) Taken from Henry Altling. Theolog. Histor. pag. 302.

(c) Hospinian. de Origin. & Progressu Libri Concordiæ, cap. li, pag. 429.

(d) Id. ibid. pag. 431, & seq.

(e) Id. ibid. pag. 434.

[D] I give the title of some of Hoffman's works. He published at Helmstadt in 1583. *Quæstionum & responsum in gravissima controversia de sacrosancta cœna pars prima*, in 8vo. Theodore Beza refuted it in the year following; but presently after came out (10), *Danielis Hofmanni Apologia missa ad Theodorum Bezam, qua rō p̄ntdy in verbis cœnæ dominicæ immotum, Beza autem demonstrationes falsissimæ demonstrantur*. Beza published in 1585, *Responsionis pars altera contra Danielem Hofmannum*; and in the year 1586 *Conspectum ad Danielis Hofmanni demonstrationes, &c.* These are some other books of Hofman; *Responsio ad*

rationes & signa Christophori Pezælii, &c. quibus docuit veros sacramentarios agnoscere: De 17. erroribus trassoribus Jacobi Andree. Those two are in High-Dutch. These which follow are in Latin. *De usu & applicatione notionum Logicarum ad res Theologicas, & de inusitatarum prædicationum reductione contra Goclenium*, at Francfort, 1596. *Liber apologeticus respondens echartis Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Bremensis*, at Helmstadt 1585. *Officina locorum Theologicorum. Explicatio sententiæ in Epist. Canonica Job. Apostoli, sanguis Jesu Christi Filius Dei mundat nos ab omni peccato*, Helmstadt 1581.

(10) At Helmstadt, in 1585.

(a) Expellione in Theologorum transmutatus. Mollerus, ubi infra, citat. (c).

(b) It was held at Flensburg.

(1) Luther. Epist. ad Wilh. Prævill, anno 1528. See Tom. II, Epist. Lutheri à Joh. Aurifabro Francoforti ad Viadrum ann. 1597, editurum, pag. 371. Mollerus, Isæoge ad Histor. Cherson. Cimbricæ, Part. III, pag. 129.

(2) In Epist. ad Petrum Suaverium Confil. Danicæ A. 1528, scripta, evam exhibit. J. Manlii Farnago Epistol. Melanch. Part. III, pag. 497, 494. Moller. ibid.

[A] He maintained himself . . . notwithstanding Luther's opposition. See what Luther wrote to a minister of Kiel (1): 'A Melchior pellissice velim cavere vos omnes, ac curare apud Magistratus ne ad conciones admittatur, etiam si literas Regis ostenderit. A nobis enim recessit indignandus, dum non voluit ejus somnia probare. Ad docendum neque valet, neque vocatus est. Hæc dicito nomine meo omnibus vestris, ut ipsum vitent ac tacere cogant. — I would have you all beware of Melchior the Tanner, and apply to the magistrates to get him hindered from preaching, tho' he should show the king's letters. For he went from me full of rage, because I would not approve of his dreams. He has neither abilities nor a call to teach. Acquaint every body with my desire in this matter, that they may shun him, and force him to silence.' Luther would have no body to hear this man who thrust himself into the ministry, without any call or capacity. And Francis Burchard, counsellor of the dukes of Saxony, did also give notice to beware of him (2).

[B] He answered them with the greatest fury. All his books were written in the vulgar language: His apology against Nicholas Ambrosius, first minister at Magdeburg, was printed in the year 1528. This mi-

nister had confuted him, concerning the time of the world's end. 'Opposuit ei Hofmannus apologiam amarulentissimam . . . in ista convitiorum plautra in Adversarium evomit (3). — Hofman wrote an apology, wherein he pours out all manner of reproaches against his adversary.'

[C] He reproached Schuldorpius with the crime of incest. The accusation was founded upon Schuldorpius's marrying his niece. Marg. Schuldorpio, Kiloniensi, Parocho Slesvic. qui suam de S. Cœna sententiam impugnarat, duobus itidem scriptis, Kiloni ann. 1528 impressis . . . respondit & hominem, cum aliis ob causis, tum ob matrimonium cum filia sororis, ope eloquentiæ suæ canine, miere exagitavit (4). — He answered Marquardus Schuldorpius of Kiel, minister of Sleswic, who had impugned his doctrine concerning the Eucharist, by two pieces, printed at Kiel, anno 1528, and in his cynical stile handled him very roughly on several heads, and particularly on his having married his niece. Schuldorpius alleges in his defence, among other reasons, the authority of Luther, whose letter he produced, wherein he confesses, that he advised that marriage, and maintains, that it is lawful. 'Utrique Schuldorpius mox repofuit Epistolam ad Fideles civitatis Kiloniensis Saxoniam,

(3) Moller. ibid. pag. 130.

(4) Id. ibid.

went to Strasburg, where he published a false relation of the conference [D]. He was imprisoned there in the year 1532, after a public dispute, wherein he engaged with the ministers. This lost his reputation with his followers. He died in the year 1533, or thereabouts (c). He was not of Holstein as some have affirmed [E].

Several writers say, that Hofman began to distinguish himself in Strasburg (d), and was followed by a crowd of disciples, and that removing to Embden in the year 1528 [F], he there vented his visions with so astonishing a success, as to pass for the first Patriarch of the Anabaptists of the Netherlands and the Lower Germany [G]. He so infatuated his followers, that they took him for that Elias, whom God is to send upon earth before the day of judgment. He returned from thence to Strasburg, with hopes of seeing the accomplishment of a prophecy, that concerned him [H], and which had been delivered by a good old man of Friesland. He there preached up Anabaptism openly. The disturbances he raised, occasioned the calling of a synod in June, 1532, where he was permitted to dispute with the ministers. He was solidly confuted, but he continued, notwithstanding, to dogmatize, and it was thought necessary to imprison him [I], the people thinking themselves upon the brink of great troubles, because his followers

(c) Taken from the *Isagoge ad Historiam Chetonesi Cimbricæ* of John Mollerus, Part. III, pag. 128, & seq.

(d) Argentines inclarescere capit. *Frider. Spanhemius, de Origine & Progressu Anabaptismi*, n. 22, pag. m. 211.

(5) *Id. ibid.* pag. 131.

(6) His name is *Joh. Bugenb. gus*: but he is commonly called *Pomeranus*, from his native country.

(7) *Idem*, Mollerus, pag. 133.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Parasitæ Hofmanni* fuit *Johann. à Campen & Jac. Hegge* *Dioniscanus*, ad saniorum in colloquio hoc mentem reduci. *Id. Moller*, pag. 131, 132.

(10) Mollerus, *ibid.* pag. 131.

(11) *Id. ibid.*

(12) *Idem*, pag. 127.

† In *Analyti Pericæche Evang. Dom. II. Adventus*.

‡ In *Diff. de Chiliasmo Apocalypico*, pag. 9.

(13) An. 1527. Magdeburgo in Holatium delatus. Mollerus, ubi supra, pag. 128. See *Sendorf, Hist. Lutheran* lib. ii, pag. 122, says he departed from *Wittenberg*.

(14) *Johann. Henricus Otius*, *Hist. Anabapt.* ad ann. 1528, n. 3, pag. 45.

(15) It was held a little after Easter, in the year 1529. See Mollerus, ubi supra, pag. 131.

(16) Tumultum, quos Hofmannus post abitum ex Holstia, Argentinae & Embdae concitavit Anabaptistico Enthusiastico. *Id. ibid.* pag. 133.

(17) Hoornb. *Summa Controversæ* pag. m. 362.

(18) *Cassander, Epist. Dedicat. Tractatus de Ruptismo*.

Saxoniam, eique adjecti Lutheri ad se literas, in eandem Dialectum transulas, in quibus ille conjugio huic, cuius se suaforem fuisse fateatur, ingenti com *trappologia* patrociniari, ac Abrahami, Sarum ducentis, exemplo defendere istud non dubitat (5).

[D] He published a false relation of the conference at Flensburg. He maintained, that he had stopped Pomeranus's mouth (6), and that the secretaries of the conference were forgers (7). Pomeranus, to refute these vauntings, published the acts of the conference with the most authentic formalities. He added to them a refutation of Hofman's writing, and the conversion of Heggus (8), which was one of the fruits of that dispute: Heggus had been one of Hofman's seconds in it, and he gained so much knowledge by it, as induced him to renounce his sect (9). The other of Hofman's seconds had done the same thing. Pomeranus did not appear at the conference as a disputant, but as one of the directors under the eldest son of his Danish majesty (10). He ended the conference with an oration, in which he confuted Hofman's arguments. *Finem Colloquio oratione Bugenbagii adversus argumenta ipsius aversuavit impoſitum* (11).

[E] He was not of Holstein as some have reported. See the words of Mr Mollerus (12): 'Suevus ortu fuit, non autem Holstus, uti Conrad. Dietericus & Sebastianus Schmidius falso sibi persuadent. — He was originally of Suabia, and not of Holstein, as Conrad Dietericus and Sebastian Schmidius falsely affirm.'

[F] Several authors affirm that he removed to Embden in the year 1528. After Mr Mollerus's proofs, it cannot be doubted that Hofman was at Kiel in the year 1528, and 1529, and that he had retired thither upon his leaving Saxony in discontent (13), and therefore we may believe they are mistaken, who make him remove from Strasburg to Embden in 1528. Mr Otius observes, that many say this; and he doth not criticise them. 'Embdam Argentorato abſſe Melchior Hofmannum plures ajunt. Ergo non de mum anno 1531 eo concessit nisi forte redierit, vel diutius ibi commoratus sit (14). These words inform us, that some say, Hofman went to Embden in 1531. This seems to be the true epoch of his ministry at Embden: for since he published in Strasburg a relation of the conference of Flensburg (15) in the year 1529; it is a proof that he went to Strasburg as soon as he was expelled from Holstein. It is very probable that from Strasburg he went to Embden, and that he returned again to Strasburg: he was there in the year 1532. Note, that Mr Mollerus promises a relation of the tumults he raised in Strasburg and Embden, after he left Holstein (16). Is not this to tell us, that he went to Embden after he had divulged his dreams in Strasburg, in the year 1529? Mr Hoornbeek has reason for saying, that he returned from Embden to Strasburg, but not for saying, that he went from Strasburg to Embden in 1528 (17). This author observes, that at his going from Embden, he left there one Trypmaecker, who quarrelling with his colleagues, retired into Holland, and became the first apostle of the Anabaptists. Cassander is less mistaken about the date of this fanatic's ministry. 'Donec tandem, says he, sub ann. 1532 Melchior quidam Hmannus, arte pello, hanc novam contagionem cum aliis quibusdam non minus perniciosus erroribus in Germaniam hanc inferiorem & Belgicam invexit (18). — Till

at last, about the year 1542, one Melchior Hofman, a Tanner, brought this new contagion, together with some other no less dangerous errors, into the Netherlands, and into Holland.'

[G] He passed for the first patriarch of the Anabaptists of the Netherlands, and Lower Germany. The above cited words of Cassander prove this. Here follow two other witnesses. 'Huic Patriarchæ etiam eorum qui in inferiori Germania succreverunt, Anabaptistarum tradux adscribi solet. — The origin of the Anabaptists in Lower Germany, is likewise usually ascribed to this patriarch.' It is thus, Frederic Spanheim speaks (19). 'Qui huc Anabaptistica deliria attulit ex Germania superiore primus fuit Melchior Hofman. — Melchior Hofman was the first who introduced the dreams of the Anabaptists into this country from Germany.' Hoornbeek says this (20).

[H] He hoped to see the accomplishment of a prophecy that concerned him. Will he was planting his gospel at Embden with great heat, and loudly re-baptizing people, there was a good old man there, who possessed him with a desire of returning to Strasburg. This old man was of that party. He prophesied, that the magistrates of Strasburg should imprison Hofman, but that at six months end the prisoner should be delivered, and should go and preach the gospel over all the earth, as another Elias, having with him a great train of prophets, and the one hundred and forty four thousand sealed persons, mentioned in the Revelation (21). Hofman having publicly disputed with the ministers the eleventh of June, 1532, and not ceasing to spread his enthusiasms, after he had been confounded in that dispute, was put in prison. When he saw that part of the prophecy was accomplished, he became more insolent. He shook off the dust from his feet, he threw his hat upon the ground, and protested before God, that he would feed upon nothing but bread and water, till he should point out with his finger him that sent him. His hopes were confounded, for he died in prison (22). A hundred instances shew, that the most chimerical predictions have had some parts of them confirmed by the event: which has given strength to the error; nothing contributing more to the drawing in of these visionaries and their adherents. It is especially with relation to these matters, that it may be said, *The end crowns the work*. Men should be very cautious of judging of the whole by a part, *ex angulo leonem*. The conclusion is to be waited for, and the first success ought to be distrusted; for this is a snare, and a dangerous allurements.

[I] They found it necessary to imprison him. Spanhemius, Hoornbeek, and many others, affirm, that Hofman disputed in June 1532, and was not imprisoned till after the obliquity with which he still continued to dogmatize after the dispute. But I will here produce an author, who places that conference in June 1533, and assures us, that this enthusiast was brought out of prison to dispute with the ministers. 'Anno 1533, Mense Junio die 11, Hofmannus Argentorati è vinculis ad publicam disputationem productus & admittus fuit: à quo tempore institutionem Regni DEI ortam esse sui affirmabant. Idem Hofmannus Autoritate prædicationum ejusmodi verè deliri Leonardi Joest civis Argentinenſis, & aliorum similibus fanaticorum hominum, multa vana de urbe Argent. prædixit, &c. quæ tamen ab urbe non recepta,

(19) Spanh. de Orig. & Progressu Anabapt. n. 22, pag. m. 211.

(20) Hoornbeek's *Summa Controv.* pag. m. 362.

(21) Cf. ap. vii. and xiv.

(22) Taken from Hoornbeek, ubi supra, pag. 302.

followers said that the town of Strasburg was to be the New Jerusalem, where the new kingdom of CHRIST should be established, and that as Hofman was the Elias that was to come, Polterman was the Enoch who was to second him. When they saw Hofman in prison, they gave out, that he should come out with one hundred forty four thousand sealed people, who should anathematize the earth, and break through all the obstacles which should be opposed to them. Our Elias, and our Enoch, said they, are the two olives, and the two candlesticks in the Revelation (e), which no body can hurt, and if any one attempt it, fire shall come out of their mouth, and devour their enemies. When they saw Hofman did not come out of prison at the time foretold by certain prophets, they were in a great consternation; but to amuse them, he sent them word, to rest for two years, after the example of Esdras and Haggai, who were forced for a like space of time to interrupt the building of the temple. He died in prison, and frustrated the hopes of his disciples (f). I will mention some of his Heresies [K]. Some say that he began to preach near the Rhine, after the defeat of the peasants in 1525 (g).

(e) See Revelation, chap. xi, ver. 4, 5.

(f) Taken from Frederic Spanheim, de Orig. & Progressu Anabaptist. pag. 211.

(g) Joh. Henricus Ottius, Hist. Anabapt. ad ann. 1525, p. 21, pag. 35.

(23) Ottius, Hist. Anabapt. ad ann. 1533, p. 6, pag. 61. He quotes Revis in Hist. Georgii. But he should have quoted Nicolaus Biedikius; for it is he who wrote the History of David George, and Revis did but publish it.

(24) Ottius, ibid.

(25) Henr. Ursinus, Praef. in Apocalyp. in fine.

New Jerusalem, as Rome was Babylon; that Strasburg should be besieged the same year, and that there should be a great slaughter in it; and that this man preferred his predictions before those of Isaiah and Jeremiah; and that Matthias and his followers applied to Munster all these fine prerogatives of Strasburg, which displeased Hofman when he knew it.

[K] I shall mention some of his heresies. He taught, I. that the word was not united to the flesh taken from the Holy Virgin: his reason was, that all humane flesh is defiled with sin, and consequently cursed. II. That JESUS CHRIST has but one nature. III. That the obtaining of Salvation depends on ourselves, and that we are only saved or damned according to the use that we make of our free-will. IV. That the baptism of infants proceeds rather from the enemy of God and men, than from God (26).

(26) Taken from Spanheim, ubi supra, pag. 211.

HONORIA, sister of Valentinian III, incurred the indignation of that emperor by her lewdness, and endeavoured to revenge herself by another crime. She solicited Attila to undertake the conquest of the empire, and promised to marry him. Authors vary a little about this. Some pretend that she preserved her chastity till she saw her design of marrying the king of the Huns miscarry [A]: others say that before she had that intention, she had led a disorderly life [B].

[A] Some pretend that she preserved her chastity till she saw her design of marrying the king of the Huns miscarry. A modern author, who quotes Sigonius and Marcellinus, says that Honoria, devoured with a lustful flame, sent an eunuch to Attila, to offer herself in marriage to him with the empire; that Attila sent some ambassadors to the emperor Valentinian to ask Honoria of him; but that before their return he fell so much in love with a young lady of his own nation, that he married her, and died on his wedding-day by too much drinking and caressing his spouse: that upon this, Honoria, being disappointed of her hopes, gave up herself to some gallants, who got her with child, after which she was sent to Constantinople. 'Hæc libidine inflammata Eunuchum legatum ad Attilam Hunnorum regem misit, conjugium & regnum ei offerens. Misit igitur Attila legatos ad Valentinianum, qui susceptionibus minas adjicientes, Honoriam petebant, sed priusquam legati Roma reverterentur, Attila . . . puellæ ejusdem . . . amore captus . . . nuptias cum ea celebravit . . . Honoria igitur

tur cum spe sua frustraretur, aliis se sublemit: inde gravida facta, Constantinopolim mittitur (1).

[B] Others say, that before she had that intention, she led a disorderly life. Honoria, sister of the emperor Valentinian, giving herself up to the steward of his household, was disgracefully driven out of her brother's palace, and afterwards forced to retire into the east to Theodosius. This inspired her with so furious a passion for revenge, that finding no other way to satisfy it, she secretly sent to Attila, to persuade him to undertake the conquest of Italy, representing to him, that the weakness of Valentinian, and the confusion of the affairs of the empire, would make it very easy for him (2). According to Bonfinius's account (3), she was in a convent when she sent to sound Attila, who perceiving that the affair did not go on, fancied that they made a jest of him; and that this induced him to marry the daughter of the king of the Bactrians. If Honoria was in a cloyster, it is a sign she had behaved herself ill.

(1) Christian. Mathieu. Theat. Hist. pag. 300. 733.

(2) Malmibourg, Hist. de l'Action. Tom. III, liv. ix, pag. 6, & 7. Dutch Edit.

(3) Histor. Hungar. Decad. I, lib. vii.

HONORIUS, a Roman emperor, son of Theodosius. Not to repeat what is to be found in Moreri, I shall only speak of his marriages. He married successively Stilico's two daughters [A], who both died, as is said, virgins. Zofimus relates hereupon some very singular circumstances [B], not to be found in other historians; but he

(1) Marcellinus Comes in Chron. apud Barchin. in Claudian. pag. 766. Edit. in 4to.

(2) Tyrio qua fatus Honorius cetero, Carpathi tenebris Maria cum conjugio somnos. Claudian. de Bello Gildonio, ver. 327.

[A] He married Stilico's two daughters. The first was called Mary, and the other Thermania. Their mother Serena, fired with ambition, did not stay till Mary should arrive to the age of marriage, in order to give her to the emperor; and after Mary's death, she was in as great haste to marry Thermania to the same prince. The words I am going to quote, prove that they died maids. Stilico Comes, cujus filiae duæ Maria & Thermania, singulæ uxores Honorii principis fuerant, utraque tamen virgo defuncta (1). And yet the poet Claudian tells us, that Honorius and Mary lay together (2). See what Zofimus tells us below.

[B] Zofimus relates hereupon some singular circumstances. Serena, not being able to resolve upon deferring the marriage of her daughter Mary with the emperor, nor to consent that nature should be forced by the consummation of the marriage with Mary, who was not yet ripe for it, resolved on a medium, which was to debilitate Honorius. She found out a woman experienced in this sort of charms, who contrived the matter so, that Honorius when he went to bed to his young spouse, had neither inclination nor power to pay what is called the conjugal duty. Mary died soon after with her virginity. Honorius some time after courted Thermania, Mary's sister: the father

he is accused of a gross contradiction [C], which every reader must perceive at first sight.

ther was not inclined to that marriage; but Serena passionately desired it, in order to maintain her authority. Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς Ὀνώσιον ἀπὸ πολλῆς Μαρίας αὐτῇ τελευτήσαντος τῆς γαμετῆς τὴν ταύτης ἀδελφὴν Θερμαντίαν ἤπει εἰ δεῖναι πρὸς γάμον. Imperator autem Honorius, Maria conjugē jampridem rebus humanis exempta, sororem ejus Thermanthiam sibi matrimonio jungi petebat (3). The marriage was concluded, but was but of short continuance: Thermanthia soon dying with the same fate as her sister. That is to say, she lay with a man who neither had the desire, nor the power to know her: the sorcerer, whom Serena had made use of, renewed the operation of her charms. Zosimus doth not expressly say this. It is only a consequence I draw from his words. I will set them down at length; they deserve it, as containing a very singular fact. Τῷ γάμῳ πρὸς τὴν Μαρίαν Ὀνώσιον ἐνισαμένη, γάμον ἔραν ἐπὶ τὴν κόρην ἀγαγὼν ἡ μήτηρ ὀρώσα, καὶ ὅτε ἀνακαλίσσεται τὸν γάμον ἀνεχομένη, καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡλικίαν εἰς μίαν ἐκδέναι, φύσιν ἀδίκιαν καὶ ἄδεν ἔτερον εἶναι νομίζουσα, γυναικὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεξαμένη ἐπισαμένη περὶ ὑγίαινα, πράττει διὰ ταύτης τὸ συνέιναι μὲν τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ βασιλεὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐκτενέον εἶναι. Τὸν δὲ μήτε ἐθέλειν μήτε δύνασθαι, τὰ τῷ γάμῳ περικκοντα πράττειν. Ἐν τῷ τῆς κόρης ἀπειρὶ γάμον ἀποδανῆς, εἰκότως ἡ Σερῆνα βασιλεὺς γοῆς ἐπιδυνάσσα δεικνύει τὴν τοσαύτην αὐτῇ δύνασιν ἐλαττωθῆναι, τῇ δευτέρᾳ θυγατρὶ συναλῆαι τὸν Ὀνώσιον ἔσπευδεν ἢ ἀλλ' ἡγενομένη τελευτᾷ μὲν ἡ κόρη μετ' αὐτὸν ταῦτα τῇ περὶ τὴν παῖδα. Quam Hono-

rius matrimonium cum Maria contraheret, mater ejus Serena quæ puellam necdum nubilem ætatem attigisse cerneret, ac neque sibi posset imperare ut nuptiæ differrentur, & immaturam maritali consuetudini tradere nihil esse arbitraretur aliud quam injuriam naturæ facere; nacta mulierem quæ rebus hujusmodi remedium adferre sciret, ejus opera perfecit, ut filia cum principe quidem viveret, ac tori consors ejusdem esset, verum ille nec vellet nec posset, ea quæ matrimonium requireret, implere. Interim puella virgine mortua, non abs re Serena quæ sobolis imperatoris consequendæ percupida esset, ob metum ne quid sibi de tanta potentia decederet, id operam dabat ut Honorium alteri filiæ copularet. Quo factō, puella non multo post vitam cum morte commutat, quum idem ei quod priori accidisset (4).

[C] He is accused of a gross contradiction.] We have seen, that he says, that Thermanthia died a little after her marriage; yet he assures us in the same book, that Honorius having put Stilico to death, sent back Thermanthia to her mother. Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς Ὀνώσιον τὴν μὲν γαμετὴν Θερμαντίαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δρῶν τῇ μητρὶ προσέταττε παρὰ δίδουσαι μὴδὲν διὰ τὸ τοῦ υἱοποιήσαντος. Imperator autem Honorius uxorem Thermanthiam augustali dejectam solio matri suæ reddi jussit, nulla tamen idcirco suspitione gravatam (5). Stilico was killed the same year in which Honorius married Thermanthia, that is, during the consulship of Bassus and Philip in the year 408. As to the other daughter of Stilico, she was married to the emperor in the year 398, in which year was the war against Gildo. See the passage of Claudian (6).

(4) Id, ibid.

(5) Ib pag. 346. At pag. 350, he speaks of the rewards bestowed upon the Eunuchs who brought Thermanthia to Serena.

(6) In the remark [A].

HOORNBECK (JOHN) professor of Divinity in the universities of Utrecht and Leyden, was one of the most famous divines, who appeared in Holland in the XVIIth century. He was born at Haerlem (a), in the year 1617, where he performed his studies till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age; after which he was sent to Leyden, where he made great improvement under the learned professors of that university. Having staid two years there, he went to study at Utrecht, in the year 1635, from whence he returned to Leyden the year following. He was ordained minister in the year 1639, and went to exercise his office secretly at Cologne. He discharged all the duties of it, with a great deal of piety and prudence, and was not discouraged by the dangers he was exposed to in that city which is so much addicted to the Popish religion. He returned to Holland in the year 1643, and was promoted (b) to the degree of doctor of Divinity with great applause, the twenty first of December the same year. He gave such proofs of his great capacity, that he was looked upon as a man sufficiently qualified for the professorship of Divinity, which was vacant at Utrecht by the death of Schotanus. He accepted that employment preferably to all others, which were offered him in other towns [A]. He was installed professor of Divinity at Utrecht in July 1644. He was chosen one the ordinary pastors of the same town the year following, and notwithstanding the difficulty of discharging the duties of those two employments, he acquitted himself of them with great exactness [B], whereby his excellent talents became so useful to the public;

(a) John Hoornbeek his grandfather, retired thither with his wife in the year 1648, when he left Flanders his native country on account of religion.

(b) In the university of Utrecht.

[A] Post were offered to him in other towns.] In February 1644, the church of Maestricht desired to have him for their minister. That of Graft in North Holland invited him in March in the same year, and he was offered a professorship of Divinity in the illustrious school at Harderwic (1) in May following (2). It is a very glorious thing to be thus courted at twenty seven years of age.

[B] He discharged the duties of these two employments with great exactness.] I have reserved the particulars of it for this remark, in which I make use of the words of him who wrote our Hoornbeek's life. 'In utraque autem Statione (3) per decennium fere perseveravit, tanta eruditionis, eloquentiæ, pietatis & diligentiae fama, omnibusque ordinibus adeo gratus, ut nullus in majori fuerit exultatione, non Ultrajecti solum, sed in toto Belgio. Nempe assiduus erat in docendo, precando, concionando, legendo, disputando, regendo, prædicando, catechisationibus habendis, membris Ecclesiæ, imprimis ægris visitandis. Quibus artibus optimis certe, Magistratus Trajectini gratiam adeo meruit & inivit, ut Magistratus optimus suo proprio motu, non petentem, nec forte cogitantem, liberaverit dimidia parte oneris Pastoralis, servato tamen integro honore & honorario. — In both these sta-

tions he continued near the space of ten years, in so great reputation for learning, eloquence, piety, and diligence, and so acceptable to people of all ranks, that none had a greater share of the public esteem, not only at Utrecht but in all Holland. For he was assiduous in teaching, praying, preaching, reading, disputing, presiding, catechizing and visiting the members of the church, and especially the sick. By this excellent conduct, he deserved and obtained the favour of the magistrates of Utrecht to such a degree, that they of their own accord, without his asking, and possibly without his knowledge of it, freed him from one half of his pastoral charge, preserving his rank and salary.' Would you have a notion of a good pastor, read in what manner Hoornbeek performed his visits. 'Membra Ecclesiæ frequenter invisebat, pios animabat, ignaros docebat, malos corripbat, hæreticos confutabat, afflictos solabatur, ægros recreabat, infirmos roborabat, dejectos erigebat, pauperibus subveniebat, omnes denique juvabat pro eorum statu & conditione, omnibus, aderat in omnibus, omnibus se omnia faciebat, gravibus gravem, hilaribus hilarem, afflictis condolentem, doctis doctum & Doctorem, plebi Pastorem, erantibus ducem, ut in viam reduceret veritatis. — He frequently visited the members of his congregation, encouraged

(3) Zosimus, lib. 1, pag. m. 333.

(1) A town in Guelderland.

(2) Taken from John Hoornbeek's Life prefixed to his book De Conversione Indorum.

(3) That is the place of professor and that of pastor.

public, that he got the love and esteem of every body. But that he might not sink under so many labours, the magistrates exempted him from part of his ministerial functions. He was invited to Leyden, to the same employments that he had exercised at Utrecht; and he accepted of that invitation in the year 1654. He was a great ornament to that famous university, till his death, which happened the first of September 1666. He deserved a much longer life; but it is more to be wondered that a man so laborious as he was [C], should live forty nine years, than that he lived no longer. The many books he published [D], are a speaking proof of his application, and of the vast extent of his knowledge. He understood several languages [E], and enjoyed the friendship of the greatest divines of his age (c). He never deviated from the most rigid orthodoxy, and was no less valuable for the qualities of a moral and virtuous man, than for the talents of his mind, and of a learned professor. This we may see at large in his life (d). He left children worthy of him [F], and one needs say no more in their commendation.

(c) See the catalogue of them in his Life.

(d) It is prefixed to his treatise *De Conversione Indorum & Gentilium*, and it was written by David Stuart. I have taken this article from it.

encouraged the pious, taught the ignorant, reprobated the wicked, confuted the Heretics, comforted the afflicted, refreshed the sick, strengthened the weak, raised the dejected, relieved the poor, and, in fine, assisted every person according to his state and condition; was helpful to all in all things, made himself all things to all men, grave with the grave, gay with the gay, sorrowful with the afflicted, learned with the learned, a shepherd to the people, and a guide to those that wandered, in order to bring them back to the ways of truth. As to his vigilance in the functions of his professorship, this is the testimony that is given of him. 'Studiosos vero Theologiae velut filios omni cura complectebatur, labore, quo suos præcipuos iis impendebat; non lectiones solum in eorum gratiam habebat, sed frequentia Collegia omnis generis, atque Disputationes ordinarias & extraordinarias, ex quibus resularunt tot valla & egregia volumina ad institutionem juventutis imo ad usum omnium, sed imprimis ad conversionem Hæreticorum (4). — He was as a father to the students of Divinity, and on them he bestowed his chief labours; he not only gave them lectures in Divinity, but frequent courses in all kinds of learning, as also disputations ordinary and extraordinary, which produced many and excellent books, for the instruction of youth, may for the benefit of all, but especially for the conversion of Heretics.'

[C] So laborious as he was.] This may be known from the particulars contained in the preceding remark; but we shall know it still better by the words that follow. They relate to the time that he was professor of Divinity and pastor at Leyden. 'Curam Ecclesiæ suo jure poterat in Collegas derivare, quia primario Pastori (5) ab ea immuni adjunctus, cum eo labores, honores, præmia & privilegia omnia ex decreto sapientissimi Magistratus æqualiter distribuebat. Sed ab Ecclesiæ cura, membrorumque & ægrorum visitatione dispensari noluit, contra vero, cum dimidias tantum Pastoris vices demandatas haberet, integras voluit implere, zelo & diligentia stupenda in homine alias occupatissimo, imo non tam onerato quam oppresso, & tantum non fatisciente sub multiplici onere, cui plures simul juncti vix essent pares. Concionabatur in Templo, legebat in Academia, præsidebat in Consistorio, Catechisationes instituebat in Choro, Collegia habebat in domo, scribebat in musæo, sæpe in lecto, membra Ecclesiæ visitabat in ædibus, ægros etiam & pestiferos, curam ad omnes & ad omnia extendebat (6). — He might have justly thrown his pastoral charge upon his colleagues, because he was put upon the same foot with the first minister, who was exempted from that charge; and by the decree of the magistrates was to share all labours, honours, emoluments, and privileges with him. But he would not be exempted from the pastoral office, and visiting of the sick, on the contrary tho' he was only charged with one half of the duty he would perform the whole; a zeal and diligence prodigious in a man, who had so much other business, who was not only loaded but oppressed, and scarce able to sustain the various burthen for which

the joint force of many would hardly have sufficed. He preached in the Church, read in the University, presided in the Consistory, catechized in the Choir, gave lectures at home, wrote in his closet, and many times in his bed, visited his parishioners in their houses, as also the sick and those infected with the plague. His care extended to all things, and all persons.'

[D] The great number of books he published.] They may be divided into five classes, Didactica, Polemica, Practica, Historica, Oratoria. Those of the I. are, *Institutiones Theologicae* in 8vo. *Irenicum de studio pacis & concordiae*, in 4to. *De consecratione Evangelica inter Reformatos, & Evangelicos*, in 4to. Those of the II. are, *Socinianismi confutati tomi tres*, in 4to. *Pro convincendis & convertendis Judæis*, l. 8 (7) in 4to. *De conversione Gentilium*, libri duo in 4to. *Examen Bullæ Urbani VIII. de Jesuitis, Imaginibus, & Festis*, in 4to. *Examen Bullæ Innocentii X. de pace Germaniæ*, in 4to. *Epistola ad Duræum de Independentismo*, in 8vo. *Commentarius de Paradoxis Weigelianis*, in 12mo. *Apologia pro Ecclesia Christiana hodierna, contra Libellum, ad Legem & Testimonium, &c.* in 8vo. *De observando à Christianis Præcepto Decalogi quarto*, in 12mo. *De Episcopatu*, in 8vo. Those of the III. are, *Theologiæ practicæ tomi duo*, in 4to. *De Peste*, in 12mo. Those of the IV. are, *Summa controversiarum*, in 8vo. *Miscella vetera & nova*. I put in the V. *Orationes variae Inaugurales, Valedictoriae, Restorales & Funebres*. I do not give the titles of his Dutch works, which contain several tracts.

[E] He understood several languages.] Here follow the words of the author of his Life. 'Linguas siquæ novit plurimas doctarum & vulgariarum, Latinam, Græcam, Hebraicam, Chaldaicam, Syriacam, Rabinicam, Belgicam, Germanicam, Anglicam, Gallicam, Italicam, Arabicam & Hispanicam Rudimentis attigit (8). — He understood many of the learned and modern languages, the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Rabinic, Dutch, German, English, French, Italian, and had attained the elements of the Arabic and Spanish.'

[F] He left children worthy of him.] He married at Utrecht Anne Bernard in the year 1650. By this marriage he became related to several famous men, as to Constantine l'Empereur (9), professor of Divinity (10), and Jodocus Hondius (11) a famous Geographer, grandfather to Henry Hondius, who was killed in fighting valiantly for the service of his country, in the ship of admiral Van Tromp which he commanded. Mr Hoornbeek left two sons, ISAAC HOORN-BEEK formerly an eminent advocate at the Hague, and at present pensionary of the city of Rotterdam (12); and HENRY EMILIUS HOORN-BEEK, a commissioner of the imposts in the province of Holland.

[(12) He was made in 1720 counsellor-pensionary, keeper of the seals, and Stadholder of the Fiefs of Holland and West-Friesland, &c. and he died at the Hague, the seventeenth of June 1727, in the seventy first year of his age. R. E. M. C. R. I. T.]

(7) This book is without doubt the same that Mr Baillet, Tom. II. of his *Antiq.* pag. 38, calls *Dispo. Anti-Judaïque*, but it is certain, that this is not the title of it. It is likely that Mr Baillet was deceived by somebody, who quoted it thus for brevity sake.

(8) In Vita Hoornbecki.

(9) The grandmother, by the father's side, of Anne Bernard was called Jacqueline l'Empereur, and was the aunt of Constantine l'Empereur, and of John l'Empereur, minister at the Hague.

(10) At Harlem, wic, and afterwards at Leyden.

(11) He was Anne Bernard's grandfather by the mother's side.

(a) In the Paris, edition 1699.

HORATIUS (PUBLIUS) surnamed Cocles, did a glorious action, whilst the city of Rome, his native country, was besieged by king Porfenna. His article being very good, and large enough in Moreri's Dictionary (a), mine shall be very short, and I shall insist only on the disagreement that is to be found among the ancient historians, with

with respect to a circumstance, that should have been related without any variation [A].

[A] I shall only insist on the disagreement that is to be found . . . with respect to a circumstance which should have been related without any variation.] Some historians say, that throwing himself into the Tyber, after having repulsed the enemy till the bridge was broken behind him, he swam to the other side of the river, notwithstanding the weight of his arms, without receiving any wound; but others affirm, that he received to great a wound in his thigh, that he continued lame of it all his life. Livy manifestly supposes that he was not wounded. 'Cunctati aliquandiu sunt (Hetrusci) dum alius alium ut prælum incipiant, circumpectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem & clamore sublati undique in unum hostem tela conieciunt, quæ cum in objecto cuncta scuto hæssissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtinebat gradu, jam impetu detrudere conabantur virum, cum simul fragor rupti ponderis, simul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis sublatus pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles, Tyberine pater, inquit, te sancte precor, hæc arma & hunc militem propitio flumine accipias. Ita sic armatus in Tyberim desiluit: multisque superincidentibus TELIS INCOLUMIS ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famæ habituram ad posterum quam fidei (1). We may be sure that all those who do not expressly observe his receiving of a wound, are of Livy's opinion; for their design is to raise our admiration of the great courage of this Roman. Now that action is more admirable and glorious if he was wounded, than if he was not. We must conclude then, that if Florus (2), and Seneca (3) make no mention of the wound, it is because they were persuaded he received none. Valerius Maximus has so positively denied that he received any, that this ought to induce us to believe, there was a tradition for the negative. 'Ut patriam periculum imminenti liberatam vidit, armatus se in Tiberim misit: cuius fortitudinem Dii immortales admirati, INCOLUMITATEM SINCERAM ei præstiterunt. Nam neque altitudine dejectus, quasiæque, neque pondere armorum pressus, nec ullo vorticis circuitu actus: nec telis quidem, que undique coniecerantur, LAESUS, TUTUM natandi eventum habuit (4). — As soon as he saw his country delivered from this imminent danger, he threw himself armed into the Tyber: the gods, admiring his valour, saved him FROM ANY HARM. For he did swim safe to shore without being either stunned by the height, from which he leaped, or oppressed by the weight of his arms, or carried down by the rapidity of the stream: or wounded by the darts which were thrown at him from all quarters.' But here are three famous historians, who go upon another tradition. Dionysius Halicarnæus gives a long account of this fight, and assures us, in express words, that Horatius received a wound with a lance that pierced his thigh, and put him to such torture that he could scarce stand, when he understood the bridge was broken (5). This historian adds, I. that it was believed, he would soon die of his wounds. II. That when it was known he would recover, he had noble rewards given him; but that he could not arrive at the consulship, nor any military command, because he halted ever after that fight. Plutarch says that a statue of brass was erected to him in the temple of Vulcan, to comfort him upon the misfortune

of his becoming lame by that wound (6). He had (9) Plutarch in said before, that he had entered the city by swimming, being wounded in his hip: Δράσι θυρήνικῳ βι-ζλῆντος τὸν γλῆδιν. Jaculo Hetrusco in natis ihus (7). Dion Cassius affirms, that Cicero declaiming against Marc Antony before the senate, swore by Horatius's thigh, and Mutius's hand (8). I am not ignorant that that direct oration which he speaks of, is not like any of Cicero's Philippics (9). But Dion who forged it, would not have used such an oath, had not there been a tradition that Horatius was wounded in the thigh, in defending his country against Tarquin's friends. We will produce a fourth witness, viz. Servius. 'Solus Cocles hostilem impetum, sustinuit, donec à tergo pons solveretur à sociis, quo soluto se cum armis præcipitavit in Tyberim, & licet LAESUS esset in coxa, tamen ejus fluentia superavit. Unde est illud ab eo dictum, cum ei in comitiis coxæ vitium objiceretur, per singulos gradus admeor triumphum mei. (10) — Cocles alone sustained the shock of the enemy, till the bridge behind him should be broke down by his companions, which being accomplished, he threw himself all in armour into the Tyber, and tho' he was wounded in the thigh, swam over. This made him say to those who reproached him in the comitia with his lameness, every step that I make reminds me of my triumph.' You see that the tradition about Horatius's wound was supported by the circumstance of a witty saying which he made use of when he was reproached with his lameness: Every step, said he, that I make, puts me in mind of my triumph. It is said that Alexander made use of that thought to comfort the king, his father, who was afflicted on the account of his lameness occasioned by a wound which he had received in a battle (11). If we have reason to wonder that in an event so remarkable as this of Horatius, the traditions for and against his being wounded, should have had each their partisans and followers, even among the most famous writers, what shall we say of Polybius (12) who supposes that this brave and undaunted Roman lost his life in the Tyber? Shall we say that he likewise had a tradition for it? Shall we conclude from hence, that ancient history is so dark, that we know not generally what side to take amongst those who deny, and those who affirm the same things? And that the yea and the no seeming to be equally authorized in matters, wherein it was the easiest thing in the world to know the truth, we may well doubt of the less notable events which the historians have mentioned? shall we, I say, infer such conclusions? I should rather advise the reader to make use of these observations to fortify his judgment against the custom of reading without attention, and of believing without examination. Note, that the difference of opinions about Horatius's fate, is not so much to be wondered at; it is however a sign of historical uncertainty. Some affirm that Horatius was a very handsome man (13), others say, that he was surnamed Cocles. . . . because he was extremely flat-nosed, and that the upper part of his nose was so sunk into his head, that there was no division betwixt his two eyes, and that his eyebrows joined; so that the people designing to call him Cyclops, mistook and called Cocles (14).

HORSTIUS (JAMES) professor of Physic in the university of Helmstadt, was born at Torgau, May 1, 1537 (a). He was admitted master of arts in the university of Francfort on the Oder, in the year 1556 (b), and doctor of Physic in the year 1562 (c). He was invited to the post of public Physician in several cities, and exercised it successively at Sagan and Suidnitz in Silesia, and at Iglaw in Moravia, till he was called, in the year 1580, to be Physician in ordinary to the archduke of Austria (d). He continued in that post four years, after which he was called to be professor of Physic in the university of Helmstadt. His inaugural oration *De remoris difficultum Medicinam & earum remediis, concerning the obstacles to the study of Physic and their remedies*, is exceeding good (e). He acquitted himself worthily in that profession, and published some books [A], which supported his reputation. I have not been able

[A] He published some books.] The first, if I do not mistake, is a Commentary on Hippocrates's book concerning the heart, in *Librum Hippocratis de Corde*, which appeared in the year 1563 (1). He published in 1576 a Treatise *qualem virum Pharmacopolam esse conveniat*, concerning the qualifications of an Apothecary (2). He had before published (3) in the German language, A Description of the Qualifications of a good Physician. (3) In the year He published likewise a description of the same kind in Latin, in the year 1580, which he dedicated

(1) Titus Livius, lib. ii, Dec. I, cap. x.

(2) Florus, lib. i, (and see lib. v, c. 15 in Moreri. Florus's History is only divided into four books) cap. x.

(3) Seneca, Epist. cxx, pag. m. 464.

(4) Val. Maxim. lib. iii, cap. ii, n. 1, pag. m. 241, 242.

(5) Dion. Halic. lib. v, cap. xxiii, xxiv.

(1) Epist. Philoloph. & Medicin. Jacobi Horstii, pag. 79.

(9) Plutarch. in Valerio, pag. 106.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 105.

(8) Oδ' μὲν το αὐτὸς τῷ Ὀρᾷ τῷ καὶ τῷ ἡλίου τῷ Μυκίᾳ. Non per cras Horatii & manum Mutii. Dio, lib. xiv, pag. m. 325.

(9) See, above, remark [E] of the article FULVIA.

(10) Servius. in Æneid. lib. viii, ver. 646.

(11) Plut. de Fortuna Alex. Orat. II, pag. 331. B.

(12) Polyb. lib. vi, cap. liii.

(13) Dion. Halic. lib. v, cap. xxii.

(14) Plutarch. in Valerio, pag. 105.

(a) Jacobi Horstii, Epist. Philoloph. & Medicinal. pag. 41.

(b) Ibid. pag. 48.

(c) Ibid. pag. 77.

(d) Ib. pag. 199.

(e) It is to be found, pag. 530, & seq. of the book above quoted.

able to discover in what year he died; I only know that he was alive in the year 1595, and was then dean of the faculty of Physic at Helmstadt, and vice-rector of that university. I learn this from the Latin verses which were made upon his Anagram, and are to be found at the end of a book intitled, *Jacobi Horstii Epistolæ Philosophicæ & Medicinales*, printed at Leipsic in 8vo, in the year 1596. We must observe to his praise, a thing which will be thought very singular, though perhaps without reason; viz. that he joined devotion to the knowledge and practice of Physic. He always implored the blessing of God upon his remedies, and published a book of prayers for that occasion [B].

He

(4) It is among his Letters, Philosophicæ & Medicinæ pag. 209, & seq.

(5) Ib. pag. 189.

(6) Ib. pag. 203.

(7) Ib. pag. 257.

(8) Ib. pag. 354.

(9) Ib. pag. 435.

(10) Ib. pag. 523.

(11) Pag. 485, of the edit. 1686.

(12) Pag. 423, Edit. 1700.

(13) Stella prope Cassiopeam nec tunc ferabatur. Jac. Horstius, Epist. Philosophicæ & Medicinæ pag. 521.

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Ibid. pag. 282.

(16) See Jacobi Horstii, Epist. Philosophicæ & Medicinæ pag. 283, & seq.

to the bishop of Olmutz (4). He put out a German translation of Lemnius's book *De occultis naturæ Miraculis*, concerning the hidden wonders of nature, in the year 1579, and added many things to it (5). In 1580 he published a book *De morbo epidemio febris Catarrhalis per totam Europam grassante*. Concerning an epidemic catarrh and fever raging over all Europe (6), and in 1583, a Treatise, in German, of Remedies for the Plague (7), in 1587 he published a book *de Vite Vinifera* (8), and in 1593, another *De Noctambulibus*, concerning those who walk during their sleep (9), and in 1595, a Dissertation concerning the Golden Tooth of a Child in Silesia (10). You will find in *Lindenius renovatus* (11) that his *Disputationes Catholicæ de rebus secundum & præter naturam*, General Dissertations concerning things Natural and Preternatural, were printed at Wittemberg in the year 1630, with the *Compendium Medicarum Institutionum*, of Gregory Horstius, and that the abridgement of his *Herbarium, seu de selectis Plantis & Radicibus libri duo*, by the same Gregory, was printed at Marburg in the year 1630.

Let us observe that he suffered himself to be grossly deceived concerning the pretended golden tooth. It was a meer imposture, if you desire to know how it was discovered, you need only read Van Dale *de Oraculis*, book I. Chap. ult. (12). He observes that our James Horstius discovered a great prodigy in this golden tooth, which, according to him, ought to give comfort to the Christians under the Turkish yoke, that is to say, that it was a happy presage of the fall of the Ottoman empire. I have seen a letter which this Physician wrote to David Chytræus, dated February 7, 1595, in which he treats of the presages of meteors. He says that the comet which appeared in the year 1556, and which was seen at Constantinople after it disappeared in Germany, might well produce its bad effects in the year 1596, and that then likewise the new star in Cassiopea, would be not idle (13), and that the golden tooth also would not fail to act its part. 'Dens Aureus, dens pueri Silesii molaris, quem ipse vidi, teigii & declarandum duxi, non prædicatione atque effectu carebit. O miseros nos, qui adeo stupidi & securi ad hæc sumus! Deus nostri & ecclesie sue misereatur. Nos pio studio preces, votique conjungamus (14). — The golden tooth, the cheek tooth of the Silesian boy, which I myself saw and felt, and thought deserved to be made public, will not be without prediction and accomplishment. Oh wretched we, who are so stupid and secure as to this matter! GOD have pity on us and his church! Let us piously unite our prayers and vows.' You see he doth not conclude without condemning the security of the world, and without putting up earnest prayers.

[B] He implored the blessing of GOD upon his remedies, and published a book of prayers for that occasion.] It was by this book that he signalized his admission to the place of professor of Physic in the university of Helmstadt. This was the first present he made to the university. 'Helmstadtium ubi venisset, publicè librum, dictum Precationes medicorum, promulgat, & in præfatione causas necessitatis hujus libri reddit (15). — When he came to Helmstadt, he published the book called the Prayers of Physicians, and gave the reasons, why he was obliged to publish it, in a preface.' I must observe to the honour of Physicians, that many of them thanked him for publishing these prayers, and acknowledged that their art had a very particular need of the divine assistance (16). See what the Physician of the city Ratisbon wrote to him. 'Mittis ad me libellum medicarum precationum nuper à te editum, unà cum tabula, in qua methodum inventionis, qua in conficiendo illo opusculo usus es, eruditè exponis. Quam tuam operam non possum non vehementer probare, ut qui reipsa quotidie experior, nulli hominum generi in hac vita imploratione divini auxilii magis opus esse, quam ipsis

medicis; Qui etiam si omnia ex præscripto artis rectissime agunt, malevolorum tamen calumnias ingratisimo hoc seculo evitare nunquam possunt. Id ne fiat, utque actiones illorum Deus Opt. Max. fortunet, precibus à Deo impetrent, necesse est (17). — You send me the book of the Prayers of Physicians, which you lately published, together with a table, in which you learnedly explain the method you followed in writing that piece. Which work of yours I cannot but greatly approve, as I daily experience in fact, that no men in this life have more occasion to implore the divine assistance, than Physicians: who, though they do every thing according to the exactest rules of their art, cannot escape, in this most ungrateful age, the censure of the ill-natured. To prevent which, and to obtain a blessing from heaven on their endeavours, they must necessarily have recourse to prayers.' Among the letters which were wrote to him on this subject, there is one which tells him, that very few of the Physicians in Bohemia followed his advice of praying to GOD; but that many old women there made use of charms and incantations. 'Cum paucis, optime Horstii, habes hoc commune, ut non tantum sequaris Hippoc. & Galenum, qui gemino medicam crure ministrat opem: sed etiam sanctos Patres & Prophetas, qui supra ægrotos invocant nomen Domini vulnerantis & sanantis. Rara sunt hæc exempla in nostra Bohemia, utpote ubi plures sunt insanæ & incantatrices vetulæ: quæ miscuerunt herbas & non innoxia verba (18). — This, my best Horstius, you have in common with a few, that you not only follow Hippocrates and Galen, the great master of Medicine, but the holy fathers likewise and the prophets, who called over the sick on the name of the Lord, who both wound, and heal. These are uncommon examples in our Bohemia, where there are so many silly, quackish, old-women, who deal in potions and charms.' Matthew Dresserus, professor of Eloquence at Leipsic, praiseth him highly on account of his piety and of his prayers, and informs him that he knew a Physician, who never undertook any cure, nor gave any medicine without reciting the Lord's-Prayer. 'De precum medicarum formulis à te editis, quid sentiam aut scribam aliud, nisi videri mihi eas ad pietatem medico dignam, maximè esse compositas? Si enim Hymnus est Deo gratus, Medicina nostra & medicamenta Dei munus sunt: Num dubitare possumus, quin religiosè tota ars atque professio tractanda sit? noveram præclarum medicum, amicum meum intergerimum, qui nullam morbi curationem attingebat, aut suscipiebat, nullumque medicamentum ægroti propinabat, nisi prius recitata oratione Dominica, & piis votis adjunctis. Quod cum laude & prædicatione dignum semper judicarem, ne nunc quidem hoc quod in pietate ponis studium improbare possum. Sed opus dignum tua professione atque personæ judico (19). — As to the Formulary of Prayers for Physicians, published by you, I can only say, that they conduce greatly to that piety, which is worthy of a Physician. For if an hymn be acceptable to GOD, our medicines are the gift of GOD. Can we doubt, that the whole art and profession is to be carried on religiously? I knew an excellent Physician, my very sincere friend, who never undertook a cure, or administered Physic, without repeating the Lord's-Prayer, and adding pious wishes. Which as I always thought praise-worthy, I cannot now disprove your labours in the cause of piety, but think it a work worthy your profession and character.' Compare with this remark [C] of the KIRSTEINIUS, and read (20) the pious letter which James Horstius wrote to a minister of Berlin. He appears there to have resolved to set about a *Christian Physic*. Binis literis tuis, quibus me de medicina corporis sacro-sancta ex fragmentis Bibliorum sacrorum excolenda etiam atque etiam mones, ita sum affectus, ut ad ista perscicienda, quæ cupis, vim mihi illatam esse putem

(17) Ibid. pag. 284.

(18) Ibid. pag. 290.

(19) Ibid. pag. 292.

(20) Ibid. pag. 194, & seq.

(f) Ibid. pag. 77. He married his first wife in the year 1562, and she died in the year 1585 (f), after bearing him ten children (g). He married again in the year 1587 (h). He was brother to GREGORY HORSTIUS, who died May the 10th, 1592; and had been seven times Burgo-master of the town of Torgau, a man of great merit, as his elogy composed by Reineccius informs us (i). The book that I have quoted contains a thing which I think is worthy of being related [C].

(i) It is published in the beginning of Jacobi Horstii Epit. Philosoph. & Medicinalis.

* putem. — I am so affected by your two letters, in which you again and again put me in mind of cultivating the sacred medicine of the body, out of the fragments of the sacred books, that I find myself as it were compelled to do what you desire. I must likewise add, that the program by which he exhorted the students to celebrate devoutly the feast of St Michael, in honour of the angels (22), is a very devout piece.

(22) Ibid. pag. 493, & seq.

For the rest, I do not believe that there are any books of devotion, which have not had a better sale than these Prayers for the use of Physicians.

[C] His letters contain . . . a thing worthy to be related.] Jerom Nymnan, a minister and brother-in-law to Horstius (23), wrote a letter to him dated from Torgau, March 10, 1556, in which he desires him (24) to acquaint him whether a story which Sabinus had lately told at Wittemberg was true. It was that a gentleman of the March of Brandenburg, near Standel, had harshly rejected the request of a poor woman, who desired him in the name of God

(23) Ibid. pag. 11.

(24) Ibid. pag. 53.

to abate something of the price of the corn, that she wanted to buy of him, and that the piece of money which she gave him, was changed into a serpent by an unknown person whom he met on the road, and that this serpent had wreathed itself about that gentleman's neck, and could not be removed from thence. Horstius, who was then at Francfort on the Oder, answered (25) to his brother-in-law, that he had heard nothing of all this, but that if he should hear any thing about it he would inform him. We have here an example of the caprices of common fame. Prodigies frequently make more noise in remote countries than in that where it is pretended that they happen. This is a character of falsehood; for things that are true, are more certainly known in the places where they have happened than any where else. People who have a mind to tell lies ought to take care not to lay the scene too near. They do not always observe this precaution, and yet they are believed, but still they run a greater hazard by doing so.

(25) Ibid. pag. 54.

HORSTIUS (GREGORY) nephew (a) to the former, acquired such a reputation by the practice of Physic that he is usually named the Æsculapius of Germany (b). He was born at Torgau in the year 1578, and received the degree of master of Philosophy at Wittemberg, in the year 1601 (c), and of doctor of Physic at Basil, in the year 1606, and in the same year was advanced to the post of professor of Physic in the university of Brandenburg. He resigned it a year after, and went to Soltwedel, in the territory of Brandenburg, to be Physician of that city. He made no long stay there, for he accepted of the place offered to him by the Landgrave of Hesse, of professor of Physic in the university of Gießen in the year 1608. He was appointed first Physician to that prince the year following, and being at last weary of a single life (d), he married in the year 1615. The reputation which he had acquired, made the magistrates of Ulm offer him the post of first Physician of their city: He accepted of it, and exercised it with great reputation from the year 1622 to 1636, which was the year in which he died. He left by his first wife four sons [A] and two daughters. She died in the month of November 1634; and he being by that means encumbered with domestic affairs, married a second time in the month of June 1635. He was exceedingly happy in this second marriage [B], but the gout, which he had more than once vigorously resisted before, having attacked him again, and that being attended by many dangerous symptoms, brought him to his end on the ninth of August 1636. He possessed in the highest degree, the three qualities

(a) He was son to George Horstius, counsellor in the town of Torgau.

(b) Konig. Bibl. pag. 413.

(c) Lindenius, Renovat. pag. 359.

(d) Solitaria vite pertuso sibi privato quoque invigilare curatio fuit. Joh. Daniel Dietterici in Oratione funebri Gr. Horstii, apud Witte Memor. Medicor. pag. 67, & seq.

[A] He left four sons by his first wife.] Three of them were Physicians, and the fourth an Apothecary (1). JOHN DANIEL HORSTIUS, the eldest, was born at Gießen and was professor of Physic in the university of Marburg, and afterwards in that of his own country; and Physician to the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and last of all to the city of Francfort. He was admitted into the academy of the Curious Inquirers into Nature, by the name of Phoenix. He published several books, and died January 27, 1685, aged sixty eight years (2). Here follow the titles of some of his works: *Physica Hippocratea, Tachenii, Helmontii, Cartesii, Espagnet, Boylei, aliorumque recentiorum Commentis illustrata*, Francfort 1682, in 8vo. *Decas Observationum & Epistolarum Anatomicarum, quibus singularia scitu digna, lactearum nempe thoracicarum, & vasorum lymphaticorum natura, embryonisque per os nutritio, atque alia rariora exponuntur*, Francfort 1646 in 4to. *Pharmacopœia Galeno-Chemica Catholica*, Francfort 1651, in Folio. He procured a new edition corrected and augmented of *Pauli Zacchiæ Quæstiones Medico-Legales*, at Francfort 1666, in Folio, and of *Lazarri Riverii Opera Medica Universa*, in the same city in 1674 in Folio (3). GREGORY HORSTIUS, the youngest of these brothers, was born at Ulm, September 20, 1626. He received the degree of Doctor of Physic at Padua, Fortunius Licetus being Præses May 11, 1650. He was admitted a member of the college of Physicians at Ulm, and declared public professor of Physic in the year 1653. He died the thirty first of May 1661, and left

(1) Paul. Freher. in Theatro, pag. 1566.

(2) Witte, in Diario Biographico, ad ann. 1685.

(3) Taken from Lindenius renovatus, pag. 564, 565.

children (4). He is author of a *Treatise de Mania* and promised *Historiam Zibethi* (5).

[B] Being encumbered with domestic affairs, he married a second time . . . He was exceedingly happy in this second marriage.] He had been no less so in the first, if we believe the author of his Funeral Oration, 'Huic optimi consorti suæ, dum fata Deique spectant, ex veteri formula, felicissime convixit, & optime cohabitavit. Quid autem hic Archiater noster gloriosus, concessit ne illorum in numerum, qui blandâ venere detenti, omnem Musis remittunt nuntium? Nullatenus, sed potius domesticis, privatique omnibus scitè adornatis, famæ suæ gloriam & calamo, & ore, & praxi expandere, & diffundere fategit (6). — With this his excellent consort he lived in the sweetest society imaginable, while heaven spared her with him. But did this famous Physician imitate those who being slaves to the blandishments of Venus, quite neglect the Muses? quite the contrary, for having wisely settled his private and domestic affairs, he spared no pains to increase his fame, both by his writings, discourses, and practice.' The latter part of this passage acquaints us, that Horstius did not do as a great many who abandon themselves so entirely to the nuptial pleasures, that they quite neglect the Muses. As to the happiness of his second marriage, the same author gives us the following account of it. 'Is . . . postquam secunda, quæ vocant, expleisset vota, . . . jamque conjugalem lineam ex animi sententiâ duceret, amantissimè ab amantissimâ ma marita habitus, domique ac foris felix, optatâ

(4) Paul. Freher. in Theatro, pag. 1389.

(5) Witte, in Diario Biographico, ad ann. 1661.

(6) Joh. Daniel Dietterici, apud Witte, Memor. Medicor. fol. 4.

qualities of a good Physician, probity, learning, and good fortune (e) [C], as we see

(e) Taken from his Funeral Oration spoke by John Daniel Dietericus apud Witte Memor. Medicor. pag. 67, &c.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 67, 68. *εὐποροῦντα gauderet: ecce! malo arthritico, quod multo ante non semel fortiter sustinendo repulerat, invaditur (7). — After his second marriage in which he enjoyed all the charms of reciprocal love, being happy both at home and abroad, while he rejoiced in his wife's happiness, he was seized with a violent fit of the gout, which he had frequently before*

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 5, before the end. *I cite it in this manner, because the most part of the Funeral Oration are not numbered.* *quod, relates to both his marriages (8). 'Quando autem factum ut Anno 1634: suavisimam hanc ipsius tori sociam maligna febris deartuaret, in hoc infelix fuit, quod sævam illam declinare nesciens, mense Novembri miseram viduitatem colere fuerit coactus: quâ in cum sex Liberos Pater & occupatissimo functionis muneri & molestissimæ rei familiaris curæ vix non succumberet, divinâ adlucente gratiâ, ad vota secunda accedens, Præclarissimi Medici Fingerlini p. m. relicta viduæ (9), matrimonialem addixit fidem hoc ipso iterum titulo felicitatis privatæ redonatus, quod hæc castissimis illius amoribus mirâ morum amabilitate respondebat: ita ut charitate Conjugum, sedulitate Ministram præstaret. — His beloved wife was seized with a malignant fever in the year 1634, he was so unfortunate as not to be able to*

(9) This author had observed, that Horstius had married a maid in his first marriage. *Interca, says he, pag. 69, & maritalium conditionem excoluit.* *HEDWIGEM STAMMIAM, Virginem lectissimam consecratione sibi sacrosanctâ copulat.*

cure it, and in the month of November was obliged to submit to a melancholy widowhood: being left with six children, and ready to sink under the weight of the laborious duties of his profession, joined to a load of domestic cares, he being guided by the divine favour made choice of the widow of the famous Physician Fingerlinus for his second wife. By whom he was again restored to all manner of domestic happiness, she answering his love with a wonderful sweetness of manners, so that he found in her the affection of a wife and the assiduity of a servant.'

[C] He possessed in the highest degree the three qualities of a good physician, probity, learning, and good fortune.] I shall pass over what relates to the first, and I shall only observe that, with regard to the third, the panegyrist observes, that the good success of Horstius's prescriptions, did not proceed from chance, but from the attention with which he considered the nature of distempers, &c. He, by the by, gives severe strokes to those quacks, who boast of the vast numbers of cures which they have performed, and by their impudence wheedle people out of a great deal of money. He applies to them what a poet said of a man who was both Chirurgion and Physician, I do not doubt it, said the poet, for you kill abundance of people both by steel and poison. 'Ea est Empiricorum, Thalmudicorum, & Bullatorum Medicorum indoles & natura, ut mucosam suam praxin pro admiranda felicitate venditantes, sèpissime animos Magnatum & Divitum (utpote hoc censu facile se defraudari patientium) à verò Medicorum vultu & cultu abalienent, egregiam spem, & vere prodigiosæ suæ curæ (quippe illâ ipsâ excidium denunciant) expectationem concitando: quâ supersticiosa, splendidiq; strophis suffulta infelicissimâ felicitate Microcosmum argento simul, & sanguine emungere sceleratissime norunt: quibus Plagiarii interim illud Poëtæ apprimè adaptari convenit.

Es Medicus, simul Chirurgus,
Cur? mittis stygiam, viros ad Orcum,
Et manu simul, & simul veneno:

'Nequaquam autem hujusmodi felicitatis excessum in Desunio nostro, velut absoluto Practici Exemplo, quæremus: quin Potius fortunam illius in Praxi integram & illibatam, cumulatissimo rationis & experientie instructu partem demirabimur, &c (10).'

(10) Dieterici Oratio funeb. Gr. Horstii, apud Witte, Memor. Medicor. page which follows the leaf (e) 5.

(11) Joubert, Erreurs Populaires, livr. i. chap. vii. pag. m. 33. 34.

Since this occasion offers, I shall observe, that some people are of opinion, that the success of a Physician, doth not at all depend upon his skill in his profession. This is the opinion of Joubert. 'If a person recovers,' says he (11), we are ready to commend the skill of his Physician: tho' he has done nothing to contribute to it. And on the contrary a Physician is accounted ignorant, if his patient dies or languishes a long time in those distempers, which are thought the most slight by the vulgar. Modest people will not say that he is more or less skillful, if he has the character of a learned man, among men of learning: but they will say that

he is not happy in his practice, and consequently is not a good Physician, always judging by the success. It is certainly true, that in every thing there is a good and a bad fortune, and (as the Italians say) *la buona e la mala sorte*. And the good fortune of a Physician consists in his not being called to those who are to die. For there he will acquire neither reputation, honour, nor friendship, notwithstanding the Physician ought not in this case to be blamed, if he has done his duty; nor ought he to be less esteemed than if the patient had recovered. . . . It is indeed a great happiness to be fortunate in our affairs, but good fortune doth not depend upon knowledge, or abilities: it is a special gift of God to be called to the assistance of those who are to recover: with regard to whom he is pleased to make effectual, and continue the virtues bestowed on medicines: and likewise not to be called to those who are to die, whom nothing can avail or profit. It is therefore quite wrong to judge of the abilities of Physicians by their success, which is more owing to good fortune, and the grace of God, than to the skill of man (12). A Flemish Physician who has translated into Latin, and commented upon the first book of Joubert, concerning Vulgar Errors, has not adopted this opinion; he has maintained that the good fortune of Physicians flows only from their skill, and their bad fortune from their ignorance. He cites on this occasion a passage of Crato, a famous Physician. *Huic equidem Jouberti sententiæ non subscribam: quin potius ad Cratonis, &c (13).* He also quotes a passage of Paracelsus, affirming the same thing. In my opinion he carries the matter too far, I believe there are Physicians who sometimes kill or cure their patients, without deserving either praise or blame on that account. However skillful they may be, they do not always know the true cause of distempers, and they prescribe a medicine, according to the rules of their art, which proves very pernicious, because there is something in the constitution of the patient which they cannot discover. The particular dispositions of the machine, the imagination of the patient affected in a particular manner, the secret passions may produce effects, which the skill and most consummate experience of Physicians could never have expected. The efficacy of these unknown causes, will occasion a medicine given rashly, ignorantly, and foolishly, to drive away a distemper: and another medicine given according to the rules of Physic to kill the patient. There is therefore good and bad fortune here, independent on skill or ignorance, and one cannot be said to be ignorant because he doth not know the secret passions of the heart, or the odd properties of a particular constitution, and because he could not foresee the obstacles they would make to the virtue of the medicine. A Physician is not thought to fail through ignorance, except he be ignorant of what he might have learned from study and practice. The question is, if there be Physicians, who, by a prerogative attached to their person, fall by chance, and frequently, upon the remedy which cures, and if there are others who, by a personal destiny, do quite the contrary: or the question is this, are there some Physicians, who are called precisely when it is predestinated, that the sick person shall recover? and are there others who are called precisely, when it is predestinated that he shall die? It would seem that Joubert has pretended this, and called it a particular favour of heaven, or a privation of that divine favour. Crato laughs at this conceit. This dispute is the same with that which I have treated at large in another place (14), whether there is a good or bad fortune attached to certain persons, or if good and bad fortune is always the consequence the one of prudence and the other of imprudence? The ancients did not pretend this; for when they enumerated the qualifications of a great general, they gave his fortune a particular rank, distinct from his skill in the art of war. 'Ego sic existimo, said Cicero, in summo Imperatore quatuor has res interesse oportere, scientiam rei Militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem (15). — I think a great general should be possessed of these four qualities, skill in the art of war, valour, authority, and good fortune.' He afterward shows, that Pompey possessed these four qualities in an eminent degree, and owns that the

(12) Joannes Bourgesius, in Scholii ad cap. vii. Jouberti de Erroribus Vulgi, pag. 105, 106.

(14) See remark [K] of the article TIMOLEON.

(15) Cicero, pro Lege Manliæ, cap. x. pag. m. 33, Tom. III.

at large in his funeral oration. He published several books [D] which were very much esteemed. Two of his sons were likewise authors.

last of them depends on God, and not upon man. Reliquum est ut de felicitate quam præstare DE SE 1750 nemo potest, meminisse, & commemorare de altero possumus: sicut æquum est homini de potestate deorum, timide & pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, & ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quædam ad amplitudinem, & gloriam, & ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna (16). — *It remains that we should with caution and brevity, as becomes men when they speak of the power of the gods, say something concerning good fortune, which though no man can secure to himself, yet we can remember and relate it of others. For I am of opinion, that Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio, Marius, and the other great generals, were frequently entrusted with the biggest dignities, and the command of armies; not only on account of their valour, and other great qualities, but likewise on account of their good fortune. For certainly some great men have been blessed by the gods*

(16) Cicero pro lege Manilia, cap. XVI, pag. 53, Tom. III.

with good fortune, to guide them to grandeur, glory, and the performance of heroic actions.

[D] He published several books. I believe the first was his *Institutiones Logicae*, which he published while he gave private lectures of Philosophy in his chamber at Wittenberg, about the year 1601 (17). He printed in the same city, in the year 1607, his treatise de *Natura Humana*, On human nature (18). His *Dissertatio de natura Amoris additis Resolutionibus de cura Furoris amatorii, de Philtiris, atque de pulsu Amantium*, at Gießen in 4to, in the year 1611. He published there in 1615, his book de *seunda Sanitate Studiosorum & Literatorum*, in 4to, and in 1619 his treatise de *causis similitudinis & dissimilitudinis, in sætu, respectu parentum &c. cui annexa est Resolutio Quæstionis de diverso partu temporis, imprimique quid de septimestri & octimestri partu sentiendum in 4to*. I refer you to Lindenius renovatus (19), where we find the titles and editions of all the works of this Physician particularly set down; and I shall only observe, that after his death they were published in one volume in folio at Nuremberg, in the year 1660, and in three volumes in 4to, at Torgau, in the year 1661.

(17) Dieterici Oratio, &c. obl. supra, folio (4) 2.

(18) Id. ibid. folio (4) 3.

(19) Pag. 359 & seq.

HORTENSIA, sister of the orator Hortensius. Thus it is a modern author names her (a); but as he himself acknowledges in another place (b), the name which Plutarch gives Hortensius's sister is Valeria. Turn therefore to VALERIA, for there is no reason to give Hortensius two sisters of different names.

(a) Glandorpius, Onom. pag. 406.

(b) Idem. pag. 865.

HORTENSIA, daughter of the orator Hortensius, shewed herself worthy of such a father, by her eloquence, when she pleaded the cause of the Roman ladies before the Triumviri, who had decreed that fourteen hundred of them should declare what estates they possessed, intending after that to tax them according to their fancy for the expences of the war. Those Triumviri were Mark Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus. They had at first signified that those who should not give in a true valuation of their estates, should be fined; and that a reward should be given to those who should discover their deceit. The ladies had recourse to the intercession of those amongst them, who might have interest with the Triumviri, and were civilly received by the sister of Octavius, and the mother of Marc Antony; but Fulvia, Marc Antony's wife, shut the door against them; inasmuch that they resolved to present themselves before the Triumviri. Hortensia was their speaker, and made a most excellent speech. Quintilian has mentioned it with praise (a). The Triumviri were so unkind as to censure the boldness which the ladies had expressed, and they commanded their officers to turn them out [A]. That order made all the company murmur, which hindered the officers from executing it. Whereupon the Triumviri put off the business to the next day. The issue was, that only four hundred women were obliged to give an account of their estates (b). By this we may form a better judgment of that event than by Moreri's account of it, or even by Valerius Maximus's words, which will be seen below [B].

(a) Quinti Hortensii filie oratio apud Triumviros habita læptor n. n. tantum in locus honorum Quintil. Instit. lib. 1, cap. 1.

(b) Ex Appiano, lib. 14. Bell. Civil.

(17) In Biblioth. Rom. Cent. II, n. 88.

[A] The Triumviri commanded their officers to turn them out. Instead of this, James Philip de Bergamo, whom Prosper Mandosius (1) follows, says that Hortensia's eloquence was so admired by the auditory, that they thought they had heard her father, and that she obtained of the Triumviri whatever the ladies desired, besides great praises. He has committed two other faults; 1. That Hortensia writ many things. 2. That the Roman ladies were taxed, because the public necessities required it. It was rather from the tyrannical avarice of the Triumviri. How many faults does the desire of praising people, occasion!

[B] Moreri's account . . . or even by the words of Valerius Maximus. He says, that the senate had laid a severe tax upon the women of Rome . . . and that Hortensia alone undertook the cause of her sex. I. The Triumviri and not the senate laid this severe tax, as he calls it. II. They did not lay it on all the women of Rome, but only on the rich: it was a tax on those that could well bear it. III. Hortensia was indeed the only speaker, but not the only actor or intercessor for her sex; for all that were concerned, went in a body to solicit the mothers, sisters, and wives, of the Triumviri; and afterwards they came to an audience; where, as in all sorts of deputations, one spoke for the rest. I say nothing of Moreri's omissions, nor of his wrong citation of Appian of Alexandria, which has been transferred into the Dutch edition with a little

change, that may deceive the reader. That fault proceeds from the press: Moreri doubtless writ, *li. 4. belli civil.* Instead of which the Printers of Lyons put in *li. 4. b. li. civil.* and those of Holland *li. 4. b. li. civil.* Such a small mistake has been sufficient upon many occasions, to make people believe that an author had wrote books which he never thought of. Who would not believe, seeing Ovid quoted in *eleg.* at the end of the article HORTENSIVS the orator, both in the Dutch and the preceding editions, that Ovid wrote a poem intitled *Elegies*? Every body doth not find out that instead of *in eleg.* it should be *in eleg.* a citation somewhat too general, by Vossius's leave who has used it (2), but yet true at the bottom. There are many other wrong citations in this article of Moreri's Dictionary; Pliny is there cited twice the first time falsely. The fifth chapter of the third book of Varro de *re rustica*, and the thirteenth of the third book of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, are quoted wrong, and shew that Moreri did not verify whether Vossius's Printers had put one figure for another.

Here are the words of Valerius Maximus which I have promised. 'Hortensia Q. Hortensii filia cum ordo Matronarum gravi tributo à Triumviris esset oneratus, nec quisquam virorum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet, causam fœminarum apud Triumvires constanter & feliciter egit. Repræsentata enim patris facundia impetravit ut major pars imparate pecunie

(1) De Hist. Lat. pag. 48, de Poët. Lat. pag. 15.

(2) De Hist. Lat. pag. 15.

(3) Val. Maxim.
lib. viii, cap. iii.
Moreri quotes
lib. iii. Hofmann,
lib. ii.

‘*curia* his remitteretur (3). — The Triumviri
‘*having loaded the Roman ladies with a grievous tax,*
‘*and no man daring to appear in their favour, Horten-*
‘*sia, daughter to Q. Hortensius, pleaded their cause*

‘*before the Triumviri with great constancy and success,*
‘*For being mistress of all her father's eloquence, she*
‘*obtained a remission of the greatest part of it.*’

HORTENSIUS, the name of a Plebeian family of Rome, taken probably from their application to gardening, as that of Fabius and Lentulus, &c. came from a like original. Antonius Augustinus had no reason to rank this family among the Patrician [A], since we find in the Fasti one LUCIUS HORTENSIUS, tribune of the people in the year of Rome 331. He accused Sempronius Atratinus, the consul of the foregoing year, of having rashly attack'd the Volsci: But his four colleagues who were present at the battle, so earnestly desired him to drop the accusation, that after having done all that was possible on his side to persuade them to allow him to proceed in it, at last, when he saw them resolved to quit the ensigns of their dignity all the time that the trial should last, he complied with their desire. He would not suffer the people to see their tribunes in such a condition, nor push a consul to the last extremity, who had at least gained the love of his soldiers (a). Above a hundred years after, we find one QUINTUS HORTENSIUS, Dictator [B]. He brought back the people, who had retired to the Janiculum, and made a law, that thenceforth all the Romans should be obliged to obey the ordinances of the people [C]. He died in his office (b) which had never happened before (c). Moreri is strangely mistaken concerning this Dictator [D]. Of all the Hortensius's, he that made himself the most famous, was the orator, who is the subject of the following article.

(a) Non videbit
plebs Romana
fordidatos Tribu-
nos suos. C.
Sempronium ni-
hil moror quando
hoc est in impe-
rio consecutus ut
tam citus esset
militibus.
Livius, lib. iv,
Dec. 1, cap. xlii.
See also Valer.
Maxim. lib. vi,
cap. v.

(b) Livius, in
Epit. lib. xi.

(c) August. de
Civ. Dei, lib.
iii, cap. xvii.

[A] Antonius Augustinus had no reason to rank this family among the patrician. The tract of Antonius Augustinus de Romanorum gentibus & familiis, which I make use of, was printed at Lyons in 1592, in 4to. We there find word for word upon the Familia Hortensia, what Richard Streinius said of it in a book he published upon the same subject in 1559. They both go upon a very false foundation, in placing this family among the Patrician; namely, that Cicero gives the title of nobilis to Hortensius, in his orations against Verres. Who knows not that nobilis and plebeius were not inconsistent words in antient Rome?

[B] Above a hundred years after . . . Q. HORTENSIUS, the dictator. It is hard to fix the precise year of our Quintus Hortensius's dictatorship. I believe Sigonius was right in placing it in the year 467. Father Hardouin (1) doubtless approved that opinion; but his Printers by omitting a letter, make him say, that the sedition of the people, which was suppressed by the dictator Hortensius, happened in the year CCCCLXVII. St Austin will have it, that Hortensius was created dictator by reason of the retiring of the people to the Janiculum, which is very probable. Post graves & longas Rom. seditiones quibus ad ultimum plebs in Janiculum hostili diremptione secesserat, cuius mali tam dira calamitas erat, ut ejus rei causa quod in extremis periculis fieri solebat, & Dictator crearetur Hortensius, qui plebe revocata in eodem Magistratu expiravit, quod nulli Dictatori ante contigerat (2). — After grievous and long dissensions in Rome, the commons at last retired in a hostile manner to the Janiculum, which produced such dreadful calamities, that on this account, as was usual in the most extremest dangers, they chose Hortensius dictator, who, having appeased the people, died in that office, which had never happened to any dictator before him.

(1) In Plin. lib.
xvi, cap. x, pag.
239. Tom. III.

(2) Augustin de
Civ. Dei, lib.
iii, cap. xvii.

[C] . . . and made a law, that thenceforth all the Romans should obey the ordinances of the people. An author cited by Aulus Gellius teaches us, that the ordinances made by the report or at the request of the tribunes of the people, were not properly called laws, but plebiscita, and that before Hortensius's dictatorship, the patricians were not subject to ordinances of this sort. Ne leges quidem proprie sed plebiscita appellantur quæ Tribunis plebis ferentibus accepta sunt, quibus rogationibus ante Patricii non tenebantur, donec Q. Hortensius Dictator eam legem tulit ut eo jure quod plebs statuisset, omnes Quirites tenerentur (3). Livy tells us the quite contrary; for he says, that Lucius Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, who were made consuls in the year of Rome 305, began to shew their complaisance to the people by making a law, which left it no longer in doubt, whether the laws established

(3) Lælius Felix,
apud A. Gell.
lib. xv, cap.
xxvii.

by the people obliged the senate. That law decided this matter in favour of the people. ‘Omnium primum cum velati in controversio jure esset tenerentur Patres Plebiscitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulerunt, ut quod tributum plebes jussisset populum teneret, qua lege Tribunitius rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est (4). — First of all, it having been controverted, whether the senators were bound by the ordinances of the commons, they made a law in the Comitiis Centuriatis, that whatever the commons decreed in their tribes should bind the whole Roman people, by which law a dreadful force was given to the rogations of the tribunes.’ They had just destroyed the power of the Decemviri, and recalled the mutinous populace that had withdrawn to mount Aventinus. The new consuls omitted nothing to make themselves popular. The consul Quintus Capitolinus acknowledged the force of this new law three years after; when representing to the people the advantages that the senate had yielded to them, he brings into the account Scita plebis injuncta patribus (5). This law was renewed in the 415th year of Rome; the dictator Publius Philo having ordained that the plebiscita should oblige all the Romans (6). The author alledged by Aulus Gellius was not therefore well informed. If he had said that the senators had found the art of evading this decision, so that it was necessary to renew it authentically in Quintus Hortensius's dictatorship, he would be above our criticisms: but this he has not done. Pliny (7) speaks of what was enacted by this dictator to the peoples advantage, without saying, whether there was any such law before or not. Sigonius did not know what was done under the consuls Valerius and Horatius; for he says (8), that the law of Hortensius had been already made by the dictator ann. 467. Publius Philo in the year of Rome 414.

(4) Liv. lib. iii,
Dec. 1, cap. iv.

(5) Id. cap. lxviii.

(6) Ut plebiscita
omnes Quirites
tenerent. Livius,
Dec. 1, lib. viii,
cap. xii.

(7) Lib. xvi,
cap. x.

(8) In Fast. ad
ann. 467.

[D] Moreri is strangely mistaken concerning this dictator. Two gross blunders in a few words: one in saying, that he was a famous civilian and law-maker; the other in saying, that the orator Hortensius was his grandson. Did ever any one call the magistrates of the Roman common-wealth legislators, because they procured the enacting some laws? In that case the number of the Roman legislators would be very great. Neither are they the persons called Jurisconsulti. But it is very probable, that Moreri had no other knowledge of Q. Hortensius the dictator, but his passing a law which subjected the senate to the plebiscita. Besides, since Moreri observes that the dictatorship of this Hortensius fell in the year of Rome 468, how could he take him for the grandfather of the orator Hortensius, a military tribune, according to him, in the year of Rome 664? What want of attention! What negligence is this!

HORTENSIUS (QUINTUS) cotemporary with Cicero, and almost as great an orator as he, was born in the 639th year of Rome (a). He pleaded his first cause at nineteen years of age, and succeeded so well in it, that he had not only the approbation of the auditory, but also that of the two consuls, who were best judges of that age [A]. This was the cause which he pleaded for Africa before the senate under those two consuls. Some time after he pleaded for the king of Bythynia, and had still better success. The Social war arising in the 663d year of Rome, the proceedings of justice were so interrupted in the city, that Hortensius betook himself to arms (b). In the second campaign he was made a military tribune; but I believe that he stopped there, and that those who pretend that he was lieutenant-general under Sylla, in the war with Mithridates, take him for another [B]. He went successively through all the honours of the republic; he was questor, ædile, prætor, and then consul with Q. Cecilius Metellus, in the year of Rome 684. The lot fell upon him to go into Crete, to reduce the inhabitants of that island; but as he triumphed at Rome by his eloquence (c), he chose rather to shine at the bar, than in the field. He therefore yielded up that post to his colleague, who gained thereby the honour of a triumph, and the surname of *Creticus*. Hortensius had the happiest memory in the world [C]. He used many gesticulations in pleading [D], which drew upon him a very blunt raillery before the judges; for L. Torquatus called him *Dionysia*, who was a famous dancer. You may see in Aulus Gellius, what Hortensius answered him. It cannot be denied that he had a great deal of affectation in his manner; or at least, that he was excessively nice in his cloaths [E]. He carefully consulted his glass as he dressed himself, and

(a) See the remark [B].

(b) Cicero in Bruto.

(c) Xiphilins. ex Dion. lib. xxxv. init.

[A] He had the approbation of the two consuls, who were the best judges of that age. These were Lucius Crassus and Quintus Scævola, the first whereof was one of the greatest orators, and the latter one of the greatest lawyers that had ever appeared in Rome (1). This consulship fell in the year 658: so that Hortensius being then but nineteen years old, it is a necessary consequence that he was born in the year 639: which we may likewise gather from Cicero's being eight years younger than he (2). Cicero, I say, who was born in the year 647. Here is the proof of what I have said concerning the first cause which Hortensius pleaded (3). * Q. Hortensii admodum adolescentis ingenium, ut Phidias signum, simul aspectum & probatum est. Is L. Crasso, Q. Scævola Coss. primum in foro dixit, & apud hos ipsos quidem Consules, & cum eorum qui assuerunt, tum ipsorum Consulium qui omnes intelligentia antebant, iudicio discessit probatus: undeviginti annos natus erat eo tempore. — Hortensius's genius, while he was very young, like Phidias's statue, was no sooner seen than admired. He first appeared at the bar in the consulship of L. Crassus and Q. Scævola, and pleaded before the consuls with the approbation, not only of all present, but of the consuls themselves, who were the best judges of that age; he was at that time eighteen years old. Cicero (4) makes this L. Crassus speak thus: Ego esse jam iudico (omnibus istis laudibus quas oratione complexus sum, excellentem Hortensium) & tum iudicavi cum me Consule in Senatu causam defendit Africæ, nuperque etiam magis cum pro Bythyniæ rege dixit. — I now think that Hortensius deserves all the praises I have bestowed upon him) and I was of the same opinion, when, during my consulship, he defended the cause of Africa in the senate, and still more when he lately defended the king of Bythynia.

[B] They who pretend that he was lieutenant-general under Sylla in the war against Mithridates, take him for another. What makes me believe that our orator is not the Hortensius, who had that post in Sylla's armies, is on one hand Cicero's silence, and on the other the character which Plutarch gives to that lieutenant-general. Plutarch represents him as a man who perfectly understood the art of war, and who never yielded (5); and relates some actions of him, which favour of an old experienced officer, and which concern the 667th year of Rome. Where should the orator Hortensius have got that experience; he who began to bear arms but in the year 663? And if he had acquired it, and signalized himself under Sylla, how comes it that it was not mentioned in those passages where his praises are enlarged upon, and where it is observed that he was military tribune in his second campaign? *Judicia intermissa bello*. . . . Erat Hortensius in bello primo anno miles, altero Tribunus militum (6). Doubtless Glandorpius (7) was mistaken in taking him for Sylla's lieutenant-general. But what need is there to take advantage of Cicero's silence? What he says, is much more favourable to me. Do not the three years in which Hortensius was the chief man at the

bar, by reason of the death or absence the most famous orators (8), coincide with the time that Sylla had the other Hortensius in his army?

[C] He had the happiest memory in the world. He pronounced his pleadings just as he had meditated them, without writing one word, and forgot nothing that was said by his adversaries. * Primum memoria tanta quantam in viro cognovisse me arbitror, ut quæ secum commentatus esset, ea sine scripto verbis illidem redderet quibus cogitavisset. Hoc adjumento illo tanto sic utebatur, ut sua & commentata & scripta, & nullo referente omnia adversariorum dicta meminisset (9). What Seneca says of him, is much more remarkable. Upon a challenge that was given Hortensius, he staid a whole day at a public auction, and repeated in order what had been sold, to whom, and at what price. His recital was compared with the clerk's account, and his memory was found to have served him faithfully in every particular. * Hortensius à Sisenna provocatus in auctione perdidit diem totum, & omnes res, & pretia, & emptores ordine suo argentiis recognoscens, ita ut in nullo falleretur, recensuit (10).

[D] He used many gesticulations in pleading. The his gestures were fine enough to make the two best actors of that time ambitious of imitating them on the stage (11); it is certain they exceeded the just bounds of the art of oratory. * Vox canora & suavis, *lays Cicero in his Brutus*, motus & gestus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat Oratori satis. Moreri doth not give an exact account of the jest of Torquatus: * He used for many motions in declaiming, that they gave him the name of Grasshopper, *Dionysia Saltatricula*. Who would not believe from these words, that Hortensius had this nick-name given him all over the city? And yet there was but one man, who upon one single occasion, gave him not the name of Grasshopper, but of *Dionysia*, a woman who was a celebrated dancer. The word *Saltatricula* is very ill rendered *Grasshopper*. Here is the passage of Aulus Gellius, in the fifth chapter of the first book: * Cum L. Torquatus, subagressi homo ingenio & infelivo, gravior ac cerbuiusque apud consilium iudicum, cum de causa Sullæ quæreretur, non jam histrionem cum esse diceret, sed gesticulariam Dionysiamque cum notissimam Saltatriculam nomine appellaret; tum voce molli atque demissa Hortensius, *Dionysia*, inquit, *Dionysia* malo equidem esse quam quod tu Torquate, *luxu*, *ἀγροδίαστῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ πύργου*. — Lucius Torquatus, a rude and unpolite man, having said in a very bitter and severe manner before the judges, in the cause of Sylla, that Hortensius did not now as formerly behave like a player, but like the dancer *Dionysia*, Hortensius replied in a soft and low voice, I would rather be *Dionysia*, than be void of all taste, elegance, or humanity, as you are.

[E] He was excessively nice in his cloaths. This passage of Aulus Gellius, that I am going to quote, and which goes before the words you have just now read, will serve both to prove Hortensius's gesticulations,

(8) Triennium sine armis, sed oratorum aut interitu aut discessu, aut fuga — Præmissa in causis agebat Hortensius, magisque quotidie probabatur. Cicero in Bruto.

(9) Cicero in Bruto. See also Tacul. 1, & Academ. 2. init.

(10) Senec. Præf. lib. 1, Controv.

(11) Nescires utrum cupidius ad audiendum eum, an ad spectandum concurreretur, sic verbis oratoris aspectus, & rursus aspectus verba serviebant. Itaque confat Aelopus & Roscius Iodieræ artis peritissimos viros illo causas agente in corona frequenter assistisse, ut foro petitos gestus in scenam referrent. Val. Maxim. lib. viii, cap. 2.

(1) Eloquentium jurisperitissimus Crassus, jurisperitum eloquentissimus Scævola pararetur. Cicero in Bruto, cap. xxxix.

(2) Me adolescentem (Hortensius) nactus octo annis minorem quam erat ipse. Id. in Bruto.

(3) Id. ibid. cap. lxxv.

(4) De Orat. lib. iii, sub fin.

(5) Στράτηνος ἄνδρα καὶ φιλόστρατον. Vir bellicæ peritus & pervicax. Plat. in Sylla, pag. 461.

(6) Cicero in Bruto.

(7) Onomast. pag. 404.

(d) Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii, cap. ix. *Moreri*, after *Vellius*, quotes lib. iii, cap. xiii, but the third book contains only twelve chapters.

(e) Dion, lib. xxxix.

(f) Varro de re Rustica, lib. iii, cap. vi. Plin. lib. x, cap. xx. *Ælian*. lib. v, Hist. Anim. cap. xxi. Tertull. de Pallio, sub fin.

(g) Varro, de re Rustica, lib. iii, cap. xlii, & xliii.

it is said that he commenced a suit against his colleague, who passing through a narrow place, had ruffled the symmetry of his gown (d). He had heaped up great riches, and used them plentifully to live an easy life in the city and in the country. He had several country-houses [F]; and as he was very sumptuous, he opposed the sumptuary laws (e), which the consuls had a mind to enact in the 699th year of Rome. He praised them so cunningly for their magnificence in their houses, that they durst not insist upon a thing which did not agree with their own conduct. He was the first that eat peacocks (f), it was to furnish a dish in an entertainment he gave to the college of the Augurs. He was very curious and magnificent in parks and fish-ponds (g), and was as careful of the health of his fish [G], as of that of his servants. He must needs have been a great lover of plane-trees, since he watered them with wine; which he made so little a secret of, that he one day desired Cicero to change with him his hour of pleading; for, said he, I must go and pour some wine upon a plane-tree I have at one of my country-houses (h). Whoever knows the heart of man never so little, will much more wonder that those two great orators should have given one another many marks of affection upon several occasions [H], than that they should not always have been perfectly good friends; for after all, Cicero was the cause that Hortensius did not preserve the glory which he had long enjoy'd of being the first orator in Rome; and Hortensius was the cause of Cicero's having a dangerous rival, who came close to his heels. Hortensius published not only some orations, and some

tions, and his great niceness in his cloaths. 'Hortensius omnibus ferme Oratoribus ætatis suæ nisi M. Tullio clarior, quod multa munditia & circumspèctè compositione indutus & amictus esset, manusque ejus inter agendum forent argute admodum & gestuolæ, maledictis compellationibusque probrosis jactatus est, multaque in eum quasi in histrionem in ipsi causis atque judiciis dicta sunt. — Hortensius who next to Cicero was the most celebrated orator of his age, being very nice and curious in his dress, and in pleading, making use of a great deal of action, was much ridiculed and abused, and was frequently even at the bar twitted with being a comedian rather than an orator.' As for the suit he entered for disordering the folds of his gown, here is a proof or a testimony for it. 'Hortensius vir alioquin ex professo mollis & in præcinctu ponens omnem decorem; fuit enim vestitus ad munditiem curioſo, & ut bene amictus iret, faciem in speculo ponebat; ubi se intuens togam corpori sic applicabat, ut rugas non forte sed industria locatas artificis nodos confringeret, & sinus ex composito deflueret nodum lateris ambiret. Is quondam cum incederet elaboratus ad speciem collegæ de injuriis diem dixit; quod sibi in angustiis obvisu offensus fortuito struſturam togæ destruxerat, & capitale putavit quod in humero suo locum ruga mutasset (12). — Hortensius was a man professedly effeminate, and placed all decency in outward show; he was curious in his dress even to nicety, and to adjust it the better made use of a looking-glass, by help of which he tricked up his gown in such a manner, that the folds did not fall by chance, but were formed with great care by help of artful knots, and the lappet falling formally down went round the knots at his side. As he was a walking one day in this elaborate dress, he brought an action of damages against his colleague, because he had accidentally discomposed the economy of his gown as he went by him in a narrow passage, considering it as a capital injury that he had changed one's fold on his shoulder.'

(12) Macrob. lib. ii. Saturn. cap. ix.

(13) Plinius, lib. xxxv, cap. xi.

(14) Cicero, 2. Acad. quest. Varro, de re Rust. lib. iii, cap. xvii.

(15) Varro, lib. ii.

(16) Cicero, ad Attic. lib. vii, Ep. iii.

(17) Varro, apud Plin. lib. xiv, cap. xiv.

(18) I have mentioned this in the text, citat. (b).

(19) Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii, cap. ix.

'ged to go to the country to pour some wine on a plane-tree which I have planted at my villa of Tusculanum.'

[G] He was careful of the health of his fish. Varro (20) relates upon this subject some very singular things. Hortensius did with respect to his fish, as misers do with respect to their money; he durst not make use of them, he chose rather to buy fish in any neighbouring town, than to take them out of his ponds: nor was he only contented not to feed upon his own fish, but he also fed them nicely and plentifully. 'Neque satis erat eum non pasci piscinis, nisi eos ipse pasceret ultro . . . Celerius voluntate Hortensii ex equili educeres rhedarias ut tibi haberet mulas, quam è piscina barbatum mullum . . . Non minor cura ejus erat de ægrotis piscibus, quam de minus valentibus servis: iaque minus laborabat ne servus æger, quam aquam frigidam biberent sui pisces. — It was not enough for him that he did not feed upon the fish of his own ponds, but he fed them with great care . . . And he would have been more easily persuaded to give you the mules out of his stable, than a mullet out of his pond . . . He was as careful of the health of his fish as of that of his servants: and was more solicitous that his fish should have fresh water, than that his servants when indisposed should be furnished with it.' It is said he was so passionately fond of a lamprey that he shed tears for the death of her (21). This Porphyry (22), Macrobius (23), and Tzetzes (24) have ascribed to the orator Crassus.

[H] One will much more wonder that he and Cicero gave one another . . . marks of affection. Perhaps there is nothing upon which jealousy is more able to cause a greater alienation in mens minds than eloquence. I know not whether beauty or poetry ought to be excepted. Two famous preachers seldom love one another, and easily quarrel even to the utmost rupture. It is much if they can conceal their jealousy, and keep fair appearances with each other. So that what Hortensius did in Cicero's behalf, may well be admired; but the ill offices he may have done him privately, ought not to surprize us. He got him admitted into the college of the Augurs (25): he praised him nobly on an occasion, wherein his praises might be of use of him (26); he ran the hazard of losing his life for his sake (27); and Cicero himself confesses, that there had always been between them a reciprocal commerce of good offices. 'Cum præsertim non modo nunquam sit aut illius à me cursus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, sed contra semper alter ab altero adjutus, & communicando, & monendo, & savendo (28). — Especially since we never opposed one another's interests, but, on the contrary, always assisted each other, by mutual communication, of counsels, advice, and favour.' Cicero's good-offices towards Hortensius, are not so much to be wondered at, as those of Hortensius towards him; because, though naturally speaking, Cicero must have had for many years, his heart filled with the rancour of jealousy, it is likely he did not keep half of it, when he saw himself superior. There was a time when he did not equal Hortensius, another when he equalled him, and a third, when he excelled him. This last period is an excellent

(b) See the remark [F].

(20) De re Rust. lib. iii, cap. xvii.

(21) Apud Baule in parte Baiana Piscinam habuit Hortensius Crator, in qua Murenam adeo dilexit ut extenuatam flectere crederetur. Plin. lib. ix, cap. lv.

(22) De abstinentia lib. iii.

(23) Saturn. lib. ii, cap. xi.

(24) Chyl. viii, Hist. 174.

(25) Cicero in Bruto, init.

(26) At Hercule alter tuos familiaris Hortensius quam plena manu, quam ingenuam quam ornate nostras laudes in altra sustulit, quum de Flacci Prætura & de illo tempore Allobrogum diceret. Sic habeto nec amantius, nec honorificentius, nec copiosius potuisse dici. . . . I cannot extol him too copiously, how ingeniously, and how elegantly your other friend Hortensius raised my fame to its very flux in the Oration, in which he mentioned the prætorship of Flaccus, and the time of the Allobroges. He assured that nothing could be said more affectionately, more honourably, or more fully. Id. ad Attic. Ep. lib. ii.

(27) Viti, viti hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium lumen & ornamentum Reip. penè interfecit severum manu cum mihi addeisset. . . . I saw with these eyes that very Hortensius, the glory and ornament of the commonwealth, in the utmost hazard of being slain by the hands of slaves, on my account. Id. pro Milone.

(28) Idem in Bruto.

some annals, but also some lascivious poems [I]. None of all these are now extant; and it must be confessed, that his tongue was much better than his pen [K]. Tho' he carried the cause of Messala his sister's son, having pleaded with the best of his eloquence for

excellent remedy against jealousy. But, on the contrary, what a mortification must it have been to Hortensius to see Cicero, who only came after him at the beginning, overtake him some time after, and at last get the start of him? 'Hortensius . . . qui diu princeps Oratorum, aliquando æmulus Ciceronis existimatus est, novissime quoad vixit, secundus.' Thus Quintilian speaks in the third chapter of the eleventh book: I know, that it was not a disadvantage to Hortensius to have such a rival as Cicero. The honours of his consulship had so slackened that ardent and indefatigable application, with which he had cultivated his mind from his youth, that he was perceived every day more and more to decline (29). He took heart again when he saw the great progress of Cicero's glory. But in truth, he would have easily dispensed with such a spur, which cost him the first place. There were hardly any great causes, wherein these two famous orators were not retained, sometimes for the fame, and sometimes for contrary parties (30). The famous extortioner Verres was to have Hortensius for his advocate, which was one of the strongest reasons Cicero alleged to exclude Cæcilius from being the accuser. It appears by that pleading (31) how fit Hortensius was to make the best of the causes he undertook. Cicero had all sorts of advantages here: he was the accuser; and it is said that he at first made Hortensius give over thoughts of pleading for his client Verres (32) there being so many charges and proofs against him. 'Multis diebus prima actio celebrata est, dum testes Verri producuntur criminum diversorum, dum recitantur publicæ privatorumque literæ. Quibus rebus adeo stupefactus Hortensius dicitur, ut rationem defensionis omitteret (33). — The opening of the cause continued many days, while by the witnesses of Verres many crimes were produced, and the public and private documents were read. At the hearing of which Hortensius, is said to have been so astonished, that he laid aside thoughts of making any defence for his client.' We have seen how Cicero declared that Hortensius had never done him any ill offices: and we may see in the same place, that he confutes those, who thought that Hortensius was not favourable to him. 'Dolebam quod, non ut plerique putabant, adversarium aut obrectatorem laudem meam, sed socium potius & confortem gloriosi laboris amiseram (34). — What added to my grief was, that I had lost not, as most people fancied, an enemy, and an envious rival, but rather a companion and fellow in our glorious toils.' But he wrote in another stile to his brother Quintus, when he told him, 'Quantum Hortensio credendum sit nescio: me summa simulatione amoris, summaque assiduitate quotidiana sceleratissime infidiosissimeque tractavit, adjuncto quoque Arrio: quorum ego consilii, promissis, præceptis destitutus in hanc calamitatem incidi (35). — I do not know how far Hortensius is to be trusted: he together with Arrius have used me in the most base and treacherous manner, under appearances of the warmest friendship and affection to my interests: and I have fallen into this distress, by being at once deprived of their counsels, promises, and directions.' How few people are there even amongst those who are accounted honest men, who have not two sorts of language, one for books which they design for the public, and another for the letters which they write to their friends. See the remark [M] of the article GROTIUS. As long as these are not public, this insincerity or ambiguous language doth not appear: but I wait for the publication of their letters to find it. We should vex some authors not a little, should we oblige them to repeat in conversation, or to hear repeated, the same eulogies they have given in their writings, prefaces, citations, and the agreeable necessity of making a funeral oration, how do you impose on the world! However it be, we have reason to look upon it as a wonderful address of Pomponius Atticus, that he was able to preserve the intimate friendship both of Cicero and Hortensius, and to hinder them from falling out. 'Utebatur intimè Q. Hortensio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non posset uter eum plus diligeret, Cicero.

cero an Hortensius, & id quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat ut inter quos tantæ laudis esset æmulation, nulla intercederet obreclatio, effectque talium virorum copula (36). — He lived in the closest friendship with Hortensius, so that it was impossible to tell whether Cicero or Hortensius loved him most, and what was a proof of his great address, he was the cause that these two mighty rivals, never expressed any jealousy of one another, so that he was, as it were, the bond of friendship betwixt them.

[I] He had published some lascivious poems.] This we learn from Ovid in his second book de Tristibus, where he gives a catalogue of those who have with impunity composed love poems.

Is quoque Phasias Argo qui duxit in undas

Non potuit Veneris furta tacere suæ.

Nec minus HORTENSI, nec sunt minus improba Servi

Carmina. Quis dubitet nomina tanta sequi?

The hero too, whom far-fam'd Argo bore
To distant Phasis, and the Chælbic shore,
Disclor'd the love-intrigues he follow'd there,
And boasted of the favours of the fair.
Nor lest obscene Hortensius' numbers flow,
Nor Servius' lines a chaster subject know.
To copy such examples who'd refuse?
They authorize the licence of the Muse.

Aulus Gellius doubtless speaks of these poems of Hortensius, when he says (37), they were not polite, in-venusta. I know not whether the poem which Varro (38) ascribes to him, be another work: as to the annals, they have been cited by Velleius Paterculus. I believe Hortensius was a learned man, Cicero having given him that commendation. But I do not see that his poems, his annals, and the proffer of Lucullus, are so good proofs of his learning, as Corradus would fain have us believe. 'Sane, says he (39), videtur bene doctus fuisse, siquidem poema scripsit, ut Auctor est Varro libro primo de Analogia, & Annales, ut Paterculus affirmat, & certè cum Sisenna & Lucullo de Græce Latineque scribendo venit in eam contentionem quam Plutarchus in Lucullo refert. — He seems to have been a learned man, for he wrote a poem, as we are told by Varro, in his first book of Analogia; he wrote likewise Annals, as Paterculus affirms; and he certainly strove with Sisenna and Lucullus for the superiority of writing, both in Greek and Latin, as Plutarch testifies in the Life of Lucullus.' Methinks Corradus has not understood Plutarch's meaning; for he does not speak there of a challenge betwixt Hortensius, Sisenna, and Lucullus, but of a little presumption of the later, who undertook in the presence of the other two, to write the Social War, either in Latin or Greek, in prose or in verse, as the lot should decide. Plutarch conjectures, that the Greek prose fell to him by lot, since the history of that war, written by Lucullus in Greek prose, was extant in his time: but still, this doth not at all signify, that Hortensius and Sisenna had engaged to perform the same task if the lot fell to them. Caranæus who relates it so (40), is mistaken.

[K] His tongue was better than his pen.] This we learn from Quintilian, third chapter, eleventh book, where he observes that action has a mighty force in an orator; and that as this was Hortensius's great talent, when his pleading came to be read, they were not found to come up to the reputation of their author. 'M. Cicero, says he, unam in dicendo actionem dominari putat, hac . . . Antonium & Crassum multum valuisse, plurimam verò Q. Hortensium, cujus rei fides est quod ejus scripta tantum infra famam sunt . . . ut apparent placuisse aliquid eo orante quod legentes non invenimus. — Cicero is of opinion, that action is the chief talent of an orator . . . that Anthony and Crassus excelled in it, but especially Hortensius, which will appear, if we consider how much

(29) Cicero, in Bruto, sub fin.

(30) Sæpe, in iisdem, sæpe in contrariis causis versati sumus. Cicero, Divinat. in 2. Cæcil.

(31) Divinat. in Q. Cæcilius.

(32) It is to be observed, that Hortensius did not so forsake Verres, but that Quintilian, lib. x. cap. i. speaks of his pleadings for him.

(33) Ascend. Pedian. in prozimo act. in Verrem.

(34) Cicero, in Bruto, init.

(35) Id. Epist. iii, lib. i, ad Quint. fratrem. See also Epist. ix. ad Attic lib. iii.

(36) Cornel. Nepos, in Vita Pomp. Attic.

(37) Lib. xix, cap. ix.

(38) Lib. i. de Annal. apud Corradum in Cicero, Brutum, pag. 428.

(39) Ibid.

(40) In Plin. Ep. lib. v, pag. m. 233.

(i) Epist. ii, Cicer. ad Famil. lib. viii.

(k) Est autem L. Paulo, C. Marcello Coff. mortuus, ex quo videmus eum in Patronorum numero annos quatuor & quadraginta fuisse. Cicer. in Bruto.

for him [L], seeing him charged with being engaged in a faction; yet he did himself a great injury by it, and exposed himself, in his old age, to hissings and clamours, which he alone had escaped before (i). He died in the 703d year of Rome, in the 64th year of his age, 44 or 45 of which he had spent with a mighty reputation at the bar (k). It has been said that he had so worn out his voice, that he lost it before he lost his life. Others have so ill understood that thought, that they have taken it, as if he died in pleading, having killed himself by the violence of speaking. We must look upon this as fabulous, since he pleaded a cause of importance a few days before his death [M]; and since Cicero is so far from mentioning this sort of death, as he would doubtless have done if he had died in that manner, he affords us reasons to think otherwise. Consult upon all this, the remark [M]. Hortensius married in his youth a daughter of C. Catulus (l), I cannot well tell whether she was also the daughter of Servilia (m), a lady of the greatest distinction in Rome. He was Catulus's son-in-law, at the time of Verres's trial. But nothing can be more singular than his marriage with Martia [N] the wife of Cato of Utica, and

(l) Id. de Orat. lib. iii, sub fin.

(m) Ex focu tua, femina primaria Servilia. Id. Ver. 4.

'much inferior his writings are to the great fame he enjoyed . . . so that it would seem that they had certain charms while he pronounced them, which are quite lost in the reading.' How many preachers have we of whom we may say the same thing? Mr Morus is an instance of it.

[L] Having pleaded with the best of his eloquence for him.] This cause was pleaded in the year of Rome 702. Hortensius was then sixty three years old, which age did not hinder him from making an excellent plea. Brutus, who always thought him a great orator, never admired him so much as he did on that day; others passed the same judgment; and Cicero having read the piece, published word for word, as it was pronounced, was of the same opinion (41). And if Hortensius was hissed the next day, it was not because he had pleaded less eloquently than he used to do, but because people were vexed to see that he had brought his client off. That repentment had already shewn itself against the judges. 'Clamoribus scilicet

(41) Hortensium magnum Oratorem semper putavi maximeque probavi pro Mefila dicentem, cum tu abfuit. Sic ferunt, inquam, idque declarat totidem quot dixit, ut ajunt, scripta verba oratio. Cicer. in Bruto.

(42) Caelius ad Cicer. Epist. ii, lib. viii, ad Famil.

'maximis iudices corripuerunt, & ostenderunt planè esse quod ferri non posset. . . Accessit huc, quod postredie ejus absolutionem in Theatrum Curionis Hortensius introiit, puto ut suum gaudium gauderemus. Hic tibi strepitus, fremitus, clamor, tonitruum & rudentium sibilus. Hoc magis animadversum est quod intactus ab sibilis pervenerat Hortensius ad senectutem. Sed tum ita bene ut in totam vitam cuius satis esset, & poeniteret eum jam vicisse (42). — They inveighed against the judges with terrible outcries, and showed that it was a thing not to be suffered. . . Besides, the next day after his acquittal, Hortensius entered into the theatre of Curio, expecting, no doubt, the compliments of his friends upon that occasion, but instead of that he was received with murmurs, outcries, clamour, and hissing. This was the more taken notice of, because Hortensius had arrived to old age, without ever being so used before, but then he got as much of it as was enough for one's whole life, and as made him regret that he had got his cause.' He pleaded a few days before his death, as Cicero observes; he was undoubtedly one of those great wits, who have a lasting strength of mind. It is true, he shined more in his youth, than in his more advanced age, for which two reasons are assigned: one is that he had made choice of the Asiatic eloquence, which was more becoming in a young than an old man: the other was, that he laboured with greater application when he was young. 'Si quærimus, cur adolescens magis floruerit dicendo, quam senior. Hortensius, causas reperiemus verissimas duas: primum, quod genus erat orationis Asiaticum, adolescentis magis concessum, quam senectuti. Genera autem Asiaticæ dictionis duo sunt. . . Hæc . . . genera dicendi aptiora sunt adolescentibus, in senibus gravitatem non habent. Itaque Hortensius utroque genere florens, clamores faciebat adolescens. . . Sed cum jam honores, & illa senior auctoritas gravior quiddam requireret, remanebat idem, nec decebat idem: quodque exercitationem studiumque dimiserat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa creberrimæ sententiarum pristina manebat, sed ea vestitus illo orationis, quo consueverat, ornata non erat (43). — If we ask why Hortensius was more famed for eloquence in his youth, than when he came to years, we shall find two very good reasons for it, the first is, that he chose the Asiatic style, which is more allowable in youth than in age. There are two kinds of Asiatic eloquence. . . These . . . are fitter

(43) Cicero, in Bruto, sub fin. pag. m. 451.

'for young men, but have not gravity enough for the old. Therefore Hortensius excelling in both these, could not fail to gain a great reputation in his youth. . . But when the honours he had obtained, and that authority which his age gave him required a graver manner, he continued in the same, which had not now its former grace: besides, he having slackened his application and study, which had been prodigious, the concinnity and frequency of his sentences remained, but the elegant dress with which he used to adorn them was now gone.' He was happy even in the time of his death: for he died just before the deplorable confusions into which the common-wealth was plunged (44).

[M] It has been said that he lost his voice. . . Others have ill understood that thought. . . We may look on this as fabulous, since he pleaded a cause of importance a few days before his death.] The proof of the first of these two things is contained in this passage of Quintus Serenus Samonicus:

Sic est Hortensius olim

Absumptus, causis etenim confectus agendis,
Obtuit, cum vox domino vivente periret,
Et nondum extincti moreretur lingua disert.

Hortensius, tired with law, his tongue survive'd,
And liv'd, an orator of voice depriv'd.

Glandorpius has not understood the sense of these verses. 'Decessit à vita, says he (45), sub bellum civile Cæs. & Pompeii. . . clamore in actione causæ disruptus, ut indicat Q. Serenus — He died during the civil-war between Cæsar and Pompey, having burst himself by the vehemence of his speaking in pleading a cause, as Serenus reports.' The following words of Cicero do not agree with the passage of Samonicus. 'Perpaucis ante mortem diebus una tecum socerum tuum defendit Appium. . . Q. Hortensii vox extincta fato suo est, nostra publico (46). — A few days before his death, he, together with you, defended your father-in-law Appius. . . The voice of Hortensius was put to silence by his own fate, but ours by the fate of the public.'

[N] Nothing can be more singular than his marriage with Martia.] Plutarch tells the story thus (47). Hortensius desired Cato to give him Porcia his daughter, who was married to Bibulus, and had already born two children. Give her to me also, said he, as a fertile soil, in which I may sow children: I am sensible, added he, that, according to the opinion of the world, this is somewhat absurd; but in reality is there any thing more excellent and more beneficial to societies, than not to leave the fruitful field of a young woman uncultivated; and on the other hand, not to suffer a family to be oppressed with too many children, which have enough already? Besides, the mutual lending of wives amongst worthy men disperses virtue amongst a greater number of families, and occasions more alliances in the state; and if Bibulus is not willing entirely to quit his title to Porcia, I promise to restore her, after she has brought me some children, which may be a stricter bond betwixt you and him, and my self. Cato did not think proper to treat of this affair; but when Hortensius declared to him, that he had a mind to Martia, Cato's own wife, considering she was still very young, and that Cato had children enough, he readily promised her, provided Martius the lady's father would agree to it.

(44) Perpetua quadam felicitate usus ille cessit à vita suo magis quam suorum civium tempore, & tum occidit cum lugere scilicet Remus posset si viveret quam juvare. Id. ibid. rest.

(45) Glandorpius. Onorat. pag. 405, 406.

(46) Cicero, in Bruto.

(47) Plut. in Catone Utic. pag. m. 770.

and daughter of Martius Philippus. He asked her of Cato by way of loan, and obtained her without much difficulty, though her big belly declared she had no great misunderstanding with her Husband. He had one son who gave him much trouble, so that when

he

it. Martius consented to it, and presently Martia was transferred to Hortensius. When she became afterwards both his widow and heir she again returned to her first husband. This Cæsar did not forget in his Anti-Cato. 'If he had need of a wife, said he (48) why did he give her to another? And if he had no need of her, why did he take her again? Does not this shew, that he made use of this lure, that by lending a young wife to Hortensius, he might recover her with great wealth?' Strabo (49), having said that the Tapyri (50) had a law, by which the husbands gave their wives to others, when they had two or three children by them, adds, that Cato practised the same thing to gratify Hortensius's request who desired his Martia of him; and observes that Cato, in this only, followed the ancient custom of the Romans. There is reason to doubt whether this was their ancient custom; for besides that, there are so few instances of it, that Tertullian cites only that of Cato (51); it appears that Hortensius owned some singularity or novelty in his design, according to the common opinion. *Δὲν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸ τοῦτον, οὗτος δὲ καλὸν καὶ πολιτικόν.* Nam esse hominum quidem illud opinione novum (so *Xilander renders it*) natura pulchrum tamen & civile (52). — For this indeed is strange in the opinion of men, but naturally it is beautiful and politic. He does not oppose to this opinion the ancient laws or customs of the Romans, which so great a civilian would not have omitted on that occasion, but only nature. Bodinus (53) censures Plutarch without reason, as if he had said, in the life of Cato Uticensis, that it was lawful for the Romans to lend their wives; for that historian does not speak of it as of a custom founded upon the laws, or as a thing that was usually practised; on the contrary, he introduces Hortensius, confessing, that his proposal seemed strange or new. It is a great rashness in the same Bodinus, not to give credit to this lending of Cato's wife; for it is a story that Thraseas had taken from the writings of Munatius, Cato's friend, and Cæsar would not have ventured to have reproached him for it, if it had not been well known (54). The reason upon which Bodinus grounds his not believing it, is a new fault; it is because, says he, by the law of Romulus, and the ancient practice restored by Tiberius, the relations punished at their discretion wives that committed adultery. But what does this make against Cato's wife, who was given to another by her father and her husband? I say nothing against these words. *Plutarchus & Strabo Partbos æque ac Lacedæmonios mutuas uxores amicis dare consuevisse ajunt* (55), tho' they are very likely to deceive the reader; for who in reading them would not think, that Plutarch attributed this conduct to the Parthians, and Strabo to the Lacedæmonians? And yet Bodin means, that Strabo ascribes this to the Parthians (56), and Plutarch to the Lacedæmonians. This way of quoting is but too frequent, and leads into mistakes; it seems to bring many witnesses for the same thing, when in reality there is but one. Bodinus seems to say, that Plutarch and Strabo both tellify, that the lending of wives was practised both among the Parthians, and among the Lacedæmonians. I have read in Mr Menage, that, according to Casaubon, Plutarch mentions this marriage of Hortensius and Martia, as a thing of which he doubted. *Ad quem Strabonis locum notat Casaubonus. Plutarchum de Catone rem ita narrare ut de ea dubitasse significet* (57). Mr Menage had reason to say that this is false: it is not about the fact it self that Plutarch expresses his doubts; he only says, that that part of Cato's life is like a piece of a play, in which the plot is not well opened, that is, in my opinion, that people passed different judgments upon it. Note, that when I censure Bodinus for imputing this to Plutarch, I consider that he cites the life of Cato of Utica; for if he had cited the parallel between Lycurgus and Numa Pompilius, he could not have erred. Plutarch there affirms, that this king of Rome permitted husbands to lend their wives; but I think he is mistaken in saying so, and so does Mr Dacier. 'This is true, say he (58), of Lycurgus, but it does not appear that Numa ever had any such design; it would be also easy to prove, that this communi-

ty of wives did not begin at Rome, under Numa, but much later, and that it was not general.

Lucan supposes, that Martia, after Hortensius's death, went to Cato, and most humbly intreated him to take her again. She declared to him, that being past child-bearing, she only asked the name of wife, that she would live in continence, and desired only to share with him in those troubles and fatigues, that the ill posture of public affairs had brought upon him. Lucan adds, that Cato was moved by these words of Martia, and though that was not a proper time for marriage, he granted her request: it is true, that all the nuptial ceremonies were omitted, without excepting that which is looked upon as the principal, and the consummation of the work. Martia did not quit her mourning weed, she embraced her husband, as a mother doth her child (59). Cato was so deeply afflicted for the public calamities, that from the beginning of the civil war, he deprived himself of all diversions; he let his beard grow, and lived as a man in mourning. Martia's offers were accepted in the literal sense. See what Lucan makes her say:

(59) Sic ut erat, mastris servans iugubria cultus, Quoque in do natos, hoc est amplexa maritum. Lucan. lib. ii, ver. 365.

Dum sanguis inerat, dum vis materna, peregrini
Iussa Cato, & geminos excepi sceta maritos.
Visceribus lassis, partuque exhausta, revertor
Jam nulli tradenda viro: da fœdera prisca
Illibata tori: da tantum nomen inane
Connubii: liceat tumulo scripsisse, Catonis
Martia; dec dubium longo quæretur in ævo,
Mutarim primas expulsa, an tradita, tædas.
Non me lætorum sociam, rebusque secundis
Accipis: in curas venio, partemque laborum.
Da mihi castra sequi (60).

(60) Lucan lib. ii, ver. 338.

While nature yet with vigour fed my veins,
And made me equal to a mother's pains,
To thee obedient I thy house forsook,
And to my arms; another husband took;
My powers at length with genial labours worn,
Weary to thee and wasted I return,
At length a barren wedlock let me prove,
Give me the name without the joys of love.
No more to be abandon'd let me come,
That Cato's wife may live upon my tomb,
So shall my truth to latest times be read,
And none shall ask if guiltily I fled,
Or thy commands estranged me from thy bed.
Nor ask I now thy happiness to share,
I seek thy days of toil, thy nights of care.

ROWE.

If he had been throughout all his work as fond of fiction, as in this place, I am apt to think he would not have been accused of following too closely the thread of history, and not giving his work a form poetical enough. However it be, let us see what he says of the extreme rigidity Cato.

Ille nec horrificam sancto dimovit ab oræ
Cæsariem, duroque admisit gaudia vultu.
(Ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma,
Intonsus rigidam in frontem descendere canos.
Passus erat, mœstamque genis increfcere barbam,
Uni quippe vacat studiisque odiisque carenti,
Humanum lugere genus) nec fœdera prisca
Sunt tentata tori: iusto quoque robur amoris
Restitit: hi mores (61).

(61) Id. lib. ii, ver. 372.

Nor be the chief his sacred visage cheer'd,
Nor smoo'd his matted locks or horrid beard,
Nor deigns his heart one thought of joy know,
But met his Martia with the same stern brow.
For when he saw the fatal faction's arm,
The coming war, and Rome's impending harm,
Regardless,

(48) Id. ibid. pag. 784.

(49) Strabo, lib. xi, pag. 355.

(50) They bordered upon the Parthians.

(51) Ex illa, credo, majorum & sapientissimorum discipulis, Græci Socratis & Romani Catonis qui uxores suas amicis communiverunt. — O sapientiae Atticæ! O Romanæ gravitatis exemplum! leones Philosophus & Censor. — Agreeably I suppose to the doctrine of the ancients, and of the most wise men, of the Grecian Socrates, and the Roman Cato, who lent their wives to their friends. — O wonderful example of the Attic wisdom, and Roman gravity! A Philosopher and Censor both panders. Tertullian in Apologet. The example of Socrates does not concern the Romans. Tertullian ascribes to Cato the Censor, what he should have ascribed to Cato of Utica.

(52) Plut. pag. 771.

(53) Bodin. Meth. Hist. cap. pag. m. 73.

(54) Plut. in Cat. pag. 770.

(55) Bod. Meth. Hist. pag. 78.

(56) He should have said to the Tapyri, and not to the Parthians.

(57) Menage. Amén. Juris. cap. x. I do not find this in Casaubon's notes upon Strabo.

(58) Dacier in a marginal note of his translation of Plutarch, in the parallel between Lycurgus and Numa, pag. 362, 363. Dutch Edit.

he pleaded for his nephew, he declared, that he made choice of him for his heir, to the prejudice of his son. And yet it was to this unworthy son that he left his estate, if we may believe Valerius Maximus. See the following article.

*Regardless quite of every other care,
Unshorn he left his loose neglected hair;
Rude hung the boary honours of his head,
And a foul growth his mournful cheeks o're spread,
No stings of private hate his peace infest,
Nor partial favour grew up in his breast,*

*But safe from prejudice he kept his mind,
Free, and at leisure to lament mankind,
Nor could his former loves returning fire,
The warmth of one connubial wish inspire,
But strongly he withstood the just desire.*

Rowe.

HORTENSIUS (QUINTUS) son to the former, behav'd himself so unworthily of such a father, that he had like to have been disinherited by him [A]. But if he be the same that was proconsul of Macedonia after Julius Cæsar's death, we may presume he reformed his life. He warmly sided with the asserters of liberty, and strenuously engaged with Brutus, to raise armies which might be able to maintain the cause (a). He was taken at the battle of Philippi, and put to death by way of reprisal, by Marc Antony's order, upon Caius Antonius's tomb [B]. Some believe our Hortensius was the same with him, who had joined with Julius Cæsar against Pompey [C]. But as they who speak of him, sufficiently intimate, that he was the only Son of Hortensius, we may look upon him as the Father of Q. HORTENSIUS CORBIO and MARCUS HORTENSIUS HORTALUS, the first whereof was a monster of impurity and debauchery [D], and the latter fell into poverty, and had the discretion not to marry,

till

(a) Cicero,
Philipp. x.

(1) Epist. lib. iii,
vi, ad Attic.

(2) Natura metuenda est: hæc Curionem, hæc Hortensii filium non patrum culpa corruptit. Ibid. lib. x, Epist. xv.

(3) Illa Hortensiana omnia fuerunt infantia: ita fiet homo nequissimus: à Salvio liberto depravatus est. Ibid. Epist. xviii.

(4) Ibid. Ep. iii, lib. vi.

(5) Valer. Maxim. lib. v, cap. ix, n. 2.

(6) Plutarch. in Catone min. pag. 784.

[A] He had like to have been disinherited.] Cicero intimates plainly enough in his letters (1), that Hortensius's son was good for nothing, and that his own ill temper (2) and a freed-man called Salvius, had spoiled him (3). He seems to say that his father did not love him (4); but let us hear Valerius Maximus, who is more than ordinary clear in this matter. 'Q. Hortensii, qui suis temporibus ornamentum Romanæ eloquentiæ fuit, admirabilis in filio patientia extitit. Cum enim eo usque impietatem ejus suspectam & nequitiam inviam haberet, ut Messalam suæ sororis filium heredem habiturus ambitus reum defendens iudicibus diceret, si illum damnaissent nihil sibi præter oculum nepotum in quibus acquiesceret super futurum: Hac scilicet sententia quam etiam editæ orationi inseruit, filium potius in tormento animi quam in voluptatibus reponens: tamen ne naturæ ordinem confunderet, non nepotes sed filium heredem reliquit (5) — The patience of Hortensius, who was the ornament of the Roman eloquence, in the age in which he lived, towards his son is worthy of admiration. For tho' he was so incensed against him on account of his undutiful and scandalous behaviour, that he said to the judges in a speech which he made in defence of Messala, his sister's son, whom he then designed to make his heir, and who was accused of corruption, that if they condemned him he should have no other solace left but the embraces of his grand-children: by this sentence, (which he likewise inserted in this oration when he made it public) showing that he considered his son rather as the torment than the pleasure of his soul; yet, that he might not overturn the order of nature, he left his son his heir, and not his grand-children.' It is somewhat strange that Hortensius should have given out, that he had made choice of his nephew for his heir; for if he thought his own son deserved to be disinherited, could not he transfer his estate to his grand-children, as he said he should be obliged to do, if they condemned his nephew? A strange grand-father sure, not to think of his grand-sons, but in case of failure of his sister's son! Valerius Maximus has perhaps curtailed the matter by the suppression of some essential circumstances. It may be too, that we must take this declaration of Hortensius only as a figure of rhetoric: there are stratagems in this profession, which our orator knew well how to make use of. Probably he had a mind to move the judges in appearing so much concerned for the discharge of his client, as a person that was to be to him instead of a son. Others say that Hortensius's wife inherited his estate (6), she whom Cato had lent him, and whom he took again after Hortensius's death.

[B] He was murdered by way of reprisal, on the tomb of Caius Antonius.] To understand what this reprisal was, we must remember that Caius Antonius, brother to Marc, fell into Hortensius's hands during the confusions that followed Julius Cæsar's death; and that

Brutus understanding that by the rage of the Triumvirate, D. Brutus and Cicero had been put to death, together with other illustrious men, wrote to Hortensius to sacrifice his prisoner to their ghosts (7): which was done. Thus you see what was the end of Caius Antonius, and how his death was revenged.

[C] Some believe . . . that he had sided with Julius Cæsar against Pompey.] That which causes some difficulty here, is, that Hortensius's son was at Laodicea in the year of Rome 702, and led a very scandalous life there (8). How then is it probable, will some say, that two years after he should have raised himself so high in Cæsar's esteem, that he should entrust him with the command of his army, the day that he designed to pass the Rubicon, and possess himself of Ariminum, which was the leading stroke of that great affair, that was to determine the fate of the empire? Yet this he did to that Hortensius who was in Cæsar's party (9). Some time after he gave him the command of a fleet upon the coasts of Italy (10). We must not determine upon appearances.

I have not found in Eutropius what Glandorpius (11) pretends to have taken from his sixth book, that Octavius and Libo, Pompey's lieutenants, defeated this fleet of Hortensius. It is Orosius who says it (12). However, Glandorpius will have Hortensius, the orator's son, of whom Valerius speaks so ill, to be the commander of that fleet. He goes upon good grounds in this; for Cicero (13) does not permit us to doubt, that this son of Hortensius went over to Cæsar's party. I have not been able to find when he left it, nor how he obtained the proconsulship of Macedonia, a post, wherein he merited the applauses of Cicero (14). Catanzæus (15) confounding the father and the son, ascribes to the orator the being in Pompey's party, and the putting to death Caius Antonius, and the having been put to death by Marc Antony.

[D] Q. HORTENSIUS CORBIO was a monster of impurity and debauchery.] Valerius Maximus (16) giving a list of children that have verified the proverb, *Heroum filii noxæ*, forgets the son (17) but not the grandson of Hortensius. 'Q. Hortensii nepos Hortensius Corbio omnibus scortis abjectiorem & obseciorem vitam exegit, ad ultimumque lingua ejus tam libidini cunctorum inter lupanaria prostitit, quam avi pro salute civium in foro excubuerat. — Hortensius Corbio, grand-son to Hortensius, lived in a more vile and beastly manner, than the most abandoned women, and at last his tongue was as much prostituted to the lust of all men in the brothels, as that of his grand-father had been watchful in the Forum for the safety of the citizen.' If Lipsius had remembered that this author spoke in the plural number of Hortensius's grand-sons in the ninth chapter of the fifth book, he would not have believed (18) that Hortensius Hortalus, and Hortensius Corbio were one and the same person. The character in Tacitus gives the former, plainly distinguishes him from

(7) Plutarch. in Bruto. See also Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii, cap. lxxxi, who says, that the son of Hortensius left his life in that war.

(8) Cicero. Ep. ad Attic. iii, lib. vi.

(9) Plut. in Cæsar. pag. 723.

(10) Appian lib. ii, Bell. Civil.

(11) Orosius, pag. 406.

(12) Lib. vi, cap. xvi.

(13) Epist. ad Attic. iv, xvi, xvii, xviii, lib. xi.

(14) Plutarch. x.

(15) In Plin. Ep. lib. v.

(16) Lib. iii, cap. v.

(17) He speaks of him upon another occasion, as we have seen in the remark [A].

(18) Comment. in Tacit. Ann. lib. ii.

(h) Tacitus, Ann. lib. ii, cap. 37, 38.

(i) Ducens seferia singulis qui sexus virilis essent. Tacit. ibid. Ryckius makes it amount to 5000 Crowns.

till Augustus gave him the means of maintaining a family (b). But that emperor's liberality not being sufficient to supply the necessities of all the children that were born of that marriage, Hortalus begg'd the assistance of the senate [E]. Tiberius at first rejected this petition very harshly; but afterwards perceiving that his severity was disliked by the senate, he said that, if they desired it, he would give a certain sum to each of Hortalus's male-children (c) [F]. They thanked him for it, but Hortalus, either out of fear or greatness of soul, said not a word; and from this time, Tiberius shewing him no favour, he by degrees fell into the most extreme poverty (d).

(d) Egere affi-
grates; sicut
Hortalus, povere
an avice nobi-
litas etiam inter
angustias fortune
retinens. Neque
miseratus est
posthac Tiberius,
quamvis domos
Hortensii puden-
dam ad inopiam
dilateretur.
Tacit. Ann. lib.
ii, cap. xxxviii.

from the later. Moreri and Hofman commit the same fault as Lipsius, since they cite Valerius Maximus chap. 5, book 3, Tacitus in the second book of his annals, and Suetonius in the Life of Tiberius, with respect to Hortensius's grandson, who was extremely debauched. Vossius has mislead them, because he refers those three citations to a grand-son of Hortensius, as if they had concerned the same person (19).

[E] M. HORTENSIUS HORTALUS begged the assistance of the senate. His speech is in Tacitus (20): he brought with him his four little boys, and shewing them to the senate, intreated them to have some regard for the posterity of so many consuls, and so many dictators, *En stirps & progenies tot Consulatum tot Dictatorum*. Lipsius (21) thinks the hyperbole somewhat strong, since the family of Hortensius produced but one consul, and one dictator. He endeavours to excuse Hortalus, by saying that probably he had his mother's

(19) Vossius, de Hist. Latin. pag. 48.

(20) Ann. lib. ii, cap. xxxvii.

(21) Comment. in Tacit.

(22) In Tacit. pag. 41.

ancestors in view. Ryckius (22) speaks with more assurance, and lays it down as a thing undeniable, and is of opinion that Hortensius had chiefly in view the Marcus Philippus's, from whose family, says he, Martia, Hortalus's grand-mother, descended. This last fact is by no means probable: for on one side, we find but one son of Hortensius the orator; and this son was a grown man when Cicero passed through Laodicea in the year 702. On the other side, Cato could not be very young, when he parted with Martia to Hortensius, since his daughter Portia had born already two children (23). But Cato died at forty eight years of age in the year 707 of Rome (24). If then we suppose, as it is very probable, that he was at least 35 years old when he obliged Hortensius with his wife, we must say that this marriage happened in the 694th year of Rome. It is not there possible that Hortensius's son, whom Cicero saw in Laodicea, in the 702d year of Rome, should be Martia's son. But we need not go upon a conjecture: there is a fact in Plutarch which decides the question: Martia was still Cato's wife during the expedition of Cyprus (25), that is, in the 696th year of Rome. It must not be dissembled that Hortalus is called a young man by Tacitus in the 769th year of Rome, which would not very well agree with the supposition, that the only son of Hortensius was that debauchee mentioned by Cicero, and Valerius Maximus, who died a little after the battle of Philippi in 712. But it is much more reasonable to think, that Tacitus has not been so exact as to the age of Hortalus, than to cavil about the speech which Valerius Maximus read, and Hortensius spoke a little before his death. Now that speech plainly supposes he had but one son: for if besides this rake, who saluted Cicero in Laodicea, he had had any son by Martia, there had been no need of his making his grand-children his heirs, in default of his debauched son, and of Messala his nephew.

(23) Plut. in Cato. min. pag. 770, 771.

(24) Ibid. pag. 794.

(25) Id. Ibid. pag. 777.

[F] Tiberius . . . said that . . . he would give . . . to each of Hortalus's male-children.] This leaves room

to believe that Hortalus only brought his four sons with him, but that he left his daughters behind; so that to speak exactly, we must not say with Suetonius (26), (26) In Tiber. cap. xviii. that he had four children by his marriage; for if he had no more, Tacitus would make Tiberius guilty of an absurdity. Neither do I think that, speaking strictly, we can say that Tiberius gave nothing to Hortalus (27). Did not he offer to give him a sum, if the senate approved of it? was not he thanked for it? could he doubt of the favourable intention of the senate for that poor member? it is therefore highly probable that this sum was given; but as it was the only liberality of that prince, it did not prevent the misery of Hortalus. Let not Suetonius be urged (28), who pretends that the charities of Tiberius towards the poor senators, were annexed to some conditions, which excluded him from them. These conditions, said he, were, that he should make his indigence appear to the senate (29):

Quo pacto plerosque modestia & pudore deteruit, in quibus Hortalum Q. Hortensii oratoris nepotem, lxxv, pag. 12

By which means the greatest part were hinder-

ed by shame and modesty, and amongst others Hort-

lus grand-son to the orator Hortensius.] But it is not

true that shame or modesty hindered Hortensius's grand-

son from performing that condition: did not he con-

fess his misery? did not he carry his four sons to

desire the senate to have compassion on them? did

not he intreat the emperor to preserve them from

starving? *Nec ad invidiam ista sed conciliandae*

miseri cordiae refero: adsequenter florente te, Cae-

sar, quos dederis honores, interim Q. Hortensii

pronepotes, divi Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende

(30). Nor is this request invidiously made,

but to move pity. In the progress of your happy reign,

Cæsar, these children may arrive at the places you

will be pleased to honour them with; defend them

in the mean time from want; they are the great grand-

sons of Hortensius, they are sister sons of Augustus.

Achilles Statius (31), who says that our Hortalus is

probably the person who is mentioned in the sixty

seventh epigram of Catullus, did not consider that

what he relates out of Tacitus, and we have just now

seen, belongs to the year of Rome 769. It is true

Catullus did not die in 697. Scaliger has solidly con-

futed that falsity of St Jerome; but there is no likeli-

hood that he lived till 763. I have refused Joseph

Scaliger upon this, in the article of CATULLUS.

Certainly, Hortalus, mentioned by that ancient poet,

was rather Hortensius than his grand-son; and I can-

not but be amazed that Isaac Vossius in the same book

(32), wherein he maintains against Scaliger, that Ca-

tullus died, in the 704th, or 705th year of Rome,

should pretend (33) that the Hortalus mentioned by

that poet, is the same with him mentioned by Tacitus.

(27) This is said in Moreri's Dictionary of the Dutch edition, at the word Hortalus.

(28) In Tiber. cap. xviii.

(29) Tacitus, Ann. lib. i, cap. lxxv, pag. 12

(30) Tacit. Ann. lib. ii, cap. xxxvii.

(31) Notis, in Catull. Epig. lxxvii.

(32) Observat. ad Catull. pag. 83.

(33) Pag. 252.

HORTENSIUS' (JOHN) in French *Des-Jardins*, Physician to Francis I, was born near Laon in Picardy, being son of John Des-Jardins, governor of the castle of Hamelle in the diocese of Laon. He taught classical learning at Paris, in the college of cardinal le Moine, and afterwards applying himself to the study of Physic, he was made bachelor in that science in the year 1514, a licentiate in the year 1517, and doctor in 1519. It appears by the registers of the university of Paris, that he was regent-doctor in the year 1521, and dean of the faculty in 1524. As he understood Greek to perfection, he warmly exhorted his scholars to the study of that language; and that every body might be in a capacity of consulting Galen in the original, he made a present of a Greek edition of that ancient Physician to the library of that faculty; for at that time the Physicians at Paris had a public library in their schools (a). He got such a reputation, that he was thought able to cure all sorts of diseases, provided the fatal hour was not come (b). That was the only exception [A], so that this proverb was commonly applied to him,

(a) Hemeranus, Differt. de Acad. Parisiensis.

(b) Boileau, Histoire Académ. Paris.

Contra

[A] That was the only exception.] Vulgarly speaking, except a great deal; for if death does not interpose, there is no distemper but a Physician may cure; nature itself is then

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(c) He was called in Latin Hortensius, or de Mortis.

(d) It is in Latin, in the volume he published at Paris in the year 1675, in 4to, containing the Lives of Peter Ayrault, William Menage, &c. with several remarks.

(1) Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault, pag. 150.

(2) El præterea & Martino Aca-
cia & Michæli
Dumontio, Me-
dicis Parisien-
bus doctissimi
interpretationem
librorum Hippo-
cratis & Galeni
de victus ratione
in morbis acutis
nuncupavit Jo-
hannes Valerius
Medicus & isse
Parisienis doctis-
simus. Menage,
in eodem volumi-
ne, pag. 512.

(3) Ib. pag. 514.

(4) Petrum Hortensium militem
strenuum, qui
Margaretam de
Gravella uxorem
sibi adjunxit
Ibid. pag. 517.

(a) Occiso in
oculis filio suo
naturali. Valer.
Andr. Bibl.
Bibl. pag. 613.
But observe that
Brindt in his
Dutch History of
the Reformation,
ad ann. 1584,
pag. 703, 705,
speaks of Jerom
Hortensius, mi-
nister at the
Hague, and then
at Wallemaer,
who he says was
Lambert's son.

(1) Athen. Belg.
pag. 508.

(a) Admodum
adolescent, pag.
613.

Contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis (c). We find him commended in many books [B]; but as for himself, he printed nothing; nor have we any posthumous work of his. He married Joan Bourdin in 1520, and Mary le Tellier in 1541. He left seven children by the first, and four by the later. Their settlements they had [C], and the real estate he left, are a proof that he had gained a great deal of money. He died suddenly of an apoplexy, as he was entertaining his relations and friends on his birth-day in 1547. This occasioned a fine sonnet of Des-Portes [D], which I will give intire in the remarks. Mr Menage, who descended from John Des-Jardins by the mother's side [E], has wrote his life (d). We have taken this article from thence.

then sufficient for the work. However according to our way judging of things, by representing to our selves a-bundance of very possible conditions, which may change the chain and course of events, it is to give a great idea of a Physician, to say, that if a greater force does not interpose, he will restore a sick man's health. This makes me remember a too hardy expression of I do not know what admiral, who being ready to engage in very favourable circumstances, and after having taken all proper measures, said they were sure of victory, if God would stand neuter, and leave both parties to themselves.

[B] We find him commended in many books.] Mr Menage (1) cites Arnaud d'Ossat, in his Exposition against James Charpentier; Renatus Moreau, in the Life of James Sylvius; du Boulay, in the History of the University of Paris; Lewis d'Orleans, in the Human Plant; Peter Ayrault, in his books of *Ordine judici-
ario*; John Vasse (2), in an Epistle Dedicatory.

[C] The settlements his children had.] Mr Menage has these words (3). *Prædiquem fuisse, ut tum erant tempora, testantur & ejus ædes plurimæ, & prædia multa & liberi undecim, qui nido majores pennas, ut Placeti verbis utar, extenderunt.* From the particular account of these eleven children, it appears that the daughters were married to persons of distinction; one to William Verloris, counsellor in the Chatelet, the son of John Verloris, a famous advocate in the parliament of Paris; another to John Matayer, counsellor of the exchequer; a third to Peter Ayrault, lieutenant-criminal at Angers. One of the sons was a counsellor in the Chatelet; another was canon of Senlis; a third was counsellor of the exchequer. He that was counsellor in the Chatelet, left a son who had the same office, was echevin at Paris in 1600, and left a son, who had, amongst other children, the wife of Denis Godefroy, Historiographer of France. There remained amongst John Des-Jardins's descendants but one person (4) who bore his name, when Mr Menage wrote his book.

[D] His death . . . gave occasion to a fine sonnet of Des-Portes.] The reader will not be displeased to see it. Here Father Vavasseur has translated into Latin,

and Mr Menage has made an epigram upon the same thought (5).

Après avoir sauvé par mon art secourable
Tant de corps languissans que la mort menaçoit,
Et chassé la rigueur du mal qui les pressoit,
Gagnant comme Esculape un nom toujours durable.
Cette fatale sœur, cruelle, inexorable,
Voyant que mon pouvoir le sien amoindrissoit;
Un jour que son courroux contre moi la pouffoit;
Finit quant & mes jours mon labeur profitable.
P A S S A N T, moi qui pouvois les autres secourir,
Ne dis point qu'au besoin je ne me pus guerir,
Car la mort qui doutoit l'effort de ma science,
Ainsi que je prenois sobrement mon repas,
Me prit en trahison, sain & sans défiance,
Ne me donnant loisir de penser au trespas.

Long had I flourish'd in the godlike art
To ward the threats of death, and health impart;
From num'rous patients heal'd had gain'd a name,
And settled, Esculapius-like, my fame.
Th' inexorable sister saw each hour
Lessen her conquest, and decrease her pow'r;
And jealous of my rival prowess grown,
She stop'd my triumphs, to secure her own.
Yet say not, passenger, who bear'st this tale,
To heal myself my art could not avail:
Death, when my thoughts were otherwise employ'd,
Seiz'd an unguarded hour, and all my art destroy'd.

[E] Mr Menage was descended from John Des-Jardins by the mother's side.] Peter Ayrault, grandfather by the mother's side to Mr Menage, married Anne Des-Jardins, daughter of our Hortensius, and of Mary le Tellier his second wife, who was of the same family, from which chancellor le Tellier descended (6).

(5) All this is to be found, ibid. pag. 514. The Sonnet is at pag. 510.

(6) Menage, Remarques sur la Vie de P. Ayrault, pag. 515, 517.

HORTENSIUS (LAMBERT) born at Montfort in the province of Utrecht, the first day of April 1518 [A], has been ranked among the learned of his age. He studied at Louvain the learned languages with an extreme application, under excellent masters, and heard also Vives's lectures upon Logic. He published in Latin verse a translation of Aristophanes's *Plutus*, with notes, where he shewed the progress he had made in the Greek tongue. He published many other books [B]. He taught school a long time at Naerden in Holland, and very nearly escaped with his life when that town was sacked by the Spaniards in 1572, under the conduct of Frederic de Toledo, son to the duke of Alva. His house was plunder'd, and his natural son killed before his eyes (a), and he himself was going to be killed, notwithstanding his being a priest, but by good luck a gentleman (b) who had been his scholar, and then bore arms in the Spanish service, came in very seasonably to save his life. It is observed, that his only care was to save from the common wreck his comment upon Lucan's *Pharsalia*. He wrote a description of the

[A] He was born at Montfort the first day of April 1518. In this I disagree with my author Valerius Andreas, who says he was born in the year 1500. He was deceived doubtless by these words of Swertius (1), *Nascitur anno dno. 15. xviii. Kal. Aprilis*: he thought the numeral letters xviii, referred to the word *Kalends*, for want of remembering that there is not in the Roman Calendar, any eighteenth day, before the *Calends* of April. But this is not the only reason that determined me to join xviii to the preceding letters; I have been moved to that by another consideration; Valerius Andreas says, that Hortensius was very young (2) when he went to study at Louvain under Rutgerus Rescius, professor of the the Greek tongue: now

he says in another place (3), that Rescius died in 1545; (3) Pag. 805. which was the seventeenth year of his professorship; so that he began it only in 1528. How then could Hortensius study under this professor when he was very young, if he was born in the year 1500? but if he was born in the year 1518, all is easily reconciled. Paul Freherus (4) is mistaken, both in the year of his birth and of his death; for he says that Lambert Hortensius was born in the year 1501, and died in 1577.

[B] We have many books of his.] These are the titles of them: *Enarrationes in Virgilio Æneida*, in Fol. *Explanationes in Lucani Pharsalia*, printed at Basil in the year 1578, in Fol. *Satyram in ævi sui*

(b) His name was Weidam.

(4) In Theatro, pag. 1473. König says also, that he was born in 1501.

the plundering and slaughter of Naerden; the manuscript whereof is at Utrecht. He scarce survived that desolation, for he died in 1573 (c) near Naerden, in (d) a country house (e).

- (c) Anno à Ianuaria quæ soli propter doctrinam singularem pacierat altero, à nato Christo MDLXXIII. See the epitaph which those of Naerden ordered to be made for him in the church of St Vitus. Valerius Andreas has it.
(d) Freberus, in his Theatrum, pag. 1473, says, in præsidio sub suburbano. It should be prædio.
(e) Ex Valer. Andrea, Bibl. Belg. pag. 613.

*fui vitia & mores libri II. Epithalamiorum liber I. Germanico à Carolo V. Casare gesto libri VII. Tu-
Secessionum civilium Ultrajectinarum libri VII. De Bello multuum Anabaptistarum liber I. (5).*

(5) I have quoted that book in the remark [B] of the article PICARDS. I add here, that it was reprinted at Amsterdam, in 1696, with the *Historia Anabaptistica de factione Monasteriensis* of Conrad. Herzbachius, by the care of Theodorus Strackius, minister of Burkh in the country of Cleves.

HORTENSIVS (MARTIN) a native of Delft in Holland, and professor of Mathematics at Amsterdam, would have made a greater progress in that science, if he had not died in the flower of his age (a) in the year 1639 [A]. The preface which he prefixed to a book of Philip Lansbergius, which he translated into Latin, and in which he makes strong objections against Tycho Brahe's system, shews how he cultivated the study of Astronomy; in which he was assisted by Lansbergius's conversation, to whom Beekman, rector of the school of Dort, a man very much spoken of in Des Cartes's history, recommended him. That book of Lansbergius is intitled *Commentationes in motum terræ diurnum & annuum, & in verum aspectabilis cæli typum*, and was printed at Middleburg in the year 1630, in 4to. Hortensius has also translated the *Astronomical Institution* of William Blaeuw, and writ a dissertation *de Mercurio sub Sole visio & Venere invisio*, dedicated to Gassendus, and an answer to what Kepler had prefixed to his Almanack in 1624 (b). Gassendus's letters to him, shew the particular esteem he had for him. Hortensius's letters to Gassendus are printed among those of that famous Philosopher. From them I learned that he was born in 1605 (c), and that he was admitted professor at Amsterdam in the year 1634 (d). He did not seem to be contented with his condition; and he speaks (e) of the spirit that reigned in that famous town, like a man vexed and enraged that they did not come to his lectures, nor encouraged the making of those machines he had contrived, from which he expected a success above all that Tycho Brahe had done (f). We have some orations of his, one *de utilitate & dignitate Mathematicæ*, and another *de Oculo ejusque præstantia*. He says in one of his letters to Gassendus (g), that the impression of his answer to the book which Peter Bartholinus had published against him in defence of Tycho Brahe, was only put off for want of paper. Probably that work kept company with the *Pleiadographia* (h), which remained in manuscript among the papers of the same author when he died. Des Cartes does not speak advantageously of his ability. As for the school-professors, says he (i), not one of them understands my Geometry; no not Golius, much less Hortensius, who has not made a sufficient progress for that.

(a) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 652.

(b) See Vossius, de Scient. Math. pag. 201, 202.

(c) Oper. Gass. pag. 418, Tom. VI.

(d) Ibid. pag. 422.

(e) Ib. pag. 429.

(f) Ibid. pag. 425. Vide etiam pag. 429, & pag. 432.

(g) Pag. 129.

(h) Valer. Andr. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 652.

(i) Letters, Tom. III, pag. 191.

[A] He died in the year 1639. I have not followed Valerius Andreas here, who says he died in the year 1640. That which induced me not to follow him is a passage of Des Cartes, which deserves to be copied: I take it from one of his letters to Father Merfennus (1) which tho' it be not dated, yet it solidly fixes the date which I have occasion for, since in the very first lines the author acquaints us, that he wrote in answer to a letter of the last of December 1639. This is what I thought proper to copy of it: 'Hortensius being some years ago in Italy set about making the scheme of his nativity, and told two young men of this country who were with him, that he should die in the year 1639, and as for them they should not live long after. Now he dying this summer as you know, these two young men fell into

such fears that one of them is already dead, and the other, who is the son of Heinius (2), languisheth in such a manner, and is so melancholy, that he seems to do all that is possible to verify the Astrologer's prediction. Here is a fine science indeed, which serves to kill people, who perhaps would not have been sick without it.' It would be wrong to object to me that Des Cartes might have written this letter after the summer of the year 1640, and consequently that he does not contradict Valerius Andreas; for his correspondence by letters with Father Merfennus was so frequent, that this objection must needs be false. But besides, I find in a letter of Boxhornius (3), dated the thirteenth of September 1639, that he laments the loss of Hortensius, who was lately dead.

(2) It is doubtless Nicolas Heinius, who did not die till 1681. Mr Baillet says the contrary, pretending that Heinius had two sons, and that he whom Des Cartes speaks of, actually died, and that his name was Daniel.

(3) Vide Epistolæ Boxhornii, pag. 144. Edit. Francof. 1679.

HOSIVS (STANISLAUS) cardinal and bishop of Warmia, was one of the most ingenious men that Poland has produced: he was born at Cracow in the year 1504. You will find in Moreri (a) an account of his actions, and of the honours he arrived to: It was not thought, when he was one of the presidents of the council, that he had all the address that such a station required [A]. His books of controversy are not inferior

(a) And better still in Bullart's Académie des Sciences, Tom. I, pag. 64, and following.

to

[A] It was not thought, when he was one of the presidents of the council, that he had all the address that such a station required. The cardinal of Mantua dying the second of March 1563, his colleagues, who presided with him in the council, wrote immediately to the Pope. He who was the first president (1), desired that a legate might be sent that should be above him. Hosius desired that he might have leave to go into Poland: but Simoneta advised the Pope not to send a new legate to Trent, hoping thereby to obtain the direction, not only because cardinal Seripande was weary of the council, and had no inclination to direct

it any longer, but because cardinal Hosius was a plain man, who was easily governed. Simoneta desidero che la somma di guidare il Concilio restasse à lui, & havendo speranza di condurlo bene, con soddisfazione del Pontefice, & honor proprio; considerando che Seripando era satiato di quel negotio, & poco inclinato a volerlo guidare, & che Varmienese era semplice persona, disposta à lasciarsi reggere; mise in considerazione al Pontefice, che, ritrovandosi le cose del Concilio, &c. (2). Mr Amelot has not well translated these words, as any one may easily perceive. Here follows his version: 'Simoneta earnestly desiring the direction, and hoping

(1) Fra-Paolo, storico del Concilio di Trento, lib. vii, pag. m. 603. Compare with this the passage of the sixth book, pag. 448. It is the 517th page in Amelot's translation.

to

to the best that were written in that age. Casaubon has justly accused him [B] of having made an apology for a controversialist, who had said, that without the authority of the church, the holy Scripture has no more weight than *Æsop's Fables*. The Jesuit who has censured Casaubon upon this account, has only shewn his own ignorance (b). Hosius died near Rome the fifth of August 1579. Moreri has committed some mistakes [C].

It

(2) Hist. du Concile de Trente, pag. 657, 658. Amsterdam Edit. 1686.

(3) Hist. du Concile Trident. lib. xx, cap. vi, n. 6.

(c) Casaubon. in Bironium, Exercit. i, cap. xxxiii, pag. m. 134.

(4) Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. xx, cap. vi, n. 6.

(5) Hist. du Concile de Trente, pag. 657, 658. Amsterdam Edit. 1686.

(6) Hist. du Concile de Trente, pag. 657, 658. Amsterdam Edit. 1686.

(7) The words of Hosius quoted by Eudæmon-Johannes, are to be found in the third book against Brentius's Prolegomena, pag. 196. Edit. Colon. 1551, in fol.

(8) Si nihil gravius dixit Hosius, erit hæc in Brentium calumnia, non in Spiritum S. blasphemia. Ego Pighius, Hosii nihil habeo, nec Hermannus, cui blasphemiam hæc Scripturæ cum *Æsopi* fabulis comparationem tribuentes viros magis audiui. Jacob. Capellus, *Pindia*. If. Casaub. lib. iii, cap. v, pag. 78.

(9) Hosius, lib. iii, in Prolegomena Brentii, pag. 230, 231.

(10) Hosius had been saying, that Luther calls the Holy Scripture the book of Heretics. Gretserus observes it likewise, *Proleg. Exam. Mystici*. Pighius, pag. 196, and quotes Luther's words, ex Pighio. *Eccl. Domin. 8. pag. Trin.*

Note, that cardinal Palavicini (4) pretends to prove by authentic pieces, that what Father Paul advances concerning the ambitious artifices of Simoneta, is false.

[B] Casaubon has justly accused him, &c. . . . Let us follow the progress of this dispute, and begin with the words of this great critic (5): 'Verbo Dei viventes scripto minus etiam tribuit (*Scippius* in *Ecclesiastico*, cap. 135. quam sive Pighius, sive alius qui dixit Patrum memoria: *Scripturam si auctoritate Ecclesiæ destitueretur, non plus per se valere quam fabulas Æsopi*. Quod blasphemum dictum postea defendere ausus est Cardinalis Hosius. — He (*Scippius* in *Ecclesiastico*) gives less authority to the written word of the living G O D, than either Pighius, or another, who in the days of our fathers said: That if the Scriptures were deprived of the authority of the church, they would of themselves be of no more value than *Æsop's Fables*. Which blasphemous saying cardinal Hosius has dared to defend.' The Jesuit Eudæmon-Johannes maintained, that it was a calumny forged by Brentius, and pretended to prove it thus. 'Jam verò quando non memorat, neque quis *Æsopiæ* bujus fabulæ auctor sit, neque quo loco eam Hosius defenderit, vel ne convinci imposturæ posset, vel quod in aliquo alio rem eam legerat, et auctorem et calumniam ex Hosio detegam: videant deinde lectores, quam bona fide infideles isti fidei patroni disputent. Is igitur lib. 3. in prolegomena Brentii, ipso ferè initio: Magna pars, inquit, libelli [*prolegomenorum Brentii*] non aliunde conitans, quam è fannis, dictis, convitiis, in quo sic etiam ludit Scripturis, sic eas tractat joculariter: ut verè de ipso dici possit, quod venerabili viro Petro à Soto falso impingit, eum haud aliter Scripturis, quam *Æsopi* fabulis uti. Non est igitur ea Catholicæ cuiusquam Scriptoris vox: sed calumnia Brentii: quam vir illustrissimus falso in virum doctissimum excogitavit, in auctorem ipsum verè convenire defendit (6). — But since he doth not tell us, either who is the author of this [*Æsopic*] Fable, nor in what place Hosius has defended it, and this least he should be convicted of an imposture, or that he had read this story of some other person, I shall show both the author of it and the calumny from Hosius himself: and then let the reader judge, how ingenuously these faithless defenders of the faith argue. Hosius therefore in the third book against the Prolegomena of Brentius, near the beginning, says, *The greatest part of this book* [the Prolegomena of Brentius] *consists only of buffoonry, jokes, and reproaches: in which likewise he so plays with the Holy Scriptures, and treats them in so burlesque a manner, that we may truly say of him, what he falsely alleges against the reverend Peter de Soto, that he useth the Scriptures in the same manner one would use Æsop's Fables*. This therefore is not a saying of any Catholic writer, but a calumny of Brentius; which our illustrious author shows to be falsely invented against a very learned man, and properly to belong to the inventor himself. Here we find four things. I. A complaint that Casaubon has not marked in what part of Hosius's works he found this. II. That Brentius accuses Soto of using the

scriptures as *Æsop's Fables*. III. That Hosius maintains, that this accusation is a slander with respect to Soto, but most true with respect to Brentius. IV. That these words of Hosius occasioned the scandalous reflection mentioned by Casaubon. The first of these four things is just. The carelessness of those who do not quote the particular chapter in an accusation of importance cannot be too much blamed: great authors are most liable to this fault: they think they shall be believed on their own word, and so will not give themselves the trouble of quoting: they think it enough to say, Plutarch, Cicero, St Augustin, say this. Abundance of readers had rather take it upon trust, or remain dubious, than take the pains to verify it. Tho' Casaubon had no real design to hinder any one from discovering whether his accusation was false or no, yet he has left room for that suspicion: why did he quote in so loose a manner? the second and third things are undeniable facts (7), but they signify nothing to this dispute. The fourth is a notable blunder of the Jesuit, as I shall prove in what follows.

The confidence with which he accuses Casaubon of calumniating cardinal Hosius, raiseth a certain prejudice to the disadvantage of this critic: but when we see Casaubon's apologists stop short, and coldly confess he has no book of Hosius (8), we are inclinable to believe that Eudæmon-Johannes is well founded in his accusation. Can one easily believe that a minister, who undertakes the confutation of Casaubon's censor, should not seek for Hosius's books till he finds them? is it so hard a matter to find them? one therefore suspects that this confession of his want of them is a subterfuge, invented on purpose that he may not be obliged to own the cardinal's innocence. But be in no fear for Casaubon: he charges Hosius with nothing but what is most true. 'Fingamus autem nunc verum esse, (they are Hosius's words (9) in the same book that Eudæmon-Johannes cites) quod tu scripsisse nescio quem narras, nam nomen non ex primis, ac fieri potest ut sit commentum tuum, Scripturas valere quantum fabulas Æsopi, si destitueretur auctoritate Ecclesiæ. Cedo Brentii, num hic minus reverentur de Scripturis loquutus est, quam qui vocat eam librum Hæreticorum (10), cum tamen nullorum sit minus quam Hæreticorum: est enim Catholicorum propria, qui tot seculis in ejus possessione præscriperunt. Et potuit illud tamen pio sensu dici, quem homo pius, qui charitatem habet quæ non cogitat malum, ex iis verbis eliceret. Nam revera, nisi nos Ecclesiæ doceret autoritas hanc scripturam esse canonicam, perexiguam apud nos pondus haberet. — Let us suppose that this is true, which you pretend some body or other has wrote, for you name no body, and possibly it may be an invention of your own, that the Scriptures are of no more value than *Æsop's Fables*, if you deprive them of the authority of the church. Pray, Brentius, has this person spoke with less reverence of the Scriptures, than he did who calls them the book of Heretics, when indeed it belongs to none less than to them: for it is the property of the Catholics, who have a right to it by the possession of so many ages. And yet these words might have been said in a pious sense, which a good man, who has charity, and thinketh no evil, may draw out of them. For indeed if the authority of the church did not teach us that this is the Canonical Scripture, it would have very little weight with us.'

[C] Mr Moreri has committed some mistakes. I. It was not to Pavia, but to Padua, that Hosius's relations sent him to study. Moreri might have discovered his mistake, if he had known that Lazarus Bonamici, whom he makes Hosius's master, was professor at Padua. Du Saussai (11) supposes, that Hosius being sent into Italy by the advice of Peter Thomici, bishop of Cracow, stopped at Bologna. He should have said that Hosius having studied at Padua some time, went to Bologna, and was there admitted doctor of law. 'Patavii, dein Bononiæ . . . Jurisprudentiæ industriam primo addixerat, & lauream sub

(11) Continuatio de Script. Eccles. cap. xxxii, pag. m. 23.

It has been thought, that this cardinal was the author of an anonymous book, very injurious to the Swiss, which was confuted by Bullinger in the preface to Josiah Simler's tract *de aeterno Dei filio* (c).

It is certain (d) that he wrote the anonymous piece I am going to mention. He composed it the year 1564, and intituled it *Judicium & Censura de Judicio & Censura Ministrorum Tigurinorum & Heidelbergensium de dogmate contra adorandam Trinitatem in Polonia nuper sparso*. It has been inserted in the collection of his works (e) and I do not doubt but it is in the editions which the author himself published. I believe the most compleat edition of his works is that of 1584 [D]. It contains a volume of posthumous works, among which there are many letters of Hosius, wherein he frequently repeats the same things, to wit, that Heretics ought to be extirpated, and that their divisions sufficiently show the injustice of their pretended reformation. He had read with great care the books which the Zuinglians and Lutherans had published against one another, and those concerning the violent disputes which had arose among the Lutherans. He is incessantly drawing odious conclusions from them, and he very subtly takes advantages from this, that these new doctors published books in defence of penal laws against those who erred, and that the strongest side in the schisms among the Lutherans, banished, imprisoned, &c. the other.

(c) See Hottinger in Pentate Differt. Miscell. pag. 214.

(d) Mr Crenius, part. XII of his Animadu. p. 65, only says, it is reported.

(e) From page 669 to 707, of the first Tome of the Colonn edition. My copy has in the title the year 1639.

(12) Thuan. lib. lxviii, sub fin. pag. m. 297.

sub ipso Hugone Boncompagno qui S. S. Gregorii XIII nomine dein praefuit, postremo adeptus est (12). — He began the study of the Law at Padua, and afterwards studied at Bologna, and at last received the doctor's degree from Hugh Boncompagno, who was afterwards Pope, by the name of Gregory XIII. This shows the second falsity of Moreri; who says that Hosius received his doctor's degree at Padua. III. He was made bishop of Calvi, at the instance of king Sigismund I. These words of Moreri imply another falsity; for it was Sigismund Augustus who procured him that bishopric. IV. How could Sigismund I. send him to Rome to Pope Julius III. He died in 1548, whereas this Pope was not created till 1550. V. He should not have said, that retiring into Poland after the conclusion of the council, he wrote those admirable works that remain of his: for this signifies, that he wrote no books before; whereas it is certain, that his answer to Brentius was printed at Cologne, in 1558. It is a work of four hundred pages in Folio. His book, intituled, *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana* (13), was published before that at Mentz. His books of *Communione sub utraque specie*, de *Sacerdotum conjugio*, and de *Missa vulgaris lingua celebranda*, were printed at Paris, in 1561 (14). Du Saussai (15) deserves here a little censure; for he reckons most of these works among the books which Hosius published after the council of Trent. VI. Moreri should not have said in general, that Hosius's books were printed thirty two times before he died. He should, as Mr Bullart does, have made some exceptions. Several of his writings, says he (16), were printed two and thirty times in his life-time, in the principal cities of Christendom, and translated into French, Italian, German, Flemish, Polish, English, Scotch, and Armenian. Mr de la Rochepezoai (17) is wrong in making no exception. See the following remark.

I have not taken notice of what Moreri says about the reasons that obliged cardinal Hosius not to be present at the twenty fourth session. He pretends it was because he disapproved the decision, made concerning clandestine marriages: it is very true, that he did not like that decision, and that he endeavoured three or four times to get it revoked, for which reason he was taxed with obstinacy (18), but it is not certain, that his absence was grounded upon the reason which Moreri assigns. For he assisted at the session before, tho' he disapproved some things which were determined there about the sacrifice of the mass: he made no scruple to oppose them. Why then durst he not do as much as to clandestine marriages? would he not have been seconded by his colleague cardinal Simoneta, and some others? did he not send in writing, his opinion, which was contrary to the decree? did he not declare in writing, that he referred all that to the judgment of the holy father? In a word, his sickness was not counterfeited, and lasted a long time. Thus you have most of the reasons that Palavicini makes use of (19) to refute a story adopted by Father Paul, that Hosius pretended to be sick, that

he might not be present at the session, in which the decree for clandestine marriages was to be ratified. There is sometimes reason to say, that the sickness of great men are affected, and only politic grimaces. But historians too speculative, are likewise sometimes mistaken in saying so.

[D] I believe the completest edition of his works is that of 1584. It was printed at Cologne by Maternus Cholin, and makes two volumes in Folio. The first contains the works formerly published, but here you have them as they were last revised by the author. The second volume consists altogether of pieces which had not been printed before, and which were collected by Stanislaus Reticus, who dedicates them to Stephen Battori king of Poland. His Epistle Dedicatory is dated from Rome, September 1. 1582. By the manner in which Mr Crenius speaks (20) of the Treatise intituled *Judicium & Censura* &c. I conclude that it is not in the Antwerp edition of 1566 in Folio, but I am persuaded that it is in the edition of Venice which the author himself dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII on the fifteenth of August 1573. He had revised and augmented his works for this edition. He dedicates the first Treatise to Henry of Valois king of Poland, and dates the Epistle Dedicatory on the same day with that of the whole volume. The first Treatise is intituled *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana*. The author had wrote part of it three and twenty years before, and having sent it to Rome by the archbishop of Gnesna, it was so much approved of, that cardinal Otho Truchses, bishop of Augsburg, printed it in his own town of Dillingen. What was wanting being added, the whole work was printed at Mentz by the care of the archbishop of Gnesna. There soon followed other editions. Hosius's name did not as yet appear to it, and was not put to it, till Ruard Tapper desired the author to put his name, because it was usual in Germany to discourage the sale of anonymous books (21). This has been the best received of any of Hosius's works. Pope Pius IV made Paul Manutius reprint it at Rome (22): if there is no hyperbole in the thirty two editions which they mention (23), it must principally relate to this piece. Reticus extends it to all Hosius's works which he had published. 'Ipso etiam Autore vivente bis & trigiesies in praecipuis Christiani Orbis urbibus, Latina, Germanica, Gallica, Flandrica Lingua omnes Hosii Libri typis excusati, in Polonicam etiam & Italicam translati videbantur, & fortasse etiam in Armenicam, sicut ex sermone viri cujusdam in hac urbe illustrissimi accepimus (24). — During the author's own life, all Hosius's works were printed thirty two times in the chief cities of Christendom, in the Latin, German, French, and Flemish languages, and translated into the Polish and Italian, and possibly into the Armenian, as I have been informed by a famous man in this city.' But his Posthumous Works, consisting of a large volume in Folio, being to be excepted, I had reason to condemn Moreri's general expression.

(20) Crenius, Animadu. part. XII, pag. 65.

(13) See the preface of his answer to Brentius's Prolegomena.

(14) Oldoinus, in Athen. Romano, pag. 615.

(15) In Contin. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. pag. 23.

(16) Bullart, Academ. des Sciences, Tom. I, pag. 70.

(17) In Nomenclatore Cardinalium, pag. 151.

(18) Palavic. Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. xxii, cap. ix, n. 6.

(19) Ibid. lib. xxiii, cap. vii, n. 17.

(21) Taken from Hosius's dedication to Henry of Valois, king of Poland.

(22) See the same epistle dedicat.

(23) See the preceding remark, citation (16).

(24) Stan. Reticus, Epist. Ded. Tom. II, Oper. Hosii, folio 3, verso. Edit. Colon. apud Chollin, 1584.

HOSPINIAN (RODOLPHUS) is one of the greatest authors of Switzerland. He was born at Altorf, a village of the county of Kiburg, in the canton of Zurich, the 7th of November 1547, and at seven years of age he was sent to Zurich to begin his studies. He made a great progress in them, under the direction of John Wolphius (a), his uncle by his mother; and losing his father (b) in the year 1563, he found a most affectionate patron in Rodolphus Gualterus (c) his godfather. He left Zurich to visit the other universities in March 1565, and staid two years at Marburg, where he distinguished himself by his great application to study, and his good conduct. He did the same at Heidelberg the six months he spent there; after which, his superiors recalled him, and he was received into the ministry in 1568. He was obliged to go and preach twice a week in a country church four or five leagues from Zurich. He punctually discharged these duties for eight years together, though he had a great deal of other business upon his hands in that town. For he was made a teacher of the third class in 1569, and Provisor of the Abbatial school in 1571. He was made Provisor of the Caroline school five years after. He rolled this Sisyphæan stone with wonderful patience for nineteen years together [A]. He was made burgher (d) in the year 1569, and married happily the same year [B]. His pastoral labours were somewhat lessened in the year 1576; for they gave him a church but a league from Zurich. The dust of the college did not discourage him from undertaking a noble work, and of a vast extent [C]. As he had bestowed all his spare time on the study of Ecclesiastical History, he formed the ground-work of a design which might shew the Roman Catholics, that they vainly boast of the conformity of their

(a) He was a minister, and published many books.

(b) He was minister at Altorf.

(c) He was a famous minister, of whom we have several Latin Homilies.

(d) *Jo civitatis Tigurine rura felicitate ipsi collatum est. Heidegger, ubi infra, citat. (e).*

(1) Jo. Henr. Heidegger, in Vita Hospiniani, pag. 8.

(2) Annoque plurimum triginta concorde in matrimonio tenuit. Heidegger, *ibid.* pag. 9.

(3) Que annum agens 33. sic satis vegeta etiamnum integro judicio & memoria, ex qua non pauca mihi suggestit historiam hanc locupletantia, pollet. *Id. ibid.*

(4) *Id. ibid.* pag. 23.

[A] He rolled this Sisyphæan stone for nineteen years.] I take this thought from the author of his life. 'Hanc quoque Spartam ornavit, (says he) (1), quantum potuit, saxumque hoc vere Sisyphium volvit revolvitque, & novemdecim annorum orbe circumegit indefessus athleta pari & industria & successu. — He likewise adorned this profession, and rolled this truly Sisyphæan stone with indefatigable labour for nineteen years, with a success equal to his industry.' What he says a little after, is very judicious: he wonders that Hospinian's genius was not debased by so painful employments. *Ferreum certe adamantinumque dixeris qui tot labores exantlare, & simul ingenium à situ & qualore vindicare posset.*

[B] He married successfully in the year 1569.] He married Anne Lavater, daughter of Lewis Lavater, then archdeacon of the Caroline church, and afterwards first minister. He was the son of Rodolphus Lavater, burgomaster of Zurich. The mother of Anne Lavater, was the daughter of Henry Bullinger, one of the principal reformers. Our Hospinian lived very happily with his wife above thirty years (2), and had fourteen children by her, whereof Elizabeth the youngest was still alive in 1681. She was widow of Rodolphus Stuckius, and eighty eight years old; and as she had preserved her judgment, and her memory, the furnished materials to him who wrote the life of her father (3). JOHN HENRY HOSPINIAN, his brother, was minister of the church of Bulac, and dean of the chapter of Reinsburg. RODOLPHUS HOSPINIAN, his brother, professor of the Hebrew tongue at Zurich, and deacon of the Caroline church, left two sons, RODOLPHUS HOSPINIAN, who was provost of the chapter of the same town, when Mr Heidegger wrote the life of our Rodolphus, and JOHN HENRY HOSPINIAN, minister of the church of Glattfeld. You will find in Mr Heidegger, several other persons descended from our Rodolphus. Who losing his wife in the year 1612, made reflexions becoming a good Christian, and quickly sought for consolation in a second wife. 'Patienter tamen domesticam illam calamitatem, utcumque acerbam, tulit, memor utique, & mortalem se duxisse, & ad æternam beatitudinem præmississe. Consolabantur etiam mox orbitatem ejus secundæ nuptiæ cum matrona honestissima Magdalena Wirzia, nobilis & eximii viri Conradi Wirzii, Præfeti quondam Vadiwillani, filia, bonis omnibus contracta, & d. XIII. Maji An. M. DC. XII. solenniter celebrata (4). — He patiently bore this domestic and bitter calamity, remembering that he had married a mortal woman, and that she was gone before him to eternal happiness. His widowhood was soon after comforted by a happy second marriage, with a virtuous matron Magdalen Wirz, daughter to that great and good man Conrad Wirz, some time governor of Wädelschwyl which was solemnly celebrated May 13. 1612.' He had experienced, that a wife did no ways take him off from his studies. 'Cujus consortium tantum abest ut, quod Ro-

manentes nostris obijciunt, impedimentum aliquod studiis ejus piis objecerit, ut magno illi contra & dulci ad omne opus bonum incitamento adjumentoque fuerit (5). — *Whose society far from being an impediment to his studies (as those of the Romish Church pretend) was a powerful and sweet help, and incitement to every good work.*

[C] He engaged in a noble work, and of a vast extent.] It was the history of the errors of Popery. That which gave him the first thoughts of this undertaking, was a conversation which he had in a country inn with his host, who ridiculously believed, that the monastic life was derived from paradise. 'Fassum ali- quando ferunt, cum illa excursionem necessum haberet in hospicio porcuocare, hospitem rusticum non incuriosum crebra secum colloquia miscerem, & de Origine Papatus, vitæ in primis Monasticæ, quam ille pro simplicitate sua ex Paradiso arcescendam ridicule sustinuerit, anxie inquirentem, ansam sibi libros de Origine errorum scribendi præbuisse (6).' (6) *Id. ibid.* He considered that the Papists, when beaten by the scripture, had recourse to tradition, and wanted their antiquity, and undervalued the Protestants for their novelty. To deprive them of that sanctuary, he traced the original and progress of the Romish ceremonies and doctrines; and shewed by what degrees the truth, which JESUS CHRIST and his apostles had taught, had given place to innovations. 'Impetum conceptu animo suo plane heroicum, & laude nunquam intermorta dignissimum, scilicet illius vetustatis spectum debellandi, Gibeoniticæque artes & fraudes, monitris genuinis errorum, qui paulatim Ecclesiam inundaverant, originibus, detegendi convellendique. Et magnæ quidem molis, immensique laboris opus aggrediebatur, cum de cælesti doctrina, & ceremoniis veræ primitivæ Ecclesiæ, tum de inclinatione & depravatione ejusdem doctrinæ, deque ceremoniarum mutatione, autione & progressu iis seculis, quæ Christum & Apostolos primum, deinde verò Constantinum Imperatorem, imprimis autem Gregorium M. secutæ sunt (7). — He formed a truly heroic design, and worthy of immortal honour, of destroying that spectre of pretended antiquity, and of detecting and rooting out all their Gibeonitic arts and deceits, by showing the true origin of these errors which by degrees have overwhelmed the church. And this indeed was a work of great importance and immense labour, not only treating of the heavenly doctrine and ceremonies of the truly primitive church, but also of the decline and corruption of that doctrine, and the change, increase, and progress, of these ceremonies, first in the ages which followed CHRIST and the apostles, and then in those which followed the emperor Constantine, but especially in those which followed Gregory the great.' He chiefly designed to write about baptism, the eucharist, the churches, seals, faith, orders, monks, the primacy of the Pope, and burials (8). He began also to compose the lives of the Popes, and some animadversions upon Gratian (9). He was about forty one years old, when he laid the plan of this great design.

[D] He

their doctrines with antiquity. He was not able to finish his undertaking; but he published considerable parts of it [D], which procured him a great reputation, and obliged his masters to remove him from the dust of the school, to a more eminent station. He was made archdeacon of the Caroline church the 25th of September 1588. Six years after, he was chosen minister of the Abbatial church; an employment so much the more convenient for him, because it did not divert him so much from his great design. The book he published upon the Eucharist, and that intitled *Concordia discors*, terribly vexed the Lutherans. They vexed him in their turn with their Answers [E]; to which he did

not

[D] He published considerable parts of it. I will here give a list of the books he published. The first was an oration *de origine & progressu rituum & ceremoniarum Ecclesiasticarum*. He spoke it in an academical assembly, and printed it in 1585. Two years after he published his treatise *de templis, hoc est de origine, progressu, usu & abusu templorum, ac omnino rerum omnium ad templa pertinentium*. He published a second edition of it in the year 1603, not only with corrections, but also with great additions; for he added to it, a confutation of the arguments which Bellarmine and Baronius had produced in behalf of their party upon that subject, since the first edition. In the year 1588, he published a tract *De Monachis, seu de origine & progressu monachatus ac ordinum Monasticorum, equitum militarium tam sacrorum quam secularium omnium*. Concerning the origin and progress of monkery and monastic orders, and of all the orders of knight-hood both ecclesiastical and secular. He published a second edition of it in 1609, in which he refuted Bellarmine's book *de Monachis*, published since the first edition of his work. He was just ready to publish his tract *de Origine & progressu jejuniarum*, in 1589, when a work of Bellarmine just printed gave him to understand, that this Jesuit promised a book upon that subject. He therefore deferred the publication of it, till he could join a confutation of what Bellarmine should allege. But he having applied himself to other subjects in the mean time, never finished that treatise. These other subjects were the Holy Days, upon which he published two volumes, one in 1592, the other in 1593. The first treats, *De festis Judæorum & Ethnorum*, hoc est, de origine, progressu, ceremoniis & ritibus festorum dierum Judæorum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Turcarum, & Indianorum. — Concerning the feasts of the Jews and Heathens, that is, concerning the origin, progress, rites and ceremonies of the feasts of the Jews, Greeks, Romans, Turks, and Indians. He reprinted it in the year 1611, with many corrections and additions. The second is intitled, *De Origine, progressu, ceremoniis & ritibus festorum dierum Christianorum*. — Concerning the origin, progress, rites, and ceremonies of the Christian feasts. He reprinted it in 1612 with large supplements, which served both to refute Bellarmine upon the Romish idolatry, and James Greiser upon Corpus-Christi-day. In 1598, he published the first volume of his *Historia Sacramentaria*: 'Hoc est libri quinque de Cœnæ Dominicæ prima institutione, ejusque vero usu & abusu in primitiva Ecclesia, nec non de origine, progressu, ceremoniis & ritibus Missæ, transubstantiationis & aliorum pœne infinitorum errorum, quibus Cœnæ prima institutio horribiliter in Papatu polluta & profanata est. — That is five books concerning the institution of the Eucharist, and it is true use and abuse in the primitive church; likewise concerning the origin and progress, rites and ceremonies of the mass, of transubstantiation, and an almost infinite number of other errors, by which the original institution of the Eucharist, has been horribly polluted and profaned in the church of Rome.' Four years after he published the second volume of that history, containing the controversies betwixt those of the Augsburg confession, and the other Protestants, about the Eucharist. The title of it is *De origine & progressu controversiæ sacramentariæ de Cœnâ Domini inter Lutheranos & Orthodoxos quos Zwinglianos & Calvinistas vocant exortæ, ab anno Christi Salvatoris 1517, usque ad annum 1602*. — Concerning the origin and progress of the Sacramentarian controversy, about the Lord's-supper, betwixt the Lutherans, and the orthodox called Zwinglians and Calvinists, from the year 1517 to 1602. He published in the year 1607 a work intitled, *Concordiæ discors, seu de origine & progressu formulæ Concordiæ Bergensis*. — The Disfording

Concord, or of the origin and progress of the Form of Concord of Berg. In the year 1619, he published a book against the Jesuits. *Historia Jesuitica, hoc est, de origine, regulis, constitutionibus, privilegiis, incrementis, progressu, & propagatione Ordinis Jesuitarum; item de eorum dolis fraudibus, imposturis, nefariis facinoribus, cruentis consiliis, falsa quoque seditiosa & sanguinolenta doctrina* (10). — A history of the Jesuits, that is, of the origin, rules, constitutions, privileges, increase, progress, and propagation of the order of Jesuits; likewise of their deceits, frauds, impostures, flagitious crimes, bloody counsels, and false seditious and bloody doctrine. With this he ended his compositions, being resolved to spend the rest of his days in prayers, pious reading, and sacred meditations.

[E] Two of his pieces vexed the Lutherans; and they vexed him in their turn by their answers. The history of the Sacramentarian war betwixt the Lutherans and Calvinists, and that of the Formulary of Concord, shew so much confusion, passion, shuffling and cavilling on the Lutheran side, that it would be a miracle, if these two books had not furiously provoked the Saxon divines. In Saxony they chose a man to answer Hospinian, who was very fit to dazzle the public; a man, I say, who treated his adversaries most contemptuously, and took upon him magisterial airs. There is nothing like this to conceal the weak sides of a cause. Historiæ sacramentariæ pars posterior & concordia illa discors vehementer eos, qui Lutheranorum partium affecla se professi sunt, urebant; qui eorum operum vim chrysippeis sophismatis, & tortuosis argutiis, acerbisque dictis convellere maximopere laborabant. Constat autem, utriusque operis refutandi in Saxonis oris negotium Leonhardo Huttero, Wittebergensi Professori, homini arroganti & prave facundo, datum esse. Et primum quidem An. M.DC.XI. personatus ille, uti prudenter conjectabant, prodiit, larva scilicet assumpta cujusdam Christophori à Vallo, S. Theologiæ Candidati, sub qua adversus ea, quæ Hospinianus in Annalibus Sacramentariis ad annum M.DC.XIX. (11) gesta prodidit, vernacula scriptione ingenii sui libidine procaciter satis exercuit (12). — The second part of the Sacramentarian history, and the Disfording Concord, grievously galled the Lutherans, who endeavoured to ruin the strength of them by sophistry, cavilling, and railing. It is certain that the task of answering them both was laid upon Leonard Hutterus, professor at Wittemberg, a man of an arrogant and petulant wit. And he first appeared in the year 1611, disguised under the name of Christopher à Vallo, student in Theology, as was well conjectured, under this mask he exercised the petulancy and licentiousness of his wit, in his native language, against what is contained in Hospinian's Sacramentarian history to the year 1529. David Pareus no sooner saw this work of Hutterus (13), but he gave Hospinian notice of it, and advised him to answer it in High-Dutch, without waiting till his adversary should finish his Confutation.

Adversus Commentarium tuum alterum de re sacramentaria, nec non Concordiam discordem compertum, mandatum ex aula Saxonica D. Huttero datum, historiam tuam ut refutaret. Laborasse etiam illum ea in re ex domesticis meis studiosius cognovi. His nundinis Lipsensibus prodiit Germanica hæc Historiæ Sacramentariæ consignatio, usque ad annum 29 deducta. Credo vobis non esse visam. Author magna pollicetur, & triumphus est, ut audio, nostris vicinis, &c. Percurri librum. Præter magnifica mendacia nihil video novi. Suaferim ut vestigia hujus scriptoris, qui haud dubie est ille Hutterus, premas illico, neque exspectes, dum tota moles te opprimat. Feceris magnum operæ pretium Germanicè respondendo (14). — I am informed that Hutterus, has received orders from the court of Saxony, to answer the second part of your Sacramentarian history and Disfording Concord. And I am told by some students

(10) Taken from his Life, written by Heidegger.

(11) It is an error of the press: it should be MDXXIX.

(12) Heidegger ubi supra, pag. 22.

(13) Note, that some say, that Christophorus Wilhelmus à Vallo, was Chr. Wil. Walpurgus, a divine of Leipsic. See Mollerus, Iliogoe Hist. Chersonesi Cambricæ, part. III, pag. 133.

(14) Heidegger ibid. pag. 22.

not finish his reply, as knowing that the common enemies of the Protestants were too much diverted by such a scene. He therefore turned all his forces against the Jesuits. I doubt not but the suppression of his Reply was very grateful to some Princes [F]. He lost the

dents who lodge in my house, that he has for some time been employed in it. This last Leipzig fair, this German confutation of the Sacramentarian history has appeared, carried down to the year twenty nine. I believe you have not yet seen it. The author promises mighty things, and our neighbours, I hear triumph upon it, &c. I have read over the book; besides impudent falsehoods I see nothing new in it. I would advise you to come as close on this author's heels as possible, who no doubt is the above-named Hutterus, and not to wait till you are oppressed by the whole load. It would be of great use if you would answer him in the German language. Hospinian immediately wrote a reply, but he did not publish it (15). In the year 1614

(15) Non desuit bonæ causæ Hospinianus, utpote qui . . . personatam egregie detrahit, adnotata scriptione vernacula, quæ & historice à se confignate veritatem in arce collocavit, & adversantis vanitatem solidè detexit. Neque tamen responso isthæc, omnibus numeris absoluta, lucem videt. Id. *ibid.*

(16) *Ib.* pag. 22:

(17) Sine mora reprimendam exultantem hominis audaciam. Id. *ibid.* pag. 23.

(18) Id. *ibid.*

[F] The suppression of his reply was very grateful to some princes.] About the time that Hospinian printed his *Concordia discors*, Frederic IV, elector Palatine, wrote to the magistrates of Zurich, about a conference, that was proposed betwixt the Lutherans and the Calvinists, to find out ways of accommodation, that might serve for a league between the Protestant princes, against the sanguinary designs of the Jesuits. For this reason Hospinian's book was thought as to that matter, the best he could, in a letter he wrote to Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse (19). He said, that though these conferences serve only to widen the breach, as has been often found by experience; yet

he would have defetred the impression of his work, or even condemned it to the obscurity of his closet, if he had known the princes intentions before: 'Li-bri, intempestive editi culpam . . . sic studiose amolitur, ut simul de institutis ejusmodi Colloquiis sententiam graviter proferat hunc ferè in modum: 'Etsi ego de hujusmodi colloquio mihi ipsi nihil boni pulcieri possem, & majoris animorum distractiones & conturbationes, odia item, contentiones, ac dissidia post illud nocentissima vehementer metuam, præsertim si mecum reputem, quæ Marpurgense, Maulbrunnense, Mompelgardense & Ratisbonense colloquia secuta sint; & adversarii palam protestentur, se non discere, sed docere, & ne in minimo quidem articulo sententiam mutare, sed in semel concepta opinione firmiter permanere velle: nihilominus editionem hujus libri vel in aliud tempus rejecissem, ac reservassem; vel, si ex usu ecclesiæ fuisset, prorsus suppressissem, si hoc consilium & institutum illustris Principum vel ante semestre mihi cognitum fuisset, ne illud impedisse accusari meriti possem (20). — He makes an apology for the unseasonable publication of his book, and at the same time with great gravity, delivers his opinion concerning conferences of this kind, in the following words. 'Though I, for my own part, hope for no good from such a conference, but am very much afraid that it will be followed by greater distractions of mens minds, greater hatred, contentions, and dangerous divisions, especially when I consider what were the consequences of the conferences at Marpurg, Maulbrun, Montbelliard, and Ratisbon, and that the adversaries openly declare that they will teach, but not learn, that they will not change their opinion in the least article, but will remain firm in their preconceived notions: yet notwithstanding I would have deferred the publication of this book to another time; or if it had been for the good of the church suppressed it altogether, if I had known the design of these illustrious princes, but half a year ago, that I might give no ground to any to accuse me of hindering it.' The fear he had of displeasing some princes, and exposing some people to great dangers, obliged him not to insert in his work all that he knew (21). 'Fastus est ingenuè, operi illi de Concordia discorde, deesse plurima: nulla equidem sua culpa, sed tum quod ad cognitionem & manus suas plura non pervenerint; tum quod nonnulla dedita opera, omitti consultius visum sit, propter adimonitionem ex aula potente insinuatam, ut in scribenda ea historia caute circumspicteque sgat, si quid secretorum ex cameris Principum, præsertim verò ex oris Saxonis habeat. Fore alioquin, ut res hæc ingenti periculo non careat, propter orthodoxos iis in locis suspectos, ne cum iis ludus Crellianus vel Procerianus (22) ludatur. — He owned ingenuously, that many things were wanting in that book, intitled, 'The Discord-ing Concord, and that through no fault of his, but partly because many particulars never came to his knowledge, and because he had thought it better to omit some things, on account of an advice he had received from a powerful court, that he ought to be very cautious in writing that history, if he had got any secrets from the cabinets of princes, especially from those on the Saxon side. That otherwise it might have dangerous consequences to the orthodox who might be suspected there, and the Crellian and Pucarian game might be played over again.' It is therefore very likely, that he gave over his reply, amongst other reasons, because he feared he should be looked upon as the cause of a Theological War, that might hinder the Protestant states from uniting in their common interests (23). It is very certain, that the princes of the empire, both Lutherans and Calvinists, were well pleased with his silence; for the history of that time informs us, that the controversies of the divines very much embarrassed the princes, and they still at this day cause from time to time the greatest disturbances to the magistrates in several imperial towns. Into what troubles has Hamburg fallen not long ago (24), upon the disputes of the ministers that divided the people, and were the causes of seditious assemblies? These disputes are hardly ever appeased, but by the banishment of him who has the weaker faction: so that, if

(20) Vita Hospin. pag. 21.

(21) In literis ad Wolphangum Amilungum, Ecclesiæ Serevestanæ Pastorem & Superintendentem, die 22. Aug. 1607.

(22) I think it is an error of the press for Pucarianus.

(23) Idem, Heidegg. pag. 21.

(24) Two or three years ago, the Dutch Gazettees spoke of nothing else. I write this in September, 1695.

the use of his eyes for almost a year by a cataract; however, he preached as he used to do. It was happily couched the 18th of September 1613. At seventy six years of age he grew childish, and was not delivered from that miserable condition, but by his death the 11th of March 1626, in his seventy ninth year. His writings had raised such an opinion of his learning, that he was advised from all sides to confute Baronius's annals, no body being thought more capable of doing it (e). A new edition of his works was printed at Geneva in seven volumes in *Folio*, 1681. [G].

(e) Taken from his Life, written by John Henry Heidegger, and prefixed to the edition of his works, 1681.

(25) Virgil, Georg. lib. iii, ver. 224.

(26) Christianus, redivivus, hoc est, de ortu & progressu recepte a Christiano Electore Saxoniae Ecclesiarum & Scholarum in Saxonia superiore Reformationis Historia, ex actis & originalibus, ut sint optimi Principis defuncti vindictae perennes, fide iter congesta, & tribus libris comprehensa. . . Christianus Redivivus, that is, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Reformation of the Churches and Schools in Upper Saxony, begun by Christian, Elector of Saxony, Extracted from Acts and Original Papers, which may serve for a lasting Apology for that excellent Prince, faithfully compiled in three books. Heidegger, ubi supra, pag. 22.

one may be allowed to use comparisons, it might be said, that these quarrels are like those of bulls, who fight for a heifer; the weakest hides himself, and comes no more in sight.

Nec mos bellantes una stabulare; sed alter Victus abit, longaeque ignotis exulat oris, Multa gemens ignominiam, plagaque superbi Victoris, tum quos amisit inultus amores: Et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis (25).

Nor when the war is over is it peace,
Nor will the vanquish'd bull his claim release,
But feeding in his breast his antient fires,
And, cursing fate, from his proud foe retires,
Driven from his native land to foreign grounds,
He with a generous rage resents his wounds;
His ignominious flight, the victor's boast,
And more than both, the loves which unreveng'd he lost.

Often he turns his eyes, and with a groan
Surveys the pleasing kingdom once his own.

Perhaps the reason I have mentioned, induced Hospinian to break off his history of the reformation projected in Saxony, under the elector Christian. He had been furnished with memoirs, which might have provoked his successors. See in the margin the title that was to be given to this history (26); and here follows what Mr Heidegger observes concerning the memoirs he was supplied with: 'Grande scilicet volumen ex Saxonia submissum in haereditatis manibus versatur, quo Christiani Electoris illius Principis & pientissimi

& fortissimi, dicere crebro soliti: Ego nec Calvinianus sum, nec Flaccianus, sed Christianus. Habent Flacciani suum Caelum in quo etiam ipsum orcum collocant: Ephemerides accuratissime texuntur, & instituta ab ipso ecclesiarum Saxoniarum Reformatio, subita & improvisa ejus morte interrupta, plenissime exponitur, ex quibus, aliisque etiam irrefragabilibus monumentis Christianum illum redivivum orbi Christiano, non parum certe pia Principis illius meditatione admiratur, repraesentare statuerat (27). — (27) Id. ibid. A great volume which was sent to him from Saxony, is still in the possession of his heirs, in which the Annals of Christian, that pious and brave elector and prince, who used frequently to say: I am neither a Calvinist, nor a Flaccian, but a Christian. The Flaccians have their heaven, in which they place, even hell itself, are written with great accuracy, together with a full history of the reformation of the Saxon churches, begun by him, and interrupted by his sudden and unexpected death, from which and other unquestionable authorities, he designed to offer his Christianus Redivivus to the Christian world, which without doubt would greatly admire the pious intentions of that prince.

[G] A new edition of his works was printed at Geneva in 1681, in seven volumes in *folio*. There are none of those tracts in it, to which the author had not put his last hand. His heirs have religiously observed his intention (28), being not willing to communicate them to the public; but have only furnished some remarks, which he added to his works after they were printed. You will find in his Life what pieces he had advanced a good way in, and what he had but made a rough draught of. This is enough to shew his vast learning and prodigious labour.

(28) Neque contentus etiam illa quae inchoata & affecta, quoad nondum iustus ordo, lima & colophon adhibita, ultimaeque manu nec dum perpolita essent, neque ipse superfluis prodire solitus est, cum impia fastidiosa famae nominis sui, neque praeter ejus voluntatem & consilium heredes, cimeliorum istorum cultores, edere voluerunt. Id. pag. 114.

HOSPITAL (MICHAEL DE L') chancellor of France in the XVIth century, was one of the greatest Men of his Time. He was of Auvergne, and of a family of no great distinction; he gradually raised himself [A], and was counsellor in the parliament of Paris, when princeps Margaret, sister to king Henry II, having had the duchy of

(1) Naudé, Comp. d'Etat. chap. v, pag. m. 787.

(2) Thevet, Elog. Tom. VII, pag. 368, Edit. in 12mo. *Histoires des, as he went, from the left wall of chancelier de l'Hospital. You will find it in Colomic's Bibliothéque choisie, pag. 53.*

(3) Id. ibid. 8. 369.

Id. ibid. as he says is found in the left wall of chancelier de l'Hospital.

[A] He was of Auvergne, and of a family of no great distinction. His father was a Physician, and was employed by the constable Charles de Bourbon. He never forsook him, following him in disguise, partaking of all his misfortunes, assisting him in all his designs, against the king, against the emperor, and against Rome, against the cardinals, and the Pope himself (1). When he accompanied him in his retreat to the emperor Charles, he left in France, all his children, both sons and daughters; who being but young, could not bear the hazards and fatigues of such a journey. Our Michael was then at Toulouse and eighteen years of age, and though he was there with no other design than to study, he was carried away upon suspicion, and shut up in the public prisons, till there was an express command from the king to release him, and give him liberty to pursue his studies, since he was not found tainted with any design that could render him guilty (2). He went to see his father at the time that the constable being returned into Italy, found affairs much perplexed there (3); for Francis I. had laid siege to Milan (4), and because the siege was like to last long, this Physician fearing lest his son, by too great a discontinuance, should make a dangerous breach in his studies, committed him to the care of some carriers, that they might take him along with them, with whom he left Milan, disguised in the habit of a mule-driver; and with great danger of his life passed the river Abdua, and afterwards went to Padua, where the study of the Law had flourished from all antiquity. His father left him in that university six years, and then he recalled him to Bologna, and to Rome; VOL. III.

where he was honoured with a place amongst the judges whom they call auditors of the Rota. He resigned it by the advice of his father, upon the promises made him by cardinal Grandmont to advance him to higher posts in his country; but he was disappointed of his hopes at once, both on one side and the other. For the place of auditor was given to another, and the sudden death of cardinal Grandmont put an end to the hopes that brought him into France. Being thus disappointed, he applied himself to the bar; and after practising there about three years, he married Mary Morin, daughter of the lieutenant-criminal Morin, who brought for her portion, a place of counsellor in the parliament (5), which he exercised about nine years, and then he was sent ambassador to Bologna, for king Henry, where a general assembly of the bishops had been appointed for some reformation. Thevet adds, that he was afterwards chancellor to the dukes of Berry, and then head and superintendent of the king's finances, in his chamber of accounts, and that after the death of king Henry he was elected privy-counsellor (6). Note, that his father, after the constable's death, followed for some time the court of the emperor Charles V (7), and then attaching himself to the service of Renata de Bourbon, sister of his first master, and wife of Antony of Lorraine, spent there the rest of his days (8). Some make him the son of a man, who was born, and lived and died, a Jew in the city of Avignon (9). Varillas, from whom I take these words, says elsewhere (10), that the father of Michael de l'Hospital was a Jew. He is very much subject to this sort of confusion. Mr Teflier assures us, that Mezeraï relates,

(5) Note, that there is a mistake as to the time in Moreti's Dictionary, where it is said, that l'Hospital was counsellor of the parliament of Paris, in 1524, and that his place of chancellor to the princeps Margaret, was given to him after all the others, except that of chancellor of France.

(6) Thevet, ubi supra, pag. 371.

(7) Testam. de l'Hospital apud Colomic, ubi supra, pag. 55.

(8) Belcorius, lib. xxviii, n. 57.

(9) Varillas, Hist. de l'Heres. livr. xxii, pag. m. 170. Duch Edit. He had this from Beaucaire, lib. xxviii, n. 57.

(10) Idem, Hist. de François II, pag. m. 194.

(a) Paquier, Letters, Tom. II, book xxii, pag. 758.

(b) La Planché, Hist. de François II, pag. m. 228.

(c) Dated in May, 1560.

(11) Teffier, Addit. aux Elog. Tom. I, pag. 396. Edit. 1696.

(12) Id. ibid. Tom. II, pag. 413. Edit. 1683.

(13) La Planché, pag. m. 228. Hist. de François II.

(14) In the remark [I].

(15) Thuanus, lib. xxiv, sub fin.

(16) Teffier, Addit. aux Elog. Tom. I, pag. m. 396.

(17) Thuanus, lib. xiii, sub fin. pag. m. 278, observes, that Michael de l'Hospital, president of the chamber of accounts in the year 1544, favoured the design of the cardinal of Lorraine, to make the parliament of Paris sit half a year.

of Berry assigned her, chose him for her chancellor (a). He continued with her in the same post in Italy, after she married the duke of Savoy, and he was at Nice when he was raised to the dignity of chancellor of France, under the reign of Francis II in 1560 (b). It was believed that the Guises procured him that office, and that they did it upon the notion they had, that being obliged to them [B], he would do all they should desire. They were mistaken; for he laid down for his maxim the good of the kingdom, and the true interests of the king his master. It is true, he was obliged to use address [C], because if he had openly opposed the designs of the Guises, he had not been able to remedy the confusions of France. He was forced then to swim betwixt two streams, and by that prudent conduct he turned off some storms, which threatened the kingdom, and retarded some others, and found the means of doing good service to his country, as much as the miserable condition of the times would permit him. He hindered, amongst other things, the introduction of the Inquisition, by consenting to an edict (c) that was much more severe against the Protestants, than he would have desired [D]. It was the edict of Romorantin. There is no doubt but that if he had been

relates, that the father of the chancellor was the son of a Physician to the queen of Navarre, wife of Antony de Bourbon (11). He cites (12) page 1156, of the second volume of Mezerai's History of France. I find nothing concerning chancellor de l'Hospital in the second volume of that author: I only find in the twenty second page of the third volume, that he was the son of the Physician to Renata de Bourbon, wife of Antony of Lorraine.

[B] It was believed that the Guises procured him that office, and that they did it upon the notion they had, that being obliged to them, &c. Lewis Regnier, Sieur de la Planché, relates, that after the death of chancellor Olivier, they offered his place to Morvilliers, a pious counsellor and bishop of Orleans . . . a most affectionate servant of their family, and that they cunningly served themselves by his refusal. For thinking they could make better use of Michael de l'Hospital, a man brought up, advanced, and formed by them, they took Morvilliers at his word, and sent in request of the other to Nice, where he was chancellor to the dukes of Savoy. The dukes were therefore made to believe, that the king, to oblige her, made her chancellor his own (13). But other historians say, that the queen-mother was the true author of that choice; being moved to it by the dukes of Montpensier, who thought thereby to give a check to the ambition of the Guises. See the article LONGVIC (14). Thuanus (15) adds, that when they acquiesced in that choice, the affair was already concluded, and that Catherine de Medicis let Michael de l'Hospital know, that it was not at their recommendation, but at her's, that the king had honoured him with that dignity, and that therefore she hoped to see him more zealous for the interest of his prince, and of the queen, his mother, than for that of a family, whose ambition was detested by every body. The same historian observes, that it was more easy for the queen-mother to bring this about, because Michael de l'Hospital was in good esteem with the cardinal of Lorraine. Note, that Mr Teffier is mistaken when he says, quoting Thuanus's twenty fourth book, that Catherine de Medicis obliged Henry II, to make Michael de l'Hospital chancellor of France (16). He should have said Francis II.

[C] He was obliged to use address. We will still make use of la Planché, for our comment upon this text. As for the chancellor de l'Hospital, few people rejoiced at first to see him raised to that dignity, having been so familiar with the cardinal (17), inasmuch that it was thought he would not be so bold as to contradict him in any thing, having had so many favours and preferments from him. But as he knew the genius of the Guises, having for a long time been acquainted with them; so he had the prudence dexterously to prevent their stratagems, if not as he ought, yet at least as well as he could, according to the malice of the times, warding off their most furious blows with a singular industry. For having proposed to himself, as soon as he was established in his post, to steer a right course, like a wise man, and not to favour one party or another, but to serve the king and his country, he was obliged to use a wonderful address to keep those of the house of Lorraine within due bounds. And this likewise he had a mind to perform in such a manner, that they might not perceive, he intended in any thing to contradict or displease them, well

knowing, that if they once entertained that opinion of him, he should be able to do nothing to any purpose. Thus with great dissimulation many things passed through his hands, which were thought very dangerous: however he kept a medium, giving hopes to those who loved the public, that all should end well at last, provided they would let him bring it about. Few people understood his intention: but time discovered that he had the service of his king, and the safety of the people at heart, quite other-wise than was imagined. And to speak truth, his prudence cannot be sufficiently described. For certainly, though if he had taken a shorter way, and boldly opposed the evil, he would have been more to be praised, and God possibly would have blessed his constancy: yet as far as may be judged, he alone by his moderate management has been the instrument, which God has made use of to stop the force of these impetuous waves, in which all the French would have been overwhelmed. Nevertheless, outward appearances were against him. In short, when any one minded him of an approaching danger, he had always this saying in his mouth, patience, patience, all will go well (18).

[D] He hindered . . . the introduction of the Inquisition, by consenting to an edict much more severe against the Protestants than he would have desired. Here is the sequel of the Sieur de la Planché's narrative (19). To make short, when the question was about extending the edict for the Spanish Inquisition, knowing that the privy-council and the parliaments had agreed to it, he moderated the matter, by an edict made on purpose, for which he gave no good reasons, that the Guises themselves, who had procured the first edict, were of his opinion, and made the Spaniards approve it, who were desirous that France should be ordered and framed by their model. This happened in the month of May, in the town of Romorantin, and that edict was ever after called the edict of Romorantin. Varillas observes (20) that a moderate a conduct displeased the Calvinists, and did not satisfy the Catholics. The Calvinists took exception, that they had given them their adversaries, and irreconcilable enemies, for their judges

(21); and the Catholics suspected from that time, that the chancellor was of the new religion. . . . They reproached him with going to mass only for form sake; and the mass of the chancellor became a proverb, to signify a mass that people went to, only in obedience to the king. The house of Guise had no better opinion of this magistrate, and repented that they had contributed with the dukes of Savoy to raise him to that high station. They fancied, that this able politician endeavoured to withdraw himself from their dependance, by forming at court a third party with the queen-mother, to keep the balance even between the two others, so as neither of them might supplant the other. This puts me in mind of this passage of Brantôme (22). 'He Eloge du Connétable de Montmorency, was reckoned an Huguenot though he went to mass, but it was said at court, GOD preserve us from the mass of Monsieur de l'Hospital.'

This is the common fate of those, who seek to keep a temper between the pretensions of two opposite parties, that they please neither the one nor the other. But that inconvenience is sometimes a lesser evil, than it would be to comply with the passions of one of the parties; and there are many conjunctures, in which

(18) La Planché, ubi supra, pag. 359, 360.

(19) La Planché, ibid. pag. 361.

(20) Varillas, Hist. de l'Hérésie, tom. xii, pag. 170.

(21) By virtue of that edict, the crimes of Heresy belonged only to the bishops, and all the royal judges were deprived of it.

(22) Brantôme, Eloge du Connétable de Montmorency, tom. II, of his Mémoires, pag. 89.

been sole manager of these things, he would have procured a full toleration for the Protestants. His good offices and management were undoubtedly one of the causes which altered the dispositions of mens minds towards them; this alteration was so remarkable, that the second year of his ministry there were almost as many voices for them as against them in the council which examined the petition they presented to the king [E], desiring the free exercise of their religion. His influence was no less effectual in the restrictions of the edict of July 1561 (d), and in the liberty they had not to observe it (e). The edict of January which they obtained some time after, was doubtless his work: now that edict permitted them public assemblies, and many other privileges. This was the only remedy for the evils of the kingdom; all the dreadful miseries that afflicted it for thirty years arose from the infraction of that edict: and after all these dismal calamities, it was necessary to take the same remedy, and in a stronger dose. It was necessary to grant them the edict of Nantes, which was much more advantageous to the Reformed, than that which chancellor de l'Hospital had procured them. But I confess also that the Romish religion did not run such a risk when the edict of Nantes was granted, as it did when he procured the edict of January [F]. The obstacles that he

(d) The zealous Catholics were displeased with those restrictions. See the end of the remark [E].

(e) See the remark [F], citat. (33).

was

the greatest good that can be done, is to divide the disadvantages, that every one may have his share of them. Our chancellor would have spoiled all, if he had at first undertaken to give full satisfaction to the enemies of the house of Guise. This had been to split against a rock. Prudence would not suffer him to attack that faction, but with a side wind; they had the wind in the stern, and he was not to steer against it. I believe, that many Calvinists, who had more zeal than knowledge of the world, always condemned this chancellor's conduct. They would have had him to declare himself openly and boldly the protector of their cause. But could he have preserved his post three months together, had not he observed that temper? He well understood, that the best way to withstand a tempest, was that which Plutarch makes mention of, speaking of the government of republics. Astronomers tell us, the sun's motion is neither exactly parallel with the rest of the orbs, nor yet directly and diametrically opposite to them; but describing an oblique line, with insensible declination, he steers his course so, to dispense his light and influence, in his annual revolution, at several seasons, in equal proportions to the whole creation. So it happens in political affairs, that if the motions of rulers be constantly opposite and cross to the genius and inclination of the people, they will be stomached as arbitrary and tyrannical; as, on the other side, too much deference and indulgence to the subjects levity and wantonness, has often proved dangerous and fatal; but the gratifying them in reasonable and fair requests, when they are not masterly and insolent, may prove for the honour and safety of the government (23).

(23) Plutarch. in Phocione, init.

(24) Cicero, Orat. pro Plancio, cap. xxxix, pag. m. 610. See also Epist. ix, lib. i, ad Familiares, pag. m. 56.

Tacit. lib. iv,

cero observes, that politicians ought to imitate sailors. An, cum videam navem secundis ventis cursum tenentem fenum, si non ea eum petat portum, quem ego aliquando probavi, sed alium non minus tutum atque tranquillum, cum tempestate pugnam periculosam potius, quam illi salute præsertim præposita obtemporem & paream? neque enim inconstantis puto sententiam tanquam aliquod navigium, atque cursum ex Reipub. tempestate moderari (24). — Should I, when I see a ship holding a steady course with a fair wind, though she doth not steer to the harbour which I once approved of, but to another equally safe and calm, should I, I say, rather, with the utmost hazard, endeavour to strive against the weather, than, especially when I see safety in so doing, to yield to it, and be guided by it? For I do not think it inconsistency for a man to guide his resolutions and his course, as it were a ship, by the seasons of the common-swealtb. Though he had not the good fortune of Lepidus, who kept in the favour of Tiberius, by observing a just medium betwixt sordid flatteries, and a too great stiffness, he deserves the praises that Tacitus has expressed in this manner: Hunc ego Lepidum, temporibus illis, gravem & sapientem virum fuisse comperio. Nam pleraque ab sævis adulationibus aliorum, in melius flexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum æquabili auctoritate & gratia apud Tiberium vigeret. Unde dubitare cogor, fato & sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos: an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obsequium, pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum (25).

[E] There were almost as many voices for the Protestants as against them, in the council which examined the petition that they presented to the king. This particular seems to me to be curious; and I fancy, that every body will be pleased to find here the circumstances of that affair. I make use of the commentary which a Catholic writer supplies me with (26). The Huguenots have presented a petition to the king, that they might be permitted to have a separate church from ours. The king sent the petition to the parliament, to advise about it with the lords of the council. There they freely voted on both sides, the one for the Catholic party, the other for the Protestant. The Catholics have carried it by three voices, it being their resolution that people must either follow the Romish church as our ancestors did, or depart the kingdom, with leave to sell their estates. When the voices came to be cast up, there was no small murmur; because the others maintained, that in a matter of such importance, there was no reason that all France should be put into a combustion by reason of those three votes. Because such a banishment could not be executed, and besides that, to undertake, while they continued in France, to bring them over to the Romish religion against their conscience, was very absurd, and amounted to an impossibility. The admiral and several other lords, cannot be silent about it. The duke of Guise, on the other hand, tho' the time seemed to oppose his design, plainly declared, that since it had been so resolved, they must stand to that determination, and that his sword should never rest in the scabbard, when the question should be whether that decree should take effect. Things in this contention passed without conclusion. . . . (27) since that, to content both parties by a sort of neutrality, an edict has been published in July last (28). . . . The sincere Catholics complain of this edict, and say that those of the new or pretended reformed religion, being not to be disturbed in their houses, it is in plain terms to frustrate the first article of the edict, and nevertheless to deliver them from the power of the magistrate: which some time after will give them occasion quite to shake off the yoke from their necks (29).

(26) Paquier, Letters. Tom I, book iv, p. 196.

(27) Ibid. pag. 197.

(28) That is 1561.

(29) Ibid. pag. 198.

[F] The Romish religion did not run such a risk . . . as when the edict of January was made. The Protestants had very nearly got the upper hand, in the beginning of Charles IXth's reign; and if they had, God knows what would have become of the religion that had persecuted them under the three preceding reigns. If the king of Navarre, who had openly declared for them, had been able to discover the snare, that the other party laid for him, he would have continued firm in their communion. There needed no more to have procured them the victory; for he was lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and there had been no difficulty then to have brought over Catherine de Medicis to the reformed religion (30). But he suffered himself to be cheated by imaginary hopes, and had not penetration enough to discover the grossness of the snare; he took the island of Sardinia, a country of exile, a country miserable and disgraced (31): he took it, I say, so well he knew the map, for one of those fortunate islands mentioned in the fables. Being thus grossly deceived by the artifices of the Spaniards, and the cardinal Legate, he abandoned the Protestants (32); and thus see, how little

(30) See the article SOUBISSE (JOHN, etc.) remark [E].

(31) See the remark [G] of the article CHATEL (TANNECUS DU); and Tacitus, Annal. lib. ii, cap. lxxvii.

(32) See the article HENRY IV, remark [L].

was

was to overcome, did not cease after he had sealed it. New ones arose concerning it's being registered in parliament. And it was necessary for him to shew the force of his genius,

was wanting to their becoming masters. I will quote a passage, which will shew the interest they had by his favour in the states of Orleans, and the liberty they enjoyed under his protection. They publicly assembled even in the capital city of the kingdom, before they had any edicts permitting them to do so. But it must be noted, that the regent, Catherine de Medicis, agreed in this with the king of Navarre (33).

(33) Beza's History of the Reformed Churches, book iv, pag. 670, and *Belarius*, lib. xxix, n. 34, pag. 966.

(34) Palquier, Letters, Tom. I, book iv, pag. 218.

(35) That is the king of Navarre.

(36) *Id. Ibid.* pag. 219.

(37) That common report was true; the most exact historians own it.

(38) That is, the Edict of January 1562.

(34) The Huguenots . . . had all their dependance upon this king (35), as upon one whom they had carried on their shoulders, and to whom they had procured the government of France, by their intrigues and secret practices, in the assembly of the three states. And indeed as an acknowledgment of this, he permitted, by a very great connivance, their preaching with the doors open, not only in Paris, but also at the king's court at St Germain en Laye. Indeed it was difficult for him, to maintain his grandeur, but by means of those who reciprocally were to maintain themselves by his countenance and support. Nevertheless changing his mind he was the first instrument of the Catholics arming themselves against the others. But because these are things unknown to many, and possibly you have not heard how these practices were carried on; you must know that the Pope perceiving the commotions that were among us, sent the cardinal of Ferrara, uncle of Madam de Guise, as Legate into France with most ample instructions . . . (36) We have here also the lord de Charantonneau, son to the deceased chancellor Granvelle. It is said that this ambassador of king Philip is gained by some of our great princes, who are not pleased with this diversity of religions. He, according to the design laid betwixt them, went three or four times in a disguised habit to the king of Navarre, assuring him in his master's name, that as soon as he would take upon him the protection of the church of Rome, he would restore him his kingdom of Navarre, or at least an equivalent in as rich and plentiful a country. As this engine began to work, the legate also came in, promising from the holy see the county of Venaisin, and moreover to procure him from his Catholic majesty the isle of Sardinia, which the Pope would erect into a kingdom, in case the king would not restore to him the kingdom of Navarre. It is said that the constable, and the marshal de St André, did all in their power to make him relish these promises. I will not venture to assure you that this is as true as the gospel: but so much I can tell, that it was the common report (37). Only this I can say, that in an instant his countenance and affections were changed towards the Huguenots: for he forbade the ministers to preach in the castle any more, as they had taken the liberty and permission to do for five or six months before. Even in the assembly of St Germain he opposed the Huguenots as much as he could: but the prince of Condé, the admiral, and others, who then were not the least in favour with the king, opposed him, and carried it with respect to the publication of the edict (38). The same author, in what follows, will show us the prosperity the Protestants enjoyed, even before the edict of January, and whilst Antony king of Navarre favoured them. 'The same day, (that is to say, the twenty ninth of September 1561) the Queen of Navarre in fight of all the people, caused the marriage between young Rohan and the lady Brabantin, niece to Madam d'Estampes, to be celebrated in the form of Geneva, in the borough of Argentueil, by Beza. There were present the prince of Condé and the admiral. That action performed thus, at the gates of Paris, and of St Germain en Laye, where the king resided, not being controuled, mightily encouraged the ministers. And in October following, they actually preached without the walls of Paris, near the monastery of St Antony in the fields, in the presence of eight or nine thousand persons. At their return a tumult was raised, which was easily appeased by the authority of the king of Navarre. They have since proceeded farther. For on All-Saints eve there was another public assembly in the counts of Senigan's house, which was guarded by the provosts of the marshals and their archers, to prevent any popular commotion.

A few days after, not confining themselves to the king's edicts, but infringing that of July, they undertook to preach two sermons, one in the suburbs of St Marcel, in the place called the Patriarch; and the other without St Antony's gate, in a place called Popincourt. It is incredible what crowds of people were present at these new devotions. To which Gaballon, captain of the watch and his archers, served as a guard. L'Aulnay and l'Eslang preached at Popincourt: Malo and Viret at the Patriarch. The Catholic lords seeing a necessity of giving way to the storm, the duke of Guise enraged has retired to his seat of Nantueil, cardinal de Lorraine to his archbishopric of Reims, Mr de Nemoux to Savoy, the constable to Chantilly, &c. (39). See in some other letters of Stephen Palquier's (40), the concurrence at these assemblies, and how they were supported by the secular power. You may also consult Hubert Languet's letters (41), where we find amongst other things (42) that the meetings near Paris had sometimes fifteen thousand people (43), the women in the middle being surrounded with men on foot, and these encompassed by horsemen, and during the sermon the governor of Paris caused the avenues to be guarded by the soldiers, who beat or imprisoned, or repelled some other way, all that endeavoured to disturb the devotion of the assembly.

(39) Palquier, ubi supra, pag. 200, 201.

(40) *Ibid.* pag. 202, 205, &c.

(41) Lib. ii, pag. 145, 150, 155.

(42) *Ibid.* pag. 255.

(43) In a letter written the twenty third of January 1562 the Edict was already made, but not registered; he says that there were some assemblies at Paris of about thirty and forty thousand people, and that two or three ministers were obliged to preach in the same place at the same time. *Id.* pag. 156.

Many people who judge of things only by the event, will say that the Protestants would have been more prudent, if they had affected less haughtiness at that time; for that ostentation of their numbers was looked on as a bravado, which soured their enemies, and put them upon the most violent remedies. We see from a letter of the cardinal Legate, that these haughty steps gave him hopes of a prosperous issue: his letter is dated from St Germain the twenty seventh of February 1562. Here is a passage of it. 'There happened lately a quarrel betwixt those of both religions, in which some remained dead upon the spot: and yet the danger proved greater than the damage. The Catholics in an instant flocked hither to complain of the insolence of the Huguenots; they remonstrated that, according to the express order of his majesty, they had laid down their arms; but that the Huguenots had done the quite contrary. For this reason they earnestly desired that they might be immediately permitted to resume them, to secure themselves from their ambuscades, which made them justly apprehensive that being emboldened by these troops of soldiers, they would afterwards do violence, both to their persons and goods. But the Huguenots likewise failed not to come and excuse themselves, alledging in their vindication: that the jealousies the Catholics gave them by reason of their great numbers, was the reason they did not disarm. The answer of the queen and king of Navarre was extremely favourable to those of our party; for they bad them take courage, and also promised them that they would take great care to provide for their particular security, and for the common repose of their city. So that after such obliging words proceeding from the mouths of their majesties, by which they expressed more tenderness than they ever expected, they went away with all possible satisfaction. On the contrary the Huguenots were astonished, when they were told in very rough terms; that if they would not be more modest, and abstain from such violence, they should be taught better manners. The king of Navarre went still farther: for, even before them, he said to the queen, that her majesty needed only give the command, and that when she pleased, he would find a means to stop the course of their insolence. To this I add this particular, which is none of the least considerable; that not only their majesties but people in general, are extremely scandalized with Beza's walking in Paris, constantly attended by Mr d'Andelot, and a great number of gentlemen following them. However after all, tho' disorders and scandals are for the most part prejudicial; yet sometimes they fail not to produce some fruit, because provoking the patience of the great, they frequently incline them to generous enterprizes. Which makes me believe, that we ought to be the less troubled at this, because it is probable, that, considering the present disposition of

WHY THEN it can be alleged that the Protestants behaved in too ostentatious a manner.

genius, and the constancy of his soul, in order to get the better of the scruples, and the ill humour of the parliament of Paris [G]. The speeches he made for toleration, rendered

(44) Negotiations, ou Lettres d'Affaires ecrites au Pape Pie IV. & au Cardinal Borromeo par Hippolyte d'Est, Cardinal de Ferrare, Legat en France, pag. 93, 94.

of the minds of the great, such disorders will all at once fall on the heads of those that cause them (44) ? Let us say however to these critics, that it was very natural for those who had groaned near forty years under so hard and cruel an oppression, to use their liberty without restriction, and to overflow like waters at the opening of the sluices. Nay, there were some reasons of prudence that might persuade them to that conduct. They might reasonably imagine, that the court would think itself obliged to treat civilly a party, whose power should be found capable of making itself feared. Lastly, I say, that neither the ministers nor the people could hinder Andelot, and other brave men of quality, to mix with their zeal for religion, some airs of the soldier and gentleman, which courage and custom made natural to them. However it be, the other church escaped narrowly; for if notwithstanding the defection of the king of Navarre, the Protestants maintained the first war very well, what would not they have done under the protection of the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, which would doubtless have drawn after it that of the queen-mother? Languet tells us the good opinion one might have of their forces.

Re patefacta plerique nostrorum venerunt armati ad Concionem, & jam idem quotidie faciunt, & inter reliquos studiosi magno numero. Iis præbent se Duces Dandelotus Frater Amiralii, Princeps de Rohan, & Frater notius Reginae Scotiæ, ac alii illustribus familiis nati, quod, meo judicio, non faciunt sine consensu Reginae: aliter enim graviter peccarent in legis regni. Monmorantio urbis præfecto mandatum est, ut huc inducat, præsidii causa, duas alas equitum, & certum numerum peditum, quibus præerit Dandelotus. Interea autem dum isti milites præsidii expectantur, nobilitas & studiosi funguntur eorum officio, & tota urbs armis perstreptit. Pontificii desperant fere de reliquis urbibus Galliae, sed exultant summam rerum in hoc consistere, ut hanc sibi addictam retineant. Verum ita crescunt hic studia factionum, ut verear, ne eam omnium primam amittant. Quamvis enim à partibus eorum sint plures Cardinales, Episcopi, Abbates, Præbites, Assessores, & alii, qui opibus & auctoritate valeant nostri tamen viribus & ferocia videntur esse potiores, & si ad vim deveniant, totius ipsorum sapientiae nullus erit usus. Mihi venit in mentem factum dictum Ludovici 12 Regis Galliae, cui suscepto bellum adversus Venetos cum quidam dicerent fore periculosum, illud bellum propter eximiam Venetorum sapientiam: ego, inquit, multitudinem stultorum ipsorum sapientiam obrui. . . . Heri hic celebrantur Jubilæum, ex mandato Legati Pontificii: nostri vero convenerunt, (ut existimo) ad quadraginta milia, & præcipuas plateas urbis armatis compleverunt. Tres concionatores tantæ multitudini vix sufficiebant.

(45) Hub. Languetus, Epist. lxx, lib. ii, pag. 207, 208. It is dated from Paris, in March 1562. See also the sixty seventh letter of the same book.

(45) — This being discovered, most of our people came armed to the sermon, and now they do so daily, and among the rest scholars come in great numbers. They are headed by Mr D'Andelot, brother to the admiral, by the duke of Rohan, by the queen of Scots natural brother, and by many others of noble families, and this not without the consent of the queen, as I imagine: for otherwise this would be a high transgression of the laws of the kingdom. Montmorancy, the governor of the city, has received orders to send for two squadrons of horse, and a certain number of foot, hither, to be commanded by D'Andelot, and to serve for a guard. In the mean while till these soldiers arrive, the nobility and the students supply their place, and the whole city is filled with the noise of arms. The Catholics almost despair of the other cities of France, but they think their all depends upon their keeping this city steady in their interests. But our party gains ground so fast here, that I am afraid they will lose it first of all. For 'tho' on their side there are a greater number of cardinals, bishops, abbots, presidents, assessors, and others of great wealth and authority: yet ours seem to have the advantage in strength and keeness: and if it come to trial by force of arms, all their wisdom will be of little use to them. This makes me remember a pleasant repartee of Lewis XII of France, who being to make war with the Venetians, was told by one of his courtiers that it would be dangerous, because, of the singular wisdom of

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Venetians: I, said he, will overpower their wisdom by a multitude of fools. . . . Yesterday the Jubilee was celebrated by order of the Pope's legate: but our party convened to the number of 40000 (as I think) and filled all the principal squares with armed men. Three preachers were scarce sufficient to so vast a multitude.

[G] It was necessary for him to show the force of his genius, in order to get the better of the scruples, and ill humour of the parliament of Paris.] This parliament refused to register the edict of January, and deputed a president, and a counsellor, to make their remonstrances to the king. These two deputies having particularly explained before the king, the reasons that moved the parliament not to receive that edict, the chancellor, by reason of the eminence of his office, and the minority of our king, answered them in this manner: that he did not doubt but all the arguments represented by them, were very weighty; but he desired them to consider, that they had not been forgotten in the great council of St Germain; that the question in hand, was one of those in which there is some difficulty, what way soever we turn our thoughts; and that to speak the truth, there was room to excuse the magistrates, whatever part they took. He granted that the foundation of a common-wealth was the having but one religion; but when things were come to such a height, as was then observed in France, whoever rejects this edict must resolve on one of these two things: either to put all the adherents of this new religion to the sword, or to banish them entirely, with permission to dispose of their effects. The first point could not be executed, that party being too strong both in leaders, and partisans; and though it were possible to do it, if the king's youth were stained with the blood of so many subjects, perhaps when he came to age and understanding, he would require it at his governours hands. And as to the second point, that it was as impracticable: and should it succeed to our desire, we should raise by this conduct as many desperate enemies as exiles. And as to the edict of July, though it had a plausible pretence, it really tended to make men Atheists, by permitting them to absent themselves from the Catholic churches, and yet nevertheless depriving them of the exercise of their own religion. Wherefore to obviate all these mischiefs, it had been thought good to establish two churches in France, till God should please to re-unite us in the same mind: and that this had been the practice heretofore of Galerius Maximian and Constantius, the emperors, to compose the divisions betwixt the Christians and Heathens: remonstrating to them, and praying them to submit to the present necessity; in brief to tolerate this scandal, to avoid a greater evil, and that if we transferred in this, it was in imitation of the neighbouring nations, who in the like necessity had been obliged to do the same. This answer being reported to the parliament, the chambers once more assembled, did not change their opinion (46). This reluctance disturbed the court, and it was again debated with some deputies of Paris what was to be done (47). By a majority of voices, it was resolved that the edict should be maintained, And the prince of la Roche-sur-yon was commissioned to publish it in parliament, with express orders that if they should refuse or delay to do it, he should cause it to be published without a judicial form, assisted only by some particular counsellors, such as he should chuse. This commission was violent; but he being a wise prince, executed it very gently, declaring that the king's intention was founded on the necessity of the time; that the court of parliament might easily know what passed before their eyes in the city of Paris, but they were not informed of the complaints that came daily to the king and council from all parts of the kingdom; intreating them to give their resolution briefly, and without any long discourse, by yes or no, what they would answer. Hereupon it was by common consent resolved that all those who had assisted at the council of St Germain, should have a deliberative voice in that matter as well as others: so that at last it was ordained that the edict should pass. It is true that in the execution, they sufficiently declared,

(46) Polquier's Letters, Tom. I, book iv, pag. 212, & seq.

(47) Id. ibid. pag. 214.

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dered him very much suspected to the Catholics, and odious to the court of Rome [H], and because he was constantly against the civil-war, they would not allow him to assist at the councils of war (f). He appeared very much afflicted, when he saw preparations made on both sides to take up arms after the affair of Vassi: he declared plainly his thoughts upon it, and made a most excellent answer to the Constable, who told him, *that*

(f) See the remark [H], *citat.* 20.

that it was by a forced consent: because on Friday the twenty sixth of March an extraordinary day of pleading, it was confirmed with all the demonstrations of constraint; forasmuch as with the edict were published all the orders of the king, a thing not usually done in such publications. Besides, the attorney-general required nothing publicly, but only declared that he had given his conclusions in writing. And therefore it was ordered by the court, that upon the back of the letters it should be wrote, that they had been read, published, and registered, after having heard the king's attorney-general, without approbation however of the new religion; the whole by way of provision, until it should be otherwise ordered by the king. Thus it was this edict passed at Paris (48). This has some connexion with the history of Mr de l'Hospital, and contains some particular circumstances, which are not to be found in the General History; and therefore the reader will have some reason to be pleased that I have related them.

(48) *Ibid.*

[H] His speeches . . . rendered him very much suspected to the Catholics, and odious to the court of Rome. We have seen above (49), in a passage of Varillas, what was said in France by way of jest, of the chancellor's mas. Beaucaire de Peguillon speaking of the assembly of St Germain (50), and reporting the heads of the speech which the chancellor made there, observes that this first magistrate served for an example to the judges who favoured the sectaries, and that he only loved the Calvinists. 'Deinde Regius ministros qui juridicundo præstant & Regia edicta non satis accurate exequuti sunt, excusati: inter quos ille merito accusatus est, qui illis exemplo erat, & nullos, nisi Calvinianos in oculis habebat; quique præclara hac oratione, & multis aliis perverfis machinis ad condendum satis celebratum postea suum Januarii sequentis edictum viam præparavit (51). — Then

(49) In the remark [D], *citat.* (20).

(50) Held in 1561.

(51) Belcar. lib. xxix, n. 30, pag. 914.

be excuseth the king's judges who do not execute the royal edicts with sufficient care: and amongst them he is deservedly accused, who gave them an example, and loved none but the Calvinists: and who by that notable oration, and by many other wicked arts, paved the way for his edict of January which was afterwards so famous. This historian has the impudence to call this great man an Atheist: here is what he says, when he observes that the cardinal of Lorraine raised him to the dignity of chancellor. 'Interim Olivario Cancellario vita functo Cardinalis Lotharingus prætor doctissimo suorum omnium ac familiarium sententiam, ut Michael Hospitalis homo quidem doctus, sed nullius religionis, aut ut vere dicam atheus, in ejus locum surrogaretur, effecit (52). — In the

(52) *Ibid.* lib. xxviii, n. 57, pag. 937.

(53) See the Penées diverses for les Cometes, pag. 539, and the Critical Answer to Malmbourg's History of Calvinism, Letter xxi, n. 2, of the third edition.

(54) See the remark [C] of the article FERRIER (ANNAUD).

(55) See the Journal des Savans, Febr. 28, 1680, p. 118, 119, Dutch Edit.

(56) Hist. du Concile de Trente, book v, pag. 438, of Amelot's translation.

the bishop of Valence, and some others that he should name, should be imprisoned (57). I will here add a passage of a letter, which the cardinal legate Hippolytus d'Est wrote to the Pope the fourteenth of June 1562. It is dated from Bois de Vincennes. 'Among other difficulties it is none of the least to keep the chancellor, and many other dignified persons, as your holiness desires, at a distance from the court, for you put in this number both Heretics, and those that are suspected of Heresy. But if all the latter were to be banished the court, would doubtless be deserted, these new opinions having already made such an impression on the minds of the courtiers, that there are few that have not some little tincture of them . . . But to return to the most factious of the court, your holiness is not ignorant how hard a matter it was to get the Chastillons removed . . . But as to the removing of the chancellor which is desired, it is quite another thing: for besides that, he is in a post that will not permit him to be absent from court, except for very important reasons; he cannot as yet either be deprived of his employment, but by the express order of the king, or for some great fault, if he had committed any; nor can it be reasonably said, that he has deserved death, unless it be proved by unquestionable arguments. Now to think to bring an accusation against him to put him upon his trial, is a thing that cannot be done without a great deal of time. Besides, such a process against him would doubtless be ill grounded, since he is seen commonly to go to mass, to confession, and communion, so that he could not be convicted of his not being a Catholic (58). The letter he wrote the next day to cardinal Borromeo, shews that Catherine de Medicis did not relish his proposals of removing some persons; and that she was still more displeased, when he named to her particularly the chancellor, according to the express order he had received from Pius IV (59). Whence it appears that Varillas is in a great error in saying that the Triumviri obliged Mr de l'Hospital to retire, and that the queen sacrificed him to them (60). He will have this pretended retreat to have preceded the declaration of the seventh of April 1562, and that it continued all the first war (61). This is contradicted as well by the silence of other historians, as by the letters of the legate dated the fifteenth of June, and the eighth of July 1562 (62).

They were not mistaken in believing that Mr de l'Hospital approved in his heart the doctrine of the Protestants. Catherine de Medicis did not say any thing but the truth in all the discourse that Mezerei reports. 'She employed all her industry to undermine the credit that he had gotten in the mind of the young king; to whom she taught her confidants to say, that undoubtedly he was a favourer of Heretics, that his wife, his daughter: his son-in-law, and all his family, being of that religion, there was no doubt but that he was of the same in his heart, and that it was only the fear of losing his place, that hindered him from publicly professing Calvinism. Therefore as secret enemies are more dangerous than open ones, he was much more to be feared than the admiral; and that his majesty ought not to suffer him to poison his whole council with these fine maxims of peace, under which, as under the skin of a serpent, variegated with colours most agreeable to the sight, was concealed a most pernicious venom; and which by flattering caused certain death (63). She had no reason to say that Mr de l'Hospital was a dangerous enemy; for if he favoured the Protestants, it was not by any disloyal artifices, but by maxims most conformable to the good of the state, and the service of the king. The integrity of his morals, his experience and his wisdom in the management of affairs were acknowledged by all the world: as also his inviolable affection for the good of the state, the preservation of the laws, and the ease of the people, and his constant courage in resisting the injustice of great men, were highly cried up by all good men (64). Catherine

(57) *Ibid.* lib. vi, pag. 487, ad ann. 1562.

* He complied in the council with the intentions of the queen, who had privately interested him; but because he wished for a peace against the opinion of the duke of Guise, and the constable, he was ill treated by both, and under pretence of being a man of the gown, he was excluded from the councils of war, where the queen found afterwards that she wanted one of her principal ministers. Duval, Hist. lib. ii.

(58) Negotiations ou Lettres d'Affaires écrites par le Cardinal de Ferrare Legat en France, pag. 224, 225.

(59) *Ibid.* pag. 247, 248.

(60) Varillas, Hist. de Chart. IX, Tom. I, pag. m, 151.

(61) *Ibid.* pag. 353.

(62) See the Negotiations du Cardinal de Ferrare, pag. 308.

(63) Mezerei, Hist. de France, Tom. III, pag. 183.

(64) Mezerei *Ibid.* pag. 256.

that it did not belong to those of the long robe to give their opinions in matters of war: those such men, answered he, know not how to bear arms, yet they know when they ought to be used (g). Cardinal Hippolitus d'Est, Legate à Latere in France, received orders to use all possible endeavours to get him dismissed from court; but he answered the Pope, that he saw no probability of succeeding in that affair (b). He proposed it however to the queen-regent, at which she was very angry. If Varillas had known this, he would not have been guilty of the fault which we shall see below (i). The peaceable counsels of this chancellor contributed more to his disgrace than any thing else. I have given good proofs of it (k). He voluntarily retired, when he perceived that his enemies had exasperated the king against him, and he spent the rest of his life at his country seat (l) in Beauce. He made that retreat in June 1568. A message was sent to him some days after, to deliver up the seals. He returned them very freely, saying, that indeed he was no longer fit for the affairs of the world, which he saw too much corrupted (m). We ought to think it more strange that he maintained his ground seven or eight years in so vicious a court, than to see him disgraced at last. There had been something wanting to the lustre of his virtue and glory, if he had continued chancellor to his death; for under such a reign it was a sort of stain and a very bad sign to be thought proper for that great employment. An honest man was not what those who had then the management of affairs wanted. Let us observe that Mr de l'Hospital did however procure the enacting of several excellent laws [I], and that he neither flattered the subjects nor the prince

(g) Palquier's Letters, Tom. I, book iv, pag. 226. See also Baptista le Grain, book i, of his History of Henry IV, pag. m. 229, 230, where he praises him as much, as he blames those, who excluded him from the council of war.

(b) See citation (58), near the middle.

(i) Citat. (60).

(k) At the end of the remark [II].

(l) Called Vignat, and not Vignan, as Mezerai calls it, pag. 186 of the third Tome of his Great History. He is far from being exact as to proper names.

(m) Brantome, in the Discours of the Constable of Montmorency, Tom. II, pag. 87.

(65) See Spondan. ad ann. 1573, n. 25, pag. m. 745.

(66) Ad ann. 1561, n. 18, pag. 609.

(67) Beza, in Iconibus, fol. V. iii.

(68) See C. S. m. i. Biblioth. choise, pag. 70.

(69) Spondan. ad ann. 1573, n. 25, pag. m. 745.

(70) Hist. du Calvin, pag. 105. See what was answered to him in the General Criticism on his book, Letter xvi, n. 3.

(71) D'Aubigné, Hist. Univers. Tom. I, book II, chap. xviii, pag. m. 129.

(72) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. III, pag. 22.

(73) See Garasse's Doctrine civile, pag. 918, 919.

de Medicis spoke truth, when she said the chancellor's family were Protestants (65). Now this is a good argument, that he disapproved the doctrines of the church of Rome. In the Icones of Theodore Beza, he was painted with a candle lighted behind him, to signify, says Spondanus (66), that he carried a torch to give light to others, and not to himself. The discourse which attends that picture, teaches us, that two reasons moved him to abstain from the public profession of the truth. He feared he should be deprived of the means of serving the good cause, and he hoped the time would come when there should be no more occasion to dissemble. He vainly expected that conjuncture, and afterwards having resolved to declare himself, he could not execute his resolution. He sacrificed himself for others. Beza expresses this very well. *Hic . . . ad justum laudis cumulum id videtur defuisse, quod partim se sibi ad pios juvandos adiutum præstaret, si veram religionem aperte præstiteretur, partim vana quadam expectatione delusus, eo luto ex quo erutos omnes optabat, penitus extricare sese quum diu neglexisset, postea volens id præstare non potuit. Sed equis illius memoriam non celebravit, qui, at aliis consuleret, seipsum tandem penè neglexit* (67). His will is a proof that he was no Papist in his heart: there is no mention in it of the mass, or purgatory, or priest, or any thing like it; and he observes in it that Christians have no great esteem for funeral ceremonies and burials (68). Spondanus pretends, that this is the language of a prophane person (69), and Maimbourg says that these words are unworthy of a Christian (70). Genebrard had before inveighed against these words in the Funeral Oration of Peter Dances. Note that it has been said, that Mr de l'Hospital had a hand in the enterprise of Amboise. Consider well these words of d'Aubigné: *Chancellor Olivier dying at that time in the manner before mentioned, l'Hospital, a man of great esteem, succeeded him, though he had been one of the conspirators, in the business of Amboise. Which I maintain against all that has been written against it, because the original of the enterprise was assigned into my father's hands, in which was his name as length, betwixt that of Andelot and one Spifame: a thing I have shewn to many persons of note* (71). Mezerai confutes this by a very weak reason; which is (72), that l'Hospital, as he pretends, had left France in the month of November. But did not he know how many journeys la Renaudie caused to be made? Was it so hard for him to dispatch one of the accomplices to Mr de l'Hospital in Piedmont? However it be I am persuaded that if he signed that conspiracy, he was only shewn the best side of it, and that he did not expect it should ever be executed in the manner it was projected.

Father Garasse, transported with a blind passion of censuring the Protestants, has accused them of calumny, in that they endeavoured to persuade all France, that chancellor de l'Hospital was of their persuasion. He compares them to the Novatians, who published in lying writings, that St Cyprian died in their communion; and he says, that this has been an ingenious malice of wicked men from all antiquity (73). In this he only discovers his own ignorance.

I cannot forbear inserting two observations in this place, which I find in an anonymous piece, which is excellent. They inform us of the causes of this chancellor's disgrace. I do not think, says that unknown author (74), 'that a great minister who is employed in the great affairs of his prince, ought to be silent, whatever may happen thereupon. Otherwise he may be the cause of his master's ruin, as well by his silence as others are by their conspiracies and enterprizes. It is for this reason that I cannot be of their opinion, who think that chancellor de l'Hospital needed not to have opposed so vigorously the resolution which had been taken * * * against the prudent advice of the late constable, to cause the king to depart * * * at the beginning of the second troubles. For since that wife and prudent minister judged, and that very well too as the event shewed, that such a sudden departure, if put into execution * * *, would undoubtedly prevent a reconciliation, and bring things to extremity; it is certain that if he had concealed his opinion, and had not insisted upon it as he did. He would have been guilty of a baseness, unworthy of a man whose virtue alone had raised him to that dignity. For tho' ever since he has been declining, and his enemies, that is to say, the enemies of his virtue, integrity and sincerity, began from that time to conspire together to remove him; yet that was no reason for him to be wanting in his duty, since the end of those who have the honour to be employed in such posts, ought not to be to maintain themselves in them, to the prejudice of their honour and conscience, but to serve well and faithfully. Besides, things taking the course which they took afterwards, a great man of good principles and courage, as this worthy chancellor was, ought to be very well satisfied to be dismissed . . . (75). A good minister and truly virtuous

(74) Fragment de l'Examen du Prince de Machiavel, pag. 95. 6e. Edit. 1622, in 12mo.

(75) Ibid. pag. 97, &c.

will never give his advice contrary to his judgment, and when he is commanded to speak and give his opinion, he will do it with fidelity and courage. This is what this chancellor did, about the question concerning the bulls, which permitted the sale of church lands, to the amount of an hundred and fifty thousand livres of revenue, for the expropriation of Heretics. For that clause was contrary to the edicts of pacification, the observing of which the chancellor judged necessary for the good of the kingdom: besides, those edicts having been granted in a solemn manner, he was of opinion that they could not be infringed, and that this was one of the effects of the League which was then contriving; and therefore he proposed his opinion, which was followed, viz. to obtain new bulls, without that clause, which was the last stumbling block, and the reason which was urged to render this great man suspected of heresy, and to take away the seals from him, and put them into the hands of a man whom they thought more proper for the time, and soon after all parties made ready for war.

[I] He procured the enacting of several excellent laws.] Stephen Palquier furnishes me with this reflexion; these are his words (76): 'We have seen in our time, a young king Charles IX, in France, who by reason

(76) Palquier, Letters, book xix, Tom. II, pag. 520, 521.

prince. He was very zealous to maintain and confirm the royal majesty and authority, and he will know how by the gravity of his censures to make the parliaments sensible of their error, in disobeying their king [K]; but on the other hand, he took care that the prince

of the weakness of his youth in the beginning, and afterwards by the extraordinary violence of his temper, had no leisure to make laws: nevertheless none of his predecessors made so many good edicts as he: witness that of 1560, in the states held in the town of Orleans, the other that he made at Rouffillon in the year 1563, and the last at Moulins in the year 1566. Those three edicts containing abundance of articles in matter of civil policy, and fine regulations, infinitely exceeding our ancient ordinances. To whom are we indebted for this advantage? To no other than to Michael de l'Hospital, his great and wife chancellor, who, under the authority of the young king his master, was the principal mediator of the first, and the instigator, promoter, and author, of the two others. And I which with all my heart that they had been always observed with the same zeal, as they were introduced. I wonder that Pasquier does not speak of the excellent edicts Mr de l'Hospital procured under Francis II. A historian of that time (77) reckons three, which were extraordinary good and wholesome. I am going to shew in what the first consisted; it was that which regulated the wills, or the donations of widows, who quickly married again. I will make use of the words of an author of that age (78). *It was at the solicitation of chancellor de l'Hospital, that many ordinances, edicts, and statutes, were made and published by our kings of France, for the relief of the people, and the preservation of justice. Among others, we have an edict of king Francis II, which gives a check to second marriages, by taken away the liberty they who married again had to give more to the second husband, than to one of the children of the first. The occasion of this edict was this: it happened that a woman of this kingdom extremely rich, fell in love with a young lord, who, because she seemed too old for him, had no inclination to make her his wife. She was so dotingly in love with him, that understanding how greedy he was of money, she made him a donation of all her estate, reserving only what might belong to her children of the first marriage as of their falcidion, or lawful portion. So that for a morsel of bread, they were almost entirely deprived of their mother's inheritance, which was transferred to a second husband. To prevent such frauds, this chancellor introduced in France the ordinance of the emperor Leo, which is mentioned in the law hac Edictali. 6. tit. de secund. nupt. in the fifth book of Justinian's Code, which forbids giving or leaving to the second husband more than to one of the children of the first marriage. It was very just and necessary to renew this law for the interest of the children of the first husband; for there are but too many woman, who desiring to be married again, would deprive them of their rights, to make themselves more agreeable to their new husband. They would supply by their liberalities, what age has taken from their charms: besides, the liberty of disposing of their estates would expose them to be courted by men, who without it would never have disturbed the resolution they might have taken, to edify their neighbours by a virtuous widowhood.*

[K] *He knew how to make the parliaments sensible of their error in disobeying their king.* An attorney could not reprimand a clerk, who has been guilty of a great blunder more smartly than our chancellor did the parliament of Bourdeaux, when Charles IX, held his Bed of Justice there, the twelfth of April 1564, before Basser. *The king, said he (79), has found many faults in this parliament, which, as it is of a later erection, being but of 102 years standing, you have the less excuse for forgetting so soon the antient ordinances, which would be excusable in other parliaments that are old; nevertheless you are as much depraved, or perhaps worse than the old ones. . . . I have received many complaints of your dissensions. . . . See here a house ill regulated, and it is you who are accountable for it. The first fault is your disobedience to your king. For although his ordinances are presented to you, you observe them as you please: If you have any remonstrances to make, make them as soon as you will, and he will bear them. You rob him of his royal power, when you will not obey his royal ordi-*

nances, which is worse than to rob him of his crownlands. I am informed that the ordinance made at the request of the States, is not yet published here. And, addressing himself to the presidents, and the king's counsel, he said, I will now speak to you, that are presidents and the king's counsel, who ought to require and solicit the publication of his edicts and ordinances; and you presidents, you ought to propose them, for you are the king's presidents in the court. I have also notice, said he, that the ordinance about justice is not published. I remember likewise some others, which I will not mention that I may, not be too long: I think said he, that you fancy your selves wiser than the king but your wisdom is limited to judge of processes; do not think your selves wiser than the king, the queen, and his council. He has obtained peace, and at present there is a war betwixt him and the court of parliament. . . . (80) You despise the queen and the king's council. I see that you so much value your own decrees as to set them above ordinances, which when you have received, you interpret as you please: It is not your business but the king's, to interpret an ordinance, even the ordinances that concern the public welfare. I omit the sequel of his discourse, which is still more thundering than what we have seen. Note, that this is but a commentary on what the King had said in few words to this parliament; That he would for the future be better obeyed than he had been; that he would not suffer any of his subjects to take up arms without his leave, and that he would also have his edicts observed (81). There is no doubt (81) Ibid. pg. but Mr de l'Hospital suggested this discourse to him, as also the vigorous declaration made by the same prince some time before, to the deputies of the parliament of Paris. They had made remonstrances to him about the edict of his majority, which they had not registered. 'The king, whose voice and countenance was composed to a studied severity, answered them, that they must obey, that they should meddle no more with public affairs, and that they should rid themselves of this old error, That they were the king's tutors, the defenders of the kingdom, and the guardians of the city of Paris. The deputies having made their report to the court, it was divided (82), and they sent a new deputation to the king, who ordered that the edict should be published and registered without delay, and that all the presidents and counsellors should be present at it, upon pain of interdiction (83). It is easy to perceive, considering the king's age, that he, in that case, only repeated the lesson of Mr de l'Hospital. 'He once made a speech to the parliament with open doors, who would not pass some of his edicts. . . . and complaining of their administration of justice, and of their corruption, and of the refusal of his edicts; it is your your business, said he, with a brave, and as it were menacing, boldness, to obey my ordinances, without disputing and contesting about them; for I know better than you, what is proper and convenient for the advantage and interest of my kingdom. Having as yet no beard, he held this discourse before those old and wise heads, who all marvelled at this bold and grave speech, which favoured more of his generous courage, than of the lessons of Mr Amiot his preceptor (84). Brantome should have added that this discourse was the lesson of Michael de l'Hospital. The prince, who had already disgraced him (85), well remembered the instructions he had received from his chancellor, that it concerned him to humble the boldness of the parliament of Paris, so pernicious at that time to all the kingdom.

In this place I ought to examine in a few words the discourse we daily hear, which lays down as a principle of misery, the suppression of the right, which was heretofore in parliaments of rejecting the edicts, that appeared unjust to them. This was a bank, say they, which kept the people from being drowned under the arbitrary power of the monarch. The breaking of this bank ought to be compared to the blow by which Aeolus shook the mountain, which served for a prison to the winds.

--- Cavum

(77) Louis Regnier Sieur de la Planche, Hist. de François II, pag. 515. & seq.

(78) Thevet. Eleg. Tom. VII, pag. 375.

(79) See the Collection of several Memoirs, printed at Paris for Peter Chevalier, 1633, in 4to, pag. 424.

(82) Mezerai, Abr. Chron. Tom. V, pag. 80, ad ann. 1563.

(83) Id. ibid.

(84) Brantome, Eloge de Charles IX, pag. 33, & 34, of the fourth Tome of his Memoirs.

(85) Without doubt Brantome means the same Speech of Charles IX, mentioned by Mezerai in the year 1571, pag. 239 of the third volume of his Great History.

prince should obey justice and reason. He opposed as much as possible unjust edicts. And if after all he was obliged to seal them, he shewed that it was against his will [L]. One

- - - Cavum conversa cuspide montem
Impulit in latus: ac venti, velut agmine facto,
Quà data porta, ruunt, & terras turbine perfiant.
Incubère mari, totumque à sedibus imis
Unà Euræque Notusque raunt, creberque procellis
Africus; & vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
Insequitur clamorque virum, stridorque rudem-
tum (86).

(86) Virgil. *Æn.*
lib. i, ver. 85.

He said, and burl'd against the mountains side
His quivering spear, and all the GOD apply'd;
The raging winds rush through the hollow wound
And dance aloft in air, and skim along the ground;
Then settling on the sea the surges sweep,
Raise liquid mountains and disclose the deep,
South, east, and west, with mix'd confusion roar,
And roll the foaming billows to the shore;
The cables crack, the sailors fearful cries
Ascend, and sable night involves the skies,
And heaven itself is raviſh'd from their eyes,

DRYDEN.

They imbellish this with many maxims, which have a great appearance of solidity; but they never go farther, they never turn the tables, nor consult experience, nor examine whether any one could answer, I appeal to experience. Now this is the weak side; for it is easy to prove, that France was never so distressed and miserable as when the parliaments enjoyed the full authority of rejecting the edicts and ordinances of the prince, under Charles IX, and Henry III. It is easy to prove also, that the exercise of that authority, was the main cause of the miseries of the kingdom from the year 1562 to 1594. Chancellor de l'Hopital had laid the foundations of the public peace by the edict of the month of January. The church of Rome had no longer reason to fear the danger I have mentioned above (87); the king of Navarre had deserted the Huguenots; Catherine de Medicis no longer thought of pulling off the mask. They would have been contented to have had their fill of preaching; and so the kingdom would have remained in peace, provided the edict of January had been observed. But the Catholics infringed it, and from hence proceeded the first religious war, the root of all the evils that afflicted the state, till the extinction of the League; for all those evils were grafted upon, or sprung from one another, by a well connected train of causes and effects (88). Now to whom must the infraction of this edict of January be principally ascribed, but to the parliament of Paris? Did not they encourage every body to the non-observance of it? They did not register it without defaming it (89), that is to say, not till after three commands, and with such restrictions and clauses, as plainly shewed that it was registered by force, and as a very transient and very mischievous ordinance. Who would have feared after this, to violate such an edict, when they could not but be well assured, that a parliament who judged in this manner, would never trouble themselves to punish those that should break it; Now at that time to be accessory to the infraction of the edict, and to found an alarm for civil war, was one and the same thing. Observe well the words Varillas makes use of in the beginning of his relation of the measures that were taken against the Protestants, a little before the massacre of Vassy. *The house of Guise*, says he (90), *judged by the opposition that the edict of January had met with in the parliament, that it would not long subsist, and doubted not but that civil wars would quickly begin.* It may be said in general, that the parliaments of France, by refusing to ratify the edicts of pacification, or by ratifying them with an ill grace, and afterwards by a natural consequence, taking no care that they should be observed, were the chief causes of those long calamities that wasted the state, and had like to have ruined the monarchy root and branch. If Charles V had reigned at that time, France would infallibly have become a province of his dominions, or at least would have been divided into a thousand pieces.

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You only alledge, will some say, the bad use the parliaments then made of their right to reject the edicts of the prince. But I answer, are tyranny and most other disorders any thing else but an ill use of good things? It suffices to refuse your reflexions, to tell you, that this bank or barrier you speak of, and which, properly speaking, includes this contradiction, that a state is and is not monarchical, cannot be thought a good remedy, since it has done much more harm than good. What comparison is there between the advantages that accrued from the rejection of some pecuniary edicts (91), and the deplorable misery of the kingdom for thirty years together? These calamities are much less to be imputed to the court, than to the parliaments. The court was grown wise by the instructions of a most able and a most virtuous chancellor. Mr de l'Hopital had persuaded it to prevent, by the edict of January, all misfortunes, and to destroy the root of civil wars. The parliament, instead of seconding him, opposed him, and disappointed the remedy he had found; a remedy which must needs be good, since there was no other (92). The court would have walked in the road the chancellor had marked out, and only left it, by reason of the confusions into which the kingdom fell, through the fault of those who disobeyed the edict; and it was the parliaments that opened a wide path to this disobedience. They therefore are responsible for so many churches profaned, plundered, demolished, of which some are pleased to give long lists to render the Huguenots odious. Nor was it owing to them, that the miseries of the state were not perpetual, even after the destruction of the League. They opposed the edict of Nantes, the only remedy for these intestine confusions: the parliament of Paris would never have ratified it, if Henry IV had not made use of intreaties; but in a tone, that shewed he knew how to make himself obeyed (93). Note, that the speech of Mr de l'Hopital to the parliament of Bourdeaux (94), shews that at that time, when so little account was made of the king's ordinances, the administration of justice was horribly corrupted, and full of hideous disorders. I will conclude with saying, that the government of the people is such a perplexed affair, that the remedies which seem best, are sometimes worse than the disease, and the cause of the greatest disorders I have just now given a remarkable instance of it.

[L] If he was obliged to seal unjust edicts, he shewed that it was against his will. A minister of state, and especially the chancellor of a monarch, ought to do two things, if he would well discharge his duty. One is earnestly to recommend submission and obedience to the subjects; he ought not to speak to them of any thing else: he must not stand arguing with them, whether they have sometimes right to take up arms, or to refuse obedience to the ordinances that they think unjust and burdensome. He must suppose it a thing beyond dispute, that they have not that right. The other thing which he ought to do, is to represent strongly and incessantly to the prince, that the royal authority does not dispense him from an absolute submission to justice, and that it has no right or privilege to depart from reason, equity, and promises, &c. Mr de l'Hopital punctually acquitted himself of both these duties. He took the part of the king before the subjects, and the part of the subjects before the king. He repressed with great vehemence, those who made any attempt upon the royal authority. See (95) the censures that he made, or that the king made to the parliaments, according to his advice. See also (96) what he answered to the deputy of the parliament of Dijon. But you will now see with what integrity, with what constancy, he resisted the unjust proposals which were suggested to the prince. He withstood them by his arguments, as far as was possible; and if his remonstrances did not hinder the conclusion of the affair, he shewed that he had no ways consented to it. *Ab, SIR, what a foul and venomous tail is it in an edict, when the ratification of it is decreed with these words, by the express command of the king, often times repeated, which only produce a condemnation from the wise and good, against the injustice of it, supported only by the commands, which the chancellors are frequently forced to seal against their*

(91) The ninth of September, 1578, the parliament registered only two pecuniary Edicts, out of the twenty-two that were laid before them. See *Faucher de Lendel's* Fautes, pag. 88.

(92) Optimum remedium quia unicum.

(93) See *Matthieu*, Histoire de la Pair, liv. ii, parat. 1, n. 7, pag. m. 210, & seq.

(94) I have quoted it above, citat. (79).

(95) In the foregoing remark.

(96) In the article BEGAT.

One of the occasions in which he discovered his great presence of mind, was when the demands of the English ambassadors were examined in the king's council concerning the restitution of Calais. He answered their first reasons, and replies with so much force, that he had manifestly the victory (n), and gave occasion to the king his master to flatter himself, that by retaining that place, he did not infringe the treaty of peace of Cateau. His vigilance, as great as it was, could not secure him from the artifices of a secretary, who was a wicked man [M]: which gave him a great deal of trouble. It has been observed, that his face resembled Aristotle's [N]. Some attribute to him the

(n) See *Touanus*, lib. xii, pag. 840, 841, ad ann. 1567, & *Varillas*, *Histoire de Charles IX.* Tom. II, book vi, pag. m. 39, & seq. See also Tom. I, pag. 256.

their opinion, in which are seen these odious and shameful words: Notwithstanding all the remonstrances made and to be made, which we hold as heard and understood, and for which we will not have it delayed. That is to say, in spite of reason, by a malignant counsel, an unjust will, and a rash determination, by the rebuke of virtue, the toleration of evil; and the hatred of honour, and by an affected ignorance, and the contempt of what is good. Wherefore that he might not participate of that shame, the good and most worthy chancellor de l'Hospital commonly wrote these words with his own hand upon the back of the letters, *Me non consentiente*, that is to say, I have been forced to seal them against my opinion; as he did to the letters about the reception of the powers of the cardinal of Ferrara, sent legate into France by Pope Pius IV, and the court of parliament reading these words indorsed by the chancellor, joined with him, and would never ratify these powers (97). President de la Place will inform us more particularly of what concerns this last passage. 'Now for as much as among other articles decreed in the states, it was ordered, that the benefices of the kingdom should be conferred by the ordinaries in every diocese, and no longer by the Pope, and that no dispensations should be received; there was great difficulty in admitting the power of the said legate: the chancellor remonstrating, that he could do nothing against what had been so unanimously resolved and concluded by the said states. But notwithstanding, the said legate giving to understand, that he being related to the house of France, it would be a great reproach and dishonour to him, to be the first legate refused in it, and offering not to use the said power, and to return immediately after the ratification of it, the chancellor was commanded to seal the letters; which he did after many alterations betwixt the legate and him, writing with his own hand under the seal of the letters, these words, *Me non consentiente*, that is, without my consent: which being seen by the said court, were refused with a declaration, that they could not, and ought not to receive them (98). Some historians say that at last the legate, in spite of the chancellor's opinion, got his powers received in the council of state; in which he was allowed a place (99). Every one knows the transcendent power of the Guises, under Francis II, yet they were not able to make the chancellor sloop. He was the only one that refused to sign the Arrêt for putting the prince of Condé to death (100).

(98) La Place, *Commentaires de l'Etat de la Religion & Republique*, livr. vi, fol. m. 214, verso, ad ann. 1561. See concerning that legate, the book on the origin of cardinals, pag. 265, & seq. Duch Edit. 1670.

(99) Le Grain, ubi supra, book i, pag. 213.

(100) Id. ibid. pag. 109.

(101) Languet, *Epist.* xii, lib. II, pag. 157.

Languet has preserved a smart repartee, which the chancellor made to the legate. The later was so bold as to tell him, that he did not know what was the duty of his place. I have endeavoured at least, said the chancellor, to learn it; but you who possess several bishoprics, have never thought of getting yourself instructed in the episcopal duties. 'Solut Cancellarius pertinacissime resistit, & dixit in ea re fieri summam injuriam Regi Puero, ac Regni Gallici Jura, & Majestatem prostruit, nec se passurum, ut Regio Sigillo sibi Concredito, ad eam rem abuteretur. Ad quæ incandescens Ferrariensis dixit eum ignorare quæ essent sui muneris & Officii: Ego vero, inquit Cancellarius, hoc saltem egi, ut id intelligerem, sed tu ne quidem cogitasti unquam quod sit Officium Episcopi, cum tamen aliquot Episcopatus possideas. Tandem victus aliorum importunitate tradidit eis Regium Sigillum, sed tamen voluit instrumento permissionis inseri, se contradicente hoc esse permittum (101). — The chancellor alone opposed it with the utmost vehemency, saying, that this was doing an injury of the highest nature to their sovereign, as yet a child, and a prostitution of the laws and majesty of France, and that he would never suffer the seals which were entrusted to him to be abused to such a purpose. Upon this the legate, incensed, told him that he did not know the duty of his place and

office. I have, replied the chancellor, at least been at some pains to learn it, but you never so much as thought what is the duty of a bishop though you possess several bishoprics. At length, being overcome by the importunity of others, he gave them the seal, but obliged them to insert in the instrument, that the permission was granted contrary to his opinion.'

Here is a passage of Bodinus. 'It is very certain that the laws, ordinances, letters-patents, privileges and grants of princes, have no force but during their lives, if they are not ratified by the express consent, or at least by the permission of the prince who takes cognizance of them . . . Which was the reason why Mr de l'Hospital, chancellor of France, refused to seal the confirmation of the privileges, and exemption from taxes for St Maur des Fosses, whatever command he had to do it; because they bore a perpetual exemption: which is against the nature of personal privileges, and diminishes the power of the successors, and cannot be given to any corporations, but for the life of the prince who grants them; although the word perpetual be inserted (102).'

[M] His vigilance . . . could not secure him from the artifices of a secretary, who was a wicked man. I will relate upon this, what I have read in a book, intitled, *La Fortune de la Cour*. — The Fortune of the Court. Chancellor de l'Hospital was blamed, for that being naturally very severe in expediting justice, and stern to those that came to solicit him; yet he was otherwise with respect to his domestics, and especially to his secretary Bouvaut, who put upon him as often as he pleased; which he continued to do, till a complaint was brought to the council, on occasion of a very indecent letter: the chancellor was ashamed to be so over-reached, and was obliged to turn away, with a thousand reproaches, a servant whom he had before much loved (103). The author tells another thing, which has no reference to my text, yet I will transcribe it, being a remarkable passage. 'He was in like manner severely reprimanded by the late Mr de Montpensier, in full council, for that being almost inexorable to pass the grants which the king made of sums which were any way considerable, yet he had some days before received from the treasurer fifty thousand livres; and he was greatly reproached for it, though it was certain that the king himself, of his own desire, had pressed him to take them (104).'

[N] It has been observed that his face resembled Aristotle's. Beza affirms this in very strong terms.

Ut ex antiquissimo numismate apparuit, summum illum omnium Philosophorum principem Aristotelem sic ore toto retulit, ut alterius ex altero imago expressa videri posset (105). Thevet refutes it. 'And as to the likeness, says he (106), which Beza seigns, betwixt Aristotle and our chancellor; if he means in the features and lineaments of the face, there is no man that compares the true picture that I have given of Aristotle, above, with that of the chancellor, which he has got drawn to the life, but will discover at first sight, that there is a great difference. But Stephen Forcadet gives us some circumstances, which make for Beza. He says, that as Charles IX was visiting the towns of his kingdom, a statue was dug up, bearing the name of Aristotle, which perfectly resembled Michael de l'Hospital. He adds, that he made verses upon it, which pleased the chancellor. I transcribe his words at large, because they contain the praises of this great man, and that my dictionary ought sometimes at least to resemble those compilations, wherein are collected the judgment of the learned upon famous persons. Here follows then what Stephen Forcadet relates (107): 'Legis pervigil & excellens custos Cancellarius: qualem re ipsa se præbuit, dum viveret, ideoque à fato maxime laudabilis vir Michael Hospitalis, cui Musæ statuam libentissimè ponerent, nisi Jurisprudencia, simulque Philo-

(102) Bodin, de la Republique, lib. i, cap. viii, pag. m. 131, 132.

(103) La Fortune de la Cour, pag. 347. That book was printed at Paris, in 1642, in 8vo. See Sorel's Bibliothèque Française, pag. 414. Edit. 1667.

(104) Id. ibid. pag. 350.

(105) Beza, in Iconib. ubi supra.

(106) Thevet, ubi supra, pag. 367.

(107) Stephanus Forcatulus de Gallor. Imperio & Philosophia, lib. vii, pag. m. 1086, 1087.

the comparison of the apes; and probably they do in that what is common enough, not only among babblers in conversation, but also among writers; I mean, they ascribe to one what belongs to another [O]. He made a noble will, which was printed, in which he shewed, among other things, the inclination he had to peace [P], and his indifference for funeral ceremonies [Q]. He died the thirteenth of March 1573, being about sixty eight years of age [Q]. He made his only daughter his heiress, whom he had married

(1) See, above, the remark [H], citat. (68).

phia hoc decus præripisset. Idque non ambigere significatum est superioribus annis, Carolo IX Rege suam Galliam opidatim lustrante, cum forte eruta fuit, & e sinu terræ altius effossa: statua inciso Aristotelis titulo, quæ apprimè M. Hospitalium lineamentis ac figuram referebat, ut nec sibi ipsi magis sit ille similis, sicut nec animi dotibus ab insigni Philosopho multum differt. Unde bene ominari cæpi de componendo turbulentæ Reipublicæ statu, quia Gallorum Cancellarius Regi maximo intus Magni illius Alexandri doctorem effigie exaquasset. Nos itaque Hospitali humanissimoque viro, honoris gratia, tunc versiculos dedicavimus comiter supra expectationem accipiendos:

*Quisquis Aristoteli doctum te contulit, idem
Blandius docto fertur Aristoteli.*

(108) Qui non vultu tantum Aristotelis os, quod ex utroque imaginum ubique profuturum comparatione constat, sed Solonis . . . referbat. Thuan. lib. lvi, pag. 43.

(109) Brant. Memoir. Tom. II, pag. m. 78, in the *Elogij* upon constable Montmorency.

(110) Montagne, *Essays*, book ii, chap. xvii, pag. m. 576, 577.

(111) Menage, *Modi di dire Italiani*, pag. 29, at the end of his *Etymologies of the Italian tongue*.

(112) You will find them translated into Latin, apud Vossium de Scient. Mathem. pag. 237.

(113) Costar, *Suite de la Défense de Voiture*, pag. 189.

(114) His French name was Guetiere, as I find it in Guichenon's *History of Breffe*, pag. 36.

(115) Jacobus Gutherius, de jure Manium, lib. ii, cap. xxvi, pag. 351, Edit. Lips. 1671.

(116) Fatalité de Saint Clou. I have mentioned that book in the article of HENRY III, citat. (89), and at the end of remark [R].

(117) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, Tom. I, pag. 522.

Thuanus confirms what Beza says (108). Note, that Brantome speaks of another resemblance: Chancellor de l'Hospital, says he, (109) had all over Cato's mien, a great white beard, a pale face, a grave countenance; so that one would have said upon the sight of him, that he was the true picture of St Jerome, and so several people said at court.

[O] Some attribute to him the comparison of the apes, and probably they . . . give to one what belongs to another. They transfer to our chancellor a thought of his predecessor. Read these words of Montagne (110): 'I have found the shortest and easiest way . . . to rid myself of this desire, and to fit still . . . judging impartially of my strength, that it was not capable of great things. And remembering that saying of the late chancellor Olivier, that the French were like apes, who go leaping up a tree from branch to branch, and never leave off, till they are come to the topmost bough, to shew their breach when they are there (§ a).' Mr Menage (111) cites these words of Montagne, after having quoted some Greek verses (112), in which Scaliger made use of the same thought against Lydiat, and the Latin verses which Salmasius made against Petavius, which turn upon the same comparison. Costar intimates that chancellor Olivier said this in a speech, but I can hardly believe it. 'Chancellor Olivier, says he (113), made no scruple publicly to compare the French to apes, who leap from branch to branch, and shew their breach when they are at the top of the tree.' I will shew, that an advocate in the parliament of Paris, ascribes that comparison to chancellor de l'Hospital. This advocate is little known, but by the name of Gutherius (114), which may be translated five or six different ways, without departing from the analogy, by which the French have latinized their names.

This by the way. The passage is as follows. *Sæpe ego audivi à fori nostri principibus viris, Michaelem Hospitalium Franciæ Cancellarium, cui nulla ætas habuit parem, solum dicere, multos, qui ad honores à fortuna pelluntur, simiarum esse simillimos, quæ alto-rem arborem natiæ, eoque descendunt, ut cum ad summum arboris fastigium evaserint, foliis vento fridentibus operæ totæ posterora tantum prætereuntibus ridiculè ostentant (115).* There are a thousand instances which prove, that the same thought is commonly ascribed to different persons. I will only cite one which has some affinity with the reign, under which Mr de l'Hospital was chancellor. 'Mr Villeroi was told one day, that he was the fittest man to write the history of Charles IX, as having had a hand in every thing, and for that reason that he ought to write it. I am too much obliged, answered he, to that prince, and I love his memory too well to write his history (§ β); meaning that the truths he should be obliged to relate, would disgrace that king (116).' This is what is said by the author of the book, intitled, *La Fatalité de St Clou*; but Mr le Laboureur (117) relates this as Morvillier's answer. And I had rather follow this last tradition.

[(§ a) The edition of Montagne's *Essays* in 16mo, printed at Lyons by Francis le Febvre 1595, has suppressed this as injurious to the French nation. It is however no more so than that of Livy, l. 10. *Gallorum prima prælia plus quam virorum*, &c. a saying which Rabelais has ventured to put in the mouth of one of the generals of Gargantua's army, in a speech which he makes in full council, and before his master. REM. CRIT.]

[(§ β) This repartee which in Matthieu, *History of Lewis XI*, pag. 571. edit. of 1610. is related of a certain lord to one Mr de Tinteville, who had said to him, that none could write his late master's life better than he, was probably originally spoke by chancellor Morvillier, whom Lewis XI had affronted, by disowning some severe words, which he had charged him to deliver in his name to the count of Charolois. REM. CRIT.]

[P] He shewed in his will . . . the inclination which he had for peace. In that last act of his life, he was desirous to claim honour on account of a thing of which Cicero boasted in a full senate. 'Quo quidem in bello, said that great Roman orator, semper de pace agendum, audiendumque putavi; semperque dolui, non modo pacem, sed orationem etiam civium pacem, efflagitantium repudiari; neque enim ego illa, nec ulla umquam secutus sum arma civilia: semperque mea consilia pacis, & togæ sociæ, non belli, atque armorum fuerunt . . . Quod quidem meum consilium minime obscurum fuit, nam & in hoc ordine, integra re, multa de pace dixi: & in ipso bello eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo sensi (118).

During that war I always was for treating of peace, and giving ear to peaceful counsels; I always grieved, that not only peace but even the ardent prayers of our citizens for it were rejected; neither did I ever join in these or in any other civil wars: and my counsels always were on the side of peace and justice, and not on that of war and arms. That such were always my sentiments can be unknown to none, for when matters were still entire, I frequently spoke for peace in this august assembly: and even during the war, I declared my self on the same side with the hazard of my life. There is hardly any thing in this, but what Mr de l'Hospital might have said; but here is what he wrote in his will (119): 'I can say for myself, that though arms have been taken up four times, and battels have been given as often, I have always advised to a peace, not reckoning any thing so prejudicial to a country, as a civil war, nor any thing more advantageous than a peace, upon what condition soever (120).'

Afterwards speaking of the enemies which that maxim drew upon him, and of the miseries which France was plunged into, &c. he adds (121): 'I gave place to arms, which were the strongest, and retired into the country with my wife and family, and little children, begging but one thing of the king and queen at my departure: that since they had determined to break the peace, and to prosecute those with war, with whom they had concluded a peace but a little before, and since they removed me from the court, because they understood I was always contrary, and had an ill opinion of their design: I requested them, I say, that since they did not acquiesce in my counsels, yet at least, when they had satiated and glutted their heart and their thirst with the blood of their subjects, they would embrace the first occasion of peace that should offer itself, before things were reduced to extremum ruin; for whatever might be the issue of that war, it must necessarily be very pernicious to the king and the kingdom.'

[Q] He died about sixty eight years of age. He begins his will thus (122): 'I have always been in doubt concerning my age, because my friends said 52, they have heard my father speak variously about it, who sometimes said that I was born before the war began against the Genoese, and at other times main-

(118) Cicero pro Marcello, cap. 70.

(119) Testament of Michel de l'Hospital, apud Colomies, Bibliothèque, pag. 60.

(120) See Pasquier's Letters, Tom. I, book x, pag. 62, & seq. where he represents the miseries of civil wars.

(121) Testament. &c. ibid. pag. 62.

(122) Ibid. pag. 52.

* John de l'Hospital.

married to Robert Hurault, and he left his library to Michael Hurault, the second of his grand-sons, who has been well known by the name of Mr du Fay [R]. I might have added a great many more things; but I have omitted them, because they may be found in Moreri, or in the Additions of Mr Teiffier to the Elogies of Thuanus, or in Thevet's Elogies, or Brantome's Memoirs. The later, who was a man of the sword, has succeeded better in the praises of this chancellor (p), than all the professed writers that I have read; tho' I confess, that Thuanus and Scævola Sammarthanus, have wrote very handsomly in his praise. Ronfard's ode, (q) designed as an elogy upon this chief officer of justice, has been looked upon as an excellent one; but in certain respects I find nothing that comes up to Brantome's description. It shews Mr de l'Hospital to have been a man that might be opposed to the most eminent and generous men of the gown in ancient Greece and Rome. I shall cite in my remarks for many other passages, that not to be too tedious, I wave what Brantome has written. I only intreat my readers to consider two things: the first is, what he observes upon the dispute which the chancellor maintained with the utmost resolution, against the cardinal of Lorraine, who demanded that the council of Trent should be received (r): the other concerns the undauntedness that Mr de l'Hospital expressed after the Paris massacre, when he had reason to fear, that the murderers had received orders to do execution in his house (s). I will add this one thing more. A famous author (t) having defined the force of the soul to be 'a certain temper and disposition of mind, always equal in itself, constant, stable, heroic, able to see, to hear, and do all things without disturbance, confusion, or astonishment, adds, that *this is much the same with Juvenal's description of it in six fine verses of his tenth Satire (u)*. Chancellor de l'Hospital (he goes on) (x), who was possessed of this strength of mind, as much as any that went before, or came after him, described it still in fewer, though in much bolder words, which he even chose for his device; *Si fractus illabatur orbis, Impavidum ferient ruinæ* (y). See the margin (z). Shall I forget the services which he did even after his death? Is it not just to observe, that the state-maxims by which he regulated his conduct, were of very great use to France, because he left some disciples, imbued with his wise principles, who in due time opposed the Leaguers, and rendered their pernicious enterprizes abortive [S]? I shall add something to the remark which relates to Mr du Fay, his grand-son (aa) [T].

(p) It is inserted in the elogy of the constable of Montmorency.

(q) It is the tenth of the first book. Richelet, who commented upon it, says it is a masterpiece of poetry. See also Pasquier, in the twenty second book of his Letters, pag. 758.

(r) Brant. Memoir. Tom. II, pag. m. 85. See in Parillat, Hist. de Charles IX, book vi, pag. m. 5, & seq. the particulars of that dispute at large.

(s) Brantome, ibid. pag. 87, 88.

(t) Naudé, Coups d'Etat, chap. v, pag. m. 784.

(u) Fortem polce animum mortis terrore vacantiem, &c.

(x) Naudé, ibid. pag. 785, 786.

(y) Ubi supra, pag. 53.

(z) He left it in 1523.

(aa) In the second Tome, in the Elogy of the constable Montmorency.

(ab) It is not in Colomieu's edition.

(ac) The 12th in edit. Colomieu.

(ad) Thuan. Histor. lib. Ivi, in fin. pag. 43.

(ae) Sammarth. in Elog. lib. i, pag. m. 60.

(af) See Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. II, pag. m. 177, & seq.

(ag) In the fifth chapter of the first book, and in the ninth chapter of the second.

(ah) It was inserted in the third Tome of the Memoirs of the League, pag. 1, & seq. with this title, *Excellent & libre Discours sur l'estat present de la France*.

(ai) Fragment de l'Examen du Prince de M. Chivalier, pag. 83, & seq.

the mischief he may do. First of all, he suffers himself to be deceived, and then he himself deceives his master, for in point of devotion, the wisest of men are often imposed upon. Many think that they are very pious and devout, if they are grossly ignorant of what concerns religion, and refer themselves to those whose business it is to teach it; some of whom being practised upon, lead them a fine dance. We have spoken of the great misfortunes into which several great princes, who were otherwise prudent men, have fallen for want of understanding this cabal. We will speak a word of some of their ministers. . . . There were two sorts of them; for those who had been bred up under the discipline of chancellor l'Hospital, observed maxims, which were not only consonant to piety and Christian moderation, but useful for the preservation of the peace, and maintenance of the king's authority. The others, on the contrary, whether it was out of conscience, without much knowledge, or to make a separate party, adhered so much to the externals of religion, that they thought it better to let the kingdom fall into a combustion, than to suffer the least accommodation in matters of religion. Now what followed from this diversity of opinions, was, that the later proved very instrumental in forming, raising, and fortifying the League, the other in destroying it and preserving the kingdom, which the contrary party had brought to the brink of destruction.

[T] I shall add something to the remark concerning Mr du Fay, his grand-son. He composed several books concerning the affairs of those times. They ascribe to him the *Anti-Sixte, Anti-Espagnol, and the Francophile contre les Conspirations du Roi d'Espagne, du Pape, & des Rebelles de France* (134). Mr Baillet, from whom I have this, doth not give us any character of the first of these three pieces, and I do not know whether he means a book of which I have seen an edition printed at Cologne by Herman Jolin (135) in 1586 in 8vo. It is intitled, *Moyens d'abus, entreprises & nullitez du rescrit & bulle du Pape Sixte V du nom en date du mois de Septembre 1585, contre le Serenissime Prince, HENRY DE BOURBON, Roy de Navarre & HENRY DE BOURBON Prince de Condé, par un Catholique, Apostolique, Romain: mais bon François, & très-fidèle Sujet de la Couronne de France*. — A proof of the abuses, incroachments, and nullities, of the rescript and bull of Pope Sixtus V, dated September 1585, against

(y) They are Horace's words, Od. iii, lib. iii, and signify, If the world should be overturned, the ruins of it would strike me fearless, and undaunted.

(z) The vigor which the court of France showed in 1563, against the Pope, who had cited the queen of Navarre, &c. and who was obliged to revoke his Monitory, was owing to Mr de l'Hospital, and the constable of Montmorency. See Thuanus, lib. lxxii, pag. m. 32, 33.

(aa) In remark [R].

(134) See Baillet, in the Recueil des Anti, arts xxxiv.

(135) I believe this is supposed.

against the most serene prince, Henry of Bourbon king of Navarre, and Henry of Bourbon prince of Condé by a Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman: but a true Frenchman and faithful subject of the crown of France. With regard to the second of these three pieces, Mr Baillet says as follows. The Anti-Espagnol 'has been printed at different times with some alterations. That which appeared 1594 in 12mo, is intituled L'Anti-Espagnol & Exhortation de ceux de Paris qui ne se veulent faire Espagnols, à tous les François de leur parti, de se remettre en l'obéissance du Roi Henry quatrième, & de se delivrer de la Tyrannie de Castille. — The Anti-Espagnol, and Exhortation of such Parisians as are not willing to become Spaniards, to all the Frenchmen of their party, to return to their obedience to king Henry IV. and to deliver themselves from the tyranny of Castile. It is the fourth and last of these excellent discourses on the state of France, published in 1695. But that which was afterwards revised was published under the title of L'Anti-Espagnol, ou brief discours, du but où tend Philippe Roi d'Espagne se meslant des affaires de France. — The Anti-Espagnol, or a brief discourse concerning the ends of Philip king of Spain, in meddling in the affairs of France. It is inserted in the fourth

volume of the Memoirs of the League published in 1604 by Samuel du Lis (136). There is an edition which preceded both these, printed in 1590 in 8vo, and intituled only, Copie de l'Anti-Espagnol fait à Paris. — A copy of the Anti-Espagnol written at Paris. My edition of the fourth volume of the Memoirs of the League is printed in the year 1595: the Anti-Espagnol is inserted there at page 230. If Mr Baillet has seen an edition in 1604, it is not the first. What I am going to cite may serve for a supplement to a remark in the article of GREGORY VII (137). It is that wherein I say, that it is not a sure way to judge of princes by the pieces which are published against them during the heat of factions. It is ordinary for all factions to produce Libels. He who wrote the Anti-Sixte would not have stopped there, had he not been expressly ordered so to do by the king, long before he had the happiness to be reconciled to the Church. His majesty who never loved these turbulent and furious spirits, commanded that satirical piece to be suppressed. But it was not possible to do it; and if it is preserved to another age, it will serve as a sword and buckler to the enemies of the church, who will rise out of the ashes of these people, to attack the head thereof, as is their custom (138).

(136) Baillet, Recueil des Anti, Art. cxxix.

(137) It is not mark [O].

(138) Flor. de Remond, l'Anti-Papelle, cap. xvi, n. 3, folio. 466.

HOSPITAL (FRANCIS DE L') created marshal of France, the twenty third of April, 1643 (a), was called before that time Mr du Hallier. Moreri, copying Father Anselme, gives an ample account of his genealogy, and mentions his exploits and dignities; but he does not take notice of a thing which I have read in a State of France [A]. I shall relate it here. I will also give a supplement to an observation I have made above, concerning the first wife of marshal de l'Hospital [B].

(a) Anselme, Hist. des Grands Officiers, pag. 266.

I said

[A] Mr Moreri doth not take notice of a thing which I have read in a State of France. Which is that marshal de l'Hospital, 'was originally of Calabria, of a very illustrious family, having had many alliances with the kings and queens of Naples. But the love his predecessors had for Charles of Anjou, second king of Naples, engaging them in his interest against the kings of Arragon and Castile, they were forced to seek a sanctuary in France, when these Spanish princes resumed the sceptre of that kingdom (1). Since Father Anselme has not mentioned this, he must either have not known it, or have judged it uncertain. He begins the genealogy of that family, with one Francis de l'Hospital, who lived in 1314, and 1338 (2); and in another book (3) he goes no higher than Francis de l'Hospital, chamberlain, &c. to Charles VI in 1404, and fifth grandfather to him, who is the subject of this article. Note that the author of the notes upon Gabriel Naudé's *Coups d'Etat*, is very much out in pretending (4), that our marshal de l'Hospital was descended from the chancellor of the same name.

[B] I will give a supplement concerning the first wife of marshal de l'Hospital. We have seen elsewhere (5), that he made no scruple to marry Charlotte des Effars, mother of several illegitimate children, some of king Henry IV, and others of cardinal de Guise. I forgot when I made that remark, what I had read in the notes upon the Amours of Henry the Great. But since I now remember it, I must give my readers a new circumstance of the victory Mr du Hallier obtained over matrimonial scruples. You will see, that Charlotte des Effars was a bastard herself, and that after the death of cardinal de Guise, she was mistress to another prelate. Henry IV loved also Charlotte des Effars, natural daughter of the baron de Sautour in Champagne, and of the lady Dheny, by whom he had two daughters. She had attended the countess de Beaumont Harlay in her embassy to England; then she was mistress to cardinal de Guise, who had several children by her, the count de Romorantin, the abbot de Chailly, the Chevalier, Madam de Rhodes, &c. Afterwards she was mistress to Mr de Vic, archbishop of Auch, three years; then she married Francis de l'Hospital, count de Rofnay, baron de Bein, marshal of France (6). Father Anselme tells us, that she was married to him about the year 1629, and that her husband married again the twenty eighth of August, 1633, to Frances Mignot, by whom he had a son, who died a few days after he was born (7). Moreri observes, that the adventures this Francis Mignot are very singular. This has been left out in the

Paris edition of 1699. Marshal de l'Hospital's stars were not fortunate in that respect.

Father Anselme (8) observes that Charlotte des Effars died in the year 1651. We should conclude from this that our Francis de l'Hospital got his marriage dissolved; for he married another wife in 1633 (9). I do not know how this came about, neither do I know whether we have any account of it in any book. I believe many of my readers will imagine that he discovered the false step which he had made after he had committed it, and that hoping to repair it, he commenced a suit against his wife. Possibly he did not find her so rich as he imagined. It is probable that he fancied that a lady who had been mistress successively to a king of France, and two archbishops, must needs be immensely rich, and that if a person of quality is allowed to marry a maid of mean birth, who brings him the treasures of a Financier, he ought not to be condemned for putting his affairs in a very good condition, by marrying a lady who had gained a great fortune by her galantries. If he reasoned in this manner, and found afterwards, that the fortune of the lady was not sufficient to repair either her want of youth or reputation, what he had to do but annul the contract? however the lady obtained the great thing desired by persons of her sex, she got a husband, she entered the harbour notwithstanding so many storms and shipwrecks. It is very likely she owed this to the opinion of her being rich. Let us conclude with some verses of Regnier.

(8) Hist. Generale de la Maison Royale, pag. 156.

(9) See the marginal note at the end of this remark.

Je ne suis point adroit, je n'ay point d'éloquence
Pour colorer un fait, ou destourner la foy,
Prouver qu'un grand amour n'est sujet à la loy,

Desbaucher une fille, & par vives raisons
Luy monstrer comme Amour fait les bonnes maisons,
Les maintient, les esleve, & propice aux plus belles
En honneur les advance, & les fait Damoiselles.

Et pour le faire court
Dire qu'il n'est rien tel qu'aymer les gens de court
Allegant maint exemple en ce siecle ou nous sommes
Qu'il n'est rien si facile à prendre que les hommes,
Et qu'on ne s'enquiert plus s'elle a fait le pourquoy,
Pourveu qu'elle soit riche, & qu'elle ait bien dequoy,
Quand elle auroit suivy le camp à la Rochelle,
S'elle a force ducats elle est toute pucelle.

6 P

L'honneur

(a) Etat de la France, printed in 1657, pag. 92, 93.

(2) Anselme, Palais de l'Honneur, pag. 414.

(3) Idem, Hist. des Grands Officiers, pag. 232.

(4) Page 905.

(5) Above, remark [B] of the article GUISE (Lew. de, &c.)

(6) Observations sur l'Histoire des Amours du grand Alexandre, pag. 299.

(7) Anselme, Hist. des Grands Officiers, pag. 266.

VOL. III.

I said in the second edition of this Dictionary, that Father Anfelm has not observed that the family of this mareschal was originally from the kingdom Naples, as another writer, whose words I quoted, had observed. I shall confirm this, below, by the testimony of one author more, and shall show that the marquis de L'HOSPITAL, one of the most profound mathematicians of the XVIIth century, was of the same family with this mareschal of France [C].

L'honneur estropié, languissant, & perclus,
N'est plus rien qu'un idole en qui l'on ne croit
plus (10).

*I am not artful, have not eloquence,
To colour o'er a fact, virtue supplant,
And prove that mighty love is subject to no law.*

*A girl debauch, and by strong reasons shewn,
That love makes families illustrious,
Raises their fame, and, to the fair propitious,
Advances them to th' rank of gentlewomen.*

*And to cut it short,
Say, 'tis an honour to intrigue with courtiers,
Alledging many examples of this age;
That nothing's easier to be had than men;
And that a woman's whole concern shou'd be
To enrich her coffers with the spoils of love:
What tho' the camp she follow to Rochelle,
If she has store of gold, she's still a maid.*

There are both truth and hyperboles in the expressions of this satirist. See the margin (11).

(11) See the remark of the article ESSAYS (CHARLOTTE DEN), and you will find the mareschal's second marriage was posterior to the death of his first wife, &c.

[C] I shall confirm this . . . by the testimony of another author, and will show that the marquis de L'HOSPITAL, one of the profoundest Mathematicians . . . was of the same family with this mareschal of France.] The count of Saint-Melme, who died December 4, 1701, 'was of the family of L'Hospital, much more illustrious on its own account (since its origin is lost in royal and consular families) than famous for the eminent posts and high dignities which in has enjoyed for more than four hundred years in France, that it has been settled there. It is originally, of Naples, and bore the name of Gallucy,

which it quitted for a French one, which was that of the estate of L'Hospital which one Gallucy, the head of that family in France, bought upon his arrival there (12). You will observe that the count of Saint-Melme is descended (13) from ALOLÉ DE L'HOSPITAL, Sieur de Choisy, captain of the forest of Orleans, elder brother of CHARLES DE L'HOSPITAL, Sieur de Vitry, from whom the mareschal of France is descended. These two brothers were sons of HADRIAN DE L'HOSPITAL and Ann Rouhault daughter of Joachim Rouhault mareschal of France. He swore fealty to the king at Paris November 27, 1498. The count de Saint-Melme was lieutenant-general of the king's armies, gouverneur, bailif, and particular judge in Eyre of the forests of the county of Dourdan, first master of the horse to Gaston of France duke of Orleans; gentleman of Honour, and first master of the Horse to the duchess Dowager of Orleans (14), and afterwards to the great duchess of Tuscany (15). You will find an eulogy of him in the book which I quote (16). He was married to Elizabeth Gobelin, daughter to Mr Gobelin counsellor of state, and intendant of the armies, and left behind him two sons. The eldest is the marquis DE L'HOSPITAL, author of the *Analyse des infiniment petits*, or Analysis of infinitely small quantities. The younger is the count DE L'HOSPITAL, who enjoys the same post with the grand duchess of Tuscany which his father held (17). The marquis de L'Hospital, author of the *Analyse des infiniment petits*, and one of the greatest Mathematicians of our age, died at Paris February 2, 1704, aged forty three years. See his eulogy in the Memoirs of Trevoux (18), and in the News from the Republic of Letters (19). He had married Mademoiselle Roulleau de la Chenelaie, with whom he lived in so strict an union, that he even communicated his genius for the Mathematics to her. He has left four children by her, one son and three daughters (20).

(12) Mercure Galant, of Jan. 1702, pag. 170, 171. See also the News from the Republic of Letters, June 1704, pag. 621, &c.

(13) Anfelm, Hist. des Grands Officiers, pag. 232.

(14) Wife to Gaston of France.

(15) Mercure Galant, Jan. 1702, pag. 169.

(16) Id. ibid. pag. 172, &c.

(17) From the Mercure Galant, ibid. pag. 179, 180.

(18) In the addition to the month of February, 1704, pag. 24, &c., of the edit of France. See also June 1704, pag. 1014, &c.

(19) June 1704, art. II.

(20) Journ. Trevoux, June 1704, pag. 3016.

(a) So he writes his name at the beginning of his books. Many write it *Hotomanus*, or *Hotomanus*.

HOTMAN (FRANCIS), in Latin *Hotomanus* (a), was one of the most learned civilians of the XVIth century. He was born the twenty third of August, 1524, at Paris, where this family, originally of Silesia [A], had flourished for some time. At fifteen years of age he was sent to Orleans, there to study the civil-law, and he became capable of a doctor's degree in three years. His father, a counsellor in the parliament who had already designed his employment for him, caused him to return home, and entered him at the bar; but the young gentleman was quickly disgusted with the wranglings of the court, and engaged deeply in the study of the Roman law, and polite learning. He relished the new opinions, for which so many were put to death in the kingdom; and finding that he could not make profession of them at Paris, he went to Lyons in the year 1547, where he published a book. This was the second work that he put to the press [B]. Seeing that he had nothing to hope for as a subsistence from his father,

(1) Born at Emmerick, in the duchy of Cleves, according to Mr Baillet, in the *Anti. art. cxxxi*.

(2) Thus I correct the fault Loderici VI, in Hotomanus's Life, of the Leipsic edition, 1686, and in that of Amsterdam, 1700.

(3) Redimendo Francisco Regi ad Titium esopio, ingentem pecuniam vim solut fide sua curaverit summo Gallie bono, summa sua cum laude. *Erud. Novellus* Dicitur, in Vita Fr. Hotomanni, pag. m. 208.

(4) Id. ibid.

[A] His family was originally of Silesia.] There are several families of the name of Hotman in Breslaw, the capital city of Silesia, from which are descended several others, settled in Lusatia, in Misnia, in the country of Cleves, &c. LAMBERT HOTMAN (1), went into France to bear arms in the service of Lewis XI (2), and married advantageously at Paris. JOHN HOTMAN, his eldest son was so rich, that he disbursed vast sums for the ransom of Francis I (3). PETER HOTMAN, the last of Lambert's eighteen children, was chief justice in Eyre, and afterwards counsellor in parliament of Paris, Our FRANCIS HOTMAN was his eldest son (4). The Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary says, that HENRY HOTMAN, born at Cleves in the year 1466 was the first of that name who came into France, and that he came with Engilbert duke of Cleves, who was the first duke of Nevers.

[B] It was the second work which he put to the press.] For he had already published a little book de gradibus cognationis, which was very much esteemed. 'Pene puer libellum de gradibus cognationis adjuncto dia-

grammate publicavit à doctissimis viris in precio habitum, & mox à quodam haud ignobili Jurisconsulto probatum, ita ut eum suis in Institutiones commentariis vehementer commendatum infereret (5). — When very young he published a book on the Degrees of Affinity, which has been greatly esteemed by the learned, and was soon after so valued by a Civilian of no mean rank, that he published it in his Comment on the Institutes, with great praises.' His second work was a Commentary ad titulum Institutionum de actionibus. The beauty of the stile, and the knowledge of the Roman Antiquities, that shined in that piece, gave him a great reputation (6). Mr Teissier (7) should not have applied that fine commendation to the little book concerning the degrees of Affinity. Had he more attentively consulted the work he quotes (8), he would not have taken the one for the other.

La Croix du Maine will tell you, that the French translation, which Hotomanus made of Socrates's apology, written by Plato, was printed in the year 1549, at Lyons, for Sebastien Gryphius in 8vo.

(5) Idem, Neveletus, in Vita Hotomanni, pag. 210.

(6) Jurisconsultus etiam magis gratum ob Latine sermonis elegantiam, & Romanitatis exquisitam scientiam. Id. ibid.

(7) Addit aux Eloges, Tom. II, pag. 115.

(8) Hotomanni's Life, written by Nevelet.

[C] He

ther, he went to Laufane [C], where the magistrates of Bern made him professor of the *Belles Lettres*. He published some books there, and married a French gentlewoman (b), who had fled thither upon account of religion. His merit was so well known in all parts, that the magistrates of Straßburg offered to make him professor of the civil-law; and whilst he was discharging that office, he was sought after by the duke of Prussia, and the landgrave of Hesse. He did not accept those invitations; but he did not cease to go to the court of the king of Navarre, at the beginning of the troubles. He went twice into Germany to desire succours from Ferdinand in the name of the princes of the blood, and even in the name of the queen-mother (c). The speech he made at the diet of Francfort is extant. Being returned to Straßburg, he yielded to the persuasions of John de Monluc, to go and teach the civil-law at Valence [D]; which he did so successfully, as to restore the reputation of that university. Three years after he went to profess it at Bourges, being invited thither by Margaret of France, sister to king Henry II; but five months after he repaired to Orleans to the heads of the party, to whom his counsels were of notable service. The peace which was made a month after, did not deliver him from the fear of a new storm; for which reason he retired to Sancerre, and there waited for better times. It was there he wrote an excellent book *de Consolatione* (d). He returned afterwards to his professorship at Bourges, where he had like to have lost his life, during the massacre of the year 1572. Having the good fortune to escape, he left France, fully resolved to return thither no more, and betook himself to Geneva. He there read lectures of civil-law, and published some books with that strength against the persecutors, that he had great promises made him, to oblige him to write no more in that strain: but he hearkened not to those propofals [E]. Some time after

(b) She was a native of Orleans, and her name was Claudine Aubelin. Petrus Neveletus, ubi *infra*, citat. (23).

(c) See, below, citat. (23).

(d) His son got it printed after his father's death.

[C] He went to Laufane.] Mr Tessier says that Francis Hotman, after he had left France, retired to Geneva, and lived some time in Calvin's house (9). I believe he is in the right, tho' the life of Hotman, which he cites, does not mention it. Nevelet seems to have suppressed a thing, which he should not have omitted. It is not very probable, that the magistrates of Bern should have offered a professor's chair, in the academy of Laufane, to a young man of twenty three years of age, who lived at Lyons. But it is probable, they made this offer to him, if we suppose, that he lived at Geneva, and had got the love of Calvin. Thus you see the want of exactness that is found in the best books; because commonly good authors are those, who love to shorten a narration. They do not always take notice, so that by this contrafection they sometimes strangle it.

(10) Horat. de Arte Poet. ver. 25, 26. *Brevi esse laboro, obscurus fio* (10). This may have been the case of Nevelet; or we may say, that not having found in the memoirs that were given him, the journey from Lyons to Geneva, he thought Francis Hotman left Lyons, only because he was chosen professor of the *Belles Lettres* at Laufane (11). But let us not decide on the most probable side; for as there were already at Laufane many eminent refugees, who both knew and loved the merit and piety of Francis Hotman (12), they might easily obtain from the magistrates of Bern an invitation to him, while he was at Lyons. Mr Tessier observes, that it was by the mediation of Theodore Beza, that the town of Laufane offered Hotman a professorship of the *Belles Lettres*. I believe he is mistaken, and that he had better have ascribed it to Calvin's interest; for Hotman was professor at Laufane, before Beza went thither to profess the Greek tongue (13), and it is certain that Beza stood in need of Calvin's good offices to obtain that professorship. Is it likely a man should procure a professor's chair for another, in a town, where he is not, and where he cannot settle himself but the interest of others? Mr Tessier, no doubt, believed, that Beza was professor of the Greek tongue at Laufane before Hotman was invited thither. Thus you see how important it is in the narrative of this sort of things, to consult well the dates and the niceties of Chronology.

(11) In urbem Equitum . . . ad humanorum que dicuntur litterarum professorum honorificè Senatui Bernensi Reipub. evocatus, cujus in ditione urbs illa se contulit. Neveletus, ubi *supra*, pag. 211.

(12) Id. *ibid*.

(13) Erant Laufane tunc temporis doctrina & pietate viri insignes Petrus Viretus Ecclesie Pastor . . . Franciscus Hotmanus eloquentie Professor. In Vita Theodori Beza, apud Melchior. Adam. pag. 205.

(14) Thuan. lib. xix, pag. 378, ad ann. 1590.

not understood by the French translator: he thought they signified that Hotman taught the civil-law, sometimes at Valence and sometimes at Bourges (15), which is not the meaning, for he taught no longer at Valence, when he once had left it. The translator should therefore have said, that the dukes of Berry invited him twice to Bourges, as may be seen in the body of this article. Those who see in Hotman's life his successive removals from one town to another, will make no great account of the memoirs that Thuanus was supplied with, since he says, that after the massacre of the year 1572. Hotman went to Montbeliard, and from thence to Basil. He should have said, that he went to Geneva, and from thence to Basil, and then to Montbeliard, afterwards to Geneva, any lastly to Basil.

[E] He published at Geneva (16) some books with that strength against the persecutors, that they made him great promises . . . but he gave no ear to these propofals.] This is what is said of it by the author of his life (17), 'Ad Allobroges igitur iterum tanquam in portum se refert, scriptisque aliquot eruditius contra fidem immò, per fidem ipsam cæcorum innocentiam constanter tuetur: & quidem adeo efficaciter, ut qui mollem putabant futurum ejus in tanta calamitate animum, prolixis sollicitationibus hortarentur ab istiusmodi scriptiois genere abstinere: ret: quibus ille hoc tantum reposuit, Nunquam sibi propugnatam causam quæ iniqua esset, nunquam quæ jure & legibus niteretur, desertam prætorum spe vel metu periculi: opprimi enim in bona causa melius, quam male cedere. Non modo non excusandum parricidium, ultro etiam defendendam causam innocentium. — He therefore once more returned to Geneva, as to a safe port, and there, in several books, boldly defended the innocence of those who were massacred against all faith, or rather for their faith: This he did in so strong a manner, that some who imagined that his spirit must needs be sunk by his great distress, made him large offers if he would give over writing on that subject: to whom he answered, That he never had defended an unjust cause, and never had deserted a just and honorable one, either for hope of rewards or fear of dangers, that it was better to be oppressed in a good cause, than basely to quit it. That these cruel murders were not only not to be defended, but that we ought openly to defend the cause of the innocent.' A little after he speaks of the book, *de regni Gallie statu*, which Hotman published about that time under the title of *Franco-Gallia*. It is a commendable work in point of learning, but very unworthy of a French civilian, if we believe even many Protestants concerning it. Mr Tessier speaks thus of it: His book intituled *Franco-Gallia*, drew upon him, WITH REASON, the censure of the true French-men. For in that work he endeavours to prove (18) that this kingdom which is the most flourishing in Christendom, is not successive, as the inheritances of

(15) See the elogies taken out of Thuanus by Mr Tessier, Tom. II, pag. 136, Edit. 1696.

(16) Mezerai is in the wrong to say, in his large History, Vol. III, pag. 293, that Hotmanus was a fugitive in the Palatinate, when he published his *Franco-Gallia*.

(17) Pag. 221.

JUDGMENT concerning the book called the *Franco-Gallia*. It is a translation of Thuanus's Latin words, lib. lviij, pag. 43, ad ann. 1572. private

(c) Taken from his Life, written by Petrus Neveletus Dufchius, of whom we shall speak in the remark [O]. It is one of the ten Lives of Cicerone, reprinted at Leipzig, by Leickherus, in 1686. I make use of that edition.

after he removed to Basil, where he taught the civil-law. The plague obliging him to leave it, he retired to Montbeliard, where he lost his wife. He went afterwards to Geneva, where he wrote a book in defence of the rights of the king of Navarre [F]; after which he returned to Basil and died there the twelfth of February 1590. He had refused to go to Leyden, where he was offered a professor's chair. He had time to put his works in order, for a new edition (e), which did not appear till a long time after his death, in three volumes in folio (f). They do not contain all that he had published [G]. Of all his writings, his *Franco-Gallia*, which he so much valued (g), is least approved

(f) They were printed at Geneva by the care of James Leclius, in 1599.

(g) See the remark [E].

private persons are, and that antiently our princes owed the crown to the suffrages of the nobility and the people: so that as antiently the power and authority of electing kings belonged to the states of the kingdom, and to all the nation assembled in a body: so it was the states who deposed them from the government. Hereupon he brings in the examples of Philip de Valois, John, Charles V. Charles VI. and Lewis XI. But that which he principally insists on, is to show, that as women have ever been judged incapable of governing the kingdom, they ought also to be excluded from all public posts, and administration (19). Add to this passage of Mr Tessier the judicious words of Bongars, taken from a letter to Thuanus (20). 'I will freely confess to you de *Franco-Gallia* vellem parcius, and I wish I could do it more gently, both because the book is not seasonable, and also because it seems to me that the good man is grossly mistaken in that dispute. Grief (21) gave some colour to the work when it was first printed: and we suffer many words to escape us in an extrem trouble, which we should blush to hear repeated when the passion is over: I write to you my thoughts about it, not knowing what judgment you make of it. I am sorry I did it not sooner. I know well that the good man was well pleased with that piece: he shewed it by the repeated impressions of it. It is a distemper, with which many of our people, and too many are tainted, who would willingly have our monarchy reduced to an anarchy. If there be any evil in a thing, it doth not follow that it must be destroyed (22). Bongars, you will say, has hit the mark: Hotman was in a passion against his country when he wrote that book, and not content to revenge himself on the present rulers, he endeavoured to discharge his resentment upon the monarchy itself, and the whole body of the nation; and that with so little judgment, that he furnished the Leaguers with powerful arguments for the exclusion of Henry IV: for, according to his principles, the Catholics of France had a full right to elect the duke of Guise, king of France to the prejudice of the princes of the blood. A passionate writer, you will add, is not capable of thinking of the future, his thoughts are only intent upon the present; he considers not that the times may change, and that the doctrine which this day suits the interest of our cause, will one time or other be as favourable to our enemies. This was manifest in France under Charles IX, and Henry III. Each party was obliged to confuse itself, as Montagne has finely observed: See the remark [I]. It is certain that if Catherine de Medicis had embraced the reformation, and established it all over France, Hotman would have written a fine book to prove that the regency of women was a very good thing, and agreeable to our fundamental laws. With what strength would he not have refuted the Papists, who should have written against this queen? The strongest reason that the Protestants of France alledged to justify their taking up arms, was what Catherine de Medicis wrote to the prince of Condé. They therefore acknowledged the authority of this woman. Did not Hotman himself sollicite succours in Germany in this queen's name? *Ab his paullo post, immo & ab ea quæ tum minorem annis Regem regnumque administrabat, in Germaniam bis missus est de Regis regni rebus legatus, & auxilium a Cæs. Ferdinando ordinibusque Germaniæ rebus ruentibus petere iussus. Exstat diſſa tum ab eo in comitiis Imperii Francofordienſibus oratio* (23). We shall see elsewhere (24) that he is accused of dealing unfairly in his *Franco-Gallia*, and we will endeavour to say something in defence of this learned man.

[F] . . . And wrote a book in defence of the rights of the king of Navarre. It was that of the right of the nephew against the uncle (25). The League had put into the head of Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle

to the king of Navarre, to set up for the lawful successor, and an Italian civilian was employed to write a treatise of the right of the uncle against the nephew. Francis Hotman learnedly confuted him. We will cite Father Maimbourg: *Antony Hotman*, says he (26), *advocate-general to the League in the Parliament of Paris*, wrote the treatise of the uncle against the nephew to succeed to the crown. But it happened to a very lucky and pleasant adventure, that the civilian, Francis Hotman brother to the advocate, having read this book, which was dispersed in Germany, where he then was, maintained with great strength, reason, and learning, the right of the nephew against the uncle; and in a learned piece he published on that subject, he manifestly exposed the weakness and false reasonings of his adversary's treatise, without knowing that it was his brother, who had not put his name to it. There are many mistakes in these words. I. It is not true that Francis Hotman wrote against an unknown author. He wrote against one Matthew Zampini, of Recanat, an Italian civilian. 'Id *Matthæus Zampinus Racanensis de trivio J. C. à federatis pecunia subornatus, edita consultatione probare conatus fuerat, quam Fr. Hotomannus magni nominis nostra ætate J. C. contraria consultatione itidem edita confutavit*' (27). — *Matthew Zampini, a mercenary lawyer, being hired by the Leaguers, endeavoured to prove this, in a treatise which he published, and which was answered in a book written by Francis Hotman a famous civilian.* II. And consequently it is not true that he wrote against his brother. III. It is not true that he wrote this book in 1589 (§ 2): it was about the year 1585, as Thuanus observes: which agrees with Nevelet, who makes him then sixty years old. IV. He was then at Geneva, and not in Germany. V. Antony Hotman was not one of the advocate-generals of the League in 1589, and was not so till two years after (28), when John le Maître, who discharged that employment with Lewis Hitt. de France, d'Orleans, was promoted to the office of president au Mortier. President Brissonius was already dead. VI. It was Antony Hotman who wrote against his brother Francis Hotman, and not the later against Antony Hotman. 'Postea & peculiari libro quem consultationi à Francisco fratre pro Navarro editæ . . . opposuisse videri voluit, (Antony Hotmanus) rationes amplificatæ' (29). — *Afterwards these reasons were laid down more at length in a particular book, which he (Antony Hotman) would have the world think that he wrote, in answer to a treatise which his brother Francis had published in favour of the king of Navarre.*

[§ 2] I have a treatise intitled: *Ad Tractatum Matthæi Zampini J. C. Recanatensis, de successione prerogative primi Principis Franciæ; Ornatisimi viri P. C. A. F. civis Parisiensis, & Regii Consilarii, Responsio*. It is in 8vo, and consists of eighty pages printed by the heirs of Wecheliuss, 1589. Francis Hotman was a Parisian, and likewise he was counsellor of state to the king of Navarre, who came to the crown of France, by the name of Henry IV. Hotman being still alive. So this may be his book, REM. CRIT.]

[G] The edition of his works doth not contain all that he had published. The burlesque pieces which he wrote against Matharel, and Papyrius Masso, were left out, as also the book he published at Geneva in the year 1553, under the name of Francis de Villiers, *Ad Remundam Rufum defensorum Rom. Pontificis contra Carolum Molinæum de statu primitivæ Ecclesiæ, &c* (30): the *Nullitatis protestatio adversus formulam concordie* (31), which he published under the name of *Johannes Palmertus*; and the Apology of this last book, in which he disguised himself under the name of *Johannes Franciscus Alaphis Salaffi V. D. M.* (32). His *Anti-Tribonianus*, printed in French in 1603, the Latin version whereof was printed

(26) Hist. de la Ligue, livr. iv, pag. m. 567, ad ann. 1589.

(27) Thuan. lib. lxxxi, init ad ann. 1585.

(28) Mesmeri, Hist. de France, Tom. III, pag. 999.

(29) Thuan. lib. xci, sub fin. See also Mesmeri, ubi supra, pag. 708.

(30) Epitome Bibl. Gesneri, pag. m. 239.

(31) See Placcius de Pseudon. pag. 233.

(32) Placcius ibid. pag. 153.

(19) Tessier, Additions aux Eloges de Mr de Thou, Tom. II, pag. 139.

(20) It was written from Straßburg in 1595, upon occasion of Hotman's Life, written by Nevelet.

(21) The original has it *la dote*, I believe it should be *la doteur*.

(22) Lettres de Bongars, pag. 651, at the Hague, 1695.

(23) Nevelet. in Vita Hotomanni.

(24) In the remark [H].

(25) Vexatam illam rebus ita postulantibus & magnis viris hortantibus tractavit controversiam, de successione inter patrum & fratrum filium, atque universum de jure successionis regni in regno Gallie. Nevelet, ubi supra, pag. 224.

approved, and has persuaded some persons, that he was the author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* [H], which is a book intirely agreeable to republican notions. Some time after, his own maxims were retorted upon him [I]. It is hard to avoid this inconvenience

(33) Baillet, in his Anti. art. cxxxi.

(34) Lib. lxxxii, pag. 33, ad ann. 1585.

(35) De scriptis Adefotis, pag. 84, Edit. 1686.

(36) Neque unquam postea induci potuit, ut in patria consistendum sibi iudicaret: non Adegevenus ipse Ducis literis inflexus, non promissis, non denique cum ab eo Magister supplexum apud se libellorum dictus esset: hoc sepe usurpans: *Fraseria Neptunum accusat, iterum qui naufragum facit.* Nevelet ubi supra, pag. 321.

* Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mémoires de Castel. Tom. I, pag. 773.

(a) Mary Stewart.

(b) Queen Elizabeth.

(c) Margaret, duchess of Parma, natural daughter to Charles V.

(d) Catherine of Austria, sister to Charles V, widow of John III, king of Portugal, and regent during the minority of Sebastian, her son.

(e) Catherine de Medicis.

† Medicam.

‡ Tendis.

(f) An allusion to the name of chancellor de l'Hôpital, to whom Catherine de Medicis, principally owed the regency.

(37) Pag. 90.

(38) Εὐρυκίου Ἀντιόχου: καὶ Φίλων, says the Scripture in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. ix, ver. 1, concerning Saul.

(39) Barclay, lib. iii, contra Monarchomachos, cap. i, pag. 311.

at Hamburg in 1647, was also left out. Concerning this book, see the curious Mr Baillet (33). Lastly, his *Brutum Fulmen* was left out, which is not a burlesque piece Thuanus says. It is a very serious work, in which Hotman refutes the Bull which Sixtus V published in 1585, against the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé. Postea, says Thuanus (34) & in censuram illam scripsit Franciscus Hotmannus J. C. joculari isto stilo, libroque *Brutum Fulmen* titulum fecit, quo & de B. Francisci & B. Dominici vita ac moribus veteres historiarum, ab obsoleto devotis viris scriptæ ridicule discutuntur. — *Afterwards Francis Hotman, a civilian, wrote against that Bull, in a burlesque stilo, and intitled his book Brutum Fulmen, in which he, in a very ludicrous manner, criticiseth the ancient accounts of the lives and actions of St Francis and St Dominic, written by weak and superstitious men.* There is nothing less than this treated of, in that tract of Francis Hotman. Decker has been in this deceived (35) by Thuanus, but he has committed a fault of his own: He will have this learned civilian to have left France on account of that piece; which is false. Hotman quitted France in 1572, fully resolved never to set foot in it again (36). The *Brutum fulmen* was published in 1585, as Decker observes against Goldastus, who places the edition of it in the year 1586. I have said nothing of the tract *de regno vulvarum*, which d'Aubigné ascribes to our Hotman in the third chapter of the first book of the *Confession de Sanci*: I know not what it is (38).

[(38) The following epigram was in every body's hands, about the year 1561, * occasioned by the greatest part of the kingdoms of Europe, being then governed, or at least administrated, by women.

Vulva regit Scotos (a), hæres (b) tenet illa Britannos,

Flandros & Batavos, nunc notha vulva (c) regit.

Vulva regit populos quos signat Gallia portu (d)

Et fortis Gallos Italia vulva regit (e).

Hic furiam furis, vulvam conjungite vulvis,

Sic natura capax omnia Regna capit.

Ad Medicem † artem incertam Gallia faucia tendit ‡

Non uti Medicis est medicina tibi.

Non credas Medicis, vena qui sanguinis hausta

Conatur vires debilitare tuas.

Ut Regi, matricæ suæ sis fida Deoque,

Ut uter consilio Gallia docta meo,

Et pacem tu inter proceres non ponito bellum,

Hospita (f) -lis Artus rodit agisque tuos.

This possibly is the pretended book *de regno vulvarum*, ascribed by d'Aubigné to Francis Hotman. This lawyer was a Latin poet, and his *Franco-Gallia* which he published about twelve or thirteen years after, proves that he did not approve of female administrations. REM. CRIT.]

[H] He has been thought to be author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. When I mentioned this work in the project of this Dictionary, I said (37) that the error of those who ascribed Junius Brutus's book to Francis Hotman was a small one. * Hotman, continued I, left France for his religion, and tho' he was not like those who fly from persecution breathing out threatenings and slaughter (38), as fiercely as the persecutors themselves, yet he nevertheless complained and murmured in his retreat. He wrote a book intitled *Franco-Gallia*, to shew that the French monarchy is not what it is thought to be, and that of right, the people are the true sovereigns in it. This was the reason that made it believed that he was the author of Junius Brutus's work; besides, there are many maxims of the *Franco-Gallia* scattered in it. Barclay refutes only this last reason, which seems to him plausible enough, and pretends to shew the weakness of it by something that is still more plausible; which is, says he (39), that Brutus makes use of several arguments, which Hotman laughed at and refuted, and falls in to such childish errors as to the civil-law, that such

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a man as Hotman could not be capable of. This is more obliging to this learned civilian, than what has been said by Boeclerus. I wish, says he, Hotman had not so obstinately appeared among the authors, who found an alarm against kings, and by their private authority convert them into tyrants with such quirks and cavils, and not only corrupt sound Philosophy, but also the Holy Scriptures. I wish he had not given this bad example to others in his *Franco-Gallia*, and that he had not falsified history more than once, in order to offer intente to his prejudices with too servile a complaisance. The Greek Phrase of Boeclerus has much more emphasis in it, Εἰς τὸ δὲ λαλεῖν τῇ ὑποθέσει, etiam historiam non semel corrumpit (40) . . . (41) I cannot forbear saying that Boeclerus does very much abuse Hotman, who, to repeat it once more, was none of those who, like some English Catholics of the last century, leave their country for religion, in a menacing manner, throwing about fire and flames, vomiting a thousand imprecations, thundering out Maranathas, and endeavouring to re-enter it with sword in hand, or by the help of the most exterminating armies; in a word, desiring a return, preceded, as the departure out of Egypt was, by all plagues of Pharaoh, not excepting the passage of the destroying angel. Hotman contented himself with smart strokes of the pen, and with touching upon some things which were not pleasing. It is true, that without thinking of it, he laboured for the League (42), and forged weapons for Bellarmine: It is also true that his blows were like those of the Parthians (43); I mean, that, in the condition of a fugitive, he fought better than he would have done had he not retreated. But his writings are far from deserving to be branded in the same manner with many others, that have been published in the like circumstances. For example, the English Catholics have in vain made satires and bitter invectives against queen Elizabeth (44); this is all lost paper, of which wise men make no manner of use in any party. However it be, the appearances were a little against Hotman, as to the book of Junius Brutus, and, as I have already said, it was a very small error to make him the author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*.

[I] His own maxims were retorted upon him some time after. It was by accident, and by a very common fate which changes the interests of parties, that Hotman's work was subject to the inconvenience I speak of. The revolutions of France so changed the scene, that the maxims of each party were reciprocally metamorphosed into their contraries. Montaigne pleasantly ridicules the Catholics. See, says he (45), with what horrible impudence we toss about divine reasons, and how profanely we reject them, and lay hold of them again, according as fortune has changed our situation in these public storms. This important proposition, whether it be lawful for subjects to rebel and arm against their prince for the defence of religion, was warmly maintained the last year by a certain party, and as warmly denied by the other party: but see now who maintains the affirmative, and whether arms rattle less for this cause than for that. We burn those people who say, truth should submit to the yoke of our necessity; but does not France do worse than say so? &c. As long as the world is a world, there will be every where ambulatory doctrines, dependant on times and places: true birds of passage, which are in one country in the summer, and in another in the winter: wandering lights, that, like the Cartesian comets, illuminate successively several vortices. Whoever pretends to set up for a censor upon this occasion, will be looked on as a morose critic, and a native of Plato's common-wealth. And so Hotman ought not to be responsible for the advantage, the famous advocate of the Holy-League found means to draw from his *Franco-Gallia*. They cannot complain, (it is Lewis d'Orléans who speaks this in the name of the English Catholics) that they are dealt with as they deal with others. Follow their councils, tread in the paths they have traced out to establish themselves, and you will establish your selves, and involve them in shame and confusion. In their *Franco-Gallia*, which is

6 Q

(40) In Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. i, cap. iv, pag. m. 275.

(41) In the Preface, pag. 92.

(42) See the following remark.

(43) Navita bofferum Pœnus perhorrescit. . . Miles fugit & celerem fugam Parthi. Horat. Od. xiii, lib. iii.

(44) See the article ELIZABETH, remark [K].

(45) Essais, book ii, cap. xii, pag. m. 193. Mazarin makes the same observation, pag. 792, of the third volume of the History of France.

(b) Nevelet.
ibid. pag. 229.

(i) In his Anti,
art. cxviii, &
cxix.

venience in writing upon some subjects. He was well paid for his *Brutum Fulmen* [K] by the king of Navarre. He was one of those who would never, consent to drawing of their pictures (b), but his was drawn when he was in his last agony. He left two sons and four daughters. JOHN HOTMAN, Sieur de Villiers, his eldest son, is thought to be the author of the *Anti-Chopinus*, a burlesque piece, and of the *Anti-Colazon*, which is an apology for his treatise of the ambassador, in which he was, as they say, the plagiarist of Charles Paschal. See Mr Baillet (i). Moreri has not been guilty of many faults [L].

I wonder that a thing was forgotten in the life of Francis Hotman, which is very glorious for him, viz. that at the age of twenty three years he read public lectures in the schools of Paris [M]. The author of his life has also omitted, (and I do not wonder at

(46) Advertisement des Catholiques Anglois, pag. 74, 75. Edit. 1537, in 8vo.

(47) Matagonia de Matagonibus, Monitrice aduersus Isologiam sive Antifrancogalliam Antonii Matharelli. It is a piece of Hotman's in a Macaromic style.

(48) Quod dicit Francogalliam compositam ab auctore bene potio in aliquo conoplio, & eum exomuisse scriptum plenum furoris & insanie, video multos auctoris amicos, dictum istud appellare meretriciam impudentiam flagris & carcere dignam. . . Ubi ululom iracundiam anti signam? Ubi vox nulla perturbationi animi in toto libro non potius scilicet & moderate narrationis? Id. ibid.

(49) Mont. Sat. I, lib. i, vers. 24, 25.

(50) Matagonis Monit. ibid.

(51) Peter Vissor Cayer, avint-propos de la Chronologie novenaire,

* one of the most detestable books that ever saw the light, and was compoed to put all France in a flame, they say, that it is lawful to choose a king to ones own taste. Tell then the Heretics that the king of Navarre is not to your taste, and therefore let him keep in his Bern, till you desire to have him. Thus they ought to be whipped with their own rods, that they may know that the powerful hand of God chastizes them, with their own wicked counsels, and pernicious writings (46). That book of Hotman is at the bottom a fine piece, well written, and full of learning, and so much the more vexatious to the contrary party, because the author contents himself to cite matters of fact, as he himself represents to his censurers. 'Cur vel Massonus, says he (47), vel Matharellus Francogallia scriptori & simplici historiarii narratori ita terribiliter irascitur? Nam ut dicit Sylva nup. lib. i. num. 10. quomodo potest aliquis ei succedere qui est tantum relator & narrator facti? Francogallia enim tantum narrationi & relationi simplici, vacat, quod si aliena dicta delectur, charta remaneret alba. — Why is Masso, or Matharellus, so very angry with the writer of the Franco-Gallia, who only barely relates facts? for as the Sylva Nuptialis says, how can any body be in a passion with a person who is only a relater of a fact? for the writer of that book doth nothing but relate, and if his quotations from other writers were taken away nothing would be left but clean paper.' He was reproached as if his book looked like the production of a drunken, furious, and mad-man: to which he answers, that nothing could be more unsufferably impudent than this assertion, since he had constantly preserved in that book the character of a moderate and sedate relater (48). This is a wonderful advantage in such sort of books. For the rest, tho' this answer be written in a burlesque style, yet it contains a thousand things that ought to be understood seriously. Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat (49)? such is, for instance, what he says to his adversary, that it is not sufficient for him to have brought in his accusation, and given bail de Lite prosequenda; but that it is farther necessary he should expressly engage to submit to the law of retaliation, in case he should be convicted of calumny. Sed adhuc requiritur tertius ut se expresse obliget ad poenam talionis, in casu quo probetur calumniator; quod probatur per L. ult. C. de calumniat. & omnes Canonistas, sed maxime per Hieronym. de Zanetinis in repetit. cap. i. Exir. de accusat. De quo si sumus concordet, & Matharellus se subijciat talioni in casu quod calumniae convincatur, totum negotium nostrum bene vadit, nisi forte &c (50).

If we believe a historian, who had been a minister, that piece of Hotman did not please all the Protestants, nor displease all the Catholics of France, and was not written without some relation to the cabal of mareschal d'Amville. A little after, says he (51), the duke of Alençon, his majesty's brother, retired from court with several lords, who had been gained by the said mareschal d'Amville; and taking the name of malecontents, they joined with the Huguenots. Some of which began to write in another strain than formerly: and Hotman the Civilian, in his Franco-Gallia, undertook to prove, that the people of France had formerly a supreme authority not only to elect their kings, but also to set aside the sons of their kings, and to choose strangers: he says upon that subject many things, praising the people that curb the licentiousness of their kings and bring them to reason. After treating of many other matters, he falls upon the regency of queens, the mothers of kings. This he did because the queen-mother had been declared regent till the return of the king of Poland her son: in short, he alledged our ancient histories right or wrong, according to his passion. This

book was agreeable to some Protestants, and to some united Catholics, who were fond of innovations, but not to all. D'Aubigné gives the same plan of this book; but he says it was published (52) in 1573. While Charles the IXth was alive. Thuanus (53) and Mezerai (54) who give the same plan of it, place it, the one simply under the reign of Charles IX, the other, before the departure of the king of Poland. Which overthrows Cayer's hypothesis; viz. That the regency conferred on queen Catherine at Charles IXth's death, was one of the grievances of Francis Hotman. It is certain his work was printed before the queen was declared regent by the edict of the 30th of May 1574. But he foresaw perhaps that it would be so, and it is very likely he had her in view in what he said against a female regency. He remembered the mischiefs that princess had caused in her former regency. This great civilian who had quitted the post of counsellor in the parliament of Paris for his religion, had done better to answer his adversaries seriously and modestly (55), than to use a burlesque stile. See what Mr Baillet says of it, pag. 336. Tom 2. of his Anti.

[K] He was well paid for his *Brutum Fulmen*. We will begin our comment with these words of the author of his Life. 'His meritis premium dederit cum intelligeret Henricus tum Navarra Rex ultro codicillos ad eum misit Senatoria in Confessorio suo dignitatis: cujus tamen eum fructum non tulit, quem beneficium Princeps voluerat: ac opinor in tantis rerum omnium angustiis factum, ut ex annuo quod debebatur salario, vix ad eum quidquam, sicut audio pervenerit (56). — Henry IV, who was then king of Navarre, understanding that by these services he had deserved some mark of distinction, of his own accord sent him letters appointing him one of his counsellors of state, from which dignity however he did not reap the fruit, which that generous prince intended; for I am informed, that, by reason of the public necessities of these times, he received little or nothing of the salary annexed to it.' Bongars, to whom Nevelet dedicated Hotman's Life, made an observation upon this place (57). 'There is another passage. Having said, that the king had upon his writing the *Brutum Fulmen*, given him a place of counsellor of state, Cujus tamen eum fructum non tulit quem beneficium princeps voluerat (58). — But that he had never reaped the fruit from it which that generous prince intended. I assure you, Sir, the king never bought a book so dear as that: it was paid far above it's worth. You will tell me, that I should have given my advice upon these passages sooner; but it often happens, (and to me but too frequently) that we never consider but when it is too late. I wrote my thoughts to Mr Hotman about the first (59). I do not touch upon the second, he might possibly be offended at it, not knowing how the matter went.' Note, that Nevelet does not speak there of the *Brutum Fulmen*, as Bongars supposes, but of the book against Zampini de successione inter patrui & fratris filium. (56) Nevel. ubi supra, pag. 225. (57) Lettres de Bongars, pag. 61, at the Hague, 1695. (58) These words are very incorrect in the edition of Bongars's Letters, which I quote. I insert them as they ought to be. (59) That it, what concerns the Franco-Gallia. See, above, the words of Bongars in the remark [E], citat. (22).

[L] Moreri has not been guilty of many faults. I. He supposes falsely, that Hotman was saved by his scholars at Bourges, at another time beside that of the massacres; that is, of one event he makes two. II. The year of his death is not well fixed; it should have been 1590, instead of 1591. III. He should not impute that mistake to Spondanus, by citing him under the year 1591. n. 22. for it is under the number of the preceding year that he speaks of Hotman's death.

[M] At the age of twenty three years, he read public lectures in the schools of Paris. I prove it by these

at it,) certain things which Baudouin had published against him, and which would horribly stain his memory, if they were true [N]. One could not give any credit to them,

[60] Pasquier, Letter to Mr. Leyfel. It is in the nineteenth book of his Letters. The words that I quote, are at page 501, of the second Tome.

these words of Stephen Pasquier (60): 'I assure you, that one of the most fortunate things that I think I met with in my youth, was that on the next day after our Lady's assumption in the year 1546, Hotman and Baudouin began their first Law lectures in the schools of this city of Paris: the former at seven of the clock in the morning, reading the title *de Notionibus*; the latter at two of the clock in the afternoon, reading the title *de Publicis Judiciis*, before a great number of auditors. And that very day I began to study the civil-law under those two learned men.'

[N] Certain things which Baudouin has published . . . would horribly stain his memory if they were true.] Baudouin assures us, that Hotman was excommunicated at Strasburg for adultery. *Argentinae propter adulterium excommunicat sodalem tuum Hotmannum* (Petrus Alexander) (61). These words are addressed to Beza. The author had already mentioned this with more circumstances, and had added, that Hotman also lost his canonry and his academical office.

Recitata tunc quoque nostris fuit causa tui Hotmanni, nempe propter quod facinus illic aliquando primum fuisset excommunicatus abs suo Gallo concionatore Petro Alexandro, te quidem propter antiquam societatem submurmurante, sed assentiente tamen tuo finis parente, at certe avo Gulielmo Farello, saepius illum jurisperditum appellante. Addebant & complura ejusdem generis quae pervulgata erant per Joannem Infantium, testem valde idoneum, & cujus non solum opera, sed & opibus quandiu opus habuisti, tam liberaliter es abusus, ut fidem ei detrahere vix audeas. Altera causa fuit exposita cur tuus ille Hotmannus (cujus causa non est abs te se juncta) ut antea Ecclesia, sic deinde schola & suo Canonatu pulvis esset: tandemque quid in eo Sturmius ipse gravissime accusaret narratum est, & perfecta Sturmiana adversus eum terribilis expositio, quae profecto non modo de istius flagitiis, sed & de vestrae conjugationis mysteriis narrabat nimis multa (62). — At the same time we were told the story of your friend Hotman, to wit, the crime for which he had been there first excommunicated by his own French minister, Peter Alexander, and that you indeed murmured at it, on account of your ancient friendship with him, but that William Farel, who if he is not your father is certainly your grandfather, consented to it, and gave him the name of jurisperditus. They likewise told us a great many things of the same nature, which they had from John Infantium, a very proper evidence, and to whose interest and purse you so liberally abused in the time of your necessity, that you dare not call his authority in question. We also were informed, for what reason your friend Hotman (whose cause and yours are pretty much the same) who had formerly been thrown out of the church, was also deposed from his canonry and his academical office: and last of all what things even Sturmius accused him of, and we read Sturmius's expositio against him, which indeed contained not only a history of his crimes, but too many of the mysteries of your cabal. All these things had preceded the year 1562. Baudouin a little after (63) relates, that having known Hotman at Paris, as a person who loved learning, he had advised him to go and see Geneva; that he received him in his house at Strasburg, with all civility, as an old friend, when Hotman retired thither, after having desired his good offices for a law professorship, and expressed a great dislike to his teaching at Laufane (64), and that he quickly perceived he harboured a viper in his bosom, since Hotman endeavoured all that was possible to ruin him by secret practices. Here is one of his tricks: having by his fraudulent contrivances, moved Duarenus to send him an invective against Baudouin; he dispersed it all over the town, taking care however, that Baudouin should not know it. He was at last obliged by Sturmius to go to him, and bear his reproaches, and he expressed an extreme regret for his conduct. A fragment of the letter which Sturmius writ to him (65) is produced, in which he accuses him of using a great many knavish arts to supplant Baudouin. His plot succeeded; for he made Baudouin weary of Strasburg. So that he went to seek another post (66), and Hotomanus succeeded him. All this is to be found in Baudouin's third answer to Calvin. He had al-

ready in the second alleged this letter of Sturmius, and he had drawn many things out of it to Hotman's disadvantage. He had mentioned a passage of it, which contains a reproach of an execrable perjury. Hotman, the very day that he received the sacrament, protested to Sturmius, that he wished the sacrament he had received might be turned into a devil, if he denied falsely what he denied (67). And yet, adds Sturmius, he denied a thing that was most true. Baudouin mentions this as a proof, that his adversary, who undertook to dispute about the eucharist, made no great account of it, and he takes this occasion to reproach him, that he had been excluded from the eucharist in Germany for adultery. *Etiam de mysterio Cænæ Dominicæ disputat, & me cum sua Gallica (ut vocat) Ecclesia non idem sentire narrat, qui ab ea propter Clodianum facinus in Germania excommunicatus aliam quæcunque illi fortasse patuit mensam occupavit. Vis scire quanti faciat totum istud mysterium tuus Myrtagogus? Audi Sturmium* (68). — He likewise disputes concerning the mystery of the Eucharist, and pretends that I do not agree in my sentiments about it with his church of France (as he calls it) from which he being excommunicated in Germany for the crime of Clodius, embraced the next table that chance offered to him, to which he could procure admittance. Would you know what regard this explainer of mysteries of yours has to that whole mystery? ask Sturmius. Here is another passage of this second answer of Baudouin (69). 'Nonne ille est qui . . . Silegium se esse finxit, cum in Germania negaret se esse Gallum ut in aulam Austriacam irrepere? Nonne ille est qui cum tuam (70) Ecclesiam clam fugeret & scholam, in qua tamen docuit aliquot annis Grammaticam, deposita Jurisconsulti persona, venit in Germaniam tuam ad Sturmium literis instructus quæ Sturmium fefellerunt? Nonne ille est cujus (ut nunc dicebam) vitam perdidit, nequitiae, sceleris, & omnium maleficiorum plenam ipse Sturmius nuper descripsit? . . . Nonne ille est magnus ardellio, qui cum in Germania Principes miris modis est ludicatus, huc & illuc discurreret, modo in Gallia tumultuatur, modo ad Rheni ripas adversus Regem suum milites cogit? Nonne ille est quem Sturmius . . . ostendit etiam Galliae Principibus plus quam proditoriè maledicere, ejusque lingua nullum veneficium magis veneficum esse ait & probat? Nonne ille est qui superioribus annis in Germania pinxit sive suum sive tuum tumultum Ambrosianum, & Tigrim (71) peperit, & ejus generis formulas quotidie concepit novus magister libellorum, non (ut jactabat) supplicum sed simolorum? Denique nonne est ille tenebrio qui ad me aliquando scripsit, *αποστρέφειν ἐν τῷ οὐν ὁρῶν* (72). — Is it not he . . . who pretended to be a Silfian, when he was in Germany, denying that he was a Frenchman, that he might insinuate himself into the Austrian court? Is it not he who having fled from your church and school, where, laying aside the character of a civilian, he for some years taught grammar, came into Germany, many with your letters of recommendation to Sturmius, by which Sturmius was deceived? Is it not he whom Sturmius himself (as I said before) accuses of perfidy, treachery, and all manner of crimes? . . . Is it not that busy body, who after having in the most unheard-of manner deceived the princes of Germany, now wanders about, sometimes raising seditions in France, at other times on the banks of the Rhine, levying troops against his sovereign? Is it not he whom Sturmius . . . proves to have slandered even the princes of France in a worse than treacherous manner, and whose tongue he says, and proves it too, is more venomous than poison itself. Is it not he who some years ago described his or your tumult at Ambrose, and brought forth the tyger, and who is daily hatching such seditious libels, and not humble petitions as he pretends? In fine, is it not that scoundrel who once wrote to me, that in these times one ought to seek darkness.'

(67) Baudouin. Respons. altera ad Joann. Calvin. pag. m. 176.

(68) Id. ibid.

(69) Id. ibid. pag. 181, 182.

(70) These words are addressed to Calvin.

(71) It is a libel, which I speak of in the article GUISE, (FRANCIS), remark [I].

(72) That is to say, in these times one ought to seek the shades.

Now this is the reason why I have made a distinction between what we find in Baudouin's second and third answer. Beza has confuted the second, but has said nothing against the third; and therefore the third is not of so great consequence against our civilian; for it

(61) Respons. ad Calvin. & Beza pro Francisco Baudouin, folio 77.

(62) Ibid. fol. 70, verso.

(63) Ibid. fol. 86.

(64) Alterum Baudouini ex non diffimili errore peccatum fuit quod Hotmanni tui Laufanne Jansenius & in credendis, quos in tuo ludo Grammaticam docebat, peris defatigati, & ex eo carcere liberari misere cupientes, & commendatione Baudouini ad aliquam juris professionem redire literis temere crediderit. Ibid.

(65) Ib. fol. 87.

(66) He went to Heidelberg.

(k) In 1700, in 4to.

(l) See the *Fa-
mular Oration of
Scipio Gentilis*,
apud Witte, Me-
mor. Juriscons.
pag. 33.

(m) *Novelles de
la Repub. des
Lettres*, March
1701, pag. 268,
&c.

them, without believing that it is a much easier thing to become very learned, and a great enemy to the persecuting religion, than to become a tolerably honest man. I will speak a word or two concerning the author of Hotman's life [O]. The book which was printed at Amsterdam (k), intitled, *Francisci & Joannis Hotomanorum. Patris ac Filii & clarorum virorum ad eos Epistolæ*, might furnish me with a great many additions for this article, both concerning the application of our civilian to the search of the Philosophers stone (l), which proved very prejudicial to him, and upon several other particularities of his life; but I think it better to refer my readers to Mr Bernard's journal (m). The extract which he gives us of this work, leaves nothing wanting. You may also consult the first volume of *Observationum Selectarum ad rem litterariam spectantium* printed at Hall in the year 1700.

it may be presumed, that if Beza had confuted it, he would have justified him. We must therefore give greater attention to the reproaches contained in the second, because they may be compared with the piece in which Beza refuted it. We must judge from that confutation, what grounds Baudouin went upon. I find that his adversary advances nothing to the clearing of Hotman; he only says, that the reproaches of being ignorant of the Latin tongue, and of being an Atheist, will not at all disturb Hotman, who will not vouchsafe to give any answer as to the last head. 'Magnum tibi certamen superesse video. Nam quæ tibi obijcit magnam inficitiam arguunt, quæ tamen (ut ajunt) refellere non possis. Illa verò quæ regeris cujusmodi sunt quæso? Latine scilicet nescit, ut eum oportuerit ad Latinam epistolam scribendam alterius operam requirere. Crimen autem atheismi, etsi omnium est gravissimum, ille tamen, ut opinor, ne responso quidem dignum putabit. Quid enim hoc aliud est quam latrare (73). — You have now got a very heavy task upon your hands. For the things which be objected to you, argue a very great ignorance, and yet (as I am informed) you are not able to disprove them. But what is it you accuse him of? That he indeed is so ignorant of Latin, that he was obliged to make use of another hand to write a Latin letter. As for the crime of Atheism, tho' it is the greatest of all others, yet I believe he will not think it worthy of an answer. For what is this but to scold and slander.' Here is nothing relating to the accusations which are transcribed, and which are contained in the 176, 180, 181, and 182 pages of Baudouin's second answer. All that Beza has said for Hotman, concerns the 175th page, where we find, 1. that Hotman appropriated to himself an epistle dedicatory that Sturmius had wrote: 2. that he then praised the very same works of Duarenius, which he had vilified formerly in writing against Rufus for du Moulin. 3. That an elegant master of Cicero's Atheism, is not fit to be a catechist. 'Nostris magister Latinitatis priusquam de meis scripturibus garriat, suarum oblitus respondeat Sturmio & aliis, à quibus accusatus est quod suo nomine ediderit epistolam abs Sturmio scriptam, eamque institutionibus præfixam tanquam suam vendiderit Duci Saxonie. . . Oportet istius tui patroni incredibilem esse, non jam dicam impudentiam, quia latitat, sed nequitiam, cum quidem posteaquam edito libello de sacerdotiis adversus Rufum pro Molino, profecit illos Beneficiarios commentarios (Duareni) nunc eos se adorare fingat. . . scilicet religionem nos docebit elegans magister Ciceronianæ ἀθεΐας' (74).

(74) Id. ibid.
pag. 175.

(75) Beza, ubi
supra, pag. 234.

I am very certain, that all my readers will agree in comparing these passages of Baudouin and Beza together, that nothing could be more disadvantageous to Hotman, than to answer, as Beza has done. Silence would have done him infinitely less hurt. To complete his misfortune, Beza published (75) a letter of Sturmius, wherein he disowns all that could be cited from him to the disadvantage of Calvin and Beza; but as for Hotman, there is nothing like it.

Languet, a true Refugee, and a very honest man, having seen Sturmius's accusations against Hotman, made very sensible reflexions, and altogether worthy of a good man; it was with the utmost sorrow that he saw, that his countrymen behaved themselves so ill in Germany, and that some men, who, under pretence of religion, endeavoured only to satisfy their vanity, did more injury to the Protestant religion, than the king of Spain and the Pope; however, he could not believe that Hotman could so far forget himself, as to be guilty

of such infamous actions. These are his words: 'Hæc sunt levia, si conferantur cum turpibus factis nostrorum hominum in Germania, & quidem eorum qui ornati sunt eruditione, & religionis specie, infirmarunt se in amicitiam bonorum virorum, qui ipsi summa beneficia exhibuerunt. Ut alios omittam, nuper vidi accusationem Sturmii adversus Hotmanum, quæ, si vera est, miseret me Sturmii, & pudet alterius; sed talia sunt, ut mihi videantur vix posse venire in mentem erudito viro. Quidam mecum egerunt, ut ipsius accusationis capita ad te perferberem, sed à talibus ministeriis ego planè abhorreo, cum præsertim sciam, te nec voluptatem nec utilitatem ex iis percipere posse, & ad me nihil pertineant, nisi fortè infamiae pars in me redundet, eo quod à nostris hominibus talia perpetrentur in ipsa Germania. Hæc sane tanto dolore me afficiunt, ut nesciam an ex ulla re majorem unquam senserim. Video ubique eorum ambitionem, qui prætextu Religionis sua quarunt, magis obesse ipsius religionis progressui, quam Pontificem Ro. Regem Hispaniæ, & omnes ipsorum ministros; sed de re odiosa nimis multa scribo (76). — These are trifles, if compared with the base actions of our countrymen in Germany, and even of those who are men of learning, and pretend to religion; who insinuated themselves into the friendship of good men there, from whom they received the greatest favours. Not to mention others, I have lately seen an accusation of Sturmius against Hotman, if the things alleged in it be true, I pity Sturmius, and am ashamed of the other; but they indeed are of such a nature, that I can hardly believe that a scholar could be guilty of them. Some people have desired me to write the particulars of that accusation to you, but I have a great aversion to such a task, especially since I know that you can neither reap pleasure nor profit from it, and that I have no concern in them, except that I may possibly share in the infamy, arising from such things being done by our countrymen in Germany. I must own those things grieve me so much, that I do not know that ever any thing grieved me more. I see that the ambition of those who under pretence of religion seek only their own advantage, doth more hurt to the progress of religion every where, than both the Pope, the king of Spain, and all their emissaries; but this is too much on so disagreeable a subject.' The letter out of which I have taken these words is dated from Paris, the eleventh of December, 1561. Another letter of his, dated from the same place the twenty third of January, 1526, informs us, that the duke of Guise, who was gone to see the bishop of Strasburg at Saverne (77), had entered a process against Francis Hotman, for defamatory libels, and that several people affirmed, that it was on that account he had undertaken that journey. Languet could not believe that so inconsiderable a motive had obliged the duke of Guise to go to Saverne; but I make no doubt, that he thought it was a shameful thing for Hotman to be prosecuted as a writer of libels.

(76) Languet,
Epist. lxxv, lib.
ii, pag. 186, 187.

(77) Id. ibid.
Epist. lxxvii, pag.
197.

[O] I shall say a word or two concerning the author of Francis Hotman's life. His Latin name, *Petrus Neveletus Desjebius*, signifies Peter Nevelet, lord of Osche. The title of that lordship, and that of advocate in the parliament of Paris, are given him in Pasquier's letters (78). He was son to a sister of Peter Pitheus, as appears by a letter that uncle writ to him, which was printed at the end of Quintilian's Declamations, in some editions, Isaac Nicolas Nevelet, his son, published *Æsop*, and other ancient fabulists, with notes, in 1610. This was the first fruit of his studies, and he dedicated it to his father.

(78) See the
eighth book of
Pasquier's Let-
ters, pag. 497,
of the first Tome.

HOTTINGER

HOTTINGER (JOHN HENRY), one of the most famous writers of the XVIIth century, was born at Zurich the tenth of March 1620. The progress he made in his first studies, gave such promising hopes, that the trustees of the schools resolved to send him to study in foreign countries at the public charge. He began his travels the twenty sixth of March, 1638, and went to Geneva; from whence, after a stay of two months, he proceeded into France. He afterwards saw Flanders and Holland, and chose Groningen for the seat of his studies; but his desire to perfect himself in the Oriental languages engaged him, a year after, to remove to Leyden (a), to be tutor to the children of professor Golius, the most knowing man in those languages of any in the world. He made a great progress in Arabic by Golius's assistance, and by the instruction of a Turk. He would have attended the ambassador (b) of the States to Constantinople, in 1641, in quality of chaplain, if the magistrates of Zurich would have consented to it; but they chose rather to recal him that they might employ him for the reputation and good of their colleges. They permitted him to go over to see England before his return to Switzerland; and upon his return (c), they made him professor of Ecclesiastical History; and a year after they gave him two other professorships, that of catechetical Divinity, and that of the oriental languages. He married at twenty two years of age (d), and commenced author at twenty four [A]. He was so well pleased with that character, that he continually published a great many new books [B]. This was no difficulty to him; for he was extremely laborious

(a) In the year 1639.

(b) William Boissel.

(c) In the year 1642.

(d) See the remark [F].

[A] And began to set up for an author at twenty four.] It was not for a small enterprize, but to attack upon a very crabbed subject, one of the most learned men that was then in Europe. For he undertook to confute Father Morin's Dissertations upon the Samaritan Pentateuch (1). We may therefore apply to him these verses of the *Chaplain déçu*:

Mes pareils avec toi sont dignes de se battre,
Et pour des coups d'essai veulent des Henrys
quatre.

My equals worthy are I engage with thee,
And on four Henrys wou'd their courage prove.

This work, which he intituled *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ*, was very grateful to the Protestants, whether because of the learning of the author, or by reason of the subject, which could not be more favourable, since Hottinger defended the Hebrew text of the Bible, whose authority Father Morin invalidated as much as he could. Mr Simon judges this work to be one of the best that Hottinger published; and so it might be said, that his first essay was his masterpiece. Let us quote Mr Simon's passage at large: it is not very advantageous to the memory of this Swiss doctor. 'If Hottinger had observed some moderation in his works, and had not so much insisted on trifles, we might find something useful in them, for the understanding of the literal sense of the Scripture. But as he almost constantly wrote for a party, and composed his books with too much haste, he is apt to fall into frequent mistakes. One of his best works upon this subject, is that which he wrote against the *Samaritanæ Exercitationes* of Father Morin, but neither is he altogether exact in that work (2). Mr Simon, in another piece, has criticised this book of Hottinger; but lightly, and without any real design of prejudicing him. These are his words (3): 'Joannes Henricus Hottingerus, qui statim à Libri sui limine cujus hæc est inscriptio, *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ de Pentateuchæ Samaritano ejusque ædenticæ æuthenticæ*, Morinum appellat Monachum qui communem Monachorum sortem superet. Ille de Samaritanis & eorum codicibus discribit, putatque Samaritanos à Judæis Pentateuchi sui exemplar hausisse; sed conjecturis tantum, non autem firmissimis rationibus, ut ita sentiret adduci potuit; istud minus accuratum esse probat exemplis aliquot Pleonasmorum, vocum vel mutatarum in alias vel omisfarum, similibusque erroribus quos profert, & ex quibus confici posse arbitratur, non magis credendum esse Samaritanis Pentateuchum suum jactantibus, quam Ebionitis verum & solum Matthæi Evangelium Hebræum venditantibus: qua in re profecto gravissime hallucinatus est Hottingerus, qui tam veneratione antiquitatis Pentateuchum Samaritanum cum adulterato Ebionitarum Evangelio comparare audeat. Morinum etiam imperitiæ arguit Hottingerus, quasi Rabbiorum quorundam quos laudaverat mentem hæud affectatus fuisset. — John Henry Hottinger, V O L. III.

(1) Printed in 1631, and not in 1632, as it is said in Father Morin's Life, pag. 22, edit. Francof.

(2) Simon, Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, livr. III, chap. xix, pag. m. 474.

(3) In Vita Joh. Morini, pag. 36, 37.

in the very beginning of his book, intituled, *Exercitationes* against Morin concerning the authenticity of the Samaritan Pentateuch, calls Morin a monk, learned above the common rate of his fraternity. In this book he treats of the Samaritans and their copies, and thinks that the Samaritans derived their copy of the Pentateuch from the Jews; but he must have been induced to think so rather from conjectures than strong proofs; he shows the inaccuracy of it, by producing some examples of pleonasm, omissions, or changes of words, and such like errors, from which he thinks it may be proved that we are no more to believe the Samaritans when they boast of their Pentateuch, than the Ebionites pretend of being possessed of the only genuine Hebrew gospel of St Matthew: In this Hottinger has been guilty of a gross blunder to dare to compare the Samaritan Pentateuch, which is of such venerable antiquity, to the spurious gospel of the Ebionites. He likewise accuses Morin of ignorance, pretending that he had not understood the sense of some Rabbies whom he had cited. Mr Heidegger is in the right to observe, that Father Morin's silence was a glorious thing to our Hottinger; but I question whether he understood the thought of Father Merfenne

(4): 'Liber toti erudito orbi charus, acceptusque fuit. Constat Morinum diu adhuc supersitem librum accepisse & legisse, neque contra mature ausum. (5). Et Merfennus, cui Hottingerus librum adjunctis literis misit, id solum respondit, nec sibi Hottingeri juvenilem ardorem satis probari, nec Hottingerum Morinum penitus nosse. Quasi videlicet juveni intergram non fuerit senum deliria taxare, & ipse Morinus interiore animi sui notam in vulgus edito libro non patefecerit. — This book was received with great applause by all the learned world. It is certain that Morin, who lived a long time after, received and read it, but never dared to write any thing in answer to it. And Merfennus, to whom Hottinger sent a copy of his book, together with a letter, only answered, that he did not approve of Hottinger's youthful heat, and that Morin was not thoroughly known to Hottinger. As if, forsooth, it were not lawful for a young man to find fault with the dreams of old men, and as if Morin had not sufficiently shown to the world his intention in publishing that book. Father Merfenne seems to mean nothing else, but that Hottinger did not well know Father Morin. I doubt not but the sense of his answer was this, 'the heat of youth has carried you too far, and if you knew the real merit of Father Morin, you would not have treated him in that manner.' Do you pretend to confute this, by saying, that Father Morin has discovered the bottom of his heart by his work? I grant he discovered that his design was to raise the credit of the vulgar Latin, and to enervate the authority of the original text; but is not this the general interest and design of the Romish controversialists? Hottinger did not very well know Father Morin, since he took him for a monk.

[B] He continually published new books.] If you would see an exact list of all the books he published, from the year 1644, to the year 1664, read his *Bibliotheca Tigurina* (6), you will there find the history, & seq.

(4) Jo. Henr. Heideggerus, in Vita Hottingeri ad annum, 1644.

(5) The following words of Hottinger bear relation to this: Non displicuerat hæc primitivæ viri eruditæ, qui hinc inde novo Morini consilium finem impostum publicis testabantur scriptis. Hottinger, in Bibl. Tigurina, pag. 122.

(6) Pag. 122, and

rious, and had a prodigious memory. Nevertheless, there is reason to wonder, that a man charged with so many academical functions, and who had so many avocations through visits, and a vast correspondence by letters [C], could be able to compose so many volumes. He had new professorships given him in 1653 (e), and was admitted into the college of the canons. Two years after he was lent for three years to the elector Palatine, who was desirous to make use of him to re-establish the reputation of the university of Heidelberg. Before he went thither, he took his doctor of Divinity's degree at Basil (f). He arrived at Heidelberg in August, 1655, and was very well received. Besides the professorship of Divinity of the Old Testament, and of the oriental languages, he was made governor of the *Collegium Sapientiæ*, and promoted to the dignity of ecclesiastical counsellor. He was rector of the university the year following, and composed something concerning the re-union of the Lutherans and Calvinists. This he did to please the elector, who was fond of it; but he met with the same obstacles which had put a stop to the like design so often before [D]. Hottinger accompanied

(e) *Artium Rhetorologicarum ordinarius, & Theologie Vetus Test. atque controversiarum extra ordinem Professor designatus. Heidegger, ubi infra, citat. (g.)*

(f) He took it the twenty sixth of July 1655.

and chronological catalogue of his works, and another catalogue, where they are ranged, according to the order of the subjects. The author of his life has likewise placed all his works in a chronological order. The number of them is astonishing.

[C] He had many avocations through visits, and a vast correspondence of letters. Non publicis tantum his, quibus districtus fuit, curationibus vigilantissimè vacavit, & quotidie calamus in exarandis, quos in publicum mitteret, libris exercuit: Verum etiam amicorum, peregrinorum & hospitum, qui ipsius videri & audiendi gratiâ huc commearunt, desideris satisfecit. Erat enim ipsius domus plena semper & frequens concursu splendidissimorum hominum. Quoties aliquid abditum quærebatur, ille thesaurus, ille delubrum adibat. Ex omnibus, quæ ei obvenirent, negotiis miro vigore & industria se explicavit. Neque etiam deficiebat ad subita extemporali facultate. Veniebant omnium Ordinum, omnium ætatum viri: percontabantur de arduis, de dubiis quæstionibus, quarum ille pondus præsentis semper animo exceperat. Quid molestiam epistolaram & scribendi ad amicos hic recenseam; quo nonnumquam solo perire sibi diem sæpe querebatur? Quotidie aut Galli, aut Germani, aut Belgæ, aut Angli, aut Sueci, aut Dani, aut Itali ad ipsum Epistolas missivæ de literis, de casibus Ecclesiæ, de Civiliū rerum momentis, de aliis, quibus ille gnæviter & promptissime respondit (7). — He was not only vigilant in the duties of his public professions, and constantly employed in preparing books for the public, but likewise abundantly satisfied the desires of his friends, who came from all parts to see and converse with him. For his house was always full of the best company. In all matters of difficulty he was always consulted as an oracle. He extricated himself on all occasions, with a wonderful strength and application of mind. And he had such a quickness of parts as was never to be surprised. He received visits from men of all ranks and ages, and was consulted about the most sublime and difficult questions, to all which he answered to the greatest satisfaction. Not to mention the labour of writing to his friends, which alone, as he used to complain, consumed whole days. For he received letters daily from the learned in France, Germany, Holland, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Italy, concerning the state of learning, and matters both relating to church and state, all which he punctually answered. Some pages after there is a list of all those who corresponded with Hottinger by letters; their names fill up above two pages. Amongst the strangers that visited him, we must not forget the deputies of the Janseuists; for he had many conversations with them when they passed by Zurich, in 1653, in their return from Rome to Paris. A relation of these conversations has been found amongst his papers, and lately published (8).

(8) At the end of the *Historia Janseuismi*, published by Mr Leydecker at Wirtz, in 1695.

[D] He met with the same obstacles to that re-union which had put a stop to the like design, many times before. According to Mr Heidegger, these obstacles are the animosity of parties, and a certain itch of the mind, which is fed with these disputes, as a camelion with the air. Confiliis de pace Reformatos inter & Lutheranos faciendis, à Serenissimo Principe, tum temporis saxonum illud magna contentione volente, implicitus, aliquot disputationes Irenicas ad ventilandum proposuit, non eo tamen eventu, quem calidis votis boni omnes præceperunt. Obstabant eadem,

quæ antehac, impedimenta, odia parum pia partium, & ingeniorum, quæ rixis haud secus quam Chamæleon vento pascuntur, scabies (9). — He assisted the elector with his counsels, towards bringing about an union betwixt the Calvinists and the Lutherans, which that prince then earnestly endeavoured to effectuate; and proposed some Irenical disputationes to pave the way towards it, which had not the success which all good men wished for. The same obstacles which had formerly put a stop to the like pacific endeavours now rendered these fruitless. I mean the unrelenting bate of the parties against each other, and a sort of itch of some peoples minds, which is nourished by contention as the camelion is with air.

Mr Spanheim observes, that the pacific design of the elector Palatine was overthrown by a violent book of Danhawerus, a Lutheran professor of Strasburg. Quæ liter etiam hoc sæculo in Colloquio Lipsiæ, anno 1631, ubi ad tria capita dissensus omnis rediit; tum sub Carolo Ludovico, Electore Palatino, Heidelbergæ quum profiterer, ejus pacificum institutum intervertit præcipuè J. Conr. Danhawerus, A. 1658, scripto virulento Teutonico, *Reformatorum saltem, ad lapidem Lydiam exasum*, &c (10). It is certain, that the re-union of the Lutherans and Calvinists had been brought about long ago, had it depended only upon the princes; but because that affair depends on the divines, it never yet could take effect, and probably never will. It is not I who judge thus of these gentlemen, generally speaking (11), but it is one of themselves, and he amongst them who can speak best of it by experience. He says, that the business of the re-union ought to be principally committed to secular persons, and not to ecclesiastics (12), the divines, adds he, are very much addicted to their own sense, and have but little equity for those that differ from their opinion. . . . They should not dispute concerning the truth of the doctrines; for disputes rather create new wars, than appease the old ones. Disputants do not seek for concord, but victory: they who find themselves worsted, grow more haughty and enraged. In an assembly where a re-union is treated of, the divines should be reduced to the bare plain function of advocates: they should be heard, but should not be judges; that quality ought to be left to statemen, and it would be necessary, that the divines should even take an oath, that they will submit to the sentence that the political judges shall pronounce (13).

Hoc opus per manus præsertim Virorum Politicorum, non autem ecclesiasticorum est tractandum & inchoandum. Theologi sunt suorum placitorum tepidissimi, parum placitis alienis æqui (14). . . . In colloquiis quæ de pace ineundâ habebuntur, de veritate dogmatum nullo modo erat disputandum. Pugnæ non dirimunt bella, sed faciunt. In illis disputationibus non queritur pax, sed victoria. Nul- lus se victum unquam fatebitur, & si sentiat se de- jectum aut prostratum, tantum abest ut ad concordiam fiat priorior; contra ferocior evadit iratus & indignans, quod res ipsi male cedat (15). There is no description, that this author was more capable of succeeding in, than in this.

It must not be forgotten, that in the year 1666, Tobias Wagnerus, chancellor of the university of Tübingen, wrote against Hottinger's book about the re-union, in his *Inquisitio Theologica in Acta benetica nostra potissimum tempore inter Theologos Augustanæ Confessionis & Reformatæ Ecclesiæ à Reformatis re-*

(9) Heidegger, ubi supra, fol. D. 2.

(10) Frid. Spanheim Elercho Controvers. pag. 333, Edit. 1694.

(11) So all these phrases ought to be understood; they do not concern any particular person, and they leave room for exceptions.

(12) See the bishop of Meaux's reflections upon all this at the end of his *Histoire des Variations*, in the addition.

(13) Theologi sunt advocati, loquuntur; Politici audiunt, & sunt iudices sub auctoritate principum. At ante omnem disputationem Theologi obtemperant, nec quidquam adversus pacem molituros. Petrus Juratus, de Pace iuranda, pag. 263.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 262.

(15) Id. ibid. pag. 263.

accompanied this prince to the electoral diet of Francfort, in the year 1658, where he conferred with Ludolfus upon very important matters [E]. He was not recalled to Zurich till the year 1661, for they had the complaisance to prolong the term, for which they had lent him to the elector Palatine. He was immediately on his return chosen president of the commissioners, who were to revise the German translation of the Bible. The civil war that arose in Switzerland, in the year 1664, occasioned his being sent into Holland upon affairs of state. The university of Leyden offered him a professorship of Divinity in the year 1667; but not obtaining leave of his superiors, he refused it. They were not discouraged with this refusal, but insisted at least to have him by way of loan, and then the magistrates of Zurich having consented to it, in complaisance to the States of Holland, who had interested themselves in this affair, he accepted the offer. As he was preparing all things for his journey, he unfortunately lost his life the fifth of June, 1667, upon the river that passeth through Zurich (g) [F]. He often refused the professorships that were offered him [G]. The most violent adversaries that wrote against him were Leo Allatius, Abraham Ecchellenfis, and Father Labbe [H]. Mr Arnauld had a fling at him; but

was

(g) Taken from his life, written by John Henry Heidegger, and prefixed to the ninth Tome of Hottinger's Ecclesiastical History.

(16) Heidegger, in Vita Hotting.

(17) Id. ibid. fol. F.

(18) Id. ibid. fol. D. 4.

(19) See the above note.

(20) See the above note.

(21) See Hottinger's Biblioth. Tigur. pag. 138.

(22) Heidegger, in Vita Hotting.

(23) Id. ibid. fol. E.

(24) Id. ibid. fol. C 2.

fusitata (16). Hottinger defended himself, not in a book written on purpose, but by the by, and occasionally. It was in a synodal dispute, where he proved, that the reformed church was not schismatical (17).

[E] He conferred with Ludolfus at Francfort upon very important matters. Every body knows, that Job Ludolfus had acquired a wonderful knowledge of Æthiopia. He and Hottinger concerted measures for sending secretly into Africa some persons that understood the oriental languages, and that might exactly inform themselves of the state of Christianity in that part of the world. Agitata præterea inter eos sunt secretoriæ confilia de mittendis Principum auctoritate & impensis in Africam juvenibus uno vel duobus, in Orientalium idiomatibus & rebus paulò jam provectoribus, qui Africanarum, imprimis Æthiopicarum Ecclesiarum arcana paulò penitus indagarent, & novis monumentis ibi collectis copias nostras augerent (18). I believe this was the chief subject of the letters which they wrote to one another, after the diet of Francfort; but I make no doubt that they began to speak of it at Francfort.

[F] He unfortunately lost his life . . . upon the river which passeth through Zurich. He went into a boat with his wife, and three of his children, his brother-in-law, one of his friends, and his maid, to go and make a lease of an estate which he had two leagues from Zurich. The Boat running against a stake, which the swelling of the river hid from their sight, overfet. Hottinger, his brother-in-law, and his friend, saved themselves from the danger by swimming; but they went again into the water, when they perceived the danger the rest of the company were still in. Then it was that Hottinger lost his life: His friend and his three children (19) had the same destiny: his wife, his brother-in-law, and his maid were saved (20). His wife was the only daughter of John Henry Huldric, minister of Zurich, a very learned man (21). He had many children by her, for without reckoning those three that were lost with him, and those that died before, he left four sons and two daughters.

[G] He had often refused the professorships that were offered him. The magistrates of Deventer earnestly solicited him in 1661 to come and supply the place of Henry Diek, professor of Divinity, who, by reason of his great age, was declared emeritus (22). The Landgrave of Hesse invited him to come to Marburg to profess Divinity there, and ordered Felix Platerus, a Physician at Basil, to negotiate that affair. He was also founded by the magistrates of Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, 1695, those of Bremen (23).

[H] The most violent adversaries . . . were Leo Allatius, Abraham Ecchellenfis, and Father Labbe. See how the rage of the first is described in his life (24). Quorum in numerum refero imprimis Labbeum Lojoltum miserum & rancidum, nec noc morosum illum & tristem Senecionem Chium, Allatium, qui vel solo illo libro contra Hottingerum furis inspirantibus & mentem ac calumiam flectentibus scripto, apud bonos omnes cognomen Leonis conturbavit ac decoxit, & Canis pluiquam Epirotici jure meritoque obtinuit. Quæ enim, malum, hæc feralis infamia est, quis furor, quæ canina rabies, leviter si bi contradicentem, & contradictionem argumentis talibus, quibus si error infulset, hominis tamen non

pecoris eum fuisse apparuerat, munientem, non æquo animo tolerare, non tomentis, malagmatis, & lenibus remediis curare, sed probris veluti de plaustris congestis non cumulare sed obruere, & eidem convitia ac maledicta atrocissima non modio nec trimodio, sed toto horreo admetiri? Quæ obscenitas ad nomen ita alludere, ut castæ aures & purus animus abhorreat? Canem hæc, non Leonem generosum, non hominem, nedum Christianum obolent. Puerit Allatius, ille Gigantum frater, paulo in Græcorum, imprimis eorum, quæ hæcenus inedita nobis fortuna invidet, monumentis versator. Habuerit senex ingenium (25) ad corrumperendum & detorquendum, ad dolos ac fallacias intruendum, ad parasitandum denique subactius. Hæc enim sola lusus ipsi propria & eximia esse potest. Quanquam hominem in Græcia natum, Græcum idioma calluisse paulò exactius, mediocri in laude ponendum mihi videtur. Sed fuerint hæc, quæ dixi, in eo summa. Quo pacto ille affurget ad gloriam Hottingeri, qui, præterquam quod veritatis & Orthodoxiæ studio ductus sub signis Christi militavit, etiam excelluit non in vernaculo sibi idiomate, sed in Hebræico, Chaldaico, Syriaco, Arabico, Coptico, Persico, in quibus singulis Allatius non tantum nihil vidit, sed Talpa Tiresia cæcior fuit? Olim Chiis in senatu Attico data est licentia vomendi. Credidi igitur lecto Allatii Chiis libro, quod tot convitia in Hottingerum nostrum non jactavit, sed vomuit, gentis suæ antiqua licentia eum uti voluisse. — In which number I, in the first place, reckon, that wretched disciple of Loyola, Labbe, and that old snarling Grecian Allatius, who, if it were only on account of the book which, being instigated by the Furies, he wrote against Hottinger, has forfeited the generous name of Leo among all good men, and has deservedly instead of it, got that of the Epirotic cur. For what fury, what brutal rage, could tempt a man to attack a person who had only gently opposed his opinion, and had supported his objections by such arguments, as showed that he was no contemptible adversary; what fury, I say, could tempt him, instead of taking this in good part and modestly, replying, to load, nay to overwhelm him with all manner of ribaldry, and scurrilities? Then his obscene puns on his name, are such as must create abhorrence in chaste and pure minds. These are more like to the snarling dog, than the generous lion; the man and far less the Christian. Tho' we should allow that Allatius was more versed in the Greek authors, especially in those which are as yet unpublished, tho' we should allow that he had a genius more apt for trick, and cunning, and parasitical arts: for these are the only things in which he is peculiarly excellent: and I should imagine that here can be no great merit in a Greek's being well versed in the Greek idiom; allowing him, I say, to excel in all these things, how will this put him on a level with Hottinger, who, besides his having been a champion for truth and orthodoxy under CHRIST's banners, excelled not only in his native language, but likewise in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and Persian, languages, in all which Allatius is as blind as Tiresias. The Athenians antiently gave the natives of Cbio the liberty of vomiting, and on that account, I, upon reading this book of Allatius of Chiis, fancied that he had not thrown but rather vomited these reproaches upon Allatius, making use of the ancient privilege of his countrymen.

(25) See Mr. Claudé's words in the following remark.

was taken up by Mr Claude [I].

(26) In Eneside Disert. Philologico-Theolog. printed in 1662.

(27) In the preface to Etymolog. Orientalis, five Lexici Harmonico-Pentagloti, published in the year 1661.

(28) Heidegger, in Vita Hotting.

'countrymen.' Hottinger defended himself in few words (26): as for Echellenis, he put him in mind (27) of the blunders, of which he had been convicted, and he shewed him some others. 'Præfatus est illi libro de gradibus studii Philologiae, inserta simul Apologia brevi adversus Abrahamum Echellensem, qui Præfatione in Catalogum librorum Chaldaeorum, Hebed Jesu Metropolitæ Sobensis, traduxit Seldenum, Hottingerum nostrum, Calixtum, Ludovicum de Dieu, Constantinum L'Empereur, Salmasium, eo potissimum nomine, quod Orientalibus studiis intenti, germanam tamen verborum significationem, ut plurimum non deprehendant, ambigua & obscura pro certis & luculentissimis statuunt, atque interim ea, quæ in clarissima luce versantur, quod ipsorum commenta radicibus extirpent, omnino prætereant. Verum non aliam defensionem tum sui, tum virorum horum doctissimorum, quos eadem accusatione involverat adversarius, Hottingerus paravit, quàm in memoriam revocatis Echellenis errorum plaustris, quæ ipsi à contribulibus Flavignio, Gabriele Sionita, Johanne Morino objecta sunt; nec non ex proprio ingenio demonstratis notoriis sphalmatis, quæ ille in tractatu Arabico-Latino, *Synopsis propositorum sapientie Arabum Philosopherum* inscripto, adversus genium Arabicæ linguæ admittit (28). — He wrote a preface to the book concerning the degrees of the study of Philology, and therein inserted a short apology for himself against Abraham Echellenis, who, in a preface to a catalogue of the Chaldaic books of Hebed Jesu, Metropolitan of Seba, translated Selden, our Hottinger, Calixtus, Lewis de Dieu, Constantine L'Empereur, and Salmasius, accusing them that notwithstanding their application to Oriental learning, they

had for the most part mistaken the genuine signification of words, and laid down ambiguous and obscure matters as certain and evident truths: tho' they at the same time passed by many things which are of the clearest nature, because they entirely ruined their hypotheses. Hottinger contented himself here instead of all other defence of himself, and of these learned men, whom his adversary had involved in the same accusation with putting Echellenis in mind of the numerous blunders which had been objected to him by those of his own tribe; to wit, by Flavigny, Gabriel Sionita, and John Morin; adding likewise some notorious mistakes which Echellenis had been guilty of in his treatise in Arabic and Latin, intitled, *Synopsis propositorum sapientie Arabum Philosopherum*, against the genius of the Arabic tongue.'

[I] Mr Arnauld had a sting at him, but was taken up by Mr Claude. I relate this history (29) chiefly upon the credit of Allatius, who took a particular care to inform himself of it, and who being a Greek by nation, is more credible than Dutch or Swiss ministers, and than Hottinger amongst others, who is one of the most passionate and unsincere writers I ever read. These are Mr Arnauld's words (30); and this is Mr Claude's answer. 'Why would Mr Arnauld have us rather believe Allatius than Hottinger? The first has all the characters of a passionate writer, who is always misrepresenting things; the later, on the contrary, whatever Mr Arnauld may say, has all the marks of a man of sincerity, who speaks things as he knows them. The first is more polite and more elegant I confess; but the other has more sincerity. Allatius says of his own head whatever he pleases; Hottinger brings his witnesses.'

(29) V. that of Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople.

(30) Perpetuus Defensor, liv. iv. chap. vi. pag. 561. Brussels, in 12mo.

(31) Réponse à la Perpetuité de la Foi, liv. iii. cap. xii. pag. 467.

HUARTE (JOHN) lived in the XVIth century, and acquired great reputation by a book which he published in Spanish, and has been translated into diverse languages, and frequently reprinted [A]. He treats there of the trial of wits, proper for the sciences, and lays down many things which make one presume that he did not follow the common road of Physicians; but was able to make many discoveries by his profound meditation, and careful study of the antients. However, it is not prudent to depend entirely, either on his maxims, or on all the authorities he alledges; for he is not to be trusted on either of these heads (a), his hypotheses also are frequently chimerical, especially when he pretends to teach us the formalities necessary to be observed, in order to beget children of a fine genius. There are many things in that part of his book which are contrary to modesty, and which have been too grossly translated by Gabriel Chappuis. He is not to be excused for giving as an authentic piece, a pretended letter of the proconsul Lentulus from Jerusalem to the Roman senate, containing a portrait of JESUS CHRIST, a description of his stature, of the colour of his hair, the qualities of his beard, &c. There has been a criticism published on this author [B]. He was accounted a Spaniard, but was born in a town of the French Navarre (b).

(a) See L'Apolo-
gie de Costar,
pag. 213, 214.

(b) At St Jean
de Peid de Port.
See Du Verdier,
Biblioth. Franç.
pag. 432.

[A] He acquired great reputation by a book, which he published in Spanish, and has been translated into diverse languages and frequently reprinted. It was translated into Italian by Camillo Camilli. This translation was dedicated by Nicolo Manaffi to Frederic Pandasius, professor of Philosophy at Bologna (1). The epistle dedicatory is dated from Venice, the first of March 1582: the edition which I use is printed at Venice press Aldo 1590 in 8vo. This book was translated into French by Gabriel Chappuis in the year 1580. The title of his version is, *Anacrisis ou parfait Jugement & Examen des Esprits propres & naiz aux Sciences*, &c. (2). that is, 'An Anacrisis or perfect judgment and trial of wits, proper and born for the sciences: wherein by wonderful and useful secrets, drawn both from true, natural, and divine Philosophy, is shown the difference of the gifts and abilities of men, and for what sort of study each man's genius is proper: so that whoever shall read this book with attention, may discover the property of his own genius, and will be able too choose that science in which he shall make the greatest progress.' There is a better French translation than this, it was printed at Amsterdam by John de Ravestein in 1672. The translator's name is Francis Savinien d'Alquié. It contains the additions which John Huarte made to the last edition of his book: they are considerable both in quantity and quality; but the new translator could not insert them in their proper places, and was oblig-

ed to give some of them at the beginning and some at the end of the book. I know the Latin version only by means of the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library. It was printed in the year 1622 in 8vo, and translated by Æsch Major.

[B] There has been a criticism on this author. It is intitled *L'Examen de l'Examen des Esprits*. The name of the author of it is Jourdain Guibelec. Let us insert this passage of Sorel (3). 'The Spanish author of the trial of wits has been admired by some (4), and condemned by others. I shall not insist on what they reproach him with, to wit, that he ascribes so much efficacy to corporeal qualities, that one would think the soul depends upon them, and would hinder us from believing it to be immaterial and immortal. He sufficiently defends himself on this head, by replying, that the soul of man acts only according to the disposition of the organs; nevertheless it is still thought, that he has too much subjected this spiritual substance to gross and corporeal parts; and that the comparisons which he has drawn from brutes, and even the most imperfect of them, such as insects, are dishonourable to so noble a creature as man; that it is likewise ridiculous to attribute aridity to ants, and such insects, because they are wise, and from thence to draw a consequence that prudence must be found in dry constitutions: for by what art has he been able to discover whether there is more humidity

(3) Sorel de la
Perfection de
l'Homme, pag.
327.

(4) Anthony
Zara (who
wrote a book of
the Anatomy of
Wits and
Sciences) Peter
Charon, and
others, receive
the doctrine of
this Spaniard, al-
most without
contradiction.
Ibid. pag. 335.

* humidity or aridity in the brains of flies, which seem to be very humid? How likewise has he observed the difference betwixt the brains of bees and common flies, the first of which are reckoned very wise and the other quite the contrary? We shall not find any great difference in their brains upon dissection, and if he says that the one have dry brains and the others humid, it is because he has observed that the one are prudent, and the others imprudent, and not because he has judged of their prudence or imprudence, by their aridity or humidity . . . Some also object to the author of the Trial of Wits, that he has not well established the temperaments for each faculty of the soul, and that he ought not to ascribe the judgment alone to aridity but likewise the memory, and that these two faculties are not incompatible. Thus there are many things objected to several of his propositions, which have given occasion to a French Physician, to write a Trial of his Trial, wherein he strongly refutes the greatest part of his doctrine. He treats it according to his fancy in a book as large as the other (5). Sorel afterwards, makes some remarks against the doctrine of the author of the Trial of Wits, I shall insert the following. Some have enquired into the means of putting the natural faculties in good condition. And in order to judge the better of them, they are not satisfied with observing men in themselves, by their external marks; but have even carried their enquiries as far as the causes, to wit, to the time and place of their birth, and above all to the parents who begot them, who are the real sources of the temperament, and have a great influence in making use of one humour or another. This being allowed, in order to make their doctrine the more acceptable, they have pretended at the same time to prescribe remedies for the bad qualities which they discovered, or to give assistances to the acquisition of the good. And in order to seek the perfection of men in their remotest origin, they would provide for their happy birth, and direct that they who bring them into the world should use all manner of precautions to beget them with all the qualities which they desire they should have. Some Naturalists have enquired of what temperament and what age a man and a woman ought to be, in order to marriage, and how they ought to nourish and govern themselves, that they may have children of good constitutions. The author of the Trial of Wits has added to this, the manner of procreating them of such temperaments, as shall render them fit to make progress in the liberal arts and sciences. Both the one and the other lay it down as a rule, that great care ought to be taken in marriages, that a man of a very hot constitution should be joined to a woman of a more moderate temperament, who has that humidity which he wants in order to form a perfect temperament. But it would be a very difficult matter to make such enquiries, because a great many other things are necessary to an agreeable match, which are principally regarded: it is ordinarily thought that as to bodily qualities, it is enough if the married persons are not infirm or deformed. As to the manner of living of married people and the time of generation, and other observations which are prescribed, in order to have sons or

daughters, and even to have them born with constitutions, proper for particular professions, tho' all these I say do not succeed so exactly as we may promise to our selves, yet they must needs be attended with good consequences. Some men less circumspect enjoy these advantages without all this care: but that proceeds from the great vigour of their constitutions (6).

It cannot be doubted that John Huarte has laid down some general maxims which are very true; such as, for example, that it is advantageous to employ all persons in those professions, for which they are most fitted by nature; that there are many who would have succeeded in the study of the Law, if they had not been set apart for the study of Physic; that great inconveniences flow from the small regard, that is had to natural dispositions in the choice of employments: but it is very difficult to prevent this disorder. The expedient which the author proposed to Philip II, king of Spain, would not be attended with all the advantages which might be imagined. As I observe,

lays be (7), that the mind of man is so narrow and limited, that it is hardly sufficient for one thing, I have always been of opinion that one can never be perfectly master of two different arts, and that we must of necessity be ignorant of one of them; this made Plato say, in his book concerning laws, *Nemo ararius simul & lignarius faber fit; duas enim artes, aut studia dus, diligenter exercere humana natura non potest.* (No man can be both a good Smith and a good Carpenter; for human nature cannot excel in two arts or studies): So I think that wife and knowing men ought to be appointed to examine the genius of children in their youth, in order to oblige them to follow that science, which best suits them, without leaving it to their own fancy, lest they should make a bad choice of one less advantageous or less useful. By this means your majesty would have the most exquisite artists, and the most finished works in the world in your dominions, and persons who most happily join art with nature. I could wish likewise that all your universities should use the same methods, and that as they do not permit the scholars to pass from one faculty to another, till they are well skilled in Latin; so they would likewise appoint persons to examine whether a scholar who wants to study Logic, Philosophy, Physic, Divinity, or Law, has the genius which each of these sciences requires in order to succeed in it: for besides that it is a great injury to the public, for a person to exercise an art of which he is ignorant, so it is a great presumption for a man to labour and rack his brain about a thing in which he can never acquit himself with honour. What he says elsewhere would be still more embarrassing and doubtful in practice: 'In a well ordered commonwealth there ought to be marriage-makers, who should know, by the rules of art, the qualities that persons who marry should have in order to a marriage's being happy for both parties. Hippocrates and Galen began to labour in this science, and have given rules how to distinguish betwixt a fruitful and a barren woman, and betwixt a man fit for propagation and one who is unfit. But concerning these matters they have wrote but little, and not so distinctly as they ought, at least, as is necessary for the present purpose (8).

(6) Sorel, de la Perfection de l'Homme, pag. 335, 336.

(7) Huarte, *epistola de* . . .

(8) Huarte, Examen des Esprits, chap. xv, fol. m. 207.

HUGUES (JAMES) a divine and canon, born at Lisle in Flanders, printed a book at Rome in 1655, of a most singular kind, considering the chimeras with which it is filled [A]. He dedicated it to Pope Alexander VII, and in his Epistle Dedicatory are several ridiculous applications.

[A] He printed a book of a most singular kind, considering the chimeras with which it is filled. Here follows the title of it. *Vera Historia Romana, seu Originis Latii vel Italiae ac Romanae Urbis à tenebris longæ vetustatis in lucem productæ. Liber primus qui primordia Europæ ac Latii primævi Annales demonstrat atque urbis conditæ. Romæ, typis Francisci Monetæ, M.DC.LV.* The true Roman history, or the origin of Latium or Italy, and of the city of Rome, brought to light out of the darkness of remote antiquity. Book the first, which contains an account of the first peopling of Europe, and the annals of ancient Latium, and of the building of Rome. It contains 284 pages in 4to (1).

A passage which I am going to cite from the Memoirs of Trevoux will give some idea of this extravagant production. According to James Hugues 'there never existed such persons as Janus, Æneas, or Romulus: all that has been said of them is taken from the predictions of I do not know what Sybil, who, in the prophecies which she delivered concerning St Peter, had given this saint the names of these heroes; and according to the prophetic style, had made use of the past time instead of the future. The book of the origin of Rome, composed by this author, is full of visions as extraordinary as this is (2).

(2) Father Tournemine, in a Memoir inserted in the Journal of Trevoux, February 1744, pag. 335, 336, of the Trevoux edition.

HUNGARY (MARY, Queen of) sister of the emperor Charles V, was married in the year 1521 to Lewis king of Hungary, who unfortunately lost his life at the battle of Mohatz in the year 1526. His widow was made governess of the Low-Countries in 1531, and shewed a great deal of courage and prudence in that post [A]. She exercised it till the abdication of Charles V, whom she followed into Spain, where she died the eighteenth of October 1558. She loved magnificence exceedingly [B], and was extremely fond of hunting [C]. It is said she endeavoured to moderate the punishment of the Protestants [D]. She understood Latin (a). There was a personal hatred betwixt her and Henry II, which occasioned many ravages. They ruined in their turns even the country-seats of each other. Mary began this sort of hostilities, to revenge herself for some songs that had been made against her honour in France [E]. Henry knew how to return these injuries [F]. He passionately desired to make her a prisoner

(a) See remark [H].

[A] She shewed a great deal of courage and prudence in her government.] Consult Brantome who tells you, 'that this queen of Hungary was very useful to the emperor, and that she proved so very serviceable to him, that one cannot tell how he could have done without her, and that he so depended upon her in all the affairs of her government, that when the emperor himself was in Flanders, he referred all the affairs of the Low-Country to her, and the council was held under her and in her palace. It is true that she, being a great politician, informed him of all that passed in the council when he was not there; which was a great pleasure to him. She carried on glorious wars there sometimes by her lieutenants, sometimes in person, always on horseback, as a valiant amazon (1).' What he says (2) of the speech she made on the day of the abdication, is very curious. We have here a proof, that women are capable of reigning well.

(1) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 91.

(2) Ibid. pag. 95.

(3) Id. Memoirs, Tom. II, in the Elgy of Henry II, pag. 23.

(4) Memoires des Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 92.

[B] She loved magnificence wonderfully.] Brantome says (3), that when Philip II went to take possession of the Low-Countries, the most sumptuous entries that can be imagined were made for him; but he adds, 'the queen of Hungary surpassed them all in her houses at Bains and Marimont.' He afterwards describes 'the siege of a place, which that queen represented to divert the emperor and all his court, in her fine house of Marimont.' He says in another book (4) 'that he feasted at Bains the emperor Charles and all his court, when his son king Philip came from Spain to Flanders to see her, where the magnificence was so great that nothing was so much talked of then as *las fiestas de Bains*, as the Spaniards called it: I remember likewise, that in the journey to Bayonne how great forever the magnificence was, in running at the ring, combats, masquerades, and expences that were seen, yet all was nothing if compared with *las fiestas de Bains*, as some old Spanish gentlemen, who had seen them, reported.'

[C] . . . and was extremely fond of hunting.] She accompanied her husband every where, even when he went a hunting, for which she had a wonderful passion; being afterwards regent of the Low-Countries for her brother the emperor Charles V, she often quitted her agreeable palaces of Mechelen and Brussels, to live in the country at Marimont and in her houses near the forests; where from morning till night she diverted herself with hunting. For which reason the Flemings called her the Huntress, and painted her like Diana: she communicated that inclination to her niece Margaret of Austria, duchess of Parma, who has been also governess of the Low-Countries. She had inherited a passion for the laborious exercises of hunting from her grandmother by her father's side, Mary duchess of Burgundy, wife of the emperor Maximilian I, who being a hunting, (with which she almost every day diverted herself) fell from her horse, and died to the great grief of the Flemings and the emperor her husband, who lost also his second wife Blanche Sforza by the same misfortune (5). This seems to be the translation of these words of Strada: *Capiebat ut studio summo Gubernatrix, plane ut Venatricem vulgo appellarent, habitaque venatricis expingerent: neptem videlicet Mariæ Burgundæ, quæ ab infestis feris nunquam desistit, donec inter venandum equo excussa vitam amisit, suo non tam suo, quam Maximiliani mariti, cuius et uxor altera, Blanca Sfortia, in venatione equo decidit, obiitque. Ejusmodi autem studium arripuit tam avida, in eumque laborem duravit adeo membra decennis nondum puella (6), ut amittam per saltus camposque sequeretur impavida (7).*

(5) Hilarion de Coëte, Elog. des Dames Illustres, Tom. II, pag. 561.

† 1482.

† 1496.

(6) That is, Margaret, natural daughter of Charles V.

(7) Strada, de Bello Belg. lib. i, pag. m. 45.

[D] It is said she endeavoured to moderate the punishment of the Protestants.] When to appease the malecontents of the Low-Countries, the court of Spain promised them the suspension of the Inquisition in the year 1566; it was added, that the imperial laws which condemned Heretics to death, should be mitigated, as they had been in the year 1550, at the request of the queen of Hungary. 'Immo sic Cæsarem facturum fuisse si viveret, quando ipse ob similes difficultates anno millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimoque, potestante Mariâ Hungariæ Reginâ ejus sorore, eadem pœnas quas ante statuerat, emendare ac lenire non inutile aut indecorum arbitratus est (8).'

(8) Fam. Strada, Decid. I, lib. v, pag. 217.

[E] She began these sort of hostilities to revenge herself for some songs that had been made against her honour in France.] Here is what we find in Brantome upon this subject (9). 'I have heard say, that the chief reason, that moved the queen of Hungary to burn Picardy, and other parts of France, was the insolence of some babblers and story-tellers, who spoke commonly of her amours, and sung every where the Barbançon of the queen of Hungary, which was a very coarse ballad, and fit only for the mouths of such rude reifiers.' By this we see that the people are fated to bear the punishment not only of the follies of their sovereigns (10), but also of many others. I shall set down a passage which does not seem to be full enough. 'There was a great hatred between Henry II, and the queen of Hungary, the occasion whereof I do not know; but only that the French soldiers had made songs of her, and of Barbançon the finest lord of her court (11).' It was an easy thing to supply what is wanting in this discourse; it was but saying that this queen set on fire several places of Picardy, even without sparing the royal palace of Folembray. By this we understand the reason of their personal hatred on both sides. Mary doubtless believed, that Henry applauded these songs, and the personally hated him for it. Henry on the other side took the burning of his house of pleasure for a personal affront. I know not what we are to believe of the gallantries of this princess; I only remember what Brantome says (12), 'that she was very handsome and agreeable, and very amiable, although she appeared somewhat manly; but as for love, she was not the worse for it, nor for war, which she made her principal exercise.'

(9) Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 338.

(10) Quidquid delirant reges, plebsunt Achivi. Horat. Epist. II, lib. I, ver. 14.

(11) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 1090.

(12) Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 90.

If you desire to know when she made these ravages in Picardy; you need only cast your eyes on the following words. 'Whilst the emperor her brother was besieging Metz, she came with the count de Reux into Picardy to make a diversion, and so hinder the king from succouring the besieged, where she made a great havoc, and burnt Noyon, Nesle, Chauny, Roye, Folembray, a royal palace, built by king Francis I, and laid above seven or eight hundred villages; she laid siege to Heiden and took it (13).'

[F] Henry knew how to return these injuries.] Having taken Marienburg and Dinant, and razed Bouvines, whose inhabitants were either hanged or put to the sword, he passed the Sambre, and ruined Hainault, and burnt Mariemont, a country-seat built by the queen of Hungary; and the pretty town of Bains (14), with the magnificent palace she had built there, adorned with infinite pictures, ancient statues, and works of graving and sculpture. The ancient town of Bavets, of whose antiquity and greatness, the old chroniclers have told a thousand stories, suffered a like desolation. These burnings and destructions were very far from the temper of Henry II; but he thought himself in honour obliged thus to revenge the ruin of his castle of Folembray, and the affront

(13) Hist. de Coëte, ubi supra, pag. 567.

(14) He built a new town there.

prisoner [G]. Erasmus dedicated a book to this princess, in which the Printers maliciously made a very strange fault [H]. Father Hilarión de Coste has committed some small errors of Chronology [I]; and has not been well copied in every thing by Moreri [K]. I pass over in silence the scandalous reports concerning the amours of Charles V, with the queen of Hungary [L], the mother, as they pretend, of Don John of Austria.

(15) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 1090, ad ann. 1554. See also Lewis Guicciardin, Description du Pais Bas, pag. 468.

(16) Brantôme, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 92.

(17) Id. ibid. pag. 93.

(18) Ibid. pag. 94.

(19) Brantôme here seems to be guilty of an anachronism: The ravages that queen made in Picardy preceded the destruction of her fine palace of Binche. Besides, we find no trace under the government of Mary, after the year 1554. She was no more govern-
ment, when the ravages were concluded the fifth of February 1556.

(20) Farnian, Strada, Dec. I, lib. ix, pag. 577, ad ann. 1578.

(21) Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 306.

(22) Brantôme is in the right. Hic puerulus à Victoria Caesar est appellatus, quum illa mater exhorum ab exercitu nuncupata esset. Treb. Pollio, in Tringita Tyrannus, n. 24. See also n. 30.

(23) Erasmi. Epist. xxxi. lib. xix, pag. 846. See also Epist. xx, lib. xxvi, pag. 1432.

(24) Idem, Epist. xxi, lib. xxvi, pag. 1434.

must know they were vexed they had not received the new-years gift they expected from the author. Hereupon the greatest toper of them all undertook to be revenged, and found a means for it, which vexed Erasmus heartily, and which cannot be translated into another language. We must therefore be contented with the original. 'Nuper cum inter imprimentes excusores aliquot conqueſti fuissent me sibi xenia nondum perſolviſſe, exortus eſt inter eos quidam cæteris violentior, qui proſtiteretur ſe pœnas à me exacturum, ni darem: atque id proſectò veteratò tam egregie effecit, ut aures nummis trecentis redimere eam ignominiam voluiſſem. Cum enim in Vidua mea, quam ſereniſſimæ Hungariæ Regiæ dedicaveram, ad laudem cuiusdam ſanctiſſimæ ſceminæ inter alia liberalitatem illius in pauperes reſerrem, hæc verba ſubjuxi: Atque mente illa uſam ſemper fuiſſe, quæ talem faminam deceret. Unde ſcœleſtus ille animadvertens ſibi vindictæ occasionem oblatam eſſe, ex mente illa mentula fecit. Itaque volumina mille fuere impreſſa (25).'

[I] Father Hilarión de Coste has committed some small errors of Chronology. I. He says (26) that our queen of Hungary was born at Bruxelles the thirteenth of September, 1513. Which is false and impossible, since the arch duke her father died in 1506. There is 1503, and not 1513, in Moreri's Dictionary. II. The ceremonies of that princess's marriage were not performed at Buda in the year 1521, to the 1607, great content of Uladislav (27), king of Hungary, for Uladislav died in 1516. III. Queen Mary did not live continually at Lintz in Austria (28), during the years 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530. I have cited (29) Erasmus, who assures us, that in 1529 she retired into Moravia. IV. She did not govern the Low-Countries twenty eight years (30), but twenty four (31), namely, from 1531 to 1555. The author I consulte contradicting himself confesses, page 569, that this government lasted but twenty five years; but he has committed many faults there. V. He supposes that the queen of Hungary reigned her government into her brother's hands in October 1557, mark, [H], citate. It was the twenty fifth of October, in 1555. VI. He supposes that Margaret of Austria, governess of the Netherlands, died in 1532. It was in the year 1530. In the elogy of this princess (32), he makes her be born the tenth of January, 1480, and to die the first of December, 1532, aged fifty one years (33). Is this to have skill in numbers? VII. He supposes that the queen of Hungary began her government of the Low-Countries in 1532. It was the year before. VIII. He supposes, that when she resigned this government to her brother, she made a long speech to the people. This is not the name that should be given to that assembly, before which Charles V renounced his kingdoms.

[K] . . . and has not been well copied in every thing by Moreri.] Hilarión de Coste had said that the queen of Hungary died 'as she was ready to depart, in order to return into Flanders . . . where she desired to end her days, because she was very much beloved and honoured by that people (34)'. Moreri, instead of keeping within those bounds, says she died 'at the very same time that she was about to go and re-assume the government of the Low-Countries.' He has been a more faithful transcriber of one of the faults of this monk: he says after him, that this queen governed the Low-Countries twenty five years, till 1557, when she went over into Spain. I have already said, that she governed them but from the year 1531, to the twenty fifth of October, 1555, and I add, that she went into Spain in the year 1556. Moreri should not have said that she married Lewis Jagellon, king of Hungary, when she was very young; for she was eighteen years old when the nuptials were celebrated. Moreri's expression would make one believe that she was younger. It is known that the daughters and sisters of kings are sometimes married before they are ten years old.

[L] I pass in silence the scandalous reports concerning the amours of Charles V, with the queen of Hungary. I Read above, the end of remark [A] of the article Don

Don JOHN of AUSTRIA, and join to it these words of Gabriel Naudé. 'The same emperor . . . covered all those disgraces with the veil of piety, and religion, shutting up himself in a cloyster, where he had likewise the conveniency of doing penance,

for a secret sin he had committed in begetting a bastard son, who was also his nephew (35).' Lewis de Coups d'Etat. Mai very justly condemns this writers boldness in affirming such a thing. See page 765, and 766, of his re. marks upon Naudé's *Coups d'Etat*.

HUNGARY (ISABELLA, queen of) sister of Sigismund Augustus king of Poland, was a princess of great merit. She was married, in the year 1539, to John Zapolihá Vaivod of Transylvania, who had been elected king of Hungary in the year 1526, and who strenuously disputed that crown with Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the emperor Charles V. She was delivered of a son the seventh of July 1540. Her husband was so pleased with it, that he drank at table to such excess, as occasioned his death the twenty first of the said month [A]. Isabella finding that she was not able to keep the crown for her son, which Ferdinand would deprive him of, implored the protection of the Ottoman Porte, from whence she received so great succours, that Ferdinand's army which besieged Buda was cut in pieces. Solyman came in person into Hungary to bring Ferdinand to reason. He caressed Isabella's little child [B], and alledged very honourable excuses for his not visiting her [C]. But he quickly discovered his wicked designs; he made himself master of Buda, and forced Isabella to retire to Lippha (a). This was a cruel mortification to that princess, who was fond of dominion. The hopes of seeing him restore the kingdom of Hungary to her son, when he should come to age; those hopes I say, grounded on the promises of Solyman, were but a poor consolation. She expressed a great deal of constancy in that unhappy trial, and comforted herself as well as she could, with the title of regent of Transylvania, which Solyman had left her; but as he made George Martinusius her co-adjutor, she met with a thousand causes of vexation in her regency. It was but a name; the authority being intirely in the hands of this monk George (b). An open rupture ensued, the consequences whereof compleated the ruin of Isabella's authority; for her adversary, supported by Ferdinand, introduced a fine army, commanded by a very cunning Italian (c), who managed things so dexterously, that he engaged this queen to give up Transylvania to king Ferdinand, in the year 1551, after which he retired to Castovia. It was in her passage thither, that she wrote some Latin words upon a tree, which are mentioned by historians [D]. She was a woman of a restless disposi-

(a) The fifth of September, 1541.

(b) So George Martinusius was called.

(c) Jo'n Baptista Castaldi, marquis of Cassano, who had been educated in the house of Francis d'Avalos Marquis de Pescara. Hilar. de Coste, *Elog. des Dames*, Tom. I, pag. 644. Delectus est Joann. Baptista Castaldus Pidenae Comes, & ob res recentior egregie gestas (nam in bello Germanico castrorum praefecti summa cum laude nonnulli observati) Cassini Marchio à Caesare creatus. Thuanus, lib. ix, pag. 180.

[A] Her husband drank to such excess, as occasioned his death. He was gone into Transylvania to suppress a sedition which the favourers of Ferdinand had raised there. Stephen Mailats, the most obstinate among them, was retired to the castle of Fogaras to wait for the succours which Ferdinand sent him, under the conduct of Nadafdy. The king besieged him in it, and took him after a long siege. In the mean time there comes a courier, who brought him the news of the birth of a son which God had given him. This news being agreeable to all that want to have children, and especially to persons far in years; we may imagine that John received it very joyfully: It made him fall into an excess, drinking like a Hungarian, and this excess increasing his distemper, he died at Saffebes a few days after the birth of his son, in the fifty third year of his age (1).

[B] Solyman caressed Isabella's little child. I will use here the words of the author I have cited in the foregoing remark. 'Solyman sent presents to the young king . . . intreating the queen to let him see her son, assuring her it was only to engage his children to love him the more. At the same time the deputies were ordered to tell her, that if he did not visit her, it was for fear his visit might injure her reputation. The queen thanked the grand-seignior for his civility, and wavering in her mind, whether she ought to send her son or not. George Martinusius told her, that she could not refuse it. Being then overcome by necessity, she put him into a cradle worthy of such a child; and ordering the nurse and some other matrons, and many Hungarian lords to accompany him, she sent him to the camp. Solyman desirous to do him honour, received him with a troop of horse, saw him, caressed him, and made his children do the like (2).' Hilarion de Coste, in his eulogy on our queen Isabella (3), is very particular about these things. 'Solyman, says he, sent the young king three hories of an extraordinary beauty, with trappings adorned with gold, pearls, and precious stones, and also very rich plumes, and vestments of cloth of gold. He also sent to the principal lords and barons chains of gold, and rich Turkish robes. . . . The queen put her son into a gilt and very rich coach, with his nurse and some ladies, who had dressed that little prince to advantage, that he might be more agree-

able to him. . . . The Ottoman prince sent some troops of horse nobly equipped, and some bands of janizaries to meet him, and give him an honourable reception and entertainment. As soon as these troops had saluted the king of Hungary, they placed him in the midst of them, to conduct him with that pomp to the emperor, who, as soon as he saw this little prince, expressed a great affection for him, and received him very tenderly, both as a vassal of the Ottoman house, and as the son of John, king of Pannonia, whom he had greatly loved and honoured, having protected him against Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, and the emperor Charles V. He commanded his sons, Bajazet and Selim, who were then in his camp, to do the like. They were the sons of the beautiful Rose, or Roxelana.' This author pretends (4) that Solyman had a 'mind to know whether this child was a son or a daughter; for there was a report spread in the Turkish army, that it was the later, and that for this reason Isabella Jagellon had him brought up secretly.'

[C] Solyman refused to see her, and alledged very honourable excuses for it. I have already said, that he assured this princess, 'that the reason of his not seeing her, was the injury that his visit might do her reputation.' This was a very honourable procedure, for it is certain, that an interview betwixt Solyman and this queen, would have occasioned much obloquy in the world. Hilarion de Coste makes him alledge other excuses, which are not probable. 'They (5) also told this princess, that Solyman had no less respect for her, than for her son, as well for her own merit, as for being the daughter of Sigismund, king of Poland, whom he called his father; and that if his law permitted him to visit her, he would not have failed in it: which was the reason he could not invite her into his tents, and he intreated her to send only her son with his nurse (6).' If Solyman's religion had forbidden him to receive Isabella in his tents, would it have permitted him to receive the young prince's nurse, and the ladies who accompanied him (7)?

[D] She wrote some Latin words upon a tree which are mentioned by historians. Thuanus observes in relating this, that she was a learned woman (8). 'Quae (Regina) statim, ne privata in eo regno, cui summo cum imperio praefuisset, diutius viveret, convalescit rebus suis

(35) Naudé, *Coups d'Etat*, chap. iv, pag. m.

(4) Hilar. de Coste, *ibid.* pag. 632.

(5) That is, the deputies of Solyman, who brought the presents to the young king.

(6) Ubi supra, pag. 632.

(7) *Ibid.* pag. 633.

(8) She was a learned Italian. Hilarion de Coste, *ubi supra*, pag. 644. made a speech in that language, to make her son resign her kingdom.

(1) Discours Historique & Politique sur les Causes de la Guerre d'Hongrie, printed with some other curious pieces at Cologne, 1666, in 12mo, pag. 237, 238. See also Hilarion de Coste, *Elog. des Dames Illustres*, Tom. I, pag. 629.

(2) Discours Historique & Politique, &c. pag. 242.

(3) Ubi supra, pag. 631, & seq. 242.

tion; she staid but little at Cassovia. She went from thence into Silesia, and then into Poland, to Bonna Sforza her mother, and Sigismund Augustus her brother. She kept intelligence with the grandees of Transylvania, to attempt the regaining that country. She had recourse again to the protection of Solymán, and used to many arts, that she returned into Transylvania, in the year 1556. There she maintained herself till her death, and kept the authority as much as she could [E], without imparting it to John Sigismund her son. The bigots vainly endeavour to excuse that conduct [F]. She died at Alba Julia the fifteenth of September 1558 (d).

(d) I have taken the matters of fact contained in this article, from Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, Tom. I, page 622, & seq.

fuis per montes asperos Cassoviam versus iter direxit. Cum propter angustias viarum inter silvas decurrere cogeretur, cum auriga currum traduceret, ipsa retro in Dacliam respiciens, pristini culminis, è quo dicerat, memor altum corde suspirium duxisse dicitur, & cum aliud non posset literata femina, inscripto arbori nomine, hæc addidisse, SIC FATA VOLUNT, eoque relicto iusti doloris monumento, rursus currum conscendit, institutum iter persequitur (9). — The queen not caring to live any longer in a private station, in a country where she had enjoyed the sovereign authority, having gathered all her effects together, set out for Cassovia, thro' a very mountainous country. And being obliged to alight from her chariot, because of the badness of the roads, among the woods, while the driver was disengaging the chariot, she looked back towards Transylvania, and remembering her former grandeur from which she had fallen, fetched a deep sigh, and, being a learned lady, carved her name on a tree, and under it SIC FATA VOLUNT, so fate decrees; and leaving that monument of her just grief, mounted her chariot, and proceeded in her journey. Hilarion de Coste deserves to be copied, by reason of the particulars to which he descends (10). As that virtuous but unfortunate princess . . . was going to Cassovia through the troublesome and difficult roads of those countries, she was forced in an ugly passage to light from her coach. Whilst the coachman was buſied in getting out the coach from that bad place, which was near a wood; this heroine, being as learned as she was valiant, looked back on Transylvania which she had left; and remembering the honours she had received there, and the condition she was in, could not forbear fetching a deep sigh, and leaving on the bark of a tree these three words, shewing thereby her just grief, and knowledge of the Latin tongue: SIC FATA VOLUNT: so fate will have it; as it is related by Thuanus, and many other historians (11).

The wretched parent, with a pious haste,
Came running, and his lifeless limbs embraced.
She sigh'd, she sobb'd, and, furious with despair,
She rent her garments, and she tore her hair,
Accusing all the gods, and every star.

DRYDEN.

Probably our princess thought to leave on the bark of this tree, a monument of the injustice she believed she received from heaven, and to acquaint all the passengers with the courage she had to complain of it.

[E] She kept the authority as much as she could, without imparting it to her son. This may be proved by the remonstrance that Henry II ordered to be made to this princess. John James de Cambrai, dean of Bourges, ambassador of this prince, had assured her as he went to Constantinople, that she should receive from France all the succours she could desire (15), (16) Hilar. de Bathori on an embassy (16) . . . to thank the most christian king for his favour and good affection. Bathori was well received by Henry II. and sent back with Peter Francis Martinez into Transylvania, where they assured queen Isabella, on the part of his most christian majesty, of the alliance he would make with her by the marriage of one of his daughters with her only son king John Sigismund, who was seventeen years of age; upon condition that he should be bred up, and educated like a prince, and she should not suffer near him so many women and men of mean birth, who are not fit to be entertained near young princes, and that she would admit him to the knowledge of her affairs. Petrouitz, and most of the lords of Isabella's council, approved the reasons of the most christian king in her majesty's presence, and said aloud to the ambassador of France, that they had already remonstrated this to the queen their mistresses; she began then to suspect that embassy, and thought those lords had given this advice to the king of France. She consulted her mother, who made her this answer. 'Daughter, keep always the power in your own hands, do not give so much authority to your son; which you will lose as soon as you marry him to the daughter of so potent a monarch as that of France. Isabella following the unhappy counsel of queen Bonna her mother, rejected the alliance of the French king, and ever after had an aversion for those who advised her to let the king her son see the armies, and to give him an insight into the affairs of the kingdom, and to send him to Waraden. She gave the command of all her armies to Michael Bellassa, an imperious man; which was not agreeable to her subjects, who desired that she would make choice of a commander more tractable and human (17).'

[F] The bigots vainly endeavour to excuse that conduct. As there is no passion but they justify at the expence of religion, they made use of this admirable cloak to conceal our Isabella's ambition. Here are the words of a Monk, who cites Florimond de Remond; 'the authors, who have written in favour of this virtuous princess, say, that she did not look with a kind eye on the great lords of Hungary and Transylvania; particularly, Petrouitz was odious to her, because of his professing Luther's heresy; and that under pretence of giving him light into the affairs of his state, they designed to remove him from the queen, his mother, to make him more easily quit the true and old religion, for a new and false one. Which he did after the decease of the queen, his mother (18).' Father Maimbourg says (19), that John Sigismund durst not declare for the Heretics in his mother's life-time; but that was not the only reason, but also because Solymán had written to the queen, that new sects should not be suffered to be introduced

(9) Thuanus, lib. ix, pag. 182, col. 2, ad ann. 1551.

(10) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, pag. 643.

(11) Natalis Comes, P. Martieu, Artus Thomas.

(12) We give this period such as the Monk Hilarion de Coste has it.

(13) Hilar. de Coste, ibid. pag. 645. In *Thuanus*, lib. ix, pag. 182, she speaks thus to her son: Quando tua fortuna non tollit ut regno paterno legibus iure gentium tibi delato uti frui posses, fatorem iniquitatem que nulla vi nostra aut humana industria corrigi potest, æquo animo feramus necesse est.

(14) Virgil. *Ecl. v*, vers. 23.

Cum complexa sui corpus miserabile nati,
Atque Deos atque astra vocas crudelia mater (14.)
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(17) Hilar. de Coste, ubi supra, pag. 658.

(18) Id. ibid. (19) Maimbourg, *Hist. de l'Armenie*, Tom. III, pag. 345. Dutch Edit.

(20) *Id. ibid.*
ad. ann. 1555.

introduced into the kingdom, for fear of disturbing the peace of it, by dividing mens minds upon so nice a point as that of religion (20). . . . But the queen dying soon after, and Selim, who troubled not himself about these disturbances of religion, succeeding

her Father, Solyman, who died of an apoplexy at the siege of Ziget, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and Arrians, returned into Transylvania, and, under the protection of Petrouitz, took more liberty than ever (21).

(21) *Id. ibid.* ad
ann. 1566.

(a) From hence comes the Latin surname *Aquiburgensis*, which he takes.

(b) See the epistle dedicatory of the *Celsars of Cuspinian* Basil Edit. 1501.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) Kong, in *B. Muth.* pag. 418.

HUNGERUS (WOLFGANG), a Civilian of the XVIth century, was born at Waserburg (a) in Bavaria. He was professor of the Civil-Law in the university of Ingolstadt, chancellor of Frisingen, and assessor in the Imperial chamber at Spire (b). He wrote an apology for the emperors Frederic Barbarossa, and Lewis of Bavaria, but being a good Catholic he thought it was more prudent to suppress it [A], than to publish it in an age such as that in which he lived. He died of a distemper which continued several years (c), by which the public was deprived of several useful works which they might have expected from so learned a man. His death is placed in the year 1555 (d). The notes which he wrote on the *Celsars of Cuspinian*, were printed at Basil in 1561. They correct and clear up many things which had been either falsely or confusedly advanced in that History of the Emperors, and in some other books. The abridgment of Gesner's *Bibliotheca*, gives us a Wolfgang Hungarus, different from our Hungerus: this is a mistake, and shows that the smallest change of the letters in proper names, multiplies writers without reason. We find the titles of some other works of this Civilian in the same abridgment [B].

[A] He composed an apology for the emperors . . . but he thought it more prudent to suppress it. As he lays all the blame upon the Popes, there is no doubt but the Protestants would have taken advantage from his book. However, let us set down what he says himself: 'Nos certe pro utriusque optimis Imperatoribus Baioario & Enobarro elucubrata Apologia integra, luce ipsa clarius ostendimus, & fabulam illam de Ludovico Baioario vanam, falsam & tralaticiam esse: & Enobarum non tam de verbis quam rebus ipsis contendisse, atque in summa longe alias fuisse summis Pontificibus in hos Imperatores odiorum causas: & quæcumque tandem eæ fuerint, saltem negocia ipsa controversa à Pontificiis ea animorum impotentia, fastu & acerbitate tractata, ut horum Imperatorum ubique major modestia, mansuetudo, humanitas, adeoque innocentia, pietas & iusticia eluceat: utcumque insignis ille Theologus Albertus Pighius Campensis, Pontificiorum hector Li. 5. ca. 14. & 15. Ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ, causam hujus Ludovici ita proposuerit atque explicarit, ut universam eam damnet. Sed voluisse ipsum eo in argumento, ac præsertim libr. 6. Romanorum Pontificum auriis aliquid dare, jam pridem etiam Catholicum veritatis amantissimum Theologum, virum Ecclesiasticum, doctrina & vitæ sanctimoniam, nuper dum viveret, cum primis spectatum, scio pronunciasse: & ubi necesse sit, ipsius censuram autographam eæ de re in medium proferre possum. Neque vero nostrum ex capite isti apologiæ nostræ hoc gloriose arrogamus, sed potius concordi ex calculo amicorum aliquot, tam ecclesiasticorum quam laicorum qui Catholicæ in religione iuxta nobilem versantur, & Ecclesiæ statum ac fœdis & perniciosi abusu & vitiorum monitis repurgatum, sartumque & tectum (ut ajunt) jam pridem pio zelo, sed hæcenus frustra optant, ac super ea apologia ipsis exhibita consulti, etiam scripto sua singuli candide & libere exposuerunt iudicia. Attamen & sponte nostra, & præcellentis cujusdam amici benevolenti monitu, hoc tempore domi retinere eandem quam in publicum edere maluimus (1). — In an apology which I wrote expressly in vindication of these two excellent emperors, Lewis of Bavaria, and Frederic Barbarossa, I have demonstrated in the clearest manner, that the story concerning the emperor Lewis, is false, groundless, and trifling: and that Barbarossa did not contend merely about words, but about things of consequence, and in fine, that the hatred of the Popes against these two Emperors arose from quite different causes: and whatever these were that the controversy was managed on the side of the Popes with such fury, bawdiness, and bitterness, that in the whole of it we may observe much more modesty, meekness, humanity, and therefore more innocence, piety and justice on the side of these emperors: however, that famous divine Albertus Pighius of Campen, the champion of the other side, in the fifth book of his Ecclesiastic Hierarchy, has set forth and commented on the case of the emperor Lewis, in such a manner as absolutely to condemn him. But I know that a very ingenious Catholic divine (who while he lived was famous both for learning and piety, and whose opinion in this matter, I can, if needful, produce in writing under his hand) declared that Pighius, in that whole argument, and especially in the sixth book, designed to flatter the Popes. Neither do I here, on my own judgment, pretend to have proved these things in the said apology, but on that of some of my friends, ecclesiastics as well as laici, all professors of the Catholic religion, as I likewise am, who have long, but as yet in vain, wished that the church being purged from many scandalous and dangerous abuses, and immoralities, may be restored to its primitive purity, they, I say, being consulted about the said apology which I showed them freely and ingeniously, gave me each his approbation of it in writing. Yet of my own free choice, and by the advice of a very worthy friend, I have determined rather to keep it by me than to publish it presently.'

[B] The title of some other works of Hungerus.] We see that he corrected and published a new edition of Bartholomæus Bologninus *super Authent. habita. C. ne filius pro patre*; and that he translated from the Italian and Spanish into German, a book intitled, *Excitatorium Alicorum, de officio Alici ut gratiam Principis consequatur & conservet* (2). This version, printed at Strasburg in 8vo in 1582, is no doubt the translation of a book of Guevara (3). We see in the *Bibliotheca Classica* of Draudius (4), *Wolff. HUNGERI Linguae Germanicæ Vindicatio contra exoticas quasdam, quæ complurium vocum & dictionum mere Germanicarum, Etymologias ex sua petere conati sunt* (5), at Strasburg 1586 in 8vo.

(2) Epitome Gesneri, pag. m. 824.

(3) See remark [G] of the article GUEVARA, citat. (19).

(4) Pag. 1377. Edit. Francof. 1625.

(5) This word is a solecism here.

(1) Hungerus, Annot. in Celsars Cuspiniani, pag. m. 186, col. 2.

(a) In the year 1576.

HUNNIUS (GILES) born in a village of the country of Wirtemberg, the twenty first of December 1550, was one of the most famous divines of the Augsburg confession. He studied Divinity at Tubingen, under James Andreas, under Brentius the son, and under two other professors; and he grew so learned in the five years he spent in that university, that he was thought capable of professing Divinity at Marburg, at twenty six years of age. He very well answered the opinion they had entertained of his learning: for upon some lectures and sermons that he made at Marburg (a), the landgrave being resolved to retain him, recommended him in a very honourable manner to the duke of Wirtemberg, to be promoted to his doctor's degree. Hunnius returned to Tubingen, where he was admitted doctor of Divinity a few months after his marriage, the sixteenth of July, 1576. During the first six years of his professorship,

efforship, he published no books against the Calvinists; but otherwise he was continually at war with them [A], and did not spare them in his Academical Disputations. At last he wrote against them [B] in the year 1584, and got such a reputation, that, in the year 1592, he was invited into Saxony to reform the electorate. He was made first professor of Divinity at Wittenberg, first minister of the church of the castle, and a member of the ecclesiastical senate. He applied himself with an extraordinary diligence, to find out those who were not good Lutherans [C]; and as he was very successful in clearing the country of them, he was invited to do the same in Silesia [D]. He was made superintendent of the church of Wittenberg in the year 1595; and the same year, he had a sharp combat to maintain against Samuel Huberus about Election and Predestination [E]. He was one of the principal opponents against the Jesuits Gretzer and Tanner, in the conference of Ratisbon [F], in the year 1602 (b). He died the

(b) Most authors say, that conference was held in 1601.

(1) Apud Melchior. Adam. in Vit. Theolog. pag. 727.

[A] He was continually at war with the Calvinists. Read what is said of it in his funeral oration (1). 'Quas autem & quam serias, quamque frequentes velitationes in Hassia tam Cassellii, quam Marburgi, jam cum clanculariis, jam cum apertis hostibus, quos Sacramentarios Lutherani vocant, subire coactus fuerit; quæ & quam grava certamina, ob sanctissimum Religionis Christianæ articulum, de personâ Christi, ejusque ad dextram Dei sedentis adoranda majestate sustinuerit: id Deo, rerum omnium inspectori ac judici notum est: neque fugit id multos pios & cordatos homines.

— What warm and frequent wars he was forced to wage in Hesse, both at Cassel and Marburg, sometimes against secret, sometimes against open enemies, whom the Lutherans call Sacramentarians; what sore attacks he sustained on account of that sacred article of the Christian religion, concerning the person of Christ, and his adorable majesty, sitting on the right hand of God: These, I say, are known to God, the witness and judge of all things: neither are they unknown to many pious and worthy men.

[B] At last he wrote against them. The same orator will inform us, that Hunnius did not confine his exploits to the Sacramentarian war: He attacked also the followers of the Latheran Illyricus. 'In publicum potest scriptis suis progressus sub annum octogesimo quartum, Danæum imprimis, Ursinum, Pezelium, Grabium, & alios oppugnavit, editis libellis de personâ Christi, ejusque ad dextram DEI sedentis divina majestate: de altarum abrogatione. Postea & Flacianorum cohorti bellum sacrum indixit, edito libello de substantiâ peccati originis (2). — Afterwards, about the year fifteen hundred and eighty-four, he published some books concerning the person of Christ, and his divine majesty, sitting at the right hand of God: and concerning the Abrogation of altars. Wherein he attacked, above all, Danæus, and also Ursinus, Pezelius, and Grabius. Afterwards he denounced a holy war against the Flacians, in a book concerning the substance of original sin.'

(2) Apud eundem ibid.

[C] He applied himself to find out those who were not good Lutherans. This was a kind of Inquisition, which deprived a great many honest men of their employments and country; for the refusing to sign the Formula that Hunnius and his colleagues proposed, was enough to pass for a Calvinist, and they found no mercy. The Jesuit Contzen (3) makes himself merry in describing this Inquisition; and observes that Hunnius wrote an apology for it. 'Quin & Egidius Saxonica visitationem contra Calvinistas defendit; refutationem enim scriptis Calvinisticis libelli, quo visitatio illa exagitata fuit (4).' The violences that were then exercised upon those who were suspected of Calvinism, are horrible, as Holsperian has described them (5).

(3) Contzen, in Jubilo Jubilorum ad ann. 1592, 1593.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 304.

(5) Historiæ Sacramentariæ, part. altera, pag. 674, & seq.

[D] He was invited to do the same in Silesia. This is witnessed by Melchior Adam. 'Fridericus IV Lignicensium & Brigenfium in Silesia Dux, Hunnii potissimum opera ac studio usus, Ecclesiarum Lignicensium per Silesiam reformationem suscepit atque perfecit: ejecto inde Leonhardo Krentzhemio, Lignicensium tunc Superintendente; cui Calvinismi crimen impingebatur (6). — Frederic IV, duke of Lignitz and Brieg, in Silesia, began and completed a reformation of the churches of Lignitz, in Silesia, by the means and study of Hunnius above all others; and ejected Leonard Krentzheim, then superintendent of Lignitz, who was accused of Calvinism.'

(6) Melchior Adam, ubi infra.

[E] He disputed against Samuel Huberus about Election and Predestination. This man had been minister of a village near Bern; and having examined

the acts of the conference of Montheliard (7), he found four articles in Beza's doctrine, which he thought repugnant to the scripture: I. That Jesus Christ did not die for all men. II. That most men are excluded from the promises of grace. III. That the cause of the damnation of the reprobate, is the sole good pleasure of God, who created them on purpose to shew in them the power of his anger. IV. That no body can know whether baptism regenerates children. He had the courage to contradict these four articles: but he was expelled for his boldness; Musculus and Gryneus having successfully procured his expulsion. He retired into the country of Wirtemberg, where he obtained a church, after having embraced the Augsburg confession. Being made known to the elector of Saxony, by some books he published, he was invited to Wittenberg to profess Divinity. His earnestness in refuting the Swiss Protestants about the doctrine of Predestination, made him run into another extremity, so far as to teach publicly, that God has elected all men to eternal life. Hunnius and his colleagues admonished him of his error, and as he did not abandon it, he was expelled. He went from thence to Ratisbon, where he had conferences with some divines; he continued obstinate in his errors, and published some books at Spire to maintain them. This was the fourteenth schism of the Lutheran church (8). Such was the man that our Hunnius had to deal with. He was so happy as to triumph over his enemy, for he got him deprived of his place; but he exposed himself to some suspicions of herodoxy, and was obliged to write in his own justification. Read in the margin the words of Calixtus (9), and what follows. 'Postem se & fidem purioris doctrinæ hyperaspisen, adversus inanes Huberi phantasias eo tempore præliit Hunnius, dum partim monendo, partim scribendo, errantem Huberum in viam revocare auduit: quod ipsa res loquitur, & monumenta hac de controversia bene multa edita, cum primis verò ille tractatus Hunnii de providentiâ & prædestinatione filiorum Dei, satis luculenter testatur. Dissidio autem illo Huberi remotione sopito, prodit anno nonagesimo septimo epistola: qua variorum errorum, de cæcâ Domini, de baptismo, de libero arbitrio, de personâ Christi, de æternâ prædestinatione fuit insinuat. Hanc igitur Hunnius eodem anno refutavit: ut & eos qui in Anhaltinis ecclesiis altaria, imagines, organa musica, hostias, & alias ceremonias abrogant (10). — At that time Hunnius showed himself a bold and faithful defender of the purer doctrine, against the vain cavils of Huberus, while partly by admonition, partly by writing, he endeavoured to bring back Huberus into the path of truth. Of this there can be no doubt, and the many pieces which he published concerning that controversy show it plainly, especially his treatise concerning providence and the predestination of the sons of God. But these divisions being healed by the removal of Huberus, there appeared in 1597 an epistle in which he was accused of diverse errors concerning the Lord's Supper, Baptism, Free-will, the Person of Christ, and Eternal Predestination. This therefore Hunnius refused that same year, as also those in the churches of Anhalt, who abrogated altars, images, organs, hosties, and other ceremonies. I add these last words, to shew, that Hunnius was not against altars and images, and many Romish ceremonies, which were detested by other Lutherans.

(7) Between Theodo e Beza, and John Andreas.

(8) Taken from Micraelius, Synag. Hist. Eccles. pag. 872.

(9) Post annum superioris faculi octogesimo Egidius Hunnii fallor, primus vel certe inter primos præcipuum præfatum & ante Augustinum in primitiva Ecclesia receptam sententiam revocavit, & in Ecclesiâ Scholasticâ nostris reducti; non tamen sine difficultate, contradictione & insinuatione Pelagianismi. Calixtus, Consider. Doct. Reform.

(10) Hutterus, apud Melchior, Adam. in Vit. Theol. pag. 729.

[F] He was one of the principle opponents . . . in the conference of Ratisbon. I am sure that most of my readers will be glad to be freed from the trouble of consulting

the year following, the fourth of April (c). He was fruitful both in books and children [G]. Some of his sons made themselves known by their works [H], but one of them turned Roman Catholic [I]. There is no book in which our Hunnius has discovered

(f) Taken from Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 723, & seq. who has given us an Abstract of Hunnius's Funeral Oration, made by Leonard Hotterus.

(11) Matthieu, *Hist. de la Paix*, liv. iv, ad ann. 1601, pag. m, 334.

(12) Matthieu is mistaken. Cayet, *Hist. de la Paix*, pag. 290, is not more in the right when he says, that the divines of the duke of Bavaria were Hunger and Tanner, doctors of the Faculty of Paris, and Gretser a Jesuit. Tanner had been a Jesuit ever since he was eighteen years of age, and consequently he was not doctor of the Faculty of Paris.

(13) Matthieu, *ubi supra*, pag. 235.

(14) *Ibid.* pag. 236.

(15) Baillet, article xxi, of the *Anti-*

consulting another book, to know in general what this conference was: wherefore, I put down here, what Peter Matthieu says of it (11). 'Maximilian count Palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Bavaria, and Philip Lewis also, Palatine of the Rhine, and count of Veldents and Sponheim, cousins, and united by blood, but very much divided in the union of the mind, which is religion, resolved, in order to re-unite themselves in the same belief, and to bring their subjects to the same confession and profession of faith, to assemble at Ratisbon the greatest and most famous divines of Germany of both religions, that by an amicable conference they might clear the difficulties, that were the cause of that unhappy schism. The dispute was only upon this thesis, whether the holy Scripture be a sufficient rule for things necessary to salvation. The Catholic disputants were four professors in Divinity of the university of Paris (12), one of which was a Jesuit. For the Protestants there were fifteen divines, as well of the Palatinate of the Rhine, as of the duchies of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Wittenberg. . . . The presidents were the two princes, and the speakers Gretzerus a Jesuit, and Heilbrun a minister (13). . . . The conference took up fourteen sessions, in which they largely and warmly discoursed of the power of a judge, but not very clearly, since that verbal dispute was followed by many apologies in writing.' I infer here this marginal note of Peter Matthieu. 'Upon this dispute of Ratisbon, says he, besides the acts and registers of the sessions, day by day, we have a book with this title: *Analysis Dialectica Colloquii Ratisbonensis, anno 1601. de norma & iudicio omnium controversiarum fidei Christianæ habiti.*'

This historian's thought upon these verbal disputes, is pleasant enough. 'When I consider, says he, the little advantage that has been reaped from these disputes in several parts of Europe, and that the holy Scripture is the field in which every one thinks he has a right to fight; I cannot chuse but wish there was some severe prohibition against this vulgar treatment of it: and it would be well if it were taught like Epicurus's atoms, Pythagoras's numbers, Plato's ideas, Aristotle's entelechia, and the figures of the cabalists: that no body might come at the knowledge of it, but by those that are capable of understanding it. Whilst every one pretends to be skilled in it, it happens, that from the same flower, the faithful, like the bee, gather honey, and the disobedient, like the spider, gather poison, and many grow mad and beastly upon the beast of St John's Revelation.'

Add to this passage the words of Mr Baillet. 'This conference was like those battles, wherein the victory is not determined by the number of the slain. Each party pretended to have come off with advantage; and relations were made of it on both sides, and treatises in Latin and High-Dutch, above twenty in number. Amongst these writings I have found one in the vulgar tongue, concerning the triumph over the Jesuits, printed at Tubingen, a Lutheran town, in 1603, in Quarto, and another in Latin, composed by Hunnius, and published at Wittenberg in Saxony, the same year, in the same size, with this title, *Epistola consolatoria cum notis*. . . Hunnius endeavoured to revenge his party, by an *Anti-Tanner*. . . and an *Anti-Gretser* (15). He had read the historical relation which Father Tanner had made; but he was not satisfied with an account so little favourable to his party. To prevent the effects he feared from the reading of it, he made a counter-relation, that is, a history of the conference of Ratisbon, in his own way, which was published in 1602, at Wittenberg in Saxony. Father Tanner thought he ought not to let that piece pass unanswered; and not content with reprinting his relation in Latin and German, at Munich in Bavaria, he published, besides, some reflexions upon that of Hunnius, intitled, *Examen Narrationis quam biflorice Relationis nomine insignitam de Colloquio Ratisbonensi edidit Ægidius Hunnius Prædicant*, at Munich, 1602, in 4to. It was against this last work that Hunnius wrote his *Anti-Tanner*, which he print-

ed the same year at Wittenberg.' Father Tanner published a reply, in which he made a defence of his first consultation. . . . and some remarks upon the death of it's author (16). It appeared at Munich in 1603, in 4to, intitled *Apologeticus pro compendiaris relatione de Colloquio Ratisbonensi 1601 adversus Anti-Tannerum cum Appendice de morte Ægidii Hunnii*. Mr Baillet observes, that Father Gretser could not forbear making reflexions upon Hunnius's *Anti-Gretser*. They were printed at Ingolstadt some time after, and inserted afterwards among some of his works, with this title, *Admonitio de Anti-Gretsero* (17). This Jesuit published something else against the same antagonist. *Labyrinthus Critico-Hunnianus, hoc est, Disputatio de Hunnio Prædicante, genioque Lutheranæ semetipsam contraditionibus implicate & jugulante in aliquot articulis fidei* 1602, & *Responsum ad Theses Hunnianas, de Colloquio Pontificiis jucundo* (18), una cum sex digressionibus contra ejusdem Hunnii calumnias, 1602 (19). Note, that the two Bibliographers of the Jesuits, ascribe to Father Tanner a book, intitled *Labyrinthus Critico-Hunnianus*, printed at Munich, in 1612. May not one think there is some mistake in the matter (21). Would two Jesuits have made use of the same title, writing against the same adversary?

[G] He was fruitful both in books and children.] There is an edition of his works in five volumes. 'Primus varios tractatus de articulis fidei, alter polemica, tertius & quartus commentaria in Matthæum, Johannem & omnes pene epistolas Canonicas, quintus disputationes & orationes varias continet. Edidit etiam vernacula lingua post illam Evangelicam & Epistolicam. Homilias in VI Prophetas, Threnos & Catechismum, confessionem de persona Christi & id genus alia (22). As to his conjugal fecundity, we are assured in his funeral oration, that he received from heaven the benediction promised to the faithful by the psalmist (23):

His wife like a fair fertile vine,
Her lovely fruit shall bring;
His children like young olive plants,
About his table spring. (24).

[H] Some of his sons made themselves known by their works.] NICOLAS HUNNIUS, professor of divinity at Wittenberg, and afterwards super-intendant of Lubec, published, *Epitome credendorum: Examen errorum Photinianorum: Capistrum Lancelotto impatiunt: Necessaria defensio de Papa Antichristo: Refutatio Weigelianæ Theologiæ: Apostasia Ecclesiæ Romanæ: Pellis ovina papistica: Innocentia Lutheranorum: Fundamentalis dissensus Lutheranorum & Calvinianorum: Necessaria Admonitio contra theosophos* (25), *novellos Prophetas, nomine ministerii Lubecensis, Hamburgensis, & Lunaburgensis*, and some other tracts. He died in the year 1643, being fifty eight years old. His brother GILES HUNNIUS died the preceding year, being super-intendant general of Altemburg (26).

[I] One of them turned Roman Catholic.] He was a civilian, and his name was HELFRICUS ULRICUS HUNNIUS. He published at Cologne, in 1633, a book, in which he pretended to shew, that even by the confession of some learned Protestants, we are obliged to restore to the church of Rome, what was taken from her in the time of Luther's reformation. Voetius has been reproached with stealing from this book, his authorities and arguments, against the canons of Utrecht. 'Iterato noto, pellucet illud centonem, magnam partem confarcinatum esse ex duodecim consiliis Lutheranorum. . . . simul editis per Helfricum Ulricum Hunnium, J. C. filium Ægidii Hunnii, celebris quondam Theologiæ Doctoris & Professoris in Academia Wittebergensi qui pellectus ossa Antichristiana, cum turpissimè defecisset ad Pontificios, atque secundum fatum Apostatarum, negligenter ab iis, qui exemplo diaboli Matth. iv. 9. plurimos sectatores sibi colligere solent, per myrticam illam vocem: *Hæc tibi dabo*: Coloniz Agrip-

(16) *Ibid.* Art. xxxvii, n. 1.

(17) *Ibid.* Art. xxi.

(18) It is an error of the press for the *index*. Father Southwell has kept the word *index*.

(19) Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 200.

(20) An error of the press for *Criticus*.

(21) See Mr Baillet, article xxi, of the *Anti-*

(22) Micraelius, *ubi supra*, pag. 760.

(23) Inde divine benedictionis vestigia, tum in re familiaris, tum in eo pontificum deprehendit: quod juxta promissum Psalmi, *videt filios ac filias, sicut plantationes olivarum, in circuitu mensæ sue*. Apud Melchior. Adam. *ubi supra*, pag. 730.

(24) Psalm cxxviii.

(25) See Mollen, *Itaque ad Hist. Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, part. III, pag. 469.

(26) Taken from Micraelius, *ubi supra*, pag. 760.

discovered more prepossession and violence, than in that which he intitled, *Calvinus Judaizans* [K]. He accused Calvin of so many crimes in point of Heresy [L], that

pinæ anno 1633 evulgavit duodecim illa Responsa, seu, ut ipse pariter vocat, *Præjudicia*, inscripta Abbatii Fuldensi, eum in finem, ut evinci posset, Lutheranos (per errorum summum iis conjungit Calvinistas, quum neque Matthæus Welsenbecius, neque Hieronymus Treutlerus, prout fingit Hunnius, unquam vixerint in communione eorum, qui Calvinistæ audiunt) esse *αὐτοκατακρίτους*, atque dictante propria conscientia, debere restituere bona Ecclesiastica, à se invasa, occupata, direpta, ac prophanata, ut loquitur famelicus Apollata in titulo. Verum esse quod dico, quivis cognoscat, si intuerit Consilium Theologicum comparare cum hisce Responsis; ubi aut Hunnius, aut ejus Typographus erravit in citandis authoribus, maxime juris Canonici textibus, pariter (respicio primam editionem) errant Architecti hujus, *Κατ' ἀντίρροπον*, Consilii Theologici; quod adeo impudens, ut pag. 25. speciatim in hunc Hunnii tractatum digitum intendant (27). — I once more observe, that this poor compilation is for the most part taken from the twelve councils of the Lutherans . . . published together by Helfricus Ulricus Hunnius, a Civilian, and son to Giles Hunnius, formerly a famous professor of Divinity, in the university of Wittenberg; who being allured by the bait of Antichrist, basely went over to the Papists, and being, according to the common fate of Apostates, neglected by them, who, after the example of the devil, Math. iv. 9. use to make most proselytes by these mystic words, all these things will I give unto thee, published at Cologne, in 1633, these three Answers, or, as he also calls them, Prejudices, dedicated to the abbot of Fuld, intending therein, to prove that the Lutherans (by an egregious blunder, he joins the Calvinists to them, tho' neither Matthew Welsenbecius, nor Jerom Treutlerus never lived in the communion of those who are called Calvinists, as Hunnius pretends) are self-condemned, and ought, according to their own principles, to restore the ecclesiastic possessions, which they have invaded, possessed, robbed, and prophaned, as this hungry apostate expresses himself in his title page. Any body may be convinced of the truth of what I alledge, by comparing the Theological Council with these answers: wherever either Hunnius, or his Printer, has committed an error in quoting of authors, especially in the texts of the Canon-law there (I mean in the first edition) the compilers of this pretended Theological Council likewise err; which is so impudent, that, pag. 25, he particularly points to this treatise of Hunnius. Mr Baillet, whom nothing can escape, was not ignorant of the change of this man's religion; but he did not know that he was the son of the author of the *Anti-Gretser*. Let us see what he says. 'When the Protestants, who alledge against us the *Anti-Hunnian*, and the *Resolutio Anti-Hunniana* of Valentini Bullen, a Lutheran, reckon still Hunnius amongst those of their communion; either they give us reason to believe, that they have confounded Nicolas Hunnius, a Lutheran, who died in 1643, with Helfricus Ulricus Hunnius, the German civilian, converted from Lutheranism to the church of Rome, who lived at the same time with the other Hunnius; or they are willing to conceal his conversion, either because they take it to be false, or of a short duration. However it be, Val. Bullen printed against him his *Anti-Hunnian*, at Leichen, in the year 1633, in 8vo, with this title, *Resolutio Anti-Hunniana seu Responsio ad calumniosam Resolutionem tertiam præjudicialium Quæstionum H. Ulr. Hunnii*. He shews in that work, that he is persuaded there was no dissimulation in his renouncing of Lutheranism, and he sufficiently discovers, that he had read his book of the twelve unanswerable arguments of the Catholic religion; which came out at Cologne, in 12mo, 1632 (28). Our Ulricus Hunnius published at Gießen, a tract de *Transfatione*, in 1615, four books *variæ resolutionem Juris Civilis*, at Francfort, in 1620, and a dispute de *homicidio & ejus pœna*, at Marburg, in the year 1625. [K] He intitled one of his books, *Calvinus Judaizans* (29). I am not satisfied with the knowledge I have hitherto acquired concerning the history of this book, and it's consequences; but I think I may say, and I hope Mr Baillet (30) will not take it ill, that it

did not come out in 1575. Hunnius was then but twenty five years old; and if he had signalized himself at that age by such a work, the author of his Funeral Oration would not have failed to observe it, and would not have said, that it was about the year 1584, that Hunnius began to write against the Calvinists. The Jesuit Contzen (31) places the impression of *Calvinus Judaizans* in the year 1593, and I believe he is in the right. That which perplexes me, is to see in Pareus's life, that in the year 1595. Giles Hunnius disturbed the peace of the church, by accusing the Calvinists, and John Calvin by name, of judaizing. I set down the passage somewhat at large, because we find in it some strokes of our Hunnius's character in his adversary's judgment: 'Repertus est anno deinceps 1595 turbulentus quidam Gracchus, qui pacem Ecclesiæ livido calamo inquietare paravit, ægre ferens, Evangelicorum Principum animos à tribunali Ecebolorum concionibus abhorre, unionemque ac concordiam Christianam ferio meditari: quam proinde non alia fabrica melius se dirumpere posse speravit, quam si immuni isto convicio gravaret Ecclesiæ Reformatas, criminatus eas Judaizare, ac CALVINUM primipilarem Ecclesiæ Reformatarum Doctorem, Judaicis glossis pleræque oracula Veteris Testamenti detemere. Accusatio hæc tametsi non communem causam Ecclesiæ Orthodoxarum tangeret, propriæque eam spectaret, cujus Episcopus fuisse Calvinus, tamen quia per illius latus cæteræ omnes in capita CHRISTO unitæ petebantur, propudiosis istis calumniis CLYPEUM Veritatis Catholicæ de sacrosancta Trinitate operuit, Ecclesiæque Orthodoxas, & CALVINUM Electum DEI organon fortissime asservit: adeoque in fumos dissipavit Judaica & Arianica illa cymbala (32). — In the year 1595, there appeared a seditious fellow, who prepared to disturb the peace of the church by his pen, taking it ill, that the Protestant princes highly disapproved of the tribunitial assemblies of the Ecebolians, and thought seriously of an union and agreement among Christians: the best way to prevent which, he thought, was to load the Reformed churches with the grievous accusation of judaizing, and to charge Calvin, the leading doctor of the Reformed churches, with adulterating many of the sacred oracles of the Old Testament by Jewish glosses. This accusation, tho' it did not affect the common cause of the orthodox churches, and particularly respected that of which Calvin was bishop, yet, so far as all the rest, united in CHRIST their head, were struck at thro' his sides, he opposed to these base calumnies the Clypeus Veritatis, &c. shield of Catholic truth concerning the Holy Trinity, and strenuously defended the orthodox churches, and Calvin, the chosen instrument of GOD; and thus he baffled the charge of 'Judaism and Arianism.' In reading this conclusion, would not one think that the controversy was intirely laid asleep by Pareus's answer? And yet it is not true. Hunnius replied; and so did his adversary. Huterus relates that in 1598 Hunnius published two books against Pareus, who had written for Calvin (33). Pareus returned to the charge, and wrote a book that he printed at Neustadt in 1599, in 8vo, intitled *Orthodoxus Calvinus oppositus Pseudo-Calvinus Judaizanti*. It was reprinted forty two years after at Geneva (34). This I learn from Mr Baillet, who thereby brings me into a new perplexity; for I infer from the preface of *Calvinus Orthodoxus* (35) that Pareus composed and published it in 1594. He says (36) that Calvin had been dead thirty years, and that this Apology should have come out at Francfort at the spring fair, if the authority of the superiors had not retarded the impression (37). He adds, they have changed their mind (38), and approved my publishing this book. This plainly shews that *Calvinus Orthodoxus* was printed in 1594, and yet the author tells us in the last pages that Samuel Huberus had been banished from Wittenberg, which, according to Melchior Adam, did not happen till the year 1595 (39).

[L] He accused Calvin of so many crimes in point of Heresy. Here is the summary of his *Calvinus Judaizans*, as Pareus gives it (40). 'In ipso libri titulo Calvinum ex Ariano Judæum, vel certe ex Arianizante Judaizantem facit, & amarissimè passim infestatur, quod

(27) Martinus Schoockius, Exercitat. Variar. pag. 52. Editio 4to.

(28) Baillet, article Ixxix, of the Anti.

(29) Here is the whole title: *Ægidii Hunnii Calvinus Judaizans, hoc est, Judaicæ glossæ & corruptelæ quibus Johannes Calvinus Illustriora Scripturæ Sacre loca, & testimonia de gloriosa Trinitate, Deitate Christi, & Spiritus Sancti, cum primis autem vaticinia Prophetarum de adventu Messiae, natiuitate ejus passionem, resurrectionem, ascensione ad celos & sessionem ad dexteram Dei detestandum in modum corrumpere non abhorruit.*

(30) Art. Ixvi, n. 1, of the Anti.

(31) In Jubilo Jubilorum, pag. 307.

(32) Philippus Pareus, in Vita Davidis Parei, pag. m. 51.

(33) Duobus libris D. Pareo respondi, qui Calvinus patrocinium susceperat. Apud Melchior Adam, pag. 729.

(34) Baillet, art. Ixvi, n. 1, of the Anti.

(35) It is the title of the book in the Geneva edition, 1641.

(36) Pref. pag. 4.

(37) Ib. pag. 14.

(38) Ib. pag. 15.

(39) In Vita Hunnii, pag. 729.

(40) Pareus, in Prefat. Calvinii Orthodoxi, p. 9.

that he might have feared to be treated as Servetus was, if he had lain at Hunnius's mercy.

There are some things in the remark, in which I mention the *Calvinus Judaizans*, which ought to be rectified [M].

quod mera ambitione, studio, perverso, ludo aleatorio, verutia veteratoria, temeritate defultoria, Scripturas sacras à sensu proprio ad peregrinum insectat, quod eisdem tetrìs corruptelis, glossis impiis, proditoriis elusionibus & plenìs Judaicæ perfidiæ nequitiaque strophis, ad suam & aliorum perniciem horribiliter alio detorqueat: quòd testimonia de Deo uno & trino stropharum suarum spinis intricet, quòd Scripturæ locis æternam Deitatem Christi confirmantibus caliginem Judaicam offundere non reformidet quòd illustrissima vaticinia Prophetarum de Messia Judaicis perversiõibus involvat, in fraudem Christianæ religionis adulteret, & ad perfidiam Judaicæ infidelitatis, Arianæque impietatis retundendam strophis nefariis hebetet, inutiliaque reddat: quod evangelistarum, Apostolorumque sacrosanctas explicaciones nequitur eludat: ipsos Apostolos sub ferulam censoriam revocet; flagellet: quod Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, veterum & recentium piis interpretaciones altissimè despiciat & irrideat, ipsosque sexagenarios de ponte præcipitet, &c. Passim etiam non acerbis modo sarcasms surdo illudit, sed & conviciatur virulentissimè, appellans acutum Diaboli instrumentum, Censorem, Aristarchum, Dictatorem Apostolo Paulo doctorem, *зүтөдсаяхтов* Scripturæ interpretem, Doctorem superciliosum, præstigiarium Judaicarum architectum, colubrum, angelum & Spiritum tenebrarum ex abyssi puteo emergentem, & quæ alia hujus generis infinita sunt maledicentiæ ejus emblemata, vel potius convicia, lectu sanè & auditu horrenda. — In the very title of the book, he makes Calvin from a *Arian* a Jew, or at least from an *Arianizer* a *Judaizer*, and every where bitterly inveighs against him, as one who, thro' meer ambition, a perverse bent, gamester-like, with wicked subtilty, and defultory rascals, wrest the sacred scriptures from their genuine sense to a foreign one; as one who, by base corruptions, impious glosses, treacherous elusions, and turnings full of Jewish perfidy and malice, terribly perverts their meaning to his own, and the destruction of others; as one, who perplexes the proofs of the one true God; as one, who is not afraid to throw Jewish darkness over the passages which confirm the Eternal Divinity of Christ; as one, who obscures by Jewish perversions the most illustrious prophecies concerning the Messiah, adulterates them to the prejudice of the Christian religion, and, to blunt the edge of Jewish infidelity, and Arian impiety, wickedly turns the force of them, and renders them useless; as one, who impiously eludes the sacred explanations of the Evangelists and Apostles, and censures the Apostles themselves; as one, who has a high contempt for, and laughs at the pious interpretations of the ecclesiastical writers, both ancient and modern, &c. He not only bitterly scolds at him every where, but even slanders him most virulently, calling him a sharp instrument of the devil, a censor, an Aristarchus, a dictator, more learned than the apostle Paul, a self-taught interpreter of scripture, a supercilious doctor, an architect of Jewish witchcrafts, a serpent, an angel and spirit of darkness emerging from the abyss of Hell, and a thousand other slanderous appellations, shocking both to hear and read. Note, that he declares, that if he does not give a demonstration of John Calvin's Judaism, he never desires to be believed upon any thing else (41). One cannot forbear asking this question: was he persuaded of what he said, or was he not? Christian charity obliges us to say he was; for otherwise we must take him for the most wicked man alive. Let us say then, that he spoke according to his persuasion, and conclude from thence, that in hot constitutions like his, zeal is a sort of drunkenness, which so disorders the mind, that a man sees every thing double, and the wrong way (42). The priests of Bacchus, who fell upon their own son, whom she took for a wild boar (43), whilst he looked on the ceremonies of the feast without any faith, or rather with contempt, is an image of the giddiness which seizes the zealots. Pareus ascribes all this outrage of Hunnius to the devil; it is the devil, says he (44), who employed Hunnius as a proper artist to write such calumnies. En vero tandem, Christi-

ane Lector, extremæ improbitatis Satanæ exemplum. Quasi enim hæcenus Nestorianismis, Arianismis, Turcismis, Paganismis, Atheismis, & id genus impurissimis sputis suis Ecclesias nostras parum conspurcarit: nuper easdem etiam JUDAISMI stercorebus petulantissimè conspergere est aggressus, confilato per idoneum artificem libello mendaci juxta & maledico, qui titulo CALVINI JUDAIZANTIS circumfetur. — Behold, Christian reader, an instance of the extreme malice of the devil. As though it were to be bad not sufficiently defiled our churches with Nestorianism, Arianism, Turcism, Paganism, Atheism, and the like; he has lately endeavoured to throw upon it Jewish filth, by the means of a lying and slanderous book, drawn up by an artist fit for the purpose, and banded about under the title of Calvin turn'd Jew. The design was, according to Pareus, to extirpate the Calvinists, that the Ubiquitarian doctors might be in great repute. Hinc Pseudo-Calvinus Judaizans cujus hoc est argumentum & scopus. Calvinus est Judaizans Arianizans: Ergo & Calvinistarum Ecclesiæ (quas vocant) sunt tales: ergo extirpandæ: ergo cessabunt Ubiquitatis facere negotium: ergo stabit Ubiquitas: ergo in pretio erunt Ubiquitarii Doctores. Hæc est Satanæ Dialectica (45). — Hence the False-Calvin turn'd Jew, of which this is the argument and scope. Calvin both Judaizes, and arianizes; therefore the churches of the Calvinists (as they are called) are such; therefore to be extirpated; therefore they will cease to disturb Ubiquity; therefore Ubiquity will maintain its ground; therefore the Ubiquitarian doctors will be esteem'd. This is the devil's Logic.

[M] There are some things in the remark [K], which ought to be rectified. The two passages in that remark, in which I supposed, that Lipenius is not mistaken in placing under the year 1594, the edition of Hunnius's Anti-Pareus, must be thrown out. At present I am of opinion, that Mr Baillet was not wrong in saying, that we ought to correct that date of Lipenius; for I have a copy of the Anti-Pareus, the title of which bears, that it was printed at Frankfurt, ex officina Paltheiana, in the year 1598. The title of the book, such as I have given it from Mr Baillet, is imperfect, and in such a manner as to render it obscure; but here it is entire: *Anti-Pareus: hoc est invita refutatio venenati scripti a D. Davide Pareo, Heidelbergensi Theologo, editi in defensionem strophorum & corruptelarum quibus Johannes Calvinus illustrissima Scripturæ testimonia de mysterio Trinitatis, necnon oracula Prophetarum de Christo, detestandum in modum corrupt. Scriptus per Agidium Hunnium.* Hunnius declares, that being sufficiently taken up with other matters, he should not have so much as cast an eye on Pareus's book, if the advice of his friends, and the vanity with which his silence inspired his enemies, had not determined him to reply (46). It is thus he excuses his not replying sooner. Now it being certain, that the book, which he refutes, is that which David Pareus intituled *Calvinus Orthodoxus*, it follows that this work of Pareus was not first published in 1599, and is not a Reply, as Mr Baillet thought it was. Let us now affirm, that it appeared either in 1594, or 1595.

Note, that Hunnius complains, that Pareus accuses him of having maintained, that John Calvin was an Arian. He declares that he had acknowledged the very reverse, and that he had only shewn, that the sense, which Calvin gives to several passages of the Bible, is favourable to the Arians. I am going to cite a distinction which he makes use of. I am of opinion, says he, that Calvin had no intention to favour Arianism or Calvinism, but the spirit (47), which suggested to him these false glosses, aimed at that end. Bæo autem, Calvinus ipse strophis suis non hoc sibi habuerit propositum, ut Judæorum Arianorumque causam proderet, sed tantum ut interpretationis novitate & insolentia sibi præ cæteris doctoribus, veteribus & recentioribus, samam nominis conciliaret: Tamen spiritus, qui has ei glossas & elusiones suggerebat, hunc sibi scopum præfixum habuit absque controversia, ut nimirum ambiguus & lubricis hisce strophis unum post alterum de Trinitate testimonium, aut de Messia ora-

(41) Hac lege disertè se adstrinxit (pag. 6.) ut nisi Calvinum Judaizantem ad oculum demonstret, nolit sibi ulla unquam in re posthac fidem adhiberi. Id. ib. pag. 16.

(42) Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus Et solem geminum & duplices se ostendere Thebæ. Virgil. Æneid. lib. iv, vers. 469.

(43) Ille aper in nostris erat qui maximus agri, Ille mihi ferendus aper. Ovidius, Metam. lib. iii, sub. fin.

(44) Pareus, in Pseus. pag. 3.

(46) Hunnius, in Prolegomenis ad Anti-Pareum.

(47) That is, the Devil.

(48) Huanus, in Prolegomenis ad Anti-Pareum, pag. 30. I mark the page, tho' the Prolegomena are not paged.

culum redderet incertum, atque sic hominum animos paulatim a petra certitudinis dejectos in dubitationem fluctus conjiceret (48). — Be it granted, that Calvin did not intend by his subtilties to favour the Jews or Arians, but only, by the novelty of his manner of interpreting, to raise his own character above that of other doctors, both ancient and modern: Yet the spirit, which suggested to him these glosses and elusions, had doubtless this design, namely, by these ambiguous and subtle distinctions, to weaken, one after another, the evidences for the Trinity, and render the prophecies concerning the Messiah uncertain, and thus to plunge the minds of men, cast down gradually from the rock of certainty, into a sea of doubts. Here is another passage, in which he says, that the devil discovers all his malice in Pareus's book. He expresses it very grossly. Cum igitur hoc Parei scriptum ita compositum sit, ut in eo Satanas non dicam Diabolicæ suæ malitiæ vestigia quædam ostendat, sed impurum

suum podicem (salva venia) denudatum lectoribus conspiciendum exhibeat, dubitavi, fateor, effecisse quicquam operæ impendendum tam flagitiosi scripti refutationi: donec vel tandem & inimicorum infulsis gloriationibus, & inprimis amicorum crebris admonitionibus excitatus, hunc quoque laborem, quamlibet molestum, ad vindicandam gloriam dei, & sacrosanctam veritatem ipsius, suscipiendum mihi & exantlandum esse duxi (49). — As therefore this work of Pareus is so drawn up, that Satan does not shew some footsteps only of his devilish malice, but (if I may say so) exposes his filthy buttocks to the reader's view, I was in some doubt, I own, whether so vile a piece deserved an answer: till at last, roused by the empty boastings of my adversaries, and especially by the repeated advice of my friends, I determined to undertake and go through with this toil, to vindicate the glory of God, and his sacred truth.

(40) Id. Ibid. pag. 3.

HUTTEN (ULRIC DE) a gentleman of Franconia, was born at Steckelberg (a) in the year 1488. He studied first at Fulde, then at Cologne, after that at Francfort upon the Oder, where he was admitted Master of Arts in 1506, in the first promotion that was made in that university newly erected. As he had a genius for Poetry, he began that way to set up for an author: it was in the year 1513 [A], when he published a work intitled, *Vir bonus*. The year following, prince Albert of Brandenburg making his first entry into Mentz, of which he was archbishop, occasioned his writing a second piece. Hutten made a large panegyric upon him in verse, in which he included ingeniously that of all Germany. He had a cousin named JOHN DE HUTTEN, who was marshal of the court to duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, and who was killed by this duke in the forest of Beblingen in the year 1515. Our poet waiting for an opportunity to express his resentment against this prince with sword in hand, published several pieces against him (b). He was then in Italy [B], where he had given many proofs of his courage [C], in the war that the emperor Maximilian maintained nine years in that country. At his return into Germany (c) he was so recommended to this emperor by Conrad Peutinger, that this prince gave him the poetical crown [D]. From that time Hutten caused himself to be painted, armed, with a crown of laurel on his head, and was infinitely pleased with that equipage. He went soon after to the court of the elector of Mentz, where he composed a dialogue, intituled *Aula*, in 1518. A little after he went to the diet of Augsburg with the elector his master, who received there a cardinal's cap. In that diet complaints were made against the duke of Wirtemberg; nor was the murder of the marshal of his court forgotten. These complaints produced no great effect; but at last this prince having seized the imperial town of Reutlingen in January 1519, a league was formed against him in Suabia, which did not lay down their arms, till he was driven out of all his dominions, which he did not enter again, till fifteen years after. Our Hutten bore arms in that war. Luther's cause appearing to him to be good, he warmly embraced it, and published Leo X's bull against Luther in

(a) It was the seat of the family, which subsists still, and makes a figure.

(b) See the list of them in the remark [B].

(c) In 1517.

[A] It was in the year 1513. He was therefore twenty five years old when he began to set up for an author: Moreri is mistaken then, and did not know how to copy Melchior Adam, when he says that Hutten at eighteen years of age published several works in verse.

[B] He was then in Italy. I have followed the chronology of my author Melchior Adam; but I ought to caution my readers, that I suspect it a little. I do not believe that all the pieces, that concern the death of John Hutten, were published before Ulric Hutten's return into Germany. I find in Gesner's Bibliotheca, that the collection of all these writings was printed in the castle of Steckelberg, in 1519 in 4to. It contained *Ulrichi Hutteni super interfectione propinqui sui Joannis Hutteni equitis à Wirtembergensi Duce Ulricho deploratio, heroicis versibus. Ad Ludovicum Huttenum super interfectione filii consolatoria Oratio. In eundem dialogus, cui titulus Phalarismus. Apologia pro Phalarismo, & aliquot ad amicos epistolæ. Ad Franciscum Galliarum regem epistola, ne causam Wirtembergensem tueatur exhortatoria. Inferuntur etiam epistolæ aliquot ad amicos.* I see moreover that Melchior Adam cites a speech of Ulric Hutten against the duke of Wirtemberg, which was not composed till 1519, that is, two years after the author's return from Italy into Germany: have I not reason then to question the exactness of Melchior Adam? What he quotes out of this speech, is too curious to be omitted. We learn from it, that John Hutten was digged up near the forest where he was killed, whilst the confederates

were at war with duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg. It was four years after the murder was committed, and yet the corps was not corrupted; it bled when it was touched, and the face was still to be known. Ulric Hutten draws from hence a proof of his cousin's innocence (1).

[C] . . . he had given many proofs of his courage. Those which he gave in the war, were doubtless inferior to that which he gave on a particular occasion. He went from Rome to Viterbo, at a time that an ambassador of France had made a stop in this last town. There happened a quarrel, in which Hutten, forsaken by his comrades, had five Frenchmen upon him at once, and put them all to flight, in spite of the wounds he had received. He made an epigram thereupon, in which he says, *quingue Gallos à se prostigatos*, which may be seen in Melchior Adam.

[D] The emperor Maximilian . . . gave him the poetical crown. He owned himself indebted for that honour to Peutinger's good offices, and expressed his acknowledgments of it in one of his books (2). He says also that that crown was made in Peutinger's house by his daughter Constantia, whose virtue and beauty he very much extols. *Illam ajo coronam, in Vita Juriscon.* illam lauream quam tuante domi tuæ, accurate con-textente & adornante filia tua Constantia, omnium quæ illic sunt puellarum & forma & moribus præstantissima, apparaveras. For a poet who loved the fair German, as sex, like Hutten, this was a subject for new words, and a great many thoughts; and it had been a great chance if the fair Constantia Peutinger had not been praised in many epigrams.

(1) Rem admittendum, & cuius prope nullius fides capax sit, videlicet. Quæ tum iam annuum defunctum corpus non consumtum, non putrescentum, totum adhuc faciem cognoscibilem: quin etiam sanguine commaduit attatum. En igitur innocentie testimonium! Deposuitum Ellipse, inde ad patrum senilium delectum. Hutten, in Orat. contra Melchior. Adam. in Vita Juriscon. pag. 27.

(2) Præfatione ad Principes German. ut Bellum Turcicum inferret, apud Melchior. Adam. in Vita Juriscon. pag. 15.

[E] He

(d) They are in the second Tome of the Works of Luther, pag. 53, & seq.

(e) That Letter is in the second Tome of the Works of Luther, Edit. Witt. pag. 302.

(3) Act. & Script. Lutheri, ad ann. 1519.

(4) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Jurisconsult. pag. 39.

(5) Dated from Basil the twenty first of January, 1523, lib. iv. Epist. pag. 968, apud Melchior. Adam. pag. 21.

(6) That Letter is the eighth of the ninth book, pag. 949.

(7) It is very likely he means the pox by scabies.

in 1520, with interlineary and marginal glosses (d), in which he turned the Pope into ridicule. The liberty wherewith he wrote against the disorders of the court of Rome [E], extremely provoked Leo, and induced him to command the elector of Mentz to send him to Rome bound hand and foot. Hutten retired from that court [F], and went into the Low-Countries to that of Charles V; but he staid not long there, having notice that his life was in danger. There is some probability, that he retired then into the fortrefs of Ebernburg; for there he wrote in 1520 his complaint to the emperor, to the electors of Mentz and Saxony, and all the states of Germany, against the attempts that were made upon him by the Pope's emissaries. It was from the same place he wrote to Luther, in May 1521 (e), and sent out several pieces in favour of the reformation. It is not well known, when he left this castle; but it is certain, that in the month of January 1523, he was gone from Basil [G], where he thought to find a safe retreat; but he found himself exposed to great dangers there. Erasmus having excused himself from receiving his visit, for fear of heightening the suspicions that were raised against him, and for fear of something else, which he afterwards confessed [H], found himself attacked soon after by a passionate piece of Ulric Hutten. He answered it [I]. Hutten had doubtless replied, had he lived long enough; but he died in an island in the lake of Zurich the twenty ninth of August 1523 [K]. He was a little man of

[E] He wrote against the disorders of the court of Rome. Amongst other works, he published an historical tract in High-Dutch upon the continual disobedience of the Popes to the emperors. At the end of it we find that Maximilian I, who had been deceived by Leo X, used these words. 'This Pope has already basely cheated me, and I can truly say, that no Pope since I have been in the world has been a man of his word; but with the grace of God I hope that this will be the last.' Cochleus (3) says, that before Luther had been spoken of, Ulric Hutten had published many things against the vexations, which Germany suffered from the Popes, and that in 1519, he made a little treatise called *Trias Romana*, of a very ingenious invention, which rendered the court of Rome extremely odious.

[F] Hutten retired from the court of the elector of Mentz. I do not find in his life that the elector of Mentz ever caused him to be arrested, as Moreri affirms; but only that he banished him from his court, *exclusus itaque aula & urbe Moguntina* (4), and that he forbade all people to sell and read his books under pain of excommunication.

[G] In the month of January 1523, he was gone from Basil. This appears from these words of a letter of Oecolampadius (5): 'Sunt hic ex sacerdotibus & theologis qui de me pessime loqui cupiant, nec desunt ubi clam conveniunt. Tantum machinati ut Hutteno non fuerit diutius tutum hic agere, unde & nudius tertius hinc discessit, quorsum autem nescio. — There are here some of the ministers and divines who may desire to have me ill spoken of, and who sail not to do so when they meet privately. Such were their contrivances, that it was not safe for Hutten to stay here any longer, on which account he went from hence three days ago, but whether I know not.'

[H] Erasmus refused . . . his visit for fear . . . of something else, which he afterwards confessed. Writing to Melancthon in September 1524 (6), he tells him that he would willingly have received his visit without caring much what people should say of it; and that the reason of his refusing Hutten's visit, was not so much for fear of rendering himself odious, as on another account, which was that he would have found himself obliged to lodge in his house that boaster a bounding with poverty and itch, who sought only a nest to abide in, and who borrowed of every body he met with. So that the interest of his purse had more force upon Erasmus on that occasion than that of fame.

Quod Hutteni colloquium deprecabar non invidiæ metus tantum in causa fuit: erat aliud quiddam quod tamen in *Spongia* non attigi. Ille egens & omnibus rebus destitutus querebat nidum aliquem ubi moraretur. Erat mihi gloriosus ille miles cum sua scabie (7) in ædes recipiendus, simulque recipiendus ille chorus titulo *Evangelicorum*, sed titulo duntaxat. Sletstadii multavit omnes amicos suos aliqua pecunia. A Zuinglio improbe petiit, quod ipse Zuinglius mihi suis literis perscripsit. Jam amarulentiam & glorias hominis nemo quamvis patiens ferre poterat. — That I shunned an interview with Hutten, my regard to my reputation was not the only cause, there was indeed another which I have not touched upon in

my *Sponge*; he being poor and destitute of all things, sought only a nest where he might remain, this boasting soldier with his scabs, was to be received into my house, and received under the name of one of the Evangelists, though but in name only. He borrowed of all his friends at Sletstadt what he could, he saucily importuned Zuinglius, as Zuinglius himself wrote me word. Since then the bitterness and vain glory of this man could not be born well by a person of the greatest patience. You see then that our Hutten did not put Erasmus in any fear on account of his being a good Lutheran, but considering him as a slippery officer, who would take up his winter quarters with him. There is no doubt but his visits that were attended with borrowing of money, proved ungrateful to many, who were professed Protestants.

[I] Erasmus answered it. This answer is inscribed to Zuinglius, and intitled *Spongia Erasmi adversus aspergines Hutteni*. Erasmus there sincerely confesses, that he requested Hutten not to come to see him, unless some important reason obliged him to it; but he shews that his request was so softened, and that afterwards he made so many proposals to that friend, that any reasonable man would have been satisfied with them. The worst is, he writ to Mark Laurinus, dean of Bruges, that if Hutten had come to see him, he would not have refused to discourse with him (8). He adds, that the reason which hindered them from seeing one another, was, that Hutten could not be without a stove, and that Erasmus could not endure one. By this instance we see, how liable the most honest men are not to say always in their letters things as they know them. Hutten was desperately enraged against Erasmus, and heaped up many disabbling reproaches. Erasmus justified himself the best he could. After Hutten's death, a Physician named Otho Brunfels, replied to Erasmus for him.

[K] He died in an island in the lake of Zurich. He was also buried there, and after some years a gentleman of Franconia got this distich engraved on his sepulchre.

Hic eques auratus jacet, oratorque disertus
Huttenus, vates carmine & ense potens (9).

A knight, an orator renown'd,
Here earth doth room afford,
Hutten, for various conquests crown'd
Gain'd by his wit and sword.

The worst of all is, that he died of the pox. If Varillas was the first that had said it (10), I should not be concerned for it: but I find this particular in Gerner's Bibliothecæ: and who after this can chide but deplore the extravagance of man? Hutten running from place to place for religion, Hutten persecuted for his great zeal, carries the pox with him wherever he goes, and dies of it at last. What a disagreeing medley is this! He published a book in Latin in 1519, concerning the wood Guaiacum, and the venereal disease. At that time, he could treat of it like a master, for in all appearance, he had not got that distemper since his abjuration of Popery. For the rest, Mr Varillas reckons

(8) Fuit hic Huttenus paucorum dierum hospes interim nec ille me adit, nec ego illum; & tamen si me convenisset non repulsem hominem à colloquio. Erasmi. Epist. vii. lib. xiii.

(9) Gerner. in Biblioth. folio 342.

(10) Hist. de l'Hérésie, liv. ii.

(f) Taken from
his Life in Melch.
Adam, in Vitis
Jurisconsultor.
Germaniæ, pag.
13, & seq.

(g) See the fourth volume of *Observationum Selectarum ad Rem Litterariam Spectantium*, printed at Hall, 1701, pag. 169, 170.

(b) *Ulr. Hutten.*
in *Phalarismo*,
fol. A iii.

ting humour. ' Ut virum magni facere & admirari propter doctrinæ eruditionem & præstantiam ingenii, sic ab illius natura vehementem & excello animo, & voluntate ad novas res propensa . . . nonnihil timere Philippum Melancthonem licuit animadvertere.' Camerarius (15) who tells us this, adds, that Ulric Hutten was very passionate, and that by his look and discourse one might discover the inclination he had to cruelty. He applies to him what was said of Demosthenes; for he says that Hutten would have overturned all Europe, if his strength could have seconded his designs and enterprizes. Judge of his humour by this specimen. Having heard that the Carthusians had made use of his printed picture in the house of office, he fined them two thousand pistoles (16). This was to make them pay dear for the little consideration they had for the laurel that crowned that image. Mr Varillas (17) says, that Luther caused it to be placed in the front of his books. I have elsewhere (18) mentioned how Ulric Hutten threatened the nuncio, and so I can easily believe that he wrote to the elector of Mentz, *If you burn my books, I will burn your towns* (10).

[M] *He is thought to be the author of many libels.* (2) (2) Ac
Of these amongst others; *Dialogus Philalestis civis U-* Ju
topienfis. Oratio ad Cbristum pro Julio secundo Ligur- Ju
pentifice (20). *Bullidica* (21). *Prædones: Momus: Ca-* Ge
ralus: Pictatus & superstitionis pugna: Conciliabulum
Theologistarum adversus bonarum literarum studio-
rum perniciem. Vadij & Pasquilli de depreato Ecclē- (22) Bib
sie statu. Huttenus captivus, Huttenus illustris, au- tak
thore S. Aylardi Corallo Germano (22). A burlesque epi-
gramme, intitled Nemo, was fathered upon Erasmus, (23) (23) h
but it was Hutten that made it (23): he declared he (23) (23) mar
was the author of it, and was angry that he should be (23) (23) Ac
robbed of it. Some affirm that he is the author of the *Epistola* (24) (24) pag.
Epistola Obscurorum Virorum (24). That fiction (24) (24) (F)
would be more tolerable than another that is imputed (24) (24) (F)
to him: it is STRENGTHED that he forged the letter which (24) (24) ricle
he published in the name of the universities of Paris, Ox-
ford, and Prague (25). If he had lived thirty five
years longer (26), with what a deluge of books and
libels, would not he have overflowed Europe? (26) (26) (26) Lib
(25) (25) Eccle
(26) (26) pag.

(26) Melchior Adam and More-
ri, place his
birth in the year
1488, and his
death in the year
1523, and yet
they say, that he
lived thirty six
years.

ne Dominice contra Jesuitas. See also *Refutatio*
duorum Librorum Rob. Bellarmini de Missa: Triump-
phus de regno Pontificis: Ilias malorum regni Pon-
tificis-Romani, seu Historica Differatio de injussumo
Pontificis Romani in Ecclesia Dei dominatu: Abbe in
Jacobum Gregorium de Imperatorum, Regum, ac Prin-
cipum Christianorum in sedem Apostolicam Romanam in-
vencientia per Nicolaum Clemens (4). I omit the ti-
tles of many other books both in High-Dutch and
Latin. His *Calvinista Adulco-Politicus*, which was
printed at Wittemberg in the year 1615, shall be ci-
ted in the following remark.

[B] *What he said of the martyrs of the Geneva confession*] The elector of Brandenburg had alledged amongst other things, in his edict of toleration, the vexations and punishments which the Calvinists had undergone

1) Taken from
izelius, in
mplo Honoris
rato, pag. 37

(b) Taken from
Spizelius, in
Templo Honoris
referato, pag. 32,
& seq.

be confessed that he ran into extreams. That humour of his exposed him to several vexatious disputes, in which he was forced to bear the strokes of slander [C]. He died in the year 1616. He must not be confounded with him that published a Polyglot Bible [D].

undergone from the common enemy; but our Hutterus said against it, that the Arians, the Anabaptists, and the Anti-Trinitarians, might make use of the same argument to obtain a toleration. He maintained, that the Calvinists had not suffered death for believing that the blood of JESUS CHRIST would save them, but for refusing to obey the Pope, whom they called Antichrist. *Scripterat quondam in Edicto Serenissimus Elektor Brandenburgicus, non excludendos esse à Christiana communione Reformatos, qui idem sentiunt in fundamento fidei, in Evangelio cum Lutheranis laborant, certant, luctantur, eoque nomine à communi hoste innumeros cruciatus sustinuerunt, sustinentque, quique etiam sanguinem pro confessione illa largissime profuderunt. Cornua illi obvertere aulus Hutterus in Aulico-Politico cap. 2. pag. 176. &c. ubi regerit, à Papiſtis etiam Anabaptistas, Arianos, Antitrinitarios, alioſque supplicio affectos esse: causam supplicii nostrorum non fuisse, quòd crediderint, se per Christum servatum iri, sed quòd Romanum Pontificem non agnoverint Pastorem universalem sed Antichristum, ejusque jugum detrectaverint ferre (5).* The Swisſs divine, who supplies me with this passage, judiciously observes, that this method of disparaging the martyrdom of the Calvinists might equally be employed against the Lutheran martyrs. This he says, after having observed that a divine of Strasburg makes use of the same cavil as Hutterus. 'Gemella his effutivit Dannenhawerus, Argentinenſis Theologus, *Colleg. Decalog. p. 394.* ubi Reformatorum Martyrium *larvatum* vocare, & cum Judæorum, Ethnicorum, Arianorum sub Athalaricho Gothorum Principe religionis causa occisorum Martyrio comparare non erubuit. Certè *μὴ θεοεία* talis etiam Lutheranæ Ecclesiæ Martyrii veri palmas laudemque præcideret (6). — *To this purpose, Dannenhawerus, a divine of Strasburg, published two pieces, wherein he does not blush, to call the martyrdom of the Reformed Masked, and to compare it with the martyrdom of the Jews, Heathens, Arians, put to death under Athalaricus, prince of the Goths, on account of religion; certainly such a fraudulent construction would also cut off from the Lutheran church, the honour and praise of true martyrdom.* Can we sufficiently admire the effects of prepossession? Is it not a deplorable thing, that a Popish missionary can object to the Protestants, that the martyrdom of their brethren is looked upon as a false martyrdom by some Lutheran doctors. See one of the remarks (7) of the article WESTPHALUS (JOACHIM). Note, that Pappus calls those slanderers, who accuse the Lutherans of looking upon the Calvinist martyrs as the martyrs of the devil (8).

[C] *His humour exposed him to several disputes, where he was forced to bear the strokes of slander.* He is compared in his elogy, to the prophets and apostles, who were persecuted for the truth; and it is affirmed that he answered calumny only with silence and contempt. I will not dispute about these matters, being not sufficiently acquainted with them; but I will say in general, that there are some doctors so passionate, so morose, and violent, that they get enemies, not because they maintain orthodoxy, but by reason of their rude way of maintaining it. Their adversaries take their revenge by personal reproaches, and publish the most vexatious truths of them, and convict them of many scandalous things; and they know not how to justify themselves. What must they do then? Why, they value themselves extremely for their patience; they compare themselves to the prophets and apostles, and to JESUS CHRIST himself. 'Being persecuted, say they, like them for the truth, we open not our mouth, when the enemies of the truth abuse us.' Moliere should have inserted this in some scene of his Tartuffe, for it must be well observed, that these gentlemen are never silent, when they have scandals to publish against their neighbour, or when they can alledge any thing plausible for their justification. Be it how it will, our Hutterus's panegyrist crowns him with this fine elogy. 'Sicuti verò summis quibusque Viris non omnia omnino ex animi fluxere sententia, sed cruces, calumniae & persecutiones variæ illos exercuerunt, ita Hutterus certissimo hoc fideliū Dei Servorum characterē nequitiam caruit, quippe quo ab omnipotente Deo, Prophetæ, Apostoli, & sinceri Ecclesiæ Doctores olim sunt signati . . . Idem proſus nostro fatum; quod æquo & patienti pertulit animo, magisque de abstergendis calumniis, suis antecessoribus impatiens, quam famæ & existimationis propriæ vindicatione fuit sollicitus, haud ignorans, omnes injurias oblivione melius, quam commemoratione sanari, & inimicorum calumnias contemptu potius quam lingua esse vindicandas (9). — But as all things have not altogether succeeded according to the wish of every great man, but crosses, calumnies, and various persecutions have exercised them; so Hutterus did in no wise want this most certain mark of the faithful servants of GOD, as being that with which the prophets, apostles, and true doctors of the church were of old, sealed by Almighty GOD . . . The same was wholly the fate of ours; which he bore with an equal and patient mind, and was more sollicitous to wipe out the reproaches levelled at his predecessors; than to vindicate his own fame and reputation, knowing that all injuries are better cured by oblivion than remembrance, and that the calumnies of foes are to be repented with contempt, rather than the tongue.'

[D] He must not be confounded with him that published a Polyglot Bible. His name was ELIAS HUTTERUS. He first published a Bible in four languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and High Dutch, at Hamburg, in the year 1597. Afterwards he added to it the Italian, French, Sciavonian, and Saxon. His New-Testament was printed in the year 1600, in twelve languages, which are the Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Danish, and Polish. He reduced them to four in the edition of the year 1603, namely, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German. This Polyglot Bible is very scarce. There is a collection of letters, containing the judgment of learned men about this work (10).

[A] *His family is very antient, and has produced many very considerable persons.* He descended from CORNELIUS DE HUYBERT, and Joan de Haemſtede. The family of Haemſtede, is descended from Witte de Haemſtede, natural son to Floris earl of Holland and Zealand, lord of Friesland, &c. and from a daughter of the lord Heudeſ, a very considerable house at that time. That lady had too much complaisance for count Floris, but it was under the promise of marriage. JACOB and HERMAN de HUYBERT, sons of Cornelius, commanded the fleet, that carried the archduke Philip and his wife

into Spain in the year 1506. These two august persons were on board these two brothers: the fleet, which was very numerous, met with a dreadful tempest in the channel; several ships were lost in fight of the archduke, and yet by reason of some difference betwixt him and the king of England, he would not consent to put into any English port. But when the two brothers HUYBERT represented to him the extrem danger they were in, and that it was absolutely necessary to make into Weymouth haven, he and his queen submitted to their advice and good conduct. Then it was that he gave them this motto WAECKT

HUYBERT (PETER DE) lord of Burgh, Crayefstein, &c. made himself famous by the great services he did the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and particularly to the province of Zealand. His family is very antient, and has produced many very considerable persons [A]. He was born at Middleburg the first of August

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(5) Heideggerus, Differtat. Select. Tom. II, pag. 352.

(6) Heideggerus, ibid.

(7) The remark [H].

(8) Nullo modo eos habemus pro martyribus Diaboli quemadmodum accusamus. Joh. Pappus, Epit. Histor. Eccles. pag. m. 49.

(9) Spicellus, ubi supra, pag. 35.

(10) Taken from Hortengier, Bibliotheca quadrupartita, lib. i, cap. 34, pag. 141, 142.

August 1622, and was elected counsellor of that town the twenty fourth of March 1646.

He gave such proofs of his capacity, that the province of Zeeland deputed him to the assembly of the States-General, and then to the first conferences (a) that were held between the deputies of the king of Spain, and those of the United Provinces, after a long and bloody war of eighty years, and gloriously terminated at Munster the thirtieth of January 1648. He was sent in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the king of Sweden, the king of Poland, and the elector of Brandenburg, during the famous war in which the Swedes invaded Poland, and made so many conquests upon the king of Denmark, that they forced him to give up to them three fine provinces on the other side of the Sound. In March 1659, he was chosen secretary of state for the province of Zeeland, and in May the same year was named plenipotentiary for the treaty of peace, which was concluded between Sweden and Denmark (b), by the mediation of France, England, and the United Provinces in 1660. The ability and fidelity that he shewed in those illustrious employments, gave such satisfaction, that, in March 1664, he was raised to the dignity of great pensionary of Zeeland. The instructions of that post import, amongst other things, that they shall maintain, on all occasions, and at all times, the rights and pre-eminences of the state, and the laws and privileges of the province, against all those that should attempt to violate them: whereby this becomes a very delicate as well as laborious employment. Nevertheless he discharged the duties of it twenty three years and an half with a general applause, and to the great satisfaction of his masters, who deputed him, the twenty seventh of September 1687, to the great council of state, expressed, in his commission, *that they were very well satisfied with his long and faithful services, of which they should ever preserve a grateful remembrance.* We must not forget that he was created plenipotentiary of the United Provinces in the year 1667, for the treaty of Breda (c). He died at the Hague the seventh of January 1697. He was always observed to have an unshaken zeal for the religion established by the laws of the state. He was its defender on all occasions, and could never suffer any alteration to be made in it, either in the doctrine or discipline (d). I shall speak of his three sons in the remarks [B]. His sons buried him in a chapel of the church of Burgh in Zeeland, and caused an epitaph to be engraved on his tomb (e), which may be seen below [C].

(a) The conferences held at Muenster, in 1652, and 1653.

(b) The king of Sweden had begun a new war, and conquered all Denmark except Copenhagen.

(c) That treaty, which was made by the mediation of Sweden, put an end to the war between Charles II, king of England, and the United Provinces.

(d) Taken from a Memoir communicated to the Bookeller.

(e) He himself caused this tomb to be made, and besides his large contributions towards the repairing of the church wherein he is buried, he directed the building of it, which passes for a good piece of architecture.

WAECKT HUYBERTS. That is to say, WATCH HUYBERTS. The emperor Maximilian, and the archduke Charles, to express their great satisfaction for the services they had done to the king of Castile, their son and father, on the thirteenth of March 1513, honoured the three brothers JOHN, Jacob, and Herman DE HUYBERT, and their posterity with the privilege of wearing a sword, permitting to each of them to have three domestics that should wear it likewise: which was a very great honour at that time. John and Herman were sent, the nineteenth of December 1512, to Henry VIII, king of England, by Margaret, archduchess of Austria, then governess of the Low-Countries: It was about some negotiations, which she was pleased to trust them with. The emperor Charles V being in the town of Ziriczee, lodged in the house of LIVIN JACOBSEN DE HUYBERT, who was overseer of the Dikes. The three brothers settled in the same town, and built each of them a house, which are still the largest and most considerable buildings of Ziriczee (1).

Juan Christoval Calvete de Estrella makes honourable mention of this family: *y no poco nombrados, says he*

(2), *eran los Huybertos de Cirixea por su valor y riqueza, that is, The Huyberts were very famous for their valour and their riches.*

The author of the supplement to the chronicle of the abbot of Ursperg mentions him who conducted the archduke Philip into Spain: the name he gives him does not agree with the memoir which I have quoted: however, here is what he says. 'Carolus Quintus rediit in Hispanias, Johannes Cornelius nauta navigatione decem dierum ab Anglico littore vehit. Hic nauta regem Philippum illustrissimi Augusti patrem, ultima navigatione in summa tempestate in Hispanias vexerat, & reginam Danorum una cum principe Ultrajectino in Daniam vexerat. Vir dives & peritissimus rei nauticae (3). — Charles V returned

by sea to Spain. John Cornelius, a sailor, conducted him thither in ten days from the English coast. He had formerly carried king Philip, the emperor's father, to Spain, in a great storm, and had likewise before had the honour of conducting the queen of Denmark, together with the prince of Virecht, into Denmark. He was a very rich man, and eminent for his skill in navigation.'

[B] I will speak of his three sons. The eldest is ANTHONY DU HUYBERT, lord of Cruyningen, counsellor in the sovereign court of justice. The second is JOHN DU HUYBERT, lord of Nootgawe. He took to arms, in which his good

conduct and valour advanced him to the post of lieutenant-general of horse (4). The third has been counsellor in the council of Flanders, and at present is one of the directors of the East-India Company (5).

[C] His sons . . . caused an epitaph to be engraved on his tomb, which may be seen below. It contains, in very noble expressions, an abstract of his life and the character of his soul.

(4) His Britannic majesty raised him to that post after the peace of Ratis.

(5) Taken from the above-mentioned Memoir.

D. M.

Vir. Nobiliss. & Amplissim.

PETRI DE HUYBERT.

DOMINI DE BURG. ET CRAYSTEIN.

antiqua. & multis. imaginibus. clara. familia.

Zeelandica. oriundi.

Natus. est. Middleburgi. propter. ingenii. praestantiam. oris. facundiam. & industriam. singularem. invigilanti. bono. publico. in. senatum. illius. urbis. cum. vix. adolevisset. est. cooptatus. omnium. expectationi. cum. satisfecisset. post. pacem. Monasteriensem. ad. conventum. Mechlinensem. controversiis. non. decisis. inter. Hispanos. & Batavos. componendis. dein. ad. Reges. Sueciae. Poloniae. Daniae. & Elect. Brandeb. missus. fuit. publice. gravissimis. de. rebus. iisque. confectis. ex. sententia. Reip. redux. a. Praepot. Ord. Zeeland. perspecta. ejus. fide. & prudentia. delectus. fuit. ut. iis. esset. a. secretis. post. advocatus. perpetuus. Reip. Zeeland. est. factus. summo. omnium. consensu. dehinc. ab. Unitis. Belgis. Abligatus. fuit. ad. Pacificationem. Bredanam. tandem. ne. tantae. prudentiae. fructum. soli. caperent. Zeelandi. passim. sunt. eum. adscribi. Consilio. communi. ord. Societorum. septem. populorum. ut. omnium. utilitatibus. serviret. ad. has. dignitates. illum. evehit. non. ambitio. populi. & potentium. sed. testata. cunctis. incredibilis. vigilantia. in. obsequiis. stationis. suae. munitis. summa. consilii. praesentia. in. celeriter. inveniendis. quae. tempora. Reip. exigebant. mira. dexteritas. in. efficiendis. quae. in. rem. sapienter. consulatur. singularis. sagacitas. in. arduis. & impeditissimis. negotiis. explicandis. & ingens. robur. animi. in. iis. libere. oppugnandis. qui. rectae. sententiae. de. Rep. ejus. saepe. auctor. fuit. adversabantur. portas. nec. fecit. nec. fovit. in. omni. varietate. rerum. & Reip. vicissitudinibus. statum. & dignitatem. suam. tenuit. illibatam. satur. vitae. delectus. bonis. omnibus. & valde. desideratus. O. D. VII. Janvar. An. Ch. CIO. IIO. XCVII. Aetat. LXXV. mortuissimi. liberi. P. C.

T O

(1) Taken from a Memoir imparted to the Bookeller.

(2) In the description of the journey of Don Philip, prince of Spain, through the Netherlands, in the year 1548, printed at Antwerp, 1552, in fol. pag. 263.

(3) Paralipomena ad Abbat. Urspergen. apud Anton. Matthaeum. Veter. avi Analect. pag. 249.

HUYBERT.

TO
The memory of
PETER DE HUYBERT,
Lord of Burg and Craystein.
Of an ancient and noble family
in Zealand.

He was born at Middleburg, and admitted, while very young, into the senate of that city, on account of his great genius, eloquence, and singular attention to the good of the public. After he had satisfied the expectations of all men in that station, he, after the peace of Munster, was sent to the congress at Mechelen, in order to settle all controversies remaining betwixt the Spaniards and Dutch. He was afterwards sent in the quality of ambassador, to the kings of Sweden, Poland, Denmark, and to the Elector of Brandenburg, to treat of matters of the highest importance; and after happily terminating all that, he was, on his return, in consideration of his eminent fidelity and prudence, chosen secretary by the states of Zealand, and afterwards, with universal approbation, perpetual Pensionary. Some time after

he was sent by the States-General, in quality of ambassador, to the treaty of Breda; and last of all, that the Zealanders alone might not enjoy the fruits of his wisdom, he was allowed by them to accept of a place in the council of state of the United Provinces, that he might there be a common good to the whole common-wealth. To all these high honours he was advanced, not by courting the favour either of the people, or of the nobles, but by his universally known and admirable vigilance, in performing the duties of his charge, his great presence of mind in contriving the most proper expedients in all exigencies of the state, and singular dexterity in executing what he had so wisely counselled. His great sagacity in unravelling the most arduous and perplexed affairs, and great strength of mind in opposing those who were enemies to such resolutions as were entered into for the public good, of which he was frequently the author. He neither formed nor encouraged parties; and in all vicissitudes of affairs and changes in the state, he preserved his state and dignity unblemished. Being bewailed by all good men, he died VII January, An. Cb. CIO. IOC. XCVII. in the LXXV year of his age, his sorrowful children erected this monument.



JACCETIUS.

I.

JACCETIUS (FRANCIS CATANEUS) was born at Florence on the sixteenth day of November, 1466. He was the disciple of Marfilus Ficinus, and he made so great proficiency by the lessons of this learned master, that he became one of the best Platonists of his time, and an excellent orator. He succeeded the same Ficinus in his professorship of Philosophy, who judged him excellently well qualified for it, even so far, as to believe, that nature had produced him for that purpose. He published several books [A], and died at Florence in the year 1522. He was buried in the church of the Holy Cross, in the tomb of his ancestors, and he left thirteen sons [B]. Benedetto Varchi made his funeral oration: his life was most elegantly written by Euphrasynus Lapinus (a). His true Italian name *Diaceto*, has received a thousand alterations from the writers who speak of him or of his posterity [C]. There is another FRANCIS CATANEUS JACCETIUS, who is an author [D]; but I think he is known only by the name of *Diacetius*, or *Diacetius*. I believe the count de Châteauneuil, who married one of Catherine de Medicis's maids of honour, was descended from our Francis Jaccetius [E]. That maid was call'd Madam d' Atri, and has been both well and ill spoken of (b).

[A] He published several books.] These are the titles of some of them: *De pulchro libri tres. De amore libri tres. Paraphrasis in Politicum, & Theagenem Platonis, & in Aristotelem de celo & meteoris. Enarratio in Platonis symposium. Oratio in funere Laurentii Medices. Epistole variae, &c.* An edition of his works in Folio, was printed at Basil, in the year 1563. Mention is made of it in Gesner's Bibliotheca, under *Franciscus Cataneus Jaccetius*. The catalogue of Oxford and König speak of it only under the word *Cataneus*. Ghilini calls this author only *Francisco Cataneo* (1). He has very well paraphrased what Pocciantius said of him, and adds nothing besides.

[B] He left thirteen sons.] I make no doubt one of them was the person I speak of in the article of MACHIAVEL (2) and whose miserable end has been described by Pierius Valerianus in this manner: *• Jacobus Jaccetus juvenis & Græcæ & Latine egregie peritus, pangendi carminis auctor non illepidus • Florentinam cathedram obtinebat; sed infelici suo • fidere conjurationis in Julii Cardinalis Medices cædem certo die patrandam conscius fuit; qua patresfacta, captus ipse, & tam nefandis scelus convictus • Senatus Florentini judicio securi percussus est (3).*

James Jaccetus, a youth perfectly well • skilled both in Greek and Latin, a graceful author • in composing verses, was promoted to a professorship • at Florence, but, by the malice of his stars, was an accomplice in a conspiracy to compass the murder of • Julius Cardinal Medici, upon a certain day; which coming to light, being apprehended and convicted • so horrid a wickedness, he was, by judgment of the • senate of Florence, beheaded. Paul Jovius, who gives him no other title but that of a poet (4), is to be censured. I fancy that Brother Angelus de Cataneis Diacetus (5), who after he had gone through all the dignities of the Dominican order, was made bishop of Fiesoli, in the year 1566, was one of the thirteen sons of our Jaccetius. He died the fifth of May, 1574, being eighty one years old (6). He is called in his epitaph (7) *Angelus Cataneus Diacetus*.

[C] His true name *Diaceto*, has been very much altered by the writers that speak of him or his posterity.] See the remark [C] of the article MACHIAVEL, and note, that the reason why I make *Diaceto* his true name, is because I have found this

word in the subscription of a letter (8), which our Jaccetius's grandson wrote to Varchi the ninth of September, 1561, upon sending him two copies of a book of his grandfather (9). He had received four from Venice. The edition pleased him as to the character, but he found it uncorrect. Michael Pocciantius has not been altogether exact, having written that name *Franciscus Cataneus Diacetus* (10). Note, that the author of the notes upon the book, intitled, *La Confession de Sancti*, informs me (11), that *Carolus Zensobii de Ghiaceto unus ex Decemviris Balia Florentina civitatis*, signified in that quality with *fr.* . . . of Cosmo de Medicis, in a contract made at Florence, in 1453, which he saw amongst the archives of Lorraine. This shews, that the ancient name of this family was not *Diaceto*. It is very probable that *Diaceto* was made by joining the article and the name together. I have spoken in another place (12) of the life of one Paul Ghiacetti.

[D] There is another FRANCIS CATANEUS JACCETIUS, who is an author.] Michael Pocciantius calls him *Franciscus Cataneus Diacetus*, and says, that he was canon of the cathedral of Florence apostolical protonotary, doctor of the civil law, and bishop of Fiesoli, and that amongst other works, he composed in Italian, the life of Jesus Christ, that of the Holy Virgin, and of St Dominic, and of some bishops of Fiesoli, several sermons, and the epistles and gospels for all the year (13). Ughelli calls him *Franciscus Cataneus Diacetus*, and says, that he was the successor of Angelus de Cataneis Diacetus his uncle, in the bishopric of Fiesoli, in the year 1570; that he sat amongst the fathers of the council of Trent; that he wrote some tracts *De auctoritate Papæ & Concilii, de superstitione artis magicæ, &c.* that he discharged all the duties of a good prelate, and died the fourth of November 1595 (14).

[E] The count de Châteauneuil . . . descended from our Francis Jaccetius.] Mezerai, speaking of the exploits of the king's troops against the League, observes, that Sanci made himself master of Châteauneuil in Champagne, in the year 1589, at the sollicitation of the lord of the place. It was, adds he (15), a Florentine, named Lewis Dijaceti, who, as many others of his nation, had got vast wealth by farming the imposts and customs of the king.

JANSENIUS (CORNELIUS) bishop of Ipres, was one of the most learned divines of the XVIIth century. He was born near Leerdam [A] in Holland, in 1585.

He

[A] He was born near Leerdam.] In a village called Accoy, as Mr Leydecker observes. Fallant, says he VOL. III. No LXXV.

(1) operis posthumi editores quando referunt eum na- (1) Leydecker, tum esse Leerdami medico Bataviæ oppidulo, sed tan- de Vita & Morti, de Vita & Morti, Janicini, pag. 29
6 Y

(1) Ghilini, Teatro, Tom. II, pag. 28.

(2) In the remark [C].

(3) Pierius Valerianus, de Litteratorum infelicitate, lib. II, pag. 77.

(4) See the article MACHIAVEL, remark [C].

(5) So he is called in the third volume of the Italia Sacra of Ughelli, pag. 340.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Ughelli, ibid. bas it.

(a) Ex Michael. Pocciantio, de Scriptor. Florentinis, pag. 67, 68.

(b) See the notes upon the Confession of Sancti, pag. 459 & seq. Edit. 1699.

(8) Balisus has inserted it in page 198, of his Lettere Storiche Politiche et Erudite, printed in Poeszoli 1685.

(9) Viz. his book de Amore.

(10) Mich. Pocciantius, de Scriptor. Florent. pag. 67.

(11) Page 461, of the edition of 1699.

(12) In the remark of the article FONTIUS.

(13) Pocciantius ubi supra, pag. 72.

(14) Ughelli, ubi supra.

(15) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. III, pag. 784, Edit. 1685.

He has been often reproached as if his family had been Protestant, and he had for some time professed that religion [B]; but this is not true. He went to study at Louvain in 1602, and he pursued his studies with so much application, that he fell sick (a), so that he was advised to remove to another place for the benefit of the air. He went from thence to Paris, where he found John du Verger de Hauranne (b), with whom he had entered into a strict friendship at Louvain. Upon the recommendation of this good friend, he was made tutor in a good family (c); and being a learned man, he quickly became acquainted with some illustrious persons. Some time after he went to Bayonne, to his good Friend, who had retired thither. They studied together with an extraordinary application [C], and got so far into the esteem of the Bishop of Bayonne, that he procured a canonship in his Cathedral for du Verger, and the direction of a college for Jansenius (d). The bishop being raised to the archbishopric of Tours [D], invited du Verger to Paris; and then Jansenius being parted from his friend, and being not sure of the protection of the new prelate, left Bayonne, and returned to Louvain, where he was made principal of the college of St Pulcheria; a post which he disliked, because it did not allow him time to apply himself as much as he desired to his studies, which was also the reason why he would not undertake to teach Philosophy (e). He was admitted doctor of Divinity in the year 1617 (f), and taken into the number of the ordinary professors, and he acquired such a reputation, that the university sent him twice into Spain [E] upon matters of importance.

(a) Valer. Andr. Deseleur, Bibl. Belg. pag. 154.

(b) He who made himself so famous under the name of the abbot of St Cyran.

(c) Leydecker, ubi infra, citat. (g), pag. 8.

(d) Ib. pag. 10.

(e) Ibid. pag. 12.

(f) Valer. Andr. ubi supra.

*si viri natalibus jam magno. Etenim sciant ejus Af-
seclæ eum in Comitatu quidem Leerdamensi natum,
non tamen in oppido LEERDAMO (Lingerdamo
alias, quod ad Lingam fluvium sit situm) sed in quo-
dam Pago, quod Urbiculae subest, & ACCOY
appellatur: sic Nepotes & Consanguinei, qui ibi ad-
huc degunt, testantur, superstitie humili Domuncula,
in qua primum lucem adspexit. — For he is known
to his followers, that he was indeed born in the
county of Leerdam, but not in the town of LEER-
DAM (alias Lingerdam, because it stands by the
river Linga) but in a certain village which is under
the little town, and called ACCOY: so testify his
posterity and relations, who live there still, the little
cottage being as yet remaining in which he first saw
light.* We must not seek a mystery in his calling
himself Leerdamensis (2), for he called himself so, ac-
cording to the usual custom of taking the name of the
town, in whose territory one is born. This may be
proved by a thousand instances (3).

[B] He has been reproached as if he had for some
time professed the Protestant religion. A Jesuit of
Bordeaux, called Moles du Bourg, published a little
book (4) in the year 1658, in which he said (5) 'that
the father of Cornelius Jansenius professed the Heresy
of the Calvinists, though his son being of age, de-
clared himself a Catholic.' Father Labbe had pub-
lished the same thing before him (6): 'Principes co-
rum exitit CORNELIUS JANSENIUS qui gente
Hollandus, patria Leerdamensis, inter hæreticos edu-
catus à puero, tum Lovanii, &c. — The chief of
them was CORNELIUS JANSENIUS, who, be-
ing a Dutchman, a native of Leerdam, was from a
child educated among the Heretics then at Louvain,
&c.' Father Hazart renewed the same calumny in
a Flemish book, intitled, *The triumph of the Popes of
Rome*, which he published at Antwerp, in 1681.

His father, says he, was a Calvinist; and as for him-
self, being grown, he made an outward shew of being a
Catholic (7). When he was persecuted as a slanderer,
he alleged, amongst other reasons, that he was not
the author of this reproach, since he published it only
after Moles du Bourg (8). It has been evidently
proved in the Cases which I quote, that this is a very
false charge. Here is a passage of Mr Leydecker,
which contains some particulars, that are not in the
Cases. 'Parentes habuit honestos, Pontificiæ Religioni
addictos, licet Evangelica lux Belgio affunderetur,
quibuscumque modicæ opes. Ut male Hazardus Jesuita
in Historiis Eum Patre Calviniano natum retulerit, il-
lum falsi postulantibus, qui id non ferrent, Nepotibus.
Pater appellatus fuit vernaculo nomine JAN OT-
TIE (9), fabrilis opere victum queritans, Mater au-
tem LYNTJE GYSBERTS, ceu referunt super-
stites, unde hic Filius CORNELIUS JANSEN di-
ctus est, antiquo vulgi in Belgio more, at Latina vel
erudita terminatione, CORNELIUS JANSENIUS
(10). — He was descended of honest parents addi-
cted to the Romish religion, though the light of the
gospel had then shone in Holland, and who had a small
estate, so that Hazart the Jesuit unjustly reported
his father was a Calvinist, for which he was sued in

*an action of scandal by his relations who would not
bear it. The father was in the language of his coun-
try, called JAN OTTIE, gaining his livelihood
at Carpenter's work, the mother LYNTJE GYS-
BERTS, as those who know them give out, from whence
his son was named CORNELIUS JANSEN, after
the antient custom of the vulgar in Holland, but in
the Latin, or learned termination, CORNELIUS
JANSENIUS.'*

[C] They studied together with an extraordinary ap-
plication. It was at Mr d'Hauranne's house, who
was afterwards abbot of St Cyran, that Jansenius
spent the five or six years that he was at Bayonne,
applying himself to the reading of the holy fathers
and St Augustin, so assiduously, that he appearing to
be of no strong constitution, Mr Hauranne's mother
used to say to her son, that he would kill that ho-
nest Fleming, by making him study so hard (11).

[D] Being raised to the archbishopric of Tours. Ac-
cording to Mr Leydecker (12) this archbishopric be-
came vacant by the cession of Sebastian Galigai, brother
(13) of the marquis d'Ancre: *Vacante Cathedra per
spontaneam Sebastiani Galigai Florentini, infelicis Mar-
chionis Ancrei fratris, cessionem.*

[E] The university sent him twice into Spain. His
enemies gave out a great many lies hereupon. They
said, 'that he fled from Spain, just as he was going
to be taken by the Inquisition for venting his new
doctrine there (14).' This is what Father Hazart
has asserted after Moles du Bourg. Here is the answer
that is to be found in the Cases (15).

His ignorance (16) of Mr Jansenius's affairs, plain-
ly shews, that it is a calumny forged at pleasure.
He speaks of his journey to Spain, as if he had made
but one, whereas he has made two: one in the
year 1624, and the other in 1625. This would have
perplexed the Jesuit of Bordeaux; for if he had fixed
his story to the first voyage of Jansenius, the falsehood
would have been visible, because Jansenius would
have taken care, not to return thither a second time.
And if he had fixed it to the second, it would have
been visible another way; it being certain, that so
unlucky an accident would have ruined all his ne-
gotiation, and that he would have returned in dis-
grace to Louvain: instead of which it is most true,
that he returned gloriously, having obtained of his
Catholic majesty, all that the university of Louvain
desired, to put a stop to the enterprizes of the Je-
suits. Lastly, an author, who deserves so little cre-
dit upon other accounts, is not at all to be credited
about a thing which of itself is scarce credible, when in
the same place he advances three other manifest fal-
sities against the same person. This is what this Je-
suit of Bordeaux has done; the first is, that Janse-
nius's father was a Calvinist, &c. a calumny, the
falsity whereof is unanswerably proved in the first
and third Case. The second is, That Jansenius be-
ing returned to Louvain, after the excursion he had
made into France, obtained, by his intrigues, under the
notion of a poor Dutch Catholic, a pensioner's place in
a college, in which a distribution of some money was
made for the maintenance of such poor scholars. An
impudent

(2) Jansenius patria fuit Batavus, atque ut ipse scribit, quasi in honore id poneret, Leerdamensis. Unde verò iste error? an quod, &c. Id ibid. & pag. 3.

(3) See the remark [A] of the article CASTEL-LAN.

(4) Intituled, Histoire du Janseanisme, contenant sa conception, sa naissance, son accroissement & son agonie.

(5) See the Factums, or Cases, of Jansenius's relations, in the eighth Tome of the Morale Pratique, pag. 317.

(6) In præfatione Triumphæ Catholicæ Veritatis, printed at Paris, 1651.

(7) See the Cases of Jansenius's relations, pag. 307.

(8) Ibid. pag. 317.

(9) It is observed at the beginning of the first Case, that he was called John Otto Accoy.

(10) Leydecker, de Vita Janse-
ni, pag. 3.

(11) The Cases of Jansenius's relations, pag. 410.

(12) De Vita Jansenius, pag. 10.

(13) Or rather brother-in-law; for the marquis d'Ancre's name was Concini, and his wife's name Galligai.

(14) Cases, pag. 420.

(15) Pag. 451.

(16) That is, of Moles du Bourg.

† Valer. Andr. in Fastis Academicis, pag. 393.

importance. The king his master made him professor of the Holy Scripture in 1630, in the university of Louvain; and five years after he preferred him to the bishopric of Ipres. A book, that Janfenius published against France [F], mightily contributed to his getting this dignity. He enjoyed it but a short time; for he died the sixth of May, 1638. He had been above twenty years upon a work, in which he explained St Augustin's System concerning the Doctrine of Grace. This book, published after his death, has raised great disturbances in the church of Rome [G], and found a great deal of work for the Popes. The

† Fasti Acad.
pag. 138.

'impudent lie, confuted by the public acts 4; for as soon as he returned to Louvain in the year 1617, he took his degree of doctor of Divinity, and was made president of the college of St Pulcheria: *Lovanianum revocatus novo Collegio D. Pulcheriæ præfatur.*' The third is an infamous calumny, viz. that *this pensioner stole money from the college to pay the pension of the abbot of S. Cyran's two nephews.* I. The abbot of S. Cyran had but one nephew at Louvain. II. If Janfenius was only pensioner, how could he dispose of the college money? III. This pretended theft is an horrid calumny, dispersed in many of the Jesuits libels, of which they have been convicted in the sixteenth Provincial letter, in these words; *I will tell you, &c.*

It has been said a thousand times, that there is no fiction but is grounded upon some truth. And this may be said of that story of Moses du Bourg; for it appears by a letter of Janfenius, that the Spanish inquisition made some informations against him after his departure. The words of his letter are these (17): 'They write to me from Spain, that the Inquisition has been set on against a doctor of Louvain, who had been in that kingdom; and that they have applied themselves to a doctor of Salamanca, in whose house he lodged, who is the first doctor of that university, called Basil de Leon, to take information against him as an Hollander, and consequently an Heretic: but he answered them so much to the advantage of this doctor, as put them out of countenance (18).'

(17) Dated the thirty first of December, 1627.

(18) Cases, pag. 462, 463.

(19) Bibl. Belg. pag. 154.

I shall conclude this remark with the words of Valerius Andreas (19). 'Brevi quoque tempore eam de se opinionem apud Academicos omnes excitavit, ut præ Janfenio alius magis idoneus non fuerit iudicatus, qui nomine ejusdem Academiæ bis Legatus in Hispanias mitteretur. Ubi quæ prudentiæ ac dexteratate sese gesserit, tum apud Regem Catholicum, tum in Academiis Salmanticensi ac Vallesolanæ, felicissimus utriusque Legationis eventus docuit. — *Also in a short time he raised that opinion of himself, amongst all the members of the university, that none was reckoned so fit as Janfenius, to be sent ambassador in the name of the same university into Spain, where with what prudence and dexterity he behaved himself both with the Catholic king and the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid; the most happy event of both embassies is a proof.*' Consult Mr Leydecker (20) concerning the subject and success of these Spanish voyages.

(20) Pag. 23, & seq.

(21) In the year 1635.

(22) Leydecker, de Vita Janfenii, pag. 94, & seq.

(23) Pag. 92.

(24) Opportune suam operum offerebat P. Rosæus, vir eruditissimus Sanctiæ Consilii Præfatus, cujus ante meminimus, supradictato volumini suo argumento, quo vel penitentiam ageret, vel famam falsi accusaret. Iste autem erat *Mars Gallicus*, stylo quidem Janfenii ornatus, cujus tamen materia ipsius opus, eruditionem & ingenium excedebat. Leydecker, de Vita Janfenii, pag. 93.

[F] A book that Janfenius published (21) against France. It is written with great strength of argument, and intitled *Alexandri Patricii Armacani, Theologi, Mars Gallicus, seu de justitia armorum & fœderum Regis Galliarum libri duo*. It contains the most malicious and odious outcries, against the continual services which France did to the Protestants of Holland and Germany, to the great prejudice of the Catholic religion. The Hollanders are there called rebels who enjoy a republican liberty by an infamous usurpation. They have answered that reproach a hundred times, and Mr Leydecker has not forgot to answer it solidly (22). He tells us (23), that there was a report that Janfenius being consulted by the duke of Arschot, and the archbishop of Mechlen, after the loss of Boileduc, and Maelricht, advised them to shake off the Spanish yoke, and to canton in the way of the Swiss. It was discovered, that he had given that counsel, and he was in great pain about it. Hereupon the president Rose taught him an expedient to come off: he advised him to write against France, and gave him the plan of the *Mars Gallicus* (24). Mr Leydecker alleges a letter of the Nuncio Fabio Chigi. 'Et ne mentiri viderentur, literas produxere Fabii Gighii, Nuntii Apostolici (qui deinde Alexander VII. fuit) ad F. Barberinum, Cardinalem, datas Coloniae 25. Martii, 1641. ubi hæc scripta; Cardinalis Richelieu admodum stomachatur in Janfenium,

*quod cum Rosæo Martem Gallicum conscripserit. Nimirum hæc literæ adhuc in Collegio S. Officii Romæ asservantur (25). — And that they might not seem to tell a lie, they produced the letters of Fabio Chigi apostolic Nuncio, (who afterwards was Alexander VII.) to F. Barberini cardinal, dated at Cologne the twenty fifth of March 1641, where these words were written, Cardinal Richelieu is very angry with Janfenius, because he wrote the *Mars Gallicus* with Rose, these letters are still kept in the college of the Holy Office at Rome.' The Jesuits failed not to exasperate the court of France against the followers of Janfenius, as being a man who had defamed the nation and their monarchs, almost from the first to the last. Mr Leydecker cites a long passage out of a book which he believes to be Father Annat's (26); but in all probability it was written by Father Vasseleur (27), I will only set down so much of it as concerns the ingratitude that Janfenius was reproached with. Ante omnia Janfenio exprobat ingratus in Galliam animum, quæ ipsi valetudinem, quam recipere non posset in patria, concreto & pingui cælo, restituerat puro & salubri; quæ victum, cum egeret, præbuerat, tum domesticæ Præceptorii Lutetiæ Parisiorum, tum ludi publici Magistro Bajonæ; quæ notitiâ Virorum illustrium atque doctorum animum fecerat ad majora, aditumque & viam muniverat. Quin in Galliis quod beneficii loco sine dubio numeravit, magnam adeptus erat librorum Calvinianorum copiam, quorum de fontibus hausit Augustini interpretationem, & invenerat homines à Calvini disciplina non alienos quibuscumque liberiores de Gratia sermones contulerit (28). — But above all he taxes Janfenius with ingratitude towards France, which had by its pure and good air, restored him to health, which he could not obtain from the gross and thick air of his own country, which had in his necessity given a livelihood to him, both as a domestic præceptor at Paris, and a master of a public school at Bayonne, which by an acquaintance with illustrious and learned men, had formed his mind to greater things, and added strength to his interest. Nay, in France, with no doubt, he regarded as a benefit, he got a large quantity of Calvinistical books, from which fountains he drew his interpretation of St Augustine, and found men not averse to the doctrine of Calvin, with whom he had more free conferences concerning Grace.'*

Let us admire the vicissitude of human affairs. Janfenius was rewarded with a mitre for having confounded France upon her entering into alliances with Protestant states; and at present (29) the court of Spain would doubtless give a good prebend to a doctor of Louvain, who should write as strong a book for the justification of such a league, as that book was which Janfenius wrote against France: so true it is, that one may attain to the same end by quite contrary means, and that what is good at one time may become very bad at another (30). The confutation of a book may deserve the reward that was given for the book itself. What a pretty scene would it be for unprejudiced people; should they see a doctor of Louvain made a bishop for solidly confuting our Cornelius's *Mars Gallicus*?

Naudé (31) makes him the author of the *Admonitio* (31) Naudé, (32), and of *Mysteria Politica*, two works, says he, that had wonderful effects against the designs of Lewis XIII. I believe he is mistaken. [G] This book . . . has raised great disturbances in the church of Rome. It has given birth to an infinite number of other books, some of which contain all that can be said on both sides upon the subject, by men of great acuteness, subtilty, and learning; but after all, a man is not one jot the wiser than he was before; which will ever be the fate of disputes of this kind: the more they are handled, the more they are confounded, and give the reader occasion to say, *Fecisti Phorm. Act. II, probe, incertior sum multo quam dudum* (33). — Very well,

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ib. pag. 89.

(27) It is ascribed to him, page 3, of Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy's Catalogue, printed in 1678. The Janfenius suspected, was proved in 1680, by Sebastian and Gabriel Cramoisy.

(28) Autor libri cui titulus, Janfenius suspectus, apud Leydeckerum, pag. 89.

(29) I write this in the year 1695.

(30) See remark [I], of the article HOTMAN.

(31) Naudé, (32), and of *Mysteria Politica*, two works, says he, that had wonderful effects against the designs of Lewis XIII. I believe he is mistaken.

(32) See, above, remark [F] of the article BOUCHER (JOHN).

(33) Terent. *Fecisti Phorm. Act. II, probe, incertior sum multo quam dudum* (33). — Very well,

The followers of Janfenius's doctrine have been call'd Janfenists, and the Jesuits have been their greatest adversaries. Perhaps the shuffling and foul play that attends controversies of this nature, was never so notorious as in this [H]. This doctor engaged in controversy with the Protestants [I]; but he left them the field of battle. We have some other works written by him [K]. I have not said that the court of Room proceeded against the epitaph of this bishop [L]. Consult Mr Leydecker's book lately publish'd.

It

well, I know less now than I did before. It has been said, that the doctrine of grace is a sea that has neither shore nor bottom. Perhaps it had been better to compare it with the Faro of Messina, in which there is always danger of running upon a rock, by endeavouring to avoid another: *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim*. The whole controversy comes at last to this. Did Adam sin freely? If you answer, yes: then, it will be replied, his fall was not foreseen: if you say no: then it will be replied he was not culpable. You may write an hundred volumes upon either of these consequences, and at last you must be forced to own either, that the infallible foresight of a contingent event, is an inconceivable mystery; or that the way how a creature sins, though it acts in a necessary manner, is wholly incomprehensible. I desire no more: for to what purpose is it to write so many books, since you must own one of these two incomprehensible mysteries?

[H] *The shuffling and foul play was never so notorious as in this.* Those that have never so little penetration see plainly that in the dispute about Liberty, there are but too sides to be taken: one is to say, that all the causes distinct from the soul, which concur with her, leave her the power of acting, or not acting; the other is to say, that they determine her in such a manner to act, that she cannot do otherwise. The first opinion is that of the Molinists; the other is, that of the Thomists, Janfenists, and the Protestants of the confession of Geneva. Here are three sorts of people that oppose Molinism, and who at the bottom must be of the same mind; and yet the Thomists have contended might and main, that they were no Janfenists, and the Janfenists have maintained with equal heat, that upon the point of liberty they were not Calvinists. There are no artifices or ill-grounded distinctions, but what have been made use of to colour that pretence; and all this with design to avoid the dangerous consequences they foresaw, would follow their confessing any conformity, either with the Janfenists, or the Calvinists. On the other hand, there is no sophistry but what the Molinists have made use of, to shew, that St Augustin did not teach Janfenism, as being unwilling to own, that their doctrine is contrary to that of this great saint. Thus the Thomists refusing to confess their conformity with people called Heretics; and the Molinists, to own themselves against a doctor, who has been always reckoned orthodox in his opinions, have plaid an hundred tricks, without a grain of sincerity in their conduct.

[I] *He engaged in controversy with the Protestants.* Here follows the substance of that dispute (34). The States-General made an edict in 1629, by which they prohibited the public exercise of the Romish religion in Boisseduc, and appropriated the ecclesiastical revenues of the mayorality of that town to the use of the Protestant religion, which they caused to be preached there by four ministers. The latter having notice that many virulent slanders were secretly scattered against their doctrine, published a manifesto to declare, that they taught nothing but the pure gospel, and to exhort their adversaries to propose in public what they had to object. This was only answered in a piece (35) that Janfenius was the author of. Gisbert Voetius, one of the four ministers who preached in Boisseduc, made some remarks upon this work (36), which were confuted by a new book of Janfenius (37). The author of the remarks replied, and confuted his adversary in a great book, published in the year 1635, and intitled *desperata causa papatus*. Janfenius did not reply, but one of his friends replied for him, this was Libertus Fromondus. His book (38) was printed at Antwerp in the year 1636, and refuted by Martin Schoockius, professor of History and Eloquence at Deventer, who intitled his answer *desperatissima causa papatus*. It was printed in the year 1638. Mr Leydecker says this was the end of that dispute (39). But I find in the Bibliotheca of Valerius Andreas a-

mongst Fromondus's works, a piece intitled *Sycophanta: epistola ad Gisbertum Voetium*, printed in 1640. And since the first impression of this article, I have seen a letter, in which this professor of Utrecht is taxed with being mistaken. * Falleris, ô Præclare, * *secus res habet . . . Fromondus . . . ultimo ictu prostravit adversarium, nunquam quod sciam refutatus* (40). — *Thou art mistaken great man, the thing is of another sort . . . Fromondus . . . with the last blow struck down his adversary, and as far as I know has never been refuted.*

Janfenius had another war to maintain, which we may call a Protestant one. For Theodorus Simonis (41), a wavering Catholic, who wanted a master, came to Louvain to desire him to explain some doubts about the infallibility of the Pope, the adoration of the Eucharist, and some other points. Janfenius, being hampered with this man's objections, told him one day that he would no longer dispute *vivâ voce*, but in writing, perceiving he had to do with a Catholic, who would quickly go into Holland, and boast that he had vanquished him. Simonis, who had much ado to bring himself to dispute in writing, resolved upon it at last. But after each of them had wrote twice upon those subjects, Simonis found himself besieged with soldiers in his lodgings, and threatened to be punished as an heretic. The secretary of the duke of Arschot, cried out against him, and said there was wood enough in his master's forest to burn that Heretic. But he who examined Simonis, in the name of the archbishop of Mechlen, having reported that he had found him a good Catholic, and firmly resolved to continue so, the prisoner was set at liberty, and Janfenius was obliged to pay the expence of the soldiers, &c. Simonis, two years after turned Protestant, and published a book (42) intitled, *De statu & religione propriæ papatus adversus Janfenium* (43). I have lately read, that this man having left Lutheranism, to embrace Popery, turned Lutheran again, and at last Socinian. He was made principal of the Socinian college of Kiffelin, in Luthuania (44). He understood Greek very well, and translated Comenius's *Janua Linguarum* into that language.

[K] *We have some other books written by him.* An oration *de interioris hominis reformatione*. *Tetrateuchus sive commentarius in IV Evangelia*. *Pentateuchus sive Commentarius in V libro Moysi*. The answer of the Louvain divines, *de vi obligandi conscientias quam habent edicta regia super re monetaria*, and that of the divines and civilians, *de juramento quod publica auctoritate Magistratui designato imponi solet*, are Janfenius's works (45). Mr Leydecker (46) complains that in Moreri's dictionary, the harmony of the gospels is ascribed to our Janfenius, whereas it ought to be attributed to another Janfenius, bishop of Ghent. I have not found this in Moreri. The error, wherewith Mr Arnauld (47) taxed George Hornius of believing that our Janfenius was bishop of Ipres, and afterwards of Ghent, is corrected in Mr Leydecker's edition (48).

[L] *The court of Rome proceeded against the epitaph of Janfenius.* The tenth of December, 1655. * Francis de Robes (49), of the family of the counts of Annap, bishop of Ipres, caused the tomb-stone of his predecessor Cornelius Janfenius to be taken away silently by night, on which were written the praises of his virtue and learning, and particularly of his book intitled *Augustinus*, importing that *this most faithful interpreter of St Augustine's most secret thoughts, had employed upon that work a divine wit, an indefatigable labour, and all the time of his life; and that the church would receive the fruit of it upon earth, as he did the reward of it in heaven*. Words that were injurious to the Bulls of Pope Urban VIII, and Innocent X, who had condemned that book. The destruction of this grave-stone was made by an express order of Pope Alexander VII, and with the consent of the archduke Leopold, governor of the Low-Countries, notwithstanding the resistance of the chapter; which went so far that one of the principal

(40) Epistola Christiani Philireni ad Jacum Palaeologum, pag. 5.

(41) He was a native of H. . .

(42) Printed at Leyden, in 1638.

(43) See the History of all this at large in Mr Leydecker, pag. 68, & seq.

(44) See Mollerus, l'églogue ad Historiam Chersonesi Clusice, Part. III, pag. 108.

(45) Taken from Valerius Andreas, pag. 155.

(46) Pag. 2.

(47) Morale Præfatione, Tom. III, pag. 130.

(48) In Notis ad Hist. Ecclesiast. Hœnli, pag. 517.

(49) Mr Leydecker, pag. 155, calls him, Johannes Roblesius.

(34) Leydecker, de Vita Janfenii, pag. 57, & seq.

(35) Intituled *Alexipharmacum*, printed in the year 1630.

(36) Intituled, *Philonius Romanus correctus*.

(37) Intituled, *Notarum spongia*, printed in the year 1631.

(38) Intituled, *Causæ desperatæ* *Gisb. Voëtii adversus Spongiam*, . . . Cornelii Janfenii Crisis ostensa.

(39) De Vita Janfenii, pag. 64.

It is a very good book (g).

(g) It is intitled, *De Historia Jansenismi Libri VI. quibus de Cornelli Jansenii Vita & Moribus, nec non de ipsius & sequacium Dogmatibus differitur. At Utrecht, 1695, in 8vo.*

(50) St Romanus, *Journal Chronologique & Historique*, Tom. II, pag. 612.
(51) *Ubi supra*, pag. 132, & seq.
(52) *Page*, 135.

such a thing. Let us add this curious particular: The last time the most Christian King was at Ipres, an hospitaler nun who had assisted him (53) in his last sickness, and who spoke of him as of a saint, related with tears in her eyes to some lords of the court, that she held him by the arm when he wrote his will, and she intreated them at the same time to beg of the king that he would cause the injury to be repaired, which had been done to so holy a man in taking away his tomb-stone (54).

(53) *That is, Jansenius.*

(54) *Morale Pratique*, Tom. VIII, pag. 462.

J A P A N. This is a name of a great country situated eastward of China, and divided into several islands. There is so much said of it in Moreri's Dictionary (a), that I have but few things to observe. Nor will I collect all that he has omitted; but confine myself to some points of the Theology of those islanders. The monarchy of Japan is divided into two states, the ecclesiastical and the secular. The first is composed of the Bonzes, and the second of the nobility and commons: The name of Bonzes is common to all the ministers devoted to the service of the gods which the Japanese worship. They profess celibacy [A], and . . . have a Pontiff, whom they call Jaco or Xaco, who has authority over all the rest, and judges of the affairs of religion, and determines what ought to be practised concerning the worship of the gods, and believed concerning the nature of them. He elects the Tundes, who dispose of things less important, and represent in some manner our bishops (b) . . . The Japanese have two sorts of gods. The first are the demons, whom they worship under several figures, not in hopes of receiving good from them, but for fear of being hurt by them. The second sort are the kings, the conquerors, and the learned, whom they have placed in the number of their gods. The chief are Amida and Xaca [B] . . . They reckon a dozen sects, or a dozen religions in Japan; and every person is at liberty to chuse which he pleases: which occasions no divisions; because, say they, understandings have no tie of relations or kindred like bodies. Amongst these sects there are three principal ones. The first hopes not for a life after this, and knows no other substance, than what strikes the senses . . . The second, which believe the immortality of

(a) *Especially in the edition of 1699.*

(b) *Journal des Savans*, July 18, 1680, pag. m. 402, in the Abstract of the History of the Church of Japan, by the abbot de T.

[A] *The Bonzes profess celibacy.* But they do not always observe it very exactly. They abstain from flesh and fish, shave their beards and hair, and conceal their debaucheries under the appearance of an austere life (1). Their greatest profit is the burying of the dead. The people being persuaded, that in the other life the souls of their relations may fall under some necessity, spare nothing to procure them the comfort, which the Bonzes promise them by means of their great alms. They use another artifice to enrich themselves, viz. to borrow money, which they promise the simple people to pay again in the other world with great interest; and borrowing it in this manner, they say among themselves, that the term is worth the money (2). They who would draw a parallel betwixt the east and the west, would find it defective as to the article of these debts payable in the other world; but then celibacy ill-observed, cheats hid under the appearances of a rigid morality, the profit of burials, and the assistances sent to souls separated from the body, would afford them a great many comparisons. I am persuaded that many people in reading Mr Cousin's (3) extracts, could not chuse but say inwardly to themselves, *thus it is with us.* It would be very curious to see an account of the west written by a Japanese, or a Chinese, who had lived many years in the great cities of Europe. They would pay us in our own coin. The missionaries, who go to the Indies, publish relations, in which they particularize the falsities and frauds they have observed in the worship of these idolatrous nations. But whilst they ridicule them for it, may they not fear that it should be replied to them, *Quid ridet? mutato nomine de te fabula narratur* (4). — *Why dost thou laugh, changing the name, the story is told of thee,* or that they should be upbraided as they deserve, who wink at their own faults, and discover with the utmost sagacity the vices of others?

Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,
Cur in amicorum vitii tam cernis acutum,
Quam aut aquila, aut serpens Epidaurius? at tibi contra
Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus & illi (5).
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*When thou art blind and senseless to thine own,
How dost thou see thy friend's disease so soon:
That scarce a serpent can so quickly spy,
Nor any eagle hath so good an eye.
Well then, go on, pursue thy mean design,
As thou dost find their faults, so they will thine.*

CREECH.

[B] *The chief are Amida and Xaca.* The first is represented under several monstrous figures. In one of his temples which is at Iedo, he is carried on a horse with seven heads. The finest of his temples is near Meaco, and is five hundred feet in length. There are in it a thousand idols of massy gold. As for Xaca, or Xaca, the Bonzes tell a thousand impertinent stories of him. They say that he was born eight hundred times in different species, before he was born of a woman, and that when he was born, he came out of his mother's sides, eating his way with his teeth. The truth is, that Xaca was a sophister, who persuaded people every thing he had a mind to. His mother, when she was big with child of him, dreamed, that a white elephant came out of her mouth: for which reason the elephants of that colour are had in veneration in the Indies, in China, and Tonquin, at Siam, and Pegu. They are served in vessels of gold, and the great lords go in crowds to visit them, and pay them the same honours as they do to kings (6). One of the three principal sects of the Japanese, is that of the worshippers of Xaca. They live in common, rise at midnight to sing hymns, and meet every evening to hear the discourse, which their superior makes to them upon some subject of morality; then he gives them some points to meditate upon. Sometimes he represents to them a dying man, and relates the reproaches, that the soul and body make to one another in this last moment. The meditation lasts an hour. When it is over, every one gives the superior an account of the thoughts which came into his mind, and of the resolutions he has taken (7).

(6) *Journal des Savans*, ubi supra, pag. 495.

(7) *Ibid* pag. 436.

6 Z

[C] *These*

(c) Ibid. pag. 474.

(d) See the remark [B].

(e) See Possévin. Biblioth. Select. lib. x, cap. ii, pag. m. 410, Tom. I.

(f) See Possévin. ibid. cap. iii, pag. 415.

(g) See the Journal des Savans, ubi supra, pag. 499.

of the soul, and another life, is followed by the best sort of people, and is called the sect of the men of the most high God. The third is that of the worshippers of Xaca (c). The Bonzes may be compared to our Monks (d). Some authors say (e), that the most general division, that can be made of the sects of the Japonese, is to divide them into such as make profession of adhering to appearance, and such as seek reality which does not strike the senses, and which they call truth. They who adhere to appearance believe another life after this [C], for the eternal recompence of good men, and the eternal punishment of the wicked; but those who seek the internal and insensible reality, reject heaven and hell, and teach things that have a great affinity with Spinoza's opinion [D]. They symbolize with the Epicureans, in taking from God the government of the world as a thing contrary to the supreme tranquillity, which, according to them, is his whole felicity. Nay, they go farther than Epicurus; for they deprive God of understanding and reason. They fear doubts that these qualities would disturb his repose, as they experience, that reasoning is attended with some fatigue (f). The Christian religion which Francis Xavier, and afterwards several other missionaries, preached to the Japonese, found no greater obstacles than what the Bonzes raised against him; not so much by their disputes and arguments, as by a method usual with ecclesiastics; I mean, by having recourse to the secular power, and by their care of exciting the kings and the people to the maintenance of the old religion, and the persecuting the followers of the new (g). It must however be confessed, that the Japonese priests entered into a conference with the Christian

(8) In omnem aeternitatem vivent leti admodum felices & sua sorte contenti. Possévin. ibi infra.

(9) Eo quod formae sint naturae detestabiles, excretae & imundae. Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Taken from Possévin. Bibl. Select. Tom. I, lib. x, cap. ii, pag. m. 410, 411.

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 411.

(13) Ibid. pag. 429, & seq.

(14) Figuræ carnis, rationis, naturae experti, vitam agentis otiosi, quietis & tranquillitatis plenum. Possévin. ibid. pag. 411.

[C] Those that adhere to appearance, believe another life after this.] It appears that their opinion is that of Amida, Xaca, and Fotoque. They say that in the four cardinal points of the world, there are certain countries, where the inhabitants are in a plenary satisfaction, which makes them enjoy a supreme felicity; that Fotoque made all the laws of Japan, and that they who observe them, shall no sooner leave this life, but they shall go into those places, where they shall be born again, and Fotoque shall transform them, and give them 32 figures, and 80 qualities, with which they shall live eternally in a perfect beatitude, well satisfied with their condition, and very joyful (8). The women shall not be admitted into those countries; but those who shall be saved for having observed the laws of Fotoque, shall be transformed into men: for without that, they could not receive the reward of their good life, they being of their own nature, say they, unclean and execrable (9). As for the transgressors of Fotoque's laws, they shall go from this life into certain infernal places, and they shall suffer six sorts of punishments, which shall never have an end. This is the general doctrine of the followers of appearance. The other sect say thereupon what they think fit, but these agree in this center of unity, and their opinion is that of the ignorant and the vulgar. Et quomodo de hisce rebus una quæque Japoniorum secta loquatur, ut vult, communi tamen consensu quicunque extrinsecam rerum faciem sectantur, in hoc, quod diximus, conveniunt, & hanc opinionem rudes & vulgares homines amplectuntur (10). I borrow all this from the Jesuit Possévin (11), who did not think himself obliged to refute the doctrines of this sect; for since they profess, says he, to stick only to appearances, what they say has no reality nor truth, it is at best but a phantom, or the surface of truth. The Bonzes themselves manifestly confess, that the whole system of Camus and Fotoque was built, or rather forged, in favour of the ignorant, and of weak minds: Nam (ut ipsimet Bonzii, qui sua sententia Magistri & Doctores sunt, aperit fatentur) istam de CAMI & FOTOQUE disciplinam propter rudes & infelices rerum homines, capti, & ingenio imbecillos esse compositam, vel potius confictam, non quod aliquid eorum, quæ in ipsa docentur verum sit (12). Possévin however confutes the doctrines of this sect in his fifth chapter (13).

[D] Those who seek . . . reality, reject heaven and hell, and teach things that have a great affinity with Spinoza's opinion.] They neglect externals and apply themselves only to meditations; they cast off all discipline that consists in words, adhering only to the exercise, which they call SOQUXIN SOQUXUR, that is, the heart. They maintain that there is but one principle of all things, and that this principle is found every where, and that the heart of man, and the internals of other beings, do not differ from this common principle, and return to it, when they are dissolved. It exists, say they, from all eternity, being one only principle, clear and luminous, and incapable of increase or diminution: it has no figure, and does not reason, it lives in idleness and a perfect repose (14). They teach, that they, who in this life have very well

known this principle, shall obtain the perfect glory of Fotoque and of his successors; and that they who arrive not to this high degree of knowledge, must be born again several times, and go from place to place, but in the other world they shall be all absorbed in this common principle of all things. They say also, that knowledge does not differ from ignorance, that good and evil are not two beings, and that the one is not separated from the other (15). Possévin reduces this system to these four points. I. That there is but one principle of all things, that this principle is most perfect, that it is wise but understands nothing, and takes no notice of the affairs of this world, since it lives in perfect repose, and like a man that is very attentive to one thing, and neglects all others. II. That this principle is in all particular beings, and communicates its essence to them, so that they are the same thing with it, and return to it when they have an end. III. That the heart of man does not differ from this common principle of all beings, and that when men die, their hearts perish, and are consumed; but that the first principle, which gave them their life, subsists still in them: from whence it follows, that there is neither heaven nor hell, rewards nor punishments after this life. IV. That man may in this world raise himself to the condition and supreme majesty of the first principle, for as much as by the force of meditation he may perfectly know it, and so arrive to the supreme tranquillity which that principle enjoys in itself; that this is all the good that man can acquire, and that till he has obtained it by meditation, and a perfect knowledge, he is tormented with perpetual inquietude: he often passes from one hell to another, and finds rest nowhere. It is very certain, that in this are several things, which Spinoza has not taught: but otherwise it is manifest, that he has taught as well as these Japonese priests, that the first principle of all things, and of all beings, which compose the universe, are but one and the same substance; that all things are God, and that God is all things in such a manner, that God and all things that exist, make but one and the same being. One cannot sufficiently admire that so extravagant a notion, and so full of absurd contradictions, should insinuate itself into the mind of so many people so remote from one another, and so different in their humours, education, customs, and genius. Possévin (16) brings many arguments against the hypothesis of these Bonzes, and confutes it principally by the contradictions it contains; and first he observes, that they have but very few doctrines about the nature of the first principle; that they say nothing upon it with any perspicuity, that they cannot resolve questions, and answer the objections proposed to them, nor confirm their opinions, and that their only shift is to say, that it does not concern men to enquire into the nature and power of the first principle (17). Omnia unico verbo patant se dissolvere, dicentes hominum non interesse hujus principii vim, & naturam perquirere inquirendo aut disputando: quod totum manifeste constat ex ignorantia profectum & natum (18). Note, that (19) Ibid. pag. 419, 420.

(15) Taken from Possévin, ibid.

(16) Possévin. ubi supra, Tom. I, pag. 412, 413.

(17) This is a gross contradiction, which Possévin should have charged them with, for since the greatest happiness of men proceeds from the perfect knowledge of the first principle, it may have of the first principle, it may have of the first principle, it may have of the first principle.

(18) Possévin. ubi supra, pag. 412.

(19) Ibid. pag. 419, 420.

[E] The

Christian priests, and made some objections against them, which shew they wanted no wit (b). They could not hinder the Christian religion from making great progress in a little time; but at last they drove the emperor to such violence as wholly extirpated it in Japan, and very much enlarged the Martyrology [E]. Father Possévin has very sharply censured the laws of the Japonese legislator [F].

(b) See the Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, September 1691, pag. 8, & seq. in the Extract of the History of the Church of Japan.

[E] The violence of the Japonese very much enlarged the Martyrology. Read the Ecclesiastical History of Japan, written by the Jesuit Francis Solier, and the history of the church of Japan, by the abbot of T (20).

(20) It was printed at Paris, in two volumes, in 4to, in the year 1689.

(21) Journ. des Sçavans, July 25, 1689, pag. m. 507.

This abbot admires the depth of the judgments of God, and wonders that he has permitted the blood of so many martyrs to be shed, without making use of it, as in the first ages of the church, as of a fruitful seed for the production of new Christians (21). Without taking the liberty of enquiring into the reasons the divine wisdom may have for permitting at one time, what it does not at another, it may be said that the Christianity of the XVIIth century had no right to hope for the same favour and protection of God, as the Christianity of the three first centuries. The latter was a gentle, meek, and patient religion, that recommended to subjects submission to their sovereigns, and never aspired to raise itself to the thrones by the way of rebellion; but the Christianity which was preached to the infidels in the XVIIth century was no such thing: it was a murdering and sanguinary religion, used to slaughter for five or six hundred years. The Christians had contracted a very long habit of maintaining and aggrandizing themselves, by putting to the sword all those that resisted them. Fire, and hanging, the dreadful tribunal of the Inquisition, cruades, and bulls exciting subjects to rebel, seditious preachers, conspiracies, and assassinations of princes, were the ordinary means they made use of against those that submitted not to their orders. Could they promise to themselves the benediction that heaven granted to the primitive church, to the gospel of peace, patience and gentleness? The best choice the Japonese could have made was to be converted to the true God; but having not a sufficient knowledge to renounce their false religion, there remained nothing to chuse but an active, or a passive persecution. They could not preserve their ancient government, nor their ancient worship, but by ridding themselves of the Christians, who sooner or later would have ruined both, and as soon as they had been capable of making war, would have armed all their proselytes, would have introduced into the country, the soldiers, and the cruel maxims of the Spaniards, and by killing and hanging, as in America, would have brought all Japan under their yoke. Thus considering things only by political views, we shall be obliged to own, that the persecutions the Christians suffered in that country were a prudential means to prevent the overthrow of the monarchy, and plundering of the state. The ingenuous confession of a Spaniard justifies the precaution of those infidels. It gave a specious pretence to the Bonzes to exercise their hatred, and to solicit the extirpation of the Christians. Being asked by the king of Tossa, how the king of Spain became master of so great tracts of land in both the hemispheres, he too honestly answered, that he sent Monks to preach the gospel in foreign nations, and that after they had converted a good number of Pagans, he sent his troops, which joining with the new Christians, subdued the country. This indiscretion cost the Christians dear (22).

(22) Hist. des Ouvrages des Sçavans, Sept. 1691, pag. 13, & 14.

[F] Father Possévin has sharply censured the laws of the Japonese legislator. The first fault he finds with them is, that they command idolatry, and particularly the worship and adoration of Camus and Fotoque. He very well represents the enormity of idolatry, and sets it in the highest degree of injury done to God. He proves this by the example of rebellions; for he says, the greatest crime that can be committed against a prince, is to take away his power, and to confer it on another. Sicut nullum crimen in Regem ac Principem potest gravius admitti, quam eum à suo regno pellere, è regie dignitatis gradu deicere, & alium in summum regie amplitudinis fastigium evehere: ita summa est in Deum injuria, summum in eum scelus admittitur, cum divinus honor, & cultus qui ipsi soli debetur, in alium transfertur, ipsi detrahitur, alii tribuitur (23). As no greater crime can be committed against a king or prince than to expel him from his own kingdom, to degrade

(23) Possévin Bibl. Select. Tom. I, libr. 2, cap. vi, pag. 435. See thereupon, Pénées diverses sur les Comètes, pag. 347, 350.

him from his royal dignity, and to raise another to his throne, so it is the highest injury against GOD, and the greatest wickedness is acted against him when divine honour and worship which are due to him alone, are taken from him and given to another. The second defect of those laws is, that whilst they severely forbid the Bonzes the use of women, they allow pederasty; they forbid them the former as a filthy and abominable thing, and approve the other practice as honest and holy. In Bonziis omnem cum sæminis concubitus, ut rem sædam, turpem, & detestabilem dominant: at usum puerorum permittunt, imò in eisdem Bonziis coitus cum pueris approbant, ut rem bonestam & sanctam (24). Possévin shews by many reasons that pederasty is a most horrid crime. The third fault is, that forbidding to kill certain beasts consecrated to Camus and Fotoque, they permit men to kill one another, and even to be their own murderers. They not only suppose it to be an action acceptable to those deities, but also the true way to deification; hence it is that great numbers of the Japonese kill themselves either precipitating themselves into the water, or burning, or burying themselves alive, or throwing themselves headlong from the top of a rock. Many also rip open their bellies upon slight occasions; and many mothers kill their own children. Possévin shews the foolishness of such conduct (25). The last fault he censures is, that the laws of Japan declare, that by the mere invocation of NAMUAMIDABUT, or by crying FORENGUELIO, men expiate all sorts of sins without any need of repentance. The Japonese, continues he, make no mention of satisfactory pains, or good works; they pretend that these things are injurious to the merit of XACA and AMIDA, who have been sufficiently afflicted for the crimes of men, and have fully expiated them by their sufferings. This doctrine opens the way to sin; for there being nothing easier than to make an invocation, or a cry, men are sure of easily avoiding all the punishments they have reason to fear, after they have given up themselves to the greatest crimes. Possévin (26) does plainly shew the enormity of that doctrine, and the pernicious effects that result from it.

(24) Possévin, ibid.

(25) Possévin ubi supra, pag. 436.

(26) Id. ibid. pag. 437.

There is no reader that can be afraid of being mistaken in condemning such a doctrine; but if he ventures to affirm, that the doctrine of the Bonzes is exactly such as Possévin represents it, he may justly be afraid of making a rash judgment: for after all, we ought never to condemn others upon the testimony of their enemies; it is fit to be informed, whether they own that their doctrine has been faithfully represented. It would not be a faithful representation of it, if one should insist upon the literal sense of some laws, without any regard to the interpretations of the doctors: for at this rate, the most reasonable religions might be charged with abundance of absurdities. There are some harsh things in the Scripture, which it would be wrong to consider as the laws of the Christians; for they take them not in the literal sense, they explain, and soften them by other passages, and according to the analogy of faith. We should know whether the Bonzes do not the same thing with respect to some laws of their legislators. I make no difficulty to believe what is said of the tricks and hypocrisy of those idolatrous priests; but I think it probable, that they cover their doctrines as well as their conduct with an outward severity; and perhaps we ought to impute but to some of them, what Possévin charges upon the whole body of their sects. Some Monks have taught, that the most wicked wretches have been saved by the bare invocation of the Holy Virgin. The extravagance of those, who talk of the treasure of indulgences, and who say that the merits of the saints, and their works of supererogation, supply the want of repentance in many men, would afford good chapters for a relation that a Japonese traveller should publish. Were it not an unjust thing, should he relate all this as so many articles of the Christian faith? Once more, I would know what the Bonzes would answer to this question; do you teach what Possévin imputes to you? I should be glad also to see a history written by them

of the establishment of Christianity in their islands, and having read those of Francis Solier and the abbot de T. of its extirpation. And if they should write it, after it would still be very proper to compare them together.

JARCHI, or JARHI (SOLOMON) a famous Rabbi, who lived in the XIIth century [A]. His true name is Ifaaki (a). 'Nevertheless, because of that pretended name Jarhi, some believe that he was of Lunel in Languedoc; but he was of Troyes in Champagne, as R. Ghedalia, and the greatest part of the Jewish Chronologers affirm His books are much esteemed by the Jews [B], and he may be said to be their great author.' They sometimes join to the Books, which they call the five volumes, the *Commentaries of Raschi, who is their great author upon the Bible, because he is very much skilled in their divinity and traditions* (b). Mr Simon, who says all this, had done well to observe, that Rabbi Raschi is the same with Rabbi Jarchi or Ifaaki. He is also called *Ijaacites*. See the margin (c).

(a) Simon. Hist. Critique du Vieux Testament, pag. m. 545.

(b) Id. ibid. pag. 514, col. 2.

(c) I give the article of this Rabbi at the word ISAACITES.

(1) Simon, Hist. Crit. du Vieux Testament, pag. 545.

(2) See Konig, Bibl. pag. 423.

(3) Idem, but note that Konig, ibid. pag. 406, who after Hottinger places Maimonides in the XIIth century, differs from most authors, who place him in the XIIIth.

(4) Hoornbeek, contra Judæos, pag. 7.

(c) Mezer. Abr. Chronol. Torn. II, pag. m. 799.

(6) Hoornbeek, ubi supra.

[A] He lived in the XIIth century. Mr Simon places him in that century (1). Some say he died in the year 1105 (2). Others say he lived in the XIIIth century, and make him cotemporary with Maimonides (3). Others suppose he lived in the XIVth century (4); for they say he was expelled from France with the other Jews, by king Philip the fair. Now the edict of that king against the Jews is of the twenty second of July 1307 (5). Mr Hoornbeek supposes that this Rabbi was banished from France at that time. He makes him to be a native of Lunel in Languedoc, and observes, that it is a town in which there have been always many Jews. See how he proves it: *Unde in epistolis Gregorii, libr. 3. epistol. 21. Venantio Episcopo Lunensi inscripta ita incipit: multorum ad nos relatione pervenit, à Judæis in Lunensi civitate de gentibus ad servitium Christiana detineri mancipia* (6). — In the letters of Pope Gregory III, book 3. epist. 21. addressed to Venantius bishop of Lunel, we find the beginning runs thus: We have it from many hands, that the Jews in the city of Lunel, detain for their service certain Christian slaves ransomed out of cap-

tivity under the infidels.' It is a gross fault; for Lunel in Languedoc was never an episcopal see. Pope Gregory in that place, means Luna a city of Italy in Tuscany. The ruins of it are to be seen at the mouth of the Magra. Its episcopal see was transferred to Sarzana by Pope Nicolas V (7).

[B] His books are much esteemed by the Jews. We have his commentaries upon the Scripture, in the Bibles of Venice and Basil. They have also printed with the body of the Talmud his glosses or commentaries upon this great book (8). Mr Brun (9) says, that he saw some Jews at Bourdeaux, who were still so fond of the memory of Solomon Jarchi, the most famous of all their Rabbies, for the learned commentaries he made, both on the holy Scripture and the Talmud, that they told me, says he, that they resolved to make shortly a journey to Lunelle (10) near Nismes, to see the place where that great man was born, and from which he had his name, and that they would endeavour to live there, which they believed would easily be granted them.

(7) See Mireus, Geogr. Eccles. pag. 236.

(8) Simon, ubi supra.

(9) Brun, Veritable Religion des Hollandais, pag. 214.

(10) It should be Lunel.

* Jarcha signifies the Moon in Hebrew; so that they call him Jarchi for de Lunelle.

JARDINS (MARY CATHERINE DES) famous for her romances [A], flourished in the XVIIth century. 'She was born at Alençon a little Town, whereof her father was provost. When she came to be about nineteen or twenty years old, she began to consider her small estate; and being poor, and having as much wit as ambition, she came to Paris with a design to make her self known, and to change her fortune. She was not altogether mistaken in this: Having a great genius, she was quickly talked of, and people were ambitious to be acquainted with her. Mr de Ville-Dieu, a gentleman well made, and in pretty good circumstances, was one of the first that knew Mrs des Jardins: he esteemed and loved her, and tho' she was not handsome, he married her. But by ill fortune he died some time after. The poor woman retired for grief into a nunnery; but when she had a little recovered from her affliction, she left it, and married Mr de la Châte for her second husband, whom she buried also. Being sensibly touched with this new misfortune, she utterly renounced marriage, and resolved to spend the rest of her days in gallantry. She began to hearken to the love-discourses of the sparks, and answered them in verses and letters, which have a fine and delicate turn (a). The author who furnishes me with this narrative has omitted several things [B], and has not

(a) Richelet, Vie des Auteurs François, pag. Irvil. Hague Edit. 1699.

(1) I think it was intitled Alchiane, or Alcédamie. I do not remember it well.

[A] She is famous for her romances. The first, or one of the first which she made (1), was to contain several volumes in 8vo, according to the custom of that time. But she did not carry it on so far as she designed; and I have heard the reason of it was, because it was known, that she intended to represent under fictitious names, and with some disguises, the adventures of a great lady, who had under-matched herself. She was threatened with the resentment of those concerned, if she carried on the intrigue to the end of the romance; whereupon she went no farther. But she did not bury her talent; on the contrary, having found out a new way of writing romances, she published a great many with very good success. She brought into fashion those little gallant novels, which quickly shew the good or ill success of a soft passion, and she put out of request those tedious and vain relations of heroical, warlike, and amorous adventures, which had brought so much profit to the Printers of Cassandra, Cleopatra, Cyrus, Clelia, &c. The new taste she created does still prevail; and tho' that sort of books quickly lose the grace of novelty, yet the first romances, that she composed upon this new model, are still read with pleasure; as her *Journal amoureux*, her *Annales Galantes*, her *Galanteries Grenadines*, and many others. She published in 1672 *Les Exiliez de la Cour d'Auguste*; a romance

which an illustrious lady (2) thought very pretty. That which is intitled *Les Desordres de l'Amour* (3), and Seignol's another intitled *Portrait des Faiblesses humaines* (4), Letters of the count de Buffe are not inferior to the former. It is an unhappy thing that Mrs des Jardins should have opened a way III, Letter, to a liberty, that is daily more and more abused; pag. m. 362. which is, to father one's inventions and love-intrigues upon the greatest men of the later ages (5), and to mix them with matters of fact, that have some foundation in history. This mixture of truth and fiction is spread in abundance of new books; it spoils the taste of young people, and makes one unwilling to believe what is really credible. See the remark [C] of the article NIDHARD.

[B] Mr Richelet . . . has omitted several things. Since I observe this, it would be proper for me to vemb 1681, art. 1, and the Journal des Savants, Novemb. 1685, pag. 494. I may be excused: but Richelet cannot so well come off; for as he lived in Paris, and led no sedentary life, it was an easy thing for him to inform himself of the time that Mrs des Jardins left the country, and settled in the capital city of the kingdom. He might as easily have learned what acquaintances she first contracted, what patrons she got, at what time, and with what book

(4) See the *Œuvres* Nouvelles, Novemb. 1681, art. 1, and the *Journal des Savants*, Novemb. 1685, pag. 494.

(5) See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Oct. 1684, in the Catalog. n. 5.

not been exact in the circumstances of time; for he will have it that she did not begin to lend an ear to love-discourses, till after the death of her two husbands: But I am assured from many hands, that this date is very ill placed, and that this woman's gallantry was infinitely less than ever at the time he speaks of. There was in the Spanish Netherlands one Mrs DES JARDINS, cotemporary with this, whose name and picture have for some years together been placed in the front of the Almanack. She that makes the subject of this article, died in the year 1683 (b).

(b) See the Mercure Galant for November, 1683, pag. 267.

book she first came out; what was the date of her first marriage and first widowhood, of her second marriage, and of the death of her second husband; the chronological series of her romances; the time of her death, and many things of this nature, of which he has not said a word; and yet you see at the top of the pages, *The lives of the French authors*. Can a title be more shamefully abused? Can we call that a narrative, in which so many essential things are wanting? You

will tell me doubtless, that many readers will not be angry at those omissions; but this does not justify the writer. They would not have been displeased to find in his book the things that he has forgotten. Abundance of other readers would have been very glad to have seen them. He has not then taken the best method; for it is much better to do what pleases many people and displeases no body, than to do what displeases some, and does not displease others.

JARRIGE (PETER), a native of Tulle in Limousin, one of the most famous preachers among the Jesuits, but otherways a very ill man [A], did so resent the not obtaining in his order the employments he thought he deserved, that he resolved to turn Protestant. He communicated his design to a minister (a), who contrived expedients for his retiring into Holland (b), and he made his abjuration in the consistory of the church of Rochelle on Christmas-day 1647. Being arrived at Leyden, he preached before a numerous congregation, concerning the motives of his conversion; and afterwards endeavoured to make people believe that he was no longer a Papist. The States granted him a pension (c). But the Jesuits made informations against him with the utmost fury, and used all possible means to defame him. They got him condemned by the judge of Rochelle to be hanged, and afterwards burnt . . . But all these proceedings served only to make public the vexation this loss gave them, and to furnish Jarrige, who was violent and vindictive, with a pretence to revenge himself upon them. He did it by a book intituled *Les Jesuites mis sur l'Echafaud*, (*The Jesuits brought upon the Scaffold*) in which he treated them in so bloody a manner, that their society never had such a mortification (d). He published also a particular answer to *Peter Beaufets*, who had slandered him in a heinous manner (e). One would have thought, that he and the Jesuits, whom he had so strangely defamed, could never be reconciled; and yet the Jesuit Ponthelier (f), who was then at the Hague in the retinue of an ambassador, did not despair of bringing him back; and he managed him in such a manner, that he brought him to a resolution of returning to the church of Rome. The thing was executed in 1650. Jarrige left Leyden, and went to the Jesuits of Antwerp, and immediately published his recantation [B]; but it

(a) To Mr Vincent, minister of Rochelle.

(b) Histoire de l'Edit. de Nantes, Tom. III, pag. 93.

(c) Jarrige, Retraction, pag. 101.

(d) Hist. de l'Edit. des Nant. ubi supra.

(e) In a book intituled, Les Impietez & Sacrileges de Pierre Jarrige. Retraction. de Jarrige, pag. 70.

(f) See the remark [C].

[A] He was a very ill man.] This is indisputable from what he confesses himself in his Retraction. So that I need not use the argument which a very worthy man enforced one day in the presence of several Protestants. He said, that a man of letters, as Jarrige was, and perpetually taken up with preaching, could not have remembered at Leyden all the little adventures he displayed in his *Jesuites mis sur l'Echafaud*, and in his answer to James Beaufets, unless he had writ them down, as he heard of them, with the names and surnames of the persons, and with all the little circumstances of time and place. Now this was a sign of a corrupt mind, and the character of an ill man; for he would never have been at the pains of keeping such a register, if he had not designed to lay up arms for the time to come, in case he should break with the Jesuits. He was thinking of revenge, and of the means of making himself dreaded, even before he knew whether he should ever have occasion for them. There are some men who keep even the least notes of their friends, and especially take care of such notes which they might take advantage of in case of a rupture. They consider the inconstancy of our passions, and they love, as if one day they were to hate (1), and take their measures accordingly. It is certain, that those who keep with that view the letters of their friends, their most free conversations, and strictest confidences, are dishonest men. The person I speak of, used this comparison against Peter Jarrige's diary. I will not vouch for this thought; I relate it only as a meer matter of fact, every one may judge of it as he pleases. I have no occasion for it to comment upon my text, as will appear from the following remarks.

(1) Ita amicum habere, posse ut fieri inimicum potes. Publilius Syrus, apud Macrobi. Saturn. lib. II, cap. vii.

(2) Pag. 8.

(3) Pag. 11.

[B] He immediately published his recantation.] He confessed (2) 'that a virulent passion of rage had made him leave the Jesuits, and that there was nothing (3) in the cursed and scandalous sermon he preached at Leyden, but what was truly speaking a blasphemy, V O L. III.

'so much the more punishable in the judgment of God, because his conscience gave the lie to his words.' He accused himself (4) 'of having cloathed his first and impudent lye with circumstances no less false than criminal, namely, that God had for sixteen years before put into his heart the first foundations of the work he had begun some months before in his own country, and which he so happily and satisfactorily accomplished in Holland.' He confessed (5) 'that by a further malice, he had defamed many innocent persons, to revenge himself of two men whom he thought culpable; that upon the reading of the sentence by which he was condemned to die (6) for a religion, which he detested in his heart. . . . Rage deprived him of his judgment, and that not knowing what he did, he had done like those mad dogs, who bite their masters without knowing them. Being therefore destitute of reason, says he (7), and seized with a spirit of vengeance, I wrote a virulent book against the province of Guienne, from whence I came. . . . I used all manner of artifices to bespatter their reputation. Rhetoric is like prospective glasses, which make little things appear great, and represent a frog as big as an ox. It was sufficient for me to have some slight foundation to build a great crime upon; I did not care to speak truth, provided I had some judicious subterfuge to cover my lyes with. I industriously laboured upon a little matter, and by the circumstances I added, I made a great elephant of a little fly. Those who know the little accidents, and of small consequence, that happened in that holy province, see better than others, that the desire of revenge supplied me with a great deal of art to magnify little things, and with too much invention to make them probable. The reverend Father Ponthelier warmly, but modestly, reproached me with it, when I was in the most violent heat of my anger, and received no other answer from me but

(4) Pag. 22.

(5) Pag. 69.

(6) The provincial of the Jesuits obtained a sentence in the Presidial of Rochelle, whereby Jarrige was condemned to be hanged, and then burnt. He carried me, says Jarrige, pag. 72 of his Recantation, to the gallows, and from the gallows to a wood pile; he caused the sentence of the Presidial to be printed, and the causes of my punishment to be explained; he sent the sentence into all the provinces; and what was done against my effigies, had been done against my body, had not God protected me in a country, where I was only to sin against him.

(7) Pag. 73.

7 A

it is not known what became of him afterwards. Many people believe that the Jesuits imprisoned him for life [C]. This might be; but other reasons may be given why such a man should be seen no more [D]. I am persuaded, that the historian quoted by me, will

(8) Pag. 77.

but this, that since Father Rousseau and Father Beau-fair had used a thousand tricks and inventions to get me condemned to the flames, it was very reasonable, that I should find inventions to revenge myself, and that I should build upon a little foundation beinous accusations, as they had built theirs upon appearances. I added, that they had not only written as I did, but that they had actually banged and burnt me in effigy . . . Like a revengeful man, I took the wrong way to exercise my resentment . . . If I met with any slight occasion to glofs upon, I failed not to make my conjectures pafs for proofs; and if it happened that any were suspected, right or wrong, either at home or abroad, I took those suspicions for truths, and endeavoured to make worthy men pafs for great villains, who, upon a serious inquiry, will be found guilty of meer indiscretion or at most of an inconsiderable fault. Any one that shall seriously and impartially examine my discourse, will find, that I made specious and artful preludes to make my forgeries go down the better. I have said too much to be believed, and the Heretics themselves, though for the time to come they will lay great stress upon my defamations, disapproved them in the synod of Middleburg: and a man must needs be as much incensed as I was, when I wrote that book, to give credit to my contumelies. Certainly, if any thing did happen, those that were guilty were dismissed from the society, which having the qualities of the great ocean, cannot keep dead carcasses in it's bosom. My accusations are therefore unjust, having charged an illustrious order with the faults of those they have expelled as unworthy to live amongst the saints, and to entertain the thoughts of the devil amongst angels. My fury prompted me to discover the evil, and to say nothing of the remedies applied to it. I have indeed said in some places, what some had done: but I did not add that they were immediately, and without any delay, expelled as pestiferous men. I made a satire to revenge my self, and not a panegyric to praise them. Those who know the Jesuits, will no doubt believe, that the crimes of Regicide, Infanticide, Sodomy, and such other abominable transgressions, are meer forgeries . . . (9). How often have I, against good reasoning, made use of captious reflexions to draw a general inference from a particular thing, and to ascribe to the whole society, what could have been verified but of one private person, if I had been reduced to a judicial evidence? What stories have I not forged and altered a thousand ways, in order to cut more sensibly, and to make deeper and more dangerous wounds? if I would refute every thing in particular, or give a reason of my accusations, I should trouble you, dear reader, with a thousand circumstances, which would render my retraction very tedious and irreligious. It suffices then to say, that I retract that pernicious book in general, and in all it's parts, without taking in the things which I have said of Father Rousseau and Father Beauvais for my justification and defence. I beseech the equitable readers to take this present book as one of my declarations, and I entreat them through the merciful bowels of JESUS CHRIST, never to read the other, because it is heretical, and never to cast their eyes upon it, because it is a work which an evil conscience has conceived, melancholy has formed, and revenge has produced.

(10) See the Apologie pour les Reformateurs, &c. livr. 1, chap. ix, pag. 254. Edit. in 4to, and the Critique Generale, Letter 10, pag. 147, of the third edition.

I leave my reader to judge, whether the gentlemen of Port Royal have any good reason for maintaining, that Peter Jarrige published an insufficient recantation, and that he indeed accuses himself of having written his book against the Jesuits with too much passion, but that he does not disown, in particular, any of the scandalous stories he had related. Those who answered Maimbourg's history of Calvinism, failed not to take advantage of this reflexion of the gentlemen of Port-Royal (10). [C] Many people believe the Jesuits imprisoned him for life. As he foresaw that this would be said, or something worse, he affected to make it known, that the Jesuits had given him a very good reception, and that they who would not believe it, might come and

see him. Here is what he wrote to a merchant. 'I know very well, that the ministers and gentlemen I have left, will say, that I am dead or imprisoned; but do me this favour, to desire those who shall come to Antwerp, to come and see me in the college, and I promise you, I will not only speak to them with freedom, but, if they please, I will wait on them through the town, and travel with them into the Catholic territories (11). To which you may add this passage of his recantation (12). 'I know very well, that the Heretics, measuring the actions of others by their own, will spread false reports, that I have been poisoned, or clapt up in a dungeon, where I can only see the light through a hole; that the reverend father John Ponthelier, who was the principal instrument God made use of to take me out of the abyss, has seduced me, and cunningly conveyed me from the United Provinces, where I was safe, to deliver me into the hands of my enemies, or to death. But this concerns the conversion of all the apostates of several orders, who are still in the mire of error, and only kept in it by the fear of punishment, to know that these stories are false, and that I am escaped out of the power of the wolves, to enter into the bosom of a merciful pastor, who glories to carry the straying sheep upon his shoulders. Certainly, if I was treated according to my crimes, an imprisonment of ten years would not be sufficient to expiate them. But since I return into the bosom of my father voluntarily, and without constraint, where sin has for two years abounded, grace at present doth much more abound.' He affected to make it known how many securities had been granted him. 'I have obtained from his majesty, said he (13), 'one of the finest patents of pardon and absolution that ever was granted: so that I neither fear Bourdeaux, for the book, nor Rochelle, for the sentence of death. I have received in the second place, letters of assurance from our holy father the Pope, with power to retire into any Catholic town I please, in which he has commanded all magistrates and ecclesiastics to protect me, being contented that I should only wear the habit of a priest. I have received thirdly, a passport from the arch-duke Leopold, through all his territories. Fourthly, the general of the society of Jesus, Francis Piccolomini, has sent me a patent to enter again among the Jesuits, where I am with an entire abolition of my fault, without imposing upon me any penance or satisfaction, except what I shall take upon myself: the same has given me other patents to go into what kingdom or province of the world I please, so that I have the choice of all the colleges of the society: all this is signed with the great seals of his office, and nothing is more authentic. And to compleat my happiness, Father Ponthelier, who has procured me all these favours and wonders, has leave to live with me as long as he pleases, and he will never leave me till I am entirely satisfied, I can assure you of it. Besides (which is a thing granted to no body) I have the choice to be either a secular priest, or to live in the society of the Jesuits; and I expect a definitive answer from Rome.'

[D] Other reasons may be given why such a man should be seen no more. His recantation proved him to be the greatest rogue upon the earth; for in it he acknowledged, that to revenge himself of two Jesuits, he had defamed the whole society with false accusations of regicide, infanticide, sodomy, and such other abominable crimes (14). When a man owns himself a public calumniator, with respect to such crimes as these, the best thing he can do, is to conceal himself all the rest of his days. If he has any conscience, he ought to confine himself to a place of penitence as long as he lives; if he has none, and has any sense of honour left, he ought to shun all company, and, like Bellerophon, avoid the very footsteps of men.

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ κἀκεῖν ἀπ' ἡμεῶν παῖσι θεοῖσιν,
ἦτοι δ' ἀπαπειρίον τὸ Ἀλκίον ὄϊον ἄλ' αὐτοῦ,
Ὅν θυμὸν καλῶν, πᾶτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλυσίνων.

(11) Lettre de Jarrige au Sieur G. M. Marchand à Leide, datée d'Antwerp le eight of May, 1650. It was printed at Leyden the same year, with an answer, which I shall mention hereafter, in the remark [F].

(12) Pag. 4.

(13) Letter to the merchant of Leyden.

(14) Retraite, pag. 79.

Sed

will not take it ill, if for the instruction of the public, I rectify his account [E]. In the answers that were made to Jarrige's retraction, it was said that his morals had not been

Sed quando jam & ille invivus fuit omnibus diis,
Ille quidem per campum Aleium solus errabat,
Suum animum excedens, vestigia hominum vitans (15).

*Afflicted by the gods he roams alone
O'er the Aleian plains, and seeks mankind to shun.*

He ought then to practise what Balzac said he would do for a much lesser reason. I would go, says he (16), and eat my heart in the deserts of Thebais, *ipse meum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans*.

[E] The historian quoted by me, will not take it ill that I rectify his account.] Jarrige was a turbulent and ambitious man, and possibly he converted himself more out of spite to see himself crossed in the design he had to arrive to the dignities of his order, than out of any zeal for the truth. He made an abjuration of the Romish religion, in the confilatory of Rochelle, on Christmas day, after which he retired into Holland. This was the first breach made in their society, none of which, before this man, was ever known to forsake the Catholic religion. At least, if others have left it, there was no noise made about it, either because the Jesuits prudently thought fit to be silent, or because these Persons did not deserve that any complaints should be made of them (17).

Some time after his book was published, Jarrige disappeared, and the Jesuits boasted, that as he left their order, only out of anger, he was returned to it out of repentance; that he had shut himself up in one of their houses, to hide himself from all worldly commerce, and to do penance all his life. But because he was never seen afterwards, it was believed on the contrary, that the Jesuits had caused him to be carried off, and that they had secretly revenged themselves upon him, for the displeasure he had given them by his change. Indeed, it is not imaginable, that after they had made so much noise for the loss of him, they would not draw some advantage from his return, and produce him at least some times in the provinces, where his desertion was known, to lessen the joy that the Protestants conceived upon that conquest. Besides, we have had since many other experiments of what they can do against those that desert them, and we are no longer ignorant, that they know how to steal them away from their safest retreats, and make them expiate with long sufferings, the crimes of violating their vows (18). I shall only make three remarks upon this narrative.

The first will be short: This author should not have expressed himself by a *possibly* upon the motives of Jarrige's change. It is evident that anger was the only cause. Mr Spanheim was convinced of it at the first conversation he had with him (19), and his whole retraction shews it.

My second observation is, that it was not the first breach made in the society of the Jesuits, attended with consequences that made a great noise. In the XVIth century, a Jesuit called Elias Hasenmullerus, left the order to turn Lutheran. He was a man who had curiously observed both the strong and weak side of that society; so that for fear of his publishing the history of it, the Jesuits did all that was possible to seize him. He had the good luck to avoid their snares, by hiding himself sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another but at last, to put himself out of the reach of their conspiracies, he retired to Wittemberg, in the year 1587 (20), where he spent his time, in putting the last hand to a history of the Jesuits, which he designed to publish. He died before he could do it: his manuscript was published some time after by Polycarp Lyserus (21). It is a very strong piece against the Jesuits (22), and take it altogether, it is more provoking than the books of Jarrige, though perhaps there are not so many particular adventures in it. This work was received with great applause. The Jesuits caused it to be refuted by James Gretserus, which occasioned several books *pro* and *con*.

I have said, that perhaps Hasenmullerus does not tell so many adventures as Jarrige; but it is certain, that in the chapter of the vow of chastity, he relates some that are very scandalous; and doubtless to make the impurities of which he accuses the Jesuits, the more ab-

horred, he has laid open many precautions, with which he says they fortify themselves against this sin. He says, they make use of foods that mortify and enervate the flesh, and that they order watchings, fastings, whippings, and hair-cloths, to those that confess their temptations. 'In cibis & potu variis utuntur herbis & pharmacis, quibus naturæ vim enervant, & sobolem, ut ita dicam, intra viscera propria occidunt *μωδῶς*.' *ἁπασι*, & à Deo ordinatæ humanæ propagationis hostes. Si qui fratres in confessionibus conqueruntur de carnis infirmitate, flammis atque ustione, eam ut extinguant ordinant illis vigilias, jejunia, cilicia, & flagella, quibus carnem suam doment, castigent, & in servitutem, ut loquuntur, spiritus redigant (23).

— In their meat and drink, they make use of several sorts of herbs, and other drugs, whereby they enervate the strength of nature; and thus these masturbators, if I may use the expression, destroy their children even in their own bowels, and are enemies to the propagation of the human species, as ordained by God. If any of the brotherhood complain, in their confessions, of infirmities in the flesh, of lustful flames and burnings, they direct them, in order to extinguish these, to make use of watchings, fastings, sack-cloth garments, and scourges, whereby they may tame and correct the flesh, and reduce it, as their phrase is, into subjection to the spirit. He adds, that there are some who study to rail and cherish in their soul, a great hatred for the fair sex, 'Nonnullos vidi qui nihil voluerunt edere, quod a muliere coctum sciebant. Alios dicentes audivi, quoties de scemina cogito, toties stomachus meus & bilis commoventur & conturbantur. Alius dicebat, tædet pudetque me quod à muliere sum in hanc lucem editus; dignus certe cui vacca fuisset genitrix. Alii nihil prorsus boni in tota mulieris substantia esse dicunt, sique ex illis quidam cæteros in harum calumniarum palæstra vincere conantur, illi ad mentionem mulieris expuunt, & in tabula maledicos & in sexum scemineum contumeliosos Mantuanî versus (quos tamen non nisi de malis cecinit) descriptos ob oculos ponunt, ut sic in seipsis majus in mulieres odium excitent (24).

I have known some of them who would eat nothing that they knew to have been dressed by a woman; others I have heard saying, as often as I think of the sex, my very stomach and bile are distorted and disturbed. Another said, it vexes and makes me ashamed, that I was born of a woman; worthy sure to have had a cow for his mother. Others assert, that there is nothing good in the whole substance of a woman; and when some endeavour to outdo the rest in breathing out these calumnies, they spit at the very mention of a female, and when at table, set before their eyes Mantuan's bitter verses on the sex (though his satire is pointed only against the bad) that they may stir up in themselves the greater aversion to women in general. By this we see that all sorts of extravagancies may enter into the mind, under a false devotion; for what can be more absurd, and more resembling a lunatic, than the discourses of those people? My stomach rises, say they, and my cholera is stirred as often as I think of a woman; I am sorry and ashamed, to owe my birth to a woman; I spit when I hear a woman mentioned. I have not found in Hasenmullerus's book, a passage quoted by a modern author (25): he pretends to have read in it, that a workman who was at work for the Jesuits, though they gave him meat and drink enough, could not care for his wife; and yet when he laboured at other people's houses, did very well perform his nocturnal duty, even when he drank nothing but water: for which reason his wife would not suffer him to work for the Jesuits any longer, and afterwards the magistrates of Landsberg (26) did not permit any body to buy their beer. If it had that ill quality, the magistrates were to be praised for forbidding laymen to drink it; for the conjugal duty is so privileged a case, that many casuists submit the laws of the church to it. They pretend, that when fasting hinders a man from paying his duty to his wife, he is *ipso facto*, dispensed from fasting. See the margin (27).

If the conversion of the Jesuit Hasenmullerus made a great noise, that of the Jesuit Reihing made still a greater (28). It is he, who is thought to have contributed

(23) Hasenmullerus, Historia Ordinis Jesuitici, pag. 127, Edit. Francol. 1605.

(24) Ibid. pag. 131.

(25) The author of the Polygamia Triumphatrix. The following words are to be found, pag. 132. Hasenm. Hist. Jel. cap. vi, pag. 99, ubi joculorum, sed tamen v. ram historiam narrat de opifine quodam, qui apud Jesuitas laborans comedens & bibens, uxori benevolentiam debitam non potuit reddere, sed apud alios vel aquam bibens virum se valuit prestare, eamque ob causam non voluit, ut amplius Jesuitis inserviret, uti & postea Landesherrgenies prohibuerint in Bavaria, ne amplius cerevisiam apud Jesuitas emercent.

(26) A town in Bavaria.

(27) These are not obliged to fast, who . . . when they fast, cannot pay a due benevolence to their wives. Emanuel Sa. Anthoni verba Jejunium n. 9. Tolet. Instruct. Sacerdot. lib. vi. cap. iv. Thom. 2. secunda Quest. 147. art. iv. De Mulin in the book of Traditions, pag. m. 343.

(28) He turned Lutheran about the year 1623.

(15) Homer. Illad. lib. vi. ver. 200.

(16) Letter xxxiv, to Châpelain, book v. See Cicero Tull. Quæst. lib. iii. fol. 263, D.

(17) Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, Tom. III, pag. 93.

(18) Ibid. pag. 94.

(19) Jarrige, Retraction, pag. 7.

O' Hasenmullerus, an Ex-Jesuit, and of his Historia Ordinis Jesuitici.

(20) Taken from the preface of Polycarp Lyserus, prefixed to Hasenmullerus's book.

(21) At Frankfurt, in the year 1593, in 4to.

(22) Hasenmullerus qui fuit Jesuita, & scriptor triumphum Papæ, habet multa bona. Scaliger, in Scaligeranis, postscriptum, pag. m. 205. It is not true that he is the author of the Triumphus Papæ, prefixed to his Historia Jesuitici Ordinis. Maximilian Philo is the author of it. Scaliger's mistake is also to be found in the Catalogue of the Bodleian library.

(g) Biblioth.
Vetus & Nova,
pag. 424.

been edifying whilst he appeared a Protestant [F]. König (g) calls him Jarrichius, and will have him to have published in 1665, *the Jesuit upon the Scaffold* (b); which implies three faults.

In the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, he is confounded with another Jesuit, whose work is ascribed to him, and whose name was Peter Jarric. (b) Jesuitum . . . ferali pegmate constitutum. It should be Jesuitum.

buted to bring the duke of Newburg to the Romish communion. See the Article of REIHING. Thus you see two eminent conversions of Jesuits which preceded that of Peter Jarrige. I say nothing of Daniel Peirol, minister of the church of Montauban, and professor in the academy of the same town. He had been a Jesuit, and he wrote something against Father Coton. I have found this in the twenty-first page of Gilbert Voetius's *Confraternitas Mariana*.

My third observation is, that Jarrige was not carried off: he retired voluntarily, being moved to it by the suggestion of the Jesuit Ponthelier. This appears by the authentic pieces that have been printed. Such is the letter he wrote to the merchant of Leyden, and much more his recantation (29).

(29) See the remark [C], citations (11), (12), and (13).

[F] His morals had not been edifying whilst he appeared a Protestant. I have seen two answers to his recantation; one written by Ezekiel Daunois of Compeigne, a minister of the gospel: The other by John Nicolai, of Luxemburg, a member of the French church at Amsterdam. In the preface of his second answer, I have read, that Peter Jarrige endeavoured in vain to be admitted into the ministry, before the four years of trial were expired, which the synods have appointed for those who come from Popery. 'That touch, says he, filled you with indignation after your last rejection in the synod of Harlem, where you was also accused (your conscience knows whether it was wrongfully) of an action as infamous as those filthy things, of which you accuse the Jesuits of your

province to put them upon the scaffold. Now, tho' it was not then examined to the bottom, forasmuch as the witnesses were not present; yet the suspicion remained, considering the great knowledge and experience you have expressed in your book, of such sort of impurities.' The letter which the Leyden merchant wrote to him, will explain all this: these words are to be found there: 'You may remember with what spirit you was led, when you returned from the synod of Middleburg, which you had in vain so vehemently solicited, to obtain an exception to the order made against admitting to the holy ministry (which you was fond of to cause a greater scandal) those that come from Popery, till after a trial of four years. Being refused, you made your presumption, pride, and vanity, plainly appear; and in your way home you happened to be at night in the cabin of the vessel, where were many women, whom not being able to talk with but by signs, you shewed them by candle-light your obscene parts, and made them set up a cry against this villanous and abominable priest, as they called you; which not only awaked a good servant of God, who was there, but all the rest of the crew, who running at the alarm, upon hearing the women talked of nothing but throwing you into the water; which they would have done, had it not been for that good man, who pacified them; but the boatman protested that he would tell it in the place from whence you came.'

JAVERSAC (N.) was one of the authors that entered the lists during Balzac's great quarrel with father Goulu. He was a native of a town near Angoulême (a), and he removed to Paris with a book against Phyllarchus (b) and Narcissus (c), under the name of Aristarchus to Nicander. His criticisms are worth nothing in some places; for instance, he maintains, *we ought to say Ruette, and not Ruelle; livraire, and not libraire, since they say in French, un livre, and not un libre*. This new author found himself attacked in his lodgings, and even in his bed, with sword and pistol; but as he was young and valiant, he took his sword, and pursued his enemy into the street, and got great honour, for this courageous defence. Nevertheless, the very next day this adventure was sung upon the Pont-Neuf, quite otherwise than it happened [A]. A libel was published, intitled, *La Defaite du Paladin Javersac par les allies, & confederes du Prince des feuilles* (d). (The defeat of the knight errant Javersac, by the allies and confederates of the Prince of the leaves [Phyllarchus]). I have heard a man of great wit say, that Balzac was the author of that piece, and that it is the best that came out upon that dispute. A sacrilegious calumny was found in the title of that libel (e); for father Goulu was charged in it with that attempt, notwithstanding the sacredness of his profession. Javersac declared him innocent of it, and imputed it only to Balzac (f); but discreet persons could neither accuse Phyllarchus nor Narcissus of it (g). That which is certain, is, that it has been published (b) that Balzac being on his death-bed, remembering, that in his younger years something had passed betwixt Javersac and him, sent one of his friends to his house, which was seven or eight leagues, distant from Angoulême to desire him to make him a visit, that he might have the satisfaction of embracing him before he died. That he really embraced him with an incredible transport of joy, and poured into his bosom an effusion of love, which agreeably put out of their minds the remembrance of their antient quarrel. That Mr de Javersac was so sensibly touched with it, that immediately being all in tears, he made a sonnet to lament for ever the loss of his friend.

Since the first edition of this Dictionary, I have learned some circumstances, of which I will give an account to my readers [B].

[A] This adventure was related quite otherwise than it happened. Never were two things more different, than the manner how this adventure is related by Sorel, and by him that published *La defaite du Paladin Javersac* (1). This pamphlet says, that the Paladin was of Cognac, where he had pleaded some causes; that after the publication of his book, there was a conspiracy to fall upon him in the open street; but that they were forced to attack him in his chamber, because he kept himself shut up all the day long; that he was surprised asleep in the arms of his landlord's wife, on Thursday the eleventh of August, 1628, at nine of the clock in the morning, and awaked by a salvo of bastinadoes, which lasted as long as it pleased the aggressor, since Paladin wholly resigned himself to provi-

dence. The conclusion of the libel is, that the friends of Phyllarchus 'joining in this with those of the contrary party, have sworn to root out as many Javersacs as they can meet with, and to make it plain to bad poets, that besides the golden, brazen, and iron, ages, so celebrated in the fables, there is still a wooden age to come, which the ancient poets have not mentioned, in the miseries and calamities whereof they shall have a greater share than other men.' I make use of the edition of 1665 (2). See the following remark.

[B] I have learned some circumstances which I will give an account of to my readers. Javersac's book was printed and reprinted in 1628, with this title, *Discours d'Aristarque à Nicandre, sur le jugement des Esprits*.

(2) That is, of the folio edition of Balzac's works.

(a) Sorel, Bibl. Française, pag. 132, Edit. 1667. Note that Cognac is the town mentioned by Sorel.

(b) It is the name that Father Goulu took.

(c) It is the name Father Goulu gave to Balzac.

(d) Sorel, ubi supra.

(e) Sorel. ibid.

(f) See the last remark, citation (14).

(g) Sorel, ubi supra.

(h) Morisset, in the account of Balzac's death. It is in the edition of Balzac's works in folio.

(1) It is a pamphlet of sixteen pages in 8vo. It has been reprinted in the folio edition of Balzac's works, with some other pieces made in his favour.

Esprits de ce temps, & sur les fautes de Phylarque. The first thing to be met with in it, is an advertisement of the Printer, full of lies; for it is there given out, that they were forced to use all sorts of artifices to overreach the vigilance, wherewith the author hindered the publication of his work. *He did not love it so little as to be willing to expose it to the rage of envy.* Afterwards you find an abusive letter, which he writ to Mr Bergeron, counsellor to the king, and referendary in Chancery. As he supposes that this Mr Bergeron had made difficulties against the granting the king's licence, in order to deprive him of the advantage of being the first that should publish any thing about the dispute of Balzac and Goulu, and to give time to la Motte Aigron to be before him, he expresses a great rage in that letter. In the third place, you see his preface, wherein he mentions the great efforts his enemies had made to stop the impression of his book. At last you find the book itself. This is not the only work that Javerlac has published. In the same year, 1628, came out the *Discours d'Aristarque à Calidote sur ce qui s'est passé entre lui & Balzac.* The impression cost him a hundred crowns (3); and it was not possible for him to get it done at Paris, 'either with licence or without it.' He says (4), 'that his father had had several honourable deputations, and some of the most important posts of the assembly of the Protestants before the rebellions . . . and (5) that he can prove, that his ancestors have acquired their nobility by the right of veterans, in several honourable posts of the crown of Navarre.' He says also (6), that he had offered to give Balzac satisfaction, either as a gentleman, or a Philosopher. He relates at large, the misfortune that happened to him, of being assaulted in his bed (7). He did a little ward off the blow of one of the three villains that came into his chamber; but it is too honourable a thing for me, says he (8), not to confess, that he struck me in the arm, saying, you was forbidden to write against Balzac. He adds (9) that his landlady was wounded in her little finger; and that he pursued them with sword in hand into the street, and that two hundred witnesses, who saw him in his shirt upon the threshold, had said it even

ry where before him; that he made a pass at the breast of him who had struck him, and that fifty persons who saw his sword bend to the hilt, knew that this rogue had a coat of mail (10). He observes (11), that two or three days before, he had had the honour to serve a marquis in a quarrel. Truly, I believe he was fitter to fight than to write books, and that he would quickly have worsted Balzac in a dispute to be decided with sword in hand. He spreads upon the paper some strong rhodomontades against him (12), but he expresses some fear, that his adversary would accuse him of some youthful mad pranks in love (13). We must remember, that he never suspected Father Goula to be the cause of that insult. I know not, says he (14), why Balzac is afraid of me, if he is not guilty; and since he thinks to clear himself so well every where from that crime, by throwing it upon Phylarchus, who has showed himself much more generous, and who has a better opinion of his wit than to vindicate himself. I had so many convincing proofs against Balzac, and so good an opinion of Phylarchus's honesty, that I could not suspect him in the least. My book I think, gave him more disturbance than my person.

Note, that it is easy to know he was born a Huguenot, but not whether he was not so still; for what I am going to quote, is ambiguous. Having heard from my landlady, that I lodged there, after they had made inquiries about it, they asked what religion I was of. She answered, that she did not know it, but that I went often to church. She might have sworn that there is no Catholic, who has a more orthodox faith than I have (15). Bergeron published a letter against the impertinencies and falsities printed by the *Sieur de Javerlac*, in a letter prefixed to a book, &c (16). There came out also (17) a piece intituled, *Le non passionné sur le liere intitulé la défense du Paladin Javerlac.* This piece is infinitely more favourable to the Paladin than to his adversary. As to the book intituled *Achates a Palemon pour la défense de Phylarque* (18); it is a thundering one against Javerlac. I have cited a piece of it in the remark of the article ARTABANUS IV (19).

JENISCHUS (PAUL) was born at Antwerp the seventeenth of June, 1558, and died at Studgard the eighteenth of December, 1647. He was a learned man, and understood several languages. His book, intituled, *Tesaurus Animarum*, exposed him to a grievous persecution: he was banished, and his banishment lasted above fifty years. He bore it very patiently, and enjoyed an extraordinary good health to the last year of his life, eating well, sleeping well (a), and spending his time in Music, which he understood to perfection, and in the study of the Holy Scripture, and in Mechanics. He had nineteen children, whereof four only were living when he died. He was grievously sick the last year of his life, and he died in acute pains (b). He has been unknown to the Bibliographers of the Low-Countries.

IGNATIUS, founder of the Jesuits. See LOYOLA.

ILLYRICUS (MATTHIAS FLACIUS) one of the most learned divines of the confession of Augsburg, was born at Albona in Istria (a) the third of March 1520. He studied classical learning at Venice, under Egnatius; and at seventeen years of age, finding in himself a strong inclination for the study of Divinity, he resolved to become a Monk, because he could not maintain himself in the universities, and so the only way to satisfy his inclination, was to study in a monastery. He communicated his design to a provincial of the Franciscans, a relation of his mother. But this provincial who was inclined to the Protestant religion [A], advised him to go into Germany, and not to shut himself up in a convent. Flacius followed his advice, and went to Basil in the year 1539 [B]. He staid there some months, and then he went to Tubingen, and from thence to Wittemberg in the year 1541, and became a disciple of Luther and Melancthon. He maintained himself by teaching Greek and Hebrew. Having communicated to Pomeranus, and afterwards to Luther, the temptations that tormented him,

[A] This provincial, who was inclined to the Protestant religion. He deserves a place in the Protestant Martyrology, since after he had been imprisoned twenty years because he was suspected of Heresy, he was thrown into the sea. He was called Baldus Lupatinus. See the margin (1).

[B] He went to Basil in the year 1539. He was therefore nineteen years old. Verheiden (2) is therefore mistaken in saying, that Illyricus made a journey to Basil at seventeen years of age, Mr Teissier (3) has followed Verheiden.

(1) Baldus autem iste, ut hoc in *εὐαγγέλιον* addamus, paulo post in suspicionem hereseos venit: ac Venetiis viginti ipso annos fuit qualiterque carceris, tandem in mari summersus supplicium fortiter pertulit. Melchior, Adam, in *Vit. Theol.* pag. 472. See also Verheiden in *Effigies*, pag. 157.

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[C] He

about sin, the wrath of God, and Predestination, public prayers were put up for him, and scriptural comforts were administered to him, so that these temptations ceased. He received a thousand tokens of kindness and liberality from Melancthon. They married him, and gave him a public employment in the university in the year 1544 (b). The War having dispersed the scholars in Saxony, he removed to Brunswic, where he made himself famous by his lectures: He went and re-assumed his first employment at Wittemberg, in the year 1547, and a little after he strongly opposed the Interim, and all the gentle means that Melancthon was for; and that he might have more liberty to declaim against Popery, he retired (c) to Magdeburg, which was then put under the ban of the empire. He published several books there, but the most considerable of his labours was doubtless that ecclesiastical history called the *Centuries of Magdeburg*, of which he had the chief direction. He accepted the employment that was offered him in the year 1557, in the new university of Jena, where he was a professor for five years; after which, not being able to agree with Victorinus Strigelius his colleague [C], he retired to Ratisbonne, where he continued to publish many books. He was invited into Brabant, with some others in the year 1567, to model some churches after the Augsburg confession: but the persecution dispersed all these churches soon after, so that he removed from thence to Strasburg, and then to Francfort, where he found a great declension of his glory; for he was forsaken by most of his adherents, because he was accused of Manicheism, under pretence that he taught, that sin was not an accident, but the very substance of the soul (d). He died at Francfort the eleventh of March 1575 (e). He was a man that had excellent talents, a vast wit, a great deal of learning, and a mighty zeal against Popery; but his turbulent, furious, and quarrelsome temper, spoiled all his good qualities, and occasioned a thousand disorders in the Protestant church. He made no scruple to declare, that princes were to be kept in awe, by the fear of insurrections (f). There was no reason to lament his death; for divisions which are always scandalous, were then very pernicious, because of the advantages which the church of Rome drew from them, to insult the growing reformation. Some have said, that the only good thing he did was to die (g). But this is overdoing things. He published a vast number of books (h); and no man in his time, knew how to rummage old libraries to better advantage. He got from thence an ancient mass book [D], which he printed in the year 1557. This will give us

(b) Micraelius, *Synagm. Hist. Eccles.* pag. m. 751, is therefore mistaken, when he says that he was professor at Wittemberg, in 1540.

(c) In April 1549. Buchholz, pag. m. 564.

(d) See the remark [C].

(e) Taken from Melch. Adam, in *Vitis Germanorum Theologorum*, pag. 472, & seq.

(f) Metu seditionum terrenorum esse Principes. Melanctho. *Epist.* ciii, pag. 134.

(g) Nequidquam recti scilicet nisi cum moretetur. Guil. Budaeus, *Centur. XVI.* *haxatoloyias* ad ann. 1575, apud *Quenstedt de Patris Erudit.* pag. 263.

(4) In the year 1560, according to Micraelius, *Synagm. Hist. Eccles.* pag. m. 827, 828; but according to Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theol. Germ.* pag. 420, it was in the year 1557.

(5) Spondanus ad ann. 1560, m. 32.

REFLEXION upon Flacius's doctrine concerning the nature of sin.

(6) See Micraelius, *Synagm. Historiar. Eccles.* pag. m. 827, 828.

[C] He could not agree with Victorinus Strigelius his colleague. They differed about the conversion of man, and the power of free-will. They disputed upon it before the dukes of Saxony at Weimar (4). They went into two extremes. Strigelius inclined to the side of those who were called Adiphorists, and Synergists, who ascribed a great power to free-will, and pretended that original sin did only slightly touch the soul (5). Flacius on the contrary maintained, that this sin was the very substance of the soul. The dispute lasted thirteen sessions: the acts of it were published with a preface of Musæus, who was one of Flacius's followers (6). We have here a visible effect of the desire of contradicting others; which is a passion that commonly carries men of a lively wit beyond all bounds. Flacius not being able to content himself with a moderate opposition, set himself at the greatest distance possible from his antagonist; and seeing him maintain that the soul was not wounded by original sin, but in it's accidental faculties, he undertook to prove, that the very substance of the soul is corrupted, whence it followed that sin is the very substance of the soul. Flacius had never thought of that doctrine, if his colleague had not taught the contrary. But if the dispute which arose betwixt these two professors shews what the spirit of contradiction, and the *ἀμετρία τῆς ἀνβολῆς*, can do, it shews also how fit the peripatetic Philosophy is to foment the divisions of the divines. For Illyricus's doctrine would have offended no body, if they had believed, as the new Philosophers do, that there are no accidents distinct from substances, but that for example, pain is nothing else but the soul itself, as it is modified in such a manner: which being granted, it is plain that Illyricus's doctrine is most true. Sin is not a distinct being from a sinful soul, and virtue is not a distinct being from a virtuous soul. I do not apprehend how the divines, who suppose a real distinction between the soul and it's modifications, can say there happens a change in man, when he passes from a state of innocence, to that of guilt, and from a state of sin, to that of grace. According to these divines, when man sins, a new entity, distinct from the soul, is produced, which, being joined with the soul, composes together with it a whole, which contains two beings really distinct from one another, one of which is called substance, and the other accident. I maintain, that this conjunction does not change the soul, and that it continues to be

precisely what it was before that conjunction. Mix as much as you please grains of wheat with grains of barley, you will never make them cease to be wheat: and in all natural and artificial mixtures, it is true, that the compounds become capable of a new action; but each part of them, as it is distinct from every other, retains precisely the same nature it had before. In like manner, if the soul was really distinct from it's sin, that is to say, from the sin to which it were joined, it would not pass into another state. A soul once innocent, would always be so. See what the Nominalists say (7) against those who teach that modes are really distinct from substances.

[D] He got from thence an ancient mass-book. Here is the title of this work printed at Strasburg by Christopher Mylius, in the year 1557. *Missal latine, quæ olim ante Romanam circa septingentesimum Domini annum in usu fuit, bona fide ex vetusto authenticoque Codice descripta à Matthia Flacio Illyrico.* So Mr Colomiés gives it (8), and possibly he had it from du Peyrat (9). He adds a great many curious things about this missal. He says, 'that the Lutherans believing it to be contrary to the opinion and practice of the Catholics, expressed upon all occasions how glad they were of that discovery; that the Catholics on their part, without any strict examination of this Missal, prohibited it in their indexes (10). . . . That the Lutherans coming to examine this missal with more care, and finding it not favourable to them, suppressed all the copies they could find, so that it is grown extremely scarce, and that the Catholics taking advantage of that retraction, have since caused it to be reprinted (11), notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope and the king of Spain.' I make no doubt that he took from du Peyrat what he says of the Lutherans about the suppression of the copies; in which I think he has been too credulous for du Peyrat gives no other reason for what he imputes to the Lutherans, but the scarcity of the copies Ecclesiastical Annals of France, and cardinal Bona at the end of his work de rebus *Liturgicis*. Id. ibid. And indeed Wicelius does not say that the Lutherans mended their fault by the suppression of the copies; and yet if du Peyrat was in the right, they had been already

(7) Si niter, in the Abridgment of Gellner's *Bibliotheca*, tom. I, pag. 472, gives a catalogue of them.

an

(8) Colomiés, *Bibliothèque chosie*, pag. 12.

(9) Du Peyrat, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi*, pag. 561.

(10) Philip II, by the advice, and at the request of the duke of Alba, and afterwards Sixtus V. Colomiés, *Bibliothèque*, pag. 12.

(11) Father le Coigne has inserted it in the second volume of his *Antiquitez de France*, and cardinal Bona at the end of his work de rebus *Liturgicis*. Id. ibid.

an opportunity of discussing several things. Those libraries afforded him vast collections, which have been serviceable to many people. I mean the memoirs which he gathered to compile his *Catalogus testium veritatis* [E]. It is said that sometimes he disguised his name

already suppressed by them, when Wicelius published his book, which was in 1564. Now du Peyrat's proof is taken from the silence of Cassander and Pamelius his contemporary about Illyricus's Missal in their liturgical books. Nevertheless, says he (12), they have curiously inquired into every thing that related to that matter, and they had a great credit in Germany. . . . to get all the books that might be necessary for them.

(12) Du Peyrat, ubi supra, pag. 618.

He therefore argues thus: if the Lutherans had not destroyed the copies of the missal, published by Illyricus, Cassander would have mentioned this missal-book; for he would doubtless have seen a copy of it. But he has made no mention of it; therefore it is certain the Lutherans had destroyed them. Note that Cassander's book about liturgies was printed (13) some years before that of Wicelius. We shall see below, that Cassander's silence is a very bad proof of the scarcity of those copies, and that it is not a sign that this missal-book was unknown to him. At present I shall only observe, that Wicelius's reproach is a proof against du Peyrat. But let us see what he alleges (14).

(13) In the year 1558. See Palatr. Andr. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 261.

(14) Du Peyrat, ubi supra, pag. 617.

Flavius (15) Illyricus having printed it in the year 1557, at Strasburg by inadvertency, not considering what he did, and the Lutherans and other German Heretics being sensible of the prejudice this ancient missal did to their new opinions, collected all the copies they could meet with, and suppressed them, that it might not come to the knowledge of the Catholics, and be used against them, being entirely contrary to the sects of Luther and Calvin. George Wicellius †, an old disciple of Luther, who at last forsook him, and returned into the pale of the church,

† Vide Georgium Wicellium in defensione Liturgie Ecclesiastica.

speaking of Flavius Illyricus in his defence of the Ecclesiastical Liturgy, printed in the year 1564, seven years after that Gallican Missal was published, falls sharply upon Flavius Illyricus on account of that Latin missal, saying that a blind man may clearly see, that by printing it, he ignorantly and imprudently engaged against the sects of Luther and Calvin, and greatly obliged the Catholics. Wicellius's words are these: *Matthias Flavius Illyricus edidit repertum Missam Latinam, non triumphanti tamen de thesauro tanto adversus Catholicos, quàm vel cecutienti homini apparuit totum illud quod edidit, contra Lutheri, Calvinique sectas edidisse, sed & Catholicis nobis rem longe gratissimam fecisse; quid enim ibi nisi Missam Latinam, quæ bodie in usu generali est, inveniens, imprudenter defendit? Tantùm abest, ut suo scilicet more oppugnet; locupletior est illa quidem, plusque precum continet, sed omnino tamen eadem cum usitata, cujus etiam dicta, factaque omnia passim sequitur, ut diversam esse confirmare nemo audeat.* This undoubtedly was the reason why Flavius Illyricus and his adherents of Germany, being sensible of the fault they had committed, burnt, or otherwise suppressed, this Latin or Gallican Missal, fearing they should be laughed at by every body. That which confirms me in this opinion is, that tho' it was printed at Strasburg in the year 1557, George Cassander who died but in February 1566 †, and Pamelius, his commentary . . . make no mention of it. Du Peyrat repeats the same thing at the 623 page. 'I maintain, says he, that since Cassander and Pamelius, who have been most curious in searching out all sorts of liturgies, have never seen this tho' it was printed in their life-time, eight or nine years before the death of either of them (16), and since it is scarce to be met with at this day in France and Germany; that the Lutherans and Calvinists burnt it as soon as it saw the light, to hinder the Catholics from making use of it against them, as of a sharp knife coming from them to cut their throats, and justify their blind obstinacy against the ancient and true doctrine of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.' Let us now see whether Cassander's silence proves any thing.

† Cassander's epitaph made by Cornelius Galtrius of Ghent, and placed in the church of St Francis of Poland, witnesses it: it is prefixed to the Liturgies of Cassander.

(16) This is false with respect to Pamelius, who died in September 1587, being in the fifty second year of his age. His book of Liturgies was printed in 1571. See Pal. Andr. ubi supra, pag. 445.

(17) Colomiés, ubi supra, pag. 74.

Colomiés, who confutes Cardinal Bona, should have known that du Peyrat had deceived the cardinal. Therefore his censure should have been levelled first of all against du Peyrat: however here are Colomiés's words (17). 'Cardinal Bona is mistaken in believing that Cassander never saw the Missal published by Illyricus: besides that in a collection of ancient

prayers made by Cassander, there are some that are also in Illyricus's Missal; Fr. Baudouin, a famous civilian, writing to Cassander from Francfort in the year 1557, that is, the same year that this Missal was printed, uses these words: *Francfordiam reverendus, reperi Illyrici ad me literas cum libello de Missæ ad Palatinum nostrum. (He means Otho elector Palatin, to whom this book was dedicated.) Rogat ille meum judicium de suis Missæ antiquitatibus. Ego id ad te nunc refero, & libellum ipsum mitto de quo quid sentire debeamus familiariter nos moveas, ut de qua re tam multi multa confusè balbutiunt, rectè & distinctè respondere aliquando possimus.* — *When I returned to Francfort, I found letters from Illyricus to me, together with a book, concerning the Mass inscribed to the Prince Palatine. (He means Otho elector Palatine, to whom the book is dedicated) He demands my judgment on his Antiquities of the Mass. Now I refer that matter to you, and send you also his book, of which let us hear your sentiments freely, that on a subject, wherein many talk confusedly, and beside the purpose, we may be able to offer something that is clear and distinct.* I have a better reason than this, to prove that Illyricus's Missal was not unknown to George Cassander; and that which is very remarkable, is, that du Peyrat supplies me with it, the marginal note (18), which he has put in the 622d page, informs me, that mention is made of this Missal at the end of a book printed in 1561, and intitled, *De officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis viri*, &c. Now it is certain Cassander was the author of this book. If du Peyrat had known this, he would not have affirmed that this author never saw Flavius's Missal. By this we see that he used a very bad argument, as to what concerns Cassander, to prove that the copies of this Missal were grown very scarce. But will some say, it is certain that they grew scarce, and that Cassander makes no mention of that Missal in his book of liturgies. I answer as to the last point, that perhaps this book of Cassander was printed off before the author received Illyricus's book. The Bibliothèque de Valerius Andreas shews, that this book of Cassander was printed in the year 1558; it may be said so in the title page though the book had been made public in the autumn of 1557, a time in which perhaps Cassander had not received Illyricus's book published in the year 1557. Upon the other point, I shall only say, that there are several works of Illyricus as hard to come by as his Gallican missal, and yet no body went about to suppress them. There are many other causes of the scarcity of a book, besides the care of gathering up all the copies to throw them into the fire.

(18) Here it is: I have corrected in it some errors of the press: Ad calcem libelli de officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hæc Religionis diffidio typis excusæ, anno 1561. referuntur doctorum aliquot ac plerumque virorum libri, ex quibus videri potest quàm non sit difficilis contraversarum in Religione conciliatio, si controversæ tendi studium vitetur, inter quos fit mentio ejusmodi Missæ hie verbi, Missæ Latina vetus, quæ ante 700. annos in usu fuit in Ecclesia Gallicana, & Germanica. Argentorati apud Christ. Myllum, 1557.

[E] I mean the memoirs which he gathered to compile his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*. The work of it is, that he is accused of having stolen some manuscripts. Let us hear Melchior Adam. 'Tertium locum facile obtinet *Martyrologium* illud, quod hac occasione compilatum ferunt. Contextit Abbas Joannes Tritheimius Catalogum auctorum. Hunc cum vidisset Flavius, temperare sibi non potuit, quin dissimulatâ personâ & habitu aliquot in Germaniâ Monasteriorum bibliothecas perulstraret: quos commodè posset Historicis clam auferret, atque illo adminiculo librum qui *Catalogus testium veritatis* indigatur, conscriberet (19). — *That Martyrology easily obtains the third place, the occasion of compiling of which is thus reported. The abbot John Tritheimius drew up a catalogue of authors. This when Flavius had seen he could no longer contain himself, but disguising his person and habit as well as he could, he went round to the several libraries of German monasteries, carrying away privately from them such histories as were for his purpose, and with this assistance, he composed his book, called a Catalogue of the Witnesses of Truth.* The Catholic writers have not failed to take advantage of that remark. 'Egregium scilicet opus, says Sponanus (20), quod ex furto & sacrilegio impii transugæ confectum est, ut mirum videri non debeat, si tot mendaciis & falsiloquiis scateat à patre omnis nequitia & immunditia eructatis. — An extraordinary work indeed, which is composed out of the theft and sacrilege of an impious turn-coat; whence

(19) Melch. Adam, in Vit. Theol. pag. 475. He quotes Keckerman in Method. Hist.

(20) Sponan. ad ann. 1562, n. 32. He is mistaken in calling Melchior Adam

name [F]. Moreri is much in the wrong to place him under the letter T, at the word Trancowitz [G].

Spondanus has committed a great fault, speaking of the Centuries of Magdeburg [H]: you may see it in the remark (i), where I shall mention some things relating to the history of

(i) In the remark [H].

'it need not seem strange that it so much abounds with lies and falsehoods, belched out by the father of all wickedness and uncleanness.' See in the 120th page of Colomies's *Opuscula*, what is said of Lindenbroch. But Spondanus goes too fast, when he concludes from a man's stealing manuscripts, that he falsifies them afterwards, and publishes them with a thousand alterations; Spondanus is not well grounded in such a consequence. Besides, he is mistaken when he supposes that Illyricus published his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, only in opposition to William Eifengreinus's book. It is just the contrary, Eifengreinus published his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* in opposition to that of Illyricus. This is plain from the dates of the impressions. Illyricus's catalogue, printed at Basil in the year 1556, was re-printed at Strasburg in the 1562, that of Eifengreinus was printed at Dillingen in 1565. Which confutes the following passage (21).

(21) Spondanus, ubi supra, pag. m. 602. Poljev. Appar. Sacr. Tom. I, & alii passim, as Mr. Baillet says in his quotation, affirm the same thing. He affirms it likewise in his Jugem. des Savans, Tom. I, pag. 537-538.

(22) This is false. See, below, claus. (59).

'Nec vero tam illud emulacione Tritheimii, cujus opus omnino diversum est, suum concinnasse putamus; quam turpiori flagitio ad obcurandum illud, quod Gulielmus Eifengreinus itidem Germanus Catholicus ediderat eodem Titulo *Catalogi Testium Veritatis*, quo patrum & Ecclesiasticorum omnium qui ad eam usque diem hereses expugnaverant, non parvo labore testimonia pro veritate fidei Catholicae protulerant. In cujus invidiam, simul & ut fucum faceret imperitii, Flacius commentarium suum eodem titulo edidit sed abique nomine auctoris (22), fabulis & mendaciis refertum. — Nor do we think he composed his book in emulation of Tritheimus, whose work is indeed of quite a different kind, as with a baser design to obscure that of Gulielmus Eifengreinus, who was also a German Catholic, and who had published a treatise under that title a *Catalogue of the Witnesses of Truth*; in which from the fathers and other ecclesiastics, who to this day had written against heresies, he had with no small labour drawn out proofs of the Catholic faith, in spite to whom, and with a design to deceive the ignorant, Flacius sent out his book under the same title, but without the name of the author, and stuffed with fables and lies.' Note, that this work of Illyricus was very much enlarged by Simon Goulart of Senlis in the editions of 1597, and 1608.

But he is justly complained of (23) for having taken the liberty to change the method of it, and to add and leave out what he pleased, without shewing what was his and what Illyricus's. This perhaps was the reason why a Lutheran procured a new edition of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, altogether like that of Illyricus, except that he prefixed to it what learned men have said in praise or dispraise of it. This new edition came out at Francfort in the year 1666 in 4to. without the name of John Conrad Dietericus, who procured it; but it was published with his name in 1672 (24). I must observe, that Melchior Adam has not well abridged the author he quotes: I have consulted the original since the first edition of this Dictionary, and I have found in Keckerman a circumstance, which should not have been suppressed. Illyricus having learned from John Tritheimus's book, that many authors, who lived in the darkness of Popery, had left some monuments of it's corruption, resolved to render useless the care that was taken to conceal the books of those authors. The passage of Keckerman runs thus: 'Ceterum quod attinet ad infidiosos occultatores Historicorum, certum est in Bibliotheca Vaticana, & aliis Bibliothecis Italiae, imprimis autem in Bibliothecis Monasteriorum, clam servari multos Historicos superiorum seculorum, qui de fraudibus Pontificum, deque abusibus Ecclesiae Romanae, & contra de conversatione verae doctrinae, etiam sub mediis tenebris Papatus scripserunt: id quod manifeste patet ex Catalogo auctorum, edito ab Abbate Johanne Tritheimio, qui istos auctores ex Bibliothecis, ante annos paulo plus centum collegit; quem catalogum cum vidisset Mathias Flacius, temperare sibi non potuit, quin dissimulata personam & habitum aliquid in Germania Monasteriorum Bibliothecas perlustraret, artemque arte elucret, quos commodè pos-

(24) Idem. ibid.

set Historicos clam auferret, atque ad eximium istum librum, qui dicitur *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, isto adminiculo conscriberet (25). — As to what concerns the fraudulent concealers of histories, it is certain that in the Vatican, and other libraries of Italy, and especially in those belonging to monasteries, there are privately kept many historians of the former ages, who wrote plainly against the frauds of the Popes, the abuses of the church of Rome, and maintained the true doctrine, even in the midst of Papal darkness, as is manifest from the Catalogue of Authors, published by abbot John Tritheimus, who collected his list of writers out of those libraries, somewhat more than a hundred years ago, which catalogue when Mathias Flacius saw, he could no longer contain himself, but disguising his person and habit, he went to visit the libraries of several monasteries in Germany, and eluding art by art, he laid bold of such historians as he could privately carry away, and then wrote his admirable book, called a *Catalogue of the Witnesses of Truth*, from the helps which he had thus procured.

[F] It is said, that sometimes he disguised his name.

They pretend that Achilles Gassarus, who published a book of Ostridus a monk of Weissemburg (26), is the same with Flacius Illyricus. This book is an harmony of the four gospels, in German verse. It was dedicated to Solomon and Luitbert, archbishops of Mentz, and to Lewis king of the eastern France (27). Mr Wharton, who pretends (28) that Illyricus published it under the name of Achilles Gassarus, will give me leave to inform my readers, that there was in the XVIth century a German Physician, called Achilles Gassarus, who published some books (29) when Illyricus was a school-boy.

[G] Moreri is much in the wrong to place him under the letter T, at the word Trancowitz. Mr Telfier was the occasion of it, by these words of the 471st page of his first volume. The name of MATTHIAS FLACIUS was Trancowitz. He cites Verheiden's Effigies: But Verheiden does not say so. Let us see what the curious Mr Colomies has discovered upon this subject (30). 'I must set down the true name of Illyricus, which is Francowitz, as Bucholcerus the son gives it at the 831st page of his Chronology; or rather of the continuation of his father's, printed at Gorlitz in 1599. Verum & integrum, says he, Flacii nomen ego ex certis authoribus cognovi esse tale: Mathias Francowitzius, cognomento Flacius, gente Illyricus, patria Albonensis. Konig (31) calls him also Francowitzius; but Quenstedt (32) names him Trancowitzium.

[H] Spondanus has committed a great fault speaking of the Centuries of Magdeburg. He says that they began to be published in the year 1560, and that the fourth tome was the first that came out (33). This is very false; for the three first centuries were printed before the fourth. The catalogue of the library of Francfort published in the year 1604, by Becman (34), mentions the year 1559, for the time of the publishing of the three first centuries, and the year 1560, for the publishing of the fourth. Draudius (35) places likewise the edition of the three first in 1559. Mr Sagittarius says, that according to his copy, the three first centuries were printed in 1562, the fourth in 1560, the fifth and sixth in 1562, the seventh and eighth in 1564, the ninth in 1565, the tenth and eleventh in 1567, the twelfth in 1569, and the thirteenth, which is also the last, in 1574. It is very probable that Spondanus's edition was like that of Mr Sagittarius, that is, that neither of them had the first edition of the three first centuries: but this does not excuse Spondanus, for if he had read the preface of the first, he would have seen that the centuriators complain of a failure, in which their work was ill spoken of, though nothing had been published of what they had written. De sumptibus vere profitemur, say they, nos paucissimi mos habere, qui annuatim aliquid conferunt: nec pro laborum conditione operarii satis sustentantur, sicut ipsimet optimi testes sunt: imo nisi Deus nobis quosdam Mecœnates adhuc excitaret (quod tamen ne fiat

(25) Keckerm. de Natura & Proprietat. Hist. in Auctoris, cap. 1. pag. m. 151.

(26) He lived in the 15th century.

(27) See the Acta Eruditorum of Leipzig, 1661, page 295, in the Extract of a book of archbishop Uther, in which, Historia dogmatica controversiae de scripturis & sacris vernaculis.

(28) Apud Ad. Liphent. ibid.

(29) His Epitome Chronicon, Mundi tota printed in 1574. See Gesner's Bibliotheca.

(30) Biblioth. Vet. & Nova, pag. 306.

(31) De Patria Illustr. pag. 256.

(32) Spondanus, ad ann. 1560, m. pag. 601.

(33) See Coffer Sagittarius, Introduct. in Hist. Ecclesiast. pag. 279.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

of those centuries. Varillas, who has faithfully transcribed this fault of Spondanus has added so many others to it [I], that it is hard to conceive how a man of wit could be guilty

* fiat, multi invidi strenue laborant) neque progredi fa-
tis expedite poterimus: neque forte totum Opus, ut
est institutum, absolvere. Impudens igitur, planeque
diabolicum est mendacium, & criminatio tetra istius
scurrae, qui nuper in maledico & famoso scripto, sine
nomine edito (ubi tamen aliam saltat fabulam) Sardo-
nio risu, & virulento sarcasmo nostrum opus histori-
cum Aureum appellat: eo quod ex multo auro Ger-
manico fit conflatum. Non vidit sceleratus iste scurra
Opus, & tamen non veretur canino, aut viperino po-
tius dente arrodere. Deinde non habet cognitatas ra-
tiones nostras ille conviciator ac criminator: & ta-
men ut Semei, nos false irridet, ac menitur splen-
didie. Nam quam pauci, & quam parce dent, quam
frugaliter alantur hujus instituti operarii, poterat iste
irrisor explorare, non à profugis, sceleratis, pollutis,
mendacibus, quibus gubernationis nostrae ratio ne
nota quidem est, sed à nobis ipsis. — At to the ex-
pences, we truly declare that we have few who con-
tribute any thing to them yearly, nor are those con-
cerned in the work rewarded in a manner adequate to
their labour, as they themselves can testify: nay unless
God raise up to us some patrons (whom yet many en-
vious persons labour earnestly to prevent), we can nei-
ther proceed expeditiously enough, nor perhaps finish
the whole after the manner at first intended. Impu-
dent therefore, and plainly diabolical is that false
charge and black imputation of the buffoon, who in a
late lying and scandalous writing, without the name of
its author (wherein he advances a new tale) calls
with a cruel sneer, and a sarcasm full of venom, this
historical work of ours Golden, as if it were collected
with great expence of German gold: this villainous li-
beller never saw our work, and yet he attacks it with
a dog's, or rather with a viper's tooth. Besides, this
railer, this accuser of ours, knows nothing of our af-
fairs, and yet, like Shimei, falsely mocks us, and lies
most glaringly. For how few and how sparingly they
give, and with what frugality, such as have any
hand in this work are maintained, this defamer might
have known, not from runaway, villains, infamous fel-
lows, liars, who know nothing of our manner of pro-
ceeding from ourselves. This long passage may serve
to two purposes; for besides that it is an argument a-
gainst the false date of the centuries, it informs us,
what account ought to be made of these words of
Spondanus: Quod opus vocatum est ab aliis Evan-
gelicis Aureum, non quidem in laudem, sed ironice,
propterea quod multo principum quorundam Ger-
maniae, & civitatum auro, oliatum emendicato, sit
editum. — Which work has been called by some of
the Evangelists themselves Golden, not by way of
praise but ironically, because the publication thereof
cost the princes and cities of Germany considerable sums
of gold, which were for that purpose collected from
door to door. He says, that the other Protestants
called these centuries a golden work, by way of ridi-
cule, and to signify that it had been compiled at the
expence of the German princes; but these Protestants
dwindle into an anonymous author, who published a
piece under the false name of the students of Witten-
berg (36). See in Mr Sagittarius (37) several extracts
of the Epistles Dedicatory of the centuries, designed
to shew that it was not without reason that Illyricus,
Wigandus, Judex, Faber, and the other assistants in
that undertaking, demand the encouragement of the
public. Note, that the third century was enlarged,
when it was reprinted at Basil (38). Accesserunt costi-
gationes & additiones locorum aliquot in prima editione
depravatorum vel omisorum (39). Observe also, that
the four first centuries, and part of the fifth, were com-
posed at Magdeburg; that the fifth was completed at
Jena; that the sixth was composed in the place where
Illyricus, Wigandus, and Judex were in exile; that
the seventh was written in the country of Mecklen-
burg, and the rest in the town of Wilmars, in the same
country (40).

I had written all this, before I found a copy of the
first editions of those centuries; for the edition of Basil
1624, in three volumes in folio, procured by Lewis
Lucius, being more esteemed than any other, every
body will have it, and so it is hard to find the others
in private libraries. At last, I have been able to con-
sult the edition, which the centuriators caused to be
made at Basil, by Oporinus; but because the copy of
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the three first centuries, which was lent me, has been
bound more than once, I could not find in it the date
of the impression. I imagine that the last leaf was
torn off before the last binding, and it was probably in
that leaf, that Oporinus placed the date 1559 (41).
However, this copy of the three first centuries is in
Italic characters, and has no additions nor corrections.
But we have seen that the edition which Sagittarius
made use of, which is that of 1562, contains some ad-
ditions and corrections. It is not therefore the first,
nor that which I have at present in my hands. Note,
that the copy of the fourth century, printed by Opo-
rinus, in 1560, is in Roman characters.

[I] Varillas... has added to this fault of Sponda-
nus many others.] Melancthon, says he (42), was
scarce dead, when the centuriators of Magdeburg be-
gan to publish their work on Ecclesiastical History
with the fourth volume. This is his first fault. This
volume, continues he, is indeed the best of the thirteen,
in the opinion of the Lutherans, or the most tolerable
according to the Catholics. I challenge him to prove
that (43). There were at first but four ministers of
Magdeburg concerned in it, Matthias Flacius, John Wi-
gandus, Matthew Judex, and Basil Faber; but after-
wards the most learned Lutherans put their hand to it,
though we only knew the names of four others; viz,
Nicolas Gal, Celestin Hutten, Gaspar Nidpruc, counsellor
of state to the emperor, and Baptist Heineck (44).
Consult Mr Sagittarius, and he will inform you (45)
that Andrew Corvin, Thomas Holthuter, Pancratius
Veltbeck, Nicolas Amldorf, Nicolas Gallus, Martin
Copus, Ebeling Almannus, Ambrose Hidfeld, David
Cicelerus, Gaspar Leunculus, William Radenris, Nico-
las Beumeller, Bernard Niger, Peter Schrader, and Con-
rad Agrius had a share in this work. So that Varillas
names three persons, who do not appear in this list,
and falsely supposes, that we only know the names of
eight centuriators. I have seen indeed in Mr Sagitta-
rius, the names of John Baptist Heineckius and Gaspar
Nidpruc, counsellor to the emperor; but he does not
say, that these two persons had a hand in the centu-
ries, but only that they countenanced Mark Wagner,
who went from library to library, in quest of mate-
rials (46). This Wagner did great service to the cen-
turiators: he visited the libraries of Germany and Den-
mark, and that of Edinburg in Scotland, &c. He
had a very particular talent for this sort of enquiries,
and they gave him a very glorious testimonial, in
which they acknowledged his faithfulness, diligence
and exactness (47). This testimonial was dated the
thirtieth of September 1557, and imports, amongst o-
ther things, that he had made several journeys with
Illyricus, to collect materials (48), and that having
shewn his capacity, he was thought able to continue
his travels alone, and that they had committed that
trust to him with letters of recommendation, wherein
they desired learned and pious persons to communicate
to him such manuscripts and monuments, as he could
draw any advantage from. Illyricus was one of those
who signed this testimonial. Varillas affirms, that the
authors of the other sects, sprung from that of Luther,
criticised the centuries several ways, and published seve-
ral extracts of the errors, which they pretended had
crept into them. No body, that I know of, has men-
tioned those extracts. Varillas would have been very
much puzzled, had he been obliged to give proofs of
what he said. Conrad Brunus, whose invective a-
gainst the centuries was confuted by Illyricus in 1566,
was a Roman Catholic. Eifengreinius, who wrote a-
gainst them, was so too. Let us see some other faults
of Varillas. Illyricus, says he (49), undertook the
year following 1561, in Touringia, in the town of Wei-
mar, a public disputation against the famous Victorinus
Spingel. He is mistaken, both as to the time of this
dispute (50), and the name of Illyricus's antagonist
(51). The Catholics observed, that more Heresies had
sprung from that of Luther in less than fifty years,
than there had ever been from our Saviour's time to Lu-
ther (52). This hyperbole, which he took from
Spondanus, but not without lessening it, is very childish.
Et videas hinc etiam quam secundum fuerit Lutherus,
qui plures protulerit pestiferarum haeresum auctores,
quam ab orbis ortu fuerint ante in universo mundo
(53). You will find in Moreri, that the list of the
principle Heretics from the first century to Luther a-
mounts

(41) Mr Hill, minister of the English church of Rotterdam, who has a fine library, and a great knowledge of books, has assured me that the first centuries were printed in that year.

(42) Varillas, Hist. de l'Heref. livr. xxv, pag. m. 229, ad ann. 1561.

(43) Id. ibid.

(44) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1560, n. 32, pag. 602, calls him Joannem Baptistam Henckelium.

(45) Sagitt. ubi supra, pag. 247, 248, 249.

(46) Id. ibid. pag. 252, 253. Note, that Melchior Adam, in Vit. Theol. pag. 474, says, that Gaspar Nidpruc and John Baptist Heineckius helped Flacius and his colleagues.

(47) Id. ibid. pag. 253, 254.

(48) Cum D. Illyricus aliquot monasteria per-
strasset, & cum
ipso nulla alia de
causa peregrina-
tum fuisset, quā
ut pium hunc
constant pro sua
tenitate juvaret.
Ibid. pag. 254.

(49) Varillas, Hist. de l'Heref. livr. xxiv, pag. 231, 232.

(50) See the re-
mark [C].

(51) His name
than there had ever
been from our Saviour's
time to Luther.

(52) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 232, 233.

(53) Spondanus, ubi supra.

(36) See Sagittarius, ubi supra, pag. 256, & 266.

(37) Ibid. pag. 260, & seq.

(38) In the year 1562, if I am not mistaken.

(39) Sagittarius, ubi supra, pag. 259.

(40) Id. ibid. pag. 245.

guilty of so many blunders. I must not forget to say, that the *Clavis sacrae Scripturae* is one of Illyricus's best books. See what Mr Simon says of it in his Critical History of the Old

mounts to 183. Whereas we can scarce find ten or twelve schisms in the first fifty years of Lutheranism. Varillas goes on (54). 'It was probably with a design to escape for some time the persecution which Flacius expected from his friends, because of his outrage at Weimar, that he disguised himself, and went incognito into all the libraries of the German monasteries: he took the most scarce books * he could steal, and made extracts of others. The author of his life says, that he did it in emulation of Trithemius, and to compose like him, a collection of those who had written books. But the thing will not appear probable to one, that will be at the pains to compare those two works together, since they are in nothing alike. That of Trithemius, is properly speaking, a table of ecclesiastical authors, and of books composed by them; whereas that of Flacius is a collection of passages, which seem to be contrary to the Catholic religion, and to favour the rigid Lutherans.' There are many faults in these words; for in the first place, Illyricus visited the libraries before the year 1560. He did it to collect materials for his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*. Melchior Adam, the only author cited by Spondanus and Varillas, declares it in express words. Now that catalogue was printed in the year 1556 (55). Therefore, &c. In the second place it is false, that Melchior Adam says, that Illyricus undertook such a work in imitation of Trithemius, and to compose like him, a collection of those who had written books. If Melchior Adam had said so, he would have been very much mistaken, and consequently Spondanus (56) would have said a thing which is really false. See in the remark [E] how the reading of Trithemius's book contributed to Illyricus's design. In the third place, Varillas speaks of Trithemius's book, and of that of Illyricus, in such a manner, as plainly shews that he knew neither of them; for Trithemius does not confine himself to *Ecclesiastical Authors*, nor the other to the passages that seem to countenance rigid Lutheranism. Varillas supposes that Illyricus's jealousy of William Elsingrem, a Catholic divine, who had wrote a book, intitled, *The Catalogue of those, who have given testimony to the truth*, determined him to undertake the same task for his Sect (57). It is just the contrary, as we have seen above (58). Lastly, Varillas charges him with publishing this book, without putting his name to it, either because he would no longer quarrel with the other sects, who he knew would not like it, or because he supposed it would be well enough known in the world, that he was the author of the book, though he did not name himself (59). All chimeras! He put his name to that book, and had no reason to fear, that the other Protestants would disapprove his compilation.

There is another thing, which deserves to be censured: it concerns the Epistle Dedicatory to queen Elizabeth. Varillas (60) affirms, 'that it gave more vexation than honour to that princess, and that there are few examples of so extravagant a mis-timing, in the history of men of letters, though they are otherwise accused of not being always the best bred.' The centuriators, who signed the Epistle Dedicatory, could not be ignorant of a thing so notorious, that Elizabeth was a Calvinist in her doctrine, though she was a Lutheran, as to the discipline; and yet they inserted in the same epistle, by which they courted this queen's protection, a satire against the Calvinists. They accused them of rendering, as much as in them lay, the Testament of JESUS CHRIST useless, by reasons borrowed from Philosophy; of rejecting the real presence, and communion of the body and blood of that holy Saviour, against his own words, though most perspicuous; and of endeavouring to dazzle those, who read the gospel, by confounding with subtle and studied interpretations, the natural sense of abundance of passages, so evident of themselves, as to need no explanation. They proved afterwards unanswerably in this volume, and the twelve following, that the church had always believed that presence; and whoever will be at the pains of reading them, will easily observe, that though those who paid them for their labour, had desired them to write with less nicety and more moderation upon that point, that they might not op-

pose the accommodation, which was then negotiating afresh betwixt the Lutherans and Zuinglians; they had so little complaisance for their Mæcenas's, that they treated no point with greater vehemence and heat than that. These things were all forged in the brains of that historian. He has added this romance of his own invention, to an incident remark of Spondanus, and it is very certain, he said this without any authority for it, and without having read the Epistle Dedicatory, which he censured. There was no incivility, or imprudence, in the conduct of the centuriators. They did not as yet know, how the queen of England would determine herself; they only knew that she laboured to establish a good form of religion. They praised her, and congratulated her for it, and powerfully exhorted her to apply herself to it, by a total suppression of the evils, which the followers of Antichrist had brought in. 'Ad te igitur nunc Regina potentissima & serenissima, convertimur. Audemus enim, te post accepta Regia sceptrâ, etiam de præcipuo fine ac munere tui officii, societatis ac vitæ totius omnium subditorum tuorum cogitare. Itaque non tantum lætis acclamationibus Regiæ tuæ dignitati gratulamur: sed toto etiam pectore patrem Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI invocamus, ac rogamus, ut. . . . Sed quia non satis est bene cœpisse, hortamur etiam te, illustrissima & potentissima Regina, ut totis viribus in id opus incumbas, ut Religio pura, integra, inviolata in toto regno tuo instauretur, omnibus Antichristi crudelitibus, vulneribus, pestibus, ac carcinomatibus rectè curatis, atque sublatibus. Debes enim hunc honorem Deo conditori ac redemptori tuo, debes tibi ipsi, debes subditis tuis (16). — To you therefore, most potent and most serene queen, we now turn ourselves, for we bear that no sooner you received the royal scepter, than you applied yourself to the great end of your high office, the taking care of all your subjects. We therefore think it not enough with joyful acclamations to congratulate your accession to the royal dignity, but we also invoke, with all our hearts, the father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and beseech, that. . . . But because it is not enough to have begun well, we exhort you, most illustrious and most powerful queen, that you endeavour, with your utmost force, to establish in your dominions the pure, sound, and undefiled religion; all the cruelties, wounds, plagues, and cankers of Antichrist, being thoroughly cured, and taken away. For this honour, you owe to God your creator and redeemer, to yourself, and likewise to your subjects.' It was not improper that the divines of the confession of Augsburg should add to this a word of advice about the doctrine of the real presence; which they did in this manner (62): 'Illud verò etiam non prætereundum est, cum jam variè passim grassentur quasi factiones opinionum, inter quas aliqui etiam testamentum Domini planè philosophicis rationibus ita evacuant, ut corpus & sanguinem Christi, quod ad præsentiam & communicationem, juxta clarissima, evidentissima, veracissima & potentissima verba ipsius CHRISTI, prorsus removeant, miraque verborum perplexitate fucum faciant: in primis videndum tibi est, ut & articuli fidei sine pharisaico fermento, & Sacramenta à Christo instituta citra omnem adulterationem instaurentur: id quod te facturam esse, omnes pii sperant, summique votis à te contendunt. — But moreover we ought not to pass by, that at this time there rages various factions in opinion, among which some there are which quite make void the Testament of our Lord, by philosophical reasons, whereby they remove the body and blood of CHRIST, as to that presence and communication, which is clearly, truly, and most evidently taught in the most express words of CHRIST himself, imposing on us by a wonderful perplexity of words, that you may restore this article of faith free from pharisaical leaven, and as it was instituted by CHRIST without any adulteration is what you ought to perform: what the faithful hope from you, and what with the most ardent wishes, they expect and desire.' When Varillas supposes that they could not be ignorant of so notorious a thing, as queen Elizabeth's being a Calvinist in her opinions, he betrays his own ignorance; he does not consider, that they wrote their Epistle Dedicatory, at a time, in which it was not yet known up-

(54) Varil ubi supra, pag. 233.

* In Flacius's Life.

(55) See Joh. Albertus Faber, in Decade Decadum, n. 96.

(56) Nec vero tam illud æmulatione Trithemii. . . . suum concinnasse putamus, quam, &c. Spondan. ad ann. 1560, pag. 602.

(57) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 233.

(58) In the remark [E].

(59) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 234.

(60) Ibid. pag. 230.

(61) Epist. Dedicat. Centur. IV, Magdeb. pag. 8.

(62) Ibid. pag. 9.

Old Testament (*k*). See likewise John Albert Faber, in the XCVith article of his *Decas Decadum*.

(*k*) In the thirteenth chapter of the third book, pag 428, & seq. of the Rotterdam edition, 1685.

on what foot the English Reformation would be established. I know indeed, that their volume bears the date of the year 1560, and that queen Elizabeth's Reformation was established in 1559. But every body knows, that the bookellers put the date of the year following to the books that come out towards the end of August. I believe therefore, that this Epistle Dedicatory, which has no date, was sent in 1559 to Oporinus, the Bookeller of Basil, before it was known in Germany, what ecclesiastical regulations queen Elizabeth had made: however, it could not appear at that time, that this prince had declared for Calvinism with respect to the real presence. Read these words of Dr Burnet: 'Some Protestant divines were named, to revise the Liturgy of Edward. The on-

ly considerable change they made in it, was in the article of the Eucharist. The design was to prepare an office for the communion, whose expressions should be so well contrived, that, by avoiding the condemnation of the corporeal presence, all the English might be united in one and the same church; most people were imbued with that doctrine. So the queen charged the divines to say nothing that might absolutely condemn it, but to leave it undecided, as a speculative opinion, which every one was at liberty to embrace or reject. To this end, they left out of Edward's Liturgy, the rubric, which explained for what reasons the church of England or-
'dained, &c. (63).'

(63) Burnet's History of the Reformation of England, ad ann. 1559.

INCHOFER (MELCHIOR) a German Jesuit, born at Vienna in the year 1584, was admitted into the society at Rome in 1607. He had already signalized himself in the study of the Civil-Law. He taught Philosophy, Mathematics and Divinity, a long time at Messina; and there published a book in 1630, which brought him into trouble [*A*]. He was obliged to go to Rome to answer the complaints that were made against him in the congregation of the Index. His judges were well satisfied with the reasons he alledged in his justification, and only enjoined him to change the title of the book, and to explain some things more at large. This he did in a second edition. He lived many years at Rome, and at last died at Milan the twenty eighth of September 1648 (*a*). Besides the works we have of his [*B*], which shew he had a great deal of learning, he intended to publish several others (*b*), which would have shewn the great extent of his knowledge, if death had not prevented it. He is thought to be the author of a satire against the Jesuits, intituled *Monarchia Solipsorum* [*C*]. He was not pleased with them (*c*).

(*a*) Taken from Nathaniel Southwell, Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. pag. 608.

(*b*) See the titles of them in Nath. Southwell, *ibid*.

(*c*) It appears so from these words of his preface: Illud constat nisi inter solipsos rubiginis t, & copia & splendore inter summes literarum viros fuisse radiaturum.

[*A*] He published a book . . . which brought him into trouble.] The title of it is, *Epistola B. Mariæ virginis ad Messanenenses veritas vindicata*, (*A* letter from the blessed virgin Mary, to the inhabitants of Messina) in Folio. The congregation of the Index having heard Father Inchofer's reasons, gave him leave to reprint that work, with this title, *Conjectio ad Epistolam Beatissimæ Mariæ Virginis ad Messanenenses*. This second edition was made at Viterbo, in the year 1633. He obtained leave to strike out, and to add what he should think fit. *S. Congregatio non solum permittit eidem dictum opus de novo edere, mutato tamen iustis de causis titulo in hunc modum, Conjectio, &c. & quibusdam magis explicatis . . . sed etiam demeritis & addendis si quæ viderentur, liberam & amplam facultatem permittit* (1). The meaning of it is, that provided it be not amended in too positive a manner, that the holy Virgin wrote to the inhabitants of Messina the letter that goes under her name, one may be allowed to believe it, and to persuade others of the truth of it. A German writer (2) observes, that Baronius and Theophilus Raynaud are not of Inchofer's opinion concerning this letter. I will not dispute it as to Baronius; for tho' that annalist does not speak particularly of the pretended letter received by the inhabitants of Messina, he declares in general, that all the letters the holy Virgin is said to have written to some towns, ought to be reckoned apocryphal. *Traduntur & aliæ ab ipsa ad alias scriptæ civitates, quas cunctas cum careant Ecclesiæ auctoritate, non nisi in Apocryphorum classem rejiciendas esse omnes facile judicabunt* (3). But as for Theophilus Raynaud, he ought not to be cited upon this subject; for he only speaks of the letter, which it is said the holy Virgin wrote to St Ignatius, and of his pretended answers (4). The German author is not more happy in quoting Riverius (5), who without making any mention of the letter of Messina, is contented to reject the story of the epistolary correspondence between the holy Virgin and Ignatius.

[*B*] The works we have of his.] I do not repeat what concerns his book relating to the pretended letter of the holy Virgin to the inhabitants of Messina. His other writings are, *Tractatus Syllepticus in quo quid de terræ solique motu vel statione secundum sacram scripturam & SS. Patres sentiendum, quæ certitudine alterutra sententia tenenda sit, ostenditur*, Rome 1633, in 4to. *De sacra Latinitate, hoc est de variis linguæ Latine mysteriis, ex origine, progressu, fine, cæteraque*

instituti sui ratione ad Evangelii prædicationem, Latine Ecclesiæ exaltationem, Romanique Imperii magistratum spectantibus, Messino, 1635, in 4to, and Munich, 1638, in 8vo. *Historia trium Magorum*, Rome, 1639. *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hungariæ, Tomus I*, Rome, 1644, in Folio. The funeral Oration of Nicolas Ricardi, a Dominican, master of the sacred palace. He published some other books, to which he did not put his name (6).

[*C*] *Intituled Monarchia Solipsorum*.] The author of this satire (*a*) calls himself *Lucius Cornelius Europæus*. It was printed in Holland, 1648, *juxta exemplar Venetum*, as the title imports; there is added to it a key to the feigned names. The edition of Venice 1651, ascribes this work to Melchior Inchofer (7). Christopher Pellerus, mentioning this conjecture, says likewise, that this German Jesuit went to Rome after his writing this book, and returned no more. *Monarchia Solipsorum quam perhibent scripsisse quempiam patrem ex Societate N. Inchoferum Germanum, postea Roman præfatum nunquam reversum* (8). He is mistaken as to that journey to Rome, for Inchofer had quitted Germany long before he wrote that satire. He did not write it till after he had bore many discontents in the order, the habit whereof he took at Rome, at twenty three years of age. This passage of Pellerus has occasioned König (9) to make two authors of one. He speaks of Melchior Inchofer, and Nicolas Inchofer. He says of the first, part of what Alegambe says of him, and ascribes the *Monarchia Solipsorum* to the other. He cites Christopher Pellerus, but he makes him say more than he says, viz. that this piece was composed in 1643. Pellerus does not say so. If König had observed, that for want of knowledge of a man's Christian name, an *N.* is put instead of it, he would not have forged a pretended *Nicolas Inchoferus* upon Christopher Pellerus's authority. He observes, that others ascribe this work to Scioppius. It is certain, that Ottor Tabor, a German civilian, believed Scioppius might be the author of it; but he has not affirmed it. *Lucius Cornelius Europæus, says he* (10), *five is fit Gasper Scioppius, five quis alius ex genere Scriptorum satyricorum, in Monarchia quam dicit Solipsorum Leonis Allatio dedicata, &c.* — *Lucius Cornelius Europæus, ut, whether he be Gasper Scioppius, or whoever else of the class of satiric writers, in his Monarchy (as he calls it) of the Solipsians, dedicated to Leo Allatius, &c.* Deckherus (11) neither rejecting Pellerus's

(6) Alla quædam ipsius prodierunt sub alienis nominibus R. P. E. L. &c. & sub nomine Academici Vertumili, adjectum prælectionibus Joannis Baptiste Cortesi prima in laudem Med. clina, & contra males Medicas. Situel, ubi supra.

[*a*] It was translated into French, and printed at Amsterdam, in 1722, in 12mo. The translator has added some remarks, and some other pieces. The preface contains several particulars concerning that work, and it's author. R. M. C. 17.

(7) Vide Placcium in Rhodanis, n. 59, pag. 43.

(8) Christoph. Pellerus in Politico scelerato impugnat, pag. 9. Edit. 1665.

(9) Bibl. Vet. & Nova, pag. 417.

(10) Otto Tabor, in præfat ad Disputationes de Confrontatione apud Placcium in Rhodanis, pag. 43.

(11) De Scriptis Adefotis, pag. 95, Edit. 1666.

(1) Nath. Sotuel. Bibliot. Scriptor. Societat. pag. 608.

(2) Placcius de Pseudonymis Jo. Rhodii, n. 59, pag. 44.

(3) Baronius, ad ann. 48, n. 25.

(4) Theophil. Raynaudus de Milis & Bonis libris, n. 235, pag. m. 148.

(5) In Critico Sacro, lib. ii, capp. primis.

(12) *There is Peller in Decker's edition of 1686.*

(13) *Morale Pratique, Tom. III, pag. 686.*

(14) *Ib. pag. 86.*

Pellerus's (12) nor Tabor's conjecture, proposes another without any foundation. He believes, that Gabriel Bariacus Lermæus, a gentleman of Languedoc, might be the author of the *Monarchia Solipsorum*. I shall set down two passages of Mr Arnauld, one of which will solve our doubts, and the other teach us Inchofer's design, and the meaning of the word *Solipsi*. * The *Monarchia Solipsorum*, says Mr Arnauld (13), should be Scioppius's work, because it was printed in Germany, with some books that are undoubtedly that author's. And yet it is certain that this *Monarchia Solipsorum* is the work of a German Jesuit, called Melchior Inchofer. And we know where there is an original letter of a Spanish Jesuit, who acknowledges it, and makes great complaints of it. The other passage is this (14). 'It is well known, (says Mr Arnauld, speak-

ing to the Jesuits) that it is your character to be zealous to do good, provided you can do it alone, and that no body may share the glory of it with you; and if you would be sincere, you would confess, that one of your society, who wrote the *Monarchia Solipsorum*, knew you very well.' See the Theſes of Gisbert Voetius (15).

There was handed about a pretended letter of Innocent XII to the emperor, in the year 1696, in which the Pope calls the society of the Jesuits *Monarchiam Monopantborum*. Upon which Father Papebroch made this reflexion: *Forſitan quaſi pavor aduſa ſoli omnia velint eſſe & aſſimari Jeſuitæ, ſcilicet alludendo ad vetus ſcemma ſatyrici cujuſdam commentis quo ſcripſit anonymus aliquis Monarchiam Solipsorum, veluti innuere volens quod Societas ſoli ſibi arrogare nitatur omnia* (16).

(15) Vol. III, pag. 685, 686.

(16) Papebroch, Elucid. Hiſt. Actor. in controverſia Carmelitica, cap. xi pag. 123.

INNOCENT VIII, created Pope in the year 1484, was of Genoa, and his name was John Baptiſt Cibo. Authors are not agreed about the illuſtriousneſs or the obſcurity of his family [A]; but it is acknowledged that he was ſent to the court of Naples in his youth, and that he ſerved king Alphonſo. He was afterwards one of cardinal Bologna's domeſtics at Rome, which I think was of ſome uſe to him, in order to be promoted to the biſhopric of Savona (a). Pope Sixtus IV, who was much his friend, beſtowed on him the biſhopric of Melfi, and afterwards a cardinal's cap. One of the firſt actions of Innocent VIII, after his advancement to the pontificate, was to conſpire with the grantees of the kingdom, againſt Ferdinand king of Naples; he ſent for Robert Sanſeverino to give him the command of the troops in the expedition againſt that king; but being not ſatisfied with the conduct of this general, he turned him out of that poſt, and made peace with Ferdinand. The conditions of the treaty were, that the king of Naples ſhould pardon the rebels, and pay to the holy ſee the tribute that he owed: he performed neither the one nor the other, and fruſtrated the Pope's deſigns, who endeavoured to revenge that infraction [B]. Afterwards Innocent VIII thought no more of war, and applied himſelf to make Rome enjoy the fruits of peace [C]. He procured there a great plenty and cheapneſs of proviſions, and cauſed robbers to be ſeverely puniſhed. He created new offices, the ſale whereof brought him a great deal of money, and he was the firſt

(a) *You will find in Moreri, that he was promoted to it by Paul II.*

(1) *In the remark [E].*

(2) *In Commentario de Pontificibus & Cardinalibus.*

(3) *In Vita Innocentii VIII.*

(4) *See Spondanus, Ann. Eccleſ. ad ann. 1484, n. 5, pag. m. 180.*

(5) *Id. ibid.*

(6) *See the remark [A] of the article TOUCHET.*

(7) *Volaterranus, lib. xxii, pag. 821.*

[A] *Authors are not agreed about the illuſtriousneſs or the obſcurity of his family.* We ſhall ſee below (1), that, according to Volaterranus, he had been a poor boy. Onuphrius Panvinus affirms the ſame thing in one of his books (2), and makes him of a middling family, and the ſon of a Phyſician; but he ſpeaks otherwiſe in another work (3), wherein he ſets forth the antiquity and nobleneſs of the houſe of Cibo, and makes him the ſon of Aaron Cibo, a noble Genoefe, illuſtrious for his military actions, governor of Naples, under king Renatus and king Alphonſo, and famous for having gloriouſly diſcharged the office of a Roman ſenator (4). It is conjectured (5), that Panvinus corrected his firſt account upon reading the funeral Oration of Innocent VIII, made by Leonelli, biſhop of Concordia, who forgot not to ſpeak of the nobility and employments of Aaron Cibo. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſo learned an hiſtorian as Panvinus was, and a Monk beſides, who flouriſhed a little after this Pope, ſhould have been ignorant of the merit, and the great employments of Innocent VIII's father, and ſhould rather have known him under the falſe title of a Phyſician, than under the glorious character of a noble Genoefe, governor of Naples, and ſenator of Rome. Many people will believe, that in his retractation, he leſs followed the truth than the notions of the preacher, who made this Pope's funeral oration, a ſort of diſcourſe which allows of an open flattery. Every one may think of it as he pleaſes; but we muſt remember, that it is a common thing to deſcribe the firſt condition of ſuch as riſe to the higheſt poſts (6).

[B] *Ferdinand . . . fruſtrated the Pope's deſigns, who endeavoured to revenge that infraction.* The author who ſupplies me with this article, does not ſay that Innocent VIII excommunicated king Ferdinand; he only obſerves that the Pope's deputies returned without doing any thing: 'Quorum neutrum Ferdinandus quum poſtea minime præſaret, miſſus Petrus Vincentinus cameræ auditor audaciſſimus, una ſimul cum Jacobo Volaterrano ſecretario apoſtolico ac cubiculario viro prudente ad res repetendas re infecta revertit' (7). — *When afterwards Ferdinand performed neither the one nor the other, Peter Vincen-*

tin, Camerlengo, a perſon of great boldneſs, with James Volaterran, apoſtolic ſecretario, and a very prudent man, was ſent to demand reſtitution, but they returned without having been able to effect anything. To ſupply this omiſſion, I ſhall ſet down the words of Coeffeteau. 'Ferdinand not obſerving the treaty he had made with him, the Pope demanded the tribute he owed to the church; upon which Ferdinand having but ill ſatisfied his embaiſadors, Innocent thundred againſt him, deprived him of the kingdom, and declared Charles, King of France, the lawful heir of it, who had the right of Renatus, king of Sicily, and of his brother the count Du Maine (8).'

[C] *He thought no more of war, and applied himſelf to make Rome enjoy the fruits of peace.* We ſhall ſee how difficult it is to exerciſe the papacy; for if the Popes are blamed for meddling with the politic affairs of Europe, they are alſo blamed when they do not concern themſelves with them, and it is then ſaid that they are uſeleſs to the public good. Guicciardin gives us this idea of Innocent VIII. It is true, he adds ſomething that ſoftens his cenſure; for he obſerves, that the indolence this Pope fell into, produced this advantage, that no body feared his giving any diſturbance to Italy. This matter of fact is to be found in the following words, with a parentheſis of a Proteſtant divine. 'Guicciardin deſcribes Innocent VIII in theſe words, that his life in other reſpects uſeleſs to the public good (an excellent quality for a Pope) was at leaſt uſeful in this, that having ſuddenly laid down his arms which he had unfortunately taken up in the beginning of his pontificate againſt Ferdinand, at the intigation of ſeveral barons of the kingdom of Naples, and afterwards turned his mind to IDLE PLEASURES; he had neither for himſelf, nor for any that belonged to him, any thoughts that tended to diſturb the repoſe of Italy (9).' Thoſe who ſhall conſider the parentheſis, will perceive, that the reaſon why I quote River's reply, rather than the original words of Guicciardin, is becauſe the paſſage of River ſerves me for a proof. Would to God there were no other faults committed but ſuch as contribute to the public peace!

(8) Coeffeteau, Reponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité, pag. 1209.

(9) Rivet, Remarques ſur la Reſponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité, Par. II, pag. 625, 627. What he quotes out of Guicciardin is ſcarcely the beginning of the firſt book.

[D] *He*

first Pope who gloried in having bastards, and loaded them with wealth [D]. He was a handsome man, obliging even to excess; but covetous, ignorant, and of little wit [E].

[D] He was the first Pope who gloried in having bastards, and loaded them with wealth. Volaterranus speaks of it in this manner. Pontificum etiam primus, qui novum & ipse exemplum introduceret palam liberos nothos jactandi, ac soluta omni antiqua disciplina divitiis eos omnibus cumulandi (10). — He was the first of the Popes who introduced that new and extraordinary proceeding of owning publicly his spurious issue, and without any respect to the ancient discipline, heaping upon them riches without measure. He mentions but one son, and one daughter of this Pope, and he says, that the one obtained of his father some towns in the neighbourhood of Rome, and the advantage of being son-in-law to Lawrence de Medicis, and that the daughter (11) was married with a prodigious fortune to a Genoese (12). Morelli has stumbled here; he says, that Innocent VIII left two rich sons, which he had before his pontificate. This is an error both as to the sex, and the number of these bastards. They were sixteen, eight sons, and eight daughters; whence this epigram:

Quid queris testes, sit mas an scemina Cibo,
Respice natorum, pignora certa, gregem:
Osto nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas.
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem.

Of Cibo's sex, if you full proofs require,
Look on the pledges he has left below,
Eight lads, eight lasses, own him for their sire,
The stile of father well might Rome bestow.

According to du Pleffis (13), these four verses are an epitaph upon Innocent VIII, composed by Marullus, but I do not find them in my edition (14) of this poet's works, and I cannot believe they were left out to please the court of Rome; for the following epitaph was left in it.

Epitaph. Innocentii Octavi.
Spurcities, gula, avaritia, atque ignavia defes
Hoc Octave jacent quo regeris tumulo (15).

Luß, glutny, av'rice, sloth, beneath this stone,
Are with the corps of our Octavus thrown.

I find also the following distich in it:

De Xysto & herede.
Exhaust Xyltus bellis & cædibus urbem;
Tercentena hæres restituit sobole (16).

By wars, by tumults, Xyltus thinn'd the place,
His heir restor'd it by his numerous race.

Mr du Pleffis says, that the first of these two distichs, is the conclusion of the epitaph, or of the four verses first mentioned. I know not whether he made use of an edition of Marullus, different from mine, or whether he followed an unexact transcriber; but I make no doubt that the author of the *Prejugez contre le Pape*, advanced without any examination (17), that the elegy of Innocent VIII, was included after his death in his Latin version, which he sets down. It is an epigram, the last distich whereof is the epitaph which is actually in Marullus's poems: the two first distichs are those that are not found in my edition, either before the epitaph, or in any other place. Mr Zuinger (18), professor at Felfo Corporis Basil, supposes that these six verses are two epigrams of Marullus: he has been however more judicious than the author of the *Prejugez*, having not joined what ought to be divided. As for Sannazar's epigram,

Innocuo plicos æquum est debere Quirites,
Progenie exhaustam restituit patriam,

In debt to Innocent, Rome may be still'd,
Whole joins her long exhausted country still'd.

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He is in the right to mention it, since it is to be found among the verses of this poet (19). Coëffeteau found himself very much perplexed in that part of his answer to du Pleffis, as you will see. Du Pleffis says, he, not being able to find fault with Innocent about his lawful marriage, (for he was married before he was Pope) produces a nameless author, who says, that he was the first that gloried in having bastards. And to confirm this, he produces an epigram of Marullus, in which the poet speaks only of the children which Innocent had in a lawful marriage. Now all those authors are not to be credited, and the licentiousness of their pen well deserved a severe punishment, for taking the liberty to defame the head of the church. It is certain, that good historians do not accuse Innocent VIII of any of these impurities, which the filthy poet Marullus taxes him with. However, we will let him enjoy the privileges of those of his profession (20). Rivet's reply will plainly shew the absurdity of Coëffeteau's answer. The pleasures of this Pope were not always idle, for he had a great many children. If it was in a lawful marriage, before he was an ecclesiastic, no body could blame him for it; and if Coëffeteau had produced good authorities for it, he had done a service to his memory; but I find no body that says he was married. As for the author who affirms that he was the first Pope who introduced the new example of boasting publicly of his bastards; it is not an obscure author, as the adversary would have it, but the same Volaterranus, whom a little before he calls a great man, and an orthodox writer. . . . Coëffeteau could not but know this author; but he had a mind to dissemble it, to fall upon the poor poet Marullus, as if he had divulged this news, calling him a filthy poet. Let him consult his Possévin, and he will teach him, that this Marullus is in esteem with the church of Rome for his piety, and his works have been often printed at Antwerp, Cologne, and elsewhere (21). I find both a fault and an omission in these words of Rivetus. The latter consists in not having censured Coëffeteau's boldness concerning Marullus's verses (22). He affirms, that this poet speaks only of the children which Innocent had in a lawful marriage. What then is the meaning of the word *Nocens* in the third verse? does it not signify, a criminal fatherhood? the other fault consists in his taking Marullus of Spalato, whom Possévin praises, for Marullus, whose verses are so well known: they are two different persons.

[E] He was a handsome man, obliging even to excess, but covetous, ignorant, and of little wit. I will quote a Catholic writer, because a Protestant would be suspected. Fuit Innocentius corpore excelso, ac candido, decoroque: ingenio tardo, ac literis procul (23). — Innocent was tall, well made, and of a fine person, but slow of understanding, and had no learning. A little before he had said (24), Pauper olim puer, forma tamen præstanti inter Alfonso regis Siciliæ ministros (25) inde Romam veniens in contubernio Philippi Cardinalis Bononiensis fuit Quum Xylto plurimum dilectus esset ob dulces mores & humanitatem qua omnes usque ad viciū superavit. Nam & infimæ conditionis homines sæpe excolabatur, amplectebaturque. Verum quum omnibus blandus esset, nemini tamen benignus, innatamque avaritiam jocos atque disteris transigebat. — Formerly bring a poor boy the beauty of his person introduced him to the courtiers of Alfonso, king of Sicily, afterwards coming to Rome he lived in the house of Philip, cardinal of Bologna. . . . Xyltus loved him exceedingly for the sweetness of his disposition, and his excessive humanity in which he excelled every one, even to a fault, for he would kiss and embrace the vilest and meanest of the people. But as he was civil to all, he did good to none, disguising his innate avarice, by familiar expressions, and a pleasant behaviour. Du Pleffis Mornai thought that Volaterranus expressed here in modest words, the filibustiness of Innocent the eighth's private life (26); whereupon Coëffeteau fell into a passion: It is a strange thing, says he (27), that he should make a vice of his natural beauty, and from thence render him suspected of the sin, for the punishment of which he fell from heaven; which against all charity, and even against

(19) It is the thirty eighth of the first book, pag. 124, of the Amsterdam edition, 1689.

(20) Coëffeteau, ubi supra, pag. 1209.

(21) Marcus Marul- lus Spalatinus.

(22) Rivet, ubi supra, pag. 627.

(23) That is, the verses which he acknowledged have been written by Marullus.

(24) Volaterranus, ubi supra, pag. 821.

(25) Id. ibid. pag. 820.

(26) Recolles, pag. 123, of the Life of Soliman Genes, says, that he was a domestic to an officer of the court of Alfonso; and in the following page, that he was a servant in his youth. See the remark [A].

(27) Du Pleffis Mornai, Myftere d'Iniquité, pag. 558.

(28) Coëff. t. ubi supra, pag. 1208.

566 INNOCENT VIII. INNOCENT XI.

He died in July 1492, at sixty years of age. He received from the Sultan a considerable present; I mean, the iron of the lance that pierced the body of our Saviour [F]. It is said, that the inscription of the cross was found at Rome in the time of his pontificate (b). See in father Gretser how they endeavour to answer the objections that were made to prove it supposititious (c).

(b) Taken from Volaterranus, lib. xxii, pag. m. 82cc, & seq.

(c) Gretser. Exam. Mysterii Plesianum, pag. 549, & ult.

gainst good manners, he would confirm; because this prelate was so affable, as to embrace even those of a mean condition. Must not one have a soul strangely corrupted with Heresy to make such an odious judgment of a Pope, recommended for his singular innocence?

[F] He received from the Sultan . . . the iron of the lance that pierced the body of our Saviour.] Bajazet II, being in fear of his brother, even after he had forced him to retreat to Rhodes, omitted nothing to engage the grand master Peter d'Aubusson to deliver him up to him, or at least to prevent his keeping intelligence with the Turks. The grand master engaged upon very advantageous conditions, to have him well observed. This agreement was signed the eighth of December 1482 (28). He permitted him to go into France some time after, and at last consented, that Innocent VIII should have him in his power, and enjoy the great sums which Bajazet distributed (29). He obtained a cardinal's cap for his reward, and was so cautious as to make use of the king of France's authority; for the court of France put the Turkish prince into the hands of the Pope's ambassadors, in the year 1488 (30). Bajazet had made great offers to the king of France, 'only to oblige him to keep him in his kingdom, under a strict guard, that he might have no opportunity of escaping, to return into his country, and begin a new war. These offers were to give up all the relics of GOD our creator, and of the apostles and saints, men and women, which his late father Mahomet had found at Constantinople, when he took that city, and in the other towns he had conquered in Christendom: he repeated the same offers which he had made before to the grand master of Rhodes, to use his endeavours to conquer the Holy Land, and put it into the hands of the king; he also offered a vast pension for his maintenance (31). Bajazet's letter came too late;

(28) See Roccolles, Vie du Sultan Gemes, pag. 97.

(29) Bajazet remitted every year 4,000 ducats to the grand master, and also 35000 for his brother's maintenance. Id. ibid. pag. 92.

(30) Id. ibid. pag. 126.

(31) Id. ibid. pag. 127, 128.

the court of France had already promised to put his brother in the custody of Innocent VIII. When he knew this, he wrote to the Pope, and endeavoured to gain him by presents, and amongst others, by the iron of the lance, that pierced our Saviour's side, which he had before offered to the grand master, and assured him of the punctual payment of 40000 ducats every year on condition he would not let him go upon any pretence whatsoever (32). Volaterranus speaks of this: it is worth while to set down the passage, in which we shall see other particulars; as that Innocent VIII. was buried near the shrine, which contained the iron of the lance, that was found in Antioch at the time of the crusades (33). Sepultus in Basilica Petri aereo monumento juxta arcam ab eo designatam in qua ferrum hastæ conditur quod latus dominicum perdidit. Hoc siquidem olim apud ædem sancti Andree Antiochiæ repertum, capta jam civitate, Bohemundus in prælio corripuens, arcem quæ expugnari non poterat illico cepit, simul & hostium L. millia prodigiose trucidavit. Inde Constantinopolim dono imperatori advectum. Postremo Turca illi succedens, Innocentio ut eum fratris captivi causa leniret pro munere miserat (34). — He is interred in the Basilic of St Peter, under a monument of brass, not far from the chest, which he himself had placed there, wherein is laid up the iron of that spear, which pierced our Lord's side. This is reported antiently to have been found in the church of St Andrew, at Antioch, when that city was taken by Boimond, who after he had reduced the castle in a wonderful manner, destroyed fifty thousand of the enemy; thence it was carried to Constantinople, and presented to the emperor, lastly falling there into the hand of the Ottoman prince, he sent it as a present to Innocent, that he might soften him in respect to his brother who was then a captive, and in his power. See the article VIGERIUS (35).

(32) Ib. pag. 122.

(33) See Maimbourg's History of the Crusades, book II, pag. 175, & seq. Dubé Edit. ad ann. 1098.

(34) Volterr. ubi sup. pag. 821, 822.

(35) Rim [A].

INNOCENT XI, created Pope the twenty-first of September 1676, was of Como in Lombardy, and called Benedikt Odescalchi, as may be seen in Moreri, with many other things, which I pass over in silence for that reason. His first profession was that of a soldier [A]. He left it to devote himself to the ecclesiastical state, and went to study at Naples; where he received his doctor's degree, after which he retired to Rome, in the pontificate of Urban VIII, who made him first apostolical secretary. He discharged so well the duties of that place, that he was made president of the chamber, and afterwards apostolical commissary, and governor of Marca di Roma. He obtained a cardinal's cap the sixth of March 1645, and the legation of Ferrara some time after, and after that the bishopric of Novara (a). The French say, his liberality and courtliness procured him the cardinalship, by the interest of Donna Olympia [B]: but they cannot deny

(a) Taken from a small piece of sixteen pages in 4to, intitled, La Vie d'Innocent XI. Pape de Rome écrite par D. G. B. P. à l'illustre Seigneur le Baron Giovannelli, cousin de la Sainteté.

[A] His first profession was that of a soldier. Here follows what we find in the pamphlet of sixteen pages (1). 'Benedikt in his youthful years took an inclination to martial affairs, being a man of greater courage, and valour than of stature; and foreseeing at a distance the wars which he should have in his old age, especially desiring to have the knowledge of arms, to introduce them advantageously into the church militant. And because he knew what are the consequences of war, and that skill in arms could not be obtained, but by a continual exercise, he went into Poland to engage in the war, with the Turks, and to give proofs of his bravery.' This author gives us to understand that Benedikt bore arms only in Poland; other writers affirm (2), that he was in Flanders in the Spanish service against France, and there received a musket-shot in his right shoulder, which incommoded him all his life-time. I have read in a certain newsmonger, that Innocent XIth's hatred against France, proceeded from an affront, a Frenchman offered him in the war; an affront, that Benedikt Odescalchi left unpunished, but revenged it upon the whole nation, when he was Pope.

(1) See the title of it in the margin of the text of this article, citat. (4); and also the different notes on it.

(2) Mercure Galant for August 1689.

(3) Ubi supra.

our Benedikt Odescalchi, the son of a rich banker of Como, played with Donna Olympia and lost his money on purpose, in complaisance to this lady. This puts me in mind of a passage in Menagiana (4). 'Pope Innocent XI, was the son of a banker, he was elected on St. Matthew's day and the same day Pasquin said, Invenirent hominem sedentem in telonio. — They found a man sitting at the receipt of custom.'

(4) Pag. 187, of the first Dutch Edit.

The following words are to be found in a little book printed at Avignon for John Bramereau, in the year 1652, with this title *La juste Balance des Cardinaux vivans*. 'After the death of Urban VIII. Odescalchi began to make his court to Donna Olympia, niece (5) to Pope Innocent X, and having treated her several times, he began zealously to espouse his interest; and especially for a thing, which this prelate did, that is worthy to be taken notice of. Going to see her in the beginning of the pontificate of her uncle (6) Innocent X, it happened that a Goldsmith came to shew her a noble and rich chest of silver drawers, which he had to sell; Donna Olympia having taken a view of it in the presence of Odescalchi, and several lords, who heard the answer that she made, that it was a noble piece of plate, but that being a poor widow, she could not lay out so much

(5) It should be sister-in-law; which is the signification of the Italian word cognata in the original.

(6) It should be brother-in-law.

deny that he appeared very remote from a voluptuous life. He was of rigid morality, and looked upon as a devout man. He was much more favourable to the Janfenists than his predecessors had been; which was the reasons why the Janfenists more zealously adhered to the cause of the Popes, than they had done before [C]. He offended abundance of people by the suppression of an office of the immaculate conception, and also by that of several indulgencies. There was no body in France, besides the Janfenists, that was edified with this. They dispersed those two decrees, and added some notes to them [D]. I do not believe that every body approved his forbidding to honour the name and bones of Anthony Cala [E]. He expressed such an inflexible stiffness in his quarrel with France, that he has convinced the world that in point of revenge [F] there are no men comparable

* much money, and after having said so, he retired into his chamber. Immediately Odeschalchi called to the Goldsmith, asked the price of the chest, and bargained with him for 8000 crowns; after which, without saying any more, he ordered it to be presented in his name to Donna Olympia, who seeing such a present, was perfectly astonished at so extraordinary a generosity. Upon which she went to the Pope, and begged the office of clerk of the chamber, as a pure gift, for this prelate, and afterwards a cardinal's cap, which he obtained likewise by the mediation of cardinal Palotta. I set down these words according to the copy, which has been communicated to me (7). I have the same book in Italian: intituled *La giussa statera de' Porporati*, and printed at Geneva in 1650. I have consulted it, and not only found in it the original of what you have just now read, but also that our Benedict Odeschalchi had made his court to Don Barberini, to be promoted to the office of clerk of the chamber; that he had paid the requisite sums, and yet had not obtained his end; that he was a person of an indifferent capacity (8), and that tho' he had been profuse, he was a rich and magnificent cardinal; that whilst he was a bishop, he loved walks, plays, and feasts, but that he lived a very retired life after he became a cardinal.

[C] *The Janfenists more zealously adhered to the cause of the Popes, than they had done before.* This is what Mr Talon taxes them with in the famous plea he made against Innocent XI, the twenty third of January 1688. *A strange thing!* says he (9), *that the Pope, whose principal care ought to be to preserve the purity of the faith, and to hinder the progress of new opinions, has not ceased ever since he came to St Peter's chair, to keep up a correspondence with all those who had publicly declared themselves Janfenius's disciples, whose doctrine his predecessors have condemned. He has loaded them with his favours; he has given them commendations; he has declared himself their protector: and that dangerous faction, which has omitted nothing these thirty years to lessen the authority of all ecclesiastical and secular powers, that were not favourable to them, at present erect altars to the Pope, because he upholds and foment their cabal; which would have anew disturbed the peace of the church, if the foresight and indefatigable pains of a prince, whom heaven has raised up to be the shield, and the defender of the faith, had not put a stop to it.* I do not believe that any Janfenist did ever write in defence of the four propositions, decided by the clergy of France, in the year 1682, against which the favourers of the *Ultra-montain* doctrines made such out-cries, and published so many books. If the same thing had happened in the pontificate of Innocent X or of Alexander VII, it is certain the Janfenists would have written a hundred volumes in defence of the decisions of the clergy, and in confusion of the *Ultra-montaines*. Humane nature discovers itself every where: the rule of our conduct changes according to the times, and as we find ourselves disposed towards other men. Out of gratitude to a benefactor, men spare those doctrines, which they would have condemned out of a resentment against an oppressor.

[D] *They dispersed those two decrees, and added some notes to them.* The one was made at Rome the seventeenth of February 1678, and imports the condemnation of the book intituled, *Officio dell' immacolata concezione della Santissima Vergine nostra Signora, approvato dal sommo Pontefice Paolo V, il quale a chi devotamente le recitarà concede indulgenza di cento giorni, come apparisce nel suo breve da-*

to in Roma li x. Luglio MDCXV. in Milano per Francesco Vigone. The other was made at Rome the seventeenth of March 1678, which suppresses abundance of indulgences. The Janfenists caused those two decrees to be secretly printed in France, and added some rules to them, by which their usefulness might be discovered. They consist of a collection of passages. It will not be unnecessary to insert here the reflexion of a Jesuit upon the Janfenists zeal for those decrees, and the little account they make of the constitutions of the Popes against Janfenius. 'Some years ago a little Italian book printed at Milan, was put in the index at Rome; in which book the office of the immaculate conception of the mother of God was to be found. The prohibition did not concern the office of the conception, which is known and authorized long ago in the church, and which also has been lately approved by Innocent XI, but this decree respected other things, which were falsely and rashly said, and printed in the same book: and besides it was only for Italy, and not for the rest of the world, where that book was not like to appear. Nevertheless this decree was seen immediately, printed in Latin and French, by the care of some of the party with a rhapsody of useless passages, to make a considerable libel of it. It was dispersed all over France and the Low-Countries with as much zeal, as if it had been a canon of a general council, upon a capital point of religion: and it is well known to what excess the indiscreet zeal of some of their directors went. Thus you see how far these gentlemen can carry when they please their submission to the orders of the church. Would not one believe after this, that the Pope (10) needed only prohibit the version of Mons, to hinder them from dispersing and crying it up in the world? And was not there reason to expect they would do as much for his new decree in favour of the office of the conception, as they had done for the former, which I have been speaking of? but we should have been very much mistaken in our hopes of it: they have other principles for their conduct in what concerns them (11).

[E] *He did forbid to honour the name and bones of Anthony Cala.* A veneration had been a long time paid to this man in the kingdom of Naples, or, account of his having been a holy hermit: but Innocent XI, in 1680, commanded all this worship to be abolished, and Anthony Cala's bones to be carried into the common church-yard, to be there mixed with others, and never to be taken up again. He enjoined also that his images, his habits, and all his other relics, should be removed from all consecrated places (12). Father Pappabroch by this example justifies the liberty he took to suppress some saints.

[F] *In point of revenge.* The court of France under Lewis XIV, and the court of Rome under Innocent XI, were acted with the same spirit of haughtiness and inflexibility, whereby they afforded all Europe instances of that spirit for a long time. They strove on both sides to carry revenge as far as ever they could; but at last the world was forced to yield to the church. The Pope has shewn that it is not for nothing that he calls himself the vicergerent of God on earth; of God I say, who reserves vengeance, to himself, and who has declared (13) that it is he to whom it belongs, and that he will pay it. The Pope, as the vicergerent of the God of vengeance, has admirably maintained the rights of his deputation. I will not adopt the thoughts of those satirical wits, who pretend that, in point of revenge, the laity are novices in comparison of the clergy; but we have scarce seen any quarrels between the church and the world, in which

(7) By Mr Pal-lardy, above-mentioned citation (7) of the article GLEICHEN.

(8) E soggetto di mediocre intelligenza.

(9) Talon, Plaidoyer, pag. 42, Dutch Edit.

(10) He means Innocent XI, who had condemned the version of the New Testament of Mons. See the *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, May 1685, pag. 495.

(11) Father le Tellier, Observations sur la Nouvelle défense de la Version de Mons, pag. 422.

(12) See Father Pappabroch, in *Respons. ad exhibitionem errorum*, pag. 18, 19.

(13) Deuteron. chap. xxxii, ver. 35.

comparable to those who pretend to be rigid moralists. It is thought that a voluptuous Pope, who could have sacrificed his passions to politic interests, would have been more useful to the catholic religion [G]. The French are enraged against him, and it is said this will contribute much to his canonization [H].

which the Popes have not at last had the better in point of revenge, they are the vicegerents of God, who has reserved vengeance to himself, that is saying all. If I well remember, the protection that was granted by Innocent XI to some bishops of France, persecuted for not consenting to the extension of the Regale, was the first step that provoked the court of France (14); because the briefs of Innocent XI (15) in favour of those bishops, were expressed in very strong and vigorous terms. This haughtiness put the court of France upon the most effectual ways to vex him. The clergy declared (16) their opinion about the authority of the church, and formed four propositions thereupon, which reduced the power of the Pope, to such bounds as were very odious to the court of Rome. This was not at the bottom a new doctrine; the clergy decided nothing but what was agreeable to the maxims of the Gallican church, and what the Sorbonne had taught a hundred times; so that one might have thought that another Pope would not have taken exceptions at it, and that Innocent XI would perhaps dissemble his resentment: but to put him under a necessity of confessing that he had received a very great affront, the decisions of the clergy were proposed by royal authority, as a doctrine that no body was allowed to oppose, and which was to be maintained by all those, who would take their licences in Divinity and the Civil-law, and be advanced to a doctor's degree. They studied all the formalities, that might give the greatest lustre to the king's declarations upon this affair. These doctrines were maintained by the rector of the university of Paris, in a disputation where the archbishop of Paris presided, and in which the respondent was invested with all the marks of his rectorship, that it might appear, that it was the whole body of the university, represented by their head, that maintained these decisions. The thesis was posted upon the door of the nuncio's house, notwithstanding the oppositions he threatened to make against it. The Pope expressed his resentment against the clergy; he answered harshly the letter he had received from them, and would never grant his bulls to those who assisted at the assembly of 1682. He abolished the franchises of the ambassador of France, like those of others, and would never receive the marquis de Lavardin, who was sent ambassador to him (17). France did then a very remarkable thing. This ambassador entered Rome almost by main force, and having taken possession of his quarters, he set a guard about it, as if it had been a fortified town (18). The Pope, without being astonished, revenged himself by a surprising blow: he cast an interdiction upon the church of St Lewis, because the marquis de Lavardin had been admitted into it, and excommunicated this ambassador, and obstinately refused to acknowledge him.

Things were at this pass, when his most Christian Majesty perceiving that the continuation of these differences, would be prejudicial to him, secretly dispatched a trusty man to whom he gave a letter of his own writing as a credential to his Holiness (19). This man was to discover to the Pope the most secret intentions of the king. But the Pope would neither receive the letter nor give him any audience. Hereupon the king wrote a letter to cardinal d'Etrée, which was communicated to the cardinals. He complained in it of the Pope's conduct, and shewed, in particular, the prejudice that Europe and the church might suffer, from what the Pope had already done against cardinal Fursenberg. He ascribed to this partiality the intrigues that were forming against king James, in favour of the Protestant religion, &c. This letter dispersed in Rome was perhaps a new motive, which induced the Pope to countenance more and more prince Clement of Bavaria, to the prejudice of cardinal Fursenberg. Now by the exclusion of this cardinal, he revenged himself a hundred fold, for all the affronts he had received. He deprived the king of France of being the arbitrator of peace and war, and involved him necessarily in a war with almost all Europe. He quickly saw the effect of this conduct; and if he lived not long after so terrible a revenge, he lived long enough to have the satisfac-

tion of seeing France attacked by so many enemies, that according to the general conjectures, she was to sink the very first campaign. Tell me now whether the church did not obtain the victory over the world, in a long dispute where both parties contended in point of revenge. If Alexander the Great had been a Catholic, he would have had much ado to draw out of the Pope's mouth what he did from the priests of Delphi, *My son, thou art invincible* (20).

[G] It is thought that a voluptuous Pope . . . would have been more useful to the Catholic religion.] Those who do not love this Pope, say, that he was well enough acquainted with the general affairs, to know that, in the state they were in when cardinal Fursenberg sued for the electorate of Cologne, he might have saved the king of England, and enabled France to execute all her projects; for with the assistance of such a cardinal, who would have succeeded to all that his predecessor possessed, she would have tied the arms of the princes of Germany that were ill affected to her. She experienced it, in the year 1684, when she desired a truce. Now it is certain that the victories of this crown, would have extended the Catholic religion, and strangely weakened the Protestant: whence comes it then that the Pope was so contrary to that cardinal? It is, say they, because he hated the king of France, and chose rather to renounce the advantages of the Catholic religion, than the pleasure of crossing his enemy, or the sweetness of revenge. These same persons say, that he knew very well there was a league forming, of which the Protestants would be the chief directors, and which might be able in its turn to oppress the Catholic religion, almost all over Europe; and that the most effectual means to prevent this league, was to put the whole succession of the late elector of Cologne into the hands of a cardinal, who would never join with Heretical princes. Why then was Innocent XI so contrary to the interest of this cardinal? Because, say they, he was overjoyed to expose the French monarchy to the greatest dangers; and provided he could revenge himself of the court of France, he cared but little for the losses of the Pope-don. This is what is said by his enemies: but it is not too much to be relied on; their passion ought to make their conjectures suspected. It is perhaps much more reasonable to say, that being very intent upon the reformation of manners, and pious exercises, he was neither capable of knowing what was useful to his religion, nor of preferring the profitable before the honest part. Now he believed he was bound in justice to prefer the duke of Bavaria's brother before the cardinal candidate. Some apply to Innocent XI what was said of Hadrian VI: he was an honest man; but did not understand politics (21). It was the good fortune of the Protestants, that in the year 1688, the see of Rome was possessed by a Pope who did not well understand his own interests, or who was too stiff to take advantage of the present junctures, to the prejudice of his particular passions.

But after all, who can assure us, that Innocent XI did not in some respects behave himself like a good politician? Has the court of Rome nothing to fear from the too great power of princes, that are most violent against the sects separated from her communion? Did not Sixtus V who so well understood politics, choose rather to countenance Henry IV and queen Elizabeth, than to suffer the king of Spain to grow too powerful (22)? Who can affirm that Innocent XI was not moved by some such spring, when he entered upon measures so contrary to the interests of France, and so useful to the Protestants? One thing seems very certain, that an anonymous author of a little book (23), intitled, *The extravagant reproach; in which is shown, that the Pope cannot without folly be reproached, with the ruin of the Catholic religion in England*, has no reason to call this reproach a folly.

[H] The anger of the French . . . will contribute much to his canonization.] It is not long since (24), the news-writers of Holland, have published in their monthly accounts, that many miracles were wrought at this Pope's tomb, and that this is a great mortification

(14) See a list of several other occasions of complaint given to France after this, in the Answer to the Protestation of the Marquis de Lavardin, pag. m. 97, & seq.

(15) Written to the king of France in 1683, and 1679.

(16) In the year 1682.

(17) In the year 1687.

(18) See Leti, *Monarchie Universelle*, Part. II, pag. 346, & seq.

(19) A letter of the French king to cardinal d'Etrée of the sixth of September 1688. It is in Leti's *Monarchie Universelle*, ubi supra, pag. 447, & seq.

(20) Delphi in-visti, Apollinem de eventu belli, quod moliebatur, consultum. Sed virgo istitica ne-bat per os ad- adit deum fa- esse; donec ipse eo profectus, vi conspuit regi- nem, & ad tem- plum venit. Sed quum inter ma- dum illa patrum mitem pertra- ca regis vitam reparavit, excu- misset, invenit ei, fili; accipere amon dixit: ne alio oraculo fili- spoli esse. Friend- Supplement. in Q. Curtium, lib. i. cap. xi, n. 16, ex Plutarcho.

(21) See remark [Q] of the article HADRIAN VI.

(22) See the remark [R] of the article ELIZABETH.

(23) Printed at Cologne, for Peter Martens, in 1689.

(24) I write this in the beginning of September 1695.

He was not learned [I]. He died the twelfth of August 1689. The French king's letter to the conclave, says a great deal in a few words against the memory of this Pope [K].

I find in the Valesiana a Passage which deserves to be set down here at length [L]. I shall also insert some Verses of Mr de la Fontaine, which shew how freely they wrote against

to the court of France; and that probably the enemies of that crown, will endeavour out of spite to get this Pope canonized. This will then be a saint made out of spite. It is commonly prudence to take the strongest side: but that maxim is sometimes false. There are some princes who owe their elevation only to their nice policy, of declaring themselves betimes irreconcilable enemies to a potent state, which terrifies all, it's neighbours; for all those that are afraid of this power, countenance this declared enemy, and gratify him as far as they can in all his desires: and we need not go so high as the ages of Paganism, to find some princes who have irrecoverably lost themselves, by preferring the alliance of the most potent of their neighbours, before that of others (25). A private person that falls from a prosperous state into misfortune, does no longer see about him, that multitude of friends who encompassed him before: they forsake him, and leave him to himself.

(25) Confer quæ supra, in remark [X] of the article BEL-LARMIN.

Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos:
Tempora si fuerint nubila solus eris (26).

(26) Ovidius, Trist. lib. i, Eleg. ix, ver. 5.

Serene your fortune, friends will then abound;
But once obscur'd there will not one be found.

Sovereigns find it quite contrary: for if they grow too potent, they find no more allies; every body forsakes and confederates against them. It is certain that Innocent XI purchased a great many friends and admirers, merely for his thwarting at much as he could the designs of the court of France. This will keep his memory sweet, and make his pretended miracles more easily go down.

[I] He was not learned.] It is said, he wanted his secretaries to explain to him in Italian what they wrote for him in Latin. See the Menogiana, wherein are these words (27): 'Favoriti, secretary to the late Pope, reading to him the briefs he had made, and explaining them in Italian; the Pope wept for joy, and said, Cosa diranno di noi nella posterità, quando vederanno così bella latinità nostra. — What will posterity say of us, when they see our Latin so elegant.'

(27) Page 52 of the first Dutch edition.

[K] The French king's letter to the conclave, says a great deal in a few words against the memory of this Pope.] This is the beginning of it (28): We have learned from your letter of the thirteenth of this month, the decease of our holy Father Innocent XI, and we have just reason to believe that it has pleased the divine majesty to take him out of the world at a time when all the re-united forces of Heresy, seem to conspire against the ruin of our religion, to which the division of the Catholic princes contributes not a little. This is to say in a few words, which have a great air of moderation, that the wants of the church requiring a Pope that should lay her interests to heart, God had removed Innocent XI out of the world, who was ill affected to the church, or unable to labour for her good.

(28) The Letter is dated from Versailles the twenty fourth of August 1689. It is to be found at length in the Mercure Historique & Politique of October 1689, pag. 1026.

[L] I find in the Valesiana a passage which deserves to be set down here at length.] It is pity said the learned Hadrian Valois (29), that Innocent XI suffered himself to be influenced, as he was, by the enemies of France. If he had been seconded by people as well affected as himself, what advantages might he not have procured to the Christian religion? what would he not have re-established? what would he not have reformed? what promising hopes did not he give by his abolishing the office of the immaculate conception, as Clement IX had done that of the slavery? what would he not have done, if he had heard of the impertinent devotion of that Monk, which M. . . . spoke of the other day? would he not have rigidly condemned the superiors, who suffer one of their visionaries to print orations, addressed to all the parts of the body of the holy Virgin (30). Are not religion, modesty, and good sense, wounded by such an extravagance? Innocent XI would

(29) Valesiana, pag. 45, & seq. Dutch Edit.

(30) Mr Baudouin, pag. 183, of his Etolomy Aulettes, says he has seen the printed book, which contains these orations.

not have stopped there: he would have reformed the luxury and fineries of women. How many husbands would have been obliged to him, had his design taken effect? I am assured also from good hands that he would have abolished the privileged altars, as a very great abuse. And indeed can some indulgences granted to an altar, make the mass better? or does the blood of CHRIST, which is of infinite worth, want any accession of merits to be more acceptable to God, and more efficacious to those that are prayed for? the mendicant Friars have invented these things, to bring customers to their churches.

What Mr Valois says concerning the design of reforming the luxury and fineries of women, puts me in mind of the great zeal Innocent XI expressed against those who shewed their breasts. This Pope finding he was not able to prevail with the fair sex, by the many powerful means he used, not to shew their breasts and their arms, and knowing withal that the terror which seized all Italy, when the Turks besieged Vienna, did not put a stop to that disorder, had recourse to the last remedy; namely, excommunication. He published an order the thirtieth of November 1683, which enjoined all maids and women to cover their shoulders and breasts, up to their necks, and their arms down to their hands, with some thick and not transparent stuff, upon pain of being so fully excommunicated *ipso facto*, if they did not obey in six days time, that, except at the last hour, no one but the Pope could absolve them; for it was declared, that the confessors who should presume to absolve them from that excommunication, should incur it themselves, and should be liable to such spiritual and temporal punishments as his holiness should think fit to inflict upon them: which temporal punishments, the fathers, husbands, masters, and other heads of families, by whose permission or connivance their daughters and wives act contrary to his ordinance, shall likewise undergo (31). I do not know what was the success of these terrible menaces; but I believe that as they were renewed from time to time under the predecessors of Innocent XI (32), there was occasion to renew them some time after. It is the fate of these sumptuary laws: luxury, and the desire of setting off one's beauty, quickly elude the wisest regulations: we may say of this disorder, what a grave historian has observed with respect to Astrologers; they were always commanded to depart Rome, but they never went out of it (33). King Lewis XIV has lately (34) put out fine edicts against luxury: if he can command obedience upon that head, it will be a more admirable thing, than the power he has had to lessen very considerably in his kingdom the madness of duelling. The news-writers have told us lately, that the advocates of the parliament of Paris, have engaged to see this reformation of profuseness observed in their own houses. Time will inform us, whether by the concurrent authorities of the prince and the husbands, the reformation will be established for a continuance. These gentlemen have been told (35) that as part of those (36) that set up most for women of quality, would perhaps, have a great repugnance to retrench any thing from their sumptuous habits, furniture, coaches, &c. as also from the superfluous number of their waiting-women, embroiderers, tapestry-workers, and footmen, which they have in their service; it had been resolved to oppose a licentiousness so little consistent with the state and quality of those ladies. . . . (37). The king's intention being, that they should obey and reform themselves the soonest, without any distinction of birth and quality, and that they should begin immediately, by not suffering their train to be born up. It is added, that two famous advocates (38) were charged to communicate this order to their brethren, and that the latter being overjoyed, expressed their acknowledgment for it, and unanimously resolved to thank the first President for procuring a regulation so just, so necessary, and so worthy of the king's wisdom; and to assure him at the same time, that they would cause it to be observed in their own houses, with the utmost exactness: they all looking

DISGRESSION concerning the reformation of luxury.

(31) Nouvelles de la Repub des Lettres, May 1686, art. II, pag. 495.

(32) See the Nouvelles, &c. ibid. pag. 497.

(33) Genus hominum . . . quod in civitate nostra & vetabitur semper & retinebitur. Tacit. Hist. lib. i, cap. xxii.

(34) I write this in May 1700.

(35) See the Lettres Historiques of May 1700, pag. 574.

(36) That is, advocates wives.

(37) Lettres Hist. ubi supra, pag. 575.

(38) Mr Helleu and Mr Chardun.

(b) Concerning the harangues of this Orator, see the *Acta Eruditorum*, in the third Tome of the Supplement, pag. 43, & seq.

against Innocent XI, in Paris [M]. You will find a noble encomium upon this Pope in the seventh speech of Mr Malagonelli (b). The Latin style of it is admirable, and worthy of ancient Rome.

upon it as the most effectual means to free them from infinite discontent, and to prevent the fruits of their laborious employments from continuing to be sacrificed to the extravagant ambition of their wives. It is very likely that they spoke as they meant; for indeed their fine, noble, and profitable employments, are attended with great toil. They sometimes envy the happiness of a countryman, who can sleep all night.

Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi otia pulsat (39).

(39) Horat.,
Sat. I, lib. i,
ver. 9.

The lawyer wak'd, and rising with the sun,
Cries happy Farmers that can sleep till noon.

CREECH.

Is it not reasonable, that they should desire that a gain, which costs them so many watchings, should not be squandered away by superfluous expences; and that the royal authority should enable them to remedy it, since otherwise they could never accomplish it?

[M] I shall insert some verses of Mr de la Fontaine, which show how freely they wrote against Innocent XI at Paris.] We find amongst his posthumous works a letter, part of which I will transcribe:

(40) He speaks to the prince of Conti.

Pour nouvelles de l'Italie,
Le Pape empire tous les jours,
Expliquez, Seigneur (40), ce discours
Du costé de la maladie.
Car aucun Saint-Pere autrement
Ne doit empirer nullement.
Celuy-ci veritablement
N'est envers nous ni Saint ni Pere.
Nos soins de l'erreur triumpans
Ne font qu'augmenter sa colere
Contre l'Ainé de ses Enfants.
Sa santé toujours diminuë,
L'avenir m'est chose inconnuë,
Et je n'en parle qu'à tâtons;
Mais le gens de delà les Monts
Auront bien-tôt pleuré cet homme;
Car il deffend les Jannetons,
Chose très-necessaire à Rome (41).

(41) La Fontaine, *Oeuvres posthumes*, pag. 182, Dutch Edit.

From Italy, my lord, they say
The Pope grows worse and worse each day,
But let me beg you to apply
This language to his malady;
Since it sounds oddly, in discourse,
To say the Pope grows worse and worse.
But 'tis true, I say it rather,
To us, nor holy be, nor father,

Our triumphs over error here
Only augment his spleen and fear,
And serve to egg his anger on,
Against the church's eldest son:
Worse as he grows . . . I cannot tell
Whether he will do ill or well,
On this bow'er I'll pawn my word,
His loss will not much grief afford
Beyond the Alps . . . since he dismiss'd
Each girl who would be freely kiss'd,
And banish'd by, too harsh a doom,
The sweetest, slightest, fun in Rome.

Here are some verses of a freer strain, and taken from the same work:

Je vois ces Heros retourner
Chez eux avec un pied de nez.

Et tout le parti Protestant
Du Saint-Pere en vain très-content.
J'ay là dessus un conte à faire.
L'autre jour touchant cette affaire
Le Chevalier de Sillery,
En parlant de ce Pape-cy,
Souhaitoit pour la paix publique,
Qu'il se fust rendu Catholique,
Et le Roy JACQUES Huguenot.
Je trouve assez bon ce bon mot (42).

(42) Id. *Ibid.*
pag. 174.

These heroes I return'd have seen,
Successful and o'ercome with spleen.

In vain the party Protestant,
Are with our holy Pope content.
But t'other day I heard a tale,
To make you laugh it scarce can fail,
The Chevalier de Sillery
Said for the public peace 'twould be,
If once the Pope turn'd Catholic,
And good king James a Heretic.
However this odd change might hit,
His saying surely wants not wit.

Racine (43) had a stroke at the Pope, but not so openly; however it was a stroke. Mr de Vize in his *Mercure Galant*, and in his books about the transactions of the present times, says many things to the dishonour of Innocent XI.

(43) See his preface to *Esther*. Mention is made of it in the *Année* important and *Refugees*, pag. 343.

JOACHIM, husband of St Anne [A], and father of the holy Virgin. His marriage was a long time unfruitful, by reason of which his oblations were rejected by the high-priest Issachar, who cruelly upbraided him for his infecundity. Joachim was so confounded to see himself treated in this manner by the high-priest, that he durst return home no more. He went and concealed himself in the country, among his shepherds, and was there comforted by an angel, who came to tell him, that he should have a daughter by his wife Anne, that should be called Mary. This angel went immediately to tell the same news to Anne, who was lamenting and weeping, not knowing what was become of her husband. This angelical news was no doubt very acceptable to her; for she very much grieved at her having no children [B]. Many believe, that a bare kiss of her

(1) Joannes Damascenus, de Fide Orthod. lib. iv, cap. xv, apud Barronium *Apologatus*, n. 42.

(2) Contra Faust. Manich. lib. xxiii, cap. ix. See the remark [D], citat. (11).

[A] Joachim, husband of St Anne.] Here is his genealogy: Levi, of the tribe of David, was the father of Panther, Panther was the father of Barpanther, who was the father of Joachim (1). Some have said, that Joachim did not descend from David, but from the tribe of Levi, and even that he was a priest. The Manichees grounded an objection upon this, which St Augustine (2) has examined.

[B] She very much grieved at her having no children.] She found her self deprived of a certain honour that was paid to mothers according to the laws; upon which she had recourse to extraordinary prayers, that she might partake of that honour: she entered into the holy of holies, and made earnest supplications to God, representing, that she had done nothing against the law, and therefore ought not to be excluded from the privileges

her husband impregnated her; but others affirm, that the common way was made use of [C]; for otherwise, say they, the birth of Jesus Christ would not be so wonderful as we hold it. What is most wonderful is, that though we know nothing for certain of the name, qualities, and history of the father and mother of the holy Virgin [D], yet all this that I have

privileges which the law gave to women, who had children. Her prayer was heard; God giving her to understand, that she should bear a child (3). St Gregory Nyssen relates this story, which he read in an apocryphal book. They who know that none entered into the holy of holies, but the high-priest himself, and that he was not permitted to enter into it but once a year, need not have the falsity of this story represented to them. If St Anne prepared herself on one hand, her husband did no less on the other; for he fasted forty days upon a mountain, in order to obtain of God the desired posterity (4). See in the following remark, the words of St Epiphanius.

[C] Others affirm, that the common way was made use of. St Bernard maintains, that it is the opinion of the church. 'Si licet, says he (5) loqui quod Eccl[esi]a sentit, (& verum ipsa sentit) dico gloriosam de Spiritu Sancto concepisse, non autem conceptam fuisse: dico peperisse virginem, non tamen partam à virgine. Alioquin ubi erit prerogativa matris Domini qua singulariter dicitur exultare & munere proliis & integritate carnis, si tantundem dederit & matri ipsius? Non est hoc Virginitatem honorare, sed honorari detrudere. — If I may be allowed, says he, to speak what the church thinks, (and what she thinks is truth) I say that the most glorious Virgin conceived by the HOLY GHOST, but was not conceived of it. I say that she brought forth though a virgin, yet not that she was born of a virgin. If it were otherwise, where would be the prerogative of the mother of our Lord, by which she is said singularly to rejoice, both in her offspring, and in the purity of her body, if as much should be granted to her mother? This is not to honour the Virgin, but to take from her honour.' Pelbartus of Temelwaer, notwithstanding his bigotted credulity, embraces St Bernard's opinion. 'Simplicibus quibusdam tribuit hanc opinionem quod Anna conceperit per solum osculum Joachim. Agnoscit tamen eam de viro concepisse concubitu matrimoniali (6). — He attributes to some foolish people this opinion, that Anna conceived by a bare kiss of Joachim. However he acknowledges that she conceived by her husband, as married people do.' The error of the pretended virginity of St Ann, is very ancient; for St Epiphanius was obliged to confute it.

Εἰ γὰρ Ἀγγέλους προσκυνεῖσθαι ἔθελαι, πόσω μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀννῆς γεγεννημένην, τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰωακείμ τῇ Ἀννᾷ δεδωρημένην, τὴν δὲ εὐχῆς, καὶ πάσης ἐπισκευῆς κατὰ ἐπαγγελίαν πατρὶ, καὶ μητρὶ δεδεδόσαν, ἢ μὲν ἑτέρας γεγεννημένην παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πάντες ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς, καὶ μητρὸς γυναικὸς; εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῆς Μαρίας ἱστορία, καὶ παραδόσεις ἔχουσιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ πατρὶ αὐτῆς Ἰωακείμ ἐν τῇ ἐρημῳ, ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ συνεληφθῆσα, ἔχ ὅτι ἀνευ συζυγίας τὸτο ἐγένετο, ἡδὲ ὅτι ἀνευ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς. Nam si ne Angelos quidem adorari permittit, quanto minus id Annæ filiae tribui concesserit, quam illi de Joacimo Dei bonitas indulget? quam precibus, omnique animi studio, ac contentione, parens uterque promeruit? ita tamen ut non aliam quam cæteri mortales nascendi conditionem habuerit; sed, ut illi, de virili satù, ac matris utero prodierit. Quamvis autem ex Mariæ historia, ac Traditione illud habeatur: Joacimo ejus Patri divinitus hoc in deserto nuntiatum fuisse, uxor tua concepit; non ita tamen accipiendum est, quasi hoc citra nuptialem confociationem, ac virilem satum acciderit (7). — For if he permit not the Angels to be adored how much less will he allow that honour to the daughter of Anna, whom GOD in his great mercy gave to Joachim, whom by prayers, by earnest entreaties, and by extraordinary piety, her parents obtained? yet so as that she was not born in any other manner than the rest of human race, springing from the seed of her father, nourished in the womb of her mother, for though we have it in the history of Mary, and by tradition, that Joachim her father had it revealed to him from heaven, in the desert, thy wife has conceived; yet are we not to understand thereby, that this happened without any conjugal conversation, or exclusive of the seed of man. The cavalier Bori had a strange thought con-

cerning the conception of the Virgin, he believed that St Joachim was impotent, and that the HOLY GHOST did incarnate itself with the Virgin Mary in the womb of her mother, who by that means remained a virgin after she had born her child. 'Cadde in proporzioni più ridicole, insegnando che la Vergine non era stata concetta con seme umano, mà per opera divina, avendo lo Spirito Santo pigliato carne nel ventre di S. Anna, e partorita dalla medesima, che asseriva che nel parto era rimasta Vergine, e tale essere stata avanti il parto, e assicurando che S. Gioachino fosse stato impotente alla consumazione del matrimonio (8).'

[D] Though we know nothing for certain of the name, qualities, and history of the father and mother of the Holy Virgin . . . St Epiphanius, who flourished in the year 370, is the most ancient author, that tells us the names of the Holy Virgin's father and mother. It is true, that he pretends to have received from the tradition and history of the Virgin Mary, what he says concerning the prayers of Joachim and St Anne, and the revelation of the angel (9); but does not he himself confess, that there went about very absurd traditions concerning the birth of Mary? does he not quote a book upon this matter, in which were abominable things (10)? Does he not say, that the reason assigned there of Zachary's losing his speech in the temple, was because he had seen a man in the shape of an ass? He was preparing to go out, and to say, Woe be to you, what deity do you worship? But that deity, to hinder him, made him speechless: when he had recovered the use of his speech, and revealed what he saw, he was killed. St Epiphanius adds, that they found in the same book, that the reason why the legislator had ordered the high-priest to wear little bells, was this, that this deity might have time to hide himself, that he might not discover his figure of an ass; so that to prevent being surprised, the sound of the bells was to give him warning, that the high-priest was coming. I am sensible that all traditions do not deserve to be rejected like these; but however, we have no solid reason to assure us, that those which St Epiphanius has espoused, had any good foundation. This is so true, that St Augustin makes no scruple to take those traditions which made Joachim, the Holy Virgin's father, a priest, for uncertain and apocryphal. 'Quod de generatione Mariæ Faustus posuit quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi sacerdotem quendam nomine Joachim, quia Canonicum non est, non me constringit (11).' He adds, that it was possible for one and the same person to descend from two tribes; and concludes, that if he was obliged to pay any deference to apocryphal writings, he would thus relolve the objection of the Manichee: 'Hoc ego potius vel tale aliquid crederem, si illius apocryphæ scripturæ ubi Joachim pater Mariæ legitur, autoritate detinerer, quam mentiri Evangelium in quo scriptum est, &c.

Would you have any other proofs of the uncertainty of these traditions, do but consider Baronius's conduct, he has rejected part of the things that are said concerning the father and mother of the Holy Virgin; he says in express words, that the book fathered upon St Jerome, is the work of an unknown and ignorant person, who was incapable of avoiding manifest falsities. 'Non tantum eam Hieronymi non esse dixerimus, sed auctoris plane ut ignoti, sic prorsus imperiti, qui in ea condenda & conscribenda non novit aperta vitare mendacia, dum ait illis temporibus quibus ea acciderunt fuisse Isachar summum pontificem (12). He declares, that though that book has many truths in it, he will not build upon it (13). He therefore overturns one part of the foundation. You may see how Casaubon overturns the other: he shews, that the book de Nativitate S. Mariæ, falsely attributed to St Jerome, was written by a Manichee, and abounds with impious and impertinent things. A pestilentissimo hæretico profectum, postremo nugarum & impietatum esse plenum (14). He wonders that the Jesuit Christopher de Castro durst declare for such a book, the impotence whereof was so well known to Erasmus, Melchior Canus, Sixtus Senensis, and Baroni-

(3) Gregorius Nyssenus, Orat. in Natal. Domini, apud Baronium, ubi supra, n. 44.

(4) Sophronius apud Rivetum, Apolog. pro Sanctiss. Virg. Mariæ, cap. iii. Oper. Tom. III, pag. 605, col. 2.

(5) Bernard. Epist. cxxxix, ad Canon. Logdun. apud Rivetum, ibid. pag. 603.

(6) Stellaris corone, lib. iv, Part. II, art. c. i, apud Rivetum, ibid.

(7) Epiphanius Advers. Collyritianos, pag. m. ac62.

(8) Relazione della Vita del Cavagl. Bori, pag. 351.

(9) See his words in the foregoing remark.

(10) Τὸν ἄνθρωπον γὰρ Μαρίας βιβλίον τὴν Φασίαν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ δεῖναι τὸ καὶ ὁρίσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἑνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι. Cujusmodi est qui de progenie Mariæ liber inscribitur, in quo horribilia quedam ac detestanda illorum dicta continentur. Epiphanius, Adv. Hæres. pag. 94.

(11) Augustin. contra Faustum Manich. lib. xxiii, cap. ix, apud Rivetum ubi supra, pag. 604, 605.

(12) Baronius, ubi supra, n. 44.

(13) Nec innititur scriptioni illi quæ hætenus Hieronymi nomine ad Chromatium & Heliodorum scripta vulgata est, nam licet in ea complura veritate constantia conscripserit, quæ à dictis auctoribus sibi videntur auctoritatem & fidem, tamen, &c. Id. ibid.

(14) Casaub. Exerc. ad Baron. I, n. 15, pag. m. 90.

I have mentioned, has been asserted, and feasts have been consecrated to St Joachim, and his wife [E]. Some (a) have believed that she had three daughters by her marriage; others, that St Anne was married three times; and that she had one daughter by every husband.

(a) See Baronius, in Apparatu, n. 41.

us. He cites a passage out of it, which supplies me with a strong proof. 'Illud liberè dico quod fidelium ne-
'minem negaturum puto; five hæc vera sunt, five ab
'aliquo conficta sacrosancta S. Mariæ miracula præ-
'cessisse; maxima consecuta fuisse; & idcirco salva
'fide, ab iis qui Deum facere ista posse credunt, sine
'periculo animæ suæ credi & legi posse (15).—This
'I speak freely, and I believe none of the faithful
'will deny it whether these miracles of the holy Mary
'were true, or whether they were forged before-hand,
'mighty things followed after, and in respect to these,
'they who believe that to GOD belongs the power
'of doing such things, may safely, and without peril of
'their souls read and receive them.' These are not the

(15) Id. ibid. pag. 91.

(16) Others call him Leucius, or Leontius. Id. ib.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) See, above, remark [B].

words of the Manichean Seleucus (16), the author of the book, but of the Latin translator; and it is worth while to observe, that he confesses there are many falsities in the book he translates. 'Impietas istius Pleu-
'dohieronymi excusari salvo pudore non potest: nam
'quum fateatur, Seleucum, five Leucium de doctrina
'Apostolorum multa esse mentitum; ea tamen defen-
'dit, quæ sunt ab eodem hæretico scripta de vir-
'tutibus & miraculis eorum. Poterat ne hic planus
'apertius ostendere, nullam sibi esse curam veritatis, ne-
'que ullum se inter falsum & verum statuere dis-
'crimen? Adde de eo ipso libro quem vertebat: ita
'Et his multa non vera de corde suo confingit (17).
'—The impiety of this false Jerom, cannot, with any
'modesty, be excused; for altho' he confesses, that Se-
'leucus, or Leucius, told many lies, as to the doctrine
'of the Apostles, yet he defends those things which that
'Heretic has written concerning their virtues and mi-
'racles. Was it possible for him to have shown more
'plainly, that he had no regard to truth, nor made
'any difference between truth and falsehood? He adds
'also, in respect to the book he translated: He inserts
'many other things of his own head which are not
'true.' Do we need any more towards a full con-
viction of the uncertainty of all these traditions. That
which St Gregory Nyssen alleges, is palpably false
(18). As to Nicephorus Callistus, Germanus patriarch
of Constantinople, John Damascen, &c, they deserve
no credit, because they lived in an age too remote

from the fountain-head, to have these traditions un-
corrupted. Besides every one knows, that Nicepho-
rus is a fabulous and injudicious writer (19). We
are not obliged to believe that he has rightly quoted
Hippolytus bishop of Porto. However, what he cites
out of him, contains some falsities, as Casaubon shews.
See the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (20). Rivetus is in the
right to think it strange, that Richard Mountague
should assent to most of the stories which Bernardi-
nus of Bussi, Pelvartus of Temelwaer, Coslerus, and
such like writers have adopted concerning our St
Joachim (21).

I wonder how the abbot de Marolles could pay so
much deference to the above-mentioned traditions. See
the 235th page of his Memoirs.

[E] Yet feasts have been consecrated to St Joachim
and his wife.] The husband arrived to that honour la-
ter than the wife: it was not given him before the
second of December, 1622. The day appointed for
him is the twentieth of March (22); but the feast of
St Anne was instituted in 1584. At first it was not neces-
sary by a necessity of precept to abstain from work: it did
not arrive to that prerogative till the year 1622 (23).
In all other things the worship of St Joachim is very in-
ferior to that of his wife. She is the patroness of an
order of nuns, called the *Daughters of St Joseph* (24),
and there is much talk of her miracles. The village of
Ker-Anne, in the diocese of Tannes in Bretagne,
is very famous upon that account, and especially,
since an old image of this saint has been dug up,
which had been long hid under ground. It was re-
vealed to a husbandman in the year 1625, where this
image was to be found. As soon as it was dug up, it
performed abundance of miracles. They were quickly
in a condition to build her a fine church; the alms of
devout souls, who flocked thither from all parts, fur-
nished enough for the expence. The bishop of Van-
nes procured from Rome the necessary indulgences for
those that should visit this image; and gave the di-
rection of this new church to the reformed Carme-
lites, and permitted brother Hugh of St Francis,
one of them, to publish the miracles which had been
lately wrought in those parts (25).

(19) Nicephorum hunc fabulosissimum esse scriptorem, de judicio in literis nullius, facti notum est eruditiss. Casaub. ubi supra.

(20) Pag. 143; et seq. of the *eleventh Tome*.

(21) Rivet. Apolog. pro S. S. Maria, cap. iii. Oper. Tom. III, pag. 607.

(22) Spondanus, Annal. ad ann. 1622, n. 1.

(23) Id. ibid.

(24) See the last intruded. Les grandes de Sainte Anne. It is mentioned in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Tom. XI, pag. 141.

(25) Taken from Spondanus, ad ann. 1625, n. 1.

JOAN, Queen of Naples. See NAPLES.

JOB, whose patience has been described in one of the canonical books of the old Testament. Not to repeat what we find in Moreri, I content myself with observing some errors. It is a mistake to affirm, that the Turks have a great veneration for the sepulchre of this holy man [A], the first judge of Solomon's court [B]. It is a scandalous

[A] It is a mistake to affirm, that the Turks have a great veneration for the sepulchre of Job.] Here is a passage of Sir Paul Ricaut (1). 'It is the custom of
'the Turks, as often as there is a new emperor, to con-
'duct him with all imaginable pomp, to the place of
'the suburbs of Constantinople, which they call Job,
'where there is an ancient sepulchre of a certain prophet,
'or holy man, whom the Turks, who have no know-
'ledge of antiquity or history, pretend to be the same
'Job, who for so many ages has been a pattern of
'constancy and patience.' The French translator of
Sir Paul Ricaut, makes an observation upon these words,
that deserve to be mentioned: 'I believe, says he (2),
'that some Turks, unacquainted with History and
'Chronology, may take the sepulchre of Job, which
'is under the walls of Constantinople, for that of
'the holy man, whose history is related in the old Te-
stament; but the Mahometan historians tell us them-
selves, that this sepulchre was built for another Job,
who was a Mahometan, and one of the companions
of Mahomet. He was killed at the siege of Con-
stantinople, which was attacked by Jezid, son of the
calif Moavia, in the fifty second year of the He-
gira, or the six hundred and seventy second of Jesus
Christ. This is what Elmacinus observes in his hi-
story of the Saracens, chap. 7. book 1, and though
Elmacinus was a Christian, yet he only relates what
he found in the Mahometan Historians, which he
owns to have abridged.' One of the most learned

(1) Ricaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire, translated by Belspier, book 1, pag. 10.

(2) Belspier, Remarques curieuses sur l'Etat Présent de l'Empire Ottoman, pag. 4.

rabbies of the XVIIth century has been in the same
error with these ignorant Turks; for he affirms (3),
'that the Mahometans have still a great veneration for
'the sepulchre of Job, which is at Constantinople (4).
'... Doubtless he did not know that it is the
'sepulchre of a different Job, from that of the old Te-
stament, and he was so ridiculous as to believe, that
'all the Mahometans took it for the sepulchre of this
'holy man.'

[B] The first judge of Solomon's court.] Here is another
passage of Sir Paul Ricaut. 'The Turks, says he (5),
'so confound history for want of understanding Chro-
nology, that they say Job was the first judge of Solo-
mon's court, and that Alexander the Great was the
'general of his armies.' Here is a good criticism upon
these words (6). 'The English author has taken
'this from Busbequius, but has not well understood his
'meaning. For Busbequius does not say that the
'Turks believed Job to be the first judge of Solomon's
'court, and Alexander to be the general of his army;
'but only that they understand Chronology and History
'so little, that if such a thing should come into their
'heads, they would make no scruple to affirm, that
'Job was the first judge of Solomon's court, and Alex-
'ander the Great the general of his army. There is a
'great deal of difference betwixt these two things.'
See Busbequius, epist. 1. Sir Paul Ricaut's error has
already crept into some books (7).

(3) Menassih Ben Israel de Benferet. Mortuor. lib. 1, cap. xvi, apud Belspier, ibid. pag. 5.

(4) Belspier, ibid.

(5) Ricaut, ubi supra.

(6) Belspier, ubi supra, pag. 6.

(7) Berroun has copied it in his *Varie Lectiones*, pag. 260.

[C] B

lous impudence to say, that Job's distemper was the pox [C]. I confess, that in the church of Rome, he is the patron of those who have the pox [D]; but this does not prove the other supposition. He was worshipped in that church before the pox was known in Europe [E]. Tertullian is in an error, to say, that Job left no posterity. See thereupon Mr Spanheim (a) in his history of Job, which is a very good book.

(a) Frideric. Spanheimius, F. Historia Jobi, cap. xv, pag. 481.

(8) Patin, Letter eccclxviii, pag. 202, of the third Tome.

[C] *It is a scandalous impudence to say that Job's distemper was the pox.* Guy Patin names two famous authors who have said this. These are his words: (8) 'Pour répondre à ce que vous me mandez, je vous dirai que Bolduc Capuchin a écrit aussi bien que Pineda Jésuite Espagnol que Job avoit la verole. Je crois volontiers que David & Solomon l'avoient aussi. — In answer to your question, I will tell you that Bolduc, a Capuchin, and Pineda, a Spanish Jesuit, have affirmed, that Job had the pox: I could easily believe that David and Solomon had it also.' Note, that it may be said, that Job had this ugly distemper, without having committed any act of impurity that had brought it upon him.

(9) Molanus, in Diario Med. cor. pag. 68.

[D] *He is the patron of those who have the pox.* Consult Molanus's *Diarium Medicorum Ecclesiasticum*, where you will find these words under the tenth of May, which is St Job's day. 'Volunt nonnulli Sanctum Job peculiarem patronum esse eorum qui lue venerea laborant aut eam curant (9). — Some say that St Job is the particular patron of those that have the pox, or that cure it.'

(10) Id. *ibid.* pag. 69.

[E] *He was worshipped . . . before the pox was known in Europe.* The same Molanus cautions us not to admit of Agrippa's error, who ventures to say, that the pox was the cause of Job's canonization. Before this, says Molanus, there was at Venice a church, and a feast appointed for this holy man, who from Charlemagne's time has been inserted in the Martyrology. 'Cavendus est H. Cornelius Agrippa, qui vane scripsit lucem Veneream Job in divos retulisse. Quasi non multo ante Veneti memoriam ejus & templo & festo die celebrarent, confect quoque Usuardum Caroli Magni ætate & Wandelbertum non multo post, Martyrologiis suis eum inseruisse. Et à Grecis ad sextum diem Maii notatur sanctus & justus Job, qui multa contra Satanam certamina sustinuit (10). — We are

to take care therefore, of believing what H. Cornelius Agrippa has vainly written, that the Venereal disease brought Job into the number of the saints. Though a long while before, the Venetians had celebrated his memory, by dedicating thereto both a church and feast day, and it is certain that Usuardus, in the time of Charles the Great, and Wandelbertus, a little after, inserted his name in their Martyrologies: and by the Greeks, the sixth day of May is distinguished by honour of holy and righteous Job, who sustained many and sharp conflicts with Satan.' A famous Protestant divine, who has in some measure taken Agrippa's part in this respect, observes, that there is at Utrecht an hospital, where they take care of those that are infected with the pox, and that it goes by the name of Job. 'Dici potest ad defensionem Agrippæ, Jobum inter divos tutelares & quidem fœdi iustis morbi, post ejusdem morbi exortum, demum fuisse letum. Quidquid sit, tanquam divus alexicacus ab humis morbi mythis, annuente Romana Ecclesia salutatur. Hinc in hac urbe Xenodochium S. Jobi olim dominante papatu constitutum, ubi illo morbo laborantes curari solent (11). — This however may be said, in defence of Agrippa, that Job was received into the number of tutelar saints, and even of that filthy disease he mentions, within a short time after it's first breaking out. However it be, he is addressed for the cure of all evils of this kind, with the consent of the Romish church, and hence it is, that a hospital, erected in this city, was put under his patronage, because persons afflicted with this disease, were received into it, and cured there.' It was not long since the question was discussed at Rome, whether Job and the other saints of the old Testament, deserved the worship that is paid to canonized saints, and whether altars ought to be built to them. Consult upon this *Acta Sanctorum Maii* (12).

(11) Giff. Voët. Disputat. Theol. Tom. III, pag. 435, 436.

(12) There is a dissertation upon this in the Appendixes to the sixth and seventh volumes. See also Journ. des Sav. March 5, 1703, in the extract of a book of Mr Baillet.

(a) La Croix du Maine, & du Verdier, Bibl. François.

(b) Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poëtes, artic. 7342. Menage, cap. cx, of the Anti Baillet.

(c) See the Anti-Baillet, chap. cxi.

JODELLE (STEPHEN) a French and Latin poet in the XVIth century, was of Paris (a). He was one of the Pleiad invented by Ronfard (b). Some make him the first inventor of French verses composed like the Latin, according to the quantity of syllables; but others ascribe this to Baif (c). It makes little for their glory to settle the truth of this matter; for that invention quickly fell into contempt. There is more reason for pretending, that Jodelle was the first Frenchman, who gave in his language tragedy and comedy in the ancient form (d). He had an incredible facility in making verses [A], and possessed several other talents. He was an orator, understood Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, and was well skill'd in managing arms (e). He made profession of being a man of the sword (f). His birth gave him that privilege [B]. He died in July 1573, being forty one years of age. See the margin (g). His friends published a collection of his works the following year (h). It has been wrongfully said that he died with hunger, as a punishment for his impieties [C], and he has been falsely cried down as a pagan

(g) Mr Varillas is mistaken when he supposes, *Hist. de Henri III.* livr. xii, pag. m. 267, that Jodelle was living under the reign of Henry III. He says, that the seven French Poets, who were called the Pleiad, having made merry for a whole month at that prince's charges, in a tavern near a gate of Nefle, went out singing: Long live tyranny, we have spent thirty six thousand livres.

(h) Du Verdier, ubi supra, pag. 284, 285.

(1) Bibliothèque, François, pag. 286.

[A] *He had an incredible facility of making verses.* This I have from du Verdier Vau-Privas (1), in these words. 'He was admirable in one thing, which is almost incredible, viz. that all his compositions were quickly made, without study and pains; and we can, with several persons that are now living, testify, that the longest and most difficult tragedy or comedy has not taken him up above ten mornings: nay, the comedy intitled *Eugene*, was made at four sittings. He has been seen in his youth to compose and write in one night for a wager, five hundred good Latin verses, on a subject given him on the spot. All his sonnets, even those that were merely accidental, were made by him as he was walking, and amusing himself with other things, so suddenly, that when he pronounced them, people thought he had not yet began them.' We need not wonder then at his numerous productions. It is said that he composed about ten thousand verses upon the passage of the *Rhône* (2). If his friends had published all his pieces, how many thousands of verses would they have amount-

(2) La Croix du Maine, Bibliothèque, pag. 78.

ed to? he made all sorts of verses, elegies, odes, sonnets, songs, inscriptions, and canticles (3). He made a *Poem against the sin of Sodomy* (4).

[B] *His birth gave him that privilege.* He was a gentleman who had a lordship; for he took the title of Seigneur du Lymodin (5). I believe it was a patrimonial estate.

[C] *It has been wrongfully said, that he died with hunger, as a punishment for his impieties.* Voetius relates (6), that upon his reading in Honfdorf's *Theatrum*, that Stephen Jodelle, a French Poet, an Epicurean and an Atheist, spent all his estate, and died of hunger (7), he carefully inquired whether the thing was true; but that his library could give him no light into it, which obliged him to consult Rivetus. By which means he found that there was no track of Atheism to be seen in Jodelle's works; but on the contrary, several tokens of Orthodoxy; and that possibly, the

Stephani Jodelli Gallici Poëte, quem Epicureum & Atheum confectum dicit. Voëtius, *ibid.*

(3) Du Verdier, ubi supra.

(4) La Croix du Maine, ubi supra.

(5) Du Verdier, ubi supra, pag. 285. See also la Croix du Maine, *ibid.*

(6) Voët. Disputat. Tom. I. pag. 137.

(7) Meminit Honfdorf. dicto libro exemplum ad Drexelgum, Lipsiæ in fol. ann. 1570. Edit. dilapidatâ bonâ

a Pagan, because in a carnival sport his friends sacrificed a goat to him [D]. I dare not give credit

(8) See the following remark.

accusation of impiety, which was charged upon him, had no other foundation than the sacrifice of a goat (8), which was offered to Jodelle, as being the head of the tragic Poets; and was only a meer sport, if we will believe the author of Ronfard's life. Nevertheless, Rivetus durst not determine whether for that one action Jodelle does not deserve to be reckoned an Atheist. Voëtius acquiesces in that judgment: he grants with his friend, that if there be no more authentic proofs of Jodelle's Atheism, one cannot affirm that he was guilty of it; but in the mean time he will not acquit him, and leaves it as a disputable thing. *In medio relinquat (Rivetus) an ob idem factum Atheus sit dicendum, nisi aliunde alia authentica testimonia suppetant.*

(9) Voëtius, ubi supra.

In ejus sententia & nos acquiescimus (9). It is not probable that the compiler Honfard, goes upon this pretended sacrifice: he gives Jodelle the character of a debauchee, who had squandered his estate. It is therefore upon an habitual sin that he goes, and not upon the force of a pretended sacrifice; a thing done but once, and which may be as well imputed to the other wits of whom Honfard says not a word, as to Jodelle. We may therefore say, that this compiler of examples of the divine justice, is grossly mistaken; and yet we see two famous divines, who equal his accusation, though destitute of all sorts of proof, against the testimonies of orthodoxy, which appear in the books of the accused: they fancy themselves equitable enough, provided they neither condemn nor acquit him. How little do they follow these maxims, 'Quilibet præsumitur bonus donec probetur malus. Astore non probante absolvitur reus? — Every man is presumed to be good till he be proved to be bad. A man is acquitted if the crimes he was charged with cannot be proved.' We must take notice, that Honfard's transcribers, or those whom he has transcribed, be they never so numerous, do not amount altogether to the authority of a single witness, while they quote no body, or only cite one another (10). For the rest, I do not pretend to deny that Jodelle died poor (11). I do not know but Gentillet was the first original of all those compilers, who have mentioned Jodelle, as an instance of divine vengeance upon impious men. 'We might alledge, says he (12), infinite examples of judgment and vengeance of God, exercised against Atheists, despisers of God and religion, even of our own time; as for instance, the tragic Poet Jodelle, who made a true tragical end; for having eaten up his patrimony like an Epicure, he died miserably of hunger.' I have found part of these words in a book printed at Morges, in the year 1581, intitled, *Punitions & jugemens de Dieu, &c.* and in a book printed in 1586, and written by John Chaffanion, of Monistrol, in Vellay, with this title, *Memorable Histories of the great and wonderful Punishments and Judgments of GOD, &c.* (13).

(10) You will find the following passage in König's Bibliotheca, of the word Jodelinus: *Gregorius Richterius Garlensis in Axiom. Eccles. n. 108, fegg. babet: Memoria nostra Jodelius, tragicorum scriptor, tragicum exitum invenit: nam luxu, gæna, stupris, ex Epicureorum discipulis, patrimonium cum consumpsisset, miserimo genere mortis fame periit.*

(11) See the article FINÆUS, remark [D], at the end.

(12) Gentillet, Discours sur les moines de bien Gouverner contre Nicolas Machiavel, Part. II, pag. 179. Edit. 1576.

(13) Book II, chap. xxix, pag. 270.

(14) In Ronfard's Life, pag. m. 159.

(15) He speaks of two ministers, who had writ against Ronfard.

(16) I think it should be Arcueil.

[D] His friends sacrificed a goat to him.] Claudius Binet (14) tells us, how this farce was acted. 'They (15) blamed him; amongst other things, for having sacrificed a goat to Jodelle, in the village of Hercueil (16); but he gives a sufficient answer to that particular accusation, which is this. Jodelle caused the tragedy of Cleopatra to be acted before the king, which every body so applauded, that some days after, when the whole club of the Poets were together in that village, to pass away the time, and enjoy themselves in the licentious days of the carnival, every one of them made some verses in imitation of the Bacchannalia of the antients. A goat happened to go in the street, which gave them an opportunity to play the fool, as well because he was formerly sacrificed to Bacchus, as because they had a mind to offer him to Jodelle, as a recompence for his tragedy, according to the antient custom, to which the Christians themselves, and especially the Poets, have recourse now and then, not out of any belief, but by way of allusion: and that which gave occasion to believe something of it, was the verses and pranks of those Poets, which were published, particularly the Dithyrambs of Bertrand Berger, a Dithyrambic Poet, in which were these verses. . . . All this was but fiction and masquerade.' Perhaps the reader will not be displeased to find here Ronfard's answer, which Binet has only pointed at. Here it is.

Tu dis en vomissant dessus moy ta malice,
Que j'ay fait d'un grand Bouc à Bacchus sacrifice:
Tu ments impudemment: cinquante gens de bien
Qui estoient au banquet diront qu'il n'en est rien.

Muses qui habitez de Parnasse la croupe,
Filles de Jupiter, qui allez neuf en trope,
Venez & repoussez par vos belles chansons,
L'injure fait à vous & à vos nourissons,
Jodelle ayant gaigne par une voix hardie
L'honneur que l'homme Grec donne à la Tragedie,
Pour avoir en haussant le bas file François,
Contenté doctement lea oreilles des Rois.

La brigade qui lors au ciel levait la teste
(Quand le temps permettoit une licence honneste)
Honorant son esprit gaillard & bien appris,
Luy fit present d'un Bouc, des Tragiques le prix.
Jà la nappe estoit mise, & la table garnie
Se bordoit d'une sainte & docte compagnie:
Quand deux ou trois ensemble en riant ont poussé
Le pere du troupeau à long poil herissé:

Il venoit à grands pas ayant la barbe peinte,
D'un chapelet de fleurs la teste il avoit ceinte,
Le bouquet sur l'oreille, & bien fier se sentoit
Dequoy telle jeunesse ainsi le presentoit:

Puis il fut rejeté pour chose mesprisée
Après qu'il eut servy d'une longue risée,
Et non sacrifié, comme tu dis menteur,
De telle faulx bourde impudent inventeur (17).

(17) Ronfard, in the Answer to some ministers, pag. 12, of the ninth Tome of his works, Edit. of Paris, 1664, in 12mo.

1.

In the height of your malice you tell it about,
That one day to Bacchus I offer'd a goat.
Why, good Sir, you lie, full fifty were there,
And saw no such thing, as they all will declare.

2.

Ye Muses who dwell on Parnassus's top,
Ye daughters of Jove, who run nine in a troop,
Come hither and lend me your aid to chastize
Whoever or you, or your scholars, belies.

3.

Jodelle having reach'd in the tragedy strain,
That point of perfection the Greeks did ordain,
While his muse in French verse, with such energy sings,
As well might content an audience of kings.

4.

A brigade of bright wits, on this triumph thought fit
To make use of that freedom the age doth permit;
And as the reward of his skill they devise
To present him a GOAT . . . the old tragedy prize.

5.

The cloth being laid, and the table deck'd out,
And a circle of honest and wise men about,
The old head of the herd, with form was brought in,
By folks who ne'er dreamt that their joke was a sin.

6.

With a motion most solemn, the Goat too appear'd,
His head crown'd with ribbons, and painted his beard;
At his ear stuck a nosegay, thus stalking along,
He seem'd joy'd with his honors, and pleas'd with the throng.

7.

At length the poor Goat was allow'd to turn tail,
When long they had laugh'd, and the jest was grown stale,
Nor never was offer'd, as you folks persuade,
And basely report the vile lie you have made.

Of

credit to what I have read in Beza's life [E]. You will find a great many things relating

Of whatever party a man may be, he carries things too far; and we are often imposed upon by popular reports. The ministers did rashly give credit to the stories that were spread concerning Jodelle's goat: and because Ronfard set up for a persecutor, for he wrote against the Protestants, and fell upon them at the head of the militia, they upbraided him with the ceremony of the goat, putting the worst construction upon it. They called it a Pagan sacrifice, and maintained, that the goat had been sacrificed to a false god. It was a calumny, but they were not the inventors of it. I shall quote Scaliger, who says, that a priest gave birth to that imposture; and it is to be observed, that he has rejected this pretended sacrifice as a fable. I know not whether he remembered, that some ministers had accused Ronfard of it; but I know very well, that he believed his adversary Scioppius had brought him (Scaliger) upon the stage with the others. These are his words.

'*At illud, quod adjiciemus, omnia portentia amphitheatrica superat. Parisenses illos amicos tuos imitatis, quos Dionysia agitasse, & hircum immolasse fama est. Dionysia agitare, dicit esse hircum immolare. Hujus enim infamulati sunt illi, de quibus nunc agitur. Vespillonis filius, qui nunquam Lutetiae fuit, in media Suburra habitans Romae, unde hoc mendacium explicari potuit, nisi à quibus reliqua portentia didicistis? Quos putat Dionysia agitasse, vel hircum immolasse, ut illi persuaserunt qui verum dicere, etiam si velint, non possint, ii sunt, Petrus Ronfardus, M. Anton. Muretus, Janus Baisius, Remigius Bellaqueus, Stephanus Jodellus, Nicol. Denisotus, Joan. Auratus, alii, omnes poëtae, præter Patoletum, qui in historiis conscribendis omne studium suum collocarat. Quos tam falsum est adeo execrandum, nefandum, impium facinus fecisse, quam certum est, impune illis futurum non fuisse, siquidem jam Christianæ pietatis, quam exilimationis suæ obliiti tam detestabile scelus in se admisissent. Si illi docti viri viverent, sur non inultum tulisset. Porro tam impudentis calumniæ auctor fuit sacrificulus Gentiliaci vicî, in quo illi doctissimi viri de constituto coierant, ut de symbolis essent. Totum drama exponerem, si opus esset, ut Josephus me docuit, qui illud ad unguem tenet (18). — But what we are going to relate exceeds all the wonders of the amphitheatre. You imitate those friends at Paris, who are reported to have held feasts in honour to Bacchus, and to have sacrificed a goat to him. To celebrate the Dionysia he says was to sacrifice a goat, and this is what is insinuated of those of whom we are speaking. The son of an Undertaker who never was at Paris, but lived in the middle of the Suburra at Rome, where could he pick up such a story as this, but from those who told him the rest of his wonders? Those whom he thought to have kept these feasts, and to have sacrificed a goat being so persuaded by persons who could not tell him truth if they would, were Peter Ronfard, M. Anthony Muret, Janus Bais, Remy Belleau, Stephen Jodelle, Nicol. Denisot, John Dorat, and others, all poets except Patolet, who had applied himself wholly to writing history. That these were guilty of so execrable a villany, is a fact as false as it is certain that they would never have escaped unpunished, if forgetting their duty as Christians, and what they owed to their own reputations, they could have suffered so detestable a thing to have entered their hearts. If these learned men were living, this fellow would not have escaped so. The author of this impudent calumny was a priest in the village of Chantilly, where these learned men used to meet and converse together. I could explain the whole affair, if there was a necessity for it, as Joseph Scaliger himself told it me, who had the story at his fingers end.' All goes well hitherto; I wish what follows was as just. 'Sed ponamus verum esse. Quid hæc ad Josephum, qui tunc puer Burgigalæ primis rudimentis Latini sermonis initiabatur? An quia sexto post, septimo, & octavo anno omnes, præter Jodellum, illos vidit, & familiariter novit, ideo ejusdem criminis postulandus erit? Hoc modo oportere omnes, qui Muretum norunt, Dionysia agitasse, hoc est, majorem partem eorum, qui hodie Romæ agunt. Quanta invidia Josephum premerent, si verum crimen haberent, quod illi objicerent; quum aliorum facta, eaque falsa illi exprobren-*

'*tur (19)? — But admitting all this to be true, (19) Id. ibid. pag. 340.*
'*what has all this to do with Scaliger, who was at that time a boy learning the rudiments of the Latin tongue at Bourdeaux? or because six, seven, or eight years after he saw and was intimate with all those persons except Jodelle, must the same crime therefore be imputed to him? at this rate, all who knew Muret must be supposed to have sacrificed to Bacchus, which will tarnish the reputation of the major part of the present inhabitants of Rome. With what joy would they attack Scaliger if they had any real crime to object to him, who thus impute the crimes of others, and those too which have not in them any shadow of truth.*'
The heat of the dispute disturbed Scaliger's head; he goes about to clear himself from a thing he was not accused of; he complains of being calumniated when he is not, and so he himself becomes a slanderer (20). When it is said that a man imitates the faults of his good friends, it is not presumed that he was with them in a certain place, where they have committed some crime; on the contrary, it is supposed he was not with them, for if he had been, he would be called an accomplice, and not an imitator. It is not therefore true that Scioppius involved Scaliger in Jodelle's business (21), and consequently Scaliger should not have complained of it, nor alledged his being in another place.

[E] I dare not give credit to what I have read in Beza's life.] I find in it, that Stephen Jodelle, one of the poets of the French Pleiad, made a stanza upon Beza's being struck with the plague whilst he was translating the Psalms. The stanza runs thus:

Beze fut lors de la peste accueilli
Qu'il retouchoit cette harpe immortelle.
Mais pourquoi fut Beze d'elle assailli?
Beze assaillloit la peste à tous mortelle (§ 2).

The plague o'er Beza did prevail
While he to sacred song inclin'd.
Why did the plague this man assail?
He assail'd the plague of human kind.

Antony la Faïe, who wrote the life of this minister (22), gives Jodelle the surname of Modilinus. *Stephanus Jodellus Modilinus*, says he, *non postremum inter poëtas Pleiadis Gallicæ, &c.* One may easily perceive that Modilinus was put in for *Limodinus*, a title belonging to Jodelle, on account of his lordship (23). But as this stanza is ascribed to one Stephen de Modelin in several editions of the Psalms, where it is placed with the epitaph of Clement Marot, composed by the same Modelin, I question whether it be Jodelle's. For such a poet should not have been called Stephen de Modelin. On such occasions as these, it is not usual to make a man known by an anagram. But I have a stronger reason than this. Beza was at Laufanne when he was seized with the plague; and was then looked upon in France as an apostate. The persecution was terrible against the Reformed; can we then believe that a poet, who professed himself a Catholic, would have composed an obliging stanza, in Beza's praise, so agreeable to the taste and stile of the Reformers? that which is certain is, that the opinion of Antony la Faïe has been followed by Andrew Rivetus (24), and Jeremiah de Pours (25).

[(§ 2.) It is very possible, that this Tetra-stich was composed by Jodelle when he was very young. At that time he professed the Reformed Religion, in Geneva; where by that wonderful fertility of genius, which, even in off-hand compositions, is ascribed to him under the letter A. by Du-Verdier-Vau-Privas, one night among others, he was seen to have composed after this manner an hundred Latin verses, in which he decyphered the mæls, with suitable raiories, says a Protestant author of that time. According to all probability, Jodelle's poetry met with no great encouragement at Geneva, since on a sudden he was seen to retake the road to Paris, and the way of that mæls, he had so much cried down by his Latin verses. For the rest, as the Romish religion was become in nothing better, since Jodelle had thought proper to embrace it, that might be the reason why the Protestants, whom he had left, treated him as impious, and even

(18) Scaliger, in Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum, pag. m. 338, & seq.

(22) Melch. Adam has inserted the greatest part of it in his *Lives of such divines as were not Germans.*

(23) He was lord of Lymidine.

(24) He writ to Vicius, that Stephen Jodelle had praised the translation of the Psalms, and even imparted to him the Stanza. Voët. ubi supra.

(25) In the second book of the *Divine Melody*, pag. 586, he inserts the stanza, and ascribes it to Stephen Jodelle Modelin.

* Memoirs of the State of France, &c. Vol. I, fol. 178, verso, and even

lating to this poet in the place which I have quoted out of Stephen Pasquier.

even as an *Atteist*; to which, *thirty sonnets*, which he made immediately after the massacre of Paris, to charge the ministers with having occasioned the punishments, wars, and massacres, which had been seen in France since, and upon account of the Reformation, contributed not a little. *It is said*, continues the same author, *that Jodelle had a round sum of crowns for these sonnets*; which then he must have spent in less than a year, if

it be true, as is pretended, that, in the month of July following, he died of hunger and poverty. As for *Modelin* or *Modilin*, perhaps Jodelle thus anagrammatized the name of his lordship, either following the practice of the times, or not to appear plainly the author of the *Tetrastich*, in which the Romish religion is censured, and Beza commended. REM. CRIT.]

JOHN (SAINT) the Evangelist. Not to mention here what is to be found in Moreri, or in Mr de Tillemont (a), I shall only say, I. That in St Augustin's time, there went about a silly tradition concerning the condition St John was in [A]. II. That there is nothing more absurd than what has been said against the author of the translation of the new Testament of Mons [B], under the false pretence, that decency did not allow this holy apostle, and the Virgin Mary to lodge in the same house. III. That what has been answered to Mr Mallet hereupon, deserves to be mentioned [C].

IV. That

(a) Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Eccle. Tom. I. p. 910, & seq. Brussels, in 12mo.

* August. Comment. in Joan. in hec verba, Discipulus ille non moritur.

(1) The abbot Foydis, Extrait d'un Sermon prêché le jour de St Polycarpe, pag. 30.

(2) Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, for May, 1695, pag. 427.

(3) See Tillemont. Mémoire pour servir à l'Hist. Eccle. Tom. I, pag. 947.

(4) Ib. pag. 945.

(5) The Gospel of St John, chap. xix, ver. 27.

(6) Mallet, Examen de quelques Passages, pag. 221, of the third edition.

(7) Nouvelle découverte de la Traduction, pag. 430.

[A] A silly tradition concerning the condition of St John. 'Never was any people so credulous about traditions as the Asiatics, and in particular the Ephesians. St Augustin relates upon this subject a very particular thing, which plainly shews the excess of their credulity, and the folly of their traditions. He says, that some Ephesians, or some persons that came from Ephesus, men of great sense and merit, and who were not credulous, *non levibus hominibus*, had assured him, that St John was not dead; that indeed he was buried at Ephesus, but that he was in his grave as a man that sleeps in his bed; and that as we see the bed-cloaths move up and down, according as a man in his sleep breathes, so the earth of the grave wherein St John was buried, was seen to rise and fall in such like intervals.' Can any thing be more impertinent than such a story (1). I have just now read that Mr de Tillemont is blamed for relating this story, and several others like it. There would be reason to blame him, if he did relate it as a truth; but this he does not do (3). It is a fault then to censure him; for a collection of errors is a most useful part of history. I confess, he seems to believe the story of the manna of our apostle's grave (4).

[B] Nothing is more absurd than what has been said against the author of the translation of the new Testament of Mons. I begin with the Greek text: *Kαὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος τῆς ὥρας ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ μαθητὴς εἰς τὴν ἰδιάν*, that is to say, according to the version of Mons, *and from that hour the disciple took her into his house*. See how this translation of that passage has been criticized: 'It is certain that St John, who had embraced the state of the evangelical poverty, had no house to receive the mother of God; and though he had one, there are many reasons of decency and honesty, which easily persuade us, that the Virgin would not have thought it proper to retire thither. This conduct might even have had ill consequences in the times to come; for scandalous ecclesiastics would have been glad to justify themselves by so noble an example of the dwelling of the youngest and the chafest of all the apostles, with the most modest and innocent of all virgins. And this apprehension is not groundless; for St Epiphanius, who seems to approve the thought of the Mons translators, had the same fear, and he assures that some libertines had already pretended to cover their scandalous conduct with the example of the virgin's abode with St John. In the seventy eighth Herefy, where he speaks of this abode, *Vereor*, says he, *ne hoc ipsum, quod dicimus, fraudi sit aliquibus, ut at contubernales* & *dilectas, quas vocant scæminas, retinendas, quod genus pessimo sibi errore animi, machinati sunt, fucum inde aliquem, & colorem arcessisse videantur* (6).

[C] That what has been answered . . . deserves to be mentioned.] For it contains general and very instructive principles, for such as will judge of things according to their true differences. I do not insist upon the answer which relates to the objection of the evangelical poverty: I only set down the confutation of the other point. 'It is very strange, says Mr Arnaud (7), that Mr Mallet has not seen what has been observed by the interpreters of the Scripture, upon a subject which might have appeared much more scandalous. It is that of the Apostle, carrying with them a Christian woman to take care of their

subsistence. Nevertheless St Paul 1 Cor. xv. 5. says (8) that they had that power, and made use of it: (8) *It is in the fifth verse of the ninth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and not in the fifteenth chapter, as Mr Arnaud quotes it.* whereupon Esius make this most judicious reflexion, which shews the true principles, by which we ought to judge of this kind of things, which Mr Mallet should have known before he undertook to subject the Virgin to his false rules of decency. 'If you ask, says this learned divine, how the Apostles could without scandal take along with them women that were not their wives. I answer, that this custom was so well established among the Jews, that our Saviour himself did not think it amiss to do it. This was not practised except by women, whose chastity and piety were so well known and experienced, as to leave no room for any ill suspicion. To which it may be added, that the Apostles led so edifying a life, and had obtained such a reputation of holiness, that tho' these women attended them, no one durst make an ill judgment of them, as the Jews never suspected any thing of that nature, with respect to our Saviour, as much disposed as they were to slander and calumny.' Nothing can be more reasonable, and indeed it is by this we ought to judge that a thing which might give offence, when it is not attended with favourable circumstances, that leave no room for evil suspicions, is truly edifying when it is attended with those circumstances. Now when will the consideration of an experienced holiness be able to stop the mouth of calumny, and even to prevent suspicions in the shallowest minds, and those that are most apt to be prepossessed by the least appearances, if the veneration which the faithful have always had for the mother of JESUS CHRIST, and for his most dear disciple had not had the power to make every body look upon their living together, in consequence of the command received from their dying Saviour, as a most holy and most innocent thing . . . Mr Mallet (9) is the first and only man who has had so mean a notion of the holiness of the Virgin, and of the opinion the church has entertained of her, as to imagine, that being above fifty years of age, she could not live with an Apostle, without staining her reputation, and that it was an example of dangerous consequence, as being capable of authorizing the suspected living together of women and ecclesiastics, which is forbidden by the canons. For thus far he carries his extravagant imaginations against the honour of the Virgin. But if the authors of those canons had been so excessive in their suspicions, as this censor of the Virgin and St John, why did they except out of their prohibitions, such persons as mothers, sisters, and nieces? Is it because they thought incests were absolutely impossible? No certainly: but because being guided by the spirit of God, and knowing that in point of general laws, all excess ought to be avoided, and a wise moderation observed, which obliges to overlook what seldom or never happens, they judged on the one hand, that there was no need of great virtue to avoid being tempted with the sight of those persons, because natural modesty is ordinarily sufficient to prevent the motions of an impure affection upon their account; and on the other hand, that the proneness of men to judge ill of their neighbours, doth not commonly go so far, as to impute to them such black crimes, without very evident proofs: so that they did not believe, that, upon these

(9) See the abbot Foydis, ubi supra, pag. 57, he proves, ibid. pag. 26, that the Holy Virgin did not go with St John to Ephesus, he proves it 1st, because Coloss. 2^{do} but so much scandalous, would have reflected on that journey, which however he has not justified upon.

IV. That the way it is pretended St John justified his cherishing of a partridge is very natural [D]. V. That there are some people who pretend that the marriage in Cana where the water was changed into wine was his own [E], and that upon sight of that miracle, he renounced marriage to live in celibacy all his life.

‘these occasions, there was any ground to fear any such thing, or the suspicion of it.’

[D] His cherishing of a partridge is very natural.] A Huntsman was astonished to see this great apostle, so venerable for his age and virtue, stoop to such an amusement. The apostle asked him whether he always kept his bow bent. He answered that would be the way to make it useless. If, replied St John, you unbend your bow to prevent it's being useless, so do I with respect to my mind for the same reason. I do not believe that this story is very certain; but I fancy that they who never heard of it will not be displeased to know that such a thing is related. The author of the tract *De ludicra dictione* has inserted it in his work. His phrases being nervous, will not be unacceptable to the learned readers. Let us therefore entertain them therewith. *Nec malus, ut opinor, interpret Christi consiliorum & voluntatum Joannes discipulus, qui ad leves lusus atque oblectamenta puerorum descendit ipse jam senior, atque exemplo prævit, quatenus interjungere, & ex quotidianis occupationibus reficere ac recreare mentem licet. Hunc, mansuetam perdidit blande & suaviter alludentem, quidam cum arcu & sagittis venator offendit. Quod cum sacre cum vehementer miraretur, hominem id ætatis, spectatum & cognitum diuturna virtute: sensit Joannes, & interrogavit, an illum ipsum, quem gereret, arcum haberet semper intentum. Cui ille, Nequaquam vero, inquit: stancescat enim arcus, & molliatur intentione perpetua, inutilisque fiat. Tum Joannes, Tu, mi homo, arcum remittis ac relaxas, ne inutilis sit: ego arimum, ne sit inutilis (10).*

(10) Vavasser, de Ludicra Dictione, pag. 285.

[E] Some people pretend that the marriage in Cana was his own [E]. The curious and learned Thomafius will supply me with all the materials of this remark. I should be glad to have the thesis which he caused to be maintained (11) concerning St John's glass: but I have only the preface of it (12), from which I learn a custom that I was ignorant of; which is that at great entertainments, they fill out to the guests a glass of wine, which they call the glass, or cup, of St John. This is not without some mixture of superstition, which has derived it's original from a legend, wherein we find that St John having swallowed poison by the order of Aristodemus found no inconvenience from it. This is the reason doubtless, why the Painters represent him with a cup in his hand. I proceed to the marriage of Cana.

(11) Molanus, lib. iv, de Hist. Sacrar. Imaginum, cap. xx, pag. 428, apud Thomafium præfat. 78, pag. 514.

The Legendaries suppose. I. That St John the Evangelist, and Mary Magdalen were the two betrothed persons (13). II. That both of them agreed not

to consummate the marriage, but to engage themselves to a perpetual virginity. III. That as soon as St John saw the miracle of water converted into wine, he consecrated himself to the service of JESUS CHRIST, and left his bride (14). IV. That JESUS CHRIST went on purpose to the wedding to prevent the accomplishment of the marriage (15). One thing perplexes them, which is that the virginity of St John could not arrive to the highest degree of perfection, if he had a design to marry; for perfect virginity requires that a man should always have resolved to contain himself. ‘Videbatur ejus (virginitatis) laudem hæc fabula non tollere quidem, labefactare tamen, aut in gradum inferiorem detrudere, cum ea demum numeris omnibus absoluta perhibetur virginitas, quam perpetua incorruptionis nunquam corrupta meditatio pariat (16).’ In answer to this difficulty, they say, among other things, that the divine providence directed the thing so, to heighten the glory of St John's virginity: since thereby it became altogether like that of the Holy Virgin, and was consecrated, being joined with marriage, which is one of the seven sacraments. ‘Quin ergo potius ita cogitemus, decuisse, ut eodem virginittis gradu collocaretur Apostolus, quo Virgo mater, quæ ipsi erat à Christo morituro commendanda? Quid, quod ita demum consecrari virginittas censenda est, si cum ceremonia matrimoniali conjungatur? Neque enim virginittas, sed conjugium est in numero sacramentorum (17).’ I must not forget to say that Baronius and Molanus reject these traditions of the Legendaries. Thomafius cites their words (18), and says probably enough, that Abdias's book was the first original of these idle tales. That supposititious Abdias affirms, that JESUS CHRIST thrice dissuaded St John from marrying. In two prefaces upon the gospel of that Apostle, it is only said in general, that JESUS CHRIST dissuaded him from it: those prefaces (19) are falsely ascribed, one to St Jerom, and the other to St Augustin. As there never were bolder authors than the compilers of the lives of Saints, they have resolved to be more decisive than the authors of these two prefaces; and to that end they have supposed the time and the place, that is to say, the wedding at Cana, where JESUS CHRIST freed his disciple from the conjugal bond. Thomafius does in no wise dispute the virginity of this Apostle; it is grounded upon a pretty good tradition, testified by St Jerom, St Aulin, St Epiphanius, &c. But Baronius was in the wrong to cite Ignatius, who only speaks of St John the baptist (20).

(14) Haymo, par. Hiemal. Homil. pag. 207. Baronius, Tom. I, Annal. ad ann. 31, n. 30, apud Thomaf. ibid. pag. 512.

(15) Messier, de Sanctis Serm. XXX, fol. 43, apud eundem, ibid.

(16) Thomafius, ibid, quoting Pelbarius, de Temelwar de Sanctis Serm. XXX.

(17) Thomafius, ibid, pag. 515, quoting the same Pelbarius, ibid. & Franc Moro, Serm. de Sanctis, pag. 30.

(18) Taken from the above quoted places.

(19) Quas conjunctiones exhibet quarta pars Glossæ in Bibliis ordinariæ. Thomaf. ibi supra, pag. 516.

(20) See the proof of it, apud Thomaf. ibid. pag. 518.

JOLY (CLAUDIUS) chanter and canon of the church of Notre Dame at Paris, and official to the archbishop, was a very worthy and learned man. He had a canonry conferred on him in the year 1631, upon the resignation of Mr Loisel, his uncle by the mother's side, and counsellor in the parliament of Paris. He was carried to Munster by the duke of Longueville plenipotentiary of France for the general peace of Europe, and faithfully assisted him with his advice and counsels. He took a journey to Rome during the commotions of Paris. He was made official the first time by the cardinal of Rets, after the death of John Francis de Gondi archbishop of Paris, and afterwards by the chapter during the vacancy of that see, and lastly by the present archbishop (a). He died at Paris the fifteenth day of January 1700, being ninety three years old (b). He enjoyed in his great age very good health, and the perfect use of all the faculties of his soul.

(a) I wrote this in the year 1700.

(b) Taken from the Mercure Histor. for February 1700, pag. 205.

JONAS, one of the Jewish prophets. Since most of the things relating to him may be found in two other Dictionaries (a), I will only insist upon a few particulars. Some Rabbies (b) have been so silly as to say, that being first swallowed by a male fish, he was afterwards discharged into the body of a female. Not finding himself pressed in his first prison, say they, he had no recourse to the invocation of God; upon which the male fish had orders to disgorge him into the stomach of a female, which was great with young (c). He there found himself very much straitened, and made the excellent prayer which is still extant (d), and which appeased the wrath of Heaven. They who confute that story by this argument, that a whale which was impregnated would not have pressed Jonas, unless he had lodged in her womb, make but a weak objection

(a) That of Moreri and the Dictionary of the Bible, by Mr Simon a priest.

(b) Solomon Jarchi, apud Martinum Lipenium in Jonæ Periplo thalassio, fol. B. verso, Edit. 1678, in 4to.

(c) Ut eximprægnat one & alvitur in angustis virum Dei refigeret. Li. ibid.

(d) It is in the second chapter of Jonas.

(e) In the remark [O] of the article HERCULES.

objection [A]. We have seen in another place (e) that the heathen poets have told a story of their Hercules somewhat resembling this. They stole it from the sacred story, and falsified it, according to their fancy. This is at least the common opinion of our authors (f). The ancient fathers thought it strange that the Heathens should reject this history of Jonas, after having adopted the fable of Hercules. Those who say that this

prophet

(f) See Vossius de Orig. & Progr. Idolatræ lib. ii, cap. xv, pag. 581, 582. Edit. Francof. 1675, in 4to.

[A] They who say that a whale great with young would not have pressed Jonas, unless he had been lodged in her womb, make but a weak objection. Here is a man, who thinks he has Rabbi Jarchi at his mercy. When he asks him, 'Nunquid arbitraberis in utero quæque imprægnatæ balaneæ immisum esse Prophetam, ut ex fœtus piscini multitudine coanguilatur? In stomachum ceti credo descendisse Jonam non in matricem ejusdem. Quomodo itaque Jonæ in ventriculo latentis plus angustiarum ex utero intumescencia poterat surgere (1)? — Do you believe that the prophet was thrust into the womb of a pregnant whale, that he might there be squeezed among the multitude of her young ones? I believe that Jonah descended into the stomach, and not into the matrix of that fish. How then could Jonah lying in that ventricle, be strained for room, by the swelling and pressure of the womb of the whale?' These questions spoil Lipenius's good cause: and give the Rabbies room to take off the ridicule to which they designed to expose them, they would ridicule him in their turn, if they should ask him how he came to be ignorant of a thing which is known to every body viz. that the dilatation of the Uterus presses and straitens the bowels and the ventricle, and sometimes hinders considerably the respiration.

(1) Martinus Lipenius, in Jonæ Periplo thalassio, folio B 2.

[B] The antient fathers thought it strange, that the Heathens should reject this history of Jonas, after having adopted the fable of Hercules. Here is a fine passage of Theophilact. 'Devoratur ergo à cetō Jonā, tresque dies ac totidem noctes in eo permanet vates: quæ res omnem excedere fidem audientibus videtur, maxime iis qui ex Græcorum scholis sapientieque doctrina, ad hanc historiam accedunt. Quos equidem non satis demirari possum qui fiat quod hæc non intelligant, cum suis ipsorum alii capiuntur. Apud ipsos enim nonnihil tale de Hercule narratur: nempe quod & ipse à balæna devoratus, incolumis remanserit, nisi quod tantummodo depilatus redierit, idque ob ingenitum & internum belluæ calorem. Aut igitur nostra suscipiant, aut sua rejiciant (2). — Jonas therefore was swallowed by a whale, he remained therein three days and three nights, which fact seems to exceed the faith of the hearers, especially those who come from the Greek schools, and the study of the sciences, to the considering this history. Yet I cannot sufficiently admire at them, for pretending not to understand this, when they are ready to receive things of the same kind from their own writers. For by them a thing of the same kind is related of Hercules, viz. that he also was swallowed by a whale, and remained safe in her belly excepting only that he lost his hair, when he came out from the strong inward heat of the creature, let them therefore either receive our fact or reject their own.' I doubt not but Theophilact would have found among the Greeks several persons, who would have taken him at his word with all their heart. The Philosophers and learned men of Greece would have answered: we accept of your terms; you would either have us reject the story of Hercules, or adopt that of Jonas: we reject them both. But because a great number of Heathens would have condemned this alternative, and maintained that in believing what the poets said of Hercules, they might still laugh at the Jewish story of Jonas; it is certain that Theophilact's thought is very solid, and admirably shews the foolish prejudices of the Heathens. I proceed to St Augustin. He had a great love for a Heathen (3), and writ many letters to him, some of which remained unanswered. This silence made him think that the other was no longer willing to keep correspondence with him (4). Wherefore desiring to answer some difficulties, which this Heathen had propoed to the priest Deogratias, he wrote directly to this priest. By this answer we see that the Pagans made themselves very merry with the history of Jonas. 'Postrema quæstio proposita est de Jona, nec ipsa quasi ex Porphyrio (5), sed tantumquam ex irratione paganorum (6). — The last question proposed concerning Jonah is not put as if

(2) Theophil. in Jonam, cap. ii.

(3) See the forty ninth Letter of St Augustin, at the beginning.

(4) Non inconvenienter arbitror eum quem video mihi retribere noluisse, nihil sibi à me scribi voluisse. August. Epist. xlix, pag. m. 195.

(5) Lipenius is therefore mistaken when he says, in Periplo thalassio Jona, folio A 3, vers. 10, that St Augustin disputes stoutly against Porphyry in that place.

(6) August. ubi supra, pag. 207.

made by Porphyry, but as from the derision of the Pagani. The method of St Augustin's refuting this objection of his friend, is very proper. Either, says he, we must deny all the miracles of God, or acknowledge we have no reason to reject this. Should we believe the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, if we were afraid of the railleries of the infidels (7)? And since our friend has not supposed any doubts about our admitting the resurrection of Lazarus and that of JESUS CHRIST, I very much wonder he should look upon the adventure of Jonas as incredible. Is it easier to raise a dead man from the grave, than to preserve a man alive in the belly of a great fish (8)? Will it be said that the digestive faculty of the stomach cannot be suspended? but they would urge us with a more considerable objection, if they should alledge the three men who received no harm in the furnace of Babylon. If they will reject also that suspension of the fire's activity, and all the other miracles of scripture, we must have recourse to another confutation. For the infidels ought not to form doubts about one particular fact, but they must either believe or reject in general all the facts of the same nature, even those that appear still more incredible. They would not be so nice with respect to Apuleius, or Apollonius Tyaneus; they would not droll; on the contrary, they would, with an air of insolence, cry up their triumphs, if what we say of Jonas was ascribed to the power of either of those Heathens. I do not give a verbal translation, but only a general notion of St Augustin's reasons; and therefore for the sake of those who understand the Latin tongue, I will set down the greatest part of the original. 'Sed habent revera, quod non credant in divino miraculo, vaporem ventris, quo cibi madescent potuisse ita temperari, ut vitam hominis conservaret! Quanto incredibilius ergo proponerent, tres illos viros, ab impio Rege in caminum missos, deambulasse in medio ignis illæso? Quapropter si nulla isti divina miracula volunt credere, aliâ disputatione refellendi sunt. Neque enim debent unum aliquid tanquam incredibile proponere, & in quæstionem vocare; sed omnia, quæ vel talia, vel etiam mirabilia narrantur. Et tamen si hoc, quod de Jona scriptum est, Apuleius Madaurensis, vel Apollonius Tyaneus fecisse diceretur, quorum multa mira, multo fideli auctore, jactitant; [quamvis & dæmones nonnulla faciant angelis sanctis similia, non veritate sed specie, non sapientiâ sed planè fallaciâ]: tamen si de illis ut dixi, quos magos vel philosophos laudabiliter nominant, tale aliquid narrantur, non jam in buccis creparet risus, sed typhus (9). This method of confounding the Heathens, will perhaps appear to several persons more solid, than that which St Augustin made use of in another book, where after having said that those who laughed at the story of Jonas, did not question the truth of what is said of Arion, he proposes this difficulty, whether the story of Jonas be not more incredible. Yes doubtless, answers he; because it is more miraculous: and it is more miraculous, because it manifests a greater power. Verum illud nostrum de Jona incredibile est: plane incredibile, quia mirabilis, & mirabilis, quia potentius (10). These are witty conceits, will some say, and pretty thoughts, but not good arguments: for from hence it would follow, that the more impossible a thing appears to be, the more credible it is. The fable of Arion was this, that in order to save his life, he was forced to cast himself out of the ship in which he was returning from Italy into Greece, and that he fell upon a dolphin which carried him to the shore. I do not say this in favour of those who have never heard of it, for there are scarce any such persons; but in favour of thousands of people who do not remember it, and would be sorry, not to see at one view the difference betwixt the adventure of Arion and that of the prophet Jonas.

Let us consider a little the partial conduct with which St Augustin upbraids the Heathens. It affords an instance of one of the most ridiculous effects of prepossession. The managers of the Pagan religion had

(7) Si fides Christianorum ca chinorum metueret paganorum. lb. p. 207, 208.

(8) Nisi forte facilius putat mortuum de de sepulcro resuscitari quam vivum in tim vasso ventre belluæ potuisse ferri. lb. ibid. pag. 208.

(9) lb. ibid.

(10) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. i, cap. xiv.

REFLECTION on one of the effects of prepossession.

fed

prophet came out of the fish's belly in the port of Nineveh [C], are but little skilled in Geography; nor is it probable that he came out of it upon the coast of the Euxine [D], or of the Red-Sea [E]. It is much more credible he was cast upon the dry land near the city of Joppa where he took shipping. Some confirm this conjecture by the fable of Andromeda; for they pretend (g) that Jonas's adventure laid a foundation for the poetical accounts concerning Andromeda's being exposed to the fury of a sea-monster, which happened near Joppa (b). See the margin (i). Here is another idle story of the Rabbies. The say (k) that the fish which swallowed Jonas had seven eyes, which served as so many windows for the Prophet to see all that was in the sea, and amongst other things, the way which the Israelites took in crossing the red-sea. Those who say that Jonas is the same young man who was sent by Elisha to Jehu [F], to give him the royal unction, deserve not to be believed. In St Jerome's time the tomb of Jonas was still shewn at the place of his birth (l). Mr Simon (m) affirms, that the Turks have built a very fine mosque to the honour of Jonas, in which there is a miraculous lamp, that burns continually without any oil or other liquor, if he will give credit to their reveries. He says that this mosque is in a little village (n), built to the honour and under the name of this Prophet. Mr d'Herbelot (o) says nothing of all this, though he relates many things which the Mahometans report concerning Jonas. I will name a modern author, who, according to Moreri, made a most ingenious poem upon the history of this Prophet [G].

fed the minds of the people with abundance of fables for many ages, and they would not have suffered that it should be examined whether they were possible, or that they should be deemed incredible. But when the Christian miracles were proposed to them, they set up for Philosophers, they alleged impossibilities, they made use of all such arguments as might be opposed to the current of a foolish credulity, and ridiculed the believers. What inconsistency, and partiality is this? The Christian communions discover one against the other something of this spirit. If the Greek church boasts of some miracle, which shews that Nestorius's schism is displeasing to God; the Nestorians leave no stone unturned to repulse that attack. But as to the prodigies, that are proper to convict the Greek church of injustice, they blindly believe them without examination, and think it very strange, that their adversaries should make any scruple about them. It is well known how easily the Roman Catholics give their assent to an infinite number of miracles. They piously believe thousands of stories which are daily published, and look upon the most plausible reasons of those who deny them as meer cavils of obdurate Heretics. But if they hear that the Protestants spread abroad any miracles, they assume a quite different spirit. They have recourse to all the common places by which the incredulous defend themselves. They deny they fact, they challenge the witnesses, they reproach them with imposture, or a disordered brain. If they cannot deny the fact, they explain it by natural causes, and collect from the Naturalists, and the relations of travellers, a thousand like events. In a word, what they call wrangling, obstinacy, and an opposition to good sense, becomes a most solid and reasonable confutation of a falsity; for they make use of the same common-places that the Protestants had employed against the monks. There are every where persons who readily believe what is grateful to them, and are the hardest in the world to be persuaded of a thing that is unacceptable to them. If they allege the reasons of their incredulity, they cannot endure that they should be thought wrong; and if you alledge the same reasons against them another time, they cannot endure that they should not be allowed the liberty of ridiculing them. This is the way of human life: it is almost an unavoidable effect of prepossession, two weights and two measures. And if this could not be avoided without laying aside prejudices, the remedy would perhaps be worse than the disease.

[C] Some have said this prophet came out of the fish's belly, in the port of Nineveh. Sulpicius Severus fell into a geographical blunder; 'Exceptus à ceto, marino monstro, ac devoratus post triduum fere Nivitarum littoribus ejectus, iusta prædicat (11). — Taken up by a whale, a sea monster, and swallowed, he was, after three days, thrown upon the sea shore near Nineveh, and preached righteousness.' The learned Drusus perceived no fault in commenting upon these words, but only says, that the scripture does not tell us upon what shore the fish disgorged the prophet (12). The other commentators upon Sulpicius, and particularly Hornius have perceived the fault, and so has Mr Lipenius; but he is grossly mistaken in chro-

nology, as believing that Sulpicius Severus borrowed this from St Gregory's morals (13). This Pope flourished 150 years after Sulpicius. Mr Simon has transcribed the fault of the later: *A whale, says he (14), received Jonas in its bowels . . . and proved a much safer vessel than the first he was in, and put him ashore, or rather vomited him up, the third day in the port of Nineveh.* Note, that Nineveh was built upon the river Tigris, which has no immediate communication with the Mediterranean sea. Besides, there is not water enough for such a fish in this river at the port of Nineveh. This reason, together with the surprizing miracle, we must suppose, if we say that the whale went into the ocean, and doubled the cape of Good Hope, and entered into the mouth of the Tigris, and made that prodigious compass in three days, takes away all sorts of subterfuge from such as would excuse Sulpicius Severus. That notion never came into his mind; he honestly believed that Nineveh was situated upon the Mediterranean sea, and erred for want of skill in Geography.

[D] . . . It is not probable that he came out upon the coast of the Euxine. Josephus (15) relates this tradition; which has been followed by many moderns (16), tho' it clashes with probability, and multiplies prodigies; for according to natural laws, a fish of that size cannot convey itself in so little a time from the Phenician Sea to the Black sea. Besides, the journey that Jonas was to make, either to return into Judæa, before he went to Nineveh, or to go directly to Nineveh, would have been too long and too difficult.

[E] . . . Or upon the coasts of the Red Sea. Lipenius (17) attributes this opinion to Pineda, and to the Rabbies: and it is no difficult thing for him to confute it; for the whale must have entered into the ocean, and have gone round Africa. See the remark [C] towards the end.

[F] Those who take him for the same young man, who was sent by Elisha to Jehu (18). This is what the Rabbies do, and after them Mariana and Tarnovius (19). If this was so, he must have been then above an hundred years old. They are Mr Simon's words in his Dictionary of the Bible, which are very obscure; for we do not know to what the word *then* relates. Does it relate to the time of Jehu's unction? Grammar will have it so, but the sense will be absurd. Does it relate to the time of his voyage to Nineveh, or to the reign of Jeroboam, the second of that name? guess it if you can.

[G] I will name a modern author, who, according to Moreri, made a most ingenious poem on the history of this prophet. He was a Gascon and a minister, named Coras. He was chaplain to marshal de Turenne for some campaigns; afterwards he had a church in the lower Guienne, and there he turned Papist, and had a considerable office in the presbital of Montauban. He published a book before he changed his religion, in which, if I well remember, he maintained, that the Protestants could not be re-united to the Roman church. He published another to confute this after his abjuration. The four poems, which he published upon the histories of the Bible (20), sold well enough, though Mr Boileau, says the contrary in his ninth satire.

(b) Apud Lipenium, ubi supra, fol. C. 1, verso.

(i) That is in Gath-Chepher, near mount Thabor Lipen. ubi supra, fol. præced. He quotes St Jerome, Proem. in Jonam.

(m) Simon, Diction. de la Bible, pag. 433.

(n) In the tribe of Zabulon.

(o) D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. pag. 495.

(13) Sulpicius Severus . . . ex St. Gregorio, lib. vi. Moral. cap. xii, arbitratu lonam esse expositum in littoribus Nivevitarum. Lipen. ubi supra, cap. iiii.

(14) Simon, Diction. de la Bible, pag. 432, 433.

(15) Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. ix, cap. xxi, fol. 355, verso.

(16) See Lipen. ubi supra.

(17) Lipen. ubi supra, fol. C. 1, verso. He quotes Pineda, lib. iv, de rebus Solomonis, cap. xii.

(18) II Kings, chap. ix, ver. 1.

(19) Hebraei in Seder Olam, & ex iis Jo Mariana in Schollis, Bibl. & D. Joh. Tarnovius Comm. Jon. pag. 2. Lipenius, ubi supra, fol. B.

(20) Upon Jonas, David, Joshua, and Sampson.

(g) See Lipenius, ubi supra, fol. A 3.

(b) Plin. lib. v, cap. xlii, pag. m. 507, & xxxi, pag. 613, & lib. ix, cap. v, pag. 283.

(i) Hadrian Scribeclius, Originum Indice III, fol. p. verso, falsely believes, that it appears from the third verse of the third chapter of Jonas, that the fish vomited up that prophet at the distance of three days journey from Nineveh, and that he went thither in one day.

(11) Sulpicius Severus, Histor. Sacr. lib. i, pag. m. 79.

(12) Drusus, in Sulpic. Severum, pag. 179.

Le Jonas inconu seche dans la poussiere,
Le David imprimé n'a point veu la lumiere.

*The Jonas uncalled for, is bury'd in night,
And David, tho' printed, has ne'er seen the light.*

The enemies of Coras sent him by the post to Montauban, a pretended letter from his Bookseller at Paris, in which he was desired to vindicate himself against Boileau; because since the publication of his ninth

satire, no body bought his poems. He was provoked with that insult, and published a very violent piece against his critic. He made some verses against Racine, in the year 1675. You will see in the Menagiana (21), a very pretty epigram of Racine against him. Note, that he was descended from the famous Civilian John Coras, counsellor in the parliament of Toulouse, one of the Protestant martyrs; for he was hanged for his religion at Toulouse, in his counsellor's habit, in the year 1572 (22).

(21) Page 200, of the first Dutch edition. It is also to be found in the second *Festum, ou Cal.* of Foretierre, pag. 13, of the Dutch edition, as being ascribed to Mr de la Fontaine.

(22) See d'Anbigne, Hist. Univers. Tom. II, livr. I, cap. 7, pag. m. 560.

JONAS (ARNGRIMUS) an Islander, made himself esteemed in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries by the works he published. He was still alive in 1644, being above ninety years of age (a). Four years before, he was married a second time to a young woman. He was a learned and good man, and in great esteem among all the learned. He had been coadjutor to Gundebrand de Torloc, bishop of Hole in Island (b). This Gundebrand was an Islander, a man of great learning and probity (c). He had been a disciple of Tycho Brahe, and was a good Astrologer. After his death Arngrimus refused the bishopric of Hole, which the king of Denmark offered him (d): he begged the king to excuse his accepting of it, both to avoid being envied, and to prosecute his studies with greater tranquillity. Most of the books he published [A], are histories, and descriptions of Island, or apologies for his nation. Blefkenius had said several things to their disadvantage, both with respect to witchcraft [B], and lasciviousness [C]. Arngrimus confuted him.

He

[A] *The books that he published.* I shall mention all those that I find in the catalogues of Albert Bartholinus, *Idea veri Magistratus*, Copenhagen, 1589, in 8vo. *Brevi Commentarius de Islandia*, at the same place, 1593, in 8vo. *Anatome Blefkeniana*, at Hole, in *Islanders*, 1612, in 8vo, and at *Hamburg*, 1618, in 4to. *Epistola pro patria defensoria*, at the same place, 1618. *Απολογία Καλυννία*, at the same place, 1622, in 4to. *Chrymogæa* (1), seu rerum Islandicarum libri tres, at the same place 1630, in 4to. *Vita Gudbrandi Thordacii*, at the same place, 1630, in 4to. *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum, & magna ex parte Chrographicum*, at *Amsterdam*, 1643, in 4to (2).

(1) It should be *Crymogæa*.

(2) Taken from Albert Bartholinus's treatise, *de Script. Danorum*, pag. 12.

A learned man, who has published the treatise of Albert Bartholinus, with historical and critical additions, informs me, that the *Anatome Blefkenia*, is a confutation of a book printed at Leyden, in the year 1607, and intitled, *Islandia, seu descriptio populorum & memorabilium bujus Insulæ*; that the *Crymogæa* was written in the year 1603, and printed at *Hamburg*, in 1609, with a map of Denmark, and without it in 1610; that the *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum*, contains an apology for the author's opinion against the reasons of John Isaac Pontanus. Our Arngrimus Jonas maintained that Island did not begin to be inhabited till towards the year 874, and so cannot be the antient Thule (3). Pontanus thought it a little strange, that Arngrimus Jonas should write an apology for an opinion, that was less glorious to Island, than the contrary one; nevertheless, he spoke of this learned Islander with all sorts of civility, and marks of esteem. See the letter which he wrote to Stephanus, the first of July, 1638 (4). Mr Mollerus (5) gives us the titles of some of our Jonas's works, which had been omitted by Albert Bartholinus, some of which have been published, and others not.

(3) Taken from Mollerus, Hypomn. ad Barthol. de Script. Danorum, pag. 165, 166.

(4) It is the exciise of those which Mr Matthæus, published at Leyden in 1695. See page 325, of that collection of Letters, and like-wise pag. 210.

(5) Moller. ubi supra, pag. 166.

(6) La Peyrere, Relation de l'Islande, pag. 23.

(7) See a story related by Charles Ogier, pag. 473, of his *Iter Polonicum*.

[B] *Blefkenius had said several things to the disadvantage of Island, with respect to their witchcraft.* . . . Blefkenius says, that the Islanders sell the wind, and that he has experienced it (6). Arngrimus laughs at this; for he says, 'that the seamen of Island know over-night, by the disposition of the air, what wind and weather there will be the next day; and that when they conjecture there will be such a wind, as a stranger waits for to go off, they go to him, and engage to sell him this wind: which they do in this manner. They ask the stranger for his handkerchief, in which they pretend to mutter some words, and immediately tie the handkerchief with a knot (7), as if it were for fear the words pronounced should fly away. After this they give him the handkerchief thus tied, and advise him to keep it carefully, as he receives it, assuring him that he shall have a good wind during his voyage. Now it sometimes happens, that this wind blows the next day; but most frequently it changes after the stranger is gone, and is out at sea . . . If it happens but once in a hundred times, that the wind carries a

stranger to the end of his voyage, that single chance authorises the error, notwithstanding a hundred contrary experiments, and the error is spread by him, who confidently says, because he believes it, that he bought the wind in Island, and that this wind has carried him safe home.' The same Blefkenius relates (8), 'that there are some magicians in Island, who have the power to stop ships in full sail in the open sea: he says also, that they who are thus stopped, make use of some stinking fumigations for a counter-charm (9), which he describes; with which, says he, they that are stopped, drive away the devils that stop them, and the ships being uncharmed, resume their course.'

[C] . . . and lasciviousness. Blefkenius says, 'that the Germans, who trade into Island, set up tents near the harbours where they land, and there expose their merchandizes, which are cloaks, shoes, looking-glasses, knives, and abundance of baubles, which they exchange for commodities of the Islanders. The young women, which are very fair in this island, but ill clad, come and offer themselves to the Germans who have no wives, for bread or biscuit, or any thing else of small value. The fathers themselves present their daughters to the strangers; and if they are got with child, it is a great honour to them. This makes them more respected and courted by the Islanders than the others, and several strive who shall have them. When the Islanders have bought, that is, bartered for wine or beer with the foreign Merchants, they invite their relations and friends, and neighbours, to drink both; and they never leave off till they have drank it all. They sing, as they are tipping, the heroic actions of their captains . . . It is reckoned an incivility among them, to go from the table, when they drink, to make water. The young women, which, as I have said, are not ugly in this country, slip under the tressles, and hand the chamber-pot to the drinkers. Arngrimus Jonas says this is a false and abusive banter, and is very angry with Blefkenius for scandalizing the maids of Island. The good man cannot bear to see his countrymen contemptuously treated, and represented as barbarians (10). If it was ever lawful for an apologist to fall into a passion, that of Arngrimus cannot be blamed; for it is not probable that the gospel, which has been for so many ages planted in that island, could leave a people in so great a brutality; nor, in case religion had made so little progress among the Islanders, that the king of Denmark would suffer them to insult the laws of public decorum with impunity. The custom of their feasting does not seem to be fairly related; matters are amplified to make the reader laugh. Was such a piece of service, or so extravagant a laziness ever heard of? those people not only will not rise from table to make water, but will not so much as move their hands. For this the story leads us to; else why is it said the young women

(8) La Peyrere, ubi supra, pag. 21.

(9) See the Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, for February 1685, pag. 135.

(10) La Peyrere, ubi supra, pag. 23, 24.

JONAS. JORNANDES. JOUBERTUS. 581

(e) See Mollerus, Hypomn. ad Albert Barthol. de Script. Danor. pag. 164. He died in the year 1649 (e). He had been pastor of the church of Melfad, and pre-
fect of the neighbouring churches in the diocese of Hole (f).

(11) See the New Letters against Maimbourg's Mist. of Calvinist. pag. 542, & seq. An objection drawn from the impudence of some nations.

women slip under the tressles. The chamber-pot might easily be given to the guests without that, if all the business was to save them the trouble of rising. If what Blefenius tells us were true, jealousy would not be an useless thing in the world (11). If it were lawful to lye in favour of truth, we must deny all that is related of the impudence of some nations: for libertines draw a great advantage from there being, they say, certain nations, which annex no infamy to the prostitution of women. This is true of the Islanders, according to the narrative of Blefenius; nay, they go much farther; for they look upon the big belly of a girl, who prostitutes herself to strangers, as honourable, and fathers look upon themselves as very happy, when foreigners accept of the offer they make of their daughters maiden-heads. Where then, would they ask, is that natural impression, which enables all

men to distinguish between right and wrong? there are even Christian nations, which not only disregard chastity in practice, but have even lost the theory of it: whence it follows, that, in this respect, they are not conscious of what is naturally right. Does not this shew, that the ideas of virtue depend upon education and custom, and not upon a natural impression? and how will you cure these people, whose conscience is dead? for if it be possible, that, with the notions of right and wrong, the conscience may unhappily be lulled asleep, must not this necessarily happen where these notions are extinct? it is not necessary to reply to this objection, because Arngimus Jonas denies the fact. To him we must refer all those, who would take advantage of his adversary's narrative. And if they alledge matters of facts, they shall then be answered.

(f) Id. ibid.

JORNANDES, originally a Goth, was bishop of Ravenna about the middle of the VIth century.

His history of the Goths translated into French, was printed at Paris in the year 1703, and dedicated to the king of Sweden (a).

(a) See the Memoirs of Tre-voux, January 1704, art. vi. of the French edition.

JOUBERTUS (LAURENCE) counsellor and physician in ordinary to the king, and to the king of Navarre, first regent doctor, chancellor, and judge of the university of Montpellier, was born at Valence in Dauphiné, the sixth of December 1529 (a). He was a disciple of Silvius at Paris, and of Argentarius beyond the Alps (b); and he made himself famous by the lectures he read at Montpellier, as professor, and much more by the books he published. The world had such a notion of his capacity, that Henry III. being extremely desirous to have children, ordered him to come to Paris, so much he hoped, that the skill of this physician would remove all the obstacles, that rendered his marriage unfruitful (c). His hopes were disappointed. Joubertus died at Lombez [A] the twenty-ninth of October 1582. He published a great number of books [B] in Latin and French. That which he intituled *Popular Errors*, raised a great cry against him, because he spoke too freely upon several nice matters [C]. One thing in particular was

(a) La Croix du Maine, pag. 283.

(b) Sammarthanus Elog. pag. m. 75.

(c) Eum in aula vidimus a Rege Henrico III. evocatum, cum plus ille Princeps prolis in publicam utilitatem suscipiendæ cupidus, maximam voti sui spem in ejus industria nequidquam collocasset. Id. ib. pag. 76.

[A] Joubertus died at Lombez. This we learn from la Croix du Maine. He adds, that Lombez is seven leagues from Toulouse, and because it is not on the side of Languedoc, but on the side of Guienne, it is plain Sammarthanus is mistaken (1), when he says, that Joubertus died as he returned from Toulouse to Montpellier. The town of Lombez is at a great distance from that road. Moreri is still more to blame than Sammarthanus, as thus: He says, as he had read it in la Croix du Maine, that this Physician died at Lombez, and he adds to it what he had read in Sammarthanus, that Joubertus died as he returned from Toulouse to Montpellier. The joining of these two things proves him guilty of a Geographical ignorance, which cannot be charged upon Sammarthanus, who said nothing of Lombez. A man runs the hazard of committing many errors, when he mixes the extracts of different writers, without correcting their inconsistencies. I do not mention the Chronological blunder that is found in Moreri: it is plainly either an error of the press, or a want of attention. You will find in Moreri, that Joubertus was born in 1629; that he made himself famous in the XVth century; that he died in 1682, and that du Verdier Vau-Privas, and la Croix du Maine, speak of him in some works (2) they published in the year 1584, which have never been reprinted.

(1) In Elog. pag. m. 75.

(2) Thomas Jourdain, François Vallierola, Bruno Scitellius.

(3) See La Croix du Maine, pag. 255.

[B] He published a great number of books. His Latin treatises make two volumes in Folio, in the Frankfurt editions of 1582, 1599, and 1645. One of the most considerable, is a collection of paradoxes, against which several Physicians (3) have written. He did not fail to reply to them. I observe, that his treatise of the Pancreas was written in French, though when he published it, he put it in the title, that John Paul Zangmaître, a gentleman, born at Ausburg, who was Laurence Joubertus's scholar, had translated it into French from the said Joubertus's Latin (4). [C] He spoke too freely upon several nice matters. Perhaps the questions about virginity, and generation, were never handled in French in so plain terms. He so much enlivened that subject, that he produced three attestations made by sworn matrons, who had been ordered by the judges to see whether some maids

that complained of having been ravished, complained wrongfully. The first of those attestations was made in Bern; the second at Paris, and the third at Carcassonne. The first declares the complaining damsel to be a virgin; the other two, that she had been deflowered. Joubertus curiously compares together the terms the matrons made use of. A book was printed in Holland, in 1686, intituled, *Tableau de l'Amour considéré dans l'état du Mariage*. — The Picture of Love considered in the State of Marriage (5). The author calls himself Salocini, a Venetian Physician; but it is known that his name is Nicolas Venette, and that he is a Physician of Rochelle (6). He produces the like attestations, and Furetiere took from him what he said under the word *Pucelage* [Maidenhead]. To return to Joubertus, he was taxed with inventing these attestations: 'He well confutes this, in an epistle to his friends, naming him that supplied him with those of Paris and Bern. As for that of Carcassonne, I know that he had it from one that was principal secretary to Marechal Dampville, who often recited it for diversion. Mr Joubert has much ado to understand the terms these midwives use, in order to apply them to the different parts of the member which distinguishes the sex. For he does not find there so many parts as the matrons do. In the public anatomies we shew sixteen or seventeen of them; which I shall name as they occur to me, &c. (7).' La Croix du Maine observes, that some say, that Joubertus spoke too freely, and alledged some passages too obscene in some of his works, particularly in his learned books of popular errors; but if he has used, says he, some terms too ticklish for nice ears, he was forced to do it, if he meant to be understood, and make his books profitable to his reader. Scaevola Sammarthanus is in the right to say, that this did the author an injury (8). Joubertus himself was aware of it; *ut supra*, pag. 76. for he laid that work aside, and as to what was already published, he endeavoured to answer some complaints. He was blamed for dedicating his book to the queen of Navarre, a most virtuous, generous (9) princess, a true mirror and pattern of honour, since bigné's sisters he was to treat at the beginning of his book of ob-scene

(5) See the Nonvelles de la République des Lettres, Oct. 1686, pag. 1221. It has been translated into Dutch. See the Boekzaal for the month of August, 1695.

(6) The Journal des Scavans, May 13, 1686, pag. m. 188, makes mention of him.

(7) B. Cabrol, Apologetical Epistle, prefixed to the second part of Lawrence Joubert's Vulgar Errors.

(8) Futurus tam cautior, si contentus sit, quæ in usum eruditiorum sermone Latino componebat, à scriptoribus Gallicis abstineret. Naturnum enim pro concessa Medicis facultate liberius evolvens, temere se in plebis imperite censuram atque risum obfecit. Sammarth. ibi supra, pag. 76.

(9) She was not a novice in those matters, if d'Au-princefs, a true mirror and pattern of honour, since bigné's sisters he was to treat at the beginning of his book of ob-scene

thought strange, that he dedicated this book to the queen of Navarre, the wife of Henry IV. But all this bustle was so far from hindring the sale of the book, that it very much contributed to make it sell the better [D].

This work was to contain six parts [E], each of them divided into five books; but he published only the first, and part of the second. I will mention a particular, which shews that Joubertus was modest [F], and that he very well knew the bounds of human knowledge.

I have said, after la Croix du Maine, that he was born the sixth of December 1529; but I must add, that we read round his print, that he was in his fortieth year in 1570, which proves, that he was born 1530. Rondelet, whose favourite disciple he was, and whom he succeeded, in the year 1567, as Regius Professor of Physic at Montpellier, trusted his manuscripts with him on his death-bed, and desired him to revise, correct, and publish them [d]. Joubertus carried this place of Regius Professor, after having maintained a dispute for four days on several theses, which have been printed with some others of his tracts at Lyons in 1571. There are among these tracts some remarks which clear up some passages of his paradoxes [G]. He innovated in the French orthography [H].

(d) See the epistle dedicatory of Joubert's *Regimen Medicæ*, page 104, of the third part of his *Opuscula*, and a letter of Pothius, *ibid* pag. 134.

(10) Cabrol, ubi supra.
(11) *Id. ibid.*
(12) *Id. ibid.*
(13) *Id. ibid.*

'scene matters, writing of conception, generation, big bellies, and child-bearing (10). He answered that complaint in the second edition; for besides the excuses which he and Lewis Bertrava alledged, 'he changed the dedication, and presented the whole process to Mr de Pibrac, chancellor of the said lady, to pick out such things as her majesty might know, and judge of without any scruple; the said Mr de Pibrac reserving the rest to himself, as being more suitable to his condition (11). There was another complaint made against him. 'All this, said some (12), would have been better in Latin than in French; such discourses not sounding so ill in a dead, as in a vulgar tongue: besides women and maids who are most ashamed of it, would have known nothing of it.' Cabrol answers what follows (13), 'the Sieur Joubert has sufficiently answered this in his epistle to his friends, wherein he shews, that the chafest women in the world, may read it, and will learn nothing but virtuous things from it, and their conjugal duty; and their husbands too. As for maids, they cannot understand what is said in it concerning the works of the flesh, if they be maids in body and soul, as one may say. But to satisfy every body he has since left out whatever might give offence to the most scrupulous consciences; as knowing, we are not only to abstain from evil, but also from the appearance of it.' All these reasons are not good; and some of them pitiful.

(14) *Id. ibid.*

[D] *The bustle they made about this book . . . contributed to make it sell the better.* I shall cite Joubertus's apologist. 'The treatise of Vulgar Errors, says he, (14), has been printed in four several places in half a year, namely, at Bourdeaux, Paris, Lyons, and Avignon; and the least impression in every place was 1600 copies. This book has had so great a reputation, that being at first but ten or twelve pence price, it was afterwards sold for a crown, and even for four livres: just as in times of scarcity (a sort of famine) the price of corn rises every day. Nay, the Booksellers and Printers are importuned for the rest of the work; and the author is only desired to publish the rest of it; at least five books at a time (if he will not do it all at once) according to the division he made of it, besides what he promises. But he is so disgusted, and full of resentment, upon the aforesaid censures, being a man of great spirit, and extremely jealous of his honour, that he has often thought, as I know very well, to burn all that he has done of it. What a loss it would be!'

[E] *This work was to contain six parts.* When he published the first, he added a table, containing the division of the whole work, and the titles of the chapters in every book. But because it was not he, who put the second part to the press, it does not agree with the plan he had published. It is not divided into five books; and the twenty five chapters it contains, do not correspond with those of the plan, either as to the number or the subject; you will see the reason of it in these words of Cabrol. 'He could not as yet be prevailed upon to condescend to the publishing of the other parts; which he keeps so close, that there is no seeing or reading of them. Now, seeing his resolution (not to say obstinacy) I went about to print some chapters, which I formerly had of him, having done me the favour to explain to me some propositions, upon which I desired his explanation and

vice. They are not many, but most of the chapters are very long, and contain several heads, so that should we divide them into particulars, they would scarce be less than thirty. Mr Joubert made the first draught of them, long before he published the first part of his Vulgar Errors: they are certain subjects, which have since been disposed by their author in the division of the whole work, both general and particular, to serve, one for the seventh book, another for the eleventh, seventeenth, twentieth, twenty third, twenty fifth, twenty sixth, and so on to the thirtieth. I have not troubled myself much about their order, since we can have nothing else at present from the author, as he had promised (15). The same Cabrol says (16), that while he caused this to be printed, as it were by stealth, he was surprized at the Printer's by Mr Joubert, who took my enterprise, adds he, very bravely. 'Nevertheless, when he understood, that I designed to present you with it, he . . . permitted . . . the Bookseller to go on, giving him besides two fine discourses translated from his Latin paradoxes, by Isaac Joubert, his eldest son.' Note, that Gaspar Bachot, Counsellor and Physician to the king, published, in 1626, a book which he had written long before, to finish Lawrence Joubertus's design as to the third part of his Vulgar Errors (17). He kept to the chapters of the books, according to the order he found them in, in the table added to the first part; but he modelled them his own way, without swearing in verba Magistris (18). This book of Gaspar Bachot, is intitled *Erreurs Populaires touchant la Médecine, & régime de Santé*. This author is not to be found in Lindenius *Renovatus*.

[F] *I will mention a particular which shews, that Joubertus was a modest man.* Gaspar Bachot, whom I mentioned in the foregoing remark, was made doctor of Physic in 1592 (19). He gloried to have maintained his thesis against all opponents, and he looked upon his Doctorship as the trophy of his victory. But as soon as I read your answer (he writes this to Mr de Lorme, Physician in ordinary to Lewis XIII, and first Physician to the queen-mother (20), in which you acquainted me, that the late Mr Joubert, your colleague and friend, used to say of himself, *ter Doctor, nunquam futurus doctus; who being learned, and having obtained that laurel in three different universities, whilst he was admired by every body, could not satisfy himself. I began from that time to have such a distrust of myself, that I thought all my former labour useless, without hoping to grow learned, since so great a person, like another Socrates, confessed his insufficiency, or the fear of his not being able to arrive to the end of his wishes.* Note, that he says, that Mr Joubert had learned his profession in Montrifon (21), and in the adjacent country, and lived there when his Decades were dedicated to Papon, a renowned Civilian, the glory of that town (22).

[G] *There are . . . some remarks, which clear up some passages of his paradoxes.* He had maintained in his second paradox, that it is possible a man may live a long time without eating and drinking. This proposition gave offence, as insinuating, that Moses, Elias, and Jesus Christ, fasted forty days without any miracle. He answered properly to this objection; for his answer was approved by John de la Place, minister of Montpellier. This minister's approbation did not appear in the French translation of this piece of Joubertus; but we find it in the Latin edition of his

(15) Cabrol, *ibid* supra.

(16) In the epistle dedicatory to Mr de Villeroi.

(17) At Lyons, for Bartholomew Vincent, in 3vo.

(18) See Bachot's preface.

(19) See his letter to Mr de Lorme, prefixed to the book concerning Vulgar Errors.

(20) *ibid.*

(21) A town of the country called Forez.

(22) That is of Montrifon.

(23) At Page 239, Part II.

(24) In remark [A] of the article VIRETUS.

(25) Jouberti, Opuscul. Parte 11, pag. 136.

(26) Jouberti Opuscul, pag. 156, 157.

(27) Compare the News from the Republic of Letters, July 1704, art. viii.

(28) Taken from Sorel, at page 114, of the Perfection of Man.

his *Opuscula*, published at Lyons, in 1570 (23). This confirms what is said in another place (24), that Joubertus was a Protestant.

It must be observed, that in explaining what gave offence, he had regard only to good souls, who, thro' a delicacy of conscience, and too little acquaintance with Philosophy, were easily alarmed. But as to those, who, through malice, discovered poison in his works, he left them to the hardness of their hearts. 'Hujus enarrationis, says he (25), vel solo argumento vel demonstrationibus commoveri posse hominum duo genera, facile praesentio. Unum est naturalis Philosophiae & Medicinae imperitum, simplicitatis & pietatis nomine venerandum: qualis plebecula & quicunque in æstimandis rerum causis studium non adhibent. Alterum *διαβολικόν*, quod etiam quæ bene dicta esse novit, impudentissimis calumniis infectatur. Hoc, quia explicationem non exspectat, & quæcunque impura sua mente excipiuntur depravat, suoque veneno inficit, me nihil moratur. Alteri verò benignè & candidè satisfaciendum puto.' He had been very sensibly affected with the accusations of these persons, since he wishes, that GOD would give him the patience and serenity, which are necessary, when one is exposed to the rage of their slanders. His words discover a heart full of resentment, and dart thunder at his censurers. Thus he concludes. 'Hæc *διαβολικὰ κακοῦ ἀνθρώπου* ab istius enarrationis prophanatione avertant, quibus

est peculiare etiam sacram paginam corrumpere, & in alienum pessimumque sensum detorquere, impudentissime mentiri, & maledicere, animorum concordiam dissolvere, inimicitias colere, invidiam crepare, & nunquam non quibus nocere queant modos excogitare, plique omnibus esse infestissimos. DEUS misericors parcat hominibus quicunque ab ejusmodi furis agitati, earumque veneno afflati & infecti, si milem naturam induunt & referunt: quosque ab istis nequissime tractari patitur, patientia (quæ omnia vincit) & mansuetudine bene muniat. Amen (26). — Let this stop these slanderers from prophaning that narrative, whose business it is to corrupt the sacred page, and pervert it to another, and that the worst sense, to lie most impudently, and calumniate, to break friendships, foment enmities, invent all methods to do mischief, and to pursue with hatred all good men. May GOD of his mercy spare such men as, acted by the same madness, and infected by their poison, imitate their nature: and may he fortify with patience (which surmounts all difficulties) and with mildness, those whom he suffers to be misused by them. Amen.'

[H] He innovated in the French orthography. For he wrote *jantil*, *action*, *parfait*, *æmer*, instead of *gentil*, *action*, *parfait*, *aimer*. He likewise made a difference between the *v* consonant and the *u* vowel, and would have the consonant (27) written differently from the other (28).

JOVIAN, emperor of Rome, came to this dignity by the choice of the army in the year 363, after the death of Julian the apostate. He was more considerable for the merit of count Varronian, his father, than for his own (a); for he was as yet very young, and served still in the companies of the life-guards [A]. Most things relating to him, being in Moreri's Dictionary, I shall only mention two particulars which are not there. The first is, that Jovian concluded a peace so shameful and disadvantageous to the Roman empire, that he exposed himself to the murmurs and banter of the public [B]. The second

[A] He served still in the companies of the life-guards. In saying this, I have chiefly in view these words of Eutropius: 'Post hunc (*Julianum*) Jovianus, qui tunc DOMESTICUS MILITABAT, ad obtinendum imperium consensu exercitus electus est, commendatione patris quam sua militibus notior (1). — After this (*Julian*) Jovian then in the troops of the household, was elected to the empire by the consent of the army, procured rather by what the soldiers knew of his father than himself.' But it must be observed that the expressions of this author, are not precise enough, and that they ought to be rectified by those of another historian, which more expressly shew the degree to which Jovian was arrived. 'Jovianus eligitur Imperator Domesticorum ordinis primus patris meritis mediocriter commendabilis (2). — Jovian is elected emperor out of the household troops, a person moderately esteemed on account of his father's merit.' As military employments have not at present the same order, or the same disposition, as in that age, it would be difficult to find a word that signifies exactly what is meant by *domesticorum ordinis primus*, or *primicerius domesticorum* (3); but we may very well presume that those words do not signify, that Jovian was the chief, or captain, of the guards called *domestici*, for the true name of their captain was *Comes Domesticorum* (4). It is said in Moreri's Dictionary, that Jovian was captain of the Pretorian guards, when he refused to abjure Christianity under Julian the apostate. This is taken from Socrates the historian, who making use of the word *χιλιάρχος* (5), does not authorize Moreri's phrase. Observe that Theodoret affirms (6) that Jovian had no employment in the army when he was made emperor. Ammianus Marcellinus, who says the contrary, is more to be credited, for he was upon the spot.

[B] Jovian concluded a peace so shameful and disadvantageous . . . that he exposed himself . . . to the murmurs and banter of the public. He gave up to the Persians five provinces, with some places that were a strong rampart to the Roman empire. Amongst others, the important town of Nisibis, and that of Singara (7); and with difficulty he obtained liberty for the inhabitants to retire into the Roman territories (8). He obliged himself not to give any assistance to the king of Armenia, who had constantly been a good and faithful friend of the emperor's. This was, say the historians, a sort of impiety, and the ruin of this faithful

friend, and the loss of Armenia. 'Quibus exitiale aliud accessit & impium, ne post hæc ita composita, Arsaci poscenti contra Persas ferretur auxilium, amico nobis semper & fido . . . Unde postea contigit, ut vivus caperetur idem Arsaces, & Armenia maximum latus Medis conterminans, & Artaxata inter dissensiones & turbamenta raperent Parthi (9). — To which was added a condition equally fatal and impious, to wit, that after this peace no assistance should be given to Arsaces against the Persians, though he was our old and faithful ally. . . . Hence it fell out that Arsaces was afterwards taken alive, and a great part of Armenia bordering on Media, together with Artaxata, in the midst of these dissensions and disturbances, were seized upon by the Parthians.' Nothing can be more moving than the description of the condition the inhabitants of Nisibis found themselves in, when they saw they were forced to remove to another place (10). Their intreaties to Jovian not to force them to leave their country, were enough to break one's heart; and yet he had no regard to them, alledging the engagement of his word, and the fear of perjury: but it was believed he did not assign the true cause of his fear. 'Et hæc quidem suppliciter ordo & populus precabatur: sed verbis loquebantur incassum, Imperatore, ut fingeat alia metuens, perjurii piacula declinante (11). It was thought he only kept his word, because he feared that if he staid in that country, and should have any new quarrels with the Persians, he should have a competitor for the empire. They were perhaps in the right to say this; but at the bottom the Roman historians are much to blame for complaining of his punctual execution of the treaty of peace. Here is a passage of Eutropius, who censures him for it, and makes his great fault to consist in that; for otherwise he owns that Jovian was obliged by a sort of necessity, to consent to those ignominious conditions, which were never before imposed on the Roman people. 'Jam turbatis rebus, exercitu, quoque inopia laborante uno à Persis atque altero prælio victus (*Jovianus*) pacem cum Sapore necessariam quidem, sed ignobilem fecit, multatus finibus, ac non nulla imperii Romani parte tradita: quod ante eum annis mille centum & duobus de-viginti fere, ex quo Romanum imperium conditum erat, nunquam accidit. Quinetiam legiones nostræ ita & apud Caudium per Pontum Telesinum, ita & in Hispania apud Numantiam, & in Numidia sub jugum missæ sunt, ut nihil

(26) Jouberti Opuscul, pag. 156, 157.

(27) Compare the News from the Republic of Letters, July 1704, art. viii.

(28) Taken from Sorel, at page 114, of the Perfection of Man.

(a) Suidas, in *Τοῦτοῦ* See also Eutropius's words in the remark [A].

(9) Id. Ibid. pag. 434.

(10) See Marcell. lib. cap. ix.

(11) Id. Ibid. See also the Alexandrian Chronicle.

(1) Eutropius, lib. x, pag. m. 223.

(2) Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxv, cap. v, pag. m. 430.

(3) Hieron. in Chron. uses these words.

(4) Vide Valefium, in Amm. Marcell. lib. xiv, cap. x.

(5) Socrat. Hist. lib. iii, cap. xxii.

(6) Theod. Hist. lib. iv, cap. i.

(7) Vide Valefium in Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxv, cap. ix, pag. 439.

(8) Amm. Marcell. lib. cap. vii.

second is, that he did not approve the using of violence for the extirpation of sects

nihil tamen finium traderetur. Ea pacis conditio non penitus reprehendenda foret, si sœderis necessitatem, cum integrum fuit, mutare voluisset: sicut à Romanis omnibus his bellis, quæ commemoravi, factum est. Nam & Samnitibus, & Numantinis, & Numidis confestim bella illata sunt: neque pax rata fuit (12). — All things being in confusion, the army in want of provisions, and himself twice defeated by the Persians, he at last made a peace with Sapor, necessary indeed, but ignoble, the frontiers being straitened, and a part of the Roman empire lopped off, which in the space of 1118 years, that is, from the foundation thereof, to his time, had never happened, for although our legions passed under the yoke by the command of Pontius Telesinus, and in Spain at Numantia, and again in Numidia, yet was never any part of the Roman territory given up. However, even this condition of peace would not have been altogether blameable, if when he had it in his power he had remedied it, as the Romans did on each of the occasions before mentioned. For against the Samnites, Numantians, and Numidians, the war was still carried on, and no ignominious treaty ever ratified. You see that he is censured for not having imitated the ancient Romans, who without any delay attacked the nations, which had obliged them to accept of a shameful capitulation, but had never made them lose an inch of ground. And since he was censured, though he reigned but seven or eight months, for not repairing the disgrace and loss this peace brought along with it, it is plain they would have had him break these articles a few days after they were concluded, and as soon as his army was supplied with provisions, and in a place of safety: but were not these politics manifestly unjust? Suppose that after a very prejudicial peace which necessity has extorted, it may be lawful to seek an occasion of relief; must one not let some time pass and wait for pretences and conjectures which time never fails to supply? You see that even according to the corrupt maxims of politics, Jovian would have been guilty of a horrible treachery, if he had done what the historians blame him for having omitted. The three examples alleged by Eutropius are not like this. The senate and the people might lawfully break the agreement of their generals; but Jovian who concluded the peace, knew no superior, he was sole master. Note, that what went most to the heart of the true Romans, was the yielding of a country which did belong to the empire; for they pretended, that the like had never been seen before; and it was so little consistent with their maxims to suffer their states to lessen, that they allowed the honour of a triumph only to those who extended their frontiers: it was refused to some generals who had done great actions, but without any other fruit, than recovering what had been lost before. Read the description of this Roman grandeur in these words of Marcellinus.

(12) Eutropius, ubi supra.

Illud tamen ad medullas usque bonorum pervenit: quod dum extimefcit æmulum potestatis, damque in animo per Gallias & Illyricum versat, quosdam sæpe sublimiora ceptasse, famam adventus sui prævenire festinans, indignum imperio facinus amictu perjurii fugiendi commisit, Nisibi prodita: quæ jam inde à Mithridatici regni temporibus, ne Oriens à Persis occuparetur, viribus restitit maximis. Nunquam enim ab Urbis ortu inveniri potest annalibus replicatis, ut arbitror, terrarum pars ulla nostrarum ab Imperatore vel Consule hosti concessa: sed ne ob recepta quidem quæ directæ sunt, verum ob amplificata regna triumphalis gloria fuisse delata. Unde P. Scipioni ob recuperatas Hispanias, Fulvio Capuâ post diuturna certamina superata, & Opimio post diversos exitus præliorum, Fregellanis tunc internecivis hostibus ad deditionem compulsi, triumphus sunt denegati. Id etiam memoriæ nos veteres docent, in extremis casibus scita cum dedecore sœdera, postquam partes verbis juravere conceptis, repetitione bellorum illico dissoluta: ut temporibus præcis apud Furcas Caudinas sub jugum legionibus missis in Samnio, & per Albinum in Numidia scelestè pace cogitata, & auctore turpiter, passionis festinatæ Mancino dedito Numantinis (13). — That all pierced all good men to the very heart, that while he dreaded a rival in power, he passing through the Gauls and Illyricum, meditating what greater things others had done, endeavouring

(13) Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxv, cap. ix, pag. 439, 440.

to prevent by his coming the fame of his approach, he, under colour of avoiding perjury, did what was unworthy of the empire, in delivering up Nisibis, which, from the time of Mithridates's reign, that the Persians might never enjoy the eastern parts, had been obstinately defended. Nor is it to be found in the Annals from the very building of Rome (as I apprehend) that any part of our dominions hath been yielded to the enemy, by either general or consul: nay, triumphal honours were restrained, and not allowed for the recovering provinces, but for adding to the territories of the commonwealth. On this account P. Scipio for regaining Spain, Fulvius after the reduction of Capua, which sustained a long siege, and Opimius after seven battles, compelling the Fregellani, our inveterate enemies, to surrender, were all of them denied triumphs. It has also been transmitted to us from our ancestors, that in cases where ignoble terms were submitted to, after the parties had confirmed the covenant with oaths, they were however thought to be dissolved by an immediate carrying on of the war, as in old time after the legions at Samnium, were compelled to pass under the Fork, and Albinus in Numidia made a most scandalous peace, and Mancinus, author of an ignominious treaty with the Numantines, was delivered up to that people. Observe that the remark [D] must be considered as a consequence of this; for I there examine whether Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus had reason to affirm what they say.

If we reflect never so little upon the temper of nations, and especially on the condition that Christians and Heathens were then in, we shall easily believe that the emperor Jovian became odious and contemptible, and the subject of many satires. The people fear and hate war; they love and desire peace, and with good reason: for they suffer the greatest inconveniences of the war; nevertheless they are afflicted at a treaty of peace, that disgraces the nation, and deprives it of a frontier, that was a safe barrier to it, and made it formidable to its neighbours. Victories and conquests rejoice the meanest peasants, and make them more patiently bear the burden of the war. Taxes and imposts are most easily forgotten when the war is attended with good success, and with an advantageous peace. Every one has a share in the glory of the nation; but the thought that the enemies will grow haughty, contemptuous, and insulting upon their terminating the war by a peace wholly to their mind, overwhelms them with grief and indignation. Must so many charges and expences, say they, go for nothing? &c. See above (14) the murmurs of the French against the peace of Catcau. Never were people in a better capacity to shew the like indignation than under the empire of Jovian. There was great emulation betwixt the Christians and the Heathens. The latter had just lost an emperor whom they loved, and from whom they expected mighty things; they flattered themselves with the hopes, that his expedition against the Persians would be advantageous and glorious, and they saw that death having deprived him of these fine triumphs, he was succeeded by a Christian prince, under whom things were reduced to a miserable condition. To murmur against such a prince, to censure and satirize him, was to gratify many passions at once; it was heightening Julian's glory, and making the Christians ashamed; it was sacrificing to the idol of political vanity, and to their zeal for religion. They failed not to act according to these several principles: they made verses and parodies to abuse Jovian (15). The libellers of Antioch distinguished themselves; they dispersed their libels against him in the streets, and posted up others; they turned him into ridicule, by applying to him some places of the Iliads, and amongst others that of the third book (16), where Paris is so roughly treated by his brother Hector; and that of the second book (17), where Ulysses threatens Thersites to strip him naked, and ignominiously to drive him away.

How people are commonly affected, with respect to war and treaties of peace.

(14) In the remarks [C], [G], and [H] of the article HENRY II. See also the remark [P], of the article HENRY IV.

(15) See the remarks [C], [G], and [H] of the article HENRY IV.

(16) Ver. 29.

(17) Ver. 260.

Εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ σε λαβὼν, ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἴματα δύνω

Χλαῖναντ', ἥδ' ἑλκύνω, τὰ τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει

Αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα θοῶς ἐπὶ Πύρρας ἀθήσω.

NH

fects [C]. Some authors say, that before him the Romans never gave up any part of the empire by a treaty of peace [D]. Others maintain, that they who speak thus are mistaken. I will examine this in a remark, and will also produce what the fathers of the church have

Nisi ego te captum, & caris vestibus exuam,
Lænaque & tunica & vestibus quæ pudenda circum-
tegent,

(18) Id. *ibid.*

Ipsum vero te plorantem celeriter ad Persas remit-
tam (18).

*Thou wilt I seize, and of thy robes dispoil,
Thy gown, thy tunic, even the needful vest
Which modesty requires, and naked then
I'll lash thee howling to the Persians back.*

(19) Id. *ibid.*

An old woman, who saw him well made and handsome, and heard that he had no genius and no sense (19), cried out, his folly is as great as his stature (20). Suidas, who tells us all these things, had said before, that this emperor knew nothing; that he had no education, and that he lost by his lazy negligence what nature had given him. Ἀμελέτης δὲ ὢν, καὶ ἀγεύς παιδείας, καὶ ἢ εἰς εὐσύνειαν διὰ βαθυμυίαν ἡμάρης καὶ ἡδονῆς. Sed incultus & doctrinæ prorsus expertus; quam ne gustarat quidem. Quinetiam quod habebat ingenium, id per ignaviam obscurabat, & debebat (21). Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus speak not after this manner. Vir alias neque iners neque imprudens (22) says one. We shall see the words of the other at the beginning of the remark [E].

(21) Id. *ibid.*

(22) Eutrop. lib. x, sub fin.

[C] He did not approve the using of violence for the extirpation of sects. The Philosopher Themistius gives him an encomium which does not agree with the accounts we find in ecclesiastical history. He praises him for permitting all men to serve God in their way, and fixing by that means the inconsistency of those flatterers, who had changed their religion, just as the imperial purple had changed hands whom he compares to the Euripus (23).

(23) See the

Penitence deverses
for les Cometes,
p. 244.

Θαυμάζει τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τὸ ἐρεῖναι θρησκείαν ὡς ἐκαστοὶ βόλονται, νικῶντα τὴν κολλῶν τὰς τρίβους, & καὶ διασφύρει πάντῃ γελοῖος ἔρῃ, ἐλέγχοντα αὐτὰς ἀληθεία, ὃ θεὸν θεράπευστας; μηδὲν τε διαφέρει αὐτὰς Εὐρίπῃ, νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς εἰς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τὰ ἐνέματα μεταβάλλοντες. Imperatorem magnis effert laudibus, ob id quod concessa cuicunque libera facultate colendi numinis prout vellet, adulatorem mores compresserit. Quos quidem facete perstringens, ait experimento cognovimus esse, illos non Deum sed purpuram colere: planeque simile esse Euripo, qui modo in hanc, modo in illam partem fertur (24). Themistius spoke in this manner in his oration upon Jovian's consulship. Which signifies, that the emperor did not forbid the Heathens to worship their Gods in their old way; and yet we learn from Socrates the historian (25), that all the temples of the Heathens were shut up, and that these idolaters concealed themselves, some in one place, and some in another; that the Philosophers left off their habit, and that the sacrifices, which had been so frequent in Julian's time, ceased. It must be said then, that Themistius used an hyperbole, that was only grounded upon Jovian's moderation to Heretics, and which perhaps was a crafty insinuation to tolerate all religions in the same manner. That which is certain, is, that this prince seeing himself courted by all the Christian sects, every one desiring to gain him, declared for the orthodox party, as to the consubstantiality of the word (26), but he did not give way to the request of expelling from their churches such as were of another opinion (27), and he answered that he hated disputes, and that he loved and esteemed the lovers of peace and concord. He designed by his gentleness and mildness to extinguish all the schisms of the church; for which reason he gave out, that he would persecute no body, and that he would love and honour especially such, as expressed the greatest zeal for the re-establishment of peace. Ὁ μὲντοι βασιλεὺς ἀρέσας εἶχε, κολεκία καὶ πειδοὶ τῶν δευτέρων τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἐκκλῖναι, οὐσίας μὲν δὲ ὀχληρὸς τῶν ὁπασάν πιστευόντων ἔσσεσθαι ἀγαπήσαν δὲ καὶ ὑπερτιμήσαν τὰς ἀρχὴν τῇ ἐνώσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρῆσαντας. Cæterum Imperator id sibi proposuerat, ut dissidentium jurgia blanditiis & leni verborum persuasione extingueret, opebatque se nemini omnino qualiscunque fidei esset

(24) Socrates,

Hist. Eccles. lib. iii, cap. xxv, pag. m. 205.

(25) Id. *ibid.*

cap. xxiv.

(26) Id. *ibid.*

& cap. xxv.

(27) Id. *ibid.*

cap. xxv.

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molestiam exhibiturum: eos tamen præ cæteris amaturum atque in pretio habiturum, qui reparande in Ecclesia pacis auctores ac duces se præberent (28). I must observe that he made a severe law against those who should endeavour to marry the Nuns, or behave themselves immodestly to them; for he ordered them to be punished with death (29). He was induced to this severity that he might suppress the audaciousness that was used in Julian's reign, in marrying the Nuns, and employing sometimes force, and sometimes persuasions to corrupt them (30).

(28) Id. *ibid.*
pag. 204, 205.

(29) Sozomen.
Hisor. Eccles.
lib. vi, cap. iiii.

(30) Id. *ibid.*

[D] Some authors say that before him the Romans never gave up any part of the empire by a treaty of peace. The passages of Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus before alledged (31), are a manifest proof that this was the common discourse. Casaubon (32) pretends that they who spoke thus, said a thing that was not true: he grounds himself upon the emperor Hadrian's abandoning three provinces (33), and Diocletian's strengthening the bounds of the empire. 'Diocletianus . . . Augusti preceptum, Hadrianique exemplum secutus, imperii, fines à meridie supra Ægyptum arctavit, auctor Procopius in Persicis. I. dem Imperator reliquit & Daciam à Trajano constitutam, sublato exercitu & provincialibus; desperans eam posse retineri, Vopiscus ait. — Diocletian . . . following the direction of Augustus, and the example of Adrian, settled Egypt as the south boundary of his empire, as Procopius informs us in his Persian history. The same emperor, as Vopiscus says, abandoned Dacia, tho' settled by Trajan, removing the army and the provincial officers, because he despair'd of keeping it.' But Valesius (34) shews a great difference betwixt what these emperors and Jovian did. The latter gave up some provinces by a treaty of peace, and as it were by way of ransom; the others voluntarily abandoned a country, the keeping of which was too chargeable. This was to follow the maxims of prudence, and not like Jovian to submit to the laws of the conqueror. And therefore there was no reason for censuring Marcellinus's words, as Casaubon, Lindenbrogius (35) and Coqueus (36) have done; and it is certain that Jovian introduced a novelty. It is generally agreed that it was a scandalous thing (37): the Christians and Heathens did not dispute on that point; but only differed with relation to this emperor's justification. The Christians endeavoured to clear him, and the Heathens to condemn him. We have seen above (38), that a Heathen historian censures him, not for consenting to the treaty of peace, but for observing the conditions of it. This is an unjust, and abominable censure. If necessity obliged him to make a peace, as this author and all others acknowledge, he ought to be excused; for necessity has no law.

(31) In the remark [B].

(32) Casaubon.
Not. ad Spartian.
vit. Adrian.
cap. v, pag. m. 47.

(33) See, above, remark [G], of the article HADRIAN (PUBLIUS ÆLIUS).

(34) Vales. in
Amm. Marcell.
lib. xxv, cap. ix, pag. m. 439, 440.

(35) Lindenbrog.
in Ammian.
Marcell. *ibid.*

(36) Leonardus
Coqueus in
August. de Civit.
Dei, lib. iv, cap. xxix.

(37) Post . . .
pudendum pacis
iacta fecerat.
Amm. Marcell.
lib. xxvii, cap. xii. See also Agathias, lib. iv. Socrates, lib. iii, cap. xxii. Zonaras, &c.

(38) In the remark [B], citat. (12).

(39) Labeirus,
apud Macrobius.
Saturn. lib. ii, cap. vii. See also the words of Horace, above, citation (11) of the article of the third rule of GUISE.

(40) Amm. Marcell. lib. xxv, cap. vii, pag. 433.

Necessitas, cujus cursus transversus impetum
Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci poterunt (39).

*With rapid tide necessity rolls on,
And tho' all fly, yet few it's rage can shun.*

And when once he is justified upon this point, the rest goes off of itself. The exact observation of a treaty of peace solemnly sworn, deserves not to be condemned. Ammianus Marcellinus is a more dangerous censurer than Eutropius; he was an eye-witness, and relates things in such a manner, as to give to understand (40) that Jovian unnecessarily engaged himself in that necessity, and that the confusion the Persians had reduced him to, was not so great, but that it had been better to have tried the fortune of the war, than to accept those ignominious conditions. He accuses him of downright cowardice, and of lending an ear to the flatterers who discouraged him. 'Et cum pugnari decies expediret, ne horum quidquam dederetur: adulatorem globus instabat timido Principi, Procopii metuendum subfrens nomen, eumque adfirmans, nisi rediret, cognito Juliani interitu, cum intacho milite quem regebat, novas res nullo renitente facile molitum. Hac perniciofa verborum ille assiduitate nimia successus, sine cunctatione tradidit omnia quæ

7 I

petebantur

(b) See the remark [D].

have said concerning that peace of Jovian (b). I add, that he was a very tall man, zealous for orthodoxy, but very much addicted to wine and women [E]. Those are rather to be believed, who say he wanted neither activity nor prudence and knowledge, than

(41) Id. *ibid.* pag. 434.

'petebantur (41). — And when it was more eligible to have fought ten battles than to have made such concessions, a crowd of flatterers deluded the timorous prince, whispering that the very name of Procopius was to be feared, and warmly affirming that he knowing of the death of Julian, unless the emperor returned with his whole army, might easily, and without resistance change the face of affairs: overcome with the pernicious assiduity of these counsellors, he, without consideration, gave up every thing that was demanded.' Agathias (42) charges him plainly with the same weakness. The Christians, to excuse Jovian, carefully observed, that Julian the Apostate was the principal cause of all this misfortune, since his rashness was so great, as to burn all the vessels that should have served to transport the provisions; for hence proceeded that horrible scarcity, which obliged Jovian to a shameful capitulation (43). 'Cujus vanis dedi-

(42) Agathias, lib. iv.

(43) See the second Orat. on of Gregory Nazianzen against Julian the Apostate. See also Socrates, lib. iii. cap. xxii. pag. 156.

(44) August. de Civitat. Dei, lib. v, cap. xxi, pag. m. 554. See also lib. iv, cap. xxix.

(45) See Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lib. iii, cap. xxii.

(46) See the remark [B], citat. (13).

(47) See St. Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, lib. iv, cap. xxix.

(48) Ricaut, Present State of the Ottoman Empire, lib. ii, cap. iii, pag. m. 320.

tus oraculis erat (Julianus), quando fretus securitate victorie naves quibus victus necessarius portabatur, incendit. Deinde servidè instans immodicis ausibus & mox merito temeritatis oculis, in locis hostilibus eorum reliquit exercitum, ut aliter inde non posset evadere, nisi contra illud auspiciu Dei Termini, de quo superiore libro diximus, Romani imperii termini moverentur. Cessit enim Terminus deus necessitati, qui non cesserat Jovi (44). — To which vain oracles he (i. e. Julian) was addicted, when, as if secure of victory, he burnt the ships with all their provisions on board. Afterwards advancing with immoderate boldness, and trusting by his timidity merited that death which he received, he left his army in want of all things in countries possessed by the enemy, from whence it was impossible for them to escape; if, contrary to the command of the god Terminus mentioned in the former book, the limits of the Roman empire had not been changed. Thus the god Terminus yielded to necessity, who had not yielded to Jove. You see in these words of St. Augustin all the fault laid upon Julian, and moreover a jest upon the Heathen religion, in that the immobility of the god Terminus had proved false upon that occasion (45). The Pagans might have said, that it was no wonder that this deity had not acted in favour of Jovian, as being a rebel against the gods of Rome; but that subterfuge might easily have been refuted: for it would still be true, that it was a fallacious promise, which the Romans pretended the god Terminus had made, that the boundaries of the empire should never be lessened. Now this is what St. Austin designed to prove against the Heathens.

Note, by the by, how prudent the conduct of the ancient Romans was: they designed to make conquests; and there is nothing more necessary for such a design, than not to restore by a peace, what was gained by the war: for in vain you take towns and provinces, you will never be the greater for it, if you are obliged to restore them by the articles of peace. The Romans to succeed in the project of forming a vast empire, spurred their generals by motives of glory, and scruples of religion, to gain new countries, and not to lose the conquests they had once made. They never granted a triumph to such as did no more than recover what the enemy had taken (46), and they gave out, that it was violating the religion of the god Terminus, and his sacred auspices (47) to yield up the frontiers of the empire. The Turks proposing to make vast conquests, and to lay the foundation of a great empire, have more particularly brought in religion into that design; for they said that it did not permit them to restore a town wherein there was a mosque, to its first possessors. For which reason they made great haste to build a mosque in their new conquests. This was to engage themselves to keep them in making peace, and to oblige the governors of a town to defend themselves by a principle of conscience, with extraordinary obstinacy (48). But they have lately experienced the uselessness of this nice policy. The treaty of Carlowitz, concluded in the year 1698, has exposed them to the same raillery that St. Augustin made use of against the Roman god Terminus, who gave way to necessity under Jovian the emperor. The Sultan has been obliged to yield up a great number of places with

mosques in them, to the Christian princes. In vain it was represented to him that this was offending against the maxims of his religion; there was a necessity for doing it, and of two evils, the least was to be chosen.

[E] He was a very tall man, zealous for orthodoxy, but very much addicted to wine and women.] See him here drawn by a Pagan historian (49). 'Incedebat motu corporis gravi, vultu latissimo, oculis caecis, vasta proceritate & ardua, adeo ut diu nulum indumentum regium ad mensuram ejus aptum inveniretur. Et æmulari malebat Constantium, agens seria quædam aliquoties post meridiem: jocarique palam cum proximis adfuetus. Christianæ legis idem studiosus, & nonnunquam honorificus, mediocriter eruditus, magisque benivolsus, & perpenisus, ut apparebat ex paucis quos promoverat, judices electurus: edax tamen, & vino Venerique indulgens: quæ vitia imperiali verecundia forsitan correxisset. — He walked with becoming gravity, his countenance was very pleasant, his eyes grey, his stature large, inasmuch that it was some time before a royal robe could be found fit for him to wear. He seemed to imitate Constantius in talking of serious things, in the afternoon, discoursing however sometimes very pleasantly, even in public to those about him; strongly attached to the Christian religion, in many things worthy of honour, moderately learned, but very benevolent, and chose the judges with great care, as appeared by the few he promoted; a great eater however, and somewhat addicted both to wine and women, which vices, notwithstanding, he might have corrected, and put on a modesty worthy of his dignity.' Zonaras, who was a Christian and a monk, took from Ammianus Marcellinus the greatest part of this character, speaking of that emperor. Ο μὲν Ἰωβιανὸς, λέγει, ἐὺσεβὴς ἦν περὶ δόγμα καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτης. οὐκ δ' ἦν τῆτο καὶ ἀφροσύνη. καὶ τὴν τὴν αἰματώσαν ἀναδύοντι εὐμύκνης, καὶ γράμματων ἰσχυρὸς. Jovianus quidem religiosus fuit erga Christianam fidem, & benivolus. Vino tamen, Venerique indulgens. Procerus statura, nec litterarum expertus. — Jovian was indeed strongly addicted to the support of the Christian faith, and of a benevolent disposition. Prone both to wine, and women. Of a large stature, and not ignorant of letters. Here then you see an emperor very religious as to his opinions, but a great drunkard, and a whore-monger. He gave two strong proofs of his zeal for the gospel, before he ascended the throne: for in the first place, he shewed himself very ready to renounce his post, rather than his religion (50), when Julian commanded the officers of his troops to embrace Paganism, or to resign their employments. In the second place he would not accept of the empire, till having declared that he was a Christian, and that he would not command Heathens, the soldiers had declared that they were Christians (51). He had then the resolution of renouncing for the love of God, not only a small employment, but also the greatest dignity that was then in the world. He was capable of preferring his religion before the Roman empire; but his conscience, which was so nice in this respect, could not move him to leave off drinking and women. He could quit for his religion all other things but those two. What an odd thing is this! what a combination of good and evil in the same man! There

are in all ages many who leave their country for their religion, their estates, and their employments, and their friends and relations, who yet cannot bring themselves to renounce Venus and Bacchus. Never believe that Jovian's orthodoxy was imperfect; but he persuaded that he very well knew, that drunkenness and lewdness are forbidden by God, and that the same religion which condemned the Heathen idolatry, condemned drunkenness and the disorderly love of women. Note, that he was as great an eater as he was a drinker; and it has even been said, that he died of eating too much. Multi exanimatum opinantur nimia cruditate: inter cœnandum enim epulis indulgerat (52). Other reasons of his death were alleged (53), viz. the vapour of a chamber over-heated, poison (54), &c. But this which follows was alleged by the Christians themselves: Ἐτελεύτησεν, ἢ ἀφαιδέσθων, ὥς τινες λέγουσι, δειπνῶν, ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς τῆς οἰκίας. Obiit

(49) Amm. Marcell. lib. xxv, sub fin. pag. m. 445.

(50) Socrat. lib. iii, cap. xxii.

(51) Id. *ibid.*

(52) Eusebius, ubi supra. See also Ammianus Marcellinus, ubi supra, pag. 445.

(53) Alii addunt cubiculi, quod ex reventi thermis calidus, grave quiescentibus erat: quoniam nimietate prœtorum, quæ gravi frigore adoleret, molibus jussit. Id. Euseb. *ibid.* See also Ammianus Marcellinus, *ibid.*

(54) See Valel. in Amm. Marcellinus, *ibid.*

(c) See the remark [B], towards the end.

(d) See Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxv, cap. viii.

(e) Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxv, cap. v.

(ec) Sozomen. Hist. Ecclef. lib. vi, cap. vi.

(cf) Suidas, ubi supra.

(cg) When he set fire to the city of Persepolis. See Quintus Curtius, lib. v, cap. viii.

(cs) See the remark [B], of the Dissertation concerning Libels at the end of this Dictionary.

(1) Bodin does not express himself well: Gohorri was only the translator of Amadis.

(2) Bodinus, in Methodo Histor. cap. iv, pag. m. 71.

(3) Thuan. lib. xi, sub fin. pag. m. 235.

(4) Vossius de Arte Histor. cap. ix, pag. 43.

than such as make him effeminate, very ignorant, and stupid (c); for he shewed his vigilance in preventing the tumults and competitions, which he feared the news of his election might raise in the western provinces of the empire (d). The measures he took for it were well concerted, though he could not hinder the true news of the ill condition of the east from coming before the false news he ordered to be spread every where, to conceal the advantages obtained by the Persians [F]. His father, who had left the service in order to live quietly in his house (e), had not time to rise to the dignity which was designed for him; he died before Jovian had executed his resolution of making him his colleague in the consulship (f). This dignity was conferred on a child (g), viz. Varronianus the son of Jovian and of Charis the daughter of Lucilianus (h). Jovian's reign was very short; for it lasted but eight months.

Obiit fœce quod intemperantius, ut quidam ajunt, cœnoverat, seu præ odore cubiculi (55). Have you observed Marcellinus's conjecture? He says, that Jovian would perhaps have corrected, by the consideration of his imperial dignity, his intemperance and lewdness. This is a judicious thought, tho' considering things in general, and according to experience, the sovereign power does not seem to be a good school of sobriety and continence for such as naturally love sensual pleasures: on the contrary, it seems much more proper to increase the disease than to cure it, the means of satisfying ones pleasures, being greater and more numerous. But if it be true, that excess in eating was the cause of the death of Jovian, and if what we read in Suidas be not fabulous, Marcellinus's conjecture is very doubtful. Suidas (56) relates, that Jovian, at the instigation of his wife, caused a very fine temple to be burnt, which Hadrian had consecrated to Trajan, and the library which the emperor Julian had set up in it. He adds that Jovian's concubines set fire to it, and laughed at it. This action is very much like the debauchery of Alexander (57) and Thais the courtesan.

[F] He could not hinder the true news from coming before the false news he ordered to be spread every where, to conceal the advantages obtained by the Persians. It is one of the most necessary artifices of policy to deceive the people with false relations, when there is no good news to tell them (58). It is a difficult thing, I confess, to stop the course of bad news, when it is but too true; but one must do what can be done, and Jovian did not forget that stratagem. 'Justum est autem ad implenda hæc perfectu-

ris, extollere seriem gestorum in melius, & rumores quaquà irent verbis diffundere, concinentibus prociuntum Particum exitu prospero terminatum (59). Hos tabellarios fama prægrediens, index trilitiorum casuum velocissima, per Provincias volitabat & gentes; maximèque omnium Nisibenos acerbo dolore percussit, cum urbem Saporì deditam comperisset (60). — It was but fit that thou who were concerned to bring these things about, should endeavour to give a better turn to the story of these transactions, and by dispersing artful rumors through the provinces, encourage the people to believe that affairs with the Parthians had been terminated with success. . . . But same, the quickest messenger of ill news, soon got the start of these carriers, and flew with them throughout the whole empire: the Nisibeniens were of all others struck with the sharpest grief, when they understood that their city was to be delivered up to Sapor.' These words of Marcellinus are remarkable, *fama index trilitiorum casuum velocissima*; They insinuate that fame never flies so swift, as when it has unlucky news to bring; and therefore it deserves with greater reason to be characterized as it has been.

Fama, malum quo non aliud velocius ullum: Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo (61).

Fame, the great ill, from small beginnings grows. Swift from the first; and every moment brings New vigour to her flights, new pinions to her wings. DRYDEN.

JOVIUS (PAUL) was born at Como in Italy, in 1483, got a great reputation by his writings, and the bishopric of Nocera (a); but he was looked upon as a mercenary writer; so that no great credit is given to his histories [A]. It is said, that he was

(f) See Valesius in Marcell. lib. xxv, cap. ult.

(g) Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. cap. x.

(h) Id. ibid. cap. viii, pag. m. 439.

(59) Ammian. Marcellin. ubi supra, cap. viii, pag. 439.

(60) Id. ibid. pag. 437.

(61) Virgil. Ænied. lib. iv, ver. 174.

(a) Pope Clement VII gave it him not

[A] No great credit is given to his histories.] James Gohorri made no scruple to say, that the adventures of Amadis de Gaul, may appear as true as the histories of Paul Jovius. 'Illud certe ad sempiternam memoriam tellatum reliquit Gorraeus Parisiensis, qui quas finxit (1) Amadis fabulas non minus veras ac probabiles quam Jovii scripta fore confidit (2). — Gohorri, a Parisian, has left it as a thing certain to posterity, that the fables framed by him concerning Amadis, had in them as much truth and probability, as was contained in Jovius's historical writings.' Thuanus has not made use of that hyperbole, but he says enough to let us know the esteem that writer was in. 'Cum aliqui homo gratiofus se passim obnoxium prodant, eoque nomine ipsi in plerisque rebus fides derogetur, quod ad gratiam & in odium scripsisse, & venalem calumiam habuisse fere omnibus persuasum sit (3). — When a man, otherwise in good esteem, lays himself open in many particulars, and falsifies almost every fact he relates, it is no wonder if most people are persuaded that he wrote out of passion and prejudice, and with a venal pen.' To which you may add the following passage of Vossius, who says that Paul Jovius had in some manner set up a bank: he promised an ancient genealogy, and an immortal glory, to all the scoundrels that paid him well for his pains, and he traduced all others who would not pay him for his lies. *Quam fluxæ etiam fidei patrum ævo fuit Paulus Jovius? quem constat in aula Henrici secundi quibusque terræ filiis bene de se merentibus generis claritatem ad perpetuum nomen pollicium: contraque maledice eos traduxisse qui venali historico morem non gererent* (4). We shall see in the following remark, from whence this is taken. He had offered his pen to

Don John III, king of Portugal; and because his offers were not accepted, he passed over in silence a victory of the Portuguese. Had he had a good salary for writing the history of Portugal, he would have forged imaginary victories, so far would he have been from suppressing the true one. He has been therefore justly cried down. The historian of Emanuel's life says thus. 'Victoria fuit præclara: quam tamen Paulus Jovius cum de Sultani classe hac in Indiam contra Lusitanos delata narraret, silentio suppressit, iratus videlicet, quod cum Lusitanæ historiæ scribendæ munus Joanni, hujus nominis tertio, Lusitanæ regi venale proponeret, rex optimus non illum muneribus Indiciis ad res Lusitanorum virtute gestas monimentis illustrandas invitavit (5). — This was a very famous victory, which however Paulus Jovius, writing of the great fleet of the Sultan's, sent into India against the Portuguese, passes over in silence, being angry that when he had made an offer to John III, king of Portugal, of hiring out his pen to celebrate the glory of his people, that great prince neglected, by Indian presents, to retain him for that purpose.' He has had the fate of all liars; he is hardly believed when he speaks truth. The worst of all is, that his lies have been more profitable to him, than the love of truth has been to sincere historians. This complaint of Bodin is very well grounded. 'Non quod multa non sint verè & elegantè ab eo scripta: sed hunc mendacii fructum tulit, ut etiam cum vera scribit, suspectus habeatur. Hoc tamen acerbius est ac indignius, quod cum historiam venalem prostituit, uberioris tulit mendacii fructus, quam quis alius vera scribendo (6). — Not but that there are many things truly and elegantly described in his writings, but then he reaps this fruit from his lying

(5) Osorius de Rebus Enmannuicis, lib. vi, fol. m. 179.

(6) Bodin, ubi supra, pag. 73.

not much ashamed to own it [B], and that he ingenuously confessed that he praised or blamed people according as his favour was cultivated or neglected. No Man did ever ask for presents with less reserve than he [C]. You will find in Moreri what Thuanus relates concerning this author's spite against Anne de Montmorenci. Brantome speaks of it more at large [D]. It is said, that Paul Jovius complained of having lost some books of his history in the sacking of Rome, only because he did not find it his interest to publish them. He was not accounted a man of good morals [E], and was charged with

being

^a lying, that he is suspected even when he tells truth.

^b Yet what is still more bitter and unworthy, though he

^c prostituted his pen in writing history, yet he got more

^d by telling lies, than another man would have done

^e by relating the bare truth. This man was not in

a capacity to write a good history, for when he could

say the truth, he had no mind to it, and when he had

a mind to it, he could not; he had no good memoirs,

except for the transactions in Italy. This is what Bodin

says, because Paul Jovius had not travelled, nor

been present at the events, but had attended the court

of the Popes for thirty seven years. Cum rumoribus

fidem habuerit, nec consilia principum nec conciones,

nec epistolae, nec res gestas, nec ulla publica monu-

menta viderit: sic tamen scribit quasi rebus interfuis-

set, nec ullum dubitationis locum relinquit. Quae igitur

verissime scribere potuit, noluit: puta res in Italia

gestas: quae voluit, non potuit; scilicet externa (7).—

^f As he gave credit to flying stories, and had no acquaint-

^g tance either with the councils of princes, speeches, epistles,

^h public transactions, or records, he yet writes as if he

ⁱ had perfectly known all things, and leaves no room for

^j doubt. What he could have written truly, he would

^k not, I mean the affairs of Italy: what he would, he

^l could not; that is, things done abroad. This to me

seems no impediment to his collecting good memoirs

about other countries. Besides, Paul Jovius boasts of

the sieges and battles he has seen, &c. (8). See, in

the remark [F], another passage of Bodin, and the

judgment of Justus Lipsius upon our author, whom he

taxes with an extreme partiality (§ a).

[§ a] James Gohorry has translated into French the

tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of Amadis, if his

work may be called a translation*, for he has added to

many things to the original, that he may be as much

accounted the author of these books, as the transla-

tor. To this the words of Bodin allude. REM. CRIT.]

[B] They say he was not much ashamed to own it.]

Bodin affirms, that Paul Jovius being asked, why he

told so many lies, and suppressed true events? answered,

that he did it in favour of his friends; that he

knew well enough, that the present age would give

no credit to his histories, but that posterity would

not doubt of what he said. Cum autem rogaretur cur

simularet falsa, vera dissimularet, amicorum gratia id à

se factum respondit: ac tametsi supersites intelligeret

suis scriptis fidem derogaturos, attamen intelligebat in-

finitas posteritati credibilia fore quae sibi suisque popula-

ribus laudem essent allatura (9). Some will have it

that he made answer: 'A hundred years hence there

will remain no proof to convict me of falsehood: and

therefore what shall be read in my history, will be

necessarily looked upon as true. Anzi mi vien detto,

che essendo biasimato il Giovio della infedeltà della sua

historia, egli la confessò, soggiungendo però, che si ricon-

fortava, sapendo, che dopo lo spazio di cento anni, non

vi sarà più alcuna memoria in contrario; onde veran-

no i posteri necessariamente à dare indubitata fede à suoi

scritti (10). Some say (11) he bragged that he had a

pen of gold, and another of iron, one for the princes

who were bountiful to him, and the other against

those princes from whom he received nothing. It is

said also, that he confessed, that the reason why he

suppressed the three books, where he spoke of An-

tony de Leva, was because that famous general made

him no present, and that he resolved an ungrateful

man should have no place in his work. Quis nescit

quanta fuerit virtus Antonii Levae Hispani ducis, ut

solus dicit, aut cum paucis Imperator appellari nostri tem-

poris possit: tamen nequissimus historicus (12), seu potius

fabulator, quod pecunias non dedisset, maluit totam cor-

rumperet historiam, tresque libros qui illi debebantur in-

termittere, ne (ut aiebat) ingratum infereret historiae

(13). It is said, that at the court of Henry II he promised

an illustrious genealogy to any one that would pay him

for it, and threatened to slander all those that should

cross him in his design of getting money. Paulus Jo-

vius, me puero, in aula Henrici secundi obscurissimo cui-

que claritatem generis mercede pollicebatur, maledicentia

ulturus qui ejus nundinationi aduersaretur (14). For

my part, I can scarce believe, that he confessed the

things I have been relating. I find he boldly declares,

that he printed his book in the life-time of the persons

concerned, because he does not fear to be convicted of

any falsehood, which he could not avoid, if he was not

a faithful historian (15).

[C] No man did ever ask for presents with less re-

serve than he.] His begging trade (16) puts me in

mind of that of Paul Jovius, who craved still more

openly and more meanly than he. I have read some

letters of his, which are admirable in that kind. In

some of which he protests, that if the cardinal de

Lorraine did not pay him his pension, he will say that

he is no longer of the rate of Godfrey, who gave

the archbishopric of Tyre to a pedant. In others,

he begs two horses of the Marquis of Pescara, and de-

sires him for that effect to strike the ground more

stoutly than Neptune did. In others, he desires a lady

to send some sweet-meats from Naples, because he be-

gins to be weary of eating new laid eggs, &c. (17).

[D] Thuanus relates the spite of Paul Jovius against

Anne de Montmorenci. Brantome speaks of it more at

large.] Though Brantome's passage be somewhat long,

I will give it intire. 'I have heard a great man say,

that he had seen in the first Latin impression of Paul

Jovius (I know not how true it is) a little touch,

wherein it is said, that at the very same time the

Grand Seigneur, Sultan Soliman, put to death his great

favourite Ibrahim Basha; the king of France put

out of his favour his great favourite, the constable

de Montmorenci: but why, says he, did he not he put

him to death; as the other did Ibrahim, or Hibraun

Basha? It was not, said he, but that he had as well

deserved it: (and hereupon he specified some imper-

tinences, that are not worth mentioning, and which

are false) but because this great king was good and

merciful, and the other was a cruel tyrant. I do not

know whether that Latin edition, has this; but this

gentleman affirmed it to me. This is not in the

French version, and no credit is to be given to it;

for the said Paul Jovius spoke it, if he did speak it,

as a passionate man, and dissatisfied with the Con-

stable, who, when he was recalled by king Henry,

and went about to regulate the king's household, as

it was his office, found among the pensioners of the

late king, a constant pension of five hundred crowns,

given to the said Paul Jovius, which he immediately

struck out, giving the king to understand, that it

was money ill employed, he being more in the Em-

peror's interest than in the French, and a great liar.

The said Paul understanding that his pension was

cut off, fell a babbling against the Constable, and rail-

ling bitterly against him. This it is to have to do

with a virulent tongue and pen, which, when pro-

voked, spare nothing. Some say that the Constable,

in the time of his disgrace, had read this, which this

spark had written rather to please the king, than for

any reason, as generally such writers are flatterers,

and time-servers for their belly's sake; and that there-

fore, when the Constable was recalled, he paid him

off, and had done worse, if he could have done it;

for it is a great trouble for a valiant and noble man,

like him, to be thus abused, and exposed by a writer,

without any reason (81). Some say, that Jovius's

spite proceeded only from his not obtaining some things

which he impudently asked of the Constable. Quod

quidem experius est Annas Mommorantius Comes Stabuli

Franciae traductus à venali historico, non aliam ob rem

quam quod nescio quid impudenter petens, repulsum tulisset (19). I shall observe by the bye, that Francis I. had

no reason to repent the pension he gave Paul Jovius;

for he appeared in the writings of his pensioner more

like a conqueror than a conquered prince. It is said,

that Charles V made that complaint (20).

[E] He was not accounted a man of good morals.]

Cardan taxes him with leudness. 'Hic nosse histori-

cus,

(14) Joseph Scaliger, Epist. de Vetus. Gentis Scaliger, pag. 3. *Paulus, without doubt, took from these what he says above, c. 15.*

(15) Absolutè tandem opere id in publicum edere non dubitavit, in vino hercle incorrupta veritatis argumeto: quandoquidem plerique eorum, qui hac bello puerque gesserant, alicui vivant, ac idcirco gravi exultationis nunc cum periculo mentis temere relinere possint. *Justus, Prefat. Historia ad Cosmum Medicum.*

(16) That is of a man, whom Buzae calls John James. He means the same person, who made Mr. Peiret's Funeral Oration at Rome.

(17) Balzac's ninth letter to Chapelain, book iii, pag. m. 114.

(18) Brantome, Elog. de François I, in the first Tom. of his Memoirs, pag. 218.

(19) Joseph Scaliger, ubi supra.

(20) Cum aliquando Cicerio nosse legeret victoriam quam de Gallis habuerat, dixit profecto non memisset Gallorum Regis victoriam hic scripta, in-dicam, ex pecuniis accepta à Rege quanta mendacia infunderet Historiam. *Cardanus, in Apologia Neronis.*

(7) Id ibid.

(8) See the epistle dedicatory of his history.

* See the epistle dedicatory of his translation of the sixteenth book.

(9) Bodin, ubi supra, pag. 73.

(10) Stefano Guazzo della Civil Conversatione, lib. ii, pag. m. 242.

(11) Teissier, Addit. to the Elog. Tom. I, pag. 67.

(12) Paul. Jovius.

(13) Cardanus in Apolog. Neronis.

being very remiss in reciting his breviary. His style was bright, but not historical or correct enough [F]. His insincerity is not the only fault he is censured for in his histories (b), which of all his works is that he has taken most pains in [G]. It cannot be denied

(b) See the remark [F].

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) That is, more admirable than the historians whom Cardan had before named, and taxed with several vices.

* Quispe Hermaphroditus.

(23) These words are thus printed in my edition: I think the word *inter* has been left out.

(24) In Museo Historico, pag. 7.

(25) Scaligeriana prima, p. m. 95.

(26) Rolandus Marefius, Epist. xli, lib. 1, pag. m. 184.

(27) Lipsius Not. ad 1. lib. Politic. cap. ix, pag. m. 218.

cus, says he (21), admirandus profecto magis aliis (22) qui tametsi fenex, parum abfuit, quin pepererit. Sed & id detestabilis, quod cum esset etiam Antistes, gaudebat numerari (23) procos adolescentulos. — Our historian was certainly to be admired more than the others, who, though he was old, wanted little of bringing forth. And what is yet more detestable, when he was even risen to the rank of a prelate, he delighted in being reckoned among brisk strikers. Cardan's marginal note has something very strange in it, which is, that Paul Jovius was * an Hermaphrodite. Imperialis (24) owns that this author was accused of leading a licentious life, and of being very negligent in his prayers, and in repeating his Breviary.

[F] His style was bright, but not historical or correct enough. Scaliger speaks thus of it. Paulus Jovius mendacissimus & Guicciardini inferior, nimis affectato & luxuriante stylo, potius quam castigato utens (25). — Paulus Jovius, a flagrant liar, and inferior to Guicciardini, using an affected and luxuriant rather than a pure style. Roland Marefius speaks of it with the utmost contempt, and even says it is full of barbarisms. Quantum sentio, says he (26), non bonus est historiarum scriptor (Paulus Jovius) nec judicio satis valet: qui si vernacule scripsisset, nullo in numero haberetur. Latinus enim sermo quasi fucus quidam labes illius multas contigit: qui prima specie elegans videtur, nam belle sonat, & quibusdam imponit, mihi non item. Vix enim Latinus est, certe minime purus, totusque idiotismis scatet; nihil fere proprie effert, sed perumque *αεὶ αὖτις* loquitur, nec pene ulla vox est sine epitheto. — For my part, I take him to be no good writer of history, and of a very indifferent judgment, who, if he had wrote in his own language, would not have been at all regarded, for the Latin tongue, like a kind of varnish, covers a great many of his faults, in as much as at first sight it seems elegant, because it sounds well, which imposes upon many, but not upon me. For after all it is scarce Latin, far from being pure, every where abounding with idiotisms; hardly any thing properly expressed, too much circumlocution every where, and scarce a word without an epithet tacked to it. They are two very competent judges, and therefore it is somewhat strange that Liplius should speak so much in praise of Jovius's style. Must we not conclude from it, that the taste of the best critics is not uniform upon a subject, about which there ought to be no different opinions? Those who know the rules of eloquence, and of the art of history, ought to agree, either in praising or condemning the style of a writer. But let us see what character Liplius gives of Paul Jovius (27). Paulus Jovius multorum judicia magis acerba quam libera experitur. Acriter valde in virum eunt. Ego de eo sic cenfeo, stilo bonum graveque esse & plane ad historiam: judicio ac fide ambiguum. Ubi affectus non distrahunt, rectum, ubi illi adfunt, obnoxium. Ad gratiam scilicet se dat & auram. Laudationum nec caussam saepe habet, nec modum. Gentis suae, Vastii, Medicis nimis ex professo addictus. His quidem ita ut Laurentium Medicen parricidii reum velut apud iudices agat. Orationibus quoque aut frigidis interdum, aut ineptis. Laudandus tamen legendusque ob multiplicem & variam rerum seriem, quas redegit compositae & dilucide in unum historiarum corpus (28). — Paul Jovius has met rather with severe than free censures from many. They are generally too angry with the man. My judgment of him is this, his style is good, solemn, and fit for history: his judgment and his credit doubtful. Where his passions do not draw him aside, he writes truth, where they intermix, he is not to be defended, for he gave himself up to acquire favour and applause. His panegyrics have very often, neither justice, nor measure. To his own nation, and to the house of Medicis, too much, and too professedly addicted. This appears clearly from his defending Laurence de Medicis, though a parricide, as if before the judges. His orations are frequently cold, or little to the purpose. However, he is to be commended and read for the sake of that multiplicity of matters which he has reduced into a regular series, and digested neatly, and clearly into a history. Liplius's observation concern-

ing the cold and impertinent harangues that Paul Jovius has inserted in his history, puts me in mind of Bodin, who laughs at him for making soldiers speak like scholars declaiming in the schools: 'Præsertim in concionibus, epistolis, fœderibus, decretis quæ Jovius pro arbitratu fingit, in quo tamen decorum ita confudit, ut imperiti milites ipsius Alciati sui laudatoris judicio, declamatores scholastici esse videantur (29). (29) Bodin, ubi In speeches, epistles, leagues, decrees especially, which Jovius feigns at pleasure, he shows so little regard to decorum, that even ignorant soldiers, in the opinion of Alciatus, his panegyrist, declaim like scholars. I am persuaded that my readers will be pleased to see here Alciatus's own words, which Bodin goes upon. Id à te præcipue desiderabam, ut ad illud quod Græci *ωρέων* vocant, non absurdè responderes. Sicuti in ea oratione animadvertēbam, quæ à Marconio gregario milite, ad legiones jam planè confternatas & ad seditionem spectantes habebantur, quum Solymano Pannoniæ finibus excedente, Carolus Cæsar Vienna profectus in Italiam rediret. In ea liquidem concione omnes artis nervos numerosque ita expressisti, ut ille Marconius nequaquam ab aratro Volaterrani agri ad signa vocatus, sed ex schola Ciceronis & Hermogenis ad suggestum raptus esse videatur, quum passim exactæ eloquentiæ schemata interniteant, quæ peroranti turbam parère coegerint (30). — This especially I would put you in mind of that you offend not against what the Greeks call Decorum, as I observed to you in regard to that speech which you have put into the mouth of Marconius, a common soldier, and addressed to his fellows when the legions were about to mutiny on Sultan Solymans's passing the boundaries of Pannonia, when the emperor Charles leaving Vienna returned to Italy. For in that harangue all the art, strength, and harmony of Rhetoric, are so expressed, that this Marconius, instead of seeming to have been taken from the plow at Volaterra, appears rather to have been forced from the school of Cicero and Hermogenes to mount the pulpit: all the beauties of an exact eloquence glittering in his discourse, and as it were compelling the people to fall in with the sentiments of so excellent a speaker.

Note, that these words of Liplius, Laurentium Medicen parricidii reum velut apud iudices agat, have been thus translated by Mr Teissier (31), He vindicates Laurence de Medicis from the crime of parricide, as if he was pleading for him before his judges. Paul Jovius doth just the contrary; he pleads as the advocate of this Laurence's accuser would do (32). Doubtless Mr Teissier thought, that the great Laurence de Medicis is here meant, who was the patron of the learned in the XVth century; but this concerns another Laurence, who assassinated Alexander de Medicis in the year 1537.

[G] His history is of all his works that which he has taken most pains in. It is the first work he composed, and the last he published. He formed the design of it in the year 1515, and continued the execution of it all his life. He took for his subject all that happened in his own time all over the world, beginning at the year 1494, which was that in which the French conquered Naples under Charles VIII. This history contains forty five books, and reaches to the year 1544. But there is a considerable chasm from the nineteenth book to the twenty fourth, inclusively (33). Those six books, which reached from the death of Leo X, to the sacking of Rome in 1527, contain but a short summary of the events. He lost in the sacking of Rome, what he had composed upon that part of his history (34), and he would neither do it again, nor finish what was wanting. He was diverted from it chiefly for two reasons: one was, that he would have incurred the terrible anger of some people; the other was, that he would not exercise his pen upon a subject that was ignominious to Italy. Peritos medicos ne clide nonnulli imitatus, carcinomata desperatæ curationis, quæ si autrectes, & acri medicamine lacessas, in immensum furere, & pestifera edacique serpentine mortem afferre solent, naturæ relinquenda, necue his ullo pasto mātum admoventum judicavi. Quamobrem existimationi salutique meæ consulens, diræ tempestatis materiam, tanquam abominabilis impique operis, mē

(28) La Popeliniere Hist. des Histoires, liv. vii, pag. 403, without mentioning Liplius, but only translated this, giving his judgment about Paul Jovius: Nay, he did not understand these words laudationum nec caussam saepe habet, nec modum: for he renders them thus, he observes neither the causes nor the means in his praises.

(33) Note, that there is also a chasm from the fourth book to the tenth, inclusively. See his address at the end of the fourth book.

(34) Fatali illa sub Clemente VII, utis interfecti that was ignominious to Italy. Peritos medicos ne clide nonnulli imitatus, carcinomata desperatæ curationis, quæ si autrectes, & acri medicamine lacessas, in immensum furere, & pestifera edacique serpentine mortem afferre solent, naturæ relinquenda, necue his ullo pasto mātum admoventum judicavi. Quamobrem existimationi salutique meæ consulens, diræ tempestatis materiam, tanquam abominabilis impique operis, mē

Y O L. III.

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mē

(c) Reusner, in
Diaz's Histor.
pag. 185.

nied that this author was a man of parts, and that we find in his books many curious things. He died the eleventh of December 1552 (c) at Florence; whither he had retired very much discontented with the court of Rome, because he could not obtain the bishopric of Como [H]. He had a brother called BENEDICTUS JOVIUS, who

(35) Jovius,
Præfat. Tom. II,
Historiarum.

‘mè attingendam arbitratum sum, quando hæc adversæ fortunæ accepta vulnera, insanæque nostræ detrimenta, non modo non prodenda posteris, sed pro virili occultanda esse videantur: Ea liquidem, quæ Italianum nomen dedecorent, neque memoria recoli sine dolore, neque sine uberrimis lachrymis scribi, nec sine flagitio pudoreque posteris enarrari queunt (35).

‘I have learned to imitate those skillful Physicians, who say of Cancers desperate, and beyond the reach of cure, that if you handle them, and apply sharp medicines, they will grow excessively painful, and spreading with a pestiferous corrosion are wont to bring on death; and consequently ought to be left to nature, and by no means to be meddled with. Wherefore considering my character and my health, I am determined to pass over that unhappy subject, which (as an abominable and impious work whereby others received wounds from our madness) ought instead of being transmitted to future times to be studiously concealed: such things as would reflect dishonour on the Italian name, I cannot bring back to my memory without pain, or write without shedding a flood of tears, nor without a mixture of wickedness and shame can be delivered to posterity.’ We have seen above

(36) In remark
[B].

(36), that this chasm has been much reflected upon to his dishonour. It is a remarkable thing, that though he had alleged these two reasons as a very good apology, yet in the following page he promised to publish in a little time, that part which was wanting to his history. ‘Quod si mihi quanquam pedibus capto, atque adeo graviter feneſcenti. Deus magnus fatalis horæ spatium extendat, perpetua procul dubio lucubratione enitar, ut totum id quod in clade urbis ereptum, vel à me postea contumaci quadam indignatione prætermisum fuit, non diu à bonis mortalibus desideretur (37). — But if notwithstanding my lameness and the heavy load of encreasing old age, the almighty GOD shall be pleased to put off my last hour, I shall without doubt employ my pen continually, that whatever I lost in the sacking of Rome, or has been since then, with a kind of obstinate indignation by me concealed, shall no longer be desired in vain by good men.’ Besides, he tells us, that he has filled up that chasm, with the particular lives he has published. The preface from whence I have taken these particulars, was written at Pisa the first of May, 1552. It is the Epistle Dedicatory of the second volume of his history. The author died in December following, and had not the satisfaction of seeing the third and last volume out of the press. He caused his work to be printed at Florence. For the rest, he who says that it was the first work that Paul Jovius composed, is wretchedly confounded in his calculations. He says, that the author began to write it in the year 1515, when he was about thirty years of age, and that he died being near seventy five years old, and that during the thirty seven years, that he spent upon it, his fortune was very much unsettled. ‘Cum enim anno à nato CHRISTO qui numerabatur MDXV. ætatis autem suæ circa trigefimum, ea quæ post annum MCDXCIV, per totum orbem terrarum gesta essent, atque se vivo gererentur, animo complexus fuisset, illud Historiæ opus, omnium suorum primum exorsus fuit, licet omnium postremum illud ediderit, eique quinque ferme annis septuagenario major immortuus est. Triginta itaque illis ac septem annis quibus historiam concinnavit, varia & ipse fortuna (uti fieri solet) jactatus JOVIUS (38). — For as

(38) Basil. Joh.
Heroldus, ubi
supra.

‘in the year 1515, from the birth of CHRIST, and in the thirtieth of his own age, he resolved in his own mind to write the history of things which happened throughout the whole world, from the year 1494, or were transacted in his life-time. He made this work the first he ever entered on, though he published it the last, and died soon after almost seventy five. Thirty seven years therefore which he spent in writing this history, brought (as is usual) many turns and changes in the affairs even of Jovius himself.’ We may reckon here three faults. I. A man that is employed in a thing from his thirtieth to his seventy fourth year, labours at it forty four, and not thirty seven years. II. Paul Jovius dying in the year 1552,

lived not above seventy four years, if it be true that in 1515, he was not above thirty: he would have lived but sixty seven years, or thereabouts. III. Paul Jovius's epitaph (39) gives him sixty nine years, seven months, and twenty two days: it is not therefore true that he lived near seventy five years, and it is speaking inaccurately to say, that he was about thirty years of age in 1515.

I shall occasionally observe, that the book *De Pijetibus Romanis*, is the first that Jovius published (40). He dedicated it to Cardinal Lewis de Bourbon. The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from the Vatican, the twenty ninth of March 1524. He then proposed to himself, a thing which he did not execute, which was speedily to put to the press the first deced of his history. *Exibit in publicum propædium hujusmodi laboriosissimi operis prima decas, non sine aliqua spe immortalitatis* (41).

Alcyonius commends it in a book which was printed in the year 1522; but this ought not to serve for a proof of it's being printed; he might mention it, as having read it in manuscript. These are his words. ‘Quam etiam scribendi laudem, felicissimè consecutus est Paulus Jovius tuus, in ea decade, qua res omnes complexus est, quæ toto terrarum orbe gellæ sunt, postquam Carolus VIII. Rex Galliarum cum Maximis Copiis transgressus Alpeis tranquillum Italiæ Statum perturbavit, & prima funestissimorum in Italia Bellorum jecit semina. Historia enim hujus Clarissimi Scriptoris, omnes Elegantiæ flores, omnia Eloquentiæ lumina habet, & mira Orationis Claritate splendescit (usque eo omnia ornate narratur) & regiones aut pugnæ admirabiliter describuntur, & conciones hortationesque prudenter & gravissime interponuntur. Denique illius auctor, varietate, evagationibus, amplificationibus, digressionibus non minus præstantis Historici quam eximii Oratoris laude, ab omnibus decorari debet (42). — Which art of writing your

Paul Jovius has most happily reached in that Decade, wherein he comprehends the history of whatever happened throughout the world, after Charles VIII. king of France, passing the Alps with a great army, first disturbed the peace of Italy, and scattered the seeds of those unhappy wars which so long rent that country. For the history of this most excellent writer abounds with all the flowers of elegance, all the lustre of eloquence, and shines with wonderful clearness of expression (every thing being so exquisitely related) countries and battles so admirably described, speeches and languages so prudently, and with such propriety, inserted. In a word, this author for his Variety, his Epitaphs, Amplifications and Digressions, deserves from every one to be no less commended as an Orator, than admired as an Historian.’

[H] He could not obtain the bishopric of Como.] This appears from a letter which Andrew Alciatus wrote to him (43). It is dated from Pavia, the seventh of October 1549, and is an answer to a letter, which Paul Jovius had wrote to him to acquaint him with his discontent, and design of leaving Rome, and betaking himself to Florence. ‘Scribis te gravi injuria peremptum, Urbe (quod nunquam fieri posse putaram) propædium excessurum, ne diutius acceptæ contumeliæ deformis testis in ea aula specteris, in qua per multos annos (uti mihi videtur) cum auræ mediocritatis bonis planè beatus, tum studiorum tuorum Autoritate clarus hæcenus fuisti. Mirum profectò videri potest, quod tibi doctrinæ ac ætatis honore majora promerito, in petitione Pontificatus patriæ tuæ Paulus Pontifex quandam prætulit. At quem hominem? qui Comi neque natus, neque unquam visus sit, & qui (sicut à multis audio) ex arcanis cubiculi foribus in lucem repente sit productus. — You write to me, that, moved by a heavy injury done you, you have thoughts of leaving Rome (a thing I thought would never have come to pass) that you may not remain an uneasy witness of the wrong done you in that court where (as I apprehend) you have for many years enjoyed the blessings of a golden mediocrity, as well as a just respect flowing from the importance of your studies. I am therefore, I confess, surprized that to a person, who, like you, has both learning and years to

(39) Apud Paulum Freherum, Theatr. pag. 1454. & apud Pope Blount, Conf. Author. pag. 44, ubi, instead of twenty two days, there is twelve days. Thuanus l. vii. twenty two.

(40) Herold, ubi supra, who tells us in what order the several books of that author were published.

(41) Jovius, Epist. Dedic. libri de Pijetibus.

(42) Petrus Alcyonius in Mælicæ Legatio posterius, pag. 103, Edit. Grotii. 1624.

(43) It is referred to Paul Jovius's History.

who wrote some books [I]. There was one PAUL JOVIUS, who in the council of Trent, gave his opinion in a curious manner upon the question concerning Residence [K].

I must not forget that our Paul Jovius has been blamed for giving too much credit to astrological predictions, and such like superstitions [L]. His elogies of illustrious men have

'plead in his favour, Pope Paul should prefer another to be bishop in your country. And who is he that he has thus preferred? One neither born nor known at Como, but one (as I have been told by many) who from the dirty privacies of a bed-chamber, has been brought on a sudden to make a figure in the world.' This is well enough; this is speaking freely enough of the holy father, he is not much better used in what follows: *'Quis in hoc Pontificem ἀμυστοῦργον non judicet: non enim hostis bonarum literarum & plane ferreus esse non potest qui te gravissimarum rerum scriptorem intempestive contempserit . . . Dices te indigne deceptum ab inveterati astus sene principe, qui blandis promissis vota tua honeste concepta inique fefellerit. — Who will not look on this Pope as a foe to the Muses, for can he be other than an enemy to literature, and a person of a stubborn disposition, who could so unseasonably condemn a person like you, who have written on the most important affairs. . . . You will say you have been unworthily deceived by the thorough-paced cunning of an old prince, who with fair promises beguiled those wiser you had honestly conceived.'* I am afraid Thuanus is guilty here of a mistake; he pretends that it was Clement VII who refused Paul Jovius the bishopric of Como, and that his refusal drew upon him some reflections in the books of that historian. *'Cum ad Novocomensem Episcopatum omnibus votis anheleret, suaeque erga Mediceam familiam, in cujus laudes profusus fuerat, observantiae deberi id meritum fiducia putaret, tamen ab eo obtinere non potuit: quod in causa fuisse plerique credunt, cur Clementem in Historiis avaritiae & tenacitatis infamulet (44). — As he earnestly desired to be promoted to the bishopric of Como, and confidently believed it due to his merit for the praises which he had so profusely bestowed on the house of Medicis, but for all that mis-carried in his suit, some have imagined that on this account he taxes Pope Clement in his history with covetousness and want of generosity.'*

(44) Thuan. lib. 21, pag. 235.

[I] He had a brother called BENEDICTUS JOVIUS, who wrote some books. He was Paul's elder brother, and proved a kind of a father to him; it was he that educated him, and instructed him, and encouraged him to be an author; for having shewn him two of his works, viz. the history of Como, and a treatise of the actions and manners of the Swisses, he excited in him the desire of writing a General History. He led a very quiet and retired life, in the place of his birth, which he never left but to go to Milan to hear the lectures of a Greek professor. He had learned that language of himself: but he desired to learn to pronounce it, which was the occasion of his only journey. He lived seventy three years in perfect health and vigour of body and mind. He designed a century of letters full of learning for the public; and his sons were to have the care of publishing them, with some other compendiums which he left them, some translations from the Greek, and some pieces of poetry (45). Their uncle expected this from their diligence (46), but I think there was nothing of this author printed besides some Latin poems.

(45) Sed hæc & Græcæ traductionis non ignobilis opera cum lepidis poematibus eruditiorum liberorum diligentia nobilitavit. P. Jovius, Elog. cap. cvi.

We are not to believe that PAUL JOVIUS, Junior, whereof many Latin verses are to be seen in the elogies which our Paul Jovius composed, was Benedict Jovius's son. He was nephew to JULIUS JOVIUS, who was made coadjutor to his uncle (47) in the bishopric of Nocera, the twenty first of August, 1551, and was bishop of that place after him. Paulus Jovius junior, a good Poet, was made coadjutor to his uncle, Julius Jovius, in the same bishopric, the twenty ninth of November, 1560, and was his successor there. He kept that see twenty five years, and died in the year 1585 (48). I have said elsewhere (49), that Paul Jovius was no Poet.

(46) Taken from Paul Jovius, cap. cvi, of his Elogia of Learned Men.

(47) That is, to our Paul Jovius.

(48) Taken from Ugheili, Ital. Sacra, Tom. VII, pag. 746.

(49) In the article of H. A. DRIAN VI, remark [D].

[K] One PAUL JOVIUS gave his opinion in a curious manner upon the question concerning residence. One of my friends, who heard me say all that I remembered of our Paul Jovius, represented to me, that

I had forgot the most curious circumstance. He was, said he, one of the fathers of the council of Trent; and having no skill in Divinity, for he had been a Physician before he was made a bishop, and never interrupted his study of human learning, I believe he did not distinguish himself in that assembly, when he was to give his opinion upon any point of doctrine. He had a great interest, not to suffer that the residence of bishops should be declared to be of divine right. This assertion so warmly maintained by some of the deputies, did not please him. He opposed it with reasons taken from experience; he shewed, that the dioceses, in which residence was observed, were no less disorderly than others (50); and he influenced upon the city of Rome. This friend shewed me immediately the 470th page of Father Paul, where I find what follows. *'If the absence of the prelates was the true cause of abuses, we should see less corruption in the churches, where the bishops have resided in our time. For this hundred years the Popes have continually kept at Rome, and taken great care to have the people instructed; and yet after all, we do not see that city better governed. The capital cities of kingdoms, where the bishops have always resided, are more corrupted than some wretched places that have not seen their bishops for a hundred years. And none of the ancient prelates, that are present here, and have always resided (for there are some such) can shew us, that his diocese is better ordered, than those of his neighbours, who never resided. They who say that those churches are sheep without a shepherd, ought to consider that curates have the charge of souls as well as bishops; and yet these are only spoken of, as if there could be no true Christians, but where there are bishops. Some people in the mountains, who never saw one in their lives, might serve for a pattern to episcopal cities. We ought to praise and imitate the zeal and conduct of the fathers of this council under Paul, who have decreed some penalties against the prelates, to oblige them to residence, and have begun to remove the impediments, which kept them from their churches. Rather than flatter ourselves with a vain hope, that residence will produce the reformation of the church, we ought to fear, that as we design at present to enforce residence, the inconveniences (51) which will arise from it, may oblige our successors to apply to them the remedy of absence (52).'* I easily undeceived my friend, by telling him, that the writer of the history of that council speaks of one Paul Jovius, bishop of Nocera, in the year 1562 (53), ten years after the death of Paul Jovius, who is the subject of this article.

[L] He has been blamed for giving too much credit to Astrological predictions, and such like superstitions. Martin del Rio having mentioned some things, which seem to prove, that Chiromancy and Astrology can reveal futurities, adds: *'Unus ista omnia narrat Jovius, nec usquequaque indubitata fidei historicus, nec satis à superstitionis & gentiliæ ne dicam opinionibus, saltem locutionibus, alienus (54). — Jovius only has told us all these things, an historian not deserving credit in 470.*

'always of credit, nor far enough removed from the belief of the superstitions and opinions of the Gentiles at least in his expressions.' He had before blamed him for having some respect for a remark of Amnionancy. This is the name they give to the art of divining by the inspection of the membrane Amnios, wherewith a child is wrapped up in it's mother's womb.

Sed & Jovius ne quid superstitionis omittit, nimis hujusmodi vanitatibus pro Episcopo deditus, in Ferdinandi Davali nativitate (lib. 1. Pifarrii) hujusmodi pelle involutum ex utero proditiæ consideravit (55). — But Jovius also that he might not omit any superstition, being, for a bishop, too much addicted to such vanities, informs us (speaking of the birth of Ferdinand Davali) that he came from the womb, wrapped in such a membrane as this. This membrane commonly breaks when the child is born, but sometimes it

(50) Compare with this what Benintome says in a passage which I have quoted in the remark [N] of the article FRANCIS I, to which you may add these words of Mezerai's Chronological Abridgement, pag. 434, of the sixth volume. They were ordered by a decree of parliament to go and discharge their duty in their bishopricks; otherwise they should be compelled to it by a seizure of their goods and equipage. But most of them lived such disorderly lives, that perhaps their absence was less scandalous than their residence would have been.

(51) He pretends that if residence was declared to be of divine right, the bishops would forsake their obedience to the Popes, and the priests their obedience to the bishops.

(52) Fra-Paolo, Hist. du Concile de Trente, lib. ann. 1562, of Amnion's translation. See pag. 10, of the Italian

(53) It is Paulus Jovius junior: I spoke of him above, towards the end of the remark [I].

(54) In Elogiis.

(55) Mart. del Rio, Disquis. Magicæ lib. 1. cap. 11. Quest. 1, pag. 278.

(56) Idem. ibid. cap. 11. Quest. 1, pag. 277.

(d) Balzac,
Differtat. à Dom
André de Saint
Denis, *at the end*
of his Socrate
Chrétien, pag.
m. 174.

(e) Henry Stephens. Vide *Crenium Animadv.* Parte V, pag. 163.

have been thought *too sharp and too biting* (d), but sometimes they are too flattering. See the censure that a learned critic (e) passed upon him in his dialogue *De bene instituendis Græcæ Linguae Studiis*. George Sabinus complains, that Jovius in his histories is injurious to the Protestants of Germany, and particularly to Sigismund II, elector of Brandenburg. Consult the letter that George Sabinus wrote to John Sleidan the first of September 1556 (f).

It is necessary to enlarge a little upon what I have said of the first work that he published [M].

(f) It is the last of those that have been printed with George Sabinus's Poems, pag. 419, & seq. Edit. Lips. 1606. See also Crenii, Animadvers. Part. VI, pag. 209.

(56) See Mr Dre-
lincourt's treatise,
of which an ex-
tract is given in
the *Nouvelles de
la Republ. des
Lettres*, for July
1683, art. xi,
pag. 815.

is preserved whole, and this is taken for a sign of good fortune: whence comes this proverb, *il est né coiffe*; (56) (*he was wrapped up in his mother's smock*). Paul Jovius curiously observed this circumstance in the nativity of the marquis of Pescara; and we have just now seen how he was censured for it by Martin del Rio. I add another proof of his fondness for Astrology. Having said that these happened revolutions of religion all the world over towards the beginning of the XVIIth century, he ascribes it to the influence of the stars. I will tell this story in the words of Florimond de Remond, because they will acquaint us with a little trick of a translator. 'Almost at the same time, says Jovius, that Ismael possessed the empire of the Persians, and changed the religion, mixing it with a new Mahometan superstition, there arose in Germany under the conduct of Luther that monstrous Heresy, which designed to destroy the Catholic religion, and all that antiquity had received, as the people had done in Persia, bigotted with their new follies and superstitions. Whereupon, says he, I freely acknowledge that it came to pass by a secret power of heaven, and a malignant influence of the stars, that at the same time, all the religions in the universe began to change; since not only the Mahometans, but also the Christians, nay the idolatrous nations that are remotest from us, both in the East-Indies, and in the new world lately discovered in the West, fell into new religions and opinions. This is what the Latin Jovius says. But in the French translation the insincerity of the translator is remarkable; who passes over in silence all that Jovius says of this change of religions, and of that monstrous Lutheran Heresy that sprung up in Saxony: this went to the heart of him. With what faithfulness do they handle the holy and sacred books, who can thus lame, without any shame, the historians that are but just come into the world, only to suppress one word which touches Luther the father of all the Heresies that disturb Christendom (57).' Florimond de Remond cites the thirteenth book of Paul Jovius's history, where I find in *fol. 239 verso* of the Strasbourg edition 1556, that which follows: 'Nec multo post exarsit in Germania aethore Luthero dira heresis, quæ populis, ut in Perside acciderat, ad infaniam versus, Christiani dogmatis placita, & veteris sacrorum ritus vehementissimè conturbavit. Ita ut facile crediderim ab oculis cæli potestate, malignoque siderum concursu provenisse, ut religiones toto ter-

'ratur orbe enatis factionibus, uno tempore scinde-
 rentur, quoniam Mahometani modo Christianique,
 sed & remotissimæ gentes idololatras, aut sydera aut
 portenta pro Diis venerantes, cum in India quæ ad
 'Orientem vergit, tum in Novo orbe ad Occiduum
 'plagam reperto, novas sacrorum opiniones induerint.'
 I know no other French translator of Paul Jovius's
 general history besides Denys Sauvage. Was he a
 Protestant? And would he be guilty of the fraud
 which Florimond de Remond objected to the Re-
 formed?

[M] *It is necessary to enlarge a little upon what I have said of the first work that be published.* I have said (58), I. that it was the treatise de *Piscibus Romanis*; II. that he dated the epistle dedicatory of it the twenty sixth of March 1524; in the third place, that he then proposed to put immediately to the press the first decade of his history. With regard to the first of these facts, I have quoted Herodotus, who has expressly said, *illud (scriptum) quod omnium primum edidit de Piscibus Romanis*. — That piece which be published the FIRST OF ALL HIS WORKS concerning the Roman fishes. The second fact stood in no need of proof; every one may see it at the bottom of the epistle dedicatory; and I have proved the third by a passage of Paul Jovius. I have raised an objection to myself taken from Alcyonius affirming, in a work printed in the year 1522, that he had seen this historian's first decade. I have answered it as well as I could; but here is a new difficulty. Calcagnini informs us in a letter written from Rome under the Pontificate of Leo X (59), that Paul Jovius's first decade was published. * Paulus Jovius . . . tam luculentem, tam doctam, tam elegantem scribit nobis temporis historiam, cujus decem libros JAM EDIDIT ut pudeat me de homine tam disertum tam indiferte scribere (60) — *Paul Jovius writes the history of our time so clearly, so learnedly, and so elegantly, ten books of which he has ALREADY PUBLISHED, that I am ashamed to write with so little eloquence concerning so eloquent a writer.* If Calcagnini has good reason to say, that this first decade was printed, Paul Jovius would be guilty of the error charged upon me. It would be in vain to alledge that the date of the epistle dedicatory of the treatise de *Piscibus Romanis* has been altered by the Printers; for it is certain, however it be, that this epistle was written under Clement VII, who was created Pope in the month of November 1523.

(58) See the re-
mark [G], to-
wards the end.

(59) He died in
the year 1521.

(60) Calcagninus,
Epist. ad Jacob.
Zieglerum, in
Collectione Colo-
mesiana Clari-
orum Virorum
Epistol. pag. 234.

(57) Florimond
de Remond,
Histoire de l'He-
refie, livr. i,
cap. iv, pag. m.
24.

(a) Taken from
Valerius Andr.
in Topographia
Belgica, pag. 43,
44.

(b) Ipra coloran-
dis gens pruden-
tissima lanis.
Will. Britto
Philippid. l.b. ii.

IPRES or YPRES, an episcopal town in the earldom of Flanders, has its name from a river that runs through it. It was at first only a castle. The Normans having destroyed it, count Baudouin the second of the name, ordered it to be repaired in the year 880. Count Arnol fortified it in 901, and count Baudouin III. enlarged it many years after. New additions were made to it from time to time; so that in the year 1473, the town of Ipres included within its wall 1173 measures, each whereof was fourteen geometrical feet. It was besieged by the inhabitants of Ghent, and by the English, in the year 1373, for the space of nine weeks. Its stone walls were built in the year 1388, by the consent of Philip the bold (*a*). The manufactures and dying of wool were in good perfection there at the end of the XIIth century, as appears by the testimonies of, Guilelmus Britto (*b*). The French took it in the year 1648, and lost it the year following. They retook it in 1658, and restored it to the Spaniards by the Pyrenean treaty. They retook it once more in the year 1678, and the Spaniards gave it up to them by the treaty of peace concluded at Nimegen the same year. The disputes of Janfenism have rendered the name of the town of Ipres famous; Janfenius being scarce ever mentioned without observing that he was bishop of that town. The relation betwixt that town and the controversies of the Janfenists with the Jesuits, is by this means known to all the world; and hence doubtless came that witty fancy of forging a pretended letter of the

king to Mr Arnauld [A], dated from the camp before Ipres in 1678. Several copies of this letter were handed about; and I remember that several persons, who were thought to have a very good judgment, found it ingenious: It was ascribed to Mr Rose secretary of the cabinet. I do not believe it has been printed, and therefore I am willing to publish it.

[A] A pretended letter of the king . . . to Mr Arnauld.] Here it is according to the copy I took of it, at the time it went about as a piece intirely new.

A letter of the king to Mr Arnauld on the siege of Ipres.

‘Monsieur Arnauld. We are going to begin a siege, in which you might do us much service with your interest. I have five propositions to make to the gentlemen of Ipres. The first is, that I am come into Flanders to do good to every body. The second that the command I give them to surrender the town is not impossible. The third, that it is in their power to merit or not merit my favour. The fourth, that I have forces with me more than is sufficient to make them obey my orders; and the fifth, that tho’ they be never so much necessitated to surrender themselves, they will do it with an entire liberty. The Question is therefore to make them sign these five propositions, which include all the treaty of grace, that I design to show them. I do not think, that they can elude my orders by the distinction *de Jure*, and *de Facto* (between right and fact). For as to the right, I have been so long used to take towns, that time alone might serve me for a prescription in the

‘Low-Countries, were I destitute of so many other indisputable rights. They can therefore only insist upon the fact, and I will convince them of this by thirty cannons, to which I defy them to answer effectually; for they will pierce through all difficulties. By this you may judge, that I shall not be so long in making them sign my five propositions, as you have been in signing those of the Pope. Wherefore I order you to summon the ban and arriereban of the Janfenists, and to leave Paris immediately to come at the head of them, in order to sing *Te Deum*, upon the tomb of Janfenius, as a thanksgiving to God, for the happy success of my five propositions. You may for a bon-fire bring a hundred copies of the *Miroir de la Pieté Chrétienne*, (*Mirror of the Christian piety*) to cast these good Flemings into a holy despair of ever belonging again to Spain. Afterwards you shall go into England to manage there the lower house, which is very averse to a peace. To conclude, I like your politics, and more still your money, with which you use so advantageously to persuade people to what you have a mind to. Hereby I am sure we shall have a peace with England and Spain, before you have it with the Jesuits. At the camp before Ipres the seventeenth of March 1678.

IRNERIUS (a), a German civilian, lived in the XIIth century. He is said to be the first, that renewed the profession of the Roman law, interrupted ever since the invasion of the Barbarians. He had a great interest in Italy with the princess Mathilda, and having persuaded the emperor Lotharius to order the Code and Digests to be read in the schools, he was the first that exercised that profession in Italy. His method was to reconcile the answers of the Civilians and the laws, that seemed contrary to one another. He died about the year 1190 [A], and was buried at Bologna, where he had been professor (b). The thing is carried farther; for it is said that Lotharius abrogated all other laws, and ordered that Justinian’s law should resume it’s ancient authority at the bar [B]. The famous Calixtus, professor of Divinity at Helmstadt, maintains (c), that this is false, and has been followed in that by the learned Conringius his colleague (d). But Bertold Nihufius wrote for the contrary opinion (e), and rudely handled Dr Calixtus. It is certain that the later has not tradition on his side; and that it makes Irnerius the first

(a) He is also called Wernerus, or Guarnerius.

(b) Ex Fortero, Hist. Juris Civil. Roman. lib. iii. cap. vi.

(c) In libello de Morali Theolog.

(d) Consult the preface to his Origo Juris Germanici, printed in 1643.

(e) See the book which he intitled, Irnerius, published in 1642.

[A] He died about the year 1190.] I can hardly believe that he lived till that time; for in the first place Lotharius II lived but till 1138 at most: which plainly shews that Forterus has been unexact; for he says that the restoration of the Roman law happened about the year 1150 (1). Why then should we think that he has been more exact in his calculation about Irnerius’s death? In the second place this is said to have been done in the year 1133 (2). Now who can believe that a thing of that importance could be executed by the counsels of a young man? It is a hundred times more probable, that Irnerius was successful in his counsels by reason of the great authority he had acquired by his learning and wisdom; and therefore he must have been at least forty years of age. From whence it follows, that if he had lived till the year 1190, he would have lived near 100 years, and in that case Forterus would be inexcusable for not taking notice of so uncommon an age. To which I add, that a chancellor of the emperor is always somewhat elderly. Forterus would be hard put to it, if one should maintain, that Mathilda, with whom he says Irnerius had such an interest, was that countess, who was so liberal to the Popes, and who died in the year 1115, or that queen of Italy who died in the year 1101 (3), and who was the wife of Conrad, the son of the emperor Henry IV, and the daughter of Roger king of Sicily.

During the dispute that arose betwixt Dr Calixtus, and Bertold Nihufius, to know whether our Irnerius renewed the study of the law, by the authority of the counts Mathilda, or by that of the emperor Lotharius II, the university of Bologna was consulted, and answered in favour of Nihufius. We find in their answer, that it is a constant tradition that Ir-

nerius began to teach the law at Bologna in the year 1128: This tradition is supported by the following sentence on Irnerius’s picture, which amongst many others, is to be seen in the college of Bologna: *Irnerius omnium primus leges commentatus est anno MCXXVIII*. Nicolas Alidofio in the preface of his book intitled, *Li Dottori Bolognesi di legge Canonica & Civile*, affirms, that this doctor teaching Philosophy at Bologna, received orders from the emperor Lotharius II to teach the Law, and that he began to do it about the year 1128. However there is some ground to believe, that he did it of his own accord, some years together, and that he was not authorized by the emperor’s order till the year 1137 (4). It is certain he died before the year 1150, and not in 1190, for it is known (5) that James de Porta Ravennana was Irnerius’s successor in his professorship of the Civil-Law and that he taught it publicly at Bologna in the year 1150. See the author whom I quote (6).

[B] It is said that Lotharius ordered that Justinian’s law should resume it’s antient authority at the bar. Here is what Mr Heiss says of it in his history of the empire under the year 1133. ‘This solemnity being over, the emperor returned into Germany, where by the advice of one Werner Ursperg, otherwise Irnerius (7), who was very well skilled in the Civil-Law, he ordered that justice should be done in the empire according to the Digests or Code, which had been out of use for five or six hundred years: so that this law was introduced into Italy and Germany, and afterwards into France and Spain, where the people before made use of their own particular laws and customs (8). Calvisius, without mentioning our Werner, says, under the year 1137, that Lotharius found in Apulia the Roman laws, that he gave them

(4) See Nihufius, in Irnerio, pag. 13.

(5) Otto Morena, in Chronologia Laudens. apud Baronium, ad ann. 1158.

(6) Nihufius, in Irnerio, where he has inserted the whole answer of the university of Bologna.

(7) The Dutch edition says Irnerius.

(8) Antea homines jure incerto utebantur, jure nempe Romanorum corrupto, jure item Longobardico & lege Salica. Calvis. Mathia Theat. Hist. pag. 521.

first restorer of the Roman law [C]. It is said moreover, that it was he who moved the emperor Lotharius, whose chancellor he was, to introduce into the universities the creation of doctors, and that he drew up the form of it; from whence it came, that at that very time, Bulgarus, Hugolinus, Martinus, Pileus, and some others, who began to interpret the Roman laws, were solemnly promoted to their doctors degree. It was at Bologna that these fine ceremonies began; from thence they were received by the other universities, and proceeded from the faculty of Law, to that of Divinity. It is pretended, that the university of Paris having adopted this custom, made use of it the first time in behalf of Peter Lombard, who was made doctor of Divinity (f).

(f) Mathias, Theatr. Historic. in Vita Lotharii II.

to the Pisans, and ordered they should be explained, and put into practice in the tribunals of the empire. He adds, that this book was afterwards carried into the library of Florence. Another historian (g) says, this happened when that emperor marched against Roger king of Sicily, about the year 1135, and observes that the manuscript of the Roman laws found in Apulia, wanting to be explained, Irnerius was commissioned for that purpose.

[C] Tradition makes him the first restorer of the Roman law.] This is what an author before cited

says of him (10). 'Irnerius primus legibus glossas apposuit, & suo exemplo cæteris illuminandi juris exemplum dedit: unde LUCERNA JURIS dictus fuit & instaurator legum Romanarum cognominatus. Irnerius was the first who wrote any glosses on the laws, and by his example led others to comment upon them, whence he was called the lamp of the law, and was surnamed the restorer of the Roman constitutions.' A great number of writers say the same thing.

(10) Mathias, ubi supra.

(g) Christ. Mathias, ibid. pag. 970. ubi quædam Chytræus, in Chron. pag. 309.

(a) Constantin l'Empereur, Not in Itinerar. Benjam. Tutel. pag. 140, says, that Solomon Jarchi was called Isaacides, & cause he was the son of Rabbi Isaac.

(b) R. Solomon Isaacides.

(c) Bartol. Bibl. Rabbinica, Part. IV, pag. 378.

(d) Taken from Bartolucci, ibid. pag. 378, & seq.

(1) Bartol. Bibl. Rabbin. Part. IV, pag. 378.

(2) Remark [A], of the article JARCHI.

(3) Bartolucci, ubi supra.

(4) See, above, citation (1), of the article JARCHI.

(5) Benjamin. Tutel. Itiner. pag. m. 6.

(6) Const. l'Empereur, Not in Itinerar. Benjam. Tutel. pag. 149.

(a) Allard, Biblioth. de Dauphiné, pag. 223, 224.

ISAACITES (a). Under this name is mentioned the Rabbi Salomon Jarchi, in the Bibliotheca Rabbinica of father Bartolucci. I may therefore put under this name what is wanting in the article JARCHI. I shall therefore observe that the surname Raschi, which was given him, was composed of the initial letters of his names (b), as we learn from father Bartolucci (c). He adds, that this Rabbi was born at Lunir, a town in the province of Aquitaine [A]; but that some make him a native of Troies in France, and place his birth in the year 1105. Isaacites began his travels when he was thirty years of age. He saw Italy, afterwards Greece, Jerusalem, and all Palestine, and then he went into Egypt, where he saw the Rabbi Maimonides. He proceeded into Persia, Tartary, Muscovy, and other northern countries, and at last came into Germany, from whence he came into his own country. He spent six years in these travels. He was married, and had three daughters, who were married to very learned Rabbies, who wrote many books. Some of his commentaries upon the Scripture have been translated into Latin by the Christians [B]. It is said, that he was well skilled in Physic and Astrology, and in several languages, and that he died at Troies, being seventy five years old. His body was carried to Bohemia, and buried at Prague in the year 1180 (d).

[A] Bartolucci says that he was born at Lunir, a town in the province of Aquitaine.] Bartolucci adds, that is a town in which there were Jews, as St Gregory witnesses in the twenty first epistle of the third book (1). All this is full of faults; for in the first place he should have said Lunel, and not Lunir. II. Lunel is not in the province of Aquitaine. III. Pope Gregory does not speak of Lunel, or Lunir, but of Luna, an episcopal see in Italy. See, above (2) the censure of an error of Hoornbeek. Here is another blunder. *Ibidem* (that is in the *Catena Cabalæ*) Rabbi Joseph Jacobij Auctor dicit quod natus sit anno ab Orbe condito . . . 4865. Chr. 1105. in Urbe Trevis, seu Trevis (3a) in Gallia in provincia Narbonensi, vel in Linguadoca (3). Which is to pretend, that the town of Troies is in Languedoc, than which nothing can be more ridiculous. Note, that according to some rabbies, our Isaacites died 1105 (4); but we have seen, that according to some other authors, this was the year of his birth. Chronological exactness was never the talent of the Jewish writers; and it is a strange thing they have so ill fixed the time of their most famous doctors. Benjamin Tudelensis (5), who died in the year 1173, highly praises the Jews of Lunel, and names some of their learned men, and among others Rabbi Solomon. Some say, (6), that he means Solomon Jarchi; and if you object, that this Solomon died in the year 1105, they will answer, that Benjamin Tudelensis does not pretend that all the doctors he mentions, speaking of what he saw at Lunel, were alive. I do not like this solution. It seems plain to me, that he speaks of a Solomon that was then alive: We must therefore suppose either that it is a mistake to place the death of Solomon Jarchi in the year 1105, or that the Solomon mentioned by Benjamin Tudelensis,

is not our Isaacites. I could easily believe, that Constantin l'Empereur is mistaken, when he says, that Benjamin meant Solomon Jarchi. If he had spoke of a doctor so famous as this was, he would have given him great encomiums, and he gives none to his Solomon. If you would have an instance of the bad Chronology of the Jewish authors, you need only consider, that the same book (7), which makes Rabbi Solomon Isaacites to be born in the year 1105, affirms that Maimonides was born in Spain, in the year 1135, and that these two Rabbies had an interview in Egypt, though Solomon did not go thither till he was about thirty two years old (8). Note, that some (9) maintain, that Rabbi Solomon Isaacites has not the surname of Jarchi in the Jewish books, and that it would be a difficult thing to find the time, the subject, and occasion of that false surname, and that the Jews laugh at the Christian authors for using it.

[3a] Trevis, in the Latin of Bartolucci does not signify the town of Troyes in Champagne, but Treys in Provence. It is true the first is called Trevis in Gregorius Turonensis, but Thuanus who names the other Trevis, calls Tricoffes, the inhabitants of the latter. REM. CRIT.]

[B] Some of his commentaries have been translated into Latin by the Christians.] His commentary upon Joel, and the Canticles, has been put into Latin by Genebrard. He published at Paris, in 1563, the version of the commentary upon Joel, and in 1570, that of the commentary upon the Canticles. Arnaldus Pontacus is the author of the Latin translation of the commentaries upon Obadiah, Jonah, and Zephaniah (10). Henry Aquinas published the commentaries upon Esther, with notes, at Paris, in the year 1522 (11).

(7) Catena Cabalæ. See Bartolucci, ubi supra.

(8) See Bartolucci, ibid.

(9) Andreas Accutius in Tractatu de Aquinamaris maleficiis inferentibus, pag. 3.

(10) Printed at Paris in the year 1656, in 4to.

(11) Taken from Bartolucci, ubi supra, pag. 380, 381.

YSE (ALEXANDER D') Minister of Grenoble, and afterwards professor of Divinity at Die in Dauphiné, (a) was a natural son in a family—of which at present is (b) James d'Yse de Saloon, Counsellor in the Parliament of Grenoble. This minister wrote a discourse for the re-union of the two religions, in which he does not differ much from the principles

(b) Mr. Allard put this in 1650.

ples of the Romish church (c). I shall give some extracts of it [A]. He would have been deposed for that work, if the circumstances of the times had not obliged the synod of that province to observe some temper [B]. The Protestants were satisfied with the declaration that Mr d'Yfe made before he died (d). The law-suit that was entered against him, on account of the money which had been raised for the Vaudois, was not attended with the troublesome and disgraceful consequences, that a Catholic writer has published [C].

I learned

[A] I shall give some extracts of it.] This work is intitled, *Propositions & moyens pour parvenir à la réunion des deux Religions en France. — Propositions and methods for re-uniting the two religions in France.* The impression was finished the last of August, 1677. It contains six hundred and eight pages in 4to, and is divided into two parts. The author enlarges in the first, upon five considerations, which tend to incline the parties to mutual abatements, and the second gives a long catalogue of the articles which they might agree in.

(1) Proposit. & Moiens, pag. 185.

(2) Alb. Graue-
rus, cap. iii, Pole-
mice Sacrae.

(3) Tobias Wag-
ner, doctor of Di-
vinity at Tubingen,
Inquisit. Theol.
in Acta Henrica.

(4) See page 326,
of the Proposi-
tions & Moiens.

(5) *Le bis Sytem-
de l'Eglise.*

(6) Proposit. &
Moiens, p. 331.

(7) Page 209.

(8) Ibid. pag.
366.

(9) Ibid. pag.
379.

He cites (1) a Lutheran (2), who maintained that the Calvinists fight with a shadow, when they confute a local presence of JESUS CHRIST, and a natural manducation in the Lord's-supper. He cites another (3), who denies the same presence and manducation, and maintains, that the body of JESUS CHRIST enters into the mouth, but not into the stomach. This Lutheran (4) confesses, that the Calvinists receive the saving fruit of the sacrament, provided they be morally in an invincible ignorance of their errors, but not if they continue in them against their conscience, and with obstinacy. Mr d'Yfe makes several reflexions upon the pacifical method of Father Maimbourg, and upon this objection, viz. that it follows from the doctrine of the Calvinists, that all the Christians, who have not followed Peter Valdo, John Hus, &c. are damned. His answers are almost the same with those of Mr Jurieu (5), both with respect to the expedients of salvation, afforded to many persons who inwardly renounced their errors, and with respect to the consequence that is drawn in favour of those, who inwardly rejecting the false doctrines of Popery, remain still in it's communion. To which purpose he speaks of the permission granted to Naaman, and of a national synod held at Paris, in the year 1559, which forbids to follow one's master into the Popish churches, tho' one does not bend the knee, and yet declares, that those may be tolerated, who, like Naaman, and the duke of Saxony, publicly express, 'that they will not pollute and defile themselves with the idolatries, which are committed in the temples they frequent (6).' He says, that according to the Reformed, the universal church cannot err so far as to overthrow the articles of faith that are absolutely necessary to salvation, and that if the thing be well considered, it will be found, that the Roman Catholics, whatever noise they make about it, ascribe a lesser infallibility to the church, than the Protestants; for, says he, cardinal Richelieu, book 2, chap. 2, insinuates, that the universal church may err in fundamental points. He imputes to some Protestant divines an error which he calls a fundamental one, which is not to receive St John's Revelation, as a canonical book, and he confesses, that the primitive church did not receive it as canonical. It is true, he pretends, that that church erred out of ignorance, and not knowing the truth, but not out of obstinacy, and denying it. The church, according to that cardinal, has been ignorant of some truths, which she came to know in time, and defined afterwards as points of faith. The author adds, that in the references of the second session of the council of Trent, we find this question, 'Whether general councils lawfully assembled, may err in the decision of points of faith.' The answer was, *It is a doubtful thing.* Touching again upon this in the 441st page, he says, that several doctors are there cited for the affirmative, and others for the negative. He had said before (7), that the councils of Lateran, in 1180, and 1215, and some others, have been held *pro Ecclesie reformatione in fide & moribus.* He observes (8), that the Monks promising, according to the Roman pontifical, to observe a perpetual continence, as far as human frailty will permit, it is a proof that their vow is conditional; so that when the frailty of their nature will not permit them to preserve their continence, they may marry without breaking their vow. He boasts (9) of alleging nothing that is condescending on the part of the Catholics, but what is grounded on the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, and other grave doctors, and that

the condescension he uses on the part of the Reformed, is grounded on what has been confessed by Calvin, and some other famous writers. From whence he infers, that private persons in both communions, who would not submit to the like condescensions, would be unreasonable. He produces hereupon the praises that some Popes, and some illustrious societies have bestowed upon Thomas Aquinas's doctrine; and as for the particular doctors, who have praised him, he refers us to a book, intitled, *The Disputation of the University of Complutum on Dialectics.* He mentions also the approbations given to cardinal Richelieu's and the bishop of Condom's books, and proves, that Calvin, Thomas Aquinas, &c. have made the concessions he speaks of. He shews, that Calvin, Rivetus, and Bucanus, held the probability of the doctrine of a guardian angel; and as for what concerns the possibility of celibacy, he cites the national synod of Rochelle, 1571, which advises the wives of ecclesiastics relapsed into Popery, to have no commerce with them. That of Vitrai, 1588, does not approve that a man whose wife is become leprous, should marry another. They advise him to pray to God, and to contain himself during his wife's life.

Though this book was printed with the consent of some considerable persons, the Monks obtained, that the copies of it should be carried to the rolls of the Chatelet. They had seen some of them at a Binder's, and they made a great bustle about it. It is at least a piece of news, which was written to me in the year 1678, by a curious person, who was well informed of what concerns the Republic of Letters.

I make no doubt, that the fragments I have inserted in this place, will be acceptable to the readers, because it is a book but little known, and almost impossible to be met with.

[B] The circumstances of the times obliged the synod of that province to observe some temper.] D'Yfe, who had been a minister at Grenoble, and who was actually professor of Divinity at Die, wrote a treatise upon this subject, and imagined he had found the means of a perfect reconciliation. However his project had not the good luck to please the synod of his province, which forbid him to publish or communicate it. But D'Yfe prepossessed with the flatteries of President de la Berchere, who filled him with hopes of great rewards, and mighty things, would not believe the synod. He took a journey to Paris, with several recommendations from the President to the chief members of the council. The ministers of the place having had notice of his design, endeavoured to have a sight of his book, in order to discourage him from publishing it. They could obtain nothing. D'Yfe would not communicate it to them, but shewed it to the bishop of Condom. That piece could not please the Catholics, because the author made them too condescending; and under other expressions, kept most of the articles of the reformed doctrine: so that he returned without any approbation and recompence; having offended his brethren without gaining the good-will of their enemies. Nay, he was like to be involved in some criminal affairs, to pay him for his good intentions; but the President, his protector, screened him. As for the synod, they durst not meddle with him upon that account, at a time when it was believed the court would be displeased with it. Without deposing him therefore, a treaty was made with him, by which he was suffered to enjoy his Professor's salary, but by way of discharge, he was deprived of the functions. He died some time after, and repaired the fault he had committed on that occasion, by a declaration of his sentiments, which was very edifying (10).

[C] The law-suit was not attended with the troublesome and disgraceful consequences, which a Catholic writer has published.] Mr Bernard (11) affirmed, that when the duke of Savoy made war with his subjects of the vallies of Piedmont, the Reformed had raised a sum of six or seven hundred thousand livres, which

(c) Allard, ubi
supra, pag. 224.

(d) See end of
the remark [B].

(10) Hist. de
l'Edit. de Nantes,
Tom. III, Part.
II, livr. xv, pag.
350, ad ann.
1677.

(11) Bernard,
Explication de
l'Edit. de Nantes,
apud Hist. de
l'Edit. de Nantes,
ubi supra, Tom.
III, livr. xi,
pag. 60, ad ann.
1666.

I learned from a letter which I received in 1678, that Mr Cregut had published an Apology, in which he painted this minister in very black colours [D].

I add

which D'Yfe had received, and distributed; that he did not well discharge that administration; that he was prosecuted in the chamber of Grenoble to bring him to an account; that the consistory, in order to put an end to the noise that was made about it, were forced to depose him; that they made him Principal of the college of Die, and named four ministers to revise his accounts. There is nothing true in all this, except this one article, that D'Yfe had received the money designed for the relief of the inhabitants of the valleys, and that they took this opportunity to bring him into trouble, out of resentment and revenge. You will find the sequel of this affair in the History of the Edict of Nantes. I shall only mention three or four particulars out it. D'Yfe delivered his accounts towards the end of the year 1656. President Perissol prosecuted him in the year 1665. This prosecution was carried on by degrees to the court made up of Protestant and Catholic judges. D'Yfe had his cause pleaded in the court, and gained his point. The President enraged at this affront, prosecuted the cause still more violently, and his menaces, which neither the intreaties of his colleagues, nor the remonstrances of the consistory, nor the solicitations of the whole church, could put a stop to, obliged the consistory not to depose D'Yfe, but to send him to Die in quality of professor of Divinity. He had already performed the duties of that place, whilst Cregut was forced, by the persecution of the bishop, to leave his professorship. In the mean time the cause was removed into the court of Castrès; and the President incited as much as possible the inhabitants of the valleys to carry on the action against him. The consistory made him give a new account, to put an end to that scandal; and they found but one article, amounting scarce to a denier per livre of the whole sum, which he could not well account for. But his honesty appeared, &c. (12). The words which I suppress inform us, that he was only guilty of a little negligence; which was well for him, and he ought to be accounted a happy man for having failed only in that; for the handling of such public gatherings is so dangerous an occasion of sinning, that a wise man ought never to engage in it, before he has made a frequent trial of his strength. The custody of this money is perhaps more difficult than that of a beautiful woman. The comparison betwixt money and pitch, which is so common even among countrymen, is a very good one; one can hardly handle that fatal metal, any more than pitch, without soiling one's fingers. There was a terrible out-cry (13) against the ill management of the immense sums (14), which were raised for the Vaudois; and I believe that, in all such cases, there has been, and there will be, occasion to cry out; O how rare a thing it is to find a man who is not made of iron with respect to that loadstone.

(12) Hist. de l'Edit. de Nantes, ubi supra, pag. 61.

(13) See Mr Leti, Critique sur les Loteries, Part. II, pag. 108, & seq.

(14) The author of the History of the Edict of Nantes, denies that the money raised in France, amounted to six or seven hundred thousand livres, as Bernard will have it. It was at most, says he, but the third part of all the several sums, and all the sums did not amount to five hundred thirty thousand livres. Mr Leti, *ibid.* pag. 110, says they amounted to three millions, and those of France to seven hundred fifty thousand livres.

(15) Horat. Od. ix, lib. 19.

(16) Idem, Od. ii, lib. ii.

Abstinentes ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae (15).

From gold abstaining; gold, that draws,
And subjects all things to it's laws.

We must seek for him with Diogenes's lantern, and if we design a crown for him, we may keep it long enough before we can find a man that deserves it.

Regnum & diadema tutum
Deferens uni, propriamque laurum;
Quisquis ingentes oculo irretorto
Spectat acervos (16).

Decreeing for that man alone
The crown, the laurel, and the throne,
Who can with unaverted eye
See heaps of shining metal lie.

[D] Mr Cregut had published an apology in which he painted this minister in very black colours. It fell into my hands but a few days ago: the title of it is: *Apologia necessaria non minus quam requissima Antonii Creguti, contra accusationem imprævisam, in expectatam & iniquam Friderici Spanhemii Professoris Leydensis.*

It was printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1678, and contains forty eight pages, in 8vo. Mr Cregut (17) shews, that after the death of Stephen Blanc, who had been professor of Divinity at Die, the academical senate charged Mr D'Yfe, the minister of the place, to fill the vacancy of the deceased till the next synod. Mr D'Yfe did so. The synod of the year following convened at Die, chose Antony Cregut (18), professor of Divinity. This choice was conditional, and became definitive at the end of the year, by the judgment of the synod of Pragelas. Mr D'Yfe, who did the more earnestly desire that place, because he had discharged the duties of it for some time, thwarted, as much as possible, the election of another; but not succeeding, he grew extremely jealous of Mr Cregut, and fought all imaginable means to prejudice him, though he always pretended to be his friend. He contributed, by his intrigues, to put a stop at Geneva, to the impression of a Latin book of Mr Cregut (19), under pretence that the doctrine of it was false, and very dangerous. The author of it desired, that the examination of his book should be made only by the professors of Geneva, that the whole matter might be transacted with less noise, and more judgment and expedition; but his request was rejected, and his work was examined in the assembly of all the ministers. He expected no good from it, and remembered the complaint of the emperor Adrian: *The multitude of Physicians has destroyed me. Turba medicorum me perdidit.* They condemned two or three of his doctrines: this condemnation was communicated by his adversary to the ministers of the Grefivaudan (20) assembled in a body, and from that time, prejudices grew so violent against the author, that he was threatened with deposition the next synod, which was to be held at Die. Mr D'Yfe not doubting that the quality of moderator of that synod, would powerfully enable him to execute his resolutions, desired to obtain it, and actually did. The first accusation, concerned the assertions about Grace, which Mr Cregut had published. He offered his reasons, and thought he had nothing to fear, when he saw the end of that first proceeding; but he was mistaken; for some days after Mr D'Yfe having declared to the synod, that the ministers of Geneva had censured some articles of the *Revelator Arcanorum* of Mr Cregut, put some questions to the author about the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin. Mr Cregut was going to explain that matter; but he was presently interrupted, upon pretence, that there was some other affairs which could not be put off. He waited for another opportunity to explain himself in the following sessions, in case that dispute should be set on foot again; but he waited in vain. Mr D'Yfe plaid his part so maliciously, that he got his adversary condemned, without giving him an opportunity to plead his cause. There was a famous disputation in the Philosophy-school. The Jesuits of that town, and several other persons of the Romish clergy, were present at it, and it was very necessary that Mr Cregut, as rector of the university, should be there. Mr d'Yfe took that opportunity, drew up an act of condemnation, and got it approved at the end of the synod. Part of the ministers were already gone, and the rest were very desirous to stay no longer. If the absence of some members is favourable to those who have an ill design the disposition of the rest who desire to go home, is so too; for being in haste to finish what remains, every thing is carried on in a hurry. Thus you see how innocence was oppressed, as Mr Cregut pretends. *Illo tempore (21) me absente, inaudito, iusto deputatis silentio, sub sinu Synodi, dum omnia tumultuario fiunt, Pastoribus tunc vel absentibus, vel abiturientibus Dicitur ipse bellum illum articulum non mihi, sed sibi ludibrium propinans, fabricavit, assumptum in tanto facinore suo Achate Rainaudo, digno patellæ operculo (22).* He adds, that they ordered a great number of copies of that act to be made, to communicate them to all the Protestant world. *Verum illis non sufficiebat calumniosus articulus intra privatos parietes fabricatus ab inimicis, haud potuit satiari invidia maligna, nisi per totum Orbem Reformatum exemplaria illius articuli mitterentur, tam in Galliam quam exteras nationes, Helvetiam, Germaniam,*

(17) Cregutus, Apol. Necessaria, pag. 11, & seq.

(18) He was minister at Montelimart.

(19) Intitul'd, *Revelator Arcanorum.*

(20) A country near Grenoble, and one of the *Citizens* of the *Reformed* province of Dauphiné, in the *Protestants*.

(21) That is, whilst he was present at the public disputation, as rector of the university.

(22) Cregut, *ibid.* super, pag. 15.

I add, that the churches of the vallies of Piedmont sent him into England in Cromwell's time, to remove some difficulties concerning the collections of money made for the Vaudois; and that he was present in the national synod of Loudun, as deputy of the province of Dauphiné (c).

(a) Taken from Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, published by John Leger, at Leyden, in 1569, pag. 205, of the second part.

(23) Id. *ibid.*

'maniam, Hollandiam, &c. Pædagogis suis jugiter occupatis ut plura Apographa describerent (23).' In fine, he says, that his book having been sold, without any alteration made in it, ruined the trophies of his enemy, and convicted him of having extracted something out of it, that manifested his envy and rascals. 'Paulo post libro meo edito abique vel apiculis immutatione, abortivus ac furivus ille Dizii articulus cecidit coram meo Revelatore, sicut Dagon coram arca fœderis. Et ne plura exempla proferam, unum Rev. Antistitis Ecclesiæ Bernensis D. Homelii erit mihi pro cunctis, dum essem Bernæ in illius Musæo protulit sua Bibliotheca meum Revelatorem Arcan. & Dizii prævè & stolidè articulatulum articulum arthritide laborantem, & dixit se contulisse cum locis Revelatoris, quem tunc præ manibus habebat, unde facta etiam inter nos collatione non poterat satis mirari stuporem, virus & invidiam compilatoris (24). — Soon after my book had been published without the alteration even of an accent, the abortive and stolen work of D'Yse fell before my Revelator, like Dagon before the ark of the covenant. And, not to multiply examples, I will be satisfied with that alone of Homelius, Antistes of Bern's who, when I was at Bern in his Musæum, brought out of his library my Revelator Arcanorum, and D'Yse's filthy lame performance, and said he had compared it with

'the passages of the Revelator, which he had then in his hand; upon which comparison between us, he could not sufficiently wonder at the stupidity, malice, and envy of the compiler.' He says (25), that having explained in some letters, the sense of his propositions, and offered new explications, if those already published were not sufficient, the divines of Geneva, permitted the impression of the Revelator Arcanorum, and took off the prohibition of selling the Theſes maintained at Die. He is contented to mention in general; the great trial above mentioned (26); but he says that Mr d'Yse being shamefully expelled from the church of Grenoble, was admitted again into that of Die. *Ex Ecclesia Gratianopolitana turpissime ejecti Ut Dizius fuerat potius intrusus quam vocatus, ita detrusus fuit. Non inquiri de crimine quod objiciebatur, esset piacular. Deus novit. Acta sunt publice in Parlamento litigata, quæ ad has usque Oras pervenerunt Læu Maris a Naufragio servatus, Galli nostri vulgo dicunt, d'un coup de vent ou de tempeste, pristinas sedes recuperavit, in Portum Dienſem appellens ubi antea Minister fuerat, ibi cum suo Rainaudo, juxta meminisse laborum præteritorum (27).*

(25) Id. *ibid.* pag. 30.

(26) In the remark [C].

(27) Cregut, Apol. Necessaria pag. 30, 31.

I do not vouch for the truth of these particulars alleging them only as a proof of my text, viz. that Mr Cregut has painted Mr d'Yse in very black colours.

(24) Id. *ibid.* pag. 27.

ISLEBIANS. Thus they are called, who embraced the opinions of a Saxon divine, named John Agricola, a native of Eisleben, and a disciple and countryman of Martin Luther. I have spoke very largely of this JOHN AGRICOLA (a). He taught for some time a very false doctrine concerning the use of the Mosaiical law. He mistook St Paul's dispute against the Jews, and the opposition which this great apostle of Grace so often made betwixt the œconomy of works, and the œconomy of faith. Luther did so vigorously oppose the errors of Agricola, that he forced him to recant. Every one may know, why the name of Antinomians was given to the followers of this man. Their opinions have not been faithfully represented by their adversaries; and there's no doubt but that Prateolus has much exaggerated what he says of them [A]. But this is nothing, if compared with Garasse's scurrility in his account of the pretended heresies of the Islebiens [B].

(a) See his article, at the letter [A], pag. 140.

(1) Prateolus, in Elencho Hæreticorum, voce Antinomi, pag. m. 41. He says Staphylus took this from Agricola's notes upon the Gospel of St John, and from Luther's Antinomian disputes.

[A] Prateolus has much exaggerated what he says of them. He did not go to the fountain head, but only copied Staphylus, Hofius, and Lindanus. What he copies from Staphylus, may be reduced to this (1), that according to John Agricola, the law of God is altogether useless, that it is neither necessary before nor after our justification, and that men under the gospel are not obliged to good works. What he takes from Lindanus, is much harsher: viz. that according to John Agricola, men may be righteous against their consciences; and that an adulterer, an usurer, a fornicator, or any such great sinner, shall be saved, provided he believe. *Antinomi à Johanne Islebio Lutheri cive ac discipulo exorti. Hi dogma sequuntur legibus divinis contrarium (ait Querela Lutheri) legem operum rejicientes, finguntque homines contra conscientiam justos esse. Aiant enim, teste Lutero lib. de Conciliis; si es Adulter, Scortator, Usurarius, Avarus, aut alius pollutus peccatis, si tantum credis, salvus es. Haftenus Lindanus (2).* I cannot believe this is a faithful account of Agricola's opinions.

(2) Prateolus, *ibid.*

[B] Garasse's scurrility in his account of the pretended heresies of the Islebiens. It is an useful thing to let the reader see how bold some men are in their slanders; and therefore the length of this passage will not hinder me from inserting it here. 'The Islebiens, or Antinomians, otherwise called Nomomachi, forasmuch as they oppose the law of Moses, saying, in their articles of faith, that it is the torment of our souls, are the disciples of a certain labourer, called Joannes Islebius, who, coming from the tail of the plough, Tridus se Theologum professus est, as Melanchthon speaks, writing against him. The principal reveries of these upstarts are to be found in the book de Libertate Christiana, written by Dr Paul Crellius, who was one of the chief supporters of that cursed sect. I will only produce three of the most remarkable, taken word for word from their

articles of faith. The first imports, that the gospel, and the Old Testament, unless they are preached *viva voce, sunt veteres calcei in angulo derelicti, are like old shoes thrown by in a corner, when they can be no longer worn. But when the gospel is preached, then it becomes like the shoes mentioned in the Canticles, Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui in calcamentis tuis, filia principis; — (How beautiful are thy feet with shoes, O princes daughter!) and in the CVIIIth psalm: In Idumeam extendam calcamentum meum. That is according to Beza's exposition:*

Contre Edom peuple glorieux
Je jetteray mes solliers vieux.

. my shoe
On Edom will I cast.

'So that in their way of speaking, preachers are Cobblers, the holy Scriptures are old shoes; the pulpit, the shop wherein they are kept, and Lent and Advent the old shoes-fair.

'The second proposition of the Antinomians is still more horrible; and I am very sorry my words cannot express the weight of my thoughts: It is expressed in these terms by Dr Crellius: *Qui querit salutem in veteri lege querit P E D I C U L U M I N S C A B I E.* He that seeks his salvation in the law of Moses, and the Old Testament, seeks a LOUSE in a S C A B, that is to say that the Salvation of our souls is like LICE and GOD is like a S C A B. I want words to express my astonishment . . . (3).

'The third maxim of the Nomomachi is quoted by Dr Crellius, in these words, *Moses ad cor vos abeat cum lege sua, nam si non respicit, est damnatus*

(3) Garasse, Curious Doctrine, book v, sect. xvi, pag. 557.

* *natus ad omnes Diabolo.* — *Let Moses be banded with his law, for if he did not repent he is damned to the pit of hell.* I appeal from the sentence of the Antinomians, as being Moses's advocate, and I find the Antinomian madness far exceeding that of the Manichees; for when they rejected Moses, they pretended to have more honourable pretences, as St Austin relates in the fifteenth book against Faustus. Being asked why they rejected the Old Testament and the law of Moses, they answered, with specious words, and well adjusted phrases, that they therein practised the command of Jesus Christ, who forbade his Apostles to put new wine into old vessels: and that their church was like a young damsel, who receives no letters or *Billetts doux* from her old lovers, that endeavour to corrupt her by

* promises: that is to say, their church neither receives nor acknowledges the old Testament, which is an old decayed wine, an old piece of tattered cloth, an old cast-off lover. And then they added as in triumph and insulting our church: *Vos quidem pergitis agere ut cepistis, rudem pannum veteri vestimento committite, novum vinum veteris utribus credite, duobus maritis nulli placituri servite, Christianam fidem Hippocentaurum facite, nec equum perfectum nec hominem: Nobis soli Christo servire permittite.* Who, hearing this delicious impudence, these bewitching words, would not say, here are pious and holy souls; but it appears at the bottom, that the Manichees were meer scoundrels. It is true that as great scoundrels as they were, they had not so many lice, as the Antinomians (4).

(4) *Id. ibid. pag. 559.*

ITALICA, a town in Spain, was so called when Scipio Africanus gave it the form of a city (a). It grew very considerable, and was the birth-place of Trajan and Hadrian (b). It enjoyed a long time (c) the privileges of those towns which were called *Municipia*, and afterwards it desired to be in the same condition with those which they called colonies. Hadrian wondered it should desire this change (d); for he looked upon the privileges of a *municipium*, as preferable to those of a colony. Nothing remains of Italica but the ruins of it (e). Some authors place it near Seville in a place which at present is called Sivilla la Veja (f). I have said in another place (g), that it did not appear to me, that it could be proved there ever was such a town in Italy as Italica. I do not retract what I said, though I know a very specious objection may be made against it [A].

(a) Appian. in Ibericis, pag. m. 464.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) Aulus Gellius, lib. xvi, cap. xiii.

(d) *Id. ibid.*

(e) See Ludovicus Nonnius in Hispania, cap. xvii, pag. m. 64.

(f) *Id. ibid. pag. 65.*

(g) See remark [A], of the article HADRIAN (PUBLIUS AELIUS).

[A] I know that a very specious objection may be made against it. It is grounded upon a passage in Strabo, where we find that some people of Italy rising and confederating to make war against the Romans, made Corfinium their place of arms, and named it Italica. Μετονομασθεσαν Ἰταλικὴν, *Italicae nomen indiderunt* (1). Note, that Corfinium was the capital town of the Peligni, and that this war was that which was called *Bellum Sociale* or *Marsicum*, or *Italicum*, and which began in the year of Rome 662 (2). It is very probable, that in these words of Diodorus Siculus, τὴν κοινὴν πόλιν Ἰταλικὴν ὀνομάσαντες (3), it ought to be read Ἰταλικὴν (4), and not Ἰταλίαν. Thus you see two good authors who witness, that the town of Corfinium was called Italica, when these people confederated against Rome. Velleius Paterculus might be alleged as a third witness, *caput imperii sui Corfinium leverant*, says he (5), *quod appellarent Italicum*. There are some critics (6), who read *quod appellarent*

(1) Strabo, lib. v, pag. m. 167.

(2) See Sigonius, in Fastis, ad ann. 662.

(3) In Excerptis lib. xxxvii, apud Photium.

(4) See Casaubon, in Strabo, lib. v, pag. m. 94.

(5) Vell. Patere. lib. ii, cap. xvi.

(6) Gerard. Vossius, Nor. in Patercul. *ibid.*

Italicam. Others (7) keep to *Italicum*. It matters not with me; the answer I have to make, does not want the more favourable eading; for this is what I have to say. The name of Italica, which the allies gave the town of Corfinium, lasted no longer than the war: they gave it a new name, when they chose it their common metropolis. They established in it (8) a policy like that of Rome, whereby they shewed not only their emulation for the capital city of the Roman people, but also their resolution to make themselves independent. Since then the new name of Italica was a consequence and a monument of their conspiracy, it is not likely that the Romans would suffer it to remain. Corfinium resumed its former name, when the war was finished in the year of Rome 664, and we do not find that it was called otherwise than Corfinium, since that time. Whence the error of those appears, who pretend that the poet Silius Italicus was a native of Corfinium, and for that reason surnamed Italicus.

(7) Sigonius, de ant. Jure Italicæ, lib. iii, cap. i, fol. m. 100. Boetius. Patere. *ibid.*

(8) See Sigonius, ubi supra.

JUBA. History makes mention of two princes of this name, whereof one was the father of the other. Moreri has spoken of them; but he has committed some faults [A], which

[A] Mr Moreri . . . has committed some faults. I. He says that Juba, the father, was king of Mauritania: This is false. In this Juba's time, the *Mauritania Caesariensis* belonged to Bocchus, and the Tingitana to Bogud. Some time after, that is, in the year 716, Bocchus possessed himself of the Tingitana. After his death his kingdom was reduced into a province in the year 721, as Numidia had been under Julius Cæsar (1). II. He says, that Juba, the son, was restored by Augustus to the kingdom of his father, that is to say, to Numidia. He should have said with Dion (2), that Augustus gave him some parts of Getulia, and the two Mauritania's; and that the best part of Numidia remained still a Roman province. It is true that Strabo affirms (3) that Augustus restored Juba to the kingdom of his father, and that moreover he granted him Mauritania; but this Geographer limits the Roman province and the kingdom of Juba in such a manner as shews (4) that Numidia belonged to the Romans. III. Moreri makes Pliny say, that Juba, the son, found an herb, which his Physician *Euphorbia* called by his name *Euphorbia*. This is not what Pliny says; his words are (5): *Invenit et patrum nostrorum ætate rex Juba, quam appellavit Euphorbiam Medici sui nomine*. The meaning of which is, that Juba found an herb, which from the name of his Physician, he called *Euphorbia*. It would be somewhat strange that a Physician to the king should have been so bad a courtier, as to give his own name to an herb, which the king his master had found. Yet this is what Pliny

(1) You will find all this proved in Father Nori's Cenotaphia Pisanæ, pag. 235.

(2) Lib. liii, ad ann. 729.

(3) Lib. xvii, pag. 570.

(4) See Father Nori, ubi supra.

(5) Plin. lib. xxv, cap. vii, pag. m. 400.

affirmed, if we believe Moreri. It would be much less strange, that a king, who discovers an herb should chose rather to give it the name of his Physician than his own. Which is what Juba did, if we depend on the testimony of Pliny whom I have cited; but there is reason to believe, that Pliny has not been so exact here as he ought to have been. What he says in another book is more credible, namely that *Euphorbia* was so called from the name of its discoverer, who was the Physician of king Juba. He adds a thing, which well deserved that Moreri should take notice of it: which is, that Juba wrote a particular treatise upon this herb, in which he extolled the singular virtues of it. Juba Ptolemæi pater, qui prius memorabilior etiam, quam regno, similia prodidit de Atlante: præterque gigni ibi herbam *Euphorbiam* nomine ab inventore medico suo appellatam. Cuius lacteum succum miris laudibus celebrat in claritate visus, contraque serpentes, & venena omnia, privatum dicato volumine (6). — *Juba, father of Ptolemæus, who before reigned over both Mauritania's, more famous as a learned man than as a king, gave the same account of Atlas: and besides, that there grew there the herb *Euphorbia*, so called from his Physician, who discovered it. The milky juice of which herb he wonderfully extols as an antidote against the venom of serpents, and all kinds of poison.* IV. I might observe as one fault Moreri's false quotations (7).

(6) Plin. lib. vi, cap. i, fol. fin. pag. m. 527.

(7) He quotes Dion, in the forty first book, seq. But he should have quoted the forty third. He quotes Pliny, lib. xxv, cap. i, he should have quoted the third and fourth books. He should have quoted the second book of Strabo, and the first of Ptolemæus.

[B] I shall

which it is not improper to take notice of. I shall rectify but a few faults of other authors [B].

[B] I shall rectify but a few faults of other authors.]

It seems Josephus says that Juba, the son, had to wife Glaphyra, the widow of one of the sons of Herod. See this woman's article (8) where we confute this. Father Salian thought that Juba died in the 759th year of Rome. Father Noris (9) has invincibly confuted him by this observation; Strabo wrote his thirteenth book a little after the year 771. Now in his seventeenth book he speaks of Juba, as of a prince lately dead; Juba therefore did not die before the year 772, or thereabout. The same Strabo says elsewhere (10) that Juba lived in the reign of Tiberius. Now Tiberius began his reign but in the year 767. It seems that one may infer from a passage of Tacitus, that Juba was yet alive in the year 776 (11). Noldius is mistaken in supposing, that Dion says that Augustus gave Egypt to Juba, besides the kingdom of his father (12). There is nothing in Dion's words, that obliges us to refer the word *ταύτην* to Egypt, and it is certain it must be referred to the word Cleopatra. Dion's trans-

lator has miserably blundered. *Ἡ τε Κλεοπάτρα Ἰούδα τῇ τῆ Ἰούδα πατρὶς συνῆκε. τὴν γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ τεφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ συζευταμένην οἱ ταύτην τὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρὶαν ἔδωκε. Cleopatra autem Juba filia in matrimonium tradita est. Hunc Jubaem Caesar in Italia educatum, ac suam militiam secutum, hoc regno (read ea, Cleopatra scilicet) & paterno etiam donavit (13). Noldius citing the passage, in which Dion says (14) that Juba, instead of his father's kingdom, received of Augustus some parts of Getulia, and the dominions of Bocchus and Bogud, observes that Pliny has justly substituted in the room of those dominions, both the Mauritania. *Pro quibus rectè Plinius Hist. Nat. V. c. 1. utramque Mauritaniam substituit, hoc est Cæsariensem & Tingitanam.* Which is clearly to innuuate this falsity, viz. that these two Mauritania's and the dominions mentioned by Dion, were not the same thing.*

JUDEX (MATTHEW) one of the principal writers of the Centuries of Magdeburg, was born at Tippolswald (a) in Misnia the twenty second (b) of September 1528. He shewed a great inclination for learning, upon which his father permitted him to go and study at Dresden. He staid not there long, but chose rather to study in the college of Wittemberg, and afterwards in that of Magdeburg: He was in a wretched condition, when he came to this last town, being over-run with the itch, and without money. The way he took to live, was to beg alms by fingering from door to door; but after he was known to be a hopeful young man, he was preferred to a tutor's place in the house of an advocate, who sent him with his son to Wittemberg in the year 1546. He there took his master of arts degree, in October 1549. After which he returned to Magdeburg, and there taught the second class some years; and afterwards he was minister of the church of St Ulric till the year 1559. He quitted not that employment till he went to be professor of Divinity, in the university of Jena. He continued in that professorship only eighteen months; for that place was taken from him by order of John Frederic duke of Saxony, in the beginning of October 1561. He stayed still half a year at Jena; and then spending almost as much time at Magdeburg, he retired to Wismar. He died the fifteenth of May 1564 [A] at Rostoc, whither he went a few days before to assist at the promotion of scholars. He was a man of good morals, laborious, zealous, learned, and he wrote several books [B]. He had many persecutions and vexations to go

[A] He died the fifteenth of May 1564.] I should not make a remark upon this, if it were not to say, that authors are very careless with respect to the dates of the death of persons, and other computations. I find in Paul Freherus's *Theatrum* (1) that our Judex died the eleventh of June 1564. This date is alledged upon the credit of the *Nomenclator Professorum Lenensium*, written by Hadrian Beyer. Mr Sagittarius (2) citing the same *Nomenclator*, places Judex's death on the same day as Paul Freherus: but I see in Micælius (3) this death placed in the year 1587, which was the seventy ninth year of the deceased. There is in the margin, *Freher, p. 202.* It is hard to conceive, how such an unfaithful quotation could creep into that place; and note, that Judex would not have lived seventy nine years, though he had lived till 1587, for he was born in 1528. It is affirmed in his life (4), that his death was the more regretted, because he had not lived above thirty seven years. This calculation is not right; for since his birth was placed on the twenty second of December 1528, and his death on the fifteenth of May 1564, it should have been said that he was not yet thirty six years old.

[B] He was a man of good morals . . . and wrote several books.] He was of such sobriety, as not to eat so much in a week, as others, but of a moderate stomach, eat in two days; and his best friends could never obtain of him to drink more than to satisfy his thirst (5). He was so averse to pomp and luxury, that on his wedding-day he would not consent, that his wife should dress herself finely, and obliged her to content herself with very ordinary cloaths (6). His chastity was so great, that, before he married, some people thought that he was of a frigid or insensible constitution; and he confessed privately to his intimate friends, that he believed the cause of his ill state of health, or at least, that what increased his infirmities, was his staying too long before he married.

Ante legitimum conjugium adeo pudice vixit, ut à nonnullis frigidus sit judicatus, ac ipse intimis sit confessus, se judicare originem aut certe non leve suae adversae valetudinis incrementum inde existeret, quod non prius duxisset uxorem (7). Yet he was married at twenty six years of age (8), when he was called to be minister of the church of St Ulric at Magdeburg. He married a maid of fifteen or sixteen years of age, who was not rich. Some of his friends were angry, that he had married a wife who had neither years nor money enough; but he answered them, that he had always begged of GOD a wife, unexperienced in evil things, tractable, free from pride, &c. *Egrius tuleret amicorum quidam, quod juvenulam & minus dotatam sibi jungeret virginem, sed iis respondit, se ab adolescentia assidue petisse à Deo, ut puellam bonis progeneret, honestè educatam, virtutibus & pietate ornatam, malarum rerum aetate adhuc imperitam, & morigeram potius, quam natalibus elatam, delicatâ & blandâ educatione ac conversatione malâ depravatam, ac dotibus & ornamentis fortunæ proterviam, sibi dare dignaretur, ac se voti sui compotem factum in Dei providentia acquiescere (9).* — Some of his friends took it amiss, that he had married a young girl without a fortune; but he answered them, that he had made it his constant prayer to GOD from his childhood, that he would bestow on him a young woman, born of virtuous parents, virtuously educated, good and pious, unacquainted with the vices and follies of life, and of a complying temper, rather than one who is proud of her family, spoiled through polite education and company, and insolently vain of her qualifications and fortune; and that, being possessed of his wife, he acquiesced in the providence of GOD. (10) He lived piously and comfortably with his wife a little above ten years, and had six children by her (11). She married the second time Andrew Schoppius (11).

I shall

(8) In the remark [B].

(9) Ubi supra, pag. 238.

(10) Lib. vi, circa fin.

(11) See the article GLAPHYRA, R. A. grand-daughter, &c.

(12) Noldius de Vita & Gestis Herodum, pag. 276.

(13) Dio, lib. lii. pag. 520. Leandrius takes notice of this fault of Xylander in his edition of Dion Cassius.

(14) Id. lib. liv. pag. 580, ad ann. 729.

(a) It is a place two German leagues distant from Dresden.

(b) Andreas Schoppius, ubi infra, citat. (c) says that it was on St Matthew's day: and therefore he should have said the twenty first, and not the twenty second.

(1) Page 202.

(2) Sagittarius. Introductio in Hist. Eccles. pag. 247.

(3) Micælius. Hist. Eccles. pag. 770. Edit. 1699.

(4) Andre Schoppius, Orat. de Vita Matth. Judicis apud Crenium Anim. Phil. & Hist. Part. VI, pag. 71.

(5) Schoppius, ibid. pag. 58.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 58, 59.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 57, 58.

(8) Id. pag. 58.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 59.

go through during the course of his ministry (c) [C].

(c) Taken from Andrew Schoppius, in *Oratione de Vita Matthæi Judicis*. It is to be found at the end of the second part, *enarrationis Epistolæ* *lærum Dominicalium* Matthæi Judicis, Iſlebiæ 1578, in 8vo. Mr Crenius has inserted that *Oration* in the sixth part of his *Animadver-* *siones Philol. & Histor.* pag. 49, & seq.

I shall now speak of the books he wrote. He translated into Latin the German book of Luther concerning the literal sense of these words, *This is my Body*. He dedicated that work to the senate of Ratisbon, and consuted in the Epistle Dedicatory the fifteen main arguments of the Zuinglians. The title of a book he published in the year 1559 runs thus: *quod argueret peccata seu concionari penitentiam sit proprium Legis & non Evangelii proprie dicti, Rationes & Argumenta*. His treatise *de Typographiæ inventione, & de prælo-* *rum legitima inspectione*, was printed in the year 1566. His *Enarrationes Epistolæ Dominicalium* came out in the year 1578. He published six books of his own composing in High-Dutch. He and Wigandus jointly

(12) In 1558.

(13) Taken from Andrew Schoppius, pag. 63, & seq.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 56.

(15) He was tutor to the children of Levinus Embdenus a civilian of Magdeburg.

(16) Andr. Schoppius, pag. 56.

(17) Note, that he had a hand in the German translation of the three first centuries.

(18) Annis quindæcim valeditudo afflictiſſima. Andr. Schoppius, pag. 56.

(19) Remark [H], of the article ILLYRICUS.

(20) Crenius, *Animadv. Part. VI*, pag. 72.

(21) Viz. His answer to Beza under the name of Michael Fabricius.

(22) Crenius, ubi supra, in Addendis, pag. penult.

[C] He had many persecutions and vexations to go through. He was one of those that drew up the discipline of the church of Magdeburg, which was printed in the year 1554. He shewed himself very exact in procuring the observation of it, and refused the sacrament to some impenitent persons. Hereupon he was threatened to be beaten and trampled under foot (23). He was very much abused in the satires, that were made at Wittemberg against the centuriators. *Scurriles Neministæ & Acolasti Witbergenses in famosa illius laboris reprehensione & acerba invective D. Judicem vocabant Judam & pullum filium aſinæ subjugalis* (24). He itrongly opposed the Synergists, whilst he was professor of Divinity at Jena. It was a powerful party, and they persecuted him, in an insolent and slanderous manner. They made use of stones too; for there was a gang of rogues, who all the night long committed riots about his house, and threw stones at his windows. He was deprived of his employment, after having exercised it in the midst of many troubles eighteen months. The pretence alledged for it was the publication of a German book, *De fuga Papæ, Of the Flight of Popery* (25); but one of the true causes was his opposition to the party, which was favoured at court (26). This party was that of Strigelius, a professor, one of the heads of the Synergists, or flickers for human liberty. They did not fail to give out many reasons or pretences for the deposing of Matthew Judex, which were all confuted. He was accused, amongst other things, of having dispersed several copies of Balthasar Winter's life, and he was required to discover the author of that satire, and to recover all the copies, and deliver them to the court. He answered that this work was no libel; that it was only the true narrative of the life and death of a faithful servant of God, that it was necessary to oppose the calumnies which the enemies of that pious man had spread, and to communicate it to the widow, and some others to comfort them. He did not think himself obliged to name the author; but he offered to answer to that affair before impartial judges, made up of laymen, and ecclesiastics. His adversaries did not care for such a tribunal (27). Leaving Jena he retired to Magdeburg with his friend Wigandus, and did not long enjoy the permission the senate granted him to stay there. Some ministers were arrested, others were expelled by night from the town. He did not approve that conduct of the magistrates, and advised these afflicted ministers to patience. He exposed himself by this means to many slanders, and a burgher received orders not to let him his house. His father-in-law had a share in the outrages, because he had lodged him in his house. At last the senate commanded Matthew Judex to depart immediately from Magdeburg. His wife melting in tears, intreated the first burgo-master to permit her to stay at her father's with her five children, till the rigour of the winter should be over. She represented to them that her eldest son was but eight years old, and that the youngest was but three months, and besides was sick. All her intreaties and remonstrances proved ineffectual; depart they must, and retire to Wismar thro' the snow (28). The Roman Catholics have been well pleased with the ill treatment of the centuriators of Magdeburg. I will only alledge the reflexion of a Jesuit. *As for the four first authors of the centuries, says he (29), their fortune was very different from that of Baronius; for soon after they had published their work, they were banished by the Lutherans themselves; who could not suffer among them such wicked men.*

(23) Ipsi verberentur & conculcentur nem facillimum minati sunt quod eos ad Baptisimum & ulum Cæcæ non admittent. Andr. Schoppius, ubi supra, p. 62.

(24) Id. ibid. pag. 67.

(25) Id. ibid. pag. 63.

(26) The court of the duke of Weimar.

(27) Andr. Schoppius, ubi supra, pag. 66.

(28) Id. ibid. pag. 69.

(29) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Luthérisme*, Tom. II, pag. 179. Dicit Edit.

JUDITH, A Jewish woman, delivered her country invaded by Holofernes. You will find this history in Moreri, with some observations upon the perplexity, in which it involves the commentators. Of all the books that the Protestants have rejected as apocryphal, there is none that better deserves that blot than this; for the best thing that can be said of it is, that it is a pious romance [A]. It is not many years since, a learned

Benedictin

(1) In the preface to the *Précis de l'Histoire de Judith*, Paris 1690, in 12mo. The second edition came out in 1692.

[A] It is a pious romance. Dom. Bernard de Montfaucon (1) observes that the Protestants, to extricate themselves out of all difficulties, have said that this book is but a fiction or parable, and that some of them

have affirmed it to be a tragedy. I think the Protestants do not trouble their heads with removing these difficulties; for it is their interest they should subtilise and multiply in the most perplexing manner. By this

Benedictin wrote a book to solve the difficulties that are made against this history [B]. If he has not removed them, he has at least supplied us with some useful illustrations. I remember to have seen a dissertation (a), wherein, amongst other arguments, this is enforced, that a book cannot be said to be canonical, when it authorizes assassination. This puts me in mind of a thing concerning the assassin of William I. Prince of Orange [C]. Somebody has observed, that is a very significant commendation of Judith to say that she was never ill spoken of [D].

(a) Intituled, *Fides Judithæ*, &c. at Verona, in the year 1614, and written by Mirabilis de Bonacasa, wherein the author shews, 1. that the book of Judith is apocryphal; 2. That Judith's action was wicked, and that Rofficus Mariana, and other enemies of monarchy have no reason to take advantage of it. The true name of this Mirabilis de Bonacasa, was Eberhard de Weihe; he was chancellor to prince Julius duke of Brunwic. See *Placcius, de Pseudonym.* pag. 166.

they shew they have reason to reject this book, and that the church of Rome take for a canonical book what is not so. I believe then that the author in saying this, did not attend to the system of the Protestants; he thought they were no less concerned than the Catholics to maintain in that work the glory of the holy Spirit. When it cannot be maintained by reconciling a thing with historical truths, it is usual to have recourse to allegories, parables, the mystical sense, &c. And this the Protestants would do if they believed, this history to be divinely inspired; but because they do not believe it, it does not concern them to say that it is a parable.

[B] A learned Benedictin wrote a book to solve the difficulties that are made against that history. You will see his name, and the title of his book in the foregoing remark. The method he has taken to preserve to the history of Judith the rank that is given it in the church of Rome is more instructive and edifying, than that which is made use of by the Romish controversialists. The latter generally are contented to retort the objections. They endeavour to shew, that the difficulties raised by the Protestants against the apocryphal books, may be alleged against the canonical. But Dom Bernard de Montfaucon touches very slightly upon this, and makes it his business to give a direct answer. His whole recrimination is contained in these words: *Are there not many stories in the sacred text, in which we find these and even greater difficulties, and yet for all that, no body goes about to deny the truth of them in the literal sense? Is not the history of Esther full of confusion and difficulties, which it is hardly possible to get clear of? Did ever any one shew clearly and certainly, who is the Abasuerus mentioned in that book, and in what time that history ought to be placed? Is it not as difficult to fix the time of the history of Ruth, and of the ruin of the tribe of Benjamin? And yet no body dares say, that they are parabolical or enigmatical histories* (2). I do not know whether he had seen Dr Raynold's objections, who, of all the Protestant writers, has handled the controversy of the apocryphal books with the greatest force.

[C] This puts me in mind of a thing concerning the assassin of William I. prince of Orange. I mean that villain Bathazar Gerard, who killed him; for there were other assassins, who did only wound him. 'Thou' he was a staunch Catholic, he craftily behaved like a Protestant. He went to sermons and evening prayers, he had always Marot's psalms in his hands, or some other Protestant book. He read also *du Bartas's Poetical Week*; and it was found that the place 'most worn out, was the story of Judith murdering Holofernes (3). There is no doubt but this woman's example may persuade a great many people that it is a holy action, by means of a thousand lies to get one's self admitted to a prince who oppresses liberty and religion, in order to stab him as soon as an opportunity offers. In a word, this history being once taken for a canonical one, encourages assassins to make any attempt upon the life of kings, whom they hate, and furnishes orators with a crown of glory, to put upon the head of the Clement's and Ravallac's. Observe this passage of Maimbourg. The Leaguers published also in their books printed at Paris and Lyons, that an angel had declared to James Clement, that the crown of Martyrdom was prepared for him, when he should have delivered France from Henry de Valois; and that having acquainted a learned Monk with his vision, that Monk approved of it, assuring him that in striking this blow, he would be no less acceptable to God, than Judith was in killing Holofernes. And because his Prior, named Father Edme Bourgoing, was accused of being, of all the preachers of the League, the most passionate panegyrist of that abominable parricide, directing his discourse to him in the pulpit, and

calling him the blessed child of his patriarch, and the holy martyr of Jesus Christ, and comparing him to Judith; it was not doubted but it was he, with whom this young man, who was under his tuition, had advised; and that he had afterwards confirmed him in his execrable design (4).

[D] *She was never ill spoken of.* The thought I speak of, is to be found in an extract of a panegyric (5). The Abbot de la Chambre making the funeral oration of the late French queen (6), took for his text these words of the book of Judith, 'She made herself famous, famosissima, in all things, and there was none that gave her an ill word; for she feared God greatly.' It is perhaps the finest commendation that ever was given to a woman: for though notwithstanding the prodigious detraction that has prevailed so long in the world, there are some women, that remain untouched by that implacable and insatiable monster; yet this good fortune rarely happens to those who have otherwise a shining reputation, and who are, as the text says, *famosissime*: so that we may boldly challenge all the Greeks and Romans to shew us a passage in their books, that in so few words gives us so great an idea, as that which the book of Judith gives us in the words before-mentioned. The address that Homer made use of, to give his reader a great notion of the beauty of Helena (7), is certainly inferior to the plainness and simplicity of this Jewish author; and that which is most excellent in his way of praising, is, that he has included in his eulogy the true cause and source of the virtue he has described: *she bad, says he, a great reputation in all things, and was secure from every evil tongue, because she was sensibly touched with the fear of the LORD*. It is upon this happy expression of Judith's panegyrist, that the Abbot de la Chambre built his funeral oration of the queen.

Aufonius places it among the sentences of one of the seven wise men of Greece, that a chaste woman frights away calumny:

Quæ dos matronæ pulcherrima? vita pudica.

Quæ casta est? de qua mentiri fama veretur (8).

He supposes that Bias had two questions to answer. The first was, *What is the noblest portion of a woman?* he answered, a chaste life. The second was, *What woman is chaste?* he answered, she whom fame dares not slander. These rules are severe, will some say; for they condemn all women that have been exposed to obloquy; and yet it is certain that there are most virtuous women, who have not been able to avoid them. It must be owned, that this maxim of Bias cannot serve as a general rule without exception; but generally it is a sign of a very wise conduct, both as to the inside and the outside, to enjoy the reputation of a chaste woman without any opposition or contradiction whatsoever. 'Magnus est pudicitie fructus; pudicam credi; & adversus omnes illecebras atque omnia delinimenta muliebris ingenii est veluti fortis ac firmamentum in nullam incidisse fabulam' (9).

It is of great advantage to chastity, to be thought chaste; and never to have been slandered by report, is the bulwark of a female mind against all temptations and allurements. This is what the orator Porcius Latro said, pleading for a husband, who accused his wife of adultery, because a rich foreign Merchant had made her his heir, and gave as the reason of it, his not being able to debauch her. The Advocate drew from thence one of his arguments: he maintained, that a woman became justly suspected, when once her honour was attempted; for if she was very chaste, her refusal might be read in her face, and her outward behaviour would baffle the hopes of a gallant, and discourage him from discovering his passion. She would refuse him at least with so much severity, that he would never

(4) Maimbourg, Hist. de la Ligue, pag. 358.

(5) In the Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, Decemb. 1684, art. viii, pag. 1041.

(6) I wrote this the twentieth of August, 1695.

(7) See, above, remark [A], of the article H E. L E N A, citat. (7).

(8) Aufon. In Sept. Sapientum Sententia septenis versibus explicata, pag. m. 128.

(9) Seneca, Controv. vii, lib. ii, pag. m. 187.

(1) Pag. 253.

(2) Hist. d'Alexandre Farnese, Duc de Parme, liv. iii, pag. 205. Printed in 1692.

never be so bold as to make a second attempt. If she is not afraid to be thought capable of the fault, she will not fear to commit it. * Matrona quæ se adversus sollicitantes aviam vult, prodeat in tantum ornata, ne immunda sit: habeat comites ejus ætatis, qui impudicos, si nihil aliud, verecundia annorum removeant: ferat jacentes in terram oculos: adversus officium salutarem inhumana potius quam inverecunda sit; etiam in necessariam refutandi vicem multo rubore confusa longe ante impudicitiam neget ore, quam verbo: in hac servandæ integritatis custodia, nulla libido irumpet. Prodeat mihi fronte in omne lenocinium composita, paulo obscenius quam posita veste nudæ, exquisito in omnes facetias sermone, tantum non ultro blandientes, ut quisquis viderit, non metuat accedere. Deinde miramini, si cum tot argumentis pudicitiam proscripserit, cultu, incessu, facie, aliquis repertus est qui incurreret, & reit adulteræ se non subduceret. Internuntium, puto sollicitantis se, arripit & denudari iussit, & flagella & verbera, & omne genus cruciatus poposcit in plagas deterrimi mancipii: vix imbecillitas muliebris manus continuit. Nemo sic negantem iterum rogat (10). Quæ potest non timere opinionem adulteri, potest non timere adulterium (11). — *A matron who would be inaccessible to suitors, should dress only so far as not to be dirty: she should chafe for her companions persons of such an age, that respect to their years, if nothing else can, may deter the immodest: she should keep her eyes generally fixed on the ground: if an officious fellow offers to salute her, she should be uncomplaisant rather than immodest; and, if she be obliged to return the salute, it should be with much blushing and reluctance: modesty, thus guarded, is not exposed to the attacks of lust. Shew me the women, who display all their charms, who behave more obscenely than if they were to appear naked, full of gaiety and wit, and only not caressing their admirers, in short, inviting all comers: then wonder, if, when dress, behaviour, and countenance, conspire to banish modesty, some one be found to entangle himself in the adulterous net. She ordered the go-between, endeavouring to persuade her, I suppose, to be seized and stripped, and demanded rods, and all kinds of torture, for the punishment of that villainous slave: scarce did a woman's weakness restrain her hands. A woman, who denies in this manner, is never asked again. She, who can bring herself not to fear the opinion of the adulterer, can get over the fear of the adultery.* These maxims are too rigid and too strained (12), and we shall be frequently very unjust, if we should direct our judgments by them. But the advantage, happiness, and glory, of our Judith, raise her virtue and good conduct to the highest degree. I shall occasionally observe, that the morality of some Heathens was so austere, that they would not have a woman to give matter either for praise or reproach: that is, they would have her true merit to consist in this, that she should not be talked of, and that no body should speak well or ill of her. Plutarch dislikes this maxim, as we see in the beginning of one of his books: ' (13) I am not of Thucydides's opinion concerning the virtue of women; because he reckons her the most virtuous and the best, who is the least spoken of, whether well or ill, imagining that the name of a woman of honour ought to be as much confined as her body, and never go abroad. I think Gorgias was more reasonable, who would have the fame, and not the face of a woman to be publicly known. And, in my opinion, the law or custom of the Romans was very good, which ordered, that women, as well as men, after their death, should be publicly honoured at their funerals with the praises they deserved.' St Gregory Nazianzen was of Thucydides's opinion. Fear the praises of men, said he, speaking to a woman; this fear is the ornament of your sex.

Ἀλλ' ἂν τὰ περισσὰ, σὺ δ' ἄλλο χεῖρ' ἔσιν
ἀνδρῶν,
καὶ κληρομένη, τὸ το γυναιξὶ κλέος.

Lingue aliis vana: ac labiis vereare virorum
Commendari etiam, hoc femineum decus est (14).

Be others vain: shun thou the praise of men;
It is the sex's noblest ornament.

(14) Gregor. Nazianz. παρ' ἡμετέρας γυναικων.

(15) Synesius, Orat. I, de Providentia.

To which may be added these words of Synesius (15).
Μία ἀρετὴν Ὀσπρις φέει γυναικὸς εἶναι, τὸ μὴ

τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς, μᾶτε τὸ νομα διακινεῖν τὴν εὐ-
λοῖαν. Unam virtutem Osiris muliebrem esse censet, ut neque corpus, neque nomen mulieris è vestibulo exiret. — *Osiris thought it a woman's chief virtue to keep both her person and her name within doors.* What Synesius ascribes to Osiris, is at the bottom the same thing that Plutarch ascribes to Thucydides. Some have given it out as the opinion of Pericles. See these words of John della Casa. 'Cujus quidem mulieris (Victoria Farnesiae) modestia ac pudor ingenuus illud profecto præstitisset, quod Periclem ajunt dixisse, primam in muliere laudem esse, ut ne de virtute quidem illius ulla ad viros fama emanet: sed nulla ratione occultari tanta primariæ scemina virtus potest, quin ad viros quoque emerget, ac suo ipsa splendore se prodit (16). — *The modesty of which lady (Victoria Farnese) was as great as that which Pericles spoke of, when he said, a woman's chief praise ought to be, that the men have never heard of her virtue: but the so great virtue of a lady of quality can never be so concealed, but it will be known to the men, and discover itself by it's own lustre.* But though an hundred persons, as illustrious as these three (17), had vouched this maxim, we should not be obliged to approve of it. This would be condemning women to a more rigid life than that of the Carthusians; it would be imposing on them the inclosure and silence of those Monks, and forbidding them to receive any visit in their cells. Now this is more than is imposed upon the Carthusians.

I conclude with this observation. The reputation of Judith, that reputation, I say, clean and free from suspicion, and secure against evil fame, is an admirable proof of virtue and prudence. But it must not be from thence concluded, that every woman who has not that good fortune, and is ill spoken of, is guilty of imprudence at least. It may be true that a woman has a regular conduct, and yet because she has for some good reasons put off her waiting-woman, her chamber-maid, &c. scandalous stories shall be quickly forged. The disgraced creature being malicious and revengeful, will apply to her mistress's enemies, and give them mysterious insinuations, as the spirit of slander shall suggest. These lies shall be heightened, whispered about, flourished and enlarged on; nay they shall be printed; and thus a person really innocent, shall not have the reputation of being so; so true it is, as I have said in another place (18), that the appearance is sometimes more difficult to obtain, than the reality. This depends upon our selves, the other depends on many causes that are not in our power. The Poet Plautus represents this thought very naturally in a scene, wherein he introduces two old men, Callicles and Megaronides talking thus:

ME. Quia omnes bonos, bonasque accurare addeceat, Suspicionem, & culpam, ut ab se sequeant.

C.A. Non potest utrumque fieri. ME. Quapropter? C.A. Rogas?

Ne admittam culpam, ego meo sum promus pectori: Suspicio est in pectore alieno sita.

Nam nunc ego si te surripuisse suspicer, Jovi coronam de capite, è Capitolio, Quod in culmine assat summo: si id non feceris, Atque id tamen mihi lubeat suspicari:

Qui tu id prohibere me potes ne suspicer (19)?

C.A. Exspecto, si quid dicas. ME. Primum dum omnium,

Malè discutatur tibi volgo in sermonibus: Turpiluricupidum te vocant cives tui.

Tum autem sunt alii, qui te voluturum vocant: Hofesa? an cives comedis, parvi pendere,

Hæc cum audio in te dicier, excrucior miser.

C.A. Est, atque non est, mihi in manu; Megaronides. Qui dicant, non est: meritò ut ne dicant; id est (20).

ME. Because it beboves all good men and women to remove from themselves all suspicion, and guilt.

C.A. They cannot do both.

ME. Why?

C.A. Do ye ask? it is in my own power not to entertain guilt: the suspicion of it lies in another's breast.

(10) Seneca, ibid. pag. 186.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 187.

(12) See, above, remark [O]. of the article BLONDEL (DAVID).

(13) Plutarch de Mulier. Virtut. pag. 242.

(16) Joh. Casa, In Vita Petri Bembi, pag. 143.

(17) Osiris, Thucydides, Pericles.

(18) Above, at the end of remark [H], of the article AMPHARAUS.

(19) Plautus, in Trinummus, Act. I, Sc II, ver. 41, pag. 732.

(20) Id. ibid. 61, pag. 733.

breast. For, suppose now, I should suspect you of having stolen a crown, from Jupiter's head, out of the capitol; though you are innocent, if I have a mind to suspect you, how will you binder it? . . . I wait your answer

M.E. In the first place, you are ill spoken of by the people: your fellow-citizens call you a sordid, covetous, fellow; others think you rapacious. Whether you plunder friends or foes, signifies little: when I hear those things said of you, it grieves me exceedingly.

C.A. It is, and it is not, in my power, Megaronides: what they say, is not in my power; but that they say it without foundation, is in my power.

This conclusion is excellent: it does not depend upon me, answered Megaronides, to prevent being ill spoken of; it is only in my power, that it be not done deservingly. Note, that there are an hundred accidents that may give birth to the same consequences, as the malice of a servant turned out.

JULIA, wife of Septimius Severus, emperor of Rome, and daughter of Bassianus, priest of the Sun [A], was born in Syria. The Astrologers had foretold that she should marry a king [B]; for which reason Severus, before he came to the empire, courted, and married her. He paid great deference to Astrology; and therefore believed that such a marriage would be his security for ascending, some time or other, to the throne. She was a woman of great parts, and capable of great things (a). Some say, that her husband gave her a great share in the government [C], though he was not very fond of her. She cultivated Philosophy [D], and spent much time in hearing the discourses

(a) See the remark [A], at the end.

[A] She was daughter of Bassianus priest of the Sun.]

This may be inferred from these words of Aurelius Victor (1). 'Caracalla Severi filius . . . Bassianus ex avi materni nomine dictus . . . Huius (Heliogabali) matris Semae avus Bassianus nomine, fuerat solis sacerdos, quem Phœnices unde erat, Heliogabalum nominabant (2). — Caracalla, the

son of Severus . . . called Bassianus after his grandfather by the mother's side . . . Bassianus, grandfather of Semae, mother of Heliogabalus, was priest of the Sun, whom the Phœnicians, whence he sprung, named Heliogabalus.' Semae (3) was the daughter

of Mæla: now Mæla was sister to Julia (4); therefore Bassianus, the priest of the Sun, must be Julia's father. We cannot positively affirm whether Emesa or Apamea was Julia's native country: for, according to some authors (5), her sister Mæla was of Emesa: but according to others (6), she was of Apamea. Lampridius (7) calls Julia *nobilem Orientis mulierem* —

A noble woman of the east; but Dion (8) makes her a Plebeian, *ἐκ δημοτικῆς γένους, ἔκ γενεῆς πλεβία*. [B] The Astrologers had foretold that she should marry a king.] Let us set down the words of Spartianus, that the readers may know what enquiries Severus chiefly made, when he resolved to marry again he did not inform himself about the merit of the person, but the promises of her nativity. 'Quum amissa uxore aliam vellet ducere, genituræ sponsum requirebat, ipse quoque matheos peritissimus: & quum audisset esse in Syria quandam quæ id genituræ haberet ut regi jungeretur, eandem uxorem petiit, Juliam scilicet, & accepit interventu amicorum: ex qua statim pater factus est (9). — Being desirous, after the

death of his wife, to marry another, and being himself a skillful Mathematician, he enquired into the nativities of those he would have married; and hearing, that there was in Syria a woman, who was fated to marry a king, he sought her in marriage: her name was Julia; whom his friends procured for him, and who soon made him a father.'

[C] Some say that her husband gave her a great share in the government.] She had in charge his memorials, letters, and petitions, of whatever consequence they were, says Dion in the life of Caracalla. Which shews her great capacity: for he gave her advice upon all important affairs: and yet he neither loved her much, nor she him, as we see in Dion and Herodian, tho' she commonly received this honour from him, to be named in his letters with praise and commendation, and even when he wrote to the senate, inserting her name with his own and that of his armies, according to the stile of that time. And indeed he kept her rank very well, paying no more deference, nor saluting with more respect the greatest persons of the empire than Severus or Caracalla did. However Caracalla coming to the empire, lessened her authority, no ways yielding to her counsels, especially when the fancy took him to put any person to death. But as to Severus, her husband, he was very much swayed by her advice and good sense (10). This is what Tristram says: but it is certain that he is mistaken, taking the father for the son. For what he relates, has no respect to Julia under the reign of her husband, but

ought only to be understood of her, in the reign of Caracalla. There is no difficulty in the thing, if we consider the words of Xiphilin (11). Οὐδὲ ἐπεὶ δε- το ἔτε περὶ τῶν ἑτε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῇ μη- τρὶ πολλά καὶ χρηστὰ παραινεῖται, καὶ τοὶ καὶ τὴν τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, πλὴν τῶν παν ἀναγκαίων, διοικῶσιν αὐτῇ ἐπι- τρέφει. καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸς τὴν βαλὴν ἐπιστολαῖς ὁμοίως τῷ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ τῷ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ἐν ὧν ἔνται, μετ' ἐπαίνων πολ- λῶν ἐγγράφον. Τὶ γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ ἡσπάζετο δημοσίᾳ πάντας τὰς πρώτας, καὶ δα- περ καὶ ἐκείνους. Qua in re ceterisque omnibus minime obtemperabat matri iusta & utilis monenti, licet ei curam libellorum atque epistolarum utriusque generis, præter admodum necessarias (12), commississet, ejusque nomen pariter cum suo & exercitus nomine poneret cum maximis laudibus in epistolis quas mittebat ad senatum, dum omnes valere scriberet: nec opus est referre ab hac omnes primarios viros saluta- rium non secus quam ab illo confluxisse. — In which thing, and in all others, he paid no regard to the prudent advice of his mother, tho' he entrusted her with the petitions and letters of both sorts, except those of the greatest importance, and joined her name, giving her great praises, to his own, and the army's, in the letters he wrote to the senate, informing them that all were well: nor need I relate, that she received the compliments of the great men, in the same manner as himself. I observe that it was at her request that her husband undertook the war against Pescennius Niger, and Clodius Albi- nus (13).

[D] She cultivated Philosophy.] Immediately after the words just read, Xiphilin affirms that Julia philosophized notwithstanding so much business. 'Ἀλλὰ ἡ μὲν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑτε μάλλον φιλοσόφει. Sed ea nibilo minus philosophabatur. He had said in another place (14), that being persecuted by Plautianus, who had a prodigious interest, he began to cultivate Philosophy, and to spend whole days with the Sophists: καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτὴ τε φιλοσοφῶν διὰ ταῦτ' ἤρξατο, καὶ σοφισαῖς συννημεύσαν: Quæ dum ob eam causam philosopharetur, ἔς tempus cum Sophistis transigeret. Philostratus called her a Philosopher: Ἀντωνίνῳ, says he (15) speaking of Caracalla, ἢν ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας παῖς Ἰουλίας. Antoninus vero filius erat Juliae Philosophæ. Thus it ought to be read, according to the lucky conjecture of the learned Salmassius (16). He has corrected another passage of Philostratus, wherein we learn that the Sophist Philiscus obtained a professorship at Athens, by Julia's interest. It was she that ordered Philostratus to write the life of Apollonius. Philostratus says so himself (17), and observes at the same time that this lady was a great lover of Rhetoric. Tzetzes mentions the society of learned men that were about Julia. See the margin (18).

Mr Le Moyné has made two remarks, which deserve to be mentioned. I. He wonders, that Scalliger, who made such bold conjectures, durst venture none concerning Antoninus, Julia's son, spoken of by Philostratus. II. He has confirmed by the words of Tzetzes Salmassius's correction, which yet he seems never

(11) Xiphilin. In Epitome Dionis, in Caracalla, pag. m. 333.

(12) Trifan should not therefore say that she was interested with the petitions though they were never so important. He should have made this exception, as Mr de Tillamont does, Hist. des Empereurs, Tom. III. pag. m. 180, unless it was about a very important thing.

(13) Capitolinus, in Clodio Albino, cap. III. pag. 639.

(14) In Sept. Severo, pag. 330.

(15) Philostratus, in Vita Sophistarum, in Philisco.

(16) Salmassius ad Spartian. in Vita Severi, cap. xviii, pag. m. 625.

(17) Philostratus, in Vita Apollonii, lib. I, cap. III.

(18) Εἰς τὸ ἑρμηνεύειν τὴν καὶ Γραμματευσάντων τῇ ἑαυτῇ τῇ κραταύ τῇ τῇ Βασιλίδι. Οὐκ ἴδιον ῥητορικὸν & Γραμματικόν, καὶ Ἰουλία Ἰμπερატρίδις, ἡ ἑαυτῇ τῇ κραταύ τῇ τῇ Βασιλίδι. Τζέτζης, Chil. VI, Hyl. XLV.

(1) Aurel. Victor, in Epitome, pag. m. 271.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 212.

(3) Or rather Semae, according to Herodian, lib. v, cap. 112.

(4) Herodian. ibid.

(5) Herodian. ibid. Julius Capitolinus, in Macrinus, cap. ix, pag. m. 759.

(6) Dio, lib. lxxviii, pag. 902.

(7) Lampridius, in Alexandro Severo, cap. v, pag. 890.

(8) Dio, lib. lxxviii, pag. 899. Edit. 1605.

(9) Spartian. In Septim. Severo, cap. iii, pag. m. 594. Tom. I. See also Lampridius, ubi supra.

(10) Dion, lib. lxxviii, pag. 902.

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of the wits that made their court to her. It is pity it cannot be said, for the honour and advantage of learning, that her virtue equalled her capacity; for the historians witness that her adulteries were a blot upon her husband Severus [E]. Some authors say, that after the death of Severus she contracted an incestuous marriage, by marrying Caracalla, her husband's son [F]: but it is a mistake [G]. She was no less the true mother of

never to have heard of. This is what he says as to Scaliger: *Sic Philostratus in vitis Sophistarum, in Philisio, Ἀντωνίνος δὲ ἢν ὁ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ παῖς Ἰουλίαν. Antoninus erat Filius Philosphi Juliae. Ad quæ verba hærens & attonitus Scaliger, Antonino Philospho alius filius quam Commodus, alia uxore præter Faustinam? Nisi legamus ὁ τῷ Σεβήρῳ παῖς καὶ Ἰουλίαν. Hoc etiam tenuit acipitem Tzetzen, nec mihi minorum movit admirationem. Quæ nos proponimus Chronologis eruditis, & Antiquitatis investigatoribus, ut quærant, & nos doceant, quæ ingenue nos nescire profiteamur. Sed miramur hic retinere Scaligeri acumen, & moratam istam felicem audaciam, quæ loca, hoc multo difficiliora, tam strenue & alacriter superaverat (19).* As for the passage of Tzetzen, he makes use of it to shew that Philostratus did not say τῷ φιλοσόφῳ; for if Tzetzen had read this in Philostratus, he would not have said this author does not shew who the empress Julia was married to. Σὺ γὰρ δ' αὐτὴν ἔχεις τινος ἢν βασιλῆως. Non dicit vero cuius Imperatoris illa fuerit conjux (20). He might easily have understood that this Julia's husband was either Marcus Aurelius, surnamed the Philosopher, or Septimius Severus who was very much given to Philosophical studies, in imitation of Marcus Aurelius (21). *Philosophia, declamandi, cunctis postremo liberalium deditus studiis (22). Philosophia ac dicendi studiis satis deditus; doctrinæ quoque nimis avidus (23).* For the rest, Mr le Moyne commonly gives to our Julia the surname Severa, according to some inscriptions (24). [E] Her adulteries were a blot upon her husband.

Severus had acquired a great reputation both by his military and political actions; but he blasted it by indulging his wife's debaucheries. Nay, it was said, that he was not ignorant, that she was engaged in a conspiracy that was formed against him. *Huc tanto domi forisque uxoris probra summam gloria dempsere: quam adeo famulo amplexus est, ut cognita libidine ac ream conjugionis retentaret (25).* This is what Aurelius Victor affirms: and Spartianus says no less (26). Trifan (27) does not think it probable, that she ever conspired against her husband: his reason is, that she had too much sense, not to know, that such an attempt must have been fatal, both to her self and her two sons. But it may be answered: I. that we frequently act against our true interests, when we have a mind to satisfy a violent passion; as suppose the desire of revenging an affront offered to Julia by her husband, or the desire of delivering herself from an intolerable oppression. II. That Julia might have so managed things, that the murderers of Severus would have given the empire to her son. This is not without precedent. Be it how it will, it cannot be denied, but she found herself oppressed. Severus had so extravagant a kindness for Plautianus, that his interest was visibly greater than his master's (28). Now Plautianus inveighed violently against Julia: he ceased not to blacken her to Severus; he caused informations to be made against her, and sought for witnesses to prove her guilty. He sought for them, I say, by putting many women of quality to the rack. *Ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγύσαν πρὸς τὸν Σεβήρῳ αἰεὶ διέβαλλεν, ἐκζητᾶς τε κατ' αὐτῆς, καὶ βαρύνει κατ' εὐγενῶν γυναικῶν ποικίλως (29).* Ut etiam apud eum Juliam Augustam semper calumniatus sit, & in eam ac de matronis nobilibus tormentis quaesiverit (30). The historian who informs me of this, does not say that the empress sought her deliverance by any conspiracy against her husband; but only that this was the reason of her studying Philosophy. She cannot but be praised for taking that method of consolation. The misery of it is, that whilst the favourite too insolently abused his power, she afforded him perhaps too many reasons to accuse her of adultery. I shall set down the answer that was made to her in Great Britain. She had followed her husband thither (31), and observing that the women of that island communicated their favours to several men without any shame, she very sharply bantered Argentocoxus's wife, who

thus answered her: *We better satisfy the cravings of nature than your Roman ladies; for we publicly bestow our favours on the worst men, whereas you secretly commit adultery with the basest fellows. Μαλα αἰεὶ αἰεὶ Ἀργεντοκόξῳ τινὸς γυνὴ Καλινδονίης πρὸς τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγύσαν ἀποκλώπτουσαν τε πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνέδῳ σφῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν συνκρίσει, εἰπὼν λόγεται, ὅτι πολλὰ ἄνεμον ἡμεῖς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπληρῶμεν ὑμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡμεῖς γὰρ φανερώς τοῖς ἀρίστοις διμελῶμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ λάθρᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων μοιχεύετε. Urbane imprimis Argentocoxi Caledonii uxor, Julia Augustæ quæ ipsam mordebat, iniitit fœderibus, quod ipse impudenter cum maribus versarentur, dixisse fertur, Nis (inquit) multo melius explemus ea quæ naturæ postulât necessitas, quàm vos Romanæ. Nam aperte cum optimis viris habemus consuetudinem: vos autem occulte pessimi homines conspuant (32).* If any one ask to what purpose the historian makes mention of this answer, I say it was on occasion of a law the emperor had made against adultery; the execution whereof he was forced to neglect, because the multitude of the accused (33) made the courts unwilling to meddle any longer with these trials. It must be confessed that this barbarous woman archly answered the empress's raileries: But let us have a care not to believe that the impudence of these Islanders was less blameable than the secret adulteries of Rome. They who commit an ill action in secret, retain the ideas of virtue, and pay some homage to them. But they who sin without shame, have no regard to justice, either in the theory or practice (34).

Brantome mentions a circumstance which I have not read in the ancient historians. It contains the reason why Severus so patiently bore with his wife's lewdness. These are his words (35). 'The emperor Severus was not much concerned for the honour of his wife, who was a public whore, and did not care to reform her, saying that her name was Julia, and that therefore she ought to be excused, for as much as all the women that bore that name from all antiquity, used to be great whores, and to make their husbands cuckolds; as I know many ladies, bearing certain Christian names (36), which I will not mention out of respect to our holy religion, who are commonly more subject to be whores than other women of other names, and few have been seen that were free from it.'

[F] Some historians say . . . that she married Caracalla. This error is not a story of a late invention, but is found in Spartianus, and Aurelius Victor. See how Brantome relates it. 'We further read of Julia, the step-mother of the emperor Caracalla, that being one day, as it were, by carelessness, half naked, and Caracalla seeing her, said only these words; how gladly I would, if I might. She suddenly answered, you may if you please; do not you know that you are emperor, and that you are to give laws, and not receive them? Upon this fine saying, he married her, and lay with her (37). She must needs have been a great whore, since she loved and married him, who some time before had killed her own son in her arms. She was doubtless a great whore, and had very mean thoughts, but it is a great matter to be an empress, and for such an honour all is forgotten. This Julia was very much beloved by her husband, though she was far advanced in years; but she had lost nothing of her beauty; for she was very handsome, and very courteous, as it appears from her words, which highly increased her grandeur (38). That the reader may see whether this story has been flourished, I will set down the words of the Latin authors who have mentioned this passage. *Interesse scire, says Spartianus (39), quemadmodum nocerem suam Juliam uxorem duxisse dicatur. Quæ quum esset pulcherrima, & quasi per negligentiam se maxima corpore parte nudasset, dixissetque Antoninus, Vellem, si liceret: respondisse fertur, Si libet, licet. An nescis te imperatorem esse, & leges dare, non accipere? Quo*

(19) Xiphilin. in Severo, pag. 313.

(20) There those and people had been credited for adultery.

(21) See the article JONAS (ANONYMOUS), remark [8].

(22) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. I, pag. 11.

(23) These were varieties of Rabelais' characters, as applied to the ladies.

Nominibus certis credam decetiora mores, Maribus autem potius nomina certa dari?

(24) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 205.

(25) Id. ibid. pag. 206.

(26) Spartianus, in suam Juliam uxorem duxisse dicatur. Quæ quum esset pulcherrima, & quasi per negligentiam se maxima corpore parte nudasset, dixissetque Antoninus, Vellem, si liceret: respondisse fertur, Si libet, licet. An nescis te imperatorem esse, & leges dare, non accipere? Quo

audite,

of Caracalla, than of Geta. She had the misfortune not to be able to keep peace betwixt her two sons (b). Her industry, as great as it was, proved deficient in that respect. Geta was killed by Caracalla, in the arms of his mother Julia, who was wounded, and durst

(b) Herodian.
lib. iv, cap. ill.

audito, furor inconditus ad effectum criminis roboratus est: nuptiaque eas celebravit quas si sciret se leges dare, vere solas prohibere debuisset. Matrem enim (non alio dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem, ad patricium junxit intestum: siquidem eam matrimonio sociavit cujus filium nuper occiderat. Aurelius Victor representis more clearly the artifice she made use of. She was not so unpolitic, as to undress herself openly before Caracalla; such an impudence might have disgusted the young man; he ordered it so, that it might pass for a surprise; she pretended not to know that Caracalla could see her in that posture; she pretended to be ignorant of his being where she was undressed. Pari fortuna, & eodem matrimonio, quo pater; namque Juliam nupseram . . . forma captus, conjugem affectavit: cum illa factis, aspectui adolescentis, presentia quasi ignora, semet dedisset, intesta corpore, asserenique, Vellem si liceret, uti: petulantius multo (quippe quæ pudorem velamento exuerat) respondisset; Libet? plane licet (40).

(40) Aurel. Victor, in Celsus, pag. m. 244. See also Eutropius, lib. viii, and Orosius, lib. vii, cap. xviii, who mention that through a private window, where he showed himself; and for asking him what he thought of it, he answered, I like you so well, that I should be glad to have you, if it could be done lawfully. Are you, replied she immediately, so ignorant as not to know, that every thing is lawful to you, who are the lord of the whole earth? And thereupon they proceeded to their transgression.

(41) Vigenere, preface to Potholus's pictures.

I do not know where Vigenere found what he says, as to the circumstance of the place. The empress Julia, says he (41), was doubtless Severus's wife; for Antoninus Caracalla married her afterwards, though she was his step-mother; and this incest came from his seeing her one day naked in the hot bath, where he showed himself; and for asking him what he thought of it, he answered, I like you so well, that I should be glad to have you, if it could be done lawfully. Are you, replied she immediately, so ignorant as not to know, that every thing is lawful to you, who are the lord of the whole earth? And thereupon they proceeded to their transgression.

[G] . . . but it is a mistake.] It has been so clearly made out, that Morel is inexcusable, for having told this story as a certainty. If he had read Trifan's Commentaries, he would have seen sufficient proofs of its falsity; though it must be granted, that all the arguments of this author are not demonstrative.

(42) Trifan. Comment. Hist. Tom II, pag. 113, & seq.

His first proof (42) is taken from the silence of the Greek authors, who have exactly described Caracalla's actions, without the least flattery. Dion Cassius lived at that time, and had great employments: he could not then be ignorant, whether Caracalla had or had not married Julia; and if he had known of such a marriage, he would certainly have spoke of it, the better to defame this emperor, whom he does not appear to have desired to spare in any thing. Since then he does not mention it, it is a certain argument of the falsity of this marriage. Herodian's silence confirms the same thing; Herodian I say, who relates many particular and disgraceful things, and who lived much nearer that time, than they who vouch this pretended marriage.

(43) Ibid. pag. 14.

Trifan supposes (43), that at the time when they say her beauty made Caracalla desire to marry her, she was at least forty five years old; for she must have been seventeen or fifteen (44) when she married Severus: and as she had Caracalla the first year of her marriage, and Caracalla was twenty seven years old when it is supposed he saw her naked, it follows, that she was forty four or forty five years old. This author is in the right to suppose, that Julia was not the step mother, but the true mother of Caracalla; no good objection can be made against this. Those that might be made to lessen the age of Julia, and against the consequences that Trifan draws from her being forty five years old, would be more considerable. Nothing hinders, will some say, but that Julia might be but fifteen years old, when she married Severus, and it is probable that Caracalla married her the year after his killing Geta

(4) It is likely error of the is for 18.

(45). Now Caracalla reigned six years after the death of his brother (46), and lived but twenty nine years in all (47); he might therefore marry Julia, when he was but twenty four years old, which being added to the sixteen of his mother, when he was born, make but forty. Trifan (48) will have forty four or forty five years 'not to be an age, in which there could be so much lustre, vigour, and beauty, as to move him so powerfully to love her, that he was obliged to

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'marry her, in order to satisfy his passion.' One might instance some women, who at such an age, and even older, have made princes passionately in love with them; but he might answer, that those women made not their conquests all at once, by appearing naked. The charms of conversation, the artifices of love, and a thousand pretty ways were their strongest arms to conquer; and then I know not what address of body and mind, enabled them to keep their conquests. The bare shewing of a body, that has undergone the influences of above forty years, is not a good expedient: it is not appearing with the best side; and therefore there is no probability, that so cunning a woman as Julia should have taken this method to gain the love of Caracalla, or that if she did, she found her account in it. I go no farther: I believe this may be replied to; the reasons that may be alledged upon such a subject, being not of such a nature as to leave no room for doubting.

Let us see the third proof. Dion (49) observes, that (49) *Id. Ibid.*

when Julia 'knew of the death of her son, she struck her breast (50) to cause her own death, by reviving

'and irritating a cancer, which she had for a long time, and that it contributed very much to her death afterwards; which shews how ridiculous they are, who have forged this story, that Julia shewed herself naked to Caracalla, and that her nakedness made him desperately in love with her. For is it likely, that this woman would have shewn herself naked, being thus ulcerated, and that Caracalla, a young prince, monarch of the world, who had the choice of all that was fine and beautiful in so vast an empire, could have been caught by this object, as they represent it? There being nothing too difficult for a Sophist, some caviller might be found, who would tell Trifan, that Julia did not shew her whole body (51). Spartianus says, that the only shew-

ed the better half of it. We may then suppose, that the part she concealed was her breast, and so her cancer did not appear. Mr Chevreau could not make this objection; for he says that Julia appeared before Caracalla, in a careless manner, and with a naked breast (52). It would be to no purpose to examine, whether it is probable that a woman, who would shew herself naked, except some part, would make choice of her breast before all others to hide it. This, I say, would be to no purpose, since by supposing the cancer, there were particular reasons that necessarily obliged Julia not to shew her breast. I therefore proceed to a third observation, which enervates the third proof of Trifan: I say, that the cancer came upon her after her marriage with Caracalla. If it came a year after the marriage, she might have had it four years when Caracalla was killed, and so Dion might say, that she had it for a long time (53).

The fourth proof of Trifan is this: Dion, who *per-* *fessly* knew Caracalla, observes, that he had been extremely enervated for a long time, and very unfit for that sort of exercise; having brought himself to that pass by his debaucheries, *ὡς ἐξ ἐξουθενώσαν* (54) *αὐτὴν πᾶσα ἡ ἀσθενεία ἰσχυρὴ* for, says he, the natural vigour, necessary for the service of the ladies, was extinct in him the last years of his life (55). It is not true that Dion observes, that Caracalla was enervated in that respect for a long time, and so the fourth proof lies open to the same inconvenience as the foregoing; for it may be answered, that this emperor exhausted his strength by his debaucheries, after his marrying Julia. Perhaps the reader will not be displeased to know, to what purpose Dion makes this remark. He had been saying, that Caracalla put four vestals to death, and that he enjoyed one of them as much as his strength would permit. The historian says afterwards what Trifan has quoted, and adds, that this vestal cried out, when she was led to the place of execution, *The Emperor himself knows very well, that I have preserved my virginity. Τέσσαρες δὲ τῶν αἰδῶ παρθένων ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν μιᾷν βίᾳ, ὅσα γὰρ καὶ ἡδύνατο, ἡσυχῆ καὶ ἡσυχῆ γὰρ ἐξουθενώσαν αὐτὴν πᾶσα ἡ ἀσθενεία ἰσχυρὴ. ἀρ' ἔτι καὶ ἑτέρον τινα τρόπον ἀισχυρῆσαι ἐλέγχετο. ἡ δὲ δὴ χόρη αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς λέγου, Κλωδία Λαί- τᾳ*

(50) See the remark [1].

(51) Se maxima corporis parte nudisset. Spartian. ubi supra.

(52) Chevreau, Histoire du Monde, Tom. II, pag. 366. Dutch Edit. 1687.

(53) 'Εν πᾶσι πολλὰς χρόνους. Jam multo tempore. Dio, in Macrin, pag. 362.

(54) It should be ἐξουθενώσαν.

(55) Trifan, ubi supra, pag. 114.

(c) Xiphilin. in
Caracalla, pag.
345, 346.

(d) Id in Ma-
crino, pag. 362.

(e) They are to be found in the second volume of *Tristan's Commentaires Historiques*, pag. 117, 118.

durst not afterwards express the least grief (*c*). If I mistake not, the best expedient Caracalla made use of to comfort his mother, was to give her a good share in the government [*H*]. This was a wonderful charm for this lady; and if she had a mind to kill herself, when she heard that Caracalla had been assassinated, it was not so much out of grief for her son's death, as because she feared to see herself soon reduced to the condition of a private person (*d*). And therefore she thought no more of death, when she observed that Macrinus, who succeeded Caracalla, used her well. But as soon as she understood that he resolved to resent the injurious words she had uttered against him, when she heard of the assassination of Caracalla, she starved herself to death [*I*]. The title of Domna, which is given her, was the surname of a family [*K*]. There are some difficulties about the time of her marriage with Severus [*L*]. There are some inscriptions (*e*),

(56) Xiphilin. in
Caracalla, pag.
352.

(57) Tiftan.

(57) *Tristan*.
ubi supra, pag.
115. *He quote*
no body. This is
to be found in the
fragments of
Dion, pag. 899,
of the edition of
1606.

(58) Funus Getae
accuratius fuisse
dicitur quam eju-
s qui à fratre vide-
retur occisas. Il-
latiusque est ma-
jorum sepulcro,
hoc est Severi.
Spartian. in
Geta, cap. vii,
pag. m. 744.

(59) Urnulam auream Se-
veri reliquias con-
tinentem eam-
demque Antoni-
norum sepulcro
illatam. *Id. in*
Severo, cap. ult.
pag. 640.

(60) Id. in Caracalla, cap. x, pag. 730.

(61) Capitolin.
in Macrino, cap
v. pag. 753.

(62) Herodian.
lib. iv, cap. 13.

(63) See Salma-
fius; in Spartian.
cap. xx, pag. 633;
and Mr Span-
heim, de Præst.
Numismat. pag.
628.

(64) Spartian. in
Geta, cap. v,
pag. m. 740.

(65) See the remark [L].

(66) Aurel.
Victor, in Epit.
pag. 212.

(67) Heliogaba-
lus dictus Cara-
callæ ex Semea
CONSOBRINA
occulte stuprata
filius. *Id. ibid.*

(68) Ulpian. lege
ultima de Senat.
apud Trifan,
pag. 117.

τα ἐνομαζέτο· ἢ τις καὶ μῦθα βοῶσα, ὅτι δὲν
αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος ἐστὶ πατέρησιν· σὺ γὰρ κατὰ
τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς. *Postea occidit quatuor, ex quibus unum
quantum in ipso fuit, vitiauit: nam cum ad extremum
vix in rebus Veneris defecerat, qua ex re dicebatur fla-
gitia obsecra aliterius generis facere. Huic virgini Clo-
dia Lætia nomen fuit, eaque viva sepulta est: quum tam
enim exclamaret scire ipsum Antonium se virginem
esse (56).*

I proceed to the fifth proof. *It is certain*, that if Julia had been his wife, *when Jbe died, her body would not have been deposited first in the monument of the two brothers, Lucius and Caius Cæsar's, and afterwards in that of the Antoninus's with the bones of Geta, but with him* (57). This proof is very bad, and shews, that Trifitan did not know that Caracalla and Geta were in the same tomb. Geta was laid in the sepulchre of Severus (58), that is to say, in that of the Antoninus's (59), and Caracalla was laid there too. *Corpus ejus Antoninorum sepulchro illatum est, ut ea fides reliquias ejus acciperet quæ nomen addiderat* (60). His body was sent to Rome, by the very order of his murderer (61). Others say, that Macrinus had it burnt, and put the ashes in an urn; which he sent to Julia (62).

The sixth proof is very good ; it is grounded on Julia's being the mother, and not the mother-in-law of Caracalla. This is plain from the testimony of Dion, a man of figure in the empire, and who had seen Severus, Julia, Caracalla, Geta, &c. a hundred times. Herodian says the same things ; and what can be more convincing upon this subject, than these words of Orian? τὸν μεγάλῳ μεγάλῳ εὐριστά δόγμα Σε-
ήρῳ. Since Oppian, in a book which he dedicated to Caracalla, affirms, that Julia brought forth Caracalla, can there be the least doubt of it ? Can a coteremporary writer be mistaken in such a thing? And durst he tell a lie in the face of all the court, about a thing which no body was ignorant of? Can any one be ignorant in a prince's court, whether his wife is the mother, or the step-mother of his sons? I say nothing of the inscriptions, in which Julia is called Caracalla's mother (65). Now all those who speak of the pretended marriage of Julia and Caracalla, suppose that she was his step-mother, and therefore are not to be credited, as building upon a falsity. Nay, they fall into a contradiction. Does not Spartianus say somewhere, that Geta was a greater favourite of his mother than Caracalla? *Fratri semper inuifus, matri amabilior quam frater* (64). Would a man who should make this remark, and yet believe Julia to be Geta's mother, and Caracalla's step-mother, have common sense? This is not the only argument, that Spartianus affords against himself (65). Aurelius Victor (66) affirms, that Caracalla died, being near thirty years of age : which cannot be true, if this emperor was not Julia's son. See the remark [L]. The same historian observes, that Caracalla having secretly lain with Semea, his cousin, had a son by her, who was the emperor Heliogabalus (67). If Caracalla was Semea's cousin, he was Julia's son. I must observe by the way, that Mammea, Semea's sister, and Alexander Severus's mother, is called by Ulpian Caracalla's cousin (68). Thus we find here a coteremporary writer, who says, that Julia was Caracalla's mother.

[H] *Her son . . . gave her a good share in the government.*] See what has been quoted out of Dion, in the remark [C]; and add to it what the same historian tells us, when he relates the tragical end of Caracalla. He says, that during Caracalla's expedition against the Parthians, Julia remained at Antioch, and received all the dispatches, and communicated only to the emperor, such as were material. Thus all the af-

fairs of the state went through her hands, and it was she who judged, whether such or such letters written to the emperor, deserved to be sent to him or not. This is a proof of the trust that Caracalla reposed in her, and of the notion he had of her capacity. Ἐκείλευτο αὐτῇ πάντα τὰ ἀρκεύμενα διαλεγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ μάτην αὐτῷ ὄχλῳ χειμασταν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντι πέμπεται. Cui mandatum erat, cuncta quae mitterentur, discernere, ne ad Antoninum occupatum in terra bosili frustra multitudo litterarum mitteretur (69).

[7] *As soon as she understood that Macrinus resolved to resent the injurious words she had uttered against him, . . . she flared herself to death.* Macrinus lent her Caracalla's ashes (70), and wrote a very obliging letter to her (71): he desired she might keep all her retinue, and have her guards, as before; in which he made her think no more of killing herself. Ἐπειθ' ὡς ἐτέ τι τῆς βασιλῆως θραυστέας καὶ τῆς τῶν δορυφόρων περὶ αὐτῆς φρονέας πλῆλειθι, καὶ ἐκείνῃ χρῆσα τινα αὐτῇ σπέρσαι, παραστήσασα, τὴν τῷ Σαύτῃ ἐπιθυμίαν κατέβητο. *Sed postquam ille non modo nihil de regis famulatu ejus, aut de stipendiatoribus quos secum habebat custodire causa immutavit, verum etiam multa ad eam percommode scripsit, cepit bona spe injecta desiderium mortis deponere* (72). But when he understood, that she had furiously inveighed against him, and formed factions, to make herself sovereign in that country, like Semiramis and Nitocris; he ordered her immediately to depart from Antioch, and permitted her to retire whither she pleased. Then Julia would live no longer; she feared more than death the condition of a woman without authority. Some (73) doubt whether her death was voluntary; but Dion does not speak of it doubtfully. He affirms (74), that she flared herself to death, which she the easier effected, as having inflamed her cancer, by striking her breast. Tritan believes, that *she struck her breast to baten her death*, by irritating her cancer; but I do very much question whether this is the historian's meaning. I believe that Dion meant no more than this, *viz.* that this lady striking her breast, whilst she was lamenting the death of her son, irritated the cancer (75). The general custom of women, upon the news of a loss like this, was not only to make lamentations, but also to beat their breasts. Julia did as the rest, but probably it was not with such blows, as to design directly to die of them. Since she is compared to Semiramis, the must have been looked upon as a most ambitious and cunning woman. This last quality she did not want, if we believe Dion Cassius (76).

[K] *The title of Domna was the name of a family.* Trifstan (77) proves it very learnedly, and censures Ritterhusius (78), who thought that in this verse of Oppian, *Τὸν μεγάλῃ μεγάλῃ οὐτίσας* Δόμνα Σεβήρα, the word *Δόμνα* is an epithet borrowed from the Latin *Domina*, and that the Poet making it Greek, inserted it *with the licence of the elision of the Iota*. He criticises another fault of the same Ritterhusius, which is his believing that Oppian speaks of Martia, Severus's first wife. See Menage (79), who censures Gentilis (80), who was guilty of Ritterhusius's first fault. See also Mr Spanheim (81), who finds the same fault in the notes upon Nicephorus Bryennius.

[L] *There are some difficulties about the time of her marriage with Severus.*] Dion (82) affirms that Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, prepared the nuptial chamber for Severus and Julia, in the temple of Venus, which was in the palace. *Now Faustina died in the east, about the end of the year 175 (83).* Therefore Severus's and Julia's marriage was not later than

(69) Xiphilin. in
d Caracalla, pag.
357.

(7c) Herodian.
e lib. iv. cap. xiii.

(71) Xiphil in
Macrino, pag.
362.

Y
o
f

...

(73) Herodian.

(74) *Xiphilia*.
in Macrino, pag.

(75) See the
Fragments, pag.
899, of Dion's
edition, 1606.

(76) Πρὸς δὲ
τέτοιοις εἶχε
καὶ τὸ παῖδ'
τῆς μητρὸς,
καὶ τὴν ὕβριν
ὄθεν ἐκείνη ἤ-
λινε· ei fraud &
malitia matris,
Syriorumque ex
quibus illa orta
fuerat. *Xiphilini.*
in Caracalla,
pag. 349.

(77) Triften.
Comment. Hist.
Tom. II, pag.

(78) Not. in
Oppiani Cyn-

t (79) Amznit.
juris, cap. xxv,

(80) Lib. ii, Pa.
regerum juris,

(81) Spanhem. de
Præstant. Numif.

(S2) Xiphilin. in
al Severo, pag. 310.

(83) Tillemont,
Hist. des Emper.
Tom. III, pag.

at

in which she is called the mother of the camps, the mother of the country, and the mother of the Senate.

that year. Julia was quickly a mother; it is not known whether Caracalla was the eldest of her children, but that might well be. According to Spartianus, who makes him live forty three years, Caracalla was killed in the year 217, according to which reckoning he must have been born in the year 174. If you object to this author, that Caracalla's and Julia's marriage must be placed about the year 212, since it happened after the beginning of Caracalla's reign, which lasted but six years; and if you conclude from thence, that this marriage is a mere fiction, since Julia was then above fifty years old; he will answer you, that Julia was not the mother of Caracalla, and he will maintain, that she was not married to Severus, till long after the year 174. And yet Dion affords us a strong proof that Julia must have been at least fifty years old, when it is pretended, that her nakedness did so charm Caracalla. From what he says, we ought to suppose, that she was married before the death of Faustina, and consequently, that she was at least twelve or thirteen years of age, in the year 175. I am going to shew, that it is impossible, that Caracalla should have been born the first year of Julia's marriage, if it be true, that this marriage happened before Faustina's death.

Spartianus says, * that Caracalla was but five years old, when his father was governor of Illyricum, (which we cannot suppose before the year 190) and that he received the *Toga virilis* when he was designed consul (that is at the end of the year 201, and so he was not then at most but in the beginning of his fifteenth year). He every where acknowledges, that Caracalla was very young, when Severus came to the empire. He represents him as a child of two or three years of age at most at the birth of Geta, which was the twenty seventh of May, 189 (84). All this is inconsistent with the forty three years he gives this emperor, when he was killed in 217. He therefore contradicts himself. Dion affirms, that Geta lived but twenty two years and nine months (85), and that Caracalla lived but twenty nine years (86). Now Caracalla lived but six years after the death of Geta (87), and he was killed in the year 217. Geta therefore must have been born in the year 189, and Caracalla in 188. Therefore there must have been many years from Julia's marriage to Caracalla's birth, if Faustina prepared the nuptial bed, as Dion relates it; and yet, according to Spartianus, Julia's marriage was quickly fruitful, and gave a second son to Severus, a few years after the birth of the first. Ex qua (Julia) statim pater factus est. A Gallis ob severitatem & honorificentiam & abluentiam, tantum quantum nemo dilectus est. Deinde Pannonias proconsulari imperio rexit. Post hoc Siciliam proconsularem sorte meruit, suscepitque Romæ alterum filium (88). — *Whic Julia soon made him a father. He was exceedingly beloved by the Gauls, on account of his severity, honourableness, and abstinence. After that he was Proconsul of the Pannonia: next he was Proconsul of Sicily, and had another son at Rome.* There is a great deal of confusion in all this. I know not whether a conjecture, which I advance at a venture, will be approved. Dion does not seem to me to say, that Faustina actually prepared the nuptial chamber, but that Severus dreamed she had prepared it. This historian relates seven prefaces of Severus's exaltation; and after having mentioned the six first, he adds, that they appeared to him in his sleep (89); and afterward he speaks of the seventh as of a fortuitous action, done when he was awake. In relating the six first, he does not always observe upon each in particular, that it was a dream; but he does it three or four times. This might have deceived the interpreters; for he does not observe it as to this action of Faustina, which is one of the six prefaces: he relates it as a reality. I mean without cautioning that it was a dream. Now since he does the same with respect to some of the other prefaces, which were manifestly a dream, and since, before he relates the preface, which consisted in a real action, he gives notice, that all the preceding prefaces appeared in

his sleep; I think it may be concluded, that he makes the preparation of the nuptial bed in the temple of Venus, by Faustina, to be only the vision of a man who sleeps. I do not know whether ever the nuptial chamber of any person was prepared for him in a temple. It is easier therefore to come to Dion's assistance, than to bring off the other historian: nevertheless, some contradictions are objected to the latter, without much ground. This I am going to examine, observing first of all, that Mr de Tillemont ought not to have preferred this passage of Dion, to the hypothesis that Spartianus leads us to (90). This hypothesis is to say, that Severus married Julia, whilst he commanded in Gallia Lugdunensis, in the year 186. Some historians tell us (91), that Caracalla was born at Lyons.

Tristan (92) alleges, as a proof of Spartianus's contradictions, these words of Caracalla's life. * *Hic tam enim omnium durissimus, & ut uno complectar verbo, parricida, incestorum reus, patris, matris & fratris inimicus* (93). — *He was the most cruel of men; in a word, he was guilty of parricide and incest, and hated his father, mother, and brother.* But I do not think that he can hereby be convicted of contradiction, and of forgetting his hypothesis; he might maintain, that he takes the word *mater*, according to the notion which he explains two pages before, *Matrem enim (non alio dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem. — He married his mother; for she could be called by no other name.* And we see he does not forget the incest, in the words related by Tristan (94). * *The same Spartianus mentions the reason, which Caracalla said he had to kill his brother, namely, that he despised their mother, and did not pay her the respect that was due to her. Which makes it manifest, that Spartianus, or he that he took it from, acknowledged her to be their common mother. For he would have had no reason to be so enraged with this irreverence of his brother towards Julia, if she had not been his mother, and the pretence had been as ridiculous, as it appeared barbarous, notwithstanding all the other reasons he invented to palliate his violence and his crime. This objection is not good: for in the first place, these words *matrem cum irreverentem fuisse* (95), signify only, that Geta did not respect his mother; and they ought not to be translated as if being spoken by Caracalla, they meant, *Geta does not respect our mother.* It is thus however, that Tristan has understood them, which is his fault. In the second place, it is a very specious pretext to extenuate a murder, to say, that the person killed used his mother ill. An usurper, who should dethrone a prince, insolent to his mother, would not fail to charge him with this crime, though he were no relation to the family dethroned. Cromwell and his party would have exhausted all the common-places of rhetoric, if they could have reproached Charles I with such an irreverence. Much more would this pretence be alledged, if a man was the son-in-law of a lady, ill treated by her own son. Such a man would say, that he thinks himself obliged to defend the rights of his father's widow, against all opposers whatsoever. In a word, he would alledge a hundred plausible reasons, and such as might make an impression; and I do not know what Tristan meant when he called this a ridiculous pretence.*

Here is a stronger objection against Spartianus. He says (96) that Caracalla being in his thirteenth year, was proclaimed by the soldiers, an associate to the empire, upon the taking of Ctesiphon. He adds, that Severus returning into Syria, gave the *Toga virilis* to Caracalla, and named him his colleague in the consulship, which they entered upon immediately. This consulship falls in the year 202, and the taking of Ctesiphon, in the year 198. It is not therefore possible, that Caracalla, who was killed in the year 217, should have lived so long as this historian affirms, that is, forty three years.

(90) See Tillemont, Tom. III, pag. 389, & Spartian. in Severo, cap. iii, & iv, pag. 594.

(91) Aurel. Victor, in Caracalla, pag. 211.

An Examination of some contradictions objected to Spartianus.

(92) Tristan, ubi supra, pag. 219.

(93) Spart. in Caracalla, sub fin. pag. 732.

(94) Tristan, ubi supra.

(95) Spart. in Geta, cap. ii, pag. 709.

(96) In Severo, cap. xvi, pag. 616, 617.

(84) Id. ibid. pag. 389, 390.

(85) Xiphil. in Caracalla, pag. 345.

(86) Id. ibid. pag. 338.

(87) Herodian. lib. iv, cap. xiii. See also Xiphilinus, in Caracalla, pag. 358, ubi dicit, *ibid Caracalla regnavit sex annis, tres menses, et quatuor dies.* *Toga d. 191 accord. to the edition of Dion Cassius, in 1606.*

(88) Spartian. in Severo, cap. iv, pag. 594.

(89) Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷνειρῶν ἐμφανέων ἐμαθεν. ὅτι ἡ τὸν βασιλεὺς διόφρων ἐφῆκε, ὅτι ἡ ἀντιφῶν ἐνδονόβη. Quae omnia quum ex somniis intellexerit Severus, tum id revera evenit, quod cum adhuc ephelus esset, confedit in sella principis per imprudentiam. Xiphilinus, in Severo, pag. 310.

(a) Strabo, lib. x. Suidas, Stephanus.

(b) Lib. ii, cap. vi.

(c) In the article ZIA, remark [C], towards the end.

(d) Strabo, ubi supra.

(1) At the word Cœ.

(a) The Italians write it so.

(1) Eras. Adag. Chil. III, Cent. IV, n. 8, pag. m. 725.

(2) Theophil. Rainaud. Hopletheca, Sect. II, Serie III, cap. I, pag. m. 303.

(3) Hadr Junius, Adag. Cent. VI, n. 43.

(4) Theophil. Rainaud. ibid. pag. 304.

(5) In a manuscript remark, which he has inserted to me.

JULIS, a town of the isle of Cea, in the Ægean Sea. In this town (a) were born the Poet Simonides, the Poet Bacchylides, his nephew, the Sophist Prodicus, the Physician Erasistratus, and a Philosopher called Aristo [A]. Valerius Maximus (b), relates a very singular thing, which he was witness of, when he passed through Julis in the retinue of Sextus Pompeius, who was going into Asia, to exercise his proconsulship. I speak of it elsewhere (c). When the four towns of this island were reduced to two, Julis was one of the two (d). It was built upon a mountain three miles from the sea. The native country of so many great men, ought not to have been omitted by Moreri; nor left out in the Dictionary of Charles Stephens, by Mr Lloyd, who had done better to rectify this article [B], than to leave it out entirely.

[A] A Philosopher called Aristo. It is thus we ought to say, and not with Moreri (1), the Philosopher Aristo; for this expression induces one to believe, that either there was but one Philosopher of that name, or at least, that he who was born at Julis, was incomparably more eminent than all the other Aristo's, both which things are false.

[B] Mr Lloyd had done well to rectify this

JULIUS II, created Pope the night between the thirty first of October, and the first of November, 1503, was nephew to Sixtus IV, and was called Julian de Ruvere (a). It is said that he had been a water-man [A]. There was something very remarkable in his election [B]; for, properly speaking, it preceded the entrance of the cardinals

[A] It is said, that he was a water man. Erasmus has inserted this tradition in his Adages. 'A remo ad tribunal, says he (1), Dici solitum ubi quis repente ab infima conditione provehiatur ad honesti muneris administrationem. Id quod haud scio an ulli contigerit feliciter quam Julio secundo. Nam fama est hunc juvenem ad stipem scalum reme subigere solitum, & tamen à remulco non solum ad tribunal, verumetiam ad summum illud rerum humanarum culmen evehctus est. Nec contentus hoc fastigio, pontificis ditionis pomeria multum protulit; longius etiam producturus si per mortis inclementiam vitam illi producere licuisset. From the oar to the tribunal, is proverbially said, when any one is suddenly raised from a low condition to an honourable employment. I know not whether this happened more luckily to any one, than to Julius II. For it is reported, that, when he was a young man, he used to row for hire; and yet he was raised from a boat-man, not only to the seat of justice, but even to the highest of human honours. And, not satisfied with this elevation, he greatly enlarged the Papal authority, and would have carried it still farther, had he not been prevented by death.' Father Theophilus Raynaud is mistaken, in saying (2), that Erasmus makes mention of the same thing in the explication of the proverb, à scapha in triumphalem quadrigam. It is not he, but Hadrian Junius (3), who explained this adage, and says: 'Effertur potest de quovis à face hominum ad magnas opes dignitatesque provecto, quemadmodum Julius Ligur post sedentariam operam in ducendo scalmo diu navatam, Sixti Pontificis beneficio insignibus Ecclesiasticorum honorum ornatus, tandem ad Pontificatum maximum emeruit. It may be said of any Plebeian raised to great riches and honours, such as Pope Julius, who, after having long been employed in rowing a boat, was, by the favour of Pope Sixtus, raised to the honours of the church, and at last obtained the Papedom.' Anastasius Germonius, archbishop of Tarentaise, has maintained, that all the stories concerning the birth of Sixtus IV, and Julius II, are false; and that Leonard de Ruvere, father of Sixtus IV, was a very noble knight, and that before the exaltation of this Pope, the family of Ruvere was in a flourishing state. 'Sixtus IV falso jactatus est se plebeis & piscatoribus editum cum patrem haberet Leonardum de Ruvere, Equitem nobilissimum, ut observavit Anastasius Germonius, exponents indultum Hieronymi Cardinalis de Ruvere \$. Sixtus natus 28, qui etiam \$. Magnus, de gentis Ruveræ antiquo, (etiam ante Sixtum, splendore, agit diffusissime (4).

Mr de la Monnoie (5) pretends, that Anastasius Germonius, who only copies Onuphrius, cannot stand against Philadelphus, Baptist Fregofus, Volaterranus, Corio, Erasmus, Machiavel, Chaffeneuz, Bandello, du Ferron, Massio, and so many others cited by Spondanus, in his continuation of Baronius, on the year 1471. n. 10. Bandello affirms, that Julius II.

article.] Charles Stephens had done well not to say so absolutely, that the isle of Cea was indifferently called Cia or Cos, and to examine better what he says, that there was a law in Julis, which sentenced all people to death that were above sixty years of age, and that the end of this law was to prevent the want of provisions for the rest. See what we shall say upon this in the remarks of the article ZIA.

boasted that he had steered a little vessel. 'Giulio secondo Pontefice, anchorche di bassissima gente fosse discelo, e non si vergognasse spesse hute dire che egli da Arbizuola, villa del Savonese, haveffe con una barchetta più volte, quando era garzone, menato de le cipolle à vendere à Genova, fù nondimeno huomo di grandissimo ingegno e di molto elevato spirito (6). Pope Julius II, though of mean extraction, and made no difficulty frequently to say, that from Arbizuola, a village in the Savonese, he many times, when a boy, carried onions in a boat to sell at Genoa; nevertheless was a man of great parts, and an exalted genius.'

[B] There was something very remarkable in his election. He was sure of his election before the cardinals entered the conclave; so that he came into it Pope. He was an exception to the common proverb, that he who enters the conclave Pope, comes out cardinal, Chi entra Papa, esce Cardinale (7). He had secured his faction, by so many promises, and had in his power so many means of enriching such as would serve him, that it was not possible for him to miss of the Papal dignity. Besides the riches which he had already gotten, he had in hands those of others: every one was eager to offer him money, and even their benefices; so that he saw himself in a capacity of promising more than was asked. Thus you see the iniquitous way by which he rose to the pontificate. It is not a Protestant, but an Italian author that says it. 'Ma molto più ve lo promossiono le promissioni immoderate, & infinite fatte da lui a Cardinali, a Principi, a Baroni, & a ciascuno, che gli potesse essere utile a questo negotio, di quanto leppono dimandare: & hebbe oltra ciò facoltà di distribuir danari, e molti beneficii, e dignità Ecclesiastiche, così delle sue proprie, come di quelle d'altri: perche alla fama della sua liberalità molti concorrevano spontaneamente ad offerirgli, che usasse a proposito suo i danari, il nome, gli ufficii, & i beneficii loro: ne fu considerato per alcuno essere molto maggiore le sue promesse di quello, che poi Pontefice potesse, o dovesse osservare: perche haveva lungamente havuto nome tale d'huomo libero, & veridico, che Alessandro sexto, nimico suo tanto acerbo, mordendolo nell'altre cose, confessava lui essere huomo verace; laqual laude, egli sapendo, che NUNO più facilmente inganna gli altri, che chi è solito, & ha fama di mai non gl'ingannare; non tenne conto, per conseguire il Ponteficato, di maculare (8). But that which served most in his advancement, was the promises immoderate and infinite, which he made to the cardinals, princes, and barons, and to all others whom he might make profitable to him in that action. Besides he had the means to distribute money, benefices, and spiritual dignities, as well such as were his own, as those that were the rights of others, for that such was the brute and renouwe of his liberalitie,

(6) Bandello, Novel xxvi, of the first part, fol. 29 verso, Mr de la Monnoie has furnished me with this passage.

(7) Memoires des Intrigues de la Cour de Rome, printed at Paris, 1677, pag. 20.

(8) Guicciardini, lib. vi, fol. 165, verso.

Cardinals into the conclave. He had gained the faction of the duke of Valentinois, by making him believe, that he was his father [C], and promising to treat him as his son. He did afterwards just the contrary. No man had ever a more martial spirit than he [D]. He was in person at the taking of towns, and appeared more fiery than those who commanded his armies [E]. A great number of writers affirm, that he once threw

heralds, that many made willing offers to him to dispose as he best liked of their treasures, their names, their offices, and benefices. They considered not that his promises were farre to great then, that being Pope, he was eyther bable or ought to observe, for that he bad of so long continuance enjoyed the name of iust and upright, that Pope Alexander him self his greatest enemy, speaking ill on him, in al other things could not but confesse him to be true of his word: a praise which he made no care to defile and staine, so thende to become Pope, knowing that no man more easily beguileth an other, then he that bath the custome, and name neuer to deceiue any. If he had not made use of this Simony, how could he have induced the cardinals to give him their voices. He, who had always discovered such a turbulent and terrible temper, and got many enemies (9). Money brings every thing about; it made a Pope before they had met for the election: a thing never known before. Il Cardinale di San Pietro in Vincola potente d'amici, di reputatione, e di ricchezze, haveva tirati a se i voti di tanti Cardinali, che non havendo ardire di opporlegli quegli, che erano di contraria sentenza, entrando in Conclave, gia Papa certo, e stabilito; fu con essempio incognito prima alla memoria de gli huomini, senza che altrimenti si chiudesse il Conclave, la notte medesima, che fu la notte dell' ultimo giorno d'Ottobre, affunto al Ponteficato (10). The cardinal S. Petri Ad Vincula mighty in friends, reputation, and riches, had drawn to him the voices of so many cardinals, that entering the conclave, he was with an example all new and without shunning the conclave, elected Pope the same night.

[C] He made the duke of Valentinois believe that he was his father. I have read this no where but in Varillas. This historian says (11), that the French accused Julius II of having ascended St Peter's throne by two irregular ways, to wit by Simony (12) and deceit. To prove the Simony they intanced the benefices, and legations promised in the conclave, and given after the election to the cardinals, who were heads of the factions, and they specified the sums of money, which the other cardinals had received for the price of their voices. To demonstrate the deceit, it was remonstrated to the same Pope, that the Spanish cardinals being engaged by oath not to give their voices to any other, than him who was propoled by the duke of Valentinois, the cardinal of St Peter in Bonds, who was sworn enemy to this duke, suborned some persons to persuade him, that he was his father; that he had kept his mother when she seemed only to belong to cardinal Borgia, who was afterwards Alexander VI; that the jealousy the same Borgia conceived against him, was the only cause of the persecution he had suffered from him for ten years together; but the business at present being to chuse another Pope, if he would lend him his interest, he would treat him as his son. The duke of Valentinois gave credit to what was told him in confidence so far as to consent, that the cardinals of his faction should elect the cardinal of St Peter in Bonds, who failed not immediately after to deprive him of all Romagna and Umbria, instead of acknowledging him for his son.

[D] No man had ever a more martial spirit than he. Here is what John le Maire Historiographer to Lewis XII says of him. Let us farther observe another wonderful difference in the end of this work; I mean the graciousness and affability of the Sultan to the Most Christian king, in comparison of the rigour and obduracy of the present Pope, who being all over martial and four, and always in his armour, as if he would have his terrible and warlike actions spoken of, as those of the great Tamerlane, emperor and Sultan of the Tartars, will continually carry on the war, which becomes him as little, as dancing does a hooded Monk. Yet he must not expect to make a new world wholly monstrous, as he

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is attempting; for hogs will always feed on acorns, oaks will be deprived of their leaves in due time, and wood will be applied to such an use as properly belongs to it. But the glorious stelliferous crown, and the eagle of Jupiter, which are bright celestial luminaries, fixed and unmovable, as Astronomers witness, will shine in the firmament as long as the world lasts (13). William Budæus called him a bloody ringleader of gladiators (14), and strongly represented the scandal that Pope gave, who at seventy years of age appeared in a warlike habit, whilst the people were going in procession to beg peace of God. Cum sacerdos septuagenarius Christi, Pacis conditoris & parentis Legatus, Bellonæ facris operaretur, cui cum generis humani luculento dispendio litare contendebar. Idque tum, cum profanum vulgus ad delubra pacis & concordie miserabili specie supplicationes inibat. Enimvero vilendum spectaculum, Patrem non modo sanctissimum, sed etiam senio & canitie spectabilem, quasi ad tumulum Gallicum Bellonæ fama suos evocatos cientem: non trabes, non augustis insignibus venerandum, non Pontificiis gestaminibus sacrosanctum, sed paludamento & cultu barbarico conspicuum; sed furiali, ut ita dicam, confidentia succinctum, fulminibus illis brutis & inanibus lucidum, eminente in truci vultu culique spirituum atrocitate (15). When a minister of CHRIST, of seventy years of age, ambassador of the Prince of Peace, was employed in sacrificing to Bellona, to whom his vows were offered at the expense of the human race. And that, at a time when the populace were lamenting and making prayers in the temples of Peace and Concord. It was indeed a remarkable sight, to see a most Holy Father, venerable for his old age and grey hairs, exciting his subjects to war, habited, not as a prince or Pope, but armed, and breathing nothing but rage and fury. This is but a small part of Budæus's vehement declamations against this Pope. You may see them at large in Flacius Illyricus, in the twentieth book of his Catalogus testium veritatis.

[E] He was in person at the taking of towns, and appeared more fiery than those who commanded his armies. Du Pleffis Mornai adds nothing to the expressions of Guicciardin, when he says (16), being resolved to attack Ferrara, he was advised first to take Mirandola, and being tired with the slow progress of that siege, which went not to his mind (a thing not expected, and never known before) the vicar of CHRIST on earth was there in person against a Christian town, says Guicciardin, and too old and sick, was so obdurate and impetuous in a war that he himself had raised against the Christian Princes, that nothing was done soon enough, he was always calling to the captains in a fury, having his quarters so near the battery, that two men were killed in his kitchen, notwithstanding the remonstrances the cardinals made to him of the disgrace he brought both upon himself and his see. Montfret (17) says on that occasion, he deserted St Peter's chair, to take the title of Mars the god of battle, to display his three crowns in the field, and to sleep in a watch-tower; and God knows what a fine figure these mitres, crosses, and crofters made, fluttering in the camp; the devil was not such a fool as to be there, for benedictions were too cheap. Guicciardin does very well represent what concerns the siege of Mirandola; for he observes, that this Pope had no regard to the horrible cold of the season, which retarded the works of the besiegers. Partii secondo di di Gennajo (18) da Bologna accompagnato da tre Cardinali, e giunto nel campo, alloggiò in una year 1511. caferà d'un villano, sottoposta a' colpi dell' artiglierie de' nimici; perche non era più lontana dalle mura della Mirandola che tiri in due volte una balestra commune: quivi affaticandosi, & essercitando non meno il corpo, che la mente, e che Imperio, cavalcava quasi continuamente hora quà, hora là, per il campo, sollecitando che si desse perfezione al piantare dell' artiglierie, delle quali infino

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threw St Peter's keys into the Tyber [F], in order only to use St Paul's sword: but as these writers copy one another, without citing any good original author, I would not advise any body to vouch for the truth of it. However, it may be said, that if this Pope wanted the qualities of a good bishop he had at least those of a conquering prince. He had great courage and a political head, by which he formed leagues, and broke them, according to the exigency of his interest. He made a most formidable one against the republic of Venice, and made use, among other things, of the thunder of his excommunications;

(19) Guicciard.
lib. ix, fol. 262.
verso.

Fenton, ubi
supra, pag. 505,
506.

(20) Guicciard.
lib. ix, fol. 263.

Fenton, ubi
supra, pag. 506.

(21) Abrégé,
Chronolog.
Tom. IV, pag.
455, ad ann.
1511.

(22) He should
have said the
twentieth of Ja-
nuary.

(23) Du Plessis,
pag. 580, quotes
only that author,
and calls him
Gilbertus Ducher-
ius. He was of
Auvergne. His
Epigrams were
printed at Lyons,
in 1538.

a quel giorno era plantata la minor parte, essendo impedita quasi tutte l'opere militari da' tempi asprissimi, e dalla neve quasi continua (19). — He parted from Bologna, the second of Januarie accompanied with three cardinals, And being come to the campe, the necessity of the place, compelled him to be lodged in a little countrey cottage, subject and open to the artilleries of the enemies, for that it was no further from the walls of Mirandola, then a common crossbow will boote at twice: there he dispensed with no travail of his body, nor forbore any care or studie of minde. There he was no lesse prodigal of his autoritie, then of his presence, and riding continually thorow, and about the campe, he had almost finished the planting of the artillerie, whereof till that daye the lesser parte could not be employed for impediments, which the unreasonable tyme and snowes gave to all actions of warre. Complaining of his captains, he encouraged his soldiery with the hopes of plunder; for he promised them not to capitulate with the town, but to suffer them to sack it. Stet- te alla Concordia pochi giorni riconducendolo all' essercito la medesima impatentia, et ardore; il quale non raffreddò punto nel camino la neve grossissima, che tuttavia cadeva del Cielo, nè i freddi così similati che a pena i soldati potevano tollerargli: & alloggiato in una Chiesetta propinqua alle sue artiglierie, e più vicina alle mura, che non era l'alloggiamento primo, nè gli satisfacendo cosa alcuna di quelle, che si erano fatte, e che si facevano; con impetuossime parole si lamentava di tutti i Capitani, eccetto che di Marc' Antonio Colonna, il quale di nuovo haveva fatto venire da Modena; nè procedendo con minore impeto per l'essercito, hora questi sgridando, hora quelli altri confortando, e facendo con le parole, e con i fatti l'officio del Capitano. Prometteva, che i soldati procedevano virilmente, che non accetterebbe la Mirandola con alcuno patto; ma lascierebbe in potestà loro il saccheggiarla (20). — The Pope remained not longe at Concordia, the same impatience and violence of mind causing him to returne, which first procured him to come to the campe; neither was his fury any thing abated by the hurfull snowes that continually fell from heauen, whilest he was in the feldes, nor his rigor the more restrained by the sharpe cold, whose bitterness the soldiers could not endure but with great payne: he was lodged in a little church, neare to his artilleries, but somewhat nearer the walls then was his former lodging: and being discontented with all things, that either were already done, or stood to be done, he complained with bitter wordes against all his captains, except only Mar. Antb. Colonna, whom he had newly sent for from Modena: he travelled with great impatience about the armie, enforcing him to persuaade a diligence in the men in whose slownesse he tooke griefe, he accomplished both in wordes and action, the office of a Capteine, promising the soldiours for the reward of their vallours the spoyle of Mirandola, which he said he would not take to composition, but leave it to their libertie to ravensack or raunsom to their own profit. Mezerai (21) says, that the town being taken by composition the nineteenth of March (22), the Pope would be carried into it through the breach.

[F] A great number of writers affirm, that he once threw St Peter's keys into the Tyber. Hitherto I have found no authority for this, besides this Latin epigram of one Gilbertus Ducherius Vultio (23), Aqua-

In Gallum ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,
Armata educit Julius urbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibidis amnem ob-
Projicit, & sacrus, talia verba facit:
Quam Petri nihil efficiant ad praelia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan enlis erit.

Fame says, Pope Julius once the sword did wield,
And, to engage the Frenchman, took the field.
Fierce, into Tyber's stream, the keys he threw,
Exclaiming loudly, as his sword he drew:
Since, in my aid, thy keys, O Peter, fail,
Thy sword, O Paul, in battle may avail.

It must be confessed, that this is a very weak foundation; for when a poet has a pretty thought, and finds no proper subject, that he may apply it to, he makes no scruple to supply the want of it, by his amplifications and fictions; and he will dispense with the truth, rather than lose a witty saying. Poeta modo aliquid argute vel acute dicere videntur, plerumque verum sit an falsum propemodum non curant (24). Be that how it will, this action true or false of Julius II, is to be found in many authors. One of the latest writers, in whom I have read it, relates it thus (25). Percusso cum ipsis (Veneti) federe exercitum suum adversus Imperatoris confederatos Ferrariensem & Ludovicum XII, Regem Francorum, iniquissimus & perfidissimus bellator eduxit (26) cum ea voce, quæ ipsum non S. Petri, sed perditissimum & sceleratissimum latronis successorem esse commonstravit. Cum exercitu enim Roma egressus, Petri clavem furibundus in Tiberim jactavit, adeoque, ut ingeniose Bibliander conclusit, omne, quod à Sancto Petro se habere finxit jus, Tiberino flumini resignavit; additis hisce verbis: Quia clavis S. Petri amplius nil juvat, (evaginato gladio) valeat gladius S. Pauli. — Having made an alliance with the Venetians, this most unjust and perfidious warrior led his army against the emperor's allies, the duke of Ferrara, and Lewis XII, king of France, with an expression, which denoted him rather the successor of a most abandoned and wicked robber, than of St Peter. For, marching out of Rome with his army, he, in a rage, threw St Peter's key into the Tyber, thus resigning to that river, as Bibliander ingeniously concludes, whatever power he pretended to have received from St Peter; adding these words; since St Peter's key is of no farther use (at the same time he drew his sword), let us try St Paul's sword. I must not omit, that Hotman relates the same thing upon the credit of Arnold du Ferron, a Catholic historian. Is it Julius secundus, says he (27), de quo & Arnoldus Ferronus, vir imprimis doctus, & Gallie nostræ historicus, & Burdegalensis quondam Parlamenti Senator, itemque alii complures memorie prodiderunt: quod cum exercitu comparato Roma in Galliam, infesto in Regem nostrum animo, contenderet, suasque armatas copias ipse loriceatus ex urbe per Tiberis pontem educeret, multis hominum audientibus hæc pronuntiavit: Quando nobis claves Petri nihil profunt, age, gladium Pauli distingamus: simul claves, quas secum attulerat, in Tiberim projecit, gladiumque vagina eduxit. Quæ de re notum illud vetus carmen est (28). — This is that Julius II, concerning whom

Arnoldus Ferronus, a very learned man, and one of our historians of France, and formerly a member of the parliament of Bourdeaux, as also many others, have related, that, being incensed against our king, and marching with an army from Rome into France, himself armed, as he passed out of the city by the bridge of the Tyber, he said in the hearing of a great many: Since the keys of St Peter are of no use to us, come on, let us draw the sword of St Paul; at the same time he threw the keys, which he had brought with him, into the Tyber, and drew his sword. The epigram upon this is very well known.

I could never have believed, that Hotman could have been guilty of the unfairness of which I am going to convict him. I have consulted Arnold du Ferron, and do not find that he recites Ducherius's epigram, as Hotman seems to say. The verses he quotes are quite of another nature, and he adds to them the answer

(24) Papey.
Maffio, in Vita
Leonis X.

(25) Jean. Her-
seau Hist. de
Histoire France,
pag. 192, 193.

(26) Du Plessis,
pag. 580, should
not have placed
that expression
soon after his
election to the
Papacy.

(27) In Brevis
summe, pag. 88
110, 111.

(28) It is Duch-
erius's epigram
above mentioned.
Hotman gives it
at length.

communications; but when he saw that the victory which the king of France, one of the heads of that League, obtained over the Venetians, did too much weaken that republic, he forsook his allies, and re-united himself with it. The emperor, and the king of France, equally dissatisfied with him, endeavoured to bring him to reason, by a way always formidable to the Popes; which was, by the calling of a Council (*b*). But he was not daunted at that, he proceeded severely against this Council, and called another himself, which had the better of it, to which at last the king of France submitted in a low manner [*G*]. It is true, that Julius II was then dead. The Sacred League, which he formed in Italy, received a terrible check by the battle of Ravenna (*c*); and if they had known how to make use of that advantage, they would doubtless have humbled this haughty pontiff, whereas they permitted him to recover himself from that severe blow [*H*], by the little use they made of that victory, to which the powerful diversions in his behalf contributed very much. He obtained great succours from the Swifs, and was very liberal of titles, and marks of honour towards the Cantons [*I*]. He died of a sickness, full of vast designs [*K*], the twenty second of February 1513. He

(*b*) It was convened at Pisa, and then transferred to Milan, and at last to Lyons.

(*c*) On Easter-day, the eleventh of April, 1512.

answer which John Lascaris made in favour of Julius II. I do not deny that he tells the story of St Peter's keys being thrown into the Tyber; but he questions whether it be not a fiction. 'Quin vulgatum est, *says he* (29), *JOHANE CONFICTO AN VERO, quando Romani pictores Petro Claves, Paulo enim tributum, illum in Gallos emissurum copias esse accinctum & clavibus ad Tybrim profectum in aquas amnemque projecisse claves, hac inferentem, quandoquidem nihil Petri claves prodesse, Pauli enim (quem mox eduxerat) auxilio futurum. — It is commonly reported, whether jestingly or truly, that whereas the Roman Painters give Peter keys, and Paul a sword, this Pope, about to lead an army against the French, armed with sword and keys, and marching by the Tyber, threw the keys into the river, with this saying, since Peter's keys were of no service, the sword of Paul (which he presently drew) should assist him.' Is it consistent with sincerity to build such a story upon the authority of a great Catholic magistrate, and to suppress the declaration he made, that he knew not but it might be an imposture? Most books are full of the like quotations, and we cannot take the trouble often to verify whether those who cite the authors do it fairly; we cannot, I say, often take that trouble, without contracting a mistrust, which will oblige us to believe only our own eyes. If so famous an author as Francis Hotman gives himself so much liberty, what will not little authors do, who have nothing to lose? We must then argue just contrary to him who cried out:*

Quid Domini facient, audent cum talia fures (30)?

What will not masters dare, when servants thus presume?

[*G*] The king of France submitted in a low manner.]

This confirms what I have said in another place (31), that princes hardly ever ended their quarrels with the Popes, but to their own confusion. Lewis XII had called an assembly of the Gallican church at Tours, in the year 1510, to know whether he could in conscience make war with Julius II. He was informed by that assembly 'that his cause was just, and that the Pope's was not, and that he might proceed to the offensive part in his own defence (32).' At his request, and the emperor's, and in execution of the decree of the council of Constance (33), some cardinals had summoned a general council at Pisa; he and the emperor had approved by their Letters Patents (34) the calling of this council. He had protected the fathers that composed it, and who declared Julius 'suspended from the administration of the pontificate, and forbade obedience to him (35).' He had protected them, I say, against this Pope, who excommunicated and degraded them in his council of Lateran. Nevertheless, this same king some time after declared, that he looked upon the assembly of Pisa, as a pretended council. His procurators, they are the words of the act (36), 'having in their hands the letters-patents of the Most Christian King, sealed with his seal, and signed by him, and dispatched by his command, after the reverence and humility required in such cases, have entirely departed from the pretended council of Pisa, and absolutely renounced it, and freely, purely, and entirely adhered to the

most holy council of Lateran, as to the only true and lawful one. And farther, according to their aforesaid procurators, they have promised that from thenceforth the Most Christian King shall not give any favour or assistance, in any manner whatever, to the said pretended council of Pisa: nay, that all those who shall be found in his city of Lyons, or other parts of his kingdom, territories, and lordships belonging to him, persisting in their adherence to the pretended council of Pisa, shall be forced by him to retire in a month's time; and if any, of whatever state, degree, dignity, or condition they be, whether seculars or ecclesiastics, do obstinately refuse to obey, he will expel them, and repute them schismatics, and as such, upon any order of the aforesaid Holy Father, pursue them with main force, if there is occasion. And farther, the said procurators have promised that the aforesaid Most Christian King shall effectually cause six prelates, and four doctors, or most eminent graduates among those, that were in the said pretended council at Pisa, to be deputed to our aforesaid holy father the Pope, in the name of the said pretended council of Pisa, and representing the body of all those who adhered to it, to appear between this day and the first of January, in person before his Holiness, in order purely and entirely to renounce and abjure the said council of Pisa, after having asked and received the remission and absolution from his Holiness, humbly and in a suitable form. And over and above, that they will adhere and incorporate themselves with the said council of Lateran, as the true and undoubted one, both in their own name and in the name of their adherents. But if they shall refuse to do this, the aforesaid king shall give no succours, assistance, or favour against the authority of the holy apostolical see, to any of those that shall be found to favour or have favoured the said pretended council of Pisa: on the contrary, he shall with all his power cause the sentences, decrees, and censures of our Holy Father to be executed, even with force of arms, if there be occasion, without any fraud or dissimulation. This is what the prelates get who adhere to the interest of their prince in his quarrels with Rome: they are made a sacrifice to the Pope, when their quarrels are ended. It is a wonder to me, that there are so many, who prefer their temporal before their spiritual prince.

[*H*] They permitted him to recover himself from that severe blow. He recovered so well, that the same year the French were forced to abandon the Milanese. Nothing was so prejudicial to Lewis XII, as the superaddition of Anne de Bretagne his wife. She filled her head with so many scruples, about the war that France made with the Pope, that she retarded all the good designs of her husband (37).

[*I*] He was very liberal of titles . . . to the Cantons. Whereas his predecessors gave several privileges to the mendicant Friars, this Pope gave them to the Swifs Cantons, who were the principal executors of his lofty enterprizes, to whom he gave the perpetual title of *Defenders of the Ecclesiastical Liberty*, with many Bells and Standards, and a Sword, and a Cap of Gold, and other presents, to oblige them to perform all his commands (38).

[*K*] He died of sickness full of vast designs (39). This is what Guicciardin says (40). In questi tali e tanti pensieri (that is of engaging the king of England to make war with France, and of deposing Lewis

(29) Arn. Ferronus, in Ludovico XII, fol. m. 52, verso.

(30) Virgil. Eclog. iii, vers. 26.

(31) In the article GREGORY VII, at the end of remark [B].

(32) Mezerau, Abr. Chronolog. Tom. IV, pag. 453.

(33) Id. ibid. pag. 457.

(34) In July 1511.

(35) Mezerau, ubi supra, pag. 462.

(36) It is to be found intire in Coiffeteau's answer to the *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1221, & seq.

(37) See Mezerau, ubi supra, pag. 457, 460.

(38) Du Pleffis Morai, ubi supra, pag. 180. See also Heidegger, ubi supra.

(39) Varillat, Hist. de Louis XII, livr. x, pag. m. 217, & seq. mentions seven.

(40) Guicciardin lib. xi, fol. 325.

He was a lover of wine and women [L]; and he is accused even of the unnatural sin [M]: and there is no sort of crime but he is charged with, in a dialogue it is feigned he had with St Peter at the gate of Paradise [N]. The hatred he conceived against France

Lewis XII, and of giving the kingdom to the first that could conquer it) e forse ancora in altri più occulti e maggiori (perche in un' animo tanto feroce non era incredibile concetto alcuno, quantunque vasto, e smisurato) l'oppresso dopo infermità di molti giorni la morte Principe d'animo, e di costanza inestimabile, ma impetuoso, e di concetti smisurati, per i quali che non precipitasse, lo sostenne più la riverenza della Chiesa, la discordia de' Principi, e la condizione de' tempi, che la moderazione, e la prudenza: degno certamente di somma gloria, se fusse stato Principe secolare, o se quella cura, & intenzione, che hebbe ad esaltare con l'arti della guerra, la Chiesa nella grandezza temporale, avesse havuta ad esaltarla con l'arti della pace nelle cose spirituali: e nondimeno sopra tutti suoi antecessori, di chiarissima, & honoratissima memoria, massimamente appresso a coloro, iquali, essendo perduti i veri vocaboli delle cose, e confusa la distinzione del parlare reitamente, giudicano che sia più ufficio de' Pontefici, aggiungere con l'armi, e col sangue de' Cristiani, imperio alla Sedia Apostolica, che l'affaticarsi con l'esempio buono della vita, e col correggere, e medicare i costumi trascorsi per la salute di quelle anime, per laquale si magnificano che Cristo gli habbia costituiti in terra suoi Vicari (41). —

(41) See a passage of Mezerai, in remark [O], citation (60).

In these conceptions no less strange for their varieties, then great for the importance they drew, and perhaps in other thoughts, more secret and singular (for in a mind so fierce and terrible, all sorts of imaginations bore great and wayne so ever they be, are not incredible) after the continuation of his sickness for many days, he declined towards death: he was a prince of incredible constancy and courage, but so full of furie, and unrul'd conceptions, that the reverence that was borne to the church, the discord of princes, and the condition of times, did more to staye him from his ruine, then either his moderation or his discretion: worthy, no doubt, of great glory, if either he had bene a prince secular, or if that care and intention which he had to raise the church into temporal greatness by the means of warre, had bene employed to exalte it by the mediation of peace, in matters spiritual: nevertheless he was lamented above all his predecessors, and no less esteemed of those, who having either lost the true consideration of things, or at least ignorant how to distinguish and peace them rightly, judged it an office more duely appertaining to Popes, to increase the jurisdiction of the sea apostolicke by armes and blood of Christians, then by good example of life and due curing and correction of corrupt manners, to traueil for the saving of those soules, for whom they glory so much that Jesus Christ hath named them his vicars in earth. How judicious is this, and what an admirable censure upon those impatient doctors, who believe all to be just, provided the temporal grandeur of the church be improved by it! this in particular hits cardinal Palavicini, who speaks so faintly of Julius II's faults, and excuses them by reason of the temporal advantage they brought to St Peter's patrimony. — Fu dotato, says he (42), di spiriti eccelsi, à tal che se fosse stato principe di dominio sol temporale, meriterrebbe d'esser contato fra gli Eroi Certamente senza una tal ferocia non havrebbe recuperato egli alla Chiesa il più e' meglio del suo dominio. — He was endowed with a high spirit, inasmuch that if he had been a temporal prince, he would deserve to be put in the number of the heroes. Certainly had it not been for that fierceness, he had not recovered to the church the best part of her patrimony.

* Fenton, ubi supra, pag. 632, 633.

(42) Istoria del Concilio, lib. i, cap. i, n. 5.

Paul Jovius (43) affirms, that Julius II died having a vast design upon the kingdom of Naples. Hæc ingenti animo verum ægro corpore cogitantem, diuturnus fluentis alvi morbus intercept. (44). It was said that the title of deliverer of Italy, with which he suffered himself to be flattered, was but an empty name, whilst the Spaniards were possessed of Naples: If GOD let me see, answered he, striking his stick upon the ground, this shall not last long. Ad quod Pontifex quassato scipione quo innixus pavimentum infrendendo pertundebat, respondit brevi futurum, ut Neapolitani non iratis superis externum jugum excut-

politani non iratis superis externum jugum excut-

rent (45). [L] He was a lover of wine and women.] We are told of an exclamation of the emperor Maximilian: (46) Good God! what would become of the world, if thou didst not take a particular care of it, under the reign of such an emperor as I am, who am but a poor hunter, and under that of so wicked and drunken a Pope as Julius II. Some historians observe, that this Pope invented a new name to accuse the French of drinking too much wine, and discharging it immediately by urine; and they add, that this was his great vice. Gallos in Universum novo nomine augens Romanam supellestem, Micturivinos vocarat, quasi immodicos vini potores quod mox emittendum esset, quo vitio ipse maxime laborabat (47). — He gave the French the general appellation of Micturivini [Wine-Pissers] thus adding a new word to the Roman language, implying that they were immoderate drinkers of wine, which was afterwards to be discharged: of which vice he himself was very guilty. I proceed to his lewdness. He had a daughter who was married to John Jordan de Ursinis, and he is brought in, saying in a dialogue with St Peter (48), that he had had the pox.

Note, that there is a fault in the words of Arnold du Ferron before-cited. He supposes that the Pope invented the Latin word *Micturivinus*, to signify the drunkenness of the French; but it was not in that language that Julius II expressed himself, but in Italian, and the word was *Pisciavini*. It is said that one of his officers, a Norman by nation, told him one day, Faith, Holy Father, you are then a true Frenchman, for you are one of the greatest wine-pissers on the earth (49).

[M] He is accused of the unnatural sin. It is certain that Julius II is accused of this horrid crime. We read in a book of our divines of Paris, of two young gentlemen abused by him, whom queen Anne, the wife of king Lewis XII, had recommended to cardinal de Nantes to conduct them into Italy (50). Probably du Plessis gives us here a translation of these words of Wolfius. Legitur in Commentario Magistrorum Parisiensium (§ 2), de Julio secundo Papa, quod duobus nobilissimi generis adolescentibus, quos Anna Galliarum Regina Nantensi Cardinali informandos commiserat, & aliis multis diabolicae rabie (proh facinus) stuprum intulerit (51). This quotation seems too indeterminate; he should have told us where, and in what time that book of the Paris doctors was printed. John Crepin, undertaking to relate this adventure, has fallen into an anachronism: We read, says he (52), in a certain commentary of the doctors of Paris, against the Lutherans, that this Julius, inflamed with a diabolical rage, had his will of two young gentlemen of a noble family, whom queen Anne of France had sent to Robert cardinal de Nantes, to be instructed by him. The doctors of Paris would have been far from inserting such a thing in a controversial piece against the Lutherans; if they inserted it any where, it is in the writings they published against Julius, under Lewis XII.

[§ 2] This citation of Wolfius is false. He should have said: In Commentario super Articulos Magistrorum Parisiensium: whence it had appeared that this Commentary being a piece of the new Lutherans, one might expect to find in it such facts, as could not decently be advanced by the Sorbonne. That Commentary, to observe it by the by, is quoted by John Bale, in his Life of Clement VII, and it relates to the twenty five articles of the Sorbonne, published by Peter Gallandius, in 1543, and confuted by Calvin in his Antidote, &c. See Du Boulay, Tom. VI. pag. 384, 385, of his History of the University of Paris. REM. CRIT.]

[N] A dialogue which it is feigned he had with St Peter at the gate of paradise. It is a most satirical piece. Wolfius has inserted it in his *Lectiones memorabiles* (53). Rivetus (54) affirms, that it was printed at Paris with the king's licence, in the year 1612, at the ends of the acts of the council of Pisa. The substance

(45) Id. ibid.

(46) Desartene, nisi vigilares quam male esset mundo quem regimus nos, ego mihi venator, & ebrius ille ac sceleratus Julius. Du Plessis, Mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 380, ubi quæritur Joachim Cuzes Freitadensis, in Annalibus, gentis Silesiæ.

(47) Arnoldus Ferronus, in Ludov. XII, fol. 54, verso.

(48) I speak of that dialogue in the remark [N].

(49) I have this remark from Mr de la Moignon.

(50) Du Plessis, Mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 384.

(51) Wolfius, Lectiones Memorabiles, Tom. II, pag. 21.

(52) In his Etat de l'Eglise, 24. ann. 1513, pag. m. 52.

(53) Pag. 61, of the second volume.

(54) Remarque sur la Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité, Part. II, pag. 614.

France, where he had found a good sanctuary under the pontificate of Alexander VI, was so excessive, that he ordered that all the French which could be met with should be killed [O], and promised a recompence to whosoever should execute his order. We are not to believe, that the wine and hams which he sent to the king of England, were the true cause of the war of the English against France [P]. I do not know whether

substance of it is this. 'Paulo post pñus mortem Virquidam doctus in lucem emisit Dialogum, quem inscripsit, Julius, in quo Pontificem hunc horrendorum criminum insinuat, nim. quod fuerit homo palam sceleratus, temulentus, homicida, simoniacus, veneficus, perjurus, rapax, portentosis libidinum generibus undique concupiscens, denique scabie, quam vocant Galliam, totus coopertus [55]. — A little after his death, a certain learned man published a dialogue, which he intitled Julius, in which he accuses this Pope of horrid crimes; for instance, that he was openly mischievous, a drunkard, a murderer, guilty of simony, a poisoner, perjured, rapacious, defiled with monstrous kinds of lust, and lastly, covered with what they call the French pox.' Some say that Faustus Andrelinus (56) was the author of that satirical piece. Some ascribe it to Erasmus; Mr Placcius affirms, that several authors say this in the two places he quotes of Melchior Adam (57). I have consulted those two places, and have found no other testimony than that of Leo Juda. Thus Mr Placcius deceives us. Erasmus was very much troubled, that such a piece should be ascribed to him: he justifies himself very seriously in a letter. 'Dialogi cuiusdam suspitionem mihi moluntur impingere. Is ut ex argumento satis constat, scriptus est in odium divi Julii Pontificis Maximi schismatis tempore, sed à quo incertum, ante quinque annos degustavi verius quam legi. Post reperi in Germania apud quosdam descriptum, sed variis titulis. Quidam testabantur Hispani conspiciam esse, sed suppressio nomine, rursus alii Fausto Poëtae tribuebant, alii Hieronymo Balbo. Ego quid de his conjectem non habeo, subodoratus sum quoad licuit, verum nondum persequar, quod animo meo faceret satis. Inepti quilibet scripsit, ac majore supplicio dignus, quisquis vulgavit. Ac miror esse qui solo Styli argumento mihi obtrudere parent, quom nec mea sit phrasis, nisi prorsus ipse mihi sum ignotus, nec mirum sit futurum, etiam si qui in oratione nonnihil referrent Erasmus, quum verber in manibus omnium, & referimus fere, in quorum assidua lectione versamur (58).'

[O] His hatred . . . against France, . . . was so excessive, that he ordered that all the French which could be met with should be killed. Julius's rage had no bounds; he had made a decree in the name of the council, to transfer the kingdom of France, and the title of *Most Christian*, to the king of England (59). As he was upon the point of publishing it, heaven taking pity of him and of Christendom, called him out of the world, the twenty third of February. He died of an hectic fever, caused, as he said, by the uneasiness he was under, that he could not bring the Venetians to come to an agreement with the emperor; so furious were his passions, and more suitable to the sultan of the Turks, than to the common father of Christians (60). As for his order of murdering the French, I have read it only in the 100th, and 110th pages of Francis Hotman's *Brutum Fulmen*. 'Si quæ patrum memoria, says, be, in hoc regno contigerunt recordari volumus, primum hoc reperimus: Ludovicum XII (at, quem Regem? qui Patris patriæ nomen summo bonorum omnium consensu adeptus est) urbes aliquot Italie, bello captas, Papæ Julii secundi ditioni adjunxisse. Papam intermissis aliquot mensibus hanc Regi pro accepto beneficio gratiam remisisse, ut non modo eum schismaticum & hæreticum pronuntiaret, proscriberet, diris suis excommunicationum fulminibus infestaret, verum etiam Gallos omnes hostiles in modum cruciandos intermediumque curaret: præmium etiam percussoribus polliceretur peccatorum omnium veniam, & impunitatem, si quis vel unicum Gallum quoque modo trucidaret. . . . Quo nuntio (61) Julius accepto, tanto dolore atque iracundia exarsit, ut non modo Gallis omnibus aqua & igne interdicere, verum etiam obvium quemque mactari, trucidarique imperaret: præmiis etiam, ut dixi sicarios ac percussores invitaret. — If we would call to mind what happened in this kingdom, in the memory of our fathers, we shall find the principal transaction to be this: that Lewis XII (but what king? one, who, by general consent, obtained the name of father

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of his country) added to the dominion of Pope Julius II, some cities of Italy, taken in war: that the Pope, after some months, returned the king this favour, for the benefit he had received, that he not only pronounced him a Schismatic and Heretic, proscribed and excommunicated him; but procured all the French to be tortured and slain in an hostile manner; and even promised a reward to those, who should assassinate but one Frenchman, together with pardon of all their sins, and indulgences. . . . When Julius heard this news, he was so exasperated, that he not only proscribed all the French, but even enjoined those, who should meet them, to assassinate and make away with them: he also encouraged cut-throats and assassins, as I said, by promise of rewards.'

[P] We are not to believe that the wine and hams . . . were the true cause of the war of the English against France. Spondanus has been so unjust as to insinuate this, and to jest upon it; and he pretends that Polydore Virgil said nothing of it, to save at once the honour of Italy and England. Polydore was an Italian, and lived in England; he was therefore concerned in the glory of both these nations. Now he thought it unworthy of Italy to win people by such allurements, and unworthy of England to suffer itself to be caught by such a bait. These are the words of the Annalist. 'Festum est quod refert Guicciardinus, appulisse hoc tempore in Angliam Pontificiam longam navem Falerno vino, caseis, sumibusque onustam, quæ nomine Pontificis Regi ac Principibus, Antilibusque donata, ab omnibus miro applausu accepta sunt: & plebem, quam plerumque non minus leviam quam graviam movent, ad eam navem videndam summa cum voluptate accurrisse, gloriantem antea nunquam in ea insula navim ullam cum Pontificis vexillis conspectam. Quibus bellam gentem nobis depingit Guicciardinus, & vini acutius gustus appetentem, quibus sciret Pontifex eam facile in partes suas trahi posse; sicuti olim Narses fecisse dicitur, ut Longobardos in Italiam alliceret; omnes generis Poma, aliorumque deliciarum irritamenta, quorum Italia ferax esset, mittens, ut pauperima sua rura deferentes ad occupandam regionem cunctis refectam divitiis venirent. Eam verò rem adeo insignem, & Regi, principibusque, & antilibus, ac populo maxime acceptam gratamque, cum Polydorus Virgilius suæ historiæ Anglicanæ non inseruerit; exilimamus, eum ut Italum, & in Anglia commorantem, utriusque nationis gravitati parcere voluisse (62). — It is a

merry story, which Guicciardin relates, that a ship belonging to the Pope, laden with Falernian wine, cheese, and Westphalia-hams, arrived at that time in England; which being made a present of, in the Pope's name, to the king, nobles, and prelates, was received by them all with wonderful applause; and that the common people, whom trifles affect no less than things of moment, flocked to see that ship with great pleasure, boasting that they had never before seen in that island any ship with Papal colours. Guicciardin tells us, that nation was fond of wine and high-seasoned meats, by which the Pope knew he should easily draw them to his party; as they say Narses once did, to entice the Lombards into Italy, sending them all kinds of fruit, and other delicacies, with which Italy abounds, that they might be induced to leave their own native poverty, and take possession of a country full of all sorts of riches. Now whereas Polydore Virgil has not inserted in his History of England this memorable fact, so highly acceptable to the king, nobles, prelates, and people, I take the reason to be, because, being an Italian, and residing in England, he had regard to the gravity of both nations. Mezzerai comes much nearer the truth; for he observes, that the Pope spurred on Henry VIII, with the ambition of protecting the true church. The English, says he (63), were upon the point of breaking with the king. For the Pope had made them drunk with the vain-glory of defending the holy See, and with the flavour of delicious wines of all sorts, with which he had sent them a great ship laden, together with hams, saulages, and spices, to make them relish the better. According to Varillas (64), it was from a motive of religion,

(55) Joann. Zuingeri, de Fæsto Corporis Christi, pag. 140.

(56) In the edition of Wolfius there is in the title F. A. F. Poëta Regii libellus de obitu Julii secundi.

(57) A Desiderio Erasmo Rotterodamo conscriptus esse diversorum testimonio confirmatur apud Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theologicæ Germ. pag. m. 9, (it should be 97) & pag. 157 (it should be 159) in Vitis Medicæ. Germ. Placcius, de Aegymia, n. 259, pag. 72.

(58) Erasmi. Epist. i, lib. xii, pag. 575, 576.

(59) Concilia si Re d'Inghilterra alla guerra: alquale haveva ordinato che per decreto del Concilio Lateranense se trasferisse il nome del Re Christianissimo: sopra laqual cosa era già scritta una Bolla, contenendosi in essa medesimamente la privatione della dignità, e del titolo di Re di Francia, concedendo quel Regno a qualunque lo occupasse. Guicciardin, lib. xi, fol. 325. — He furred up to make war, the king of England, to whom he had transferred by public decree of the council of Latran, the name of Christianissimo, whereas there was already a Bull written, and in it likewise was contained the privation of the dignity and name of the king of France giving his kingdom to who could occupy it. Fenton, ubi supra, pag. 632.

(60) Mezzerai, Abr. Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 494, ad ann. 1513.

(61) That is, that he had been succeeded by the council of Pisa, transferred to Milan.

* Paul. Diacon. de Gest. Longob. lib. i, cap. v.

(62) Spondanus, ad ann. 1512, n. 3, pag. m. 289, where these words have been placed as a summary. Quibus illis Pontifex sui Anglos benevolos reddiderit.

ibid. ad 10 (33) ad 10 (33) ad 10 (33)

(63) Atregé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 45, ad ann. 1512.

(64) Varill. Histoire de Louis XII, liv. 8, pag. 81.

whether it is possible to find a certain speech, in which he was very ill treated. Varillas, who speaks of it, is liable to censure [2]. The history of Venice, written by Cardinal Bembo, is sufficient to shew the passion, treachery, and prodigious ambition of Julius II, though this historian be less prolix upon it than Guicciardin.

This Pope was so tired with the plaisters that his Surgeon put unsuccessfully upon an ulcer, that he would no longer suffer him to dress it. The Surgeon, who had promised with an oath not to use any more that remedy, made use of an artifice, and cured it [R]. Bandel tells a story that is pleasant enough [S]. I have just now read in a French writer, that this Pope was so malicious as to invent a fable prejudicial to the memory of Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, and which might increase the superstition of the people, to the disadvantage of France. The story was, that a serpent had

been

(65) Henry VIII gave that entertainment.

religion, that an English bishop founded an alarm for war the day after the feast (65), where the chief members of the parliament were treated with the good wines and excellent cheeses which the Pope's ship had brought to London. This prelate represented, that Lewis XII was a persecutor of the church, and that it would be an eternal disgrace to the English nation to live in peace with the persecutors of 'the holy see.' Varillas should have a little better explained all the reasons of this prelate, and not have been contented to give us to understand, that some political reasons were added to those religious motives. The English prelate urged no doubt, that Lewis XII would depose the Pope, only to create another in his room, who would permit him to conquer Italy. This certainly was the true spring that put Henry VIII in motion; he plainly perceived, that if no opposition was made to it, Lewis XII would reap all the glory of deposing Julius II, the scourge of Christendom, and of creating a new Pope devoted to him, and of subduing all Italy. Human policy and jealousy do not suffer a prince to consent to such an aggrandizing of the glory and power of his neighbours; and for this reason Lewis XII saw the forces of England, Switzerland and Spain against him.

[2] Mr Varillas, who mentions a certain speech... is liable to censure. He says (66), that Pompey Colonna, and Antony Seveli, understanding that the Pope was fallen into 'a sort of a swoon, that lasted four hours, and gave occasion to believe he was dead... called (67) their friends together, run through the streets, encouraged the townsmen to a sedition, and led them to the town-hall, where Colonna, the most eloquent of the two, pronounced the most satirical speech that is extant, against the Popes in general, and Julius in particular. He pretended, that they had most of them abused the sovereign authority, ever since they had usurped it; and reckoning up the towns that had heretofore been under tyrants, he concluded, that not one of them had been so ill treated as that of Rome. He entered into the particulars of the conduct of the late Popes, and dropt some things upon that subject, which it is not decent to relate.' Mr Varillas adds (68), 'that Guicciardin had written this speech from the memoirs of two or three persons that heard it; but it has been taken out of the body of his history. Nevertheless it is to be found printed by itself in Italian; and the French translator who recovered it, restored it to the place it was taken from.' I have occasion for another passage of this author, before I make my criticism: let us see the beginning of his preface (69). 'When, says he, I caused the eighth book of this history to be printed, I thought that the speech of Pompey Colonna to the principal citizens of Rome, to oblige them to shake off the Pope's yoke, was a very rare piece. Indeed, I had never seen it, except in the king's library. But I have been informed since, that it has been reprinted by the care of the late Mr Wicquefort, at the beginning of the book he published with the title of *Tuanus Restitutus*, and consequently it is not hard to recover. It is true however, that the same Mr Wicquefort has acquitted himself, in that respect, but of one part of his duty to the public, since he has not mentioned the motives that occasioned this speech, which is the most insolent that can be read; and whereas Guicciardin has been as negligent to relate them, the curious will perhaps not be displeased, if I supply the deficiency of these two historians. The first motive, &c.'

(66) Varillas, Hist. de Louis XII, lib. viii, pag. 8, ad ann. 1511.

(67) Ibid. pag. 10.

(68) Ib. pag. 73.

(69) Of the third Tome of the History of Lewis XII.

I can neither affirm nor deny that this speech is in the French king's library; but I can say, that Guicciardin has never inserted it in his history. He only speaks (70) by the bye of the tumult these two persons endeavoured to raise; and he does not say, that it was Pompey Colonna who made that speech, as being the most eloquent. It is not true, that the French translator has restored this speech to the place from whence it was taken. If it was so, it would not be a rare piece, the French translation of Guicciardin being a book common enough. It is not true, that it was reprinted by the care of Mr Wicquefort, at the beginning of *Tuanus Restitutus*; but this doubtless misled Varillas. They have left out of the fourth book of Guicciardin a long discourse concerning the manner how the Popes became temporal lords of part of Italy. The Protestants have preserved this discourse, and published it by itself a great many times (71). It is to be found (72) in Latin, Italian, and French, at the end of *Tuanus Restitutus*, printed at Amsterdam, in 1663, and it is in the place where it ought to be in the French translation of Guicciardin, made by Jerom Chomedey, and printed at Geneva in the year 1593, with summaries and marginal notes, which breathe a true Protestant spirit (73). Varillas having heard some account of this discourse, and something concerning the speech of those who endeavoured to dispose the Romans to an insurrection in the year 1511, has confounded the one with the other (§a).

[(§a)] Though Guicciardin has not inserted in his history the speech of Pompey Colonna, he has however given us an abstract of it, which having been left out in most editions, was reprinted by Wicquefort at the end of his *Tuanus Restitutus*. Note, that the said abstract is also wanting in Fenton's English translation, pag. 540. REM. CRIT.]

[R] His Surgeon... made use of an artifice which cured the ulcer. Naudé brings in this example in a dissertation, where he enquires whether a patient ought to be deceived. 'Is (celeberrimus) Chirurgus Joannes de Vigo dum nodum carnosum Julii secundi contumaciorem in dies fieri, & Pontificem omne genus remedium constanter respicere animadvertit, novam quamdam medendi rationem meditatus est: panis filiginei mica molliore, & arsenici sublimati in aquis rosarum & plantaginis excepti fomento, ad tertias in vase æneo decoxit, expressisque demum illis, & pulveris modo ulceri admotis, quod nullis deinceps unguentis se curaturum jurejurando receperat, brevi summa cum omnium admiratione Pontificem à gravi & molesto affectu liberavit (74). — The famous Surgeon Johannes de Vigo, perceiving that an ulcer of Julius II became every day more stubborn, and that the Pope persisted in refusing all manner of remedies, hit upon a new method of cure: for he boiled together in a brass kettle, for three hours, old rags cut in pieces, with crumbs of fine bread, and a fermentation of arsenic sublimed in rose-water, and plantain; after which, drying them, and applying them by way of powder to the wounds, so which he had sworn he would no longer apply plaisters, he cured the Pope in a very short time of a troublesome disease, to the wonder of every one.'

[S] Bandel tells a story that is pleasant enough. The Germans, says he (75), having asked the Pope to leave to eat flesh upon St Martin's day, when it should fall on a fish-day; Julius would not flatly deny them that favour, but granted it on condition they should drink no wine the same day. This was the same thing as a refusal; there being more to be lost than gotten by such a favour.

(70) Guicciardin, l. vi. x. f. l. 230. See also Paul Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, pag. m. 138.

(71) See the article GUICCIARDIN, remark [d].

(72) With two other passages that had been retrenched, one out of the third book of Guicciardin, and the other out of the tenth book.

(73) Written by la Noue.

(74) Naudé, in Pentade Quæst. hæreticæ theologorum, pag. 122. Edit. Genevæ 1647. He quotes Joannes de Vigo, lib. iii. Chirurg. Tract. II, cap. v.

(75) Bandel, ubi super. This is a remark of Mr de la Moisson.

[T] He

been seen to come out of the duke of Nemours's tomb. The author who tells me this, speaks very ill of that Pope [7].

[7] He was so malicious as to invent a fable prejudicial to the memory of Gaston de Foix . . . the author who tells me this, speaks very ill of that Pope.]

I begin with the story: 'Non defuere qui prædicarent serpentem visum de Fuxensis tumulo sibilum exilire, & hi maxime sacrificuli; nam ab iisdem sæpe aliquid spectri novi intelligimus, sed Physici mitiores (76).

(76) Forcatulus, de Gallor. Imperio & Philosophis, lib. iv, pag. m. 553.

Some there were who gave out, that a serpent was seen to spring out, hissing, from the tomb of De Foix, and those chiefly priests: for we often hear from them of some new prodigy; but naturalists are kinder to us. Note, by the way, that he says the priests were the principal promoters of the story; and that it is a common thing with them to spread prodigies. I omit his quotation of Ælian and Sozomen

(77) Lib. ix, cap. xvii, concerning two serpents found in the sepulchre of the prophet Zachariah.

(77), and will only take what relates to our Julius II. Tales nugas in vulgus emiserat malignitas Julii II. Pontificis Rom. credulitas rudis dederat incrementum (78). — The malice of Pope Julius II, spread these fables among the people, who too credulously pagated them. He relates afterwards how this Pope deceived cardinal George d'Amboise, and made Rome rebound with arms; and how he was delighted with satirical verses against France. He forgave a Poet several crimes, and ordered him a good sum of money for a distich, which we shall see below. Versiculis ad Gallorum ignominiam spectantibus mirè delectatur: adeo ut poetæ stateres aureos ducentos numerarit, præter delictorum abolitionem, qui hos vulgasset:

(78) Forcat. ubi supra, pag. 554.

Julius evulsi Gallis cythereis alas:
Martius hic præfco Cæsare major erit (79).

(79) Id. ibid. pag. 556.

He was wonderfully delighted with verses respecting on the French; inasmuch, that he made a present of two hundred pieces of gold, besides the pardon of his sins, to the Poet, who had published the following:

Julius, who pluck'd the Frenchmen's wings, shall be
Greater than Cæsar of antiquity.

Forcatulus, my author in this remark, opposes to these two verses a sharp distich that was made against this Pope. 'Eminuit in contrarium non inelegans Distichum, dignum, opinor, quod Catulli esset, non auctoris incogniti:

Fæx Ligurum Romam, ponti fæx concutit armis
Julius, huic Brutum Gallia fortis alit (80).

(80) Id. ibid.

JULIUS III, created Pope the seventh of February 1550, was called John Maria del Monte. He was of low extraction, and a true soldier of ecclesiastical fortune. He rose up step by step till he came to be president of the council of Trent [4]. He was a very voluptuous man [B], and passionately loved a young boy very ugly, and of very

[4] He had rose up step by step till he became president of the council of Trent.] Not to speak of his first advancements, I shall first observe, that he assisted in the council of Lateran, and made a solemn speech at the conclusion of it. He was archbishop of Siponto, auditor of the apostolical chamber, and twice governor of Rome. He was given for an hostage when Rome was sacked by the troops of Charles V., and after his promotion to the cardinalship, he was frequently legate in the principal provinces of the ecclesiastical state and at Bologna (1). He took the name of Julius in memory of Julius II, who had raised his family by the promotion of Antony del Monte, his uncle, to the cardinalship, and from whom he obtained the archbishopric of Siponto. He was born at Rome, in that part of the town called del Parione; but his family was originally of Monte-San-Savino in Tuscany, from whence he took the name of Monte, instead of that of Giocchi, which he bore before (2). He obtained of the duke of Tuscany, the investiture of Monte-San-Savino for his brother: he could not deny himself the pleasure of seeing his family lord it in that place. Impotens sibi temperandi ab eâ voluptate quâ

(1) Taken from Palavicini, Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. xiii, cap. x, n. 3.

(2) Amelet de la Houffaye, in the margin of his translation of Father Paul, pag. 280, ex Onapris.

— There was handed about a tolerably good distich to the contrary, worthy, I think, of Catullus, not of an unknown author:

From France another Brutus soon shall come,
To shake this Julius, who with arms shakes Rome.

Some, continues he, observed, that the time was come in which another Julius, by profusion of borrowed money, obtained the pontificate, and supplanted his competitors; but that this new Julius had nothing common with the other, as to learning, clemency, or honesty; nor had nothing common with the Apostle St Peter, no, not as to the fishing-boat, since the Apostle employed it for an honest livelihood, but Julius in piracy. If you understand Latin you will soon see that I lend nothing to Forcatulus (81). 'Non nulli adiciebant rediisse pro certo Julii seculum, quo ille nimirum profusa largitione Pontificatum indeptus fuerat confiato multo ære alieno, superatque, ut Tranquillus ait, duobus competitoribus ætate & dignitate potioribus . . . Julius demum qui nihil doctriæ cum illo primo & perpetuo Dictatore commune habuit, nihil fidei & benevolentiae, nihil cum Apostolo Petro sanctitatis & prudentiæ, nihil morum (nisi forsan quod Petrus in mari innoxiam piscationem exercuit, ille aliquandiu, ut ajunt, piraticam) post novenne imperium, & si quid mensium excurrit, obitum in Galliam animum ad Manes relit (§ 7).'

(81) Id. ibid.

* In Julio, cap. xiii.

[(§ 7) In the year 1511, Julius II interdicted the whole kingdom of France (except the duchy of Bretagne), and removed the fairs of Lyons to Geneva. This appears by the decree made in the third session of the council of Lateran: 'Anno M. D. XI, die nono Calendras Novembris, & anno sequenti Idibus Augusti, Franciæ Regnum, Lugdunum præcipue, (Britanniæ Ducatu excepto) Ecclesiastico Interdicto subjecit, Nundinasque Lugduni solitus habere in Genesem civitatem transtulit, ut refert Pontificum Diploma in tertia Sessione Synodi Lateranensis, in qua etiam hæc leguntur: 'Damnationis alumnos Bernardinum Carvajal, Guillelmum Brissonet, Renatum de Pria, & Fredericum de S. Severino, Cardinales, eorumque fautores sacro Concilio approbante damnamus, reprobamus & detestamur. Porro Julius Papa, qui antea Julianus, in hæc verba prorupit moriens, Ut Julius Cardinalibus indulgeo Schismaticis, ut Julianus justitiæ rationem habendam judico: id notatam est à Parisio Craff. Cæremoniarum Sacelli Pontifici Magistro †. REM. CRIT.]

† Petr. Frizon, in Gallia Purpurata, pag. 557. He cites Craffius, in Diaritis Pontif.

suos adspiceret in illis dominantes inter quos educati fuerant æquales (3).

[B] He was a very very voluptuous man.] Here is what Thuanus says of it. 'Sub id tempus Julius III intemperantia vitæ magis quam senio effectus fato concessit, qui Joanne Baptista Balduini fratris F. Moruo, cum non ita a Fabiano juniore Baptiste fratre, sollicitaretur, totum se voluptatibus mancipaverat, parato ad delicias nobili illo secessu, structura & operibus antiquis admirando, in quo fere reliquam vitam à negotiis vacuus cum amicis sui similibus, inter ludos, aleam, comedias, & quæ talia comitari amant, sacro fastigio indigna oblectamenta, continuatis noctibus transegit (4). — About that time died Julius III, through intemperance of life, not old age, who, after the death of John Baptist, nephew to Baldwin, being not so solicited by Fabian, younger brother of Baptist, gave himself up wholly to pleasures, in that noble retirement, so famous for it's structure and works of antiquity, in which he passed the rest of his life, free from business, with friends like himself, diverting himself day and night with gaming, plays, and such like entertainments, unworthy his sacred dignity.'

(3) Palavicini, ubi supra.

(4) Thuan. lib. xv, pag. 306.

[C] He

of very mean birth [C]. When he was made Pope, he gave him his cardinal's cap [D], and made a pleasant answer, when the unworthiness of the person was represented to him [E]. His discourses had but little gravity in them, as appears from the

[C] *He passionately loved a young boy, very ugly, and of very mean birth.* Some said it was his son, others denied it, and told how cardinal del Monte having found this lad playing tricks with a monkey in the streets, took him into his service, because there was no body but he that durst play with that creature. This was the foundation of a kindness which afterwards grew a disorderly passion. This lad had nothing in him but what was loathsome, only he had gotten a habit of buffoonry. Thomas Erasmus relates this; these are his own words. 'Habet puerum quendam, nigram, turpem, arrogantissimam bestiam, ineptam, ignorantem & planè inertem, nisi quod nonnihil eorum quæ scurræ, didicerunt in ore habet. In summa, corpore & animo monstrum. Quis, unde, aut ejus ille puer sit, tam sunt variae hominum sententiae & opiniones, ut nemo exploratum habere videretur. Animadverti ego quosdam, qui filium arbitrabantur; & qui filium negabant, ingeniosè aliorum dicta refutare, atque in plateis repertum eduxisse & parvulo, propter simiam, cum qua præter illum nemo hominum ludere auderet. Ea re Cardinalem (aut Episcopum tum) ita delectatum, ut pro suo habuerit. Hunc puerum, miser, ita amat perditè, ita deperit (dicitur autem alios omnes vincere in *τῇ μάχῃ* *scilicet*) ut nihil possit dici vehementius (5). — *He has a boy, a black, filthy, insolent brute, silly, and ignorant, and quite a fool, except that he can play the buffoon a little. Upon the whole, he is a monster both in body and mind. Who he is, and whence he sprang, no one knows. Some think him his son; and those, who deny it, ingeniously come off, by saying, he found him in the streets, and brought him up from a child, because of his playing with an ape, which no one else dared to do: the cardinal (or bishop, then) was so pleased, they say, with the sight, that he took him for his own. He is the fondest imaginable of this boy, as indeed he exceeds all others in pederasty.*' Thuanus says a thing which confirms part of this: as first, that this boy was called *the monkey*, even when he had obtained the cardinal's cap. In the second place, that he had his name, because of his employment with the cardinal, his master, which was to look after a monkey. *Soluti ad omnem licentiam animi homo:* they are the words of this great historian, which give a very ill character of Pope Julius III. 'Statim adepta dignitate qualis esset, omnibus manifestum fecit. Nam cum antiquæ consuetudinis sit, ut novus Pontifex galerum, cui velit, suum largiatur, eum juveni cuidam cui Innocentio nomen, quique, quod in familia similæ curam gereret. Similæ etiam post adeptam dignitatem nomen retinuit, cognomine etiam suo atque insignibus attributis donavit' (6). — *Being addicted to every kind of pleasure, he was no sooner created Pope, than he discovered to every one his disposition. For, it being an ancient custom, that the new Pope gives his hat to whom he pleases, he gave it to a certain youth, whose name was Innocentius, and who, because he had the care of a monkey in the family, retained the name of Simia, giving him his name and marks of honour.*' See the notes upon the *Confession Catholique de Sancy*, page 249, of the edition 1699.

[D] *... he gave him his cardinal's cap.* We have just seen in Thuanus, that cardinal del Monte being Pope, immediately conferred his cap, his name, and (7) his arms upon a young fellow that was called Innocent, and took care of a monkey. Erasmus, whom I have already cited, gives us a more particular account. This boy was left at Bologna, so that Julius III who would not bring him to Rome before he had made him a cardinal, and who wanted a little time to make that promotion relished, was very uneasy at his absence, and endeavored to find a remedy for it. He was never gay and pleasant, but when he heard of his Innocent, and enquired after him of all those who could give an account of him. He ordered him to come near Rome, that he might have an opportunity to go and see him; and having sent for him once secretly into the city, he expected him at the windows with all the impatience of a man, to whom his mistress has promised a night. He was heard say, that the chief reason why he rejoiced for being Pope, was because it gave him an opportunity

of being a benefactor to Innocent; and that he thought himself less indebted to the cardinals for making him Pope, than for having consented to the promotion of Innocent to a cardinal's hat (8). He appointed him his principal minister, and intercessor for all those that would obtain favours of him. 'Dum Romæ post electionem commoraretur, (manserat autem Innocentius, id ei nomen, Bononiæ dicitur nunquam lætus fuisse, nisi dum aliquid de Innocentio intelligeret. Et audiui ego à gravibus viris, inter tam multos Bononienses, qui Romam sint profecti, neminem esse repertum, quem sciret cum Innocentio, aut suspicaretur fuisse, qui non interrogatus ab eo esset, quid, & quomodo Innocentius ageret. Post aliquot menses propius Romam accedere jussit, ut ad eum deambulatum aliquando Roma exire posset. Non enim potuit adduci, ut pateretur eum ingredi Romam, nisi galero rubeo esset ornatum turpe caput. Ab hac re plurimi Cardinales videbantur abhorre, minimeque passuri, ut in Cardinalium numerum cooptaretur, quem ne hominem quidem esse cognovissent. Accessit igitur noctu aliquando in urbem clam, atque ita in fenestris expectabat, ut ii solent, quibus amica, qua nihil habent in vita charius, pollicita est noctem. Dicitur dixisse; se lætari, quod in amplissimam illam potestatem esset collocatus, non tam sua causa, quàm quòd posset bene de Innocentio mereri. Et tandem factus Cardinalis dixit, se pro beneficio magis Cardinalibus obstrictum esse, quàm quòd se Pontificem esse voluerint. Præterea, ut qui aliquid à se velint, id per Innocentium esse impetrandum. Quemobrem Legati Civitatum, Principum & Regum ad puerum concurrunt, illi sua negotia exponunt, ut is de rebus suis gravissimis etiam ad Papam referat (9). Some satires were published at Rome, in which it was said that this favourite, as ugly as he was, was a new Ganymede. The Pope made no mystery of it; but sometimes told the cardinals some stories of this boy's lascivious tricks. 'Romæ fama, erat, & libellis quæ per scriptum fuit, à Jove Ganymedem foveri, licet deformem; sed nec ipse Pontifex hoc ad reliquos Cardinales dissimulare, & per jocum fertur aliquando commemorare, quam sit lascivus adolefcens & importunus (10). I shall speak again of the adventures of this man in the remark [M].

[E] *... and he made a pleasant answer when the unworthiness of the person was represented to him.* I will make use of John Bodin's words. 'The prince who exalts a worthless creature above men of merit, or that sets him in the rank of the greatest persons, in doing good to one, does injury to all the rest: As it was represented by the consistory of cardinals to Pope Julius del Monte, when he gave his cardinal's cap to the young lad he loved; that it was a great dishonour to admit him who had neither virtue nor knowledge, nor birth, nor estate, nor any other quality to deserve, as they said, to arrive to such a dignity. But the Pope, who was very facetious, addressing himself to the other cardinals; what virtue, said he, what nobility, what knowledge, what honour have you found in me, to whom I make me Pope (11)? Was not this to make a jest of the Sacred College? And might not Cato's exclamation be applied to this Pope, *What a comical confusion have we* (12). Some report Julius's answer was thus: 'pray what have you found in me, to do me the honour of making me Pope without deserving it? Let us advance then this young man, and he will deserve it (13). These last words are a sly jeer, and reprove a very common fault. When a man is possessed of an employment, he finds a thousand flatterers, who give out, he has very well deserved it. Montagne says somewhere †, that Antisthenes once made the Athenians sensible of the abuse committed in the promotions to public posts; he advised them to give order, that their asses should be made to plough as well as their horses. It was answered him, that that animal was not made for it: 'it is all one, replied he, all depends upon your decree: for the most ignorant and unqualified, that you employ, as commanders in your wars, fall not immediately to become highly meritorious, because † Bodin lib. cap. 249.

(8) Compare with this what is said in the remark [M], citat. 4.

(5) Thomas Lubrus (qui Erasmus postea voce Græca appellari amavit) in Epistola ad Pellicanum, apud Hottingerum, Hist. Ecclesiast. Tom. V, pag. 572.

(6) Thuan. lib. vi, pag. 121, col. 1.

(7) See the remark [M], in the margin, citat. (30).

(9) Erasmus, ubi super.

(10) Sleidam, Hist. lib. 115, fol. m. 669, verso.

(11) Bodin, de la Reuelique, lib. 1, cap. 14, pag. m. 743.

(12) Adjungit Plotarchus cum Ciceroem cum Moremum Ciceronem esse defensorum Cato, scilicet exposita Stimulatione in Catoem, ante risu inquit à corona pervenit ad subellia, subellia per se ipsum Ciceronem leviter atque ad consilium dixit, quam relictam, juocem, habentem Consilium. Ps. 1550, pag. m. 1550, ex falso Diffinitio, pag. 249.

(13) John Croft, l'Estat de l'Eglise, ad rom. 1550, pag. m. 1550, ex falso Vergetio.

[F] The

the reflexion he one day made upon the answer of two cardinals [F]. The want of gravity was not his greatest fault: it is said that his discourse proceeded sometimes to prophaneness and blasphemy; as when he excused his passion by instancing the anger that God expressed against Adam for an apple [G]. During the conclave in which he was elected, some of his letters were intercepted, which made it conjectured, that this future Pope would be a lewd man; for those letters were stuffed with the most extravagant obscenities [H]. It is thought his money frustrated the election of Cardinal Pole, which had been concluded on, and the publication whereof was only deferred, because they were afraid it would be an ill omen to notify it in the night (a). The medal which he ordered to be struck after the death of Edward king of England, had for its motto a sentence of the holy Scripture, the application whereof proved false in a little time [I]. This Pope died the twentieth of February 1555, being about sixty eight years

(a) Post longam Cardinalium in conclavi disceptationem, cum, teste in Museo Historico Johanne Imperiali, electus esset Reginaldus Polus, camque electionem promulgare nocte appetente inauspicatum duxissent idem; nocte transacta & multis rationibus aureis Julius Papa subito emerit. Heidegg. Histor. Popatus, pag. 233.

[F] The reflexion which he one day made upon the answer of two cardinals. They found him in the court of his palace in a very indecent posture; for by reason of the heat he had put off his cloaths, and was walking in his drawers. He obliged them to do the like, and afterwards asked them, what the people would say of them, should they go and shew themselves in that figure in the field of Flora, and the streets of Rome? They would take us, answered they, for idle rogues, and would throw stones at us. Therefore, replied he, it is to our cloaths we are obliged for not being thought idle rogues: how much then are we indebted to our cloaths? Cum aliquando exitis vestibus, diploide & caligis tantum indutus, in aula, quod ferveret tempestas, obambulare, venerunt Cardinales duo, collocturi cum ipso. Quos ipse ad exuendas vestes suas, & deambulandum secum urgebat, mox autem nudos interrogabat: Quid si in Campo Floræ, aut per plateas nudi sic deambularem, quid oro populum existimatis de nobis judicaturum? Responderunt: Judicarent nos esse nebulones, & conicerent in nos rudera atque lapides. Excepit Pontifex: Ergo quod non habemus pro nebulonibus, id acceptum ferre debemus nostris vestibus. Quantum igitur, o fratres, debemus illis nostris vestibus (14)?

[G] He excused his passion by instancing the anger that God expressed against Adam for an apple. The thing is thus, related in John Crespin's book. (15) He loved amongst other dishes, to eat hogs flesh, and peacocks: but as his Physician had cautioned him against eating hogs flesh, because it was bad for the gout, with which he was often tormented, and yet he could not abstain from it; the Physician secretly advised the steward to give orders that no hogs flesh should be served in. As therefore it was omitted for some time, and the Pope perceived it, he asked the steward, where was his dish of pork? The steward answered, the Physician had ordered that none should be brought in. Upon which he exclaimed in this manner, bring me my dish, (al dispetto di Dio) in spite of God. . . . Seeing one day a peacock at dinner, which no body touched, keep, said he, this peacock cold for my supper, and lay the table in the garden, for I shall have some company at night. As he was at supper, and saw hot peacocks brought to table, but not his cold one, which he had ordered to be kept for him, flying in to a bitter passion, he uttered an execrable blasphemy against God. Upon which one of the cardinals who sat at table with him, said, your holiness ought not to be in so great a passion, for so little a thing. Julius replied, if God could be so very angry for an apple, as to turn our first father, Adam, out of paradise; why should it not be lawful for me, who am his vicar, to be in a passion for a peacock, since a peacock is much more than an apple? They who will read this story in two languages, may satisfy their curiosity by casting their eyes on what follows (16): *Sapissimè nequissimè iste homo blasphemis illis usus fuit quæ impurissimis lenonibus aliisque desperatæ malitiæ hominibus tunc temporis frequenter in ore fuerunt, ad quas animus totus quantus exhorrescit, vid. Al dispetto di Dio, in contemptum (17) Dei, & Potta di Dio, i. e. ad vulvum Dei &c. exemplum hujus rei proponit auctor libri cui titulus, Lectura super Canone de consec. dist. 3. ajens: Intellexi, portatam fuisse in Civitatem Paduæ quandam historiam, impressam Latine, Italice, Germanice, & Gallice, in qua narratur, quod San-*

ctissimus Dominus noster Papa Julius III proximis diebus valde fuit iratus cum Episcopo Ariminense, ejus Magistro domus, propter certum pavonem, & quum sua prælibata Sanctitas bis blasphemasset, primo dicendo, Potta di Dio, deinde Al dispetto di Dio, quod fecit tanquam Johannes Maria de Monte, & sic tanquam homo, non tanquam Julius III Papa, & Vicarius Christi, de quo supra dixi. Et quum unus Cardinalis illi dixisset, quod non deberet irasci propter unam tam parvam rem, id est, propter unum pavonem, tunc sanctissimus D. Papa respondit: Si Deus fuit totus turbatus, & in magna ira & colera, propter unum pomum, & tanta mala fecit omnibus hominibus; quare non possum ego, qui sum suus Vicarius in terris, irasci cum meo magistro domus propter unum pavonem?

[H] Those letters were stuffed with the most extravagant obscenities. They were written the twenty sixth of January 1550, to one Annibal Contin by Camillus Oliva a conclavist of the cardinal of Mantua, and accompanied with a little poem, in which the author filthily described his passion, and the vehement ardour, that made him wish to have his friend again. It is John Sleiden who tells this. Dum in Conclavi res agitur, interceptæ fuerunt literæ, quas ex Cardinalis Mantuani familiaribus, quidam, Camillus Olivus, ad quandam suam Annibalem Continum, Januarii die XXVI, scripsisse ferebatur, & simul carmen lingua populari scriptum, ubi de sua locutus affectione, & alientis desiderio, tam pudendis utitur verbis, ut sine flagitio vix ea recitare liceat. Hinc jocus illorum, qui pontificem dicebant aliquem obscenorum prænunciari, qui proditurus esset ex eo Conclavi, quod ejusmodi literas daret. (18). An author above cited does not relate this passage without having first said, 'Vir doctus anonymus in E. pist. ad amicum narrat, ex eo Conclavi, in quo creatus est Julius, interceptas fuisse literas alicujus ex Conclavistis, i. e. ex illis, qui solent assistere Cardinalibus, Papam electuris, quibus quidem literis non putet ullâ memoriâ unquam scriptas fuisse ullas obsceniores, sceleratiorisque. Nudis enim nefandissimisque verbis illic agi cum cinædo, salvo honore, Has, fateri, ad se primum in Germaniam fuisse missas, sed dare typis excudendas (ut multi voluissent) nunquam quidem se voluisse. Paulo post addit, Julium III valde male audire in hoc obscenissimo genere, (Sodomitici nim. criminis) ita ut neque a Cardinalibus abstineat (19).'

[I] A medal which he ordered to be struck . . . had for its motto a sentence of the holy Scripture, the application whereof proved false in a little time. They expressed an extraordinary joy at Rome, for the death of king Edward; because the princess Mary, who succeeded him, restored England to the obedience of the Pope; but the reasons of that joy ceased in a little time. Queen Elizabeth re-established the Reformation, and rendered that island one of the most flourishing kingdoms in Christendom; so that the prediction of the medal was a meer chimera. Eo insanie Julius pervenit, ut in perpetuam rei memoriam excudi curaverit monetam, cujus altera pars ejus imaginem tricorniferam ostentavit, altera inscriptionem ejusmodi habuit: *Gens & Regnum, quod non servierit tibi, peribit*. Sibi sibi vindicans, quod Christo Esaias. Sed diuturnum & stabile gaudium nequitiam fuit (20). — Julius arrived to such a pitch of madness, that he ordered a medal to be struck to perpetuate the memory of the thing, on one side of which was a figure with three horns, and on the reverse this inscription: The people and kingdom, which will not serve

(14) Bullinger, in Vita MS. Julii III, apud Heideggerum Hist. Papatus, 155. 235.

(15) Ubi supra, pag. 553.

(16) Joann. Zuingerus, in Tractatu Histor. Theologico de Fæsto Corporis Christi, pag. 146.

(17) The word contemptus, does not express the force of the Italian word dispetto: it should have been said in odio Deo.

(18) Sleidanus, Hist. lib. xxi, fol. m. 660, verso. This is also to be found in Thuanus, in the Frankfurt edition, 1625, lib. vi, pag. 121.

(19) Joann. Zuingerus, ubi supra.

(20) Heidegger, pag. 238.

(b) Spondanus, ad ann. 1555, n. 43, but Palavicino, *Histor. Concil. lib. xiii, cap. x, n. 7, says he was seventy years old.*

years of age (b). He pretended to be sick [K]; and the better to deceive the world, he reduced himself to a course of Physic, which brought upon him a real disease, of which he died. It is said, that there was so great an intimacy betwixt him and cardinal Crescentio, that they had mistresses in common; and that they maintained the children they had by them at a common charge [L], for want of knowing who was the true father. Each of them also paid his quota for the maintenance of these women. Cardinal Pallavicino extenuates as much as he can the faults of this Pope, but he does not confute what Father Paul says of them [M] I forgot to observe, that the court

of

'serve thee, shall perish: foolishly arrogating to himself, what Isaiah said of CHRIST. But the joy lasted not long.'

[K] He pretended to be sick. The reason of it was, because he discovered, that the cardinals would refuse to consent to the request, which his brother pressed him to make to them. His brother passionately desired the possession of a town, and importuned the Pope perpetually on that account. That he might therefore have a pretence not to hold a consistory, he pretended to be sick. And to play this trick more artificially, he eat but little, and chose such food, as is fit for sick people. This change of diet, they say, brought on him the distemper of which he died (21). This puts me in mind of Martial's Caelius:

(21) Spondan. ad ann. 1555, n. 43, pag. 556, ex Onuphrio Panvinio. *Tibullus relates the same thing, lib. xv, pag. m. 306.*

Discurfus varios, vagumque mane,
Et fastus, & ave potentiorum,
Cum perferre patique jam negaret;
Cœpit fingere Cælius podagram.
Quam dum vult nimis approbare veram,
Et sanas linit obligatque plantas,
Inceditque gradu laborioso;
(Quantum cura potest, & ars doloris!)
Desit fingere Cælius podagram (22).

(22) Mart. Epigr. xxxix, lib. vii.

Tir'd with th' attendance, clients pay
At great men: levees every day,
Cælius pretends the gout: but see
Th' effect of this hypocrisy!
Whilst he in flannel wraps his feet,
Or walks on crutches thro' the street,
He plays the counterfeit no more
But has the gout, he feign'd before.

Some say that the change of diet, was indeed the cause of his illness; but not that he resolved upon it, in order to deceive the world: they say he hoped to deliver himself thereby from the intolerable pains of the gout. Others pretend, that an old distemper was the cause of his death, and acknowledge, that he was a man addicted to his pleasures, who thought more of enjoying than exercising his pontificate. 'Sunt etiam qui dicunt, eum veterano interisse: cum, ut idem etiam auctor narrat, externa quæque parum curans, fruendo potius quam regendo Pontificatu in-cumberet, totisque esset in extruenda elegantissima ad voluptarios secessus extra portam Flaminiam Villâ Juliâ, cujus insani studio videbatur; in quâ con-viviis potius quam publicæ procuratori vocabat (23).'

(23) Spondanus ibid. ex Rod.

[L] It is said he and Crescentio . . . had mistresses in common, and that they maintained the children they had by them at a common charge.] This I have from Thomas Erasmus. 'Julius III Pontifex, says he (24), & Crescentius fere omnes meretrices communes habuerunt, propriisque sumptibus neuter, sed communibus aluerunt, atque ut breviter dicam, omnium scelus focii extiterunt. Susceperunt ex quadam muliere, honesti viri Viterbiensis filiam, quam, quod neuter suam esse dicere crederetque posset, ut matrem, ita filiam quoque communibus sumptibus educandam tradiderunt, nuptique dederunt Nobilissimo hujus urbis adolescenti, & inter Principeshujus urbis qui sunt 40 constitutum voluerunt. — Pope Julius III, and cardinal Crescentio, had almost all the courtizans in common, and maintained them jointly; in short, were companions in all manner of vices. They had a child by a certain woman, the daughter of a gentleman of Viterbo, which, because neither of them could say or think it was his own, as they had the mother in common, so they educated the daughter at the joint expense of both, and married her to a noble youth of this city, whom they would have rank-

(24) Apud Hottinger. ubi supra, p. 574.

ed among the princes of this city, who are forty in number.' Here is a great exemption from jealousy, which is a rare thing in that country.

[M] Cardinal Pallavicino extenuates . . . the faults of this Pope, but does not confute what Father Paul says of them.] He owns that this Pope loved to divert himself, but he adds that he equally loved application to business (25), he grants that he died (25) 'Promo ad iactamenta; sed æque etiam ad necesse Palavia. Hist. Concil. Trid. dest. lib. xxi, cap. 4, n. 8. (26) Estimacione leral, nec majore benevolentia mortuus est. Id. ibid. (27) Nihilominus ut mes festinus hac de illo exilimato fuit inique: ipsa quippe via major quidem erat speciem virtutis, sed non fortasse ad postum. Id. ibid. (28) Id. lib. ii, cap. vii, a 4. (29) Id. ibid. lectatus ex eo herus, sibique plaudens, quod sua quæ si perspicacia plantam eximiam, adhuc minutulam, & in luto, diserevisset, majori in puerum benevolentia inculuit, quâ illum profequebatur veluti sui judicii prolem, cujus filii plures quam corporis soboles æstimantur (29).' He would have his brother to adopt him; and when he was Pope, he raised him to the dignity of a cardinal, the thirtieth day of May 1550. He had made him stay till then in a village a day's journey from Rome. He gave him an income of twelve thousand crowns: but did not then entrust him with the administration of affairs. This new cardinal was scarce seventeen years of age: he shewed himself wholly unworthy of this honour, and it was necessary under the following pontificate to punish him for his debaucheries. This is all that Palavicino observes: he has cautiously forbore to criticise on Father Paul; who has most plainly shewed that the world looked upon this minion of Julius as his Catamite: prudence of the actors of would not permit him to revive those ideas. Wherefore he does not accuse Father Paul of malicious slanders, but is contented to say, that he is mistaken as to the time of the adoption (30), and as to the place where this young man first began to make himself acceptable (31). Let us see what Father Paul says.

(30) Palavicino, lib. xi, cap. vii, n. 4, says that it appears from the Journal of M. Grellin, secretary to the council, that the young boy was adopted, when he was one of the actors of the second of March, 1547. (31) Palavicino, ibid. says it was not at Bologna, as Father Paul will have it, but at Piacenza. (32) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (33) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (34) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (35) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (36) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (37) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (38) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (39) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (40) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (41) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (42) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (43) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (44) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (45) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (46) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (47) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (48) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (49) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (50) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (51) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (52) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (53) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (54) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (55) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (56) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (57) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (58) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (59) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (60) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (61) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (62) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (63) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (64) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (65) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (66) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (67) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (68) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (69) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (70) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (71) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (72) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (73) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (74) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (75) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (76) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (77) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (78) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (79) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (80) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (81) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (82) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (83) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (84) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (85) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (86) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (87) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (88) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (89) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (90) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (91) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (92) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (93) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (94) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (95) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (96) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (97) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (98) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (99) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation. (100) Fr. Paolo, lib. iii, ad ann. 1550, pag. 289 of Amis's translation.

of France offered this Pope's nephew a prince's of the blood, and that this alliance was refused [N].

section to him as if he had been his own child, and brought him to Trent, where he had like to have lost him by a great fit of sickness. But sending him, by the Physicians advice, to Verona, for change of air, Innocent, (for that was this minion's name) recovered his health, and some time after returned to Trent. The day that he was to come, the legate went out of town as to take a walk, accompanied with a great many prelates, and meeting him, received him with all the excessive testimonies of joy and affection. Which gave much occasion of discourse whether it was an accidental meeting, or a thing designed to take him in the way. The legate used to say, that he loved him, as being the author of his fortune, for as much as the Astrologers had predicted great wealth, and high dignities to this boy, which could never happen, but by his exaltation to the popedom. He was scarce made Pope, but Innocent was adopted by Baudouin del Monte, his brother, for his son: and afterwards having conferred on him many benefices, he made him a cardinal, as I have said: which afforded matter enough for palquins, and gave the courtiers an itch to speak out the true cause of so surprising an action upon several conjectures drawn from passed accidents.

[N] The court of France offered to this Pope's nephew a prince's of the blood. But this alliance was refused. The Pope answered that marriages between persons of so different a rank could not be happy; and as he acknowledged the royal house of France to be the noblest in the world, he acknowledged his own to be the meanest upon earth. However he did not give the true reason of this refusal; for that

which induced him to refuse so glorious an alliance, was, the desire of marrying his nephew to the great duke's daughter: which was more useful to him for the execution of what he was projecting in favour of his family. This we learn from Thuanus.

Julius, says he (33), ad scurrilitatem usque festivus, & alienam ab inuata decessoribus Pontificibus ambitionem mentem præ se ferens, cum tamen interea Cosmi, ut proximi & suorum rebus utilissimi principis adfinitatem ultra modum expeteret, & Cameracensium principatum Fabiano destinaret, ut conditionem tam amplam eluderet, sic Lansacum urgentem dimisit, ut diceret, quam ex nobilissima omnium, quæ usquam fuissent, familia rex prognatus esset, tam se ac suos omnium, qui viverent, mortalium ignobilissimos agnoscere; proinde nuptias, quæ inter pares melius coirent, inter inæquales adeo personas commode contrahi non posse. — Julius being pleased even to buffoonry, and a stranger to the ambition of his predecessors, as he eagerly courted the alliance of Cosmo, a prince nearest him, and most likely to be of advantage to his family, and designed the principality of Camerac for Fabian, dismissed Lansac, who importuned him, telling him, that as the king was of the most noble family that ever was, so he acknowledged himself and his family to be the most ignoble of men; therefore that marriage, which requires an equality of condition, could not conveniently be contracted between persons so unequal. Note, that one of the daughters of Cosmo duke of Florence, was betrothed to Fabian del Monte, who was Baudouin's son, and not yet marriageable. See Thuanus, book xliii. Palavicino, in the place above cited, observes, that Fabian was Baudouin's bastard.

(33) Thuan. lib. xiv, circa init. pag. m. 280, ad ann. 1554.

(34) See in the *Croix du Maine*, pag. 101.

(35) See the title of it in the remark [A].

JUNCTIN (FRANCIS), in Italian, *Giuntino*, one of the famous Mathematicians and Astrologers of the XVIth century, was of Florence, but spent a good part of his life in Lyons (a), where he published several books [A]. His being doctor in Divinity (b), did not hinder him from being extremely addicted to judicial Astrology, and that with great credulity. I do not know in what year he died. He was fifty six years old when he published his commentaries upon Sacroboscus's sphere, in the year 1577 (c). Deduce from thence the year of his birth. For the rest, he descended sometimes from the region of heaven, to divert himself with human discoveries; for he composed a discourse upon the Epochæ of Petrarch's amours (d). I have elsewhere spoken (e) of his horoscope of Luther. We shall see, below, the particulars of his life, published by Possévin [B].

[A] He published several books at Lyons. He published there, in 1570, his *Tractatus judicandi revolutiones nativitatum*, in 8vo. Three years after he published his *Speculum Astrologie quod attinet ad judiciariam rationem nativitatum atque annuarum revolutionum, cum nonnullis approbatis Astrologorum sententiis* (1). This work was in 4to, but in the edition of 1581, it became a Folio, by reason of the commentaries which were added to it, in duos posteriores Quadripartiti Ptolomæi libros innumeris observationibus referta (2), & certissimis Aphorismis (quatenus ex siderum positione liceat Christiano more aliquid conicere) ex probatissimorum Astrologorum scriptis depromptis insignita. His Latin commentaries upon Sacroboscus's sphere, came out in 1577 (3). There was printed at Cologne, in 1580, a book, intitled *De Divinatione quæ fit per asra diversum ac discrepans duorum Catholicorum sacre Theologie Doctorum judicium, scilicet Francisci Junctini at Joannis Lensæi*. There are two French tracts of Junctin, viz. *A large discourse upon the things wherewith the comet that appeared in November, 1577, threatenet many princes, countries, and people of Christendom*. At Paris, for Gervais Mallot, 1577 (4), and at Lyons, for Francis Didier, 1578, in 8vo (5), and *A Discourse upon the reformation of the year, made by our Holy Father Pope Gregory XIII, with the reasons of his taking away ten days, and the golden number*; at Lyons, 1582, in 8vo. He printed in the same city, in 1580, in 8vo, *Discorso sopra il tempo dello innamoramento del Petrar-*

ca. *Con la spositione del Sonetto, Già fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella* (6).

[B] We shall see the particulars of his life, published by Possévin. I knew him in France, says he (7), where he lived in exile; he applied himself to the pernicious speculations of Astrology. He was a fugitive apostate; he had been a Carmelite, and promoted to the priesthood, and even to be Provincial: he forsook his vows, and his profession, and the Romish religion; but by the charitable advice of some devout persons, he was in some measure brought back into the right way. He publicly abjured his heresies in the church of the Holy Cross at Lyons. And he gave reason to believe for some time, that he designed to labour for the advantage of the Catholic church. However, he did not retract the works he had made upon prognosticating impieties (8); he was one of those who putting their hand to the plough, and looking back, are not fit for the kingdom of heaven. He dealt in bills of exchange, lent money upon interest, and by that means got sixty thousand crowns, no footsteps whereof were found after his death. He had made a legacy of three thousand livres to the Juntii, to whom he had been corrector of the press. That testimony of his friendship did them no kindness. Juntii honestissimis Typographis (in quorum ædibus sæpe librorum correctionibus operam Lugduni posuerat) mille aureos nummos cum moriens legasset, ii-mibi facti sunt, eos uti reliquis evanuisse; nimirum omnia perditam fuisse quæ perditus ille anxie hinc inde corraserat (9).

(a) See in the *Croix du Maine*, pag. 101.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Vossius, de Scient. Mathem. pag. 194.

(d) See the title of it in the remark [A].

(e) In the remark [B] of the article LUTHER.

(6) Ibid. pag. 404, 405.

(7) Possévin, Biblioth. Select. Tom. II, pag. m. 245.

(8) Non vidimus eum libros suos de impietate divinatorie retractasse. Id. ib.

(9) Ibid.

(1) See the epilogue of *Gesner's Bibliothecæ*.

(2) This word refers to commentaries.

(3) Printed at Lyons, apud Jo. Tornæum. Vossius mentions only that edition: Du Verdier Vau-Privas mentions only that of 1578, apud Symphorismum Boudand.

(4) La Croix du Maine, pag. 101.

(5) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibliothecæ, pag. 404.

JUNGERMAN (GODFREY) made himself known by his learning in the beginning of the XVIIth century. He was born at Leipzig, where his father GASPAR JUNGERMAN [A], was professor of Civil-Law. His mother was the daughter of the famous Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg (a), professor likewise at Leipzig. Godfrey Jungerman understood the Greek tongue in perfection. The public is indebted to him for the first publication of Julius Cæsar's Commentaries in Greek [B]. He had already published his Latin version of Longus's Pastorals, with notes (b). He printed in 1609 some remarks upon the treatise of Equuleo [C], which Magius had written in prison. We have also some of his letters printed. He died the sixteenth of August, 1610 (c), at Hanaw, where he had been a long time corrector of the press to Wechel's heirs [D].

(a) Bibliotheca Classica, pag. 716.

(1) Ibid. pag. 1507.

(2) Epitome Bibl. Gesneri, pag. 258.

(4) See the French epistles written to Scaliger, pag. 368.

(5) Of the second of March 1605, pag. m. 182, Dutch Edit.

(a) In quo (collata) non est necesse continen-
tiam prædicari,
qua nulla in ipso
opus erat, virtus
enim est cum
lucra, Aristotele
censore, con-
iuncta, cuius in-
dignum nulli que
unquam in hoc
genere emicret
flamma, præbere
animadvertit est.
Adiis T.ew.
Math. & Phys.
Prof. & Rector
Universitatis
Altdorfensis, in
Programmate
anod Henning.
Witten Memor.
Med. coram.

(1) Theatr. pag. 138.

(2) It seems that
this word hinc,
which anwers
the word cui in
the Programma,
is an error of the
press for hinc.
But this error of
the Printer has
not put the order
observed by the
author in a worse
condition.

[A] His father GASPAR JUNGERMAN. It is probably he who is the author of some disputes upon some points of law, which Draudius (1) mentions, and of a poem *De Custodia Angelica*, mentioned by the same Draudius (2), and by Simler (3).

[B] The public is indebted to him for the first publication of Julius Cæsar's Commentaries in Greek. He added to that version, ascribed by some to Planudes, and of which the manuscript that was in Mr Petau's Library, had been communicated to him by Bongars (4); I say, he added to it, not only his own remarks upon the Greek translator, but also those of several learned critics upon Julius Cæsar's Commentaries. This edition of Francfort, in the year 1606, in 4to, is very much esteemed.

[C] He printed some remarks upon the treatise of Equuleo. The Journal des Savans (5) spoke of these remarks with contempt, as if most of them ran only up-

on trifles; for example, to know whether it ought to be said Equuleus, or Eculeus: but this censure is too hasty; for tho' this little point of orthography has been somewhat largely discussed by Jungerman, the Journalist should not have judged of all the remarks by this, which besides is not useless to the subject, nor unfit to please several persons.

[D] He was corrector of the press to Wechel's heirs. This we learn from some letters he wrote to Goldast (6). Wherein we find also that he was writing upon Julius Pollux; but this was known before, by the preface to his edition of Herodotus. He enriched that edition, with several pieces, and amongst others, with several fragments of Ctesias. Mr Chevallier might have put him into the catalogue of learned men, who have been correctors of the press (7).

(c) Diarium Biograph. Henningi Witten.

(6) See the collection of the Letters to Goldast, printed at Francfort, in 1688, and Goldast's Letters, published at Utrecht, in 1697.

(7) Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, pag. 195, 196.

JUNGERMAN (LEWIS) born at Leipzig the fourth of July 1572, and brother to the foregoing, was an excellent Botanist. He betook himself early to the study of plants, and got such a reputation by it, that he was offered in England the place of the famous Matthias Lobel, who died at London in the year 1616; but he chose rather to live in Germany. He had already distinguished himself by contributing very much to the work, intituled, *Hortus Eysletensis*, which contains the figure and description of all those that grow about Nuremberg, the impression whereof was taken care of by Gaspar Hofman, in the year 1615. He was made professor of Physic at Gießen, in the year 1622 [A], after having planted a garden, which did very much contribute to the scholars proficiency. He spent three years in that professorship, and afterwards he had such another with that of Botanics at Altdorf, in the year 1625. He continued in them to his death, which happened the seventh of June 1653, and during the twenty eight years of those employments, he took such care of the Physic garden, that he made it famous even in foreign countries. He had the more time to spend in this business, because he neither married, nor had any amorous avocation: which has given occasion to say, that he cannot be praised for his continence, since he had no occasion for a woman; for continence is a virtue, which, according to Aristotle, ought to cause a conflict, of which there appeared no sign in Jungerman's life (a). The panyryst of a Monk would have given the matter another face. This professor left his library to the university of Altdorf. I must not forget, that he took a wonderful delight in making anagrams [B]. I know not whether he was fond of judicial Astrology; but in the Programma, from which I take this article, it is very seriously observed, that

[A] He was made professor of Physic at Gießen, in the year 1622. The rector of the university of Altdorf has a little perplexed the Chronology, in his Programma. He pretends that Jungerman got so great a reputation during his professorship at Gießen, that he was invited into England to succeed the most famous Botanist Lobel. This is to confound the time; for Lobel died in the year 1616, and Jungerman was not professor at Gießen, but from the year 1622, to 1625. What likelihood is there that the English should have left Lobel's place vacant six or seven years? doubtless they designed it for Jungerman a little after it was vacant; he had therefore acquired before his professorship at Gießen, the reputation that procured him that great mark of esteem the English had for him. Paul Freherus, who has given (1) an abstract of that Programma, has on one hand better specified the dates; but on the other, this serves only more clearly to discover the error of his calculation. Thus he ranges the dates. Doctor Med. says he, creatus, & ad Professionem Med. publicam promotus est A. 1622. Hinc (2) per triennium ea nominis celebritate præfuit, ut in Angliam

quo celeberrimi Botanici Matthiæ Lobelii successor fieret invitaretur A. C. 1616. sed ille Germaniæ conditiones prætulit. Ad descriptionem etiam Horti Eysletensis tota Germania celebris laudabilem nec vulgarem operam contulit. — He was created doctor and professor of Physic in the year 1622. Three years afterwards, his great fame procured him an invitation into England, to succeed Matthias Lobel, the Botanist, in the year 1616; but he chose to continue in Germany. He laboured successfully in the description of the Garden of Eyslet, so famous all over Germany. This Hortus Eysletensis was printed in the year 1613. Judge if these things are placed according to their time. Mr Witten's Diarium Biographicum supposes that our Jungerman was professor at Leipzig, and afterwards at Altdorf. Make no scruple to correct it, by putting Gießen instead of Lipsiæ.

[B] He took a wonderful delight in making anagrams. He published a collection of them at Gießen, in the year 1624, intituled, *Aulæum Academicum*, in 4to. We have two other works of his, namely, the catalogue

that the humours of an Erysipelas stopping on a sudden, when Mars was retrograde, produced a scorbutic gangrene [C] in the extremities of his feet. Godfrey and Lewis Jungerman, had a brother named GASPARE, who was a man of letters. See the notes of Godfrey Jungerman upon the fourth chapter of the treatise *de Equaleo*.

catalogue I have mentioned in the text of this article, and another like it, intitled, *Cornucopiae Floræ Giesfensis*, &c. Giesfæ, 1624, in 4to.

[C] It is observed that the humours of an Erysipelas produced a scorbutic gangrene.] These are the words of the *Programma*. *Cujus (erisipelatis) fluxus confusis subito subsistens, gangranam*

scorbuticam ante trimesse (circa motum Martis in loco Lunæ natalis opposito tardum & retrogradum) in extremitate pedum pepererunt. The Physicians of that time were wont to ascribe much to the influence of the stars, in discoursing upon dilem-

JUNIUS (HADRIAN) born at Horn in Holland [A] the first of July 1511 [B], was one of the most learned men of his age. He was the son of a burgo-master of great worth [C]; and he studied first at Haerlem, afterwards at Louvain and Paris, and at last at Bologna in Italy, where he was admitted doctor of Physic. Being returned into his country, he went into England in 1543 (a), and was Physician to the duke of Norfolk, and afterwards to a great lady. He there wrote some books, and amongst others a Greek and Latin Dictionary, in which he added above 6500 words. He dedicated it to king Edward in 1548; and because he gave him the title of king, they molested him for it a long time after at the court of Rome. He was very much afflicted with that persecution; for we see in his letters (b) to Lindanus, bishop of Remond, and to cardinal Granvelle, that he passionately desired that disgrace might be taken off, with which he had been branded, since the censors had put his works in the catalogue of prohibited books. He wrote to the Pope about it, by the advice of Arias Montanus; and he prepared an apology, where protesting that he had been always a good Catholic, he shewed that he could not avoid giving Edward the title of king (c). As he was a very good poet, he published in 1554, an epithalamium upon the marriage of Philip II with queen Mary (d). This perhaps would have been a considerable fortune to him, if England had remained quiet. He left it during the troubles [D], and confined himself at Horn; but the king of Denmark quickly sent for him, to make him preceptor to the prince, his son (e). Junius not being able to

(a) See his Apology among his Letters, pag. 392, where he says that he went thither, when Charles V was before Landrecy.

(b) Pag. 388, 469.

(c) See his Letter to Vulcanius, pag. 124, where he boasts of having slighted that disgrace.

(d) Ib. pag. 214.

(e) See the remark [E].

reconcile

FAULTS of Moreri, and the Translator of Thuanus.

[A] Junius born at Horn in Holland.]

Moreri, in the article of HADRIAN (JUNIUS), says, that vulgarly his name was Jonghe, or Du Jon; and afterwards when he speaks of Francis Junius, professor at Leyden, he makes only his vulgar name to be Jonghe. There is nothing exact in this; for in the first place he should have said de Jonghe, and that only with respect to Hadrian Junius, since it is false, that in the Dutch tongue his name could be indifferently either De Jonghe or Du Jon. In the second place it is false, that the vulgar name of Francis Junius was any other than Du Jon. It is said in Thuanus's translation (1), that Horn, the native place of Hadrian Junius, is a village of Guelderland. It is a great blunder, which I do not find in Thuanus of the

(1) Apud Telfier, Addit. aux Eloges, Tom. I, pag. 479.

Francfort edition, 1625. If the translator found that fault in his edition, he is excusable; but here is another thing to be censured. He says, that Junius leaving Haerlem because of the siege, went to Armuyden near Middelburg, where having in vain used great diligence and pains, to afford some remedy to the miseries of that besieged town, he was so troubled with the change of air, &c. It is plain that that besieged town neither relates to Middelburg nor Armuyden, but to Haerlem. Now it is very false that Junius thought of relieving that besieged town, when he was at Armuyden; for he went not thither till Haerlem was taken.

Thuanus (2) cannot be well excused for this mistake: for though in writing Latin, there is no necessity to clear a period according to the strictness of French Grammar: yet he would never have expressed himself as he did, had he thought that Junius did not go into Zeland, till after the taking of Haerlem. It cannot be said that he there speaks of the siege of Middelburg, or the siege of Armuyden, since these two places were not besieged whilst Junius lived in Zeland. Melchior Adam has transcribed Thuanus's fault. They should have known that this Physician staid some time at Delft, after the taking of Haerlem, before his going into Zeland.

[B] The first of July, 1511.] This is what we find in the Life of Junius, prefixed to his epistles, *vitam hanc orditur Kalendis Julii, anni 1511.* Some pages after, we read that he died 'Die 16 Junii anno 1575. cum explevisset annum ætatis 63 qui magnus est mæsticus annus Medicis vocatur. — He died the sixteenth day of June, in the year 1575, when he had

completed the sixty third year of his age, which the Physicians call the great climacteric.' Which shews that Thuanus and Melchior Adam are mistaken, who make him die in his climacterical year. But because this Life of Junius is not very exact, and the edition of the epistles (3) to which it is prefixed, is said to have been printed in the year 1552, though it contains the epitaph of the author who died in 1575, and some of his letters dated in 1574, I would not rigorously condemn the Chronology of Meursius, who places the birth of this learned man to the year 1512 (4). That which makes me say that his life (5) is not exact, is, that besides the two dates I have mentioned out of it, I there find his epitaph, which imports, that he lived sixty three years. If the author of this Life Sciences, have thought the epitaph was right, he was in the wrong

to place Junius's birth-day on the first of July, 1511, and to say that on the sixteenth of June, 1575, he had completed the sixty third year of his age. On the other hand, when a man is full sixty four years old within fifteen days, it is a great negligence to say that he is sixty three years old, or that he has passed his sixty third year. But whether there be little or much negligence in it, it is certain, that Moreri, Freherus, Melchior Adam, Sir Thomas-Pope Blount, and those who place Junius's birth in the year 1513, are all thereby confuted. The edition of his letters is not very correct; and besides they are not placed according to the time in which they were written, and no care has been taken to discover and supply the dates where they are wanting, which very often happens. These two defects are but too common in such sort of collections.

[C] He was the son of a burgo-master of great worth.] The father of our Junius had not only been secretary, and afterwards five times burgo-master of Horn, but also twice deputed to the court of Denmark, and once to Sweden, and other places. He was a man of learning, and wrote a Latin book, which was never printed, containing the original and growth of Horn (6).

[D] He left it during the troubles.] For want of a better guide, I have followed the life of Junius, which is perplexed to his letters; though I am not ignorant that exactness will not suffer us to make this author live in England from the first time of his coming thither, till the troubles that happened after the marriage

(3) I make use of an edition, printed at Dort, apud Vincetium Caimax, in 12mo.

(4) Valerius Andreas, Bibl. Belg. and Bullart, Académ. des Sciences, have followed it.

(5) I cannot tell whether it be that, which Beverwyck promises in a Letter to Vossius, dated the twelfth of June 1616. See the Letters written to Vossius, n. 78, pag. m. 47.

(6) Boxhornius, Hist. Hollandæ pag. 373.

reconcile himself [E] either to the climate, or the genius of the inhabitants, retired in so abrupt a manner, as not to take his leave of the king. It is probable, this was in 1564 (f). He settled at Haerlem [F], where he practised Physic, and married, and was made principal of the college. The States of Holland commissioned him to write the history of that province, of which he would have acquitted himself honourably, and with greater exactness than he did, if he could have put the last hand to the work, which came out after his death, under the title of *Batavia* (g). When the Spaniards besieged the town of Haerlem, he found a way to escape out of it, to attend the prince of Orange, who desired to use his medicines. The town being taken in 1573, his library was pillaged, where he had left several works, which had cost him a great deal of pains, and by which he hoped to immortalize himself. He might soon have put them in a condition to be published; which increased his grief. He went into Zealand, where the prince's recommendation procured him a public salary, for practising Physic in Middelburg: but the air of the country was very disagreeable to him. He there got some distempers, which, together with his grief for the loss of his library, occasioned his death the sixteenth of June 1575, being sixty four years old wanting some days. His body was carried from Armuyden to Middelburg, where his eldest son caused him to be honourably buried, and composed his epitaph [G]. We have several books of his composing [H]. I will say something of them in the last remark. He was designed for a Professor's chair at Leyden [I], where the university was,

as

(f) See his Letters, pag. 385.

(g) Vossius, de Scient. Mathem. pag. 259. Pontus Henter. lib. ii, de Vet. Belgio, cap. xxv.

(*) Pag. 339, 345, 348.

(8) It was a salary of four hundred rixdollars (German crotons), pag. 409.

(9) Ibid.

(10) See, above, citation (f).

(11) Pag. 179. See concerning his mistress, pag. 109.

(12) In the body of this article.

(13) This book is placed among those of Francis Junius, professor of Divinity at Leyden, in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library.

(14) Huetius, de Claris Interpretibus, speaks of those translations with great contempt.

(15) See his Life prefixed to his Epistles, and in Meijer Adam.

marriage of Mary with Philip II, for I see some of his letters (7) are dated from Haerlem, or Horn, in the year 1552, and at the beginning of 1554, which bespeak a sedentary man. Many of those who have written lives, have stood very much in need of advice.

[E] Not being able to reconcile himself. This appears from the three hundred and eighty fifth page of his letters, where he thus speaks to Sambucus. 'Li-beret mihi Polydori exemplo erumpere in hæc verba, adsum profectus Danica e caligine, nisi longinqui ac molesti itineris ceu partus recordationem oblitterasset jucundus amicorum reduci quotidie gratulationum occursum. — I might, after the example of Polydore, break out into these words: here I am, emerged from Danish darkness; had not the agreeable meeting of my friends, congratulating me daily on my return, blotted out the memory of a long and troublesome journey, as of child-birth.' He adds several reasons for his refusing the salary, and this was no inconsiderable one (8), which he might have enjoyed at Copenhagen. In another letter (9), he says, that he and his wife abhorred that country. In another he desires an augmentation of his salary. I find there, that he was invited to be Physician to the king, but not to be tutor to the young prince.

[F] He settled at Haerlem. The author of his life has not well distinguished the times. He says that he settled at Haerlem, and married only after his return from Copenhagen. But I have proved (10) he returned from thence in the year 1564, and we see by a letter (11) which he wrote in 1559, that he had fixed himself at Haerlem a good while before, and that he was married to a handsome woman who brought him a fortune. The Epistle Dedicatory of his treatise de Auro, that of his tract de Coma, and that of his *Animadversorum*, are dated from that town in 1556.

[G] His eldest son composed his epitaph. Boxhornius having added an appendix to his *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, for the omissions he thought were to be supplied, amongst other things inserted this epitaph in great letters, but he let three faults creep into it, *velint* instead of *meruit*, 67 instead of 63, and 15 instead of 16, *Vixit ann. LXIIIX. obiit die XV. &c.*

[H] We have several books of his composing. His chief works besides those already mentioned (12), are, *Animadversorum libri sex*. *Commentarius de Coma*. *Adagiurum ab Erasmo omisorum centuriæ octo cum dimidia* (13). *Appendix ad Epitbeta Textoris*. *Copie cornu, sive Oceanus enarrationum Homeriarum ex Eustatii Commentariis collectus in unum volumen*. A *Nomenclator*. *Commentarius de anno & mensibus*. Several kinds of Latin verses. The translation of *Eunapius de vitis Sophistarum*. That of *Hesychius Milesius*, that of *Plutarch's table-talk* (14). That of the questions relating to Physic, of *Cassius Iatrotophista*, made and printed at Paris in 1541. (It is I believe the first of his works.) I mention not a great number of authors, whom he has illustrated with notes, as *Nonius Marcellus*, *Plautus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny* (15), *Virgil*, *Ho-*

race (16). He had been a long time upon *Suidas*, and designed to dedicate it to the prince of Orange's son, as he owns to an English lord (17), whose good offices he desires with that prince, in order to be gratified with a present before hand; for he understood as well as any body else how to make the best of an epistle dedicatory.

I have something to observe concerning three of his works. I. The author of his Life says that the *Animadversorum libri sex* were lost, when Haerlem was taken: I do not well understand what he means; for they were published by the author himself, and dedicated to Antony Perenot, bishop of Arras, in the year 1556. Gruterus has inserted them in the fourth volume of his *Thesaurus Criticus*. II. As for the *Appendix ad Epitbeta Textoris*, it may be said that Junius handled that matter with another sort of learning than Textor, who committed very gross faults in it. See some of them in Junius's letters (18). He looked upon it as a most profitable and painful work (19). III. His *Nomenclator* is in it's kind an excellent book. The choice of words in eight languages is no less a proof of Junius's learning, than of his indefatigable patience. It is said (20) that he understood eight languages very well, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, High-Dutch, English, and Dutch. His travels had done him great service on that account: I find he had been in France, Italy, Germany, and England, but not in Spain, as *Valerius Andreas* (21), *Moreri*, and *Freherus* affirm. *Colomies* has published (22) a little story, which he had from *Isaac Vossius*; it shews that Junius neglected nothing to perfect his *Nomenclator*, and that he condescended to drink with Carters to learn the terms of their trade: besides, I believe it appears from one of his letters (23), that he did not think it a great crime to drink plentifully without being drunk.

When I say that this *Nomenclator* is an excellent book in its kind, I do not pretend to deny, that there are faults in it, and very gross ones (24); I only mean that the good things that are in it very much exceed what has been commonly published on that subject. Now in works of this nature, where it is impossible not to mistake, perfection does not demand that an author should be free from all faults. Such a book is like man: he is the most perfect that has the fewest faults.

Vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est qui minimis urgetur (5).

[I] He was designed for a professor's chair at Leyden. It is *Meursius* who says this; *Sub mortis tempus*, says he (26), *Academica nascenti inter primos professoris destinatus, sed inter ipsa initia morte abreptus inchoare munus non potuit*. *Freherus* (27) who transcribes this, without adding what university is meant throws his readers into the dark, or into an illusion; one would think that he means Middelburg, of which he had been speaking, and that an university had been lately founded there. I shall observe on this occasion,

(16) See his Letters, pag. 5, 6.

(17) Epist. pag. 175. See also pag. 116.

(18) Pag. 406.

(19) Ibid. pag. 116.

(20) Meursius, Athen. Batav.

(21) Bibl. Belg. pag. 12.

(22) Opus. pag. 131.

(23) It is written to a bishop pag. 460.

(24) See what *Crenius*, *Annal. Phil. & Hist. Port. 1, pag. 31* & seq. quotes out of *Græcorum* &c.

(25) Meurs. Sat. III, lib. 1, vers. 68.

(26) Athen. Batav. pag. 91.

(27) Theob. pag. 1270.

as it were, just born, when he died. I have not yet had time fully to examine whether he at last turned Protestant [K].

It appears from one of his letters (b), that he put himself into a great passion, when he heard that one of his scholars had accused him of commanding his boarders not to go to church. He protests, on the contrary, that he forced them to go upon holidays; for he condemned to considerable fines those who neglected to go. Elsewhere (i) he complains of his poverty, and that being loaded with debts, and obliged to equip himself, he had no money in his pocket.

occasion, that nothing causes a greater obscurity in books than the not taking pains to add the necessary supplements to what is taken out of other authors. A thousand things are clear in the originals, which are unintelligible, when they are nakedly removed into another place.

(K) I have not had time fully to examine whether he at last turned Protestant. That which holds me in suspense is, a letter (28) that he wrote to the bishop of Haerlem in 1573, to give him an account of the endeavours he had used to hinder this prelate's house from being plundered. He tells him, that he preferred this Depositum, as well as he could, and that he gave it not up to the plunderers till he was overpowered, being threatened with immediate death, with a pistol to his breast. He adds, that the impunity of these wicked attempts obliged him to ask leave to retire out of the town, which he obtained. It is cer-

tain he vigorously complained to the magistrates of the violence that had been done him (29), and that he told them the Spaniards would hardly be guilty of the same excesses, if they were masters of the town. That which I do not understand, is what he tells this prelate, that to preserve his house, it had been necessary to drive away the French, who profaned every thing with a cruel rage, *excludendo barbaram & crudelem Gallorum omnia profanantium rabiem* (§ 2). I do not take the *Index librorum prohibitorum & expurgandorum* (30), wherein he is called a Calvinist, and an author *damnata memoria*, to be a convincing proof. [(§ 2) These were probably some remains of the Protestant troops, which being defeated in 1571, had followed Genlis into the Low-Countries. These were no longer those Protestant soldiers, who in the first civil-war, appeared such enemies to vice and all sorts of violence. REM. CRIT.]

JUNIIUS (a) (FRANCIS) professor of Divinity (b) at Leyden, was born at Bourges the first of May 1545. He was of a noble family [A]. His father, who was a man of the Long Robe, found himself exposed to many persecutions for being suspected of Lutheranism [B]. He exposed his wife to horrid slanders, because she proved

[A] He was of a noble family. WILLIAM du Jon, his grandfather, lord of Boffardiniere near Iffoudun, was enobled for the good services he had done in the expedition into Navarre, when endeavours were used to restore John d'Albret unjustly deprived of his kingdom by Ferdinand of Arragon. He had also been a servant to the king (1). He left three sons, the last whereof, called DENYS, studied the civil-law, and took his degrees at Toulouse. He performed his studies but ill (2); for as he had a great spirit, he was always engaged in the quarrels of the scholars. In a word, he was a great duellist. He obtained the office of the king's counsellor at Bourges, as a reward of a bold action he had done. We shall see it in the following remark. He had nine children, of which our Francis Junius was one (3).

[B] His father . . . found himself exposed to many persecutions for being suspected of Lutheranism. The superior of the Franciscans of Iffoudun preached so impudently against Margaret queen of Navarre, duchess of Berry, and sister to Francis I, as to say, that because she was a Lutheran, she deserved to be sowed up in a sack, and to be thrown into the sea. The magistrates of the place advised him not to be wanting in the respect, that was due to that princess; but he laughed at their advice, and went on preaching in the same strain. Informations were made against him, and sent to the king. The king being resolved to punish him with the same punishment, to which he had adjudged the princess, ordered the monk should be brought to him. The queen of Navarre interceding for him, obtained that the punishment should be moderated. The difficulty was to seize that Monk, who had the mob on his side; so that the magistrates of Iffoudun durst not undertake the execution of his majesty's orders. Denys du Jon, being returned from the schools where he had fought so many duels, declared that if his majesty would give him a commission to take the Monk, he would punctually execute it. This commission being dispatched for him, he put himself at the head of the archers, and in spite of the populace, he took the preacher out of the cloyster, who was sent to the galleys for two years. Du Jon by this ingratiated himself with Francis I, and the duchess of Berry; but he incurred the hatred of the people, and of the Franciscans, and found himself exposed to many calumnies, and threatnings, and involved in processes, which ended at last in a cruel massacre, committed on his person. *Hæc prima fuit actio, quæ in gratiam Regis, sororisque Reginae insinuatæ patrem: sed apud illam inconsultam plebeculam & Franciscanorum ordinem odia perpetua conciliavit; indignissimæque calumnias, minas,*

criminationes, persecutiones, damna, cruentam denique eadem patri opportavit (4). He was accused of Lutheranism, and his maid was suborned to attest that he did not observe fasting days. *Et Franciscanorum arte, & plebis imprudentia odique maximo pressus est sub religionis specie & Lutheranismi . . . accusatus, subornata ad eam rem ancilla quæ domi servierat. Ea patrem à se visum, quum diebus vetitis carnes ederet, pro testimonio dicebat falso, ut matrem sæpe audivi confirmantem* (5). He betook himself to flight, being unwilling to trust himself with such passionate people: they seized on his estate, and the queen of Navarre was obliged to supply him wherewithal to subsist for near a year. At last by the king's authority the accusations were brought to nothing, and then du Jon obtained a place of counsellor, &c. Liberatus ab accusatione pater auctoritate Regis, patrium solum re-

petit, atque immigrat in Biturigum metropolim, ubi cum laude ad exitum usque vitæ Consilarii Regii & pro Tribuno militum honoribus à Rege collatis defunctus est: præter alia commoda honoraria, quæ à Regina sorore illius & Biturigum Duce acceptat (6). His father, being discharged from the accusation by the king's authority, returns home, and goes to Bourges in Berry, where, to his death, he honourably discharged the offices of king's counsellor and colonel, conferred on him by the king; besides other honorary benefits, which he received from the queen, his sister, and the duke of Berry. Hear how he was killed. On Corpus Christi day, the Catholics of Iffoudun, without any regard to the treaty of peace, which had been just concluded, committed a thousand violences against the Reformed. The king dispatched a commission to Denys du Jon to inquire into that insurrection, and to punish the authors of it. Du Jon repaired to Iffoudun, accompanied only by three archers; he dispersed the rest in several places, before he entered the town, it being necessary to use prudence in so nice an affair. His precautions did him no service; it was conjectured upon what account he came; the people seized on the gates, and besieged the house of the commissioner. They broke into it, killed du Jon, threw him out at the window, dragged him along the streets, exposed him to the dogs, and publicly forbid (7) any to bury him (8). The king's council, out of indignation against this insolence, ordered that the walls of Iffoudun should be demolished, but Ci-

pierre, and some other lords, got the decree changed, especially because the murdered commissioner had been suspected of Lutheranism above twenty four years. The widow of the deceased desiring to prosecute the murderers, got the hatred of a great ma-

(b) Epistol pag. 387.

(i) Ib. pag. 149. See also pag. 254

(30) Pag. 4-6. Edit. 1627, in fol.

* Thuan. lib. II.

(b) And not a civilian, as Father Jacob says in his *Bibliotheca Pontific.* pag. 456.

(4) Franciscus Junius, ubi supra, col. 2.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 7, col. 1.

(7) However a woman buried him in the night. Id. ibid.

(8) Taken from the Life of Francis Junius pag. 14

(a) His true name was Du Jon, and not Jonghe, as Moreri will have it.

(1) In custodia & equili. . . Ludovici XII, ministravit. Franciscus Junius, in Vita sua, Tom. I, Oper. pag. 63 col. 1.

(2) Hinc ab avo solennis literarum quas Dionysio filio mittebat, & falsa inscriptio, Dionysio dilecto filio misso ad studendum, pro eo quod alii vulgo inscribunt, studeant. Id. ibid.

(3) Taken from Junius's Life.

proved with child, whilst it was believed he had fled away [C], and it was not known that he came once secretly to see her. Our Francis Junius was carefully educated, and became a very learned man, to which his natural modesty, together with his great ambition [D], did not a little contribute. He began to study the civil-law under Hugo Donellus at thirteen years of age. Some years after he was sent to Lyons, in order to join the ambassador, whom the king of France sent to Constantinople: but not arriving till after the departure of the ambassador, he staid at Lyons, and applied himself to his studies with an incredible industry. Bartholomew Aneau [E], who was principal of the college of that town, gave him good advice about the right method of studying. The young gentleman found himself exposed to two very different temptations, to that of love, and that of impiety. He vigorously opposed the first; for he gave a box on the ear to a young woman, who came to caress him [F]: but he yielded

ny people, and spent her estate. *Hæc cædes consilium Regis commovit plurimum: & decretum de labefactendis muris totius oppidi in eo factum propter atrocitatem sceleris, & periculissimum exemplum illius. Sed postea conversa est factionibus tota ratio consilii: tum propter Sipierrii Gubernatoris & nonnullorum ex nobilitate procerum inveterata odia, tum propter religionis Pontificiæ Zelum, cujus odio indefinenter flagravisse inde ab annis amplius viginti quatuor criminabantur patrem. Itaque eadem illam necesse habuit mater in Regis consilio persequi ex eo tempore: quo facta, cum ipsa in se multorum concitavit odia, tum omnia ferme commoda quæ ex bellica licentia, furtis, rapinis, grassationibusque restabant ipsi, in hac persecutione occupavit* (9).

I need not put any body in mind of the ill effects of a religious zeal. Those who are possessed with it, justify a murder, and disapprove the conduct of a woman, who desires that those who have murdered her husband should be punished. But I desire my readers to consider well one thing. Religion, which is looked upon all over the world as the strongest support of the supreme authority, and which would be actually so, if it was well understood and practised, is commonly that, which most enervates that same authority. There was nothing more just than the decree of Francis I, against the preacher of Issoudun; a man who had the impudence to treat the king's sister so basely in the pulpit. And yet not one magistrate durst execute the king's orders against this mutineer, and when a gentleman has the courage to execute them, he exposes himself to a thousand persecutions, and becomes so odious, that his murderers are openly protected. The queen of Navarre, was the first who advised this gentleman to leave his country (10), since the execution of his prince's orders would expose him to the hatred of the bigots. An evident proof that the court did not think itself strong enough to protect its good servants persecuted by churchmen. It is commonly said that the ministry of the gospel est ipsi Angelis tremendum. — *Is formidabile to the angels; we may add & ipsi quoque Regibus. — And to kings also.* Read the history of the Romish church, and you will find that the greatest princes have had more reason to fear the passions raised by the zealots, than the arms of the infidels: thus that very thing which ought to be the support of the state, is very often the greatest obstacle that sovereigns meet with in the execution of their orders (11).

[C] *He exposed his wife to horrid slanders, because she proved with child.* It is an imprudence to venture the being so, when the husband is a fugitive; for if he should die before he returned, and before the lying-in, and without owning that he is the father of the child, three things very possible, how could a woman justify herself to the public? but farther, is it nothing to give a handle to ill tongues, as the wife of Du Jon did? it will be said that it is easy to talk so, when one is discoursing of it in cold blood, without considering the case of amorous people. After some months absence, their love is so violent, that no consideration can restrain them; passion hurries them along, and they are not able to hearken to any reason:

[E] *Bartholomew Aneau.* I have spoken else (15) Above, in where (15) of his Commentary upon Alciatus's emblems. He was called in Latin *Annulus*, or *Anulus*: he was a native of Bourges, and published several books (16). He was wickedly killed in the tumult of religion, where Junius had like to have lost his life: his wife would have had the same fate, if the provost of Lyons had not saved her by imprisoning her (17).

[F] *He gave a box on the ear to a young woman who came to caress him.* This is a thing much more admirable than Theagenes's action (18), as being historical, whereas that of Theagenes is only a romantic fiction. Junius, intent upon his studies, thought of nothing less, than of making love. In the mean time he was teased for his want of gallantry, and it was represented to him, that he would never learn civility, if he did not fall in love. These discourses having no influence upon his conduct, they exposed him to the caresses of three or four young women, who

on that account, at which she was most sensibly afflicted (13). [D] *His natural modesty, together with his great ambition.* These two passions do not seem to be consistent one with another, and yet sometimes they join together. Junius is an instance of it. He confesses, that in his younger years he wished to be honoured and praised more than he ought to do, and that he could not suffer the praises, which were given to others. 'Natura me puerum ad honoris & laudis appetentiam plus satis accendente. Sic enim mala radix illa *τῆς φιλοψυχίας* in me germinabat, ut nec alienam laudem ista ætate æquo animo ferre possem miser, nec in mea exultatione illa conquiescere quam mihi conciliabam pertinacissima diligentia.' On the other hand he acknowledges, that he was so timorous, and bashful, that even when he was near fifty years old, he could not speak to his own wife without blushing, and that he durst hardly command his own domestics. 'Pudor summus qui me ad hanc usque ætatem sic pressit, ut rusticus magis ad omnia quam urbanus merito haberi possem. . . . Quid dicam nisi impudentem ferme pudorem esse qui me tantopere impeditum distinet, ut vix sine pudore uxori res vulgares enunciem, vix jam domi servitio imperem.' He pretends to have drawn great advantages from this bashfulness; because distrust- ing himself, he applied himself much more to improve by what he heard and saw (14); and he declares he would not acquaint his readers with his infirmity, if he did not believe, it would be a most useful lesson of modesty to youth. 'Hoc eo libentius prædico de infirmitate mea, ut juvenus ab exemplo meo præceptum hauriat *ταπεινοφροσύνης* atque modestiæ, ut certum fructum peritiæ certo judicio assequatur. Id enim testor, nihil mihi secundum benedictionem Dei tam commodavisse in rebus omnibus, quam illam de me ipso diffidentiam ex conscientia infirmitatis & pudoris mei, & studiosam aliorum, quibusque cunctis adu, observantiam.' That modesty and rare humility which makes a man distrust his own strength, cannot be too much praised: but it is certain it is of no use to the making of one's fortune in the world; and if a father has a design that his children should come to performances, I would advise him rather to inspire them with vanity and presumption, than with diffidence of their own merit. Junius is perhaps the only person, who with respect to worldly advantages, was not the worse for his modesty. I do not pretend to affirm that arrogance is always useful: it sometimes ruins young men, and hinders them from rising; I speak only of this in general, without regarding the exceptions.

[E] *Bartholomew Aneau.* I have spoken else (15) Above, in where (15) of his Commentary upon Alciatus's emblems. He was called in Latin *Annulus*, or *Anulus*: he was a native of Bourges, and published several books (16). He was wickedly killed in the tumult of religion, where Junius had like to have lost his life: his wife would have had the same fate, if the provost of Lyons had not saved her by imprisoning her (17).

[F] *He gave a box on the ear to a young woman who came to caress him.* This is a thing much more admirable than Theagenes's action (18), as being historical, whereas that of Theagenes is only a romantic fiction. Junius, intent upon his studies, thought of nothing less, than of making love. In the mean time he was teased for his want of gallantry, and it was represented to him, that he would never learn civility, if he did not fall in love. These discourses having no influence upon his conduct, they exposed him to the caresses of three or four young women, who

(9) *Id. ibid.*

AN important reflexion upon the effects of false zeal.

(10) *Felicius certe utriusque politicos honores gesturo, & Rempublicam administraturo, si post tam forte ausum honestæ causæ migratione, quam sepe fieri Navarrena Regina & nonnulli Proceres cupiverunt, ut ubi Respublicæ interiret pater, sibi propeisset. Id. ibid. pag. 6, col. 2.*

(11) Compare what has been said in the article ABDAS, remark [B].

(12) *Virgil. Georg. lib. 1, ver. 514.*

(13) *Proflugas pater clam ad matrem semel redierat, hinc gravida facta mater prociendebatur à vulgo, tanquam si profuita fuisset pudicitia illius. Utrouque hoc incommodum sanctæ illius fœmine animus cognovatur, obsecravit huius malitiam quam plurimis tum Francis illius reverto nem, tum gravitatem, ut aiebant, impudicam. Junius, in Vita sua, pag. 7, col. 1.*

Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas (12).

So the fierce couriers starting to the race . . . Nor reins, nor curbs, nor threatening cries they fear, But force along the trembling charioteer.

DRYDEN.

However it be, our Junius's mother was defamed up-

(14) *Ex pudore hæc consequens sunt inde à pueris quod mihi semper sim diffusus, quod aliorum factis audientis, sermonibus observandis & adverting in usum meum studiorum. Idem, ibid. col. 2.*

(15) *Above, in the remark [M], of the article ALCIATUS.*

(16) *See La Croix du Maine, pag. 32, & Du Verrier Vau-Prin, pag. 110, 111.*

(17) *See Junius's historical, whereas that of Theagenes is only a romantic fiction. Junius, intent upon his studies, thought of nothing less, than of making love. In the mean time he was teased for his want of gallantry, and it was represented to him, that he would never learn civility, if he did not fall in love. These discourses having no influence upon his conduct, they exposed him to the caresses of three or four young women, who*

(18) *See the article HELIO- was represented to him, that he would never learn civility, if he did not fall in love. These discourses having no influence upon his conduct, they exposed him to the caresses of three or four young women, who*

yielded so much to the sophistry of a libertine, that he found himself a perfect Atheist [G], after lending an ear to him for some days. He did not remain long in that unhappy condition; a tumult about religion, which obliged him to run away, in order to save his life, afforded him an occasion of resuming his first faith. His father recalled him to Bourges, and discovering something of the opinions his son was imbued with, he gave him good instructions, and without seeming to know any thing of the matter, brought him to read the New Testament. The first words (c) that Junius met with, affected him [H] so sensibly, that he quickly grew out of conceit with whatever related not to piety. In the beginning of the civil-wars, he went to Geneva, for the study of the languages. As he carried but little money with him, and had none sent him, he found himself reduced to extreme necessity [I]. At last he received wherewithal to deliver himself from his misery, and to pay his debts; and hearing the tragical end of his father (d), he resolved to get his livelihood by teaching youth. He undertook that employment at Geneva, which he discharged till he was sent into the Low-Countries (e) to be minister of the Walloon church at Antwerp. He performed that office in the midst of many dangers; for tho' he opposed the indiscreet zeal of those, who, without any lawful authority,

(c) The beginning of St John's Gospel.

(d) See the remark [B].

(e) In the year 1565.

who impudently attacked him. They fell violently upon him, and omitted nothing to triumph over his modesty. At last, he lost his patience, and gave one of them a box on the ear; this blow caused a great noise in the house. The girl, who had received it, finding by the young man's look, that it was not by way of jest, but out of anger that she had been thus used, fell a crying and lamenting. She was laughed at, and Junius too; but this made him odious to several people. These are his own words. 'Dies & noctes appetebant canes illæ promiscuæ, nescium quid sibi vellent, & gravitatis honestatque illius, quam in domo paterna videram, subinde recordantem. Neque id seorsim tentabant singulæ, verumetiam ternæ aut quaternæ simul confectis manibus in me iruebant immodestissime, ut perducto ad suam impuritatem animo meo de spoliis pudoris mei triumpharent. Tandem verò adeo me pudit illarum impudentiæ, ut quum una multis spectantibus me amatorie esset adorsa palpo, ego contra colaphum gravem ei impigerim: quem illa addobitans utram in partem acciperet, defixis oculis attenta respexit ad me, aliquantisper observans aliquam mei animi significationem: ut autem rem feriam à me esse vidit, tum illa vociferationibus & ejulationibus implevit domum, omniumque risum imprudens in se, flutorum odia in me concitavit (19).' He was so tired with those temptations, that he had a thousand times the thoughts of returning to his father, without taking leave of the people of the house, where his chastity suffered so many attacks; but he feared their resentment, and the calumnies they might make use of, to disparage him in his family.

[G] He yielded so much to the sophistry of a Libertine, that he found himself a perfect Atheist. By Bartholomew Aneau's advice, he had read Cicero de Legibus, and made collections out of it. In the mean while he received a visit from a man, and heard him maintain with so many arguments, what Cicero alleges concerning Epicurus's rejecting a providence, that he gave way to that impious doctrine: which he did the more easily, because it was the constant table-talk, and all the house rung with it (20). 'Memini, quum liberos M. Tullii de legibus per illud tempus, auctore & suatore Anulo (de quo ante dixi) expenderem, & notas quasdam in eos animadvertionesque colligerem, venire hominem ad me, & illa Epicuri verba quæ libro primo exstant (21), nihil curare Deum nec sui, nec alieni, multis quam diligentissime confirmare: ad quæ ego non ratione judicioque certe responderem: sed assensionem paulatim adhibens, sentiebam venenum serpents, quod imberberam, confirmari in me: & cum auctoritate hominis, tum argutis dictorum ejus præceptis eo deferrebar, ut meus animus in isto malo hærens occallere, totique fieret' *avarosus* (22).'

[H] The first words that he met with in the New Testament affected him. The thing is so edifying, and so likely to imprint a due sense of the efficacy of the word of God, that I ought to set down the whole passage. 'Hic ergo novum illud testamentum divinitus oblatum aperio: aliud agenti exhibet se mihi aspectu primo augustissimum illud caput Joannis Evangelistæ & Apostoli, in principio erat Verbum, &c.

Lego partem capituli, & ita commoveor legens, ut repente divinitatem argumenti, & scripti majestatem auctoritatemque senserim longo intervallo omnibus

eloquentiæ humanæ fluminibus præeuntem. Horrebat corpus, stupebat animus, & totum illum diem sic afficiebar, ut qui essem, ipse mihi incertus viderer esse. Recordatus es mei, Domine Deus mi, pro immensa misericordia tua, ovemque perditam in gregem tuum recepisti. Ex eo tempore, quum in me Deus tam potenter Spiritus sui virtute irrisset, alia frigidius & negligentius legere & tractare coepi; de his verò quæ ad pietatem pertinent cogitare amplius, & ardentius in eis versari (23). — Here therefore I open that new Testament, the gift of heaven: at first sight, and without design, I light upon that most august chapter of the Evangelist and Apostle St John. In the beginning was the word, &c. I read part of the chapter, and am so affected as I read, that on a sudden I perceive the divinity of the subject, and the majesty and authority of the writing, far exceeding all human eloquence. I shuddered, I was confounded, and was so affected that whole day, that I scarce knew myself. Thou didst remember me, O Lord my God, for thy great mercy, and didst receive a lost sheep into thy flock. From that time, when God had given me so great a measure of his holy spirit, I began to read other things with more coldness and neglect; and to think more of, and be more conversant with, those things, which belong to piety.

[I] He found himself reduced to extrem necessity. He gives a long account of it, whereof I will observe but these two things. Having only, upon the approach of the winter, a linnen doublet and a little cloak, he resolved to imitate Cleanthes (24), that is, to get something by the labour of his hands. He designed to work by the day, and turn pioneer in the ditches of Geneva. But he found a young man of his country, who relieved him. Standing in need of this help longer than he had a mind to, he was afraid of being burthen some, and in that apprehension he brought himself to the making but one little meal once a day. This abstinence lasted four months, and reduced him to such a lean condition, that he was scarce able to bear the weight of his shirt. He would have died in a little time, if his friends had not prevailed upon him to eat a little more. 'Ultero ad mensas quatuor jejuniū ipse indixi mihi, & horam prandii in ambulatione, legens & memoriam colens, meditans, orans occupavi: vespere autem cœna frugali usus sum, plurimum sorbens bina ova, & medicamentum vini cyathum hauriens. Sed ex diuturna ista & pervicace inedia paulatim me invasit tabes, & ita exeduit graviter, ut vires omnes exhaustum corpus deficerent. Quod malum tum demum sensi, quum instantibus amicis & tabem meam ex vultu recognoscens, ad majorem cibi copiam sumendam veni, & vivere institui liberalius: nam vel indussi solius one re prægravati mihi esse humeri videbantur (25). — I voluntarily enjoyed myself a fast of four months, and spent the hour of dinner in walking, reading, and recollecting, meditating and praying: in the evening I supped sparingly, for the most part on two eggs, and a moderate glass of wine. But this long and obstinate fasting brought on me by degrees a consumption, and quite exhausted my strength: which I then became sensible of, when, at the pressing instances of my friends, who perceived my distemper by my looks, I betook myself to eating more plentifully, and began to live more freely; for my shoulders seemed laden with the weight of my shirt alone.'

(23) Ibid. pag. 11, col. 2.

(24) Certum de liberatūque erat hebdomade proxime sequentia . . . alternos dies in egerenda terra ad solum urbis, & in studiis consumere, Cleanthes exemplo, ut levarem inopiam meam. Id. ibid.

(25) Ibid. pag. 13, col. 2.

(19) Junius, ibid. pag. 9, col. 2.

(20) Ista horribili impietate confusa erat quicquid mensis, perfumabat domum circumferebant omnia aures meas, adeo ut jamque ad alia omnia obstitissem. Nam quum omnibus horis aliquid atrociter fieri viderem, aut audire, inquit Tullius, etiam qui natura mitissimi sumus, assidue molestarum sensum omnem humanitatis ex animis amittimus: quum imple fieri aut dici, pietatis sentum. Id. ibid. pag. 10, col. 1.

(21) Here is a slip of memory: Junius took the first book of Cicero de Legibus, for the first book of Cicero de Natura Deorum.

(22) Junius, ubi supra.

V O L. III.

7 T

[K] The

authority, broke the images, and pillaged the temples, he was accounted their instigator; which was the reason that they often attempted to imprison him. He had the good fortune always to have timely notice of it, so as to avoid being taken. It was found expedient for him to go into the country of Limburg, where he continued his ministerial functions with good success, till the dangers he was exposed to engaged the magistrates to advise him to retire into Germany. The curiosity that an old man had, deserves to be known [K], it is so proper to shew the knavery of the persecutors, and the foolishness of the people. Junius was received at Heidelberg by the elector Frederic III, with a great deal of kindness, and went to see his mother at Bourges; from whence returning to the Palatinate, he was made minister of a little church there

(f) Scarnovienſis Eccleſiæ.

(g) Tremellius was his partner in that work.

(b) Taken from his Life, written by himself, and published by Merula, in 1595, and afterwards prefixed to his works. Melchior Adam has given us a large Abridgement of it. Moreri is mistaken in quoting Merula, in *Deſcript. Vita Junii*.

(f). Some time after he was sent by the elector to the army of the prince of Orange, during the unfortunate expedition of the year 1568. He was chaplain to that prince, till the troops had got into Germany; and then he returned to his church in the Palatinate, where he discharged his function till the year 1573, after which he was sent for to Heidelberg by the Elector Palatine, to translate the Old Testament (g). He was sent to Neustadt in the year 1578, and at fourteen months end to Otterburg, where he staid eighteen months; after which he returned to Neustadt, and read public lectures till prince Casimir, administrator of the electorate, sent for him to Heidelberg, to be professor of Divinity. He returned into France with the duke of Bouillon, and waited on king Henry IV, who sent him into Germany upon some business. He thought fit to pass through Holland before he went to give an account of his commission to Henry IV, and being invited to be professor of Divinity at Leyden, he accepted the offer, having first obtained the consent of the ambassador of France (b). He discharged the functions of that employment with great ability, till the year 1602, when he died of the plague. He had an aversion for women; but, as he owns himself, he was punished by God for it, in the four marriages he contracted [L]. He left some children [M]: he published many books [N]. Thuanus is very much mistaken

[K] *The curiosity that an old man had, deserves to be known.* He had been made to believe, that Junius, the Heretical preacher, had cloven feet, and he was not undeceived, till he had viewed him from head to foot. It was in the presence of a great company, who were met in hopes of hearing a dispute between Junius and a Franciscan. The place and hour for the conference were appointed; but the Friar went back, under pretence of having forgot something. I have a hundred times heard such sort of stories, but never saw them before supported by a printed and authentic testimony. Which makes me set down Junius's own words. *Ridiculum est quod dicam, sed tamen indicium horum simplicitatis, & mendacissimæ illorum impudentiæ. Quum in campo essemus, Franciscani illius adventum expectantes, vir quidam senex frequentiam illam maximam quæ tum aderat perumpens, copiam sibi fieri videndi mei postulavit. Audito strepitu rogabam quid rei esset. Cognito hominem esse mei videndi cupientem, monui ut daretur homini ad veniendum locus. Tum ille demisso vultu inde à pedibus ad verticem usque observans diligentissimè constitutionem meam, erupit in hæc verba: eho, jamjam video non esse id verum, quod mihi de te fuerat enunciatum. Me autem dicente, quid ergo illud est? tibi, inquit, pedes fissos esse (26). — *What I am going to relate, is ridiculous, but is an instance of the folly and lying impudence of these persons. When we were in the field, expecting the coming of that Franciscan, a certain old man, breaking thro' the crowd, demanded to see me. Hearing a noise, I asked what was the matter: and finding, that one desired to see me, I desired they would make way for him. Then he, casting his eyes downward, and surveying me from head to foot, broke out into these words: now I am convinced, it is not true, what was told me of you. Upon asking him, what that was, he answered, he had been told, that I had cloven feet.*

(26) Ibid. pag. 20, col. 1.

[L] *He had an aversion for women, but he was punished by GOD for it, in the four marriages he contracted.* Left I should translate his words wrong, I shall only set them down. *In conjugis varie me duriterque exercuit Dominus. Nam quatuor uxores duxi hætenus: adeo me (qui prius propter canum impium scelera à feminis abhorrebam, & functionis meæ studio conjugum refugiebam pervicacissimè) castigavit Dominus, præposterum judicium meum tacite exprobravit, & perjuranda optimarum fidelissimarumque conjugum consuetudine evicit peccatum, indignamque de sexu femineo toto opinionem meam (27). He observes, that he lost his

(27) Ibid. pag. 23, c. l. 2.

first wife by the ignorance of a midwife, who spoilt her Uterus in delivering her of twins (28). (28) *They did not* 'Harum primam injuria obstetricis à vita sustulit, licet. Ex prima, quum ita corruptus in obstetricatu fuisset illius uter, ut annos amplius septem indefinente sanguinis deflavo afflicta sit atque exhausta, incredibili cruciatu ipsius, & labore meo (29). The consequences of this accident proved very unhappy, not only for the wife, but also for the husband, namely a continual loss of blood for above seven years together. His second wife died, being with child, the fifth day of a continual fever. The third died of a dropy. The fourth was alive when he wrote this, about the year 1592. Afterwards she died of the plague.

[M] *He left some children.* By his second wife, the daughter of John Cornput, secretary and burgo-master of Breda, he had, amongst other children, a daughter who was married to the learned John Gerard Vossius, and a son named JOHN CASIMIR JUNIUS (30), who studied Divinity, and was designed by his father for an Hebrew professor, but that did not succeed. He quitted letters for the military profession, at the solicitation of his uncle John Cornput (31), who made him lieutenant of his company. He died at Gertrudenberg. He published in Dutch an apology for the speech of Sir Dudley Carleton, king James's ambassador. It was in answer to a censure of the States of Holland, who had censured (32) that speech. He left a son called FRANCIS JUNIUS, born at Embden, the twentieth of September 1624, who was professor of the Civil Law in the university of Groningen (33). In the following article I shall speak of another FRANCIS JUNIUS, a son of the Leyden professor, by a third venter.

[N] *He published many books.* His works of Divinity, collected together, make two volumes in folio, (34) See the and contain, amongst other things, I. A commentary upon the three first chapters of Genesis, with an answer to the twenty two objections of Simplicius (34) 225. II. An Analysis of the Pentateuch, an explication of the prophecies of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jonah. III. Sacred parallels, and notes upon the Revelation, and the epistle of St Jude. IV. Observations against Bellarmine, and upon the anathema of Gregory XIII against Gebhard Truchses, archbishop of Cologne. He also published some notes upon Manilius and Cicero's epistles, and upon Tertullian, and a work of George Codinus Curopalates. He also translated into Latin, Bodin's Demonomania, John du Tillet, Arnauld's plea against the Jesuits, &c. He wrote an answer (35) in French, to Peter Char-

ron's

mistaken in what he says him [O]. Scaliger's memoirs, who hated Junius, very probably prejudiced this famous historian against him [P]. Junius did not deserve the contempt that Scaliger had for him; the injustice of it is visible. And when we consider the praises that many great authors have given him (i), we find ourselves more disposed to pity than to indignation, with respect to that injustice. He was a learned and honest man; and otherwise so far from running things to an extremity, that he believed salva-

(i) See Colome-
sius, Gallia
Orient. pag. 95,
& seq.

tion

ron's Three Truths. I must not forget, that he understood the Greek and oriental tongues. He was the first that published George Codinus's book *De Officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani, & officiis magnæ Ecclesiæ*. He added to it a Latin translation with notes. He published two editions of this book, one in the year 1583, to which he put his name in Hebrew for he called himself Nadabus Agmonius (36). He dedicated it to the magistrates of Francfort. He dedicated the second to Marquardus Freherus, who procured him some manuscripts, by means whereof he filled up several chafms of the former edition. He was preparing a third, which would have been exempt from some of the faults which had escaped him in the two first, and which were censured by the Jesuit Gretserus (37). What Vossius observes against that critic, is very judicious; he does not deny that Gretserus's book is a learned work, but he thinks that the good service which Junius had done to the Republic of learning, has not been sufficiently considered. Gretserus makes it his only business to censure his faults; which is, says he, the epidemical distemper of the learned. 'Multa in his sunt, quibus etiam doctissimos doceat (Gretserus). Nec pauca tamen, quæ pro Junio possum reponere. Sed hic eruditorum morbus est epidemicus: ut non tam cogitent quantum boni aliquis præliterit: quale est hic, quod primus eum scriptorem Junius sua lingua ediderit, Latine verterit, etiam illustravit Notis; in quibus humani aliquid subinde, in tam arduo negotio, perperam fuisse, nec ipsi negamus. Sed, ut dici solet, inventis aliquid superaddere, vel, quando omnes sumus homines, etiam errores observare, non est ulque adeo difficile (38). — There are many things in them, in which Gretser may instruct the most learned; and not a few, which I can replace for Junius. But this is the epidemical disease of learned men: they do not enough consider, what good any one has done; such as Junius's publishing that author in his own language, translating him into Latin, and even commenting on him; in which laborious undertaking I do not deny that he sometimes commits faults. But, as they say, it is not very difficult to improve upon discoveries, and to observe mistakes, to which, as men, we are all liable.' Junius had translated the three books of Gelasius Cyzicenus, concerning the council of Nice, and added notes to them (39). Vossius (40) promised to get them printed. Junius translated out of Greek into Latin, the books which are called Apocryphal: and from the Arabic, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of St Paul to the Corinthians. He translated from the Hebrew, all the books of the Old Testament, not alone, but with Tremellius.

[O] *Thuanus is very much mistaken in what he says of him.* These are his words. 'Vir desultorio ingenio qui multa conatus, an adsecutus sit quod moliebatur, doctorum erit judicium. Lugduno Batavorum ubi diu professus est, ob rerum novarum suspitionem ab Ordinibus Belgii exactus, sicuti suo loco diximus, & Altorfii ubi defecit, à Norimbergenfi Rep. honorifico stipendio invitatus (41). — A man of an inconstant genius, who attempting many things, whether he succeeded in what he undertook, the learned will judge. Banished from Leyden, where he had been long Professor, by order of the States, on suspicion of caballing, as I have related in its place, and invited to Altorf, where he died, by the Republic of Nuremberg, with the offer of an honourable salary.' I do not examine whether Junius was justly censured for his levity, and for meddling with too many things. Vossius, his son-in-law, has solidly justified him in this respect (42); but I shall observe after him (43), that Thuanus is strangely mistaken, in supposing, I. that Junius was expelled by the States of Holland, upon some suspicions of a political cabal. II. That he was invited by the magistrates of Nuremberg, and that he died at Altorf. III. That he (Thuanus) has mentioned this exile under its proper

year. To begin with this last fault, I say, that Thuanus has not spoken of Junius, but of Donellus, in describing the cabal which was discovered in the year 1587 (44). Junius was then in the Palatinate, and did not come to Leyden till five years after. No one is ignorant, that from the year 1592, till he died, he was professor of Divinity at Leyden. It was Donellus who retired to Altorf, and died there (45).

[P] *Scaliger's memoirs . . . prejudiced Thuanus.* It is Vossius's conjecture (46), and it is very probable. Scaliger's hatred and fury against Junius, discovered themselves both in his conversation (47) and letters. This is not so plain to every reader in his letters, because Heinsius (48) who published them in the year 1627, put asterisks in the places, where Junius was abused, and left out the names; but the abuses are not the less real for it. 'Hocce anno Heinsius noster in lucem edidit Epistolâ Scaligeri, in quibus non urbanitatem sed rusticitatem Junium tanquam Cumanum asinum tangit homo cætera magnus, sed nimis malignus (49). — This year our country-man Heinsius, published Scaliger's letters, in which that author, in other respects a great man, but too ill-natured, jests with an awkward kind of wit on Junius, calling him the ass of Cumæ.' These are Vossius's words: he had just been saying, that they had found in Junius's books, several gross abuses written with Scaliger's own hand. When a man proceeds thus far, what will he not do. 'Memor eram qualia superflues evomerit adversus Junium, cum totus in fermento jaceret. Et meminisse ipse potes. Adhuc in nostris, & aliorum manibus versantur co-dices Juniani, Scaligeri manu opplati bellis illis e-logiis, sumis, cojone, & aliis id genus convitiis, βαρβαρίσιν (scurra) non Scaligero dignis (50). — I remembered how injuriously, in his life-time, he treated Junius, loading him with all manner of reproaches. And you yourself may remember it. Junius's books are still extant, filled by Scaliger's own hand with the fine encomiums of ape, ass, and the like scurrilities, worthy of a buffoon, not of Scaliger.' Note, by the way, that Scaliger did nevertheless bestow many praises upon Junius's tomb (51). So true it is, that the verses made upon the death of people, are a piece of the grand comedy, which is acted on the stage of the world. Note also, by the by, that Junius drew upon him the hatred of this great man, by the liberty he took of contradicting him sometimes in points of Chronology, &c. Some young men threw oil into the fire, by reporting, in an invidious manner, what Junius said of the other, either in his lectures or conversations. 'Scis quale fuerit illud maximum Scaligeri ingenium. Non ferebat dissentientem. Itaque semper eo nomine offensior Junio fuit, quod in quibusdam ad sacram χρονολογίαν pertinentibus ac credo in aliis etiam nonnullis à se discreperat. Offensam eam unus & alter discipulorum alebant, malignè interpretantes apud Scaligerum, quæ vel publice docuisset Junius, vel privatim dixisset (52). However it be, this is what made Vossius (53) think that Thuanus had been prejudiced against Junius, by Scaliger's letters.

That thought kept him at first in suspense, whether he should make an apology for his father-in-law against Thuanus, or no; for he foresaw, that the son of this great historian would justify his father, by producing Scaliger's letters, which were injurious to Junius; and in that case Vossius would have found himself obliged to write against Scaliger: but he found it more proper to conceal the faults of that great man, than to publish them. At last he took the method, that may be seen in the preface (54), which I have quoted. 'Si calamum adversus Thuanum stringam, periculum video, ne filius Thuani, juvenis eruditus, & ut genere, atque opibus pollens, ita multis in Galliis carus, & maximis honoribus decoratus, quæ de imperitia Junii modestè Parens scripserit, ea apertè, & sine circumsione prodita, offendat à Magno

(44) Thuan.
Histo. lib.
lxxxviii, pag.
147.

(45) Idem. lib. c,
pag. 405.

(46) Ubi supra.

(47) See the Scaligeriana.

(48) See Vossius's Letter to Grotius, amongst those of the Arminians, n. 448, pag. 726.

(49) Vossius, in eadem Epistola.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Ibid.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Ibid.

(61) Ibid.

(62) Ibid.

(63) Ibid.

(64) Ibid.

(65) Ibid.

(66) Ibid.

(67) Ibid.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Ibid.

(75) Ibid.

(76) Ibid.

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid.

(79) Ibid.

(80) Ibid.

(81) Ibid.

(82) Ibid.

(83) Ibid.

(84) Ibid.

(85) Ibid.

(86) Ibid.

(87) Ibid.

(36) And not
Aymenius, as
Placcius has it,
de Pseudonymis,
pag. 220, who a
little while after
says Cornelius,
instead of Cod-
inus, and appre-
hendit, instead of
reprehendit.

(37) See Vossius,
de Historicis
Grecis, pag. 368.

(38) Vossius, ibid.

(39) Ib. pag. 264.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Thuan. lib.
cxviii, sub fin.
ad ann. 1602.

(42) Vossius, in
Pæf. de Histo.
Latinis.

(43) Ibid.

tion might be obtained in the church of Rome [2]. He never understood better the deficiency of his knowledge, than when he was arrived to the highest pitch of his knowledge (k); which is a sign of a good understanding.

à Magno Scaligero, Reip. literarum dictatore, cui doctior orbis lubens eruditionis falces submittit. Hinc mihi nova cura, etiam tuendi eum adversus Scaligeri calumnias, incumbet. Quem ego virum laudavi semper, ac porro laudare decrevi: non quia ejus potentiam animi, aut maledicentiam ignorem; aut quasi nesciam, quam multis in locis aliquid humanitatis patiat: sed quia ejus tantæ virtutes, præclaræque adeo merita sunt, erga historiam, ac bonas literas, ut propterea, quæ peccavit, censam ei condonari, & æterna oblivione sepeliri oportere (55).

(55) Vossius, Epist. lxxv, pag. 106.

— If I draw my pen against Tüvanus, I see the danger, lest Tüvanus's son, a learned youth, and not only of a good family and fortune, but dear likewise to many in France, and designed for the greatest honours, should shew that the great Scaliger, dictator of the Republic of Letters, whom the learned world readily acknowledges as it's sovereign, declared openly, and without mincing the matter, what his father modestly wrote concerning the unskillfulness of Junius. Hence a new task will lie upon me, even of defending him against the calumnies of Scaliger; a man, whom I always praised, and have resolved still to praise: not that I am a stranger to his impotency of mind, or faculty of slandering; or that I am ignorant, that in many places he is himself in an error; but that I think his faults ought to be excused and entirely forgotten, on account of his great virtues, and uncommon merit, in respect to history, and classical learning. He spares the name of Scaliger in this preface, but not his person; it is true, that he gives him a stab in a very respectful manner. These are his words. Acerbo adeo ut summus vir (Tüvanus) pronuntiaret, fecit amicus ejus, vir cætera egregius; sed, quod in aliis damnat, præfatus planeque idcirco, xai αὐτὸν δὲ, sæpe etiam turgens loliginis succo, ac si quis non per omnia assentiret, vehemens alieni nominis obtricator: quo vitio non mediocriter fœdabat egregias, imo admirandas animi dotes. Non me ariolari hic, sed certissima promere, multis possum indicibus comprobare: sed ea sunt viri illius merita, ut quedam satius sit honoris causa taceri (56).

(56) Vossius, Præfat. de Hist. Latinis. See also his Letter to Goussier: it is the sixty fifth.

— So bitterly, that the great Tüvanus pronounced, his friend did it, in other respects an excellent man; but, what he condemns in others, confident, opinionated, and severe, and apt to detract from the merits of those, who do not assent to him in every thing; with which vice he greatly sullied his excellent parts. That this is not meer conjecture, but strict truth, I can sufficiently prove; but such are this man's merits, that respect induces me to conceal some things. Nothing can be more moderate.

[2] He believed salvation might be obtained in the church of Rome. Nevertheleſs, he called her, as other

ministers did, the whore mentioned in St John's Revelation; but he said that she was still the spouse of the son of God; a spouse, whose unfaithfulness Jesus Christ bears with, and whom he has not divorced. This did not please Beza, a great favourer of the monarchy of the Solipsi. Give me leave to call thus the communions, which believe that they only are in the way of Salvation. Junius gave a great latitude to the true church. Perhaps Mr Nicole did not know it (57). Doctissimus socer Junius cum nollet ab iis discedere, qui Romanam Ecclesiam censent esse meretricem Babyloniam, & tamen statueret salvari in ea innumera millia, aiebat esse vivum corpus, sed ulceribus obitum: meretricem esse, sed adhuc sponsam Christi, vel conjugem, quia Christus nec dum ei miserit libellum repudii. Sed non eo satifecit Genevenſibus: qui illam dicerent idololatricam, ac proinde neminem in ea salvari. Narravit mihi aliquando doct. Anthonius Thyſius, cum primam Genevam venisset, & soceri mei nomine multam salutem diceret D. Bezae, illum continuo subjecisse; Et quomodo valet carissimus frater Junius: vir est egregie de Ecclesiis nostris meritis: quamquam in uno capite dissentiat à nobis. Id caput erat de Ecclesia: quam Junius negabat tam arctis limitibus concludi, ac multi volunt (58). — My learned father-in-law

Junius, when he would not dissent from those, who think the Romish church to be the whore of Babylon, and yet laid it down, that great multitudes are saved in it, said she was a living body, but covered with sores: that she was a harlot, but still the spouse, or wife, of CHRIST, because CHRIST had not yet sent her a bill of divorcement. But this did not satisfy the Genevois, who said she was idolatrous, and that therefore no body was saved in her. The learned Anthony Thyſius once told me, that when he first came to Geneva, and had complimented Beza in my father-in-law's name, he immediately answered; And how fares my dearest brother Junius? he deserves extremely well of our churches; though in one article he dissents from us: That article was concerning the church; which Junius would not have confined within such narrow bounds, as many would.

This is what Vossius says. He observes in another place, that Junius being much more free from prepossession, than people generally are, used to say in his latter days, the longer I live, the more I discover my ignorance. Socer meus Fr. Junius, tanti cum à multis retro annis nominis foret, postremis tamen vitæ annis crebrò illud in ore habebat, magis & magis se in dies videre, quam multa se scirent. Ita ille, qui cum novellis Doctoribus sociarat antiquos; qui etiam partium studio non paulo minus laborabat quam vulgò fieri solet (59).

(57) See the preface to his treatise concerning the unity of the church, where he mentions some ministers, who believed, that the true church is to be found in several communions.

(58) Vossius, Epist. ad Hugon. Grotium. It is the 27th in Epist. Eccles. & Theol. of the 2d edition, pag. 312.

(59) Id. apud Colovet. Gall. Oriental. pag. 96.

(a) By the third marriage contracted with Joan l'Ermite, daughter of Simon l'Ermite, lord of Betinfort, chevin of Antwerp, and related to Daniel l'Ermite, de quo suo loco.

JUNIUS (FRANCIS), son of the foregoing (a), was born at Heidelberg in the year 1589. His first design was to be a man of the sword; but the truce which was concluded in 1609, for twelve years, made him take another resolution; which was to apply himself to Literature. He travelled into France; from whence he went over into England in the year 1620. He was received in the house of the earl of Arundel, and lived there thirty years; after which he returned into Holland, and there went on with the study he had very much cultivated in England, I mean that of the northern languages [A]. He made an extraordinary progress in it. He was so passionately fond

(1) Taken from his Life, written by Mr Grævius, prefixed to the folio edition of his book de Pictura Veterum.

[A] He applied . . . to the study of the northern languages. Having found in England several Anglo-Saxon books, he resolved to make advantage of them; and knowing from the skill he got in the Anglo-Saxon language, that it would enable him to discover many etymologies for the illustration of the Dutch, English, and German tongues, he applied himself wholly to that study, and afterwards learnt the ancient language of the Goths, Franks, Cimbrians, and Frisones, whereby he found the etymology of several Italian, French, and Spanish, words: for the Goths, Vandals, Franks, Burgundians, and Germans, spread their language in the provinces which they conquered: there are still some footsteps of them (1). He applied himself

self entirely to the writing of glossaries (2); and this is the pedigree he discovered. His omnibus linguis imbibendis cum satis diu insudasset, vidit, quod & privatim apud omnes, quibus cum agebat de hac doctrina, tum publice testatur est, Gothicam esse matrem omnium cæterarum Teutonicarum linguarum, ex qua profluxerit vetus Cimbrica, monumentis Runarum posteris tradita, nec non Suecica, Danica, & Norwegica, Islandica, quibus, illius plagæ homines isto tempore suas animi cogitationes explicant. Ex Anglo-Saxonica, quæ & ipsa aut propago est Gothica, aut illius soror Germanica, & ejusdem matris filia, manavit Anglicana, Scotica, Belgica, Frisica verus. Ex Gothica & Saxonica orta est Francica, quæ Germanica

(2) Totus est in contextibus Anglo-Saxonica, Francica, & Cimbrica, & explicandis antiquissimis harum gentium scripturis. Grævius, ibid.

fond of this study, that understanding there were in Friesland some villages, where the ancient Saxon tongue was preserved, he went and lived there two years. He returned into England in 1675, and having stayed two years at Oxford, he retired to Windsor to Isaac Vossius, his nephew, and died there within the space of a year. The university of Oxford, to which he bequeathed his manuscripts, built him a very noble monument (b). I will speak of the books he published [B]. He was not only a man of very great learning, but also of an excellent life. He was not observed to have any vitious passion. He did not mind the riches nor the honours of this world; his books were his only care: and perhaps no man did ever study more than he, without doing any prejudice to his health [C]. I shall set down a passage of Colomiés [D].

When I spoke of his stay at Oxford, and of the time of his death, I followed the account of Mr Grævius; but the same is not exact. I rectify it here by observing that Junius retired to Oxford in the month of October 1676, and continued there till the month of August 1677, when he went to Windsor upon the invitation of Isaac Vossius, his nephew, in whose house he died near that place, on the nineteenth of November 1677. He was sick but a few days. He was buried in St George's chapel at Windsor (c).

(b) Taken from his Life, written by Mr Grævius, and prefixed to his book de Pictura Veterum, in folio.

(c) Taken from Athenæ Oxoniensis.

(3) Id. ibid.

* manicæ superioris parens est. Harum veterimarum linguarum, & dialectorum, quæ ex illis ductæ sunt, cognitionem invicto studio, & incredibili assiduitate non primus tantum affecutus est, sed & solus, viam secutus nullius ante tritam vestigiis (3). — Having applied himself long enough to the acquiring all these languages, he discovered, as he both privately assured all whom he conversed with on this subject, and also publicly declared, that the Gothic was the mother of all the other Teutonic languages, whence flowed the old Cimbric, banded down to posterity by the remains of the Runæ, as also the Sædisb, Danisb, Norwegian, Islandisb, in which the men of that country then expressed their thoughts. From the Anglo-Saxon, which itself is either a branch of the Gothic, or its sister, and daughter of the same mother, flowed the English, Scotch, Belgic, old Frisib. From the Gothic and Saxon sprang the Frankisb, which is the mother language of Upper Germany. He was not only the first, but the only one, who, following an untrodden path, with invincible labour and pains, acquired the knowledge of these ancient languages, and the dialects, which are derived from them.

(4) At Rotterdam, for Reinier Leers, 1694.

(5) Qui argenteus dicitur, quoniam quatuor Evangelia litteris Argenteis Gothicis in illo fuerat descripta. Grævius, ubi supra.

(6) There is XI in Junius's Life; but in the catalogue of the manuscripts bequeathed to the university of Oxford there is IX.

(7) Taken from his Life.

[C] No man studied more than he without any prejudice to his health. He rose at four of the clock in the morning both in winter and summer, and studi-

ed, till dinner time. He dined at one, after dinner he used some exercise till three (8): He went again to his study at three, and left it not till eight to go to supper, and then he went to bed. He seldom went out; and when he did, it was upon some business. All this did not hinder him from enjoying a perfect health: he was never sick. Firma fuit valetudine, ut prosperrima per omnem ætatem sine ulla corporis effensione uteretur, quamvis totis diebus à summo mane usque ad noctem incumberet litteris, & rarissime, nec nunquam nisi negotiorum ratio id ei quasi imperaret, prodiret in publicum (9). Such a long solitude spent amongst barbarous books, and wild words, and in making five Gothic or Teutonic Lexicons, did not in the least lessen his gaiety, no not in his old age: he was always free from peevishness, and affable to those who visited him, though he did not care to be interrupted. Mr Grævius describes this in elegant terms. In assiduitate tanta licet invitatus admodum avocaretur ab his, quibus insudabat, curis, tam longe tamen aberat omnis molestia ingenique tristitia, quæ solet esse propria iis, qui à luce hominum & celebritate alieniores omne tempus & operam domi suæ in doctrinæ & litterarum studiis consumunt, præcipue senes, ut nihil sene nostro fieri posset suavis & facilius (10). The polite literate will doubtless believe that he was a very miserable man; they had as good be condemned to the galleys as spend their lives as he did among his desks, without tasting the pleasures of gaming, love, good cheer, or conversation. How can a man live, say they, without wine in the day time, and without women in the night. But they are mistaken, if they fancy their happiness exceeds his. He was doubtless one of the happiest men in the world, unless he had the weakness others have to be disturbed about trifles: for as there are some people, who having no reason to be merry, find out chimerical pleasures to amuse themselves (11); there are some, on the contrary, who cannot be moved with the most just causes of discontent, and yet disquiet themselves for ridiculous things, of which they should be ashamed to complain.

[D] I will set down a passage of Colomiés. 'I knew at the Hague the learned Mr Junius, son of the famous Francis Junius, who was professor of Divinity at Leyden. He is an old man near eighty, but still very vigorous. He studies thirteen or fourteen hours a day, and has lately published the four gospels in Gothic, with a very learned glossary. He made me a present of this curious work, and told me, he would quickly print his book de Pictura Veterum, with the names and works of all the Painters of antiquity. It will be dedicated to the present earl of Arundel, who was his pupil, when he was in England library-keeper to this earl's father. I ought not to forget, for Mr Junius's glory, that Grotius highly commends his book concerning Painting, in the following letter (12). That letter has been prefixed to the new edition of our Junius's book.

(8) Hora prima prandebat, sequente corpus exercebat, vel in area subduali ambulando contentus, aut etiam subulium nonnunquam currendo, aut, si id non ferret asperior tempestas, per omnes scolas in ætæculum ascendendo valetudinis tue de causa Grævius, in Vita F. Junii.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Dum carceris, gaudia fallit juvant. Ovid. Heroid. Epist. xiii, vers. 108. Consult Mr Dacier on Horace, lib. 1, Epist. viii, pag. 406; 410, 411.

(12) Colomiés, in his Opuscula, pag. 116. Edit. Utrecht, 1669.

JUNO, sister and wife of Jupiter, was the daughter of Saturn and Rhea. Her father being resolved to devour his children, for fear they should dethrone him, did not spare her any more than his two other daughters (a), whom he had already swallowed; but he was forced to disgorge them some years after. They gave him a potion, which

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(a) Vesta and Ceres, Juno's eldest sisters. Apollodorus, lib. 1, pag. 4.

made

(b) Apollodor.
ibid.

made him vomit up all the children he had devoured (b). And thus it was that Juno returned into the world. The circumstances of her marriage with Jupiter are differently related. There is a tradition which says they loved one another, and lay together unknown to their father and mother [A], and it does not appear that she kept her lover long in suspense. But others say, that she withstood the solicitations of Jupiter like a maid of virtue and honour [B]; and that to avoid his further importunities, she fled into a den. They add, that she there met with a man, whose discourse so softened her heart in favour of Jupiter, that she consented to make him happy upon the spot (c). Others would perhaps confess, that this was the first time that Jupiter lay with her, but not the first time that she lay with a man; for they pretend, that before Jupiter courted her, she passed through the hand of Eurymedon, a stout and leud giant, by the same token, that he got her with child of a son, who was called Prometheus [C]. Jupiter did not know it till after he was married, and he discharged his revenge upon this bastard under other pretences. Upon some other occasions, the chastity of his wife appeared very doubtful to him [D]. He well deserved it, whose gallantries were so common. There was scarce any animal, but he borrowed it's shape to get maidenheads. Every body knows that he metamorphosed himself into a cuckoo, in order to compass his desire with Juno [E]. This goddess presided over marriages (d),

(c) See the article
ACHILLES.

(d) See the remark [Z].

[A] A tradition says that Jupiter and Juno lay together unknown to their father and mother.] They who want a good proof of this matter, may find it in these words of the Iliad (1):

(1) Lib. xiv,
v. 1, 294.

Ὡς δ' ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρωσ πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμ-
φεκαλυψεν,
Ὅσον ὅτε πρῶτισον ἐμισγροσθην φιλέτητι,
Εἰς εὐρὴν ποιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.

Ut vero vidit, continuò illum amor prudentia præcordia cooperuit,
Perinde ac quando primum misit sunt amore,
Ad cubile consuetudinis gratiâ euntes, suis clam parentibus.

The god, whose lightning sets the heav'ns on fire,
Thro' all his bosom feels the fierce desire,
Fierce, as when first by stealth he seiz'd her charms,
Mix'd with her soul, and melted in her arms.

P O R T

Homer speaks here of a certain occasion, on which Jupiter, who had been married many ages to Juno, felt, as he saw her by chance, the same ardor, as when he lay with her by stealth the first time. I add to the testimony of a Greek Poet, that of a Latin one. It is a lover who speaks; a lover, I say, who had found the critical minute (2), and is vexed that many before him had received the like gratifications by stealth.

(2) Et mecum
tenera gavisâ est
ludere in herba
Purpureos flores,
quos insuper ac-
cumbebat
Candida formoso
supponens brachi-
collo. *Valerius*
Cato, in Diris,
pag. 61, Cata-
leflorum veterum
Poëtarum.

Istius atque utinam facti mea culpa magistra
Prima foret: lethum vita mihi dulcis esset.
Non mea, non ullo moreretur tempore fama,
Dulcia cum Veneris furatus gaudia primus
Diceret, atque ex me dulcis foret orta voluptas.
Nam mihi non tantum tribuerunt impia vota,
Auctor ut occulti noster foret error amoris.
Jupiter ante sui semper mendacia furti,
Cum Junone prius conjux quam dictus uterque esset,
Gaudia libavit dulcem furatus amorem (3).

(3) Valer. Cato,
ibid.

O! that my crime had taught her first the bliss!
With pleasure I had dy'd upon the kiss.
My fame had liv'd, and future ages sung
How first from my embrace love's transports sprung.
In vain my impious wishes would aspire
To kindle in her breast the secret fire.
With Juno, tho' not yet his consort, Jove,
Retir'd in private, stole the joys of love.

[B] Others say that she resisted the solicitations of Jupiter like a maid of virtue and honour.] Her virtue was such according to some, that if Jupiter had not found a remedy, instead of that which he would not grant him, he would not have known what to do. But he went and sat upon a mountain (4) as often as he was in the transport of his passion, which he calm-

(4) Called Leu-
fate.

ed by that means (5). The author who furnishes me with this story, does not say whether Jupiter was then married to Juno, nor was it necessary to be so particular upon this subject: the most stupid readers will easily understand, that he was not married, and that he was in love with a cruel woman.

[C] Eurymedon . . . *got her with child of a son who was called Prometheus.* You will find this story in Homer's Scholiast (6). Jupiter's resentment was not less violent against the father of the bastard, than against the bastard himself; for if Prometheus was put in chains, Eurymedon was cast down into hell. I know not under what pretence Jupiter treated Eurymedon in that manner; but there is no question, that he concealed the true cause of his anger: he had too much sense to disgrace himself by his revenge. His pretence against the bastard was his stealing the celestial fire. The Scholiast (7) whom I cite has this from Eurhiron.

[D] *The chastity of Juno . . . appeared very doubtful to him.* I will comment upon this text with the words of a modern author, who designing to prove, that *Jupiter was a notorious cuckold*, expresses himself thus: 'The giant Eurymedon had obtained the first favours of Juno his wife', and not to speak of the 'isle of Samos, which was famous for the unchastity of Juno', 'the goddess of chastity', 'the goddess of amours of this goddess, do not we know that Jupiter discovering a few days after his marriage, that she would quickly be the mother of a child that was not his, she knew how to wheedle him so as to persuade him that she had conceived of herself, and that she had preserved her virginity intire. She made him believe another time that she was with child by eating wild lettuce. So that though the horns that were set upon his statue in Libya, had not denoted him a cuckold, did not he deserve that they should have this signification, and to occasion those ways of speaking, which have been so long in use, by the consent of all nations (8) ?'

[E] Jupiter *metamorphosed himself into a cuckoo in order to compass his desire with Juno.*] To relate what is most curious upon this subject, I need only follow the dispute of Costar and Girac. The foundation whereof is this: 'Jupiter was no less forgetful on many other important occasions. Pallas complains in Homer that he did not think of wife Ulysses.' Another upbraids him that in the establishment of his household, he had not considered cuckoldom, from which he had received so many signal services (9) ('\$ a.'). They are Costar's words. His adversary answers him, that this is a very unjust accusation: 'For good Jupiter, *says he* (10), to shew the esteem he had for cuckoldom, and the desire of being a cuckold, transformed himself into the bird of that name; when he courted his wife Juno. And afterwards to express his gratitude, he commanded the Argivi to make a fine cuckoo of gold, and to perch him upon the sceptre of Juno's statue; with which this great goddess was not offended, having reaped at least as many advantages from cuckoldom, as her husband had done. And even near the town of Hermonie, there are two little mountains, one of which is called the Cuckoo Mountain, upon which in Paulus's time *was seen* a temple of Jupiter, and

(c) 'O Ζῆλος
ἐλπίσων ἡρώων
ἐρχόμενος ἐν
τῷ πύργῳ
ἐκκαθίξῃ· καὶ
ἀνταπάσῃ τῷ
ἥρωϊ. Jovem
semper Junonis
amore captum a
faxum hunc accen-
sisse, atque ei
insidendo amoris
impotentiam fe-
cisse. *Prol.*
Hejbali. apud
Photium, Cod.
CXC, pag. m.
402.

(6) Ἦσαν τρε-
φομένην παρὰ
τοῖς γονεῦσιν
εἰς τὴν γυναι-
κὴν Εὐφρο-
δίου βλαβέμενοι
ἔγκλειστοί τε
σιν ἢ δὲ Πρω-
μυθία εὐγενέας
Schol. in *Ilad.*
lib. xiv, vers.
295.

(7) Id. *ibid.*
* Didym. in
Hom. *Iliad* xiv.
Eustath. *ibid.*

(8) Girae, Re-
plique à Coisar,
fest. lxiv, pag.
m. 545.

9) (9) Coſtar, De-
penſe des Ouvriers
de Voiture, p.
m. 116.

(10) Gine, Ré-
ponse à la De-
fense de Voiture
sect. xxvi, pag.
104.

his
at
uf-
er-
ich
au-
and † In Corinth
ver

but she should not have had that employment. It was an ill omen, for she led but an odd life with her husband; and in spite of all the strong reasons, that engaged him to bear

(11) *Costar*, Suite de la Défense, pag. 382, *confer* this in those words: *Asiote* says somewhere in his Rhetoric, that *Hegesippus* being returned from *Ellis*, whether he went to consult the oracle of *Jupiter*, resolved likewise to consult that of *Delphi*, where he asked *Apollo* this question: *Will you be of the same opinion with your father? Dare you contradict him?* But *Girac* complains, in his *Reply*, pag. 551, that his words have been falsified: He clearly shews that he was not ignorant that *Jupiter* gave answers in other places; but that he gave none through his statue except in *Egypt*.

† *Cicer*, I, de *Nat. Deorum*.

(12) *Costar*, Suite de la Défense, pag. 380.

* *Equidem vix credo hanc fabulam apud veteres inveniri, sed fupior ab otioso quopiam Grammatico fuisse confictam: adeo fapit anile quiddam.*

† Tu tibi nunc *curruca* places, *setumque* labellis *Eoribus*. *Sat. VI*, ver. 276.

(13) *Costar*, ubi *supra*, pag. 381.

(14) He speaks to *Mr Menage*.

over against it on the other mountain that of *Juno*. In *Libya*, the statue of *Jupiter Hammon* had great horns upon its head. Which was so agreeable to this god, that tho' statues were erected to him over all the world, he only delivered oracles thro' this (11). He was so well pleased with his horns, that he obliged his dearest friends to follow his example. *Bacchus* † and *Pan*, the satires, the gods of the rivers, and many others did not fail to imitate him, *Juno* herself did the same, to shew that she had some complaisance for her husband, and we still see several medals of this goddess with horns. *Diana* and *Venus* wore them too as an ornament that wonderfully became a handsome face. This answer is learned, but it is false; for there is nothing in it that proves the point in dispute. The state of the question is this: whether *Jupiter* honoured the husbands, whose wives had gallants? Prove as much as you please, that he honoured the bird we call a cuckoo, and add moreover that he would have his statues to be adorned with horns; say withal, that the other gods followed the same fashion; you do not come near the point, because at that time, the words cuckold and horns were not taken in the same sense, that is given them at present. Besides, to disguise ones self in the shape of a cuckoo, in order to succeed in one's enterprizes, would not even in our age be a sign, that a man desires to marry a galanting lady. My readers will easily imagine, that *Costar* was aware of the vanity of the answers that were made him: but if any one should doubt of it, I shall quickly undeceive him by citing his own words. In which we shall see, that the affectation of making too great a shew of his reading, makes him mix with his replies, some things which spoil his cause. He begins with *Jupiter's* metamorphosis into a bird, which bears the name of cuckoo; and here follows what he says of it (12).

[§ 2] It would be in vain to look for this story in the writings of the Antients; *Rabelais* is the author of it, book III. chap. XXXII, but the ground of it is found in *Plutarch*, No 17. of his consolation to *Apollonius* on the death of his son. *REM. CRIT.*

This old woman's story, and that ridiculous invention of a grammarian abusing his leisure, (thus *Erasmus* † speaks of him) is took from a scholiast upon *Theocritus*, who says that *Juno* having left her companions to divert herself all alone and at liberty, after a long walk, laid herself upon the grass in a fine place of mount *Thronax*. *Jupiter*, who saw her in that posture, found her so handsome, that he immediately fell violently in love with her, and to ease his passion, put on the shape of a cuckoo, and raising an extreme cold in the air, all trembling and frozen, he threw himself into this goddess's arms; and then resuming his usual form, and promising to marry her, he received from her the satisfaction he desired. The cold that *Jupiter* rais'd upon that occasion was not greater, than that of the silly jest of our learned author. In effect it appears, that it was not out of love to cuckoldom that *Jupiter* turned cuckoo, since neither among the gods nor among men, the name of that bird did signify at that time a husband, whose wife was unfaithful to him. At least, there is no sign of it among the Antients: on the contrary, there are some women in *Plautus*, who call their husbands *Cuckoos*, whom they surprized in adultery, and *Juvenal* † calls a poor fellow *Curruca* [*Hedge sparrow*], who had that injury done him; doubtless, because that bird feeds the young cuckoos that are laid in its nest. *Costar* afterwards goes on to the consideration of the horns, and expresses himself in this manner (13). *Has Mr de Girac seen any old manuscript, which clearly proves: that at that time horns were a sign of cuckoldom?* and you, *SIR* (14), who know every thing, can you shew me that these ways of speaking, to bear horns, and to set horns, in the sense that they are now taken in, are much more ancient than *Artemidorus*, who flourished under *Hadrian*? the horns of *Jupiter Hammon* were not those of a cuckold, but of a fine ram, prophesying upon the sands of *Libya*, as our *Ronsard* speaks. He examines in particular, the horns of those deities which *Girac* had produced, and makes it evident that

they had no relation to the condition of the husbands, which we call cuckolds, and that they were not taken in complaisance to *Jupiter*; and this is his conclusion (15). *If out of all this Mr de Girac can make any thing that may be serviceable to his design, I will not oppose him: but I am very much mistaken, if he can succeed in it, and oblige me to acknowledge that Jupiter, when he settled his household, did not forget cuckoldom, which had always been so serviceable to him.* This is a good conclusion; it is to bring things to the state of the question, and to make all the lines terminate in the center.

Let us consider the reply. *Girac* thinks it very strange that *Costar*, should treat this matter with a scholastic strictness, and in a serious manner (16). He would have me to prove by demonstration and authority, that it was the love of cuckoldom, that made *Jupiter* a cuckold. He is not satisfied, unless I shew him some manuscripts that clearly prove, that at that time horns were the marks of cuckolds. Where is the justice of this man? he does nothing in all his writings but banter; he himself confesses that he cannot speak a sentence without the assistance of his beloved irony; and yet he will not suffer me to jest so much as once Although my raileries arise from my subjects, and are supported by very fine antiquities; for is it not true that *Jupiter* was a downright cuckold, since the giant *Eurymedon* had obtained the first favours from his wife *Juno*? You will find above (17) the sequel of this passage: it would be needless to repeat it here; the paper it would take up, will be more usefully employed in these two remarks. The first is, that though it be permitted to jest in a criticism; yet it is not permitted to reason wrong. You may be merry if you please, and speak according as occasion serves, either in jest or in earnest; but be sure not to advance a falsity, and never pretend, that by jesting upon a false supposition, or by building raileries upon ignorance, you will either make good objections, or solid answers to an objection (18). My second observation is, that the adventure of the giant, and the unfaithfulness of *Juno*, come too late. The author had said nothing of them in his answer, and so they can make nothing against *Costar*, who was not obliged to govern himself, by what his adversary should say afterwards. They cannot bring *Mr de Girac* off, for besides that he did not make use of them to support his criticism, they cannot prove the thing in dispute. Suppose *Juno* had an hundred intrigues, will this prove that *Jupiter* remembered cuckoldom, when he settled his household? every body sees that my first remark ruins *Girac's* cause, since all that he alledges is grounded upon a false supposition. He might be reduced to this troublesome dilemma. If you was ignorant, that when *Jupiter* transformed himself into a cuckoo, husbands dishonoured by their wives unfaithfulness were not called cuckolds, and cornutes, your railery is very impertinent; for according to your own rules, a railery is bad, when it is grounded upon the ignorance of things, which we are obliged to know (19). If you knew that at that time such ideas were not

(15) *Costar*, ubi *supra*, pag. 386.

(16) *Replique à Costar*, *ect.* lxiv, pag. 544.

(17) In the sequel of this passage, it would be needless to repeat it here; mark [D].

(18) *Confet come* *supra*, in the remark [C] of the article COLOMIE'S.

(19) *Girac*. Réponse à la Défense de Voltaire, *ect.* xxvi, pag. 190. *See Costar*, Suite de la Défense pag. 381.

Notwithstanding all this, says he (20), our *Sophist* urges me to shew him, that when the father of the gods put on the shape of a cuckoo, the name of that bird signified a husband, whose wife was false to him. I promise and engage to satisfy him, if he proves by good authorities, that *Jupiter* was formerly reproached, that in the settlement of his household he had not thought of cuckoldom. As for what relates to horns, that word in the signification I have given it, is more ancient than is imagined. We learn from *Nicetas*, that the emperor *Andronicus*, to ridicule the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, and upbraid them with their wives lewdness, used to set up in the public places of that great city, the finest and largest flags beads, that could be found; and *Artemidorus*, who lived fifteen hundred years ago, makes use of the words, to bestow horns, as a common proverb, which did not begin in his time (21). It would be an ill use of one's time, to French Tongue in seek the original of it, and to enquire whether it was false, at the words in use in *Jupiter Hammon's* time. However it be, my corner and couu,

adversary,

bear with her, after so many just occasions of jealousy, which he gave her, their quarrels were driven so far as a divorce [F]; and I believe, that before they came to that, he tried if by beating her he could bring her to reason. He hung her up once betwixt heaven and earth for some time [G]. If on one hand she presided over marriages and weddings,

adversary, who pretends to be a subtle man, did not perceive, this time, that I laughed at him. This passage of Mr de Girac makes it plain, that he has lost his cause: he does not find himself capable of proving what is denied him, and without which his criticism is insignificant; he pretends that he designed to ridicule his adversary. There is no writer but may use such subtleties, when he knows not what to answer: we shall see Mr Costar in his turn somewhat puzzled. His knowledge forsook him, when he made use of Erasmus's authority, in a thing where Eras-

(22) *The passage of Erasmus quoted by Costar, is in the explication of the Adage, Scit quomodo Jupiter duxerit uxorem. It is the twenty third of the IVth century of the IVth Cbiliad, pag. m. 914.*

He observes that the Scholast upon Theophrastus relates this upon the credit of one Aristotle: Adjungit fabulum quam retulerit Aristoteles nescio quis. From whence it appears that he did not believe, as Girac did, that this story was mentioned by Aristotle, Alexander's tutor. Several Aristotles have writ books. See Jonsius, de Hist. Philosoph. pag. 61.

(23) Girac, *Replique*, pag. 546.

†† Ἀριστοτέ-
λης δὲ ἰσορεῖ
ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἐρ-
μηνεύσεως ἱερῶν
ἐδιώτερον περὶ
τῆς Διὸς καὶ
τῆς Ἥρας γά-
μου, &c. Schol.
Theodor. in illum
Vers. Eid. xv,
Πάντα γυναῖ-
κας ἴσασι καὶ
ὡς Ζεὺς ἡγάγεθ'
Ἦουν.

(24) Pausan. lib.
ii, pag. 78.

(2c) So it ought
to be called, and
not Θρώαξ.
Thronax, as we
read in the Scho-
liast upon Theocri-
tus. Meursius is
the author of that
correction.
Miscell. Lacon.
pag. 370. Costar
follows Erasmus,
who says Thro-
nax.

(26) *It was a piece of Polycle-*
tus, Pausan.
lib. ii, pag. 59.

(27) *Id. ibid.*

(28) Id. lib. viii,
pag. 253.

her by Temenus, with whom she had been educated. The last was built at the time that she lived at Stymphalum, whither she retired after her divorce. You will find in Charles Stephens's Dictionary, enlarged by Lloyd (29), by what means Jupiter caused Juno to return to him. He spread a report, that he was going to be married to Alopous's daughter. This news made a greater impression upon the provoked goddess's heart, than all Jupiter's intreaties. See the remark [2], at the place where I relate the generation of Typhon.

[G] *He hung her up once between heaven and earth for some time.* The reason of it was, that she had raised a storm against Hercules, Jupiter put her in mind of it, when he knew the tricks she had played him during the siege of Troy. She knew so well how to charm him, and lay him asleep in her arms, that Neptune had the time necessary to put the Trojan affairs in an ill condition. I speak at large of this stratagem of Juno, in the following remark. Jupiter, who had given her so many sweet words, and procured her great pleasures, no sooner knew the prejudice the Trojans had suffered, whilst he had been lying with her, but he reprimanded her very sharply. He threatened to whip her (30), and asked her, whether she had forgot the time, when he fastened an anvil to each of her feet, and suffered her to hang between heaven and earth in the fight of all the gods, who in vain attempted to untie her; for he kicked from heaven to earth as many of them as he could catch.

(29) *He quotes*
Phylarchus lib.
xix. But Natalis
Comes, Mythol.
lib. ii, cap. iv,
pag. m 135,
quotes Dorotheus,
in lib. ii, Narra-
tionum fabulosa-
rum.

(30) Καὶ ἐπὶ
πληγῶν ἡμῶν.
om. Et te verbe-
ribus credam.
*Homer. Iliad. lib.
XV. ver. 17.*

* Η δὲ μέμνη ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμαυ ὠλόβην, ἐκ δὲ πο-
 δοῦσ' ἦν
 * Ἀκμονας ἦκα δ' αὖ, περὶ χερσὶ δὲ δεσμών
 ἦλα
 Χρῦστος, ἀφ' ἧρ' ἦλθον; σὺ δ' ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ τερ-
 λησιν
 * Ἐκρέμαυ, ἦλθες δὲ θεοὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμ-
 πον.
 Λῦσαι δ' ἐκ ἐδύνατο παρασάδον; ὅν δὲ λῶ-
 σοιμι,
 * ῥίψαςκον τελαγὼν ἀπο βηλῆ, ὅφρ' ἂν ἴκω-
 λαι
 Γῆν ἐλιγνυπέλεαν.

An non meministi quando pependisti ab alto, à pe-
dibus autem
Incudes demisti duas, circum manus autem vincu-
lum misisti
Aureum, infrangibilem ? tu autem in æthere & nu-
bibus
Pependisti, indignabantur autem dii per excelsum
Olympum :
Solvere autem non poterant circumstantes : quem-
cumque autem apprehenderem ;
Projiciebam correptum de limine *divino*, donec per-
veniret
In terram vix spirans (31).

(31) Ibid. ver.
18.

*Haſt thou forgot, when bound and fix'd on high
From the vaſt concave of the ſpangled ſky,
I hung thee trembling in a golden chain,
And all the raging gods oppoſ'd in vain?
Headlong I hurl'd them from th' Olympian ball,
Stunn'd with the whirl, and breathleſs in the fall.*

Р О Р Е.

It was Juno's best way to appear submissive: she excused herself with false oaths, and promised to comply with the desires of her husband. The quarrel went no farther at that time. I ought not to forget, that Juno was the cause of the war of the Titans. She encouraged them to dethrone her husband (32), and to restore Saturn, whom Jupiter had deposed.

(32) Hygin. cap
cle

weddings, she had, on the other, the management of their natural consequences: I mean, that she presided over child-births, and over several things depending thereon [H]. Michael de Montagne did not well know the origin of an adventure, which he takes from Plato, and expresses himself a little too wantonly [I]. Authors do not agree about the place where

jealousy was then stronger than ambition; for the indignation she conceived when she saw Epaphus (33) gratified with a kingdom, made her chuse rather to be a dethroned goddess, provided her husband was so too, than to reign with him. But perhaps she proposed to herself a revenge, in which her ambition would be no loser. She might hope that by preferring the interests of her father unjustly dethroned, before those of her husband, who was an usurper, she should have a share in the government, under her father restored, and should break for ever with Jupiter. We shall see hereafter (34) another conspiracy she engaged in against her husband.

I cannot think of Juno hanging between heaven and earth, without proposing to my readers a passage which I do not understand. Hyginus (35) relates, that Vulcan having forged golden shoes for Jupiter, and the other gods, Juno was no sooner set down but she found herself hung in the midst of the air. Vulcan had notice of it, that he might come and loose his mother whom he had bound; but he answered he had no mother. He had been kicked out of heaven, and was still enraged for that ill usage. Here are the Latin words. *Vulcanus Jovi ceterisque Diis soles aureas ex adamante cum fecisset, Juno cum sedisset subito in aëre pendere cepit. Quod cum ad Vulcanum missum esset ut matrem quam ligaverat solveret, iratus quod de cælo præcipitatus erat, negat se matrem ullam habere.* I commend the critics, who have made so many learned observations upon the first words of Hyginus (36); but I could wish, they had taught me, how by means of a pair of shoes, a woman as soon as she sits down, can find herself hanging in the air. I do not see how a chair or a throne can have that effect, and especially upon a person bound. Methinks we may complain of this historian's want of judgment. Could he believe that the reader would be contented with so broken and falsified a narration? why did not he say, that as soon as Juno was set down, the floor of heaven split asunder, and her chair being no longer supported, fell towards the clouds, and stopped in those spaces which are between heaven and earth. This had been intelligible to the reader. Servius tells the story better; he says, that Vulcan made a chair, which Juno sitting upon, could not rise again (37), till she had granted Vulcan's request. It was to know, who those were to whom he owed his life. *Alii dicunt quod cum Vulcanus parentes suos diu quaereret, nec inveniret; sedile fecit tale, ut cum eo qui sedisset surgere non posset; in quo cum adsedisset Juno, nec posset exurgere; Vulcanus negavit se soluturum omnino, nisi prius parentes suos fibi monstrasset, atque ita factum est ut in Deorum numerum reciperetur (38).*

Others say, that when Vulcan had sought his parents a long time, and could not find them, he made such a chair, that whoever sat in it, could not get up out of it; in which Juno happening to sit down, and not being able to rise up again, Vulcan protested he would not free her, till she had informed him who were his parents; by which means he was received into the number of the gods. Consult Paulanias, and you will find, that Vulcan designing to be revenged of Juno, sent her a throne of gold, to which she found herself tied, as soon as she sat down on it (39). None but Bacchus could persuade Vulcan to return into heaven (40); and he was even obliged to make him drunk to engage him in that voyage. The Athenians had a picture which represented Bacchus bringing Vulcan back to heaven (41); and the Lacedæmonians had a piece of sculpture, which represented the same Vulcan untying his mother (42).

[H] She presided over child-birth, and over several things depending thereon.] When Terence supposes, that Glycerium the courtesan being in labour, made use of this prayer, *Juno Lucina ser opem, serva me, obsecro* (43); he manifestly shows, that Juno was the deity that presided over that affair. She was called (44), *Opigena* & *Lucina*, under that function, *sive te Lucinam quod lucem nascentibus tribuas, ac Lucetiam convenit nuncupari* (45). She had other particular names given her, according to the different

services that were expected from her in these conjunctures; for she was called *Fluonia*, as being able to prevent too great a loss blood. *Fluoniam Junonem mulieres colebant, quod eam sanguinis fluorem in conceptu retinere putabant* (46). She was called *Februa*, as presiding over the ceremony of the purification of child-bed women. These are the limitations which Martianus Capella gives to the surnames *Fluonia* and *Februa*: for he introduces *Philology*, who declares, that being a virgin, she has no need of invoking the goddesses Juno in those two respects. *Nam Fluoniam Februaque ac Februum mibi poscere non necesse est, cum nihil contagionis corporeæ sexu intemperate pertulerim* (47). She might have wanted her help in another respect, since St Augustin affirms, that Varro said that Juno presided over the flowing of the menstrual blood. *Ibi est & Dea Mena, quæ menstruis fluoribus præest, quavis Jovis filia, tamen ignobilis. Et hanc provinciam suorum menstruum, in libro selectorum deorum ipsi Junoni idem autor assignat quæ in diis selectis etiam regina est: & hic tanquam Juno Lucina cum eadem Mena privigna sua eidem cruori præsidet* (48). I know very well, that many authors make the goddesses of child-births distinct from Juno; for some say, that *Lucina* was her daughter (49), and others affirm, that *Diana* was appointed to assist women in labour (50). But without insisting on the hypothesis, that *Lucina*, *Ilithya*, *Diana*, *Luna*, and *Juno*, were the same deity (51), I say, it is very probable, that Juno was considered, as the chief of this function, and as having deputies, and substitutes in different places (52). If you will not therefore acknowledge her directly and immediately for the goddesses *Levana*, who caused the new-born infants to be acknowledged by their fathers (53); nor for the goddesses *Rumina*, who presided over the action of giving them suck; nor for the goddesses *Cunina*, who presided over their cradles; nor for the goddesses *Nundina*, who presided over the imposition of their name; nor for the goddesses *Vaticana*, who presided over their cries (54); nor for the goddesses *Fabulina*, who presided over the first loosings of their tongue, that is, over the first words they pronounced; believe at least, that all these goddesses were subdelegates to Juno, the superintendent-general. The same ought to be said of the goddesses *Prosa*, and the goddesses *Postverta*, who were worshipped, that children might not take an ill posture, when ready to be born. *Quando contra naturam forte conversi (pueri) in pedes, brachia plerumque diductis retineri solent; ægriusque tunc mulieres enituntur. Hujus periculum si deprecandi gratia ære statuas sunt Romæ duabus Carmentibus: quarum una Postverta nominata est, Prosa altera; à recti perversique partus & portellæ te & nomine (55). — When the posture of children in the womb happens to be unnatural, it is with difficulty their mothers bring forth. To deprecate which danger, there are two altars in Rome dedicated to the two Carmentas; one of whom is named Postverta, the other Prosa, from the power and name of a right and perverse birth.*

[I] Montagne . . . expresses himself a little too wantonly.] It was from some poet that was in great want, and very greedy of this sport, that Plato had this story. That Jupiter one day being in a violent fit of love, and not having patience till his wife had got into bed, tumbled her on the floor, and through the vehemence of the pleasure, forgot the great and important resolutions he had been taking with the other gods in his celestial court, boasting that he had found that bout as good, as when he first got her maidenhead unknown to her parents (56). So far Montagne. He is to blame for ascribing this notion to some poet greedy of amorous embraces, since Homer, the author of that story, does plainly declare he does not think it probable, that a husband should be in such transports for his wife. Accordingly he supposes (57) that Juno was not satisfied with putting on her best attire, but besides, had the policy to borrow Venus's Cestus, an inevitable charm, a philtre that never failed to produce its effect. It is to the assistance of that loan, that he attributes Juno's power

(33) Me was of a husband of Jupiter. *Mygion, ibid.*

(34) In the remark [F] of the article JUPITER.

(35) Hygin. cap. cixvi.

(36) In order to know whether we ought to read *solis*, or *solas*. Whether one may say *aureas ex adamante*, and whether it were not better to say, *filia aurea nexa adamante*, or *filia ex auro & ex adamante*. See Hyginus of the Amsterdam edition, 1681.

(37) Compare what is said of Theseus, in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, *Sedit æternamque sedilem inflexa Thestis*; and what the commentators say about the feat that he was placed upon. See Mr du Rondel concerning the Chénix of Pythagoras, pag. 95, & seq.

(38) Servius, in *Eclog. iv*, Virg. ver. 62.

(39) Paulan. lib. i, pag. 18.

(40) *Id. ibid.*

(41) *Id. ibid.*

(42) *Id. lib. iii*, pag. 99.

(43) Terent. in *Andr. Act. III*, Sc. I.

(44) Festus, pag. m. cxxxix.

(45) Mart. Capella, de Nuptiis Philologie lib. ii. pag. m. 37.

(46) Festus, pag. m. lxxiii.

(47) Mart. Capella, ubi supra.

(48) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. vii, cap. ii, pag. m. 618.

(49) Hesiod. in Theog. See *Metamorphoses* upon Ovid's *Epistles*, pag. 638, & seq.

(50) Catullus, *Epig. xxxv*. Horat. *Ode xvii*, lib. iii, & mult. ali.

(51) See *Metamorphoses*, ubi supra.

(52) See *Kippiniana*, in *Antiqu. Romanis*, lib. i, cap. i, n. xv, pag. m. 24, 25.

(53) This was performed by taking up the child which the midwife had laid on the ground.

(54) See *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xvi, cap. xvii, where he says after *Varro*, *Deus Vaticanus*.

(55) *Aul. Gell.* lib. xvi, cap. xvi.

(56) Montagne, *Essays*, book i, chap. xxx, pag. m. 309.

(57) *Iliad*, lib. xiv.

(*) See the remark [K].

where Juno was educated: some say it was at Samos (e): others say it was in the ocean [K]; but there was no town where she was more honoured than at Argos [L]. She

(58) See, below, citat. (62), (63).

of inspiring her husband with so violent a fit of love. Several other things might have been censured in Montagne's story (58), had not he had the prudence to quote Plato. Wherefore he is not to be called in question on account of the faults of this Philosopher; but we must apply ourselves to Plato.

It is certain, that he unfaithfully relates Homer's story: his words are these. "Ἡ Δία καθευδόντων τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς μόνος ἐρηγορεῖ, ἃ ἐβελύσατο, τῶν πάντων βελύσας ἐπιλανθάνμενον, διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπισυμῆαν; καὶ ἔως ἐκπλαγύντα, ἰδόντα τὴν Ἥραν, ὥς μὴδ' εἰς τὸ δαμνῆτιον ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ βυλόμενον χαμαὶ ἐσυγίγνεσθαι, καὶ λέγοντα ὡς ἔσται ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας ἐχέται, ὡς ἔδ' ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐφοίτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους—φίλος λήθοντα τοῦ κῆρας. Jovem ceteris tum Diis, tum hominibus dormientibus omnium quæ vigilando tractaverat rerum venerarum cupiditate oblitum, & ulque adeo visa Junone percussum esse, ut nec domum venire sustinuerit, sed ibidem humi congrederi statim voluerit, dicens vehementiori se cupidine inflammari, quàm olim cum primum clam parentibus invicem congressi fuerunt (59). —

(59) Plato, de Republica, lib. iii, pag. m. 612. [A].

Jupiter, the rest of gods and men being asleep, easily forgot all his counsels, thro' the desire of venereal pleasure, and was so struck with the sight of Juno, that he could not stay till he got home, but lay with her that instant on the ground, saying, he was fired with a more ardent desire, that when they used to meet, unknown to their parents. Plato means, that one of the things, for which Homer's poems ought to be prohibited, is, that we there find, that, whilst the other gods and men are at rest, Jupiter cannot sleep for a lewd temptation, and forgets all the resolutions he had made; and that upon the sight of his wife, he is transported with such a vehement passion, as prompts him to lie with her immediately, without giving her time to go to bed, &c. I say once more, Plato alters the story: for Homer does not say, that the other gods were asleep, or that men were at rest. He says on the contrary, that the Greeks and Trojans were vigorously fighting, and that Neptune was in action against the Trojans. Neither does he say, that Jupiter forgot his resolutions; he supposes that Jupiter was polled upon the top of mount Ida, and that Juno seeing him there, formed a design of inspiring him with a desire of lying with her. He supposes, that in order to execute this project, she went and washed her body, she dressed and tricked up her self, as fine as she could, and provided her self with Venus's girdle. Whereby he undertakes to describe Jupiter as a very amorous god, since the most potent charms were contained in that girdle.

--- ἔνθα δὲ οἱ θελήτῃρα πάντα τέτυκτο.
ἔνθ' ἐνὶ μὲν φιλότῃ, ἐν δ' ἱμερῷ. ἐν δ' ἀοριεῦς,
Πάρφρασις ἥτ' ἐκλεψε νόον πύκαπτερ φρονέοντων.

--- in eo autem delinimenta omnia inclusa erant:
Ibi inerat quidem amor, inerat desiderium, inerat & amantium colloquium,
Blandiloquentia quæ furim surripit mentem prudentium licet (60).

(60) Homer. Iliad. lib. xiv, ver. 215.

In this was ev'ry art, and ev'ry charm,
To win the wisest, and the coldest warm;
Fond love, the gentle vow, the gay desire,
The kind deceit, the still reviving fire,
Persuasive speech, and more persuasive sighs,
Silence that spoke, and eloquence of eyes.

POPE.

I do not pretend to excuse him: I grant that Plato most justly condemns him; for in short, it is a most scandalous thing thus to play upon the chief of ones gods. For the rest, the eagerness of Jupiter was not so great, but that it gave him time to repeat a long catalogue of his mistresses. Some think that Homer

does not place this story well; it is not, say they, prudence in a husband to represent to his wife his unfaithfulness to her; this is not a good way of cajoling her. Others justify Homer, by reason that it must needs be very agreeable to a wife to hear her husband say, that he feels a greater passion for her, than he ever did for such and such mistresses upon the first enjoyment. This is what Jupiter's declarations comes to:

Νῶϊ δ' ἄγ' ἐν φιλότῃ τραπέζῃ ἐννδοντες
Οὐ γὰρ πάποτε μ' ὥδε θεῶς ἔρω ἔδε γυ' ναικὸς
Θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασ-
σεν,
Οὐδ' ὅπῃτ' ἠρασάμην Ἰξίωνος ἀλόχοιο, &c.

Nos autem age in amore convertamur in lecto dormientes.

Non enim unquam mihi sic deæ amor neque mulieris

Animum in pectoribus circumfusus domuit.

Neque quando captus fui amore Ixionæ uxoris, &c. (61).

(61) Homer. Iliad. ver. 347.

Let sister cares the present hour employ,
And be these moments sacred all to joy.
Ne'er did my soul so strong a passion prove,
Or for an earthly, or a heav'nly love:
Not when I press'd Ixion's matchless dame . . .

POPE.

I add, that Homer has preserved decorum on Juno's behalf. He brings her in representing to her husband the inconvenience that might happen, if any god should see them lying together upon mount Ida, and should go and give others notice of it; but, said she, since you have a mind to it, let us go into your chamber. Jupiter did not consent to that expedient, but he found another; which was to form about his wife a cloud so thick, that the sun itself could not see thro' it, and it was under this cloud that he satisfied his passion. He did not throw his wife upon the floor, as Montagne says; but upon the hard ground, in an open place. It is true, the earth immediately sent forth flowers and grass (62), which served instead of a good quilt. Neither Homer nor Plato make Jupiter say, what Montagne does, that he was as much pleased at that time, as when he first lay with her unknown to her parents. Homer says only (63), that Jupiter perceiving Juno, felt the same passion as when he went to lie with her the first time. I am willing it should be said, to excuse Montagne, that he did not believe there was a great difference betwixt these two things.

[K] Some say she was educated at Samos, others say it was in the ocean.] She herself affirms the latter, in her discourse to Venus, when she borrowed her Cestus (64). She tells her, that she wanted it to reconcile the ocean with his wife Thetys, who had not lain together for a long time. Her gratitude for the good education she had received with them, engaged her to make a voyage to reconcile them. She promises herself, that she shall for ever be loved and esteemed by them, if she can persuade them to lie in the same bed.

Δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότῃ καὶ ἱμερῷ, ᾧ τε σὺ πάντας
Δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἡδὲ θνητὸς ἀνθρώπους
Εἰμι γὰρ ὀφειμένη πολυέριπτε πείρατα γαίης,
Ὀκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τη-
δόν,
Οἷ μ' ἐν σφοῖσι δέμοισιν εὐτρεφὸν ἡδ' ἀτί-
ταλλον,

Τὴν εἰμ' ὀφειμένη, καὶ σὺ ἀκριτα νέικτα λύσω
Ἥδην

(62) See 616 what the sky to Oceanus and Thetys, as Ovid Metam. lib. ii, describing them to exclude the creation of the Bears.

(63) His words may be seen in the remark [A], citat. (61).

She was also much respected at Carthage [M], and at Olympia. There was in this last town sixteen ladies appointed overseers of the games, which were celebrated to her honour every five years. Three classes of young maids disputed there the prize of the race,

Ἦσαν γὰρ ἑπτὰ χθρὸν ἀλλήλων ἀπείχονται
Εὐνὴς καὶ φιλότῆτος, ἐπεὶ χθρὸς ἐμπέσσε θυ-
μῷ, &c.

Da nunc mihi amorem & desiderium, quo tu omnes

Domas immortales atque mortales homines
Vado enim visura almæ fines terræ,
Oceanumque deorum parentem, & matrem Tethyn,
Qui me in suis ædibus magna curâ nutrierunt & educarunt,

Hos vado visura, ipsi ut difficiles compositu lites dirimam.

Jam enim diuturno tempore inter se abstinent
Cubili & amore, ira enim invasit animum, &c. (65).

Then grant me, said the queen, those conqu'ring charms,
That pow'r, which mortals and immortals warms;
That love, which melts mankind in fierce desires,
And burns the sons of heav'n with sacred fires.
For lo! I haste to those remote abodes,
Where the great parents (sacred source of gods)
Ocean and Tethys their old empire keep,
On the last limits of the land and deep.

For strife, I hear, has made the union cease,
Which held so long that antient pair and peace,
What honour, and what love shall I obtain,
If I compose those fatal feuds again?

POPE.

Had she had Venus's Cestus to her lot, that charm so effectual to change the conduct of married people, who lie by themselves, she had with much reason been made to preface over marriages; but she wanted to borrow the pacific method, and potent instrument of reconciliation: why was not this employment given to the goddess, from whom the Cestus was to be borrowed? I leave it to those who are at leisure, to enquire into the reasons of it.

As for her education at Samos, consult Pausanias, who says, that the inhabitants of that island maintained that Juno was born there under a little tree, which they still shewed (66). The temple of this goddess was very ancient (67). Every body remembers these words of the Æneid (68):

Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam,
Posthabita coluisse Samo.

The isle was called Parthenia, because Juno was educated there, when she was a virgin (69). There it was also, that her marriage with Jupiter was celebrated; whence she came to be represented in her temple as a maid, that is a marrying, and the anniversary of her feast was kept like a wedding. *Infulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quid ibi Juno adoleverit, ibique etiam Jovi nupsit. Itaque nobilissimum, & antiquissimum Templum ejus est Sami, & simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum, & sacra ejus anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur* (70).

[L] There was no town where she was more honoured than at Argos. The Argivi pretended, that Juno was bred up by the three daughters of the river Asterion. One of them was called Euboea; whose name was given to the mountain upon which Juno's temple was built: Eupolemus, a native of Argos, was the architect of it: In the porch of it stood the statues of all the priestesses of that goddess (71); their office was very considerable, as I have observed, speaking of the unfortunate priestess, who occasioned the burning of the temple (72). Pausanias says (73) she made her escape to the altar of Pallas at Tegea, and that the indignation of the Argivi did not move them to throw down her statue. He says, that the most antient image of the goddess was made of a wild

pear-tree. It was carefully preserved. Piræus, the son of Argus, removed it to Tyrinthus; but the Argivi, having demolished that town, restored it to the temple of Juno (74). See Benedictus upon Pin dar (75) (74) Id. lib. 1. concerning the games that were celebrated at Argos, in honour of this goddess. See also the commentators (75) Pag. 142^a of Horace, upon these words of the seventh ode of the first book.

Plurimus in Junonis honorem
Aptum dicit equis Argos.

To honour Juno, many sing
Argos, for horses sam'd.

Silius Italicus, to shew Juno's fondness of Carthage, says that she prefers it before Argos and Mycenæ.

Hic Juno ante Argos (sic credidit alta vetustas)
Ante Agamemnoniam gratissima testâ Mycenem,
Optavit profugis æternam condere sedem (76).

These favour'd walls imperial Juno chose,
To fix the exiles in secure repose.
This town she honours with peculiar grace,
And Argos and Mycenæ must give place.

According to Homer (77) the three towns that Juno loved best, were Argos, Lacedæmon, and Mycenæ. It is strange he says nothing of Samos, the only place that Virgil mentions, when he speaks of the preference she gave to Carthage.

I will say something of the founder of Juno's temple at Argos, by which we shall discover the antiquity of this edifice. Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, caused it to be built; and was the first who armed this goddess, in recompence whereof, he was the first that reigned. *Phoroneus Inachi filius templum Argis Junoni primus fecit*, says Hyginus in his 225th chapter. And chapter 274, *Phoroneus Inachi filius, arma Junoni primus fecit, qui ob eam causam primus regnandi potestatem habuit*. Some critics instead of *arma* will have it read *aram*, or *sacra*, but others maintain the common reading, and confirm it by a passage of Cassiodorus, in the eighteenth chapter of the seventh book *Variorum*. See the commentators upon Hyginus in the Amsterdam edition, 1681. As for the antiquity of Phoroneus, see Scaliger, pag. 19. of his notes upon Eusebius's Chronicon. It is sufficient to remember, that Phoroneus was cotemporary with Abraham, or wanted but little of it.

[M] . . . And so she was at Carthage.] I a long time thought that Virgil made use of a poetical licence, without any regard to history, when he represented Carthage as Juno's favourite city (78): Nor did I think my self obliged to change my opinion, on reading in Ovid and Silius Italicus, the confirmation of Virgil's assertion; for one cannot reasonably doubt, that he was the occasion of Ovid's making Juno speak thus.

Pœniteat quod non fovi Carthaginis arces,
Cum mea sint illo currus & arma loco (79):

Repenting that I turn'd an angry eye
From Carthage, where my arms and chariot lie.

As also of Silius Italicus's asserting what we have seen above (80). But having considered other passages of several authors, I began to imagine that Virgil's hypothesis was founded on tradition. Psyche's prayer is not of the least force with me: 'Magni Jovis gemina, na, says she (81), & conjuga: five tu Sami, quæ querulo partu vagituque & alimonia tua glorior, tenes vetusta delubra; five celsæ Carthaginis, quæ te virginem vectura leonis cælo commeantem percipit, beatus sedes frequentas: five prope ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, & reginam deorum memorat, inclitis Argivorum præfides mœnibus: quam cunctus oriens Zygiam veneratur, & omnis oc-

(65) Homer. Iliad. lib. xiv, ver. 198. Juno repeats the same thing upon Mount Ida, when Jupiter offers her whatever she is going. Ibid. ver. 301.

(66) Pausanias, lib. vii, pag. 209.

(67) Id. Ibid.

(68) Lib. i, ver. 25.

(69) Schell. Apollonius, in lib. iv. He says upon the 187th verse of the first book, that the Imbreus, a River of Samos, was called Παρθένιος, because Juno was brought up there when she was a maid.

(70) Lactant. lib. i, cap. xvii, pag. m. 54. See also St Augustin, de Civitate Dei, lib. vi, cap. vii.

(71) Ex Pausan. lib. ii, pag. 59.

(72) See the article CHRYSIS.

(73) Pausan. ubi supra. See also lib. iii, pag. 86.

(76) Silius Italicus, lib. i, ver. 26.

(77) Iliad. lib. iv, ver. 51.

(78) Æneid. lib. i, circa init.

(79) Ovid. Fast. lib. vi, ver. 45.

(f) A kind of gown or veil.

(g) Ex Pausanias, lib. v. cap. xvi, pag. m. 417.

race, and came down to run at the Olympic games, and took almost all the time. The victorious ladies received a crown of olive. The same ladies made a *peplus* (f), which they consecrated to this goddess every five years (g). For the rest, Jupiter's unfaithfulness to his wife was so much the more inexcusable, because Juno had the secret of growing a maid again every year [N]. Her love for Jason has not been much talked of [O]. She with honour got out of the snares that Ixion had laid for her [P]. If we believe some authors, she had no child by her husband; and whenever she conceived, she

• cident Lucina appellat: sis meis extremis casibus
• Juno Sospita, meque in tantis exantlati laboribus
• defessam, imminenti periculi metu libera. —
• Great sister, and wife of Jove: whether thou inhabitest
• the ancient temples of Samos, which glories to have
• given you birth, and nourished you in infancy; or frequentest
• the happy seats of Carthage, which worships
• thy virgin deity, drawn by lions through the heavenly
• road: or, near the banks of Inachus, who now commemorates
• thee, wife of the thunderer, and queen of
• gods, thou presidest over the famed walls of Argos:
• whom the whole east worships under the name of Zygia,
• and the west calls Lucina: be to me, in my greatest
• difficulties, Juno the preserver, and free me, tired with
• so great labours, from the fear of impending danger.

This concerns Juno directly, and without ambiguity. Herodotus's passage concerning Urania (82) of Carthage, does not seem to have the same weight; for it induces us to believe that this Urania was not Juno, but the moon. Now I do not consider here the Theology of those who reduce many of the Pagan gods into one; I only keep to the public notions, according to which, Juno was worshipped as the sister and wife of Jupiter, and as a distinct object from Minerva, Diana, the moon, Proserpina, &c. For the rest, I cannot think on the worship that was paid to this goddess in so many places (83), and with so much pomp, without believing there were mixed with it, I know not what impressions of the custom, which is observed with respect to women. When a woman has a share in the government, she is much more attended, honoured, and respected, than a man in the same authority. Consider how the wives of the governors of provinces are courted, when they are known to have a great interest. The honours that are paid to them exceed those that are given their husbands. This is the practice of the earth, and it is carried into heaven. Jupiter was served as a king, and Juno as an ambitious, haughty, and revengeful queen, who divided with him the government of the world, and assisted in all his councils.

Οὐτ' ἐστ' εἰς εὐνὴν Διὸς ἡλυθε μετρίοντα,
Οὐτ' ἐστ' εἰς δῶκον πολυδαίδαλον, ὥς τοιπαρῶν
ἄνθρωποι ἐρεζομένην πυκινὰς φρεσὶ σκετο βολὰς.

Nunquam ad cubile Jovis venit consiliarii,
Nunquam ad thronum varium, sicuti antea
Cum ipso sedens, sapientia consultans consilia (84).

(84) See Homer in the Hymn to Apollo, where he says that Juno left her husband for a year, by reason of Minerva's birth.

(85) Erasmus in Ecclesiast. apud Coleman, Rome Protestante, pag. 25.

(86) Called Canathus. It was in Peloponnesus. See Pausanias, lib. ii. sub fin. pag. 80.

(87) César de Rochefort. Diction. Général & Curieux, pag. 612, 613.

I dare say that the extravagances that Christians are fallen into, towards the Virgin Mary, which go beyond all that the Heathens invented in honour of Juno, are owing to the same original, I mean to the custom of honouring women, and making court to them, with greater zeal and reverence than to the other sex. We cannot be without women either in a civil or religious life. He that should take from the Romish communion the devotion to saints, and especially to her whom they call the queen of heaven, and the queen of angels, would leave a frightful gap in it: the rest would fall in pieces, and would be *arena sine calce, scopæ dissolutæ*. Erasmus blaming the custom of saluting the Virgin Mary in the pulpit, after the beginning of the sermon, says, *That it is contrary to the example of all the antients, who were rather to be imitated, than such sort of people, as perhaps to please women, have herein trod in the steps of the Heathens* (85).

[N] She had the secret of growing a maid again every year. This she did by only washing herself in a fountain (86). Juno took great care, says the writer of a dictionary (87), to wash herself every year in the fountain Canathus near Nauplia, which at present is called Napoli di Romania, where she constantly recovered her virginity, which made her beloved by Jupiter,

Pausan. lib. 8. It is not true that Pausanias observes that she hereby made herself beloved by Jupiter. He only says that the Argivi spoke of this return of Juno's virginity, and founded what they said upon the practice of their occult ceremonies in the mysteries of this goddess. There are many writers, who quoting an author, are guilty of making him say whatever they think he should have said. This was the occasion of imputing to Pausanias what he did not say. The author of this false imputation, was probably full of what he had been relating: 'Diego de Torrez, in his history of the Cherifs, says, that amongst the felicities the Turks hope for in another life, they believe their wives will bring them new maidenhands, cap. 74.' The fountain of youth, so celebrated by our old poets and romancers, had not a virtue comparable to that of Canathus.

[O] Her love for Jason has not been much talked of. Some authors say that Jason owed the friendship and protection of this goddess to a good service he had done her, without knowing, who she was. Juno disguised like an old woman, desired him to carry her over a river: he did it, and lost one of his shoes by the bargain. But others say he owed to his beauty the interest he had in her. Juno could not withstand so many charms, but grew passionately fond of that handsome youth. 'Οτι δὲ εὐπρεπὴς ἦν ὁ Ἰάσων δῆλον ἐκ τῆς καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς κατὰ τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιμαρτυρίας. Jasonem fuisse perpulchrum hinc patet, quod juxta quosdam ipsa Juno infans amore eum prosecuta fuerit (88). These are the authors who mention the other story. 'Pelias . . . forte vidit Jasonem nudo pede venisse, qui dum Junonem transmutatam in anus speciem credens mortalem petentem per vadum fluminis transferret, alteram ex caligis in limo amisisset (89). — Pelias . . . happened to see Jason arise, with one foot bare, who, whilst he was carrying Juno, transformed into an old woman, whom he took for a mortal, across a river, lost one of his sandals in the mud.' You will find in Hyginus (90) the same particular more largely described, with the marks of gratitude which Juno gave him. Valerius Flaccus supposes that it was in very bad weather, that she received this kindness; and he adds that Jason discovered her to be a goddess, by the fright that seized her, because she knew the thunder to be the voice of Jupiter, who called her home. It was therefore at a time of elopement: she had left her husband, and had no great inclination to return.

Omnipotens regina, inquit, quam turbidus atro
Æthere cæruleum quateret cum Jupiter imbrem,
Ipse ego præcipiti tumidum per Enipea nimbo
In campos & tuta tulli, nec credere quivi
Ante deam, quam te tonitru nutuque reposci
Conjugis, & subita raptam formidine vidi (91).

Celestial queen, whom when tempestuous Jove
In storms descended from the gloom above
In a thick cloud, unwittingly I bore
Thro' swollen Enipeus to a safer shore;
Nor deem'd thee goddess,
Till fear betray'd thee, from thy consort fled,
And now recall'd by thunder to his bed.

[P] She with honour got out of the snares that Ixion laid for her. Ixion having committed a parricide (92) of which he could find no body to absolve him, received at last this good office from Jupiter himself. For which he was so ungrateful, as to attempt to graft horns on his benefactor's head: he fell in love with Juno, and earnestly pressed her to the point. But she refused him, and complained of the affront to Jupiter, who desiring to be witness of this baseness, formed a cloud just like his wife, and left it to Ixion's discretion, who used it as amorous people used to do. Hence came

(88) Schol. Pindari, in Pyth. Ode 4, apud Meuricium, Not in Epit. Ovid. pag. 540.

(89) Servius, in Eclog. iv. Virg. ver. 34.

(90) Hygin. cap. xxii. See also cap. xlii. Apollon. Rhodius, lib. iii, ver. 66.

(91) Valer. Flaccus, Argos. I, ver. 81.

(92) He had treacherously killed his wife's father.

she did it in a manner altogether extraordinary [Q]: but she had milk as is usual; and this may well be supposed, since she suckled a bastard of her husband's. He was obliged to use stratagems to bring her to it; and then they say was formed in the sky what people call the Milky Way [R]. Some of those who put the word *regina* in the number of Juno's epithets, are guilty of a childish error [S]; tho' under that name she was the protectress of the Veientes (b), and placed at Rome upon one of the seven hills. I question whether those who say she first began to favour the Romans in the second Punic war [T], are in the right. She was honoured at Rome, under some other

(b) See the remark [U].

came the race of the Centaurs. He boasted afterwards to have lain with Juno; which, as is said, putting Jupiter out of patience, made him throw him into hell, and condemn him to the punishment of the wheel (93). He did not act like a jealous husband: for is there any Italian who would suffer his wife's galants to gratify their passion with her figure? He would hinder, if he could, their diversion with her in imagination or in a dream.

[Q.] She always conceived in a manner extraordinary. According to the common opinion, she was mother but of three children, Mars, Vulcan, and Hebe. As for Mars, she conceived him by the touch of a flower, which Flora shewed her. She had a mind to be revenged of her husband, who had produced Minerva without her assistance, and to shew him that she could do as much without the concurrence of any male.

Proturn herentem decerpit pollice florem,

Tangitur, & tacto concipit illa sinu.

Jamque gravis Thracen & læva Propontidos intrat,

Fique potens voti, Marisque creatus erat (94).

I pluck'd the flow'r: it's wond'rous virtue such,
She touch'd it, and grew pregnant at the touch:
Then enter'd Thrace, and the Propontic bore,
Where, mistress of her wish, god Mars she bore.

As to Vulcan, she conceived him by the wind, by an influence like that of the Spanish mares (95). "Ομοία δὲ πέποις καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἄδουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐλίας ὑπὸνέμιον αὐτὴν παῖδα γενέσθαι τὸν Ἥραϊον. His autem similia etiam de Junone canunt, nempe hanc citra virilem congressum subventaneo conceptu gravidam puerum edidisse Vulcanum (96). — They tell just such another story of Juno; namely, that, without the help of man, and being impregnated by the wind, she brought forth Vulcan. She became with child of Hebe, by feeding heartily upon lettuce. This daughter was the goddess of youth, and served for a cup-bearer to the gods, till an unfortunate accident that happened to her at a great feast. She fell down, and shewed the gods all that was hid under her petticoats. She lost her employment by that accident (97). I know that according to others, she was the daughter of Jupiter and Juno, in the common way.

Natalis Comes ought here to be confuted, who probably has mislaid some Lexicographers. He says that Juno, resenting the birth of Minerva, prayed heaven and earth, the celestial and infernal gods, to grant she might be a mother, without the conjunction of a male. She struck the ground with her hand, and at a certain period of time it brought forth Typhon (98). To prove this, he cites some Greek verses, which manifestly signify that Juno brought forth Typhon. How well does he understand what he alleges? — Ομοία δὲ πέποις καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἄδουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐλίας ὑπὸνέμιον αὐτὴν παῖδα γενέσθαι τὸν Ἥραϊον. Εὐτ' ἄρα δὲ Κρονίδης τεκνυδὲα γένειν: Ἀθήνην ἔν κορυφῇ. Hunc (Typhona) irata Jovi patri Juno edidit olim, Quam fuit illius de vertice nata Minerva.

Juno, enraged, the monster Typhon bore,
When from Jove's head the blue-eyed goddess sprung.

Homer in his hymn to Apollo tells this story so plainly, that we may well wonder how so many authors came to take the one for the other. He says that Juno

invoking heaven and earth, and all the infernal gods, to grant her a son, without the assistance of Jupiter, struck the earth, and made it tremble, and took that earthquake for a good omen; upon which she left her husband a whole year, at the end whereof she had a son who resembled neither men, nor the gods: and this was Typhon.

Ἡ δὲ ἔτεκε ὅτε θεοὶ ἐναλίγκιος ἔτε βεβ-
τοῖσι.
Δεινὸν τ' ἀργαλέον τὲ τυφάνα, πῦμα βεβ-
τοῖσιν.

Hæc autem peperit neque diis similem, neque mor-
talibus,

Gravemque difficilemque Typhaona, damnum mor-
talibus (99).

[R.] Then the Milky Way was made in the sky. It was Hercules she gave suck to: but this child, whose strength was already prodigious, so squeezed her breast, that she could not endure it; and as she hastily snatch-
ed it from him, some of her milk dropped.

From this matter was formed the circle, which the Greeks call γαλαξία, and the Latins *orbis lacteus*, *vía lactea*, &c. (100). The Poet Manilius has touched upon this fable: Nec mihi celandæ est famæ vulgata vetustas

Mollior: è niveo lactis, fluxisse liquorem

Pectore Reginæ Divum, cœlumque colore

Infectisæ suo. Quapropter lacteus orbis

Dicitur, & nomen causâ descendit ab ipsa (101).

It is fabled, that a milky liquor flow'd

From Juno's breasts, and stain'd the heav'nly road.

From hence a Milky Way amidst the stars,

The name descending from the cause appears.

Some say that the milk, which made this circle, fell from Hercules's mouth, who had suck'd Juno too greedily (102). These stories suppose that Juno was then in heaven; but the Thebans did not allow that: they shewed the place where this goddess, deceived by Jupiter, gave suck to Hercules (103).

[S.] Some of those who put the word *regina* in the number of her epithets, are guilty of a childish error. For they bring (104) for a proof of it a passage of Virgil (105), in which there is no particular epithet. The father of the people, the magnificent, the great, the just, the wife, &c. are epithets or titles of distinction given to certain princes; but that cannot be said of the title of king of France: nor can it be said of that of queen of France. Now Juno in these words of Virgil, is called the queen of the gods, just as Anne of Austria, wife of Lewis XIII, was called queen of France. Juno was the wife of Jupiter the king of the gods and of men, *Divum pater atque humanum rex* (106), as she styles him herself in the Æneid (107). Elsewhere (108) she tells him, that he rules over all the gods, *ὅς δὲ πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει*. If proofs had been looked for in Livy, good ones might have been found there. See the following remark, where I relate what he says of Camillus, about the taking of Veii. These words of Juvenal *nivæam Reginæ cœdimus agnam* (109), would have been a better proof, than what is pretended to be found in the first book of the Æneid.

[T.] I question whether those are in the right who say she first began to favour the Romans in the second Punic war. Camillus preparing to assault the Veientes, offered the tenth part of the booty to Apollo, and implored Juno, the protectress of the besieged, to forsake them, and to come to Rome, where she would

(100) Achilles

Tatius, in Iliad

ex Eratosthe-
ne in Cata-

merismo, apud

Lloyd, voce

Juno.

(101) Manilius,

lib. i, pag. m.

24.

(102) See Philo-

ponus, in I. Me-

teor, apud Philo-

ppum Cæsum,

in Cælo Astro-

nomico-Poëtico,

pag. 15.

(103) Pausanias,

lib. ix, pag. 300.

(104) Francis-

Pomey, in Pan-

theo Mythico,

pag. m. 92.

(105) At ego,

quæ Divum inco-

do regina, Jo-

visque

Et foror, & con-

jux . . .

Virgil. Æneid.

lib. i, ver. 46.

(106) Aristotle,

lib. de Morib. 9.

shews that Homer

by these words,

πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν

τε θεῶν τε,

which denote

Jupiter, declares

him to be king

of the gods and

of men. See

Virgil, cum notis

Parier. Ed. L.

Londæ, 1680.

Æn. lib. i, ver.

65.

(107) Æneid.

lib. i, ver. 65.

(108) Iliad. lib.

iv, ver. 61.

(109) Sat. XII,

ver. 13.

have

(93) Taken from
Natalis Comes,
Mytholog. lib.
vi. Abating some
few circumstances,
all this is to be
found in Diodor.
Sicil. lib. iv,
cap. 71. See also
Lucian, in Deor.
Dialogis, pag.
132, & seq.
Tom. I.

(94) Ovid. Fastor.
lib. v, ver. 255.
I pluck'd the flow'r: it's wond'rous virtue such,
She touch'd it, and grew pregnant at the touch:
Then enter'd Thrace, and the Propontic bore,
Where, mistress of her wish, god Mars she bore.

(95) See the ar-
ticle HIPPO-
MANES, at
the end of this
work.

(96) Lucianus,
de Sacrificiis, pag.
352, Tom. I.
They tell just such another story of Juno; namely, that, without the help of man, and being impregnated by the wind, she brought forth Vulcan. She became with child of Hebe, by feeding heartily upon lettuce. This daughter was the goddess of youth, and served for a cup-bearer to the gods, till an unfortunate accident that happened to her at a great feast. She fell down, and shewed the gods all that was hid under her petticoats. She lost her employment by that accident (97). I know that according to others, she was the daughter of Jupiter and Juno, in the common way.

(97) Servius,
ad Virg. voce
Hæc.

(98) Natalis Comes ought here to be confuted, who probably has mislaid some Lexicographers. He says that Juno, resenting the birth of Minerva, prayed heaven and earth, the celestial and infernal gods, to grant she might be a mother, without the conjunction of a male. She struck the ground with her hand, and at a certain period of time it brought forth Typhon (98). To prove this, he cites some Greek verses, which manifestly signify that Juno brought forth Typhon. How well does he understand what he alleges?

(98) Quæ cum
mano humanum
percussisset, se-
quenti postea
tempore natum
est ex ea terra
Typhon. &c.
Natalis Comes,
Mytholog. lib. vi,
cap. xxi, pag.
m. 644. You
will find the
same thing in
Lloyd's Diction-

ary.

(99) Virgil. Æneid.
lib. i, ver. 13.
Hæc autem peperit neque diis similem, neque mor-
talibus, Gravemque difficilemque Typhaona, damnum mor-
talibus (99).

(100) Achilles
Tatius, in Iliad
ex Eratosthe-
ne in Cata-

merismo, apud
Lloyd, voce
Juno.

(101) Manilius,
lib. i, pag. m.
24.

(102) See Philo-

ponus, in I. Me-

teor, apud Philo-

ppum Cæsum,

in Cælo Astro-

nomico-Poëtico,

pag. 15.

(103) Pausanias,

lib. ix, pag. 300.

(104) Francis-

Pomey, in Pan-

theo Mythico,

pag. m. 92.

(105) At ego,

quæ Divum inco-

do regina, Jo-

visque

Et foror, & con-

jux . . .

Virgil. Æneid.

lib. i, ver. 46.

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Æn. lib. i, ver.

65.

(107) Æneid.

lib. i, ver. 65.

(108) Iliad. lib.

iv, ver. 61.

(109) Sat. XII,

ver. 13.

have

(7) Livius, lib. viii, cap. xiv. See the beginning of the remark [7].

other titles, as that of *Moneta* [U], *Sospita*, &c. They were not contented to join with the inhabitants of Lanuvium in the year 416, in worshipping her under this last title (i): she had moreover a temple built to her in the *Forum Olitorium* in the year 560. Caius Cornelius

(110) T. Livius, Dec. I, lib. v, cap. xxi.

have a temple worthy of her. 'Tuo ductu, inquit, (Dictator) Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios: tibi que hinc decimam partem prædæ voveo. Te simul Juno Regina, quæ nunc Veios colis, precor ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare: ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat (110). — Directed, and inspired by thee, O Pythian Apollo, (said the Dictator) I set forth to demolish the city Veii, and I dedicate to thee the tenth part of the plunder. I likewise supplicate thee, O Juno, who now inhabitest Veii, that thou wouldst follow us the conquerors to our city, hereafter to be thine own, where a temple worthy thy dignity awaits thee.' After the plundering of the town, they proceeded to the removal of the gods, and behaved themselves with a great deal of reverence in it. One asked the statue of Juno, whether she was willing to go to Rome: she made a sign that she was; nay, it was pretended that she said yes. There was no trouble in removing her; one would have thought that she put herself in motion to follow the victorious. Camillus consecrated a temple to her, upon mount Aventinus (111), according to the promise he had made her. The words of Livy are so fine and remarkable, that all those, who understand Latin, will be glad to read them, without the trouble of turning to that author. 'Cum jam humanæ opes asportatæ egeatque à Veiiis essent, amoliri tum Deum dona ipsorum Deos, sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo, cœpere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu juvenes, purè lotis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam Regina Juno assignata erat, venerabundi templum inire, primo religiose admoventes manus: quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certæ gentis sacerdos attricare non esset solitus. Deinde quum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus, seu juvenili joco, Visne Romam ire Juno? annuisset cæteri Deam conclamaverunt: inde fabulæ adjectum est, vocem quoque dicentis, Velle, auditam. Motam certè fede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem translatum fuisse: integramque in Aventinum æternam sedem suam, quò vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant, perlatam: ubi templum ei postea idem, qui voverat, Camillus dedicavit (112). — The wealth of Veii being removed, they began to carry off the dedications of the gods, and the gods themselves, but more after the manner of worshippers than spoilers. For a select band of youth of the army, having washed their bodies, and being dressed in white garments, to whom the care of transporting the goddess Juno to Rome was assigned, entered the temple with reverence, at first religiously touching her: for, by the custom of Etruria, a priest of a certain family had the sole privilege of handling that statue. But one of them, whether inspired, or jestingly, saying, Will you go to Rome, Juno? the rest cried out, that the goddess nodded: whence it was fabled, that a voice was likewise heard, which said Yes. It is certain, she was very easily removed, and translated entire to mount Aventin, her everlasting residence, whither the vows of the Roman dictator had invited her, where the same Camillus afterwards dedicated a temple to her.' Plutarch makes Livy say, that Camillus intreating Juno to come to Rome, touched her statue, and that she answered she consented to it, and would gladly follow him. Δις δὲ φωνὴν εὐχόμεναι μὲν τὸν Καμίλλου ἀπομένον τῆς δεῦ καὶ παρακαλεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ τινὰς τῶν παρόντων ὅτι καὶ βέλτεται καὶ συγκαταίνει, καὶ συγκαταίνει τῇ προστάσει. Livius tradit inter precandum ait: Deam & invitasse: inde velle & annuere ac sequi libentem respondisse ex adstantibus nonnullos (113). Compare this with Livy's words, and you will clearly see that Plutarch has not understood them; or rather that he has quoted them without book, and that he has disfigured the circumstances: and as he probably trusted to his memory on many occasions, I fear that in several particulars, we find in his books not what he had read, but the notion, which the histories he had read, left in his imagination. The prayers that Livy ascribes to Camillus, with relation to Juno, were before the taking of Veii. How then could he say that Camillus prayed,

laying his hand upon the statue? What I am going to say, comes nearer to my text.

Plutarch adds, that they who maintain that Juno's statue answered either by signs, or by words, that she consented to Camillus's petition, have a very strong argument to alledge, that is, the prosperity of Rome: for that town, says he, so little as it was, could never have raised itself to such an height of power, without the continual favour of a tutelary god. Οἱ δ' ἱσχυρίζονται καὶ τῷ παρὰ δόξαν βονθέντι, μετρίως μὲν ἔχοντι συνήγορον τὴν τύχην τῆς πόλεως, ἢ ἀπὸ συμφοράς καὶ κατὰ φρονέμενης ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ μεγάλα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως περὶθεῖν δόξα. Δὲ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐπιφανείας ἐκείσε συμπάρηται, ἀμύχανον. Ceterum hoc miraculum adfueritibus & defendentibus fortuna magnopere suffragatur urbis, quæ ex parvo & humili exordio, sine numinis perpetuo ex multis & magnis signis presentis favore, evadere ad eam gloriam & potentiam baudquaquam potuisset (114). He believes therefore that Juno being removed from Veii to Rome, made the Romans prosper, and procured that train of victories, which rendered them so formidable: and therefore Jupiter's prediction, that Juno should at last favour the Roman nation, must have been fulfilled in the year of Rome 359 (115).

— quin aspera Juno,

Quæ mare nunc terrasque metu cœlumque fatigat,
Consilia in melius referet, necumque fovebit

Romanos rerum Dominos gentemque togatam (116).

— e'en she, who now

Embroils with anxious fear heav'n, earth, and sea,
E'en sullen Juno then shall bend her thoughts
To better counsels, and with me promote
Rome's lordly sons, the nation of the goon.

TRAPP.

And yet, because some Poets have been pleased to bring down this epocha to the second Punic (117) war (118), the commentators rather depend upon this fiction, than upon the authority of the historians. I observe, that besides the temple that Juno had at Rome upon mount Aventinus, she had part of the temple of the capitol with her husband and Minerva (119). The temple of Juno Moneta, which I speak of in the following remark, affords me a good proof.

[U] She was honoured at Rome, under the title of *Moneta*. It appears from several passages of the antients (120), that the epithet *Regina* was given to that Juno whom Camillus brought from Veii, and to whom he built a temple on mount Aventinus. As for Juno Moneta, she had her seat in the capitol. Valerius Maximus is perhaps the only author who has confounded these two Junos. I doubt not but this is one of the mistakes which are so plentiful in Valerius Maximus. 'Nec minus voluntarius, says he (121), Junonis in urbem nostram transitus. Captis à Porio Camillo Veis, milites jussu Imperatoris simulacrum Junonis Moneta, quod ibi præcipua religione cultum erat, in Urbem trahunt, sede sua movere conabantur. Quorum ab uno per jocum interrogata Dea, an Romam migrare vellet, velle se respondit. Hac voce audita, lusus in admirationem verius est. Jamque non simulacrum, sed ipsam cœlo Junonem petitam portare se credentes, læti in ea parte montis Aventini, in qua nunc templum ejus cernimus, collocaverunt. — Nor was the translation of Juno to our city less voluntary. For Furius Camillus having taken Veii, the soldiers, being commanded by the general to transport to Rome the image of Juno Moneta, which was there particularly worshipped, endeavoured to remove it, one of whom jestingly asking the goddess, whether she would go into Rome, she answered, yes. Hearing this, their jesting was turned into admiration. And now, believing that they carried not the image of Juno, but the goddess herself, they joyfully placed her in that part of mount Aventin, where we now see her temple.' What he says is sufficient

(114) Id. Ibid.

(115) In which the town of Veii was plundered.

(116) Virgil. Æn. lib. I, vers. 279.

(117) Which began in the year of Rome 535.

(118) Quis belli Punico secundus, ut ait Ennius, placuit Juno capiti ferre Romam. Servius, in hunc locum Virgilii. See Silvestri Italici, lib. xii, pag. m. 520 Horace, lib. ii, Ode i.

(119) See Dio Cassius, apud Silvestri Italici, lib. x, pag. 431.

(120) Decretum est Junoni Reginae in Aventino Junonem ipsam Lanuvii majorem hostibus fecit. Liv. lib. xxi, cap. xxxvii, where he describes the ceremony that was performed in honour of Juno Regia in Aventino. They say that the ceremony was performed by the poet Livy. Livy, lib. xxi, cap. xxxvii, where he describes the ceremony that was performed in honour of Juno Regia in Aventino. They say that the ceremony was performed by the poet Livy.

(121) Valer. Max. lib. I, cap. viii, n. 7.

Cornelius Cethegus, who had vowed it four years before, when he was consul, and made war with the Infubres (k), consecrated it when he was censor (l). This temple was repaired in 663, which was occasioned by a woman's dream (m). Juno's worship at Rome was very antient [X]. The honours she received in other towns of Italy were very great [Y]. She wrought there many miracles. She had a temple at Falerii, be-

(k) Id. lib. xxvii. cap. xxix.

(l) Id. lib. xxxiv. cap. liii.

(m) Cicero, de Divinat. lib. i. init. fol. 304, B, & fol. 311, B.

(122) Lib. vi. cap. lii. n. 2.

(123) Livius, lib. vii. cap. xxviii.

(124) See Valer. Maximus, cum notis Variorum, put out by Thysius, lib. i. cap. viii. n. 3, pag. 105.

(125) Plutarch. in Camillo, pag. 143. C.

(126) Cicero, de Divinat. lib. i.

(127) See Dionys. Halicarnassensis, lib. iv. cap. lix. Dauguetius, in Silium Ital. lib. 2, pag. 455.

(128) It appears from Livy, lib. iii. pag. m. 79, that Juno, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was firnamed Regina.

(129) Antiquit. Rom. lib. ii. cap. vi.

(130) Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lib. ii. cap. lii.

sufficient to shew his confounding things; for in another book (122) he says, that the temple of the goddess Moneta was in the capitol, in the place where Manlius's house had been. Now according to Livy, the temple that was built where that house stood, was consecrated to Juno Moneta, at the time of the war with the Aurunci. It was consecrated the year after, that is, in the year of Rome 413 (123). Ovid, in the sixth book of the Fasti, perfectly agrees in this with Livy. The verses in which he speaks of it, inform us, that it was Camillus who consecrated that temple. Hereupon a critic observes (124), that nevertheless Plutarch says nothing of this vow of Camillus, but is contented to say, that Manlius's house was rased, and that the temple of the goddess Moneta was built in the place where that house stood. This critic doubtless thought, that the Camillus mentioned by Ovid, is the same whose life is written by Plutarch; he, I say, who mightily strove to bring Manlius to punishment. I do not believe that Ovid was so grossly mistaken. He who consecrated the temple of Juno Moneta, was Camillus the son. Therefore it is not to be thought strange, that the historian of the father should say nothing of this consecration; but he may be blamed for his careless relation of the fate of Manlius's house. He says (125) that the Romans having demolished it, ordered the temple of the goddess Moneta to be built in the room of it, and decreed, that from thenceforth no patrician should live in the capitol. Is there any reader but would from such a narration conclude, that these three things were performed at the same time? who could imagine, that this temple was not consecrated till above forty years after Manlius's punishment? there is something in Cicero, that a little perplexes this matter; which is, that Juno, who had a temple in the capitol, was firnamed Moneta, because she advised the people of Rome to sacrifice a big-bellied sow. 'Scriptum à multis cum terræ motus, factus esset ut lue plena procuratio fieret, vocem ab æde Junonis ex arca exiisse, quocirca Junonem illam appellatam Moneta' (126). Many have recorded, that, there being an earthquake, a voice was heard from the shrine in the temple of Juno, commanding to sacrifice a pregnant sow; whence that Juno was called 'Moneta'. According to this, it ought to be said, that there was a temple of Juno in the capitol, before the dictator Camillus the son consecrated the temple of Juno Moneta; or else it must be said, that he only consecrated a temple to Juno, but that in process of time this goddess had the firname Moneta given her by reason of the advice she gave in this temple. The first of these two hypotheses has no foundation in any author; and the second would charge the historians with an extreme negligence, since they expressly observe, that the dictator Camillus consecrated a temple to Juno Moneta, which was built in the same place where Manlius lived. Perhaps this obscurity might be removed, by supposing that the place where Juno gave the advice, was the chapel which had been built for her in Jupiter's temple, in the Capitol (127). From that time she might have been (128) firnamed Moneta, without having a particular temple with that epithet; but during the war with the Aurunci, Camillus would have built a temple to her under that firname, which she had already. This would be an argument that she had given advice to the people of Rome, before the year 413; and consequently, that her friendship for Rome preceded the second Punic war. Rosinus (129) makes Cicero to say, that the earthquake which was the occasion of Juno's advising the sacrifice of a big-bellied sow, happened before the Gauls took Rome. Cicero does not say this: Rosinus is in an error.

[X] Juno's worship at Rome was very antient. Tatius, the colleague of Romulus, had appointed the honours that were to be paid to Juno Quirita or Quiritis (130). We find that in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, the pontiffs being consulted concerning the expedition of involuntary murders, erected two altars,

and performed the ceremonies they thought proper to purify Horatius, who had killed his sister. One of those altars was consecrated to Juno (131), and the other to Janus (132). It is said (133) that before that time there was at Rome a temple of Juno, built by Numa Pompilius, who desiring to gain the favour of this goddess, forbade, by a formal law, all lewd women to enter into that temple . . . or even to touch it. These are the words of the law. Pellex ædem Junonis ne tangito. Si tangat Junoni agnum sceminam demissis crinibus cædito. This was the reparation they were obliged to make, by sacrificing a lamb to her, with their hair hanging loose. In a word, we may say, that it was not by too bold an hyperbole, that Virgil introduced Jupiter promising his spouse, that the descendants of Æneas should serve her more devoutly than all the other nations. This dialogue is one of the finest passages of the Æneid. Juno engages to persecute Æneas no longer, and asks a favour as a recompence for her desisting. I advise my readers to go to the fountain head: I shall only produce these four verses.

Hinc genus, Aufonio mistum quod sanguine surget,
Supra homines, supra ire Deos pietate videbis.
Nec gens ulla tuos æquæ celebrabit honores.
Annuit his Juno, & mentem lætata retorfit (134).
This blended lineage, from th' Aufonian blood
Deriv'd, in piety you shall behold
Excelling men and gods; nor any race
Shall equal honours to your altars pay.
Juno assents, and pleas'd retorts her mind.

TRAPP.

[Y] The honours she received in other towns of Italy were very great. She was worshipped under the title of Sospita, with great devotion at Lanuvium, near Rome, in the Via Appia. The Romans were so fond of this worship, that their consuls were obliged in the beginning of their consulship, to go and pay their homages to this Juno. Nolite à sacris propriis Junonis Sospitæ, cui omnes Consules facere necesse est, domesticum & suum Consulem potissimum avellere (135). When the inhabitants of Lanuvium were made Roman citizens, it was ordained that this worship should be common to them with the people of Rome. Lanuvini civitas data, sacraque sua reddita cum eo ut ædes lucusque Sospitæ Junonis communis Lanuvinis Municipibus cum populo Romano esset (136). There was a treasure in the temple of this goddess, out of which Augustus took great sums, and promised to pay interest for it (137). It is thought that this temple was founded by the Pelasgi, who came originally from Peloponnesus, which opinion is supported by Ælian's calling this Juno of Lanuvium, Juno Argolica (138). Here is the attire of this goddess. 'Nostram Sospitam . . . tu nunquam ne in somnis quidem vides nisi cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis (139). — You never see our goddess, Juno Sospita, even in dreams, without her goat-skin, her spear, her shield, and her shoes, with the ends bent backwards.' It is not observed in this passage, whether the goat's skin was adorned with horns; but there are very learned men who do not doubt of it. 'It is certain that Juno of Lanuvium had her head veiled with a goat-skin, set off with true horns, which is plainly to be seen in Goltzius's Roman medals, and in that mentioned by Vigenere, in his annotations upon Livy.' Thus Mr de Girac speaks in the sixty fifth section, and five hundred and fifty sixth page of his reply. You will find in the margin of his book the following passage: Romani Junonem Sospitam co- * Lud. Nonnus, lebant, ejus caput pellis caprina cum cornibus exornabat. Mind this: the serpent of the temple of Lanuvium was something miraculous; it knew whether young women had lost their virginity or not. See Ælian (140).

(131) Overfeer of the sisters, says Dionysius Halicarnassensis; but she is firnamed Sororia, apud Festum, quem vide pag. m. cclxii, voce lororum tigillum.

(132) Id. Dionys. lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

(133) See Du Baulay's Theatre des Antiquitez Romaines, pag. 149.

(134) Virgil. Æn. lib. xii. ver. 838.

(135) Cicero, Orat. pro Muræna, sub fin.

(136) Livius, lib. vii. cap. xiv.

(137) Appian. lib. v. de Bello Civil. pag. m. 399.

(138) Ælian. Histor. Animal. lib. xi. cap. xvi.

(139) Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. cap. xlix.

(140) Ælian. Ubi supra. See also Propertius, Eleg. viii. lib. iv.

Juno

fore Rome was built. It was like that of Argos, and the same ceremonies were used in it as the Argivi had consecrated to her worship. This we learn from Dionysius Halicarnassensis in the twenty first chapter of the first book.

I would

Juno LACINIA, whose temple was six miles from Crotona, was wonderfully famous. This temple was twice as large as the largest in Rome (141). It was covered with marble, part whereof was brought to Rome to cover the temple of Fortuna Equestris, which the censor Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was building: but as he came to a miserable end, the senate ordered the marble to be carried to the same place it was taken from (142). Annibal did not execute the design of carrying away the column of gold, which was in the temple of this Juno (143). Pliny tells us, that the ashes which were left on the altar of this goddess, being exposed to all the violence of the weather, never moved from their place (144). Servius tells another miracle; if any one engraved his name upon the marble covering of this temple, the Letters vanished away when that man died. In hoc templo illud miraculum fuisse dicitur, ut si quis ferro in tegula templi, istius nomen incideret, tamdiu illa Scriptura maneret, quamdiu is homo viveret qui illud scripsisset (145). Livy speaks of another miracle, which is, that the beasts of every kind, that were consecrated to this goddess, fed on the meadows of the temple, without any one's keeping, and retired at night of themselves, being undisturbed either by wild-beasts or thieves. Læta in medio pascua habuit (Lucus) ubi omnis generis sacrum dea pasciebatur pecus sine ullo pastore: separatimque egressi cujusque generis greges, nocte remanebant ad stabula, nunquam infidituri ferarum non fraude violati bonum (146). He gives sufficient intimation, that he would not swear to the truth of it; and that the story of the unmoveable ashes had no greater certainty.

(141) See, below, citat. (152).

(142) Valer. Maximus, lib. i, cap. i.

(143) Cic. lib. i, de Divinat. See the article SILENIUS.

(144) In Lacinia Junonis ara sub dio sita, cinerem immobilem esse perstantibus undique procellis. Plin. lib. ii, cap. xvii. Valerius Maximus, lib. i, cap. viii, in Exempla. Extern. n. 18, says the same thing. See Livy hereunder.

(145) Servius, in Æneid. lib. iii, ver. 552.

(146) Livius, lib. xxi, cap. iii.

(147) Inclytum templum divitis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit. Id. ib. See also Strabo, lib. vi, pag. m. 180.

(148) Servius, ubi supra.

(149) In Valerius Maximus, published by Thyfius, pag. 27, they make Livy say, that the temple was in the town, in urbe nobile templum, ipsa urbe erat nobilior.

(150) Livius, ubi supra.

(151) Valer. Maximus, lib. i, cap. i, n. 20.

They almost always, says he, ascribe some miracles to such sort of places. Miracula aliqua assequuntur plebique tam insignibus locis. Fama est aram esse in vestibulo templi, cujus cinerem nullus unquam moveat ventus. No body understands this better than the Christian Monks. He adds, that this temple was famous, not only for it's holiness, but also for it's riches (147). It is no wonder, that there have been different opinions concerning the founder of this temple, and the occasion of it's foundation; for all people are inclined to invent a thousand pretty things on such matters. See Servius (148), who relates, amongst other opinions, that king Lacinus caused it to be built, in honour to Juno, because she hated Hercules, whom he had refused to lodge. But if these variations ought not to surprize us, we cannot however but wonder, that authors are not agreed about the situation of this building. Livy places it six miles from Crotona: 'Sex millia aberat ab urbe' (149) nobile templum ipsa urbe nobilior, Lacinia Junonis, sanctum omnibus circa populis (150). — Six miles from the city was a noble temple, more magnificent than the city itself; sacred, among all the neighbouring people, to Juno Lacinia. But Valerius Maximus says, it was at Locri, which is not the only point wherein he differs from Livy. His words are these: 'Q. Fulvius Flaccus impune non tulit quod in censura tegulas marces ex Junonis Lacinia templo in ædem Fortunæ Equestris, quam Romæ faciebat, transfudit. Negatur enim, post hoc factum, mente constitisse: quin etiam per summam ægritudinem animi expiravit, cum ex duobus filiis in Illyrico militantibus, alterum decessisse, alterum graviter audisset affectum. Cujus casu motus senatus tegulas illico Locros reportandas curavit: decretique circumspiciatissima sanctione impium opus censoris retexit (151). — Q. Fulvius Flaccus suffered, for that, in his censorship, he transferred the marble tiles from the temple of Juno Lacinia, into that of Fortuna Equestris, which he was building at Rome: for, after this action, they say he never enjoyed his senses; nay that he even died of extreme grief, bearing that of two sons, who served in Illyricum, the one was dead, and the other dangerously ill. The senate, moved with this action, ordered the tiles to be carried back to Locri, and, by the most cautious sanction of a decree, unravelled the censor's impious work.' I have followed this narrative above, as to the motive that engaged the senate to restore the marble covering of the temple; but I reserved to myself the right of rectifying things as there might be occasion, by Livy's account. You must therefore know,

that this grave historian observes, that the censor Fulvius Flaccus was extremely solicitous that the temple he built should, neither in magnificence nor extent, come behind any in Rome. He thought a marble roof would give great lustre to his edifice; for which reason he ordered half of the temple of Juno Lacinia to be uncovered (152), which was sufficient for his design. Having got that marble brought to Rome, he took care not to say what place they came from; nevertheless it was publicly known, which occasioned such murmurs, that the consuls were obliged to consult the senate upon that affair. The senate ordered Flaccus to come before them, and having suffered him to be exposed, for some time, to all sorts of bitter reproaches, they unanimously resolved, that the marble should be carried back to Juno's temple, and that the goddess should be appeased by what the ceremonies prescribed. Livy's words have so charmed me, that I am persuaded they will be very agreeable to the greatest part of my readers: the expression is admirable, and full of noble thoughts. 'Postquam censor rediit tegulæ expolitæ de navibus ad templum portabantur: quanquam unde essent fletatur, non tamen celari potuit: Premittis igitur in curia ortus est; ex omnibus partibus postulabatur, ut consules eam rem ad senatum referrent: Ut vero accersitus in curiam censor venit, multo infestius singuli univerique presertim lacerare: Templum augustissimum regionis ejus, quod non Pyrrhus, non Annibal violasset, violare parum habuisse, nisi detexisset sedem ac prope diruisset. Detrahit culmen templo, nudatum telum patere imbris putrefaciendum. Censorem moribus regendis creatum, cui sacra tellus exigere sacris publicis & loca tuenda more majorum traditum esset: eum per sociorum urbes diruentem templum, nudantemque tellus ædium sacrarum vagari, & quod, si in privati sociorum ædificiis faceret, indignum videri posset, id Deum immortalium templum demolientem facere, & obstringere religione populum Romanum, ruinis templorum templum ædificantem: tamquam non iidem ubique Dei immortales sint, sed spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique. Quum, priusquam referretur, appareret quid sentirent Patres: relatione facta in unam omnes sententiam ierunt, ut hæc tegulæ reportandæ in templum locarentur, piculariaque Junoni ferebant (153). — After the return of the censor, the tiles were carried from on ship-board to the temple; nor could it be kept a secret from whence they came. A murmur arose in the senate: it was on all sides demanded, that the consuls should lay the matter before the senate. But when the censor, being summoned, appeared, the whole assembly fell upon him with more rage. Was it not enough (they said) that he had made no scruple to violate the most august temple of that country, which both Pyrrhus and Hannibal had spared, but he must untile it, and almost demolish it: that the temple being uncovered, was exposed to the injuries of the weather; that a censor, created for presiding over the manners of the people, and to whom is committed, by the custom of our ancestors, the care of repairing and keeping up places of public worship; went up and down through the cities of the allies, demolishing and untiling their temples, and shewing that indignity to the temples of the immortal gods, which would be thought scandalous towards the houses of private persons: that he had laid a burthen on the consciences of the Roman people, building temples with the ruins of temples; as though the immortal gods were not the same every where, but some were to be worshipped and adorned with the spoils of others. The sentiments of the fathers appearing before the question was put, it was unanimously agreed, that the tiles should be carried back to the temple, and Juno appeased with offerings.' The decree of the senate was not executed in all it's parts; for they who were commissioned to see the roof repaired, reported, that no workman knew how to restore the marble pieces to their places, and so they were left in the court of the temple (154). Flaccus did not leave off building; he made an end of the temple, and consecrated it, and exhibited the Ludi Scenici for four days, and the Circenses one day (155). Here is a notable difference betwixt Livy and Valerius Maximus, which

(152) Prefectus in Bructis, ædem Junonis Lacinia ad partem dimidiam detegit, si satis fore ratus ad tegendum quod ædificaretur. Tit. Livius, lib. xlii, init. cap. iii, pag. m. 809. This is the reason why I said above, after Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. lib. vi, cap. xvi, that the temple of Juno Lacinia was twice as large as the largest temple in Rome.

(153) Livius, ibid.

(154) Quæ ad religionem pertinebant cum cura facta: tegulæ relictæ in arce templi, quia reportandarum ædium artificum rationem pertinebat, redempturæ non erant. Id. ibid.

(155) Fulvius ædem Fortunæ Equestris, quam Proconful in Hispania ultimam cum Celtiberorum legionibus voverat, annis sex postquam voverat, dedicavit, & senatus populi per quintiduum, unum diem in aëre fecit. Id. ibid.

I would gladly know whether any of the wise men among the heathens took notice of a thing, which methinks was not difficult to observe, which is, that no body did partake less of a happy life, a state most essential to the divine nature (*n*), than the greatest of the goddesses. We can scarce conceive a more miserable condition than that of Juno. I do not consider the character of her employments, though they were very toilsome and unpleasant [*Z*], and have given just occasion to turn the Theological system

(*n*) *Quæ nobis natura informationem Deorum ipsorum dedit, eadem inculpsit in mentibus ut eos æternos & beatos haberemus. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. i, cap. xviii. See also Aristotle, de Repub. lib. vii, cap. i, pag. m. 321. E. See also the remark [N], of the article SPINOZA, num. V.*

which shews that the latter has done a great injury to the Roman senate; he supposes, that they never thought of repairing the damage, till they had seen the prodigious vengeance that heaven had inflicted on the censor Flaccus. But Livy informs us, that the senate performed that pious and just action, upon the bare consideration of the fact; and before they saw any sign of the divine indignation. He does not deny the miserable end of the censor: nay, he represents it more tragical than Valerius Maximus; for he says, that Fulvius Flaccus hanged himself, and he adds, that it was said amongst the people, that Juno had deprived him of his senses. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus pontifex qui priore anno fuerat censor . . . fœda morte periit. Ex duobus filiis ejus qui tum in Illyrico militabant, nunciatum alterum decessisse, alterum gravi & periculoso morbo ægrum esse. Obruit animum simul luctus, metusque: mane ingressi cubiculum servi, laqueo dependentem invenerunt. Erat opinio, post censuram minus compotem fuisse sui: vulgo Junonis Lacinie iram ob spoliatum templum alienasse mentem ferebant (156).* What concerns the taking away of the marble covering from Juno's temple, is said to have happened the 579th year of Rome.

[*Z*] *The character of her employments, tho' they were very toilsome and unpleasant.* She had the superintendence of marriages, and their consequences. See Virgil's commentators upon these words:

Mañant lectas de more bidentis,
Legiferæ Cereri, Phœboque patrique Lyæo:
Juno ante omnes, cui VINCLA JUGALIA
CURAE (157).

*Selected victims, with accustom'd rites,
To Ceres law-giver, and Phœbus bleed,
And father Bacchus, but above the rest
To Juno, who presides o'er nuptial beds.*

TRAPP.

They mention a hundred such like passages, and the epithets *pronuba, jugalis, ζῦγια, γαμνλία, παράνομφος, &c.* which were given to Jupiter's wife, because she presided over matrimonial engagements. See the following remark. This employment required great pains; the particulars of it were innumerable, and it was very difficult to perform it to her honour. If the business had been only to make matches, the difficulties would not have been so considerable: the disposition of the subjects, and the inclination of nature, might have saved the director-general a great deal of pains; but a goddess of the first rank was engaged by the interests of her reputation and glory, to see that people should marry well: I mean, that the sorting of conditions and humours should form an indissoluble bond of affection and concord, and therefore all marriages that were ill suited and unlucky, could not but give her a great deal of trouble, as being so many blots to her reputation, and just occasions of reproaching her, that the pains they had taken to invoke and worship her, on the wedding-day, were all lost labour. All those who had a mind to abuse her, had a fair opportunity; for, in short, either she did all she could to procure happy marriages, or she did not. If she did, there was reason to conclude, she was very unfortunate, since she had an employment, which exhausted all her strength and industry; and yet she could not avoid being unsuccessful on a thousand occasions. That vast number of experiments, which shewed the uselessness of her pains, was a proof either that she had a subject to labour on that was very difficult, or that her power was very inconsiderable. In the first case, her misfortune, and the deplorable cruelty of her fate, or else her imprudence, were manifest;

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for if she was not not at liberty to lay down her employment, in which doing her best, she could not prevent ill success on a thousand occasions, her fate was to be pitied. But if she might have resigned her office, and yet obstinately continued in it, she wanted judgment and prudence (158), and maintained herself unjustly in a function which exceeded her strength, and which she discharged to her dishonour. It had been a poor excuse to say, that her good designs were thwarted by the capriciousness of another goddess.

Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas, atque animos sub juga ahenea
Sævo mittere cum joco (159).

*So Venus will'd, who binds in love's hard chains
Unequal forms and minds, and laughs at all their
pains.*

This had been to confess the limitation and dependance of her power, a mortifying confession, beyond all that can be imagined for a goddess so haughty as Juno was. This was what might be said, supposing that she discharged her duty to the best of her power; but if it had been supposed, that she could have succeeded better, she would have been looked upon as guilty of extreme negligence, or malice, and consequently, as most unworthy of the honours that were paid her, and of the dignity she was invested with. These are reflexions, which the Heathens should have made. Now the result of these thoughts is to determine, that her condition was very unhappy, whether by reason of the great pains her employment required, or because of the ill success they were attended with. Her dignity and her sex, made her wonderfully sensible of contempt and disgrace; and we cannot imagine, but she had sense enough not to be ignorant of what may be said against her administration, and to believe that the other gods reflected upon her (160), and that if they had the complaisance not to do it to her face, or not to tell her what was said of her, they would not fail to asperse her behind her back, or at least to think meanly of her. There needs no more to vex one that is touchy, ambitious, and proud: if he is sensible that his faults are known to others, that is enough to disquiet him.

All the reflexions I have produced might have been made with respect to Juno, as she presided over child-births. What a trouble was this! it was the way not to be at rest one moment, and to be obliged to work in a thousand places at once. This office is subject to many unpleasant accidents. The industry of the best Surgeons does not hinder many children that come across, some one way, and some another, from dying with their mothers. These misfortunes were so many subjects of reproach for the censurers of Juno, who had been vainly invoked under particular and specific names, according to the exigency of the case (161). I know that it may be maintained with great probability, that all the deities who presided over marriages, child-births, &c. ought not to be reduced to her alone, under different names; but on the other side, it is very likely, that all the other deities ought to be looked upon as the substitutes of the superintendant-general: whence it follows, that the disorders might be well placed to the account of the goddess Juno, as the bad administration of governors of provinces is imputed to the sovereign, when he does not give a remedy for it. Besides her having so many substitutes shew, that Juno's employment was thought too painful. Now all these ideas will make one form a disadvantageous judgment of her. Add to all this, that two of the most glorious functions of this goddess's office were taken from her: for the care of reconciling married persons

(158) *Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est. Horat. Epist. vii, lib. i, ver. ult.*

(159) *Horat. Ode xxxiii, lib. i.*

(160) *The Heathens believed that jealousies, quarrels, divisions, and such like disorders happened among the gods.*

(161) *See the remark [H].*

system of the Heathens into ridicule [AA]. I consider the necessity she found herself reduced to, of persecuting the mistresses and bastards of her husband, to seek some relief for the jealousy that devoured her. She was as much possessed with this passion as could be expected from that haughty and imperious humour, which her quality of sister and wife of the greatest of the gods inspired her with. This sensibility rendered her torment more insupportable, and put her in a continual hurry to procure to herself the pleasure of revenge. She omitted nothing to obtain it, and gave herself no rest; but she never had the satisfaction of a full and entire success [BB]. She was always to begin again. We must not

not

(162) See Valer. Maximus, lib. ii. cap. i. n. 6, pag. m. 135.

(163) See Ovid. Fastor. lib. iv. pag. m. 74.

(164) At the beginning of the remark [Z].

(165) Du Boulay, Thesor des Antiquitez Romaines, pag. 149, 150.

(166) Mart. Capella de Nuptiis Philologie, lib. ii. pag. m. 37, 38.

(167) Here is a passage of Festus Pompeius, pag. xxxv. Cinxie Junonis nomen sanctum habebatur in nuptiis, quod initio conjugii solutio erat cinguli quo nova nupta erat cincta.

(168) Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. vi. cap. ix. pag. m. 599.

(169) St. Augustin had been saying, that some did as guard the women lying in, lest the god Sylvanus should come and torment them. Mulieri factæ post partum tres Deos custodios commemorant (Varro) adhiberi, ne Sylvanus Deus per noctem ingredietur & vexet.

sons was committed to another deity, named Viriplaca (162); and the care of the conversion of those women, who had not by their chaste conduct deserved their husbands' affection, was committed to Venus Verticordia (163). What an affront was it to Juno to have her superintendence of marriages thus diminished?

[AA] and have given just occasion to turn the Theological system of the Heathens into ridicule.] The surnames of Pronuba, Jugalis, &c. which may be seen above (164), were not the only ones that were proper to Juno, as she presided over marriages; she had also particular surnames grounded upon her presiding over the conduct of new brides, over their husbands' houses and over the union, which the bride made upon the posts of her husband's door and because she helped the husband to untie the Zona virginialis (165). You will find those surnames in the Latin words taken from a prayer that was made to Juno (166): *Interducam, or Iterducam, & Domiducam, Unxiam, Cinxiam* (167) *mortales puellæ debent in nuptias convocare, ut earum & itinera protegas, & in opatas domos ducas, & cum posses ungent, saustum omen affigas, & singulum ponentes in thalamis non relinquant.* It was not expected, that she should stop at the door of the nuptial chamber, but her assistance was also begged in the nuptial bed, where she came under the title of *Dea mater Prema*, and *Dea Pertunda*, accompanied with *Deus pater Subigus*. Upon this St. Augustin has ridiculed Heathenism; and as it was very difficult to use only grave considerations, upon such a subject, he has shewn the impertinence of it in very free terms. 'Cum mas & femina conjunguntur, adhibetur deus Jugalitus.' Sit hoc ferendum. Sed momum est ducenda, quæ nubit, adhibetur deus Domiducus. Ut maneat cum viro, additur dea Manturna. Quid ultra queritur? Parcatur humanæ verecundiæ: peragat cætera concupiscentia carnis & sanguinis procurato secreto pudoris. Quid impletur cubiculum turba naminum: quando & paranymphe inde discedunt? Et ad hoc impletur, non ut eorum præsentia cogitata major sit cura pudicitiae, sed ut feminae sexu infirmæ novitate pavide, illis cooperantibus sine ulla difficultate virginitas auferatur. Adest enim dea Virginensis, & deus pater Subigus, & dea mater Prema, & dea Pertunda, & Venus, & Priapus. Quid est hoc? Si omnino laborantem in illo opere virum ab diis adjuvari oportebat: non sufficiebat aliquis unus, aut aliqua una. Nunquid Venus sola parum esset, quæ ob hoc etiam dicitur nuncupata, quod sine ejus vi femina virgo esse non desinat? Si ulla est frons in hominibus, quæ non est in naminibus? Nonne cum credunt conjugati tot deos utriusque sexus præsentibus, & huic operi instantibus, ita pudore afficiuntur, ut & ille minus moveatur, & illa plus reluctetur? Et certe si adest Virginensis dea, ut virginis zona solvatur: si adest deus Subigus, ut viro subigatur: si adest dea Prema, ut subacta ne se commoveat, prematur, dea Pertunda ibi quid facit? Erubescat, eat foras, agat aliquid & maritus. Valde inhonestum est, ut quod vocatur illa, impleat quisquam nisi ille. Sed forte ideo toleratur, quia dea dicitur esse, non deus. Nam si masculus crederetur, & Pertundus vocaretur, majus contra eum pro uxoris pudicitia posceret, maritus auxilium, quàm Foeta contra Silvanum (169). Sed quid hoc dicam, cum ibi sit & Priapus nimis masculus, super cujus immanissimum & turpissimum fascinum sedere nova nupta jubebatur more honestissimo & religiosissimo matronarum? These objections are very strong, and I cannot conceive how the best apologists for the Pagan religion could have eluded them. The censure that St. Augustin grounds upon the unnecessary multiplication of beings, was alone sufficient to confound them. What a diffidence of human strength was it believe that Venus stood in need of three or four other deities? We only conceive that an apologist

might have answered, that St. Augustin was to blame for reproaching as a thing useless, and which left nothing for the husband to do, the joining of the goddesses *Pertunda* to the goddesses *mater Prema*; for according to that Theology, the one was not less or more necessary than the other, and neither of them excluded the operation of the married couple. There was then a little want of exactness in this part of St. Augustin's objections. The common answer of the Heathens at that time was perhaps to say, that the objected multiplication, was only a multiplication of the names of the same deity. A poor answer, for the books of the ancient Heathens afforded the confutation of it.

Note, by the by, that the Philosophers who undertook to answer the Christian doctors, were very much to be pitied. They bore the punishment of the folly of others: the ancient priests had committed the fault, by ridiculously transplanting the fictions of the Poets into the public worship; and the Philosophers many ages after were forced to bear the shame of all these popperies, and to torment themselves to put by the thrusts, that pierced them through. If those who framed so absurd a worship, had had as dexterous and powerful adversaries as St. Augustin was, they would have been circumspect, and not have given such a free scope to their impostures: this is a disadvantage of the unity of religion. It must be confessed that the diversity of religions, has its inconveniencies, and even such as are dangerous; but then it prevents the progress of corruption, and makes each party more cautious.

[BB] *Her jealousy . . . put her in a continual hurry to procure to herself the pleasures of revenge . . . but she never had the satisfaction of a full and entire success.* Consider the journey she took from heaven to earth, upon suspicion that a cloud which she discovered, might probably be the canopy under which her unfaithful husband sported with some damsel. She was not mistaken, Jupiter was then in the arms of Io. He converted her into a heifer, that his wife might not surprize him in the fact. Juno begged the heifer, and set Argus to watch her, and afterwards she tormented her with a fury that made her run over all the earth; and at last she was forced to suffer Io to resume her former shape, and to become the goddess Isis (170). Consider also the supplications Juno made to Tethys and Oceanus, when she saw the same Calisto among the stars, whom she had changed into a bear. She had used the utmost violence against this mistress of Jupiter; she took her by the hair of her head, and threw her upon the ground (171). But let us hear her monelous complaints. Nothing can be more lamentable: she is afraid that hereafter she shall be continually affronted; since the efforts she makes to revenge herself, terminate only in the glory of her enemies.

Est verò, cur quis Junonem ledere nolit, Offensamque tremat, quæ profum sola nocendo? O ego quantum egi! quàm valsa potentia nostra est! Esse hominem vetui; facta est Dea: sic ego pœnas Sontibus impono: sic est mea magna potestas (172).

Who now can fear immortal Juno's hate?
Alas! I hurt not, but advance their fate.
My baffled pow'r must to a strumpet bow:
A brute I made her; she's a goddess now.
'Tis thus I punish, thus exert my pow'r.

She was once so overwhelmed with grief, because she could not revenge her self, that she made a voyage to the bottom of hell, to demand the assistance of the three furies.

A REFLECTION upon the fate of the Philosophers, who were obliged to write in vindication of Paganism, and upon an inconsistency arising from the unity of religion.

(170) See Ovid in the second book of the Metamorphosis.

(171) Arctophron prenis à fronte capillis Stravit humi per nam. Ovid. Metam. lib. ii. vers. 477.

(172) Id. ibid. ver. 519.

Nil

not reckon among the least of her disgraces, the misfortune she had to lose her cause in

(173) Id. *ibid.*
lib. iv, ver. 426.
Nil poterit Juno, nisi inultos flere dolores?
Idque mihi fatis est; Hæc una potentia nostra est (173)?

*Are tears the injur'd Juno's sole relief?
No remedy but this for all my grief?*

Sustinet ire illac, cœlesti fede relicta,
(Tantum odii iræque dabat) Saturnia Juno.
Quò simul intravit, sacroque à corpore pressum
Intremuit limen; tria Cerberus extulit ora,
Et tres latratus simul edidit. Illa sorores
Nocte vocat genitas, grave & implacabile numen (174).

(174) *ibid.* ver.
447.

*Thither she hastes, from heaven's æthereal gate:
(Such is the force of anger and of hate)
Where, as she enter'd, and the threshold press'd,
The portal trembled at the heavenly guest:
Grim Cerberus wide his triple jaws extends,
And the dark vault with tripling barking rends.
She calls the dreary sisters, and implores
Th' implacable, and unrelenting powers.*

(175) Others call her *Ætna*.
If she ever had any reason to be satisfied, it was when she persecuted the nymph Thalia (175), whom Jupiter had got with child. The only way that was left for this nymph to escape, was to be swallowed up in the bowels of the earth; but when the term was expired, the two children, that she was big with, came out of the earth, and became afterwards two famous deities (176), which had a wonderful veneration paid them (177); and so Juno's joy was but very short. She shewed herself such an inexorable persecutor of Hercules, that Porphyrius has compared her to the most wicked devils, that persecute good men. Τὸς γὰρ Δαίμονας διαγράφων τῷ λόγῳ (ὁ Πορφύριος) λέγει πρὸς τοὺς φαυλοτάτους Δαίμονας τοὺς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι λόγους καὶ ἐνέδρας καθίζων, καὶ ἐξαίρων ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καθάπερ ἡ Ἥρα τῇ Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἡρακλῆϊ. Dæmones enim oratione describens (Porphyrius) alicubi ait: pessimos Dæmonas bonis viris insidias est pericula tendere, exque eos insidiis aggeredi, ut Juno scilicet Baccho atque Herculi (178). What did she get by it? Nothing but toil, disgrace, and confusion. She complained of it on the stage, in such a manner as was able to soften the hardest hearts. Read these verses of Seneca; in which she declares, that she is resolved to leave heaven, seeing the multitude of the concubines and bastards of her husband. She expects to see Hercules ascend thither, whom she so often attempted to ruin, and who by that means made himself immortal.

(176) They were called *Palici*.

(177) See Servius, in *Æneid.* lib. ix, ver. 585. Lutatius, in *Statium*, *Theb.* lib. xii, ver. 157. Macrobius, *Saturn.* lib. v, cap. xix.

(178) *Æneas* Guæzo, in *Theophrasto*, pag. m. 43.

Soror Tonantis (hoc enim solum mihi
Nomen relictum est) semper alienum Jovem,
Ac templa summi vidua deserui ætheris;
Locumque, cœlo pulsa, pellicibus dedi.

(179) Seneca, in *Hercule Furiente*, ver. i.
Tellus colenda est: pelliceæ cœlum tenent (179).

Non sic abibunt odia, vivaces aget
Violentus iras animos, & sævus dolor
Æterna bella pace sublata geret.
Quid bella? quidquid horridum tellus creat
Inimica; quidquid pontus aut ær tulit
Terribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum;
Fractum atque domitum est, superat, & crescit
malis;
Iraque nostra fruitur: in laudes suas
Mea vertit odia, dum nimis sæva impero,
Patrem probavi: gloriæ feci locum (180).

(180) Id. ver. 27.

*Sister of Jove (that name alone is left me)
Exil'd from heav'n, I fly the cruel god,
Desert the widow'd temples of the skies,
And yield my throne to barlots: earth, receive me,
Since vobres command in heav'n, and rule the skies.*

*Yet shall not here my keen resentment cease,
But my loud griefs shall wage eternal wars . . .
What wars? . . . what's ere of horrid, dreadful, dire,
Of pestilent, and fierce, earth, sea, and air
Create, is broken and subdued by Jove:
The cruel conqueror enjoys my rage;
My hatred serves but to encrease his fame,
And my fierce rule but added to his glory.*

The satisfaction of seeing the ruin of Troy, was but an inconsiderable consolation for the torments she had suffered, during the long resistance of the Trojans; and she quickly found herself obliged to undergo new fatigues in persecuting Æneas, and preventing his landing in Italy. She left no stone unturned; she went to Æolus to beg a tempest of him; she cajoled him, humbled herself before him (181). Another time she placed herself upon a cold cloud (182), and exposed herself to the injuries of the air, during a battle between the party she protected, and the party she hated. This was lost labour. Read what despair made her say, before she had recourse to Æolus.

(181) Virgil.
Æn. lib. i.

(182) Quæ spe
gelidis in nobilibus
heres? Virgil.
Æn. lib. xii,
ver. 796.
N. c. tu me aëria
solum nunc sede
videres
Digna indigna
pati. . . . Id. *ib.*
ver. 810.

Cum Juno æternum servans sub pectore vulnus,
Hæc secum: Me ne incepto desilire victam?
Nec posse Italiâ Teucrorum avertere regem?
Quippe vector fatis. Pallas exurere classem
Argivum, atque ipsos potuit submergere Ponto,
Unius ob noxam, & furias Ajacis Oilci (183)?

(183) Virgil.
Æn. lib. i, ver.
3.

Ast ego, quæ divum incedo regina, Jovisque
Et soror, & conjux, unâ cum gente tot annos
Bella gero; & quisquam numen Junonis adoret
Præterea? Aut supplex aris imponat honorem (184)? (184) Id. ver. 46.

*When Juno in her breast,
Vindictive, feeding an eternal wound,
Thus with herself. And must I then desist
Baffled? Nor can I back from Latium turn
This Trojan prince? Belike the fates forbid.
Could Pallas drown the Greeks, and burn their fleet,
For Ajax' phrenzy? . . .
But I, the queen
Of gods, the sister and the wife of Jove,
With this one race so many years make war.
And who will Juno's deity adore
Henceforth? or honour on my altars lay.*

TRAPP.

This is but a specimen of the history of this goddess; but it is sufficient to shew that the heathens should have looked upon her, as one of the most unhappy persons that ever was in the world, and fit to be propoed as a picture of extreme misery, as Prometheus on mount Caucasus, Sisyphus, Ixion, Tantalus, the Danaïdes, and the rest of the great sinners delivered over to infernal punishments. There is nothing more true, than what Horace said, that the most cruel tyrants have not been able to invent a more intolerable rack than envy (185): Which more especially agrees to the jealousy of marriage. What is it then, when joined with continual fatigues in the pursuit of an unsuccessful revenge? a natural immortality does not sweeten the bitterness of this sad condition, but rather increases it; for the hopes that death will put an end to our pain and grief is a consolation.

(185) Invidius
alterius maceris
rebus opimis.
Invidia Siculi
non invenire ty-
ranni
Majus tormen-
tum. Horat.
Epist. ii, lib. i,
ver. 57.

Nec finire licet tantos mihi morte dolores,
Sed nocet esse Deum, præclusaque janua lethi
Æternum nostros luctus extendit in ævum (186).

(186) Ovid.
Metam. lib. i,
ver. 651.

*It is my curse that I must never dye,
But drag a wretched immortality:*

The

in a dispute concerning beauty [CC]: the resentment she expressed for the affront which she thought she had received from Paris, the judge of that trial, was very violent, and attended with a thousand fatigues and many afflictions. This doubtless was a more smarting wound than that of the three pointed arrow, which she received from Hercules

*The gate of death is shut against my woe,
And thro' eternity my griefs must flow.*

The pompous title of queen of heaven, the sitting upon a fine throne, with a sceptre in the hand, and a diadem on the head, is all insignificant to the inward distempers of the soul. Nay, a person is more sensible of these misfortunes, when in the highest posts and dignities. We may say at least that discontent is like a fever, which is not more easily cured in a good bed than upon straw.

(137) Lucret.
lib. ii, ver. 34.

*Nec calidæ citius decedunt corpore febres
Textilibus si in picturis, ostroque rubenti
Jactaris, quam si plebeja in veste cubandus sit* (187).

*Nor sooner health is to the rich restor'd,
In pomp extended on a silken bed,
Than to the lab'rer on his humble couch.*

It is not riches that can drive away a fever, or the uneasiness of the mind.

(183) Horat.
Epist. ii, lib. I,
ver. 47.

*Non domus, & fundus, non æris acervus, & auri
Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas* (188).

*'Tis not in house, or farm, or heaps of gold,
To cure a fever in the owner's blood,
Or heal his cares.*

Note, that if the Heathens did not make the reflexions, which I have set forth in the preceding remark and in this, they are wholly inexcusable: for it was not only by the poets that they were informed of this unhappy life of Juno: the public worship had adopted those stories, and monuments were found of them in their temples; the consecrated statues, the pictures of devotion, those objects which are called the books of the ignorant, informed every body of the jealousies of this goddess, &c.

[CC] *The misfortune she had to lose her cause in a dispute concerning beauty.* Minerva and Venus were her two competitors. Every body knows that Jupiter (189), not willing to sit as judge in so nice a trial, ordered these three goddesses to be conducted to mount Ida, in order to plead their cause there, and that Paris should decide the dispute. Juno dressed her self as splendidly as was possible, and made great promises to Paris in case he adjudged the apple to her, which was to be the lot of the greatest beauty. Minerva and Venus did their best both in dressing themselves, and promising rewards to their judge. The trouble of tricking up themselves, and making speeches, was all to no purpose: Paris declared, that he would see them all naked before he pronounced his judgment.

(189) See Lucian,
in *Deorum Judici-
cio*, pag. m. 161.
Tom. I, Oper.

Car vostre discord gît à vos formozitez,
De contempler vos corps, vos naïves beautez,
Prudemment discerner le choix, l'équipolance,
Laquelle est la plus belle in face, & corpulance.
Les Déessees alors eurent timidité,
Parce qu'il leur falloît monstrier leur nudité.
Toutesfois à l'ombrage un peu se retirèrent,
En lieu d'une antichambre, ou se deshabillerent
A part l'une de l'autre, ou leurs Nymphes avoient
Qui honorablement en cela les servoient.
Quand eurent defublé escoffions & guimpes,
Leurs couronnes tourets, destaché leurs espingles,
Morriion & chapeaux, ceintures, fermaillets,
Chefnes, bagues, carquans, bullettes, bracelets,
Robes, & cotillons, leurs manteaux & cuirace,
Leurs habits pleins d'odeurs, de tresgrande efficace.

Toutesfois retenoient leurs escarpins dorez,
Bravement enrichis decoupez & ouvrez,
De peur que l'aigu bout des pointues herbettes
Leurs plantes n'offensât fort tendres & douillettes.
Ainsi nues estant toutes trois vont marcher
Devant le beau Paris, & droit si vont ranger (190).

*Your quarrel from your beauties doth arise:
To guide my choice, your native charms display,
That I may weigh them in an equal scale.
Fear seiz'd the goddesses, compell'd to show
Their naked charms: together they retir'd,
And, in the covert of a shady bower,
Disrob'd, assist'd by th' attendant nymphs.
And now each part of dress was laid aside,
Girdles untied, and ev'ry pin pull'd out.
Head-cloaths, and stomachers, bracelets and rings,
Gowns, petticoats, and mantles, all persum'd
And breathing heav'nly odour, lay confus'd.
Their slippers, richly gilded, they retain'd,
To guard their feet against the pointed thorns.
Thus, naked, before Paris they appear,
March in his sight, and ev'ry charm disclose.*

The French poet who gives us this description, forgets a very material thing, which is, that these three goddesses washed their bodies in a fountain. Euripides tells us this particular (191), and there are some epigrams on it in the Anthologia (192). Juno must therefore submit to very disagreeable conditions; for after all, she made profession of modesty, she was grave and majestical, she knew how to maintain her rank, and yet she found her self obliged to shew her self naked before a mortal: and the worst of it was, that another appeared handfomer to the judge, and Venus obtained the golden apple. He did not make it appear, that he found any reason of preference in the face or shape of these three litigants: on the contrary, he declared, that whilst he saw them dress, he thought them equally handsome. Having then pronounced against Juno, after comparing what their cloaths concealed, it was a sign he discovered in her some notable imperfections. This might at least be suspected, and it could not but be a terrible mortification to this goddess (193). This was enough to make her mad. I wonder that Lucian has not bestowed some of his biting wit upon it in his dialogue about the judgment of Paris. See the margin (194). Our Scarron has not been so discreet, see how he jests in the first book of his *Virgile travesti*:

Ce que craignant la bonne Dame (195),
Et gardant encor en son ame
Le beau jugement de Paris,
Et l'insupportable mépris,
Qu'en faveur de Venus la belle
Il eût pour Pallas & pour elle,
Outre qu'il avoit revelé,
(Heureux s'il n'eût jamais parlé)
Qu'elle avoit trop longue mamelle,
Et trop long poil dessous l'aiselle,
Et pour Dame de qualité
Le genoüil un peu trop croté:

*This the good ay fear'd, we find,
And still preserving in her mind
The sight, which Paris put upon her,
And haughty Pallas' injur'd honour,
When he adjudg'd the queen of love
The golden prize, for which they strove:
Besides, that Paris had revealed;
A secret, he shou'd have conceal'd;*

(190) Christopher
Duffras, Esq.
lord of the Ja-
ziere, and of the
Chobstanterie,
near Nyort in
Pacifica, bold si-
of his Histories
des Portes, lib.
22, verso,
printed at Niort,
1595. He only
puts here into
the Mouth of
Belges had said a
gross. Mithras
de Gaulle, lib. i,
cap. xxxiii, pag.
308.

(191) Eurip. in
Helenæ ver. 614,
& in Andromachæ
ver. 253.

(192) In the
eleventh chapter
of the fourth book
pag. m. 745.
746.

(193) See, above,
citat. (181), of
the article HEN-
RY III.

(194) Lucian, in
Deor. Dial. pag.
514, Tom. I,
did not forget to
introduce Jove
saying, that
Diana recovered
herself on seeing
for no other rea-
son, but because
she was afraid
he would divulge
the mortification
he had discover'd,
when he saw her
naked.

(195) Thus,
Jove.

Hercules in her right breast (o). It has been said, that after the consummation of her marriage, she washed herself in a fountain situated betwixt Tigris and Euphrates, and that from that time the waters of that fountain had a most agreeable smell, which perfumed the Air round about it [DD]. Juno was handsome, and for that reason Jupiter's

(o) See Homer, *Iliad*. lib. v. ver. 392, & seq. who says, it was a very painful wound. Τὴν αὖ μιν ἀνήμερον λάβει δάγας. Tunc ipsam gravissimus occupavit dolor.

That Juno's breasts hung down too far,
Had near her arm-pits too much hair,
And, for a dame of quality,
Was not so clean about the knee.

An author, who flourished in the beginning of the XVth century, pretends, that Juno did not appear quite naked. *She and Minerva, says he, (196) being surprized with shame, and not willing to do it, answered not a word, when it was signified to them, that they must be at the pains of putting off their noble robes, since the dispute lay in a comparison of the beauty of their divine bodies, and in a prudent distinction of the preference of their illustrious members. But Venus the boldest of them, said, that things were gone so far, that there was no denying of it, and began to untie her girdle. 'Then Juno seeing this said, 'certainly, Lady Venus, we have no mind to refuse it, for fear of being baffled: but I think it is indecent for immortal and chaste goddesses; for Pallas who is a maid, and for me, who am the wife of a king and emperor, to shew ourselves naked to any mortal man, as little account as you make of it, as being used to keep company with men. But however since it must be done, we will not be the last' (197) Queen Juno full of a maternal gravity, and modesty, kept on none of all her ornaments; only she took a fine handkerchief, long, broad and thin, all hemmed with gold and silk fringes, with which one of her nymphs was decked. And she put it upon her left shoulder hanging like a scarf, and tied in a knot upon her right side. And because the ends fluttering in the air flew up whether she would or no, by her motion, she held one of her hands upon her breast, and the other lower.' I believe this is a mere fiction of this author. Lucian insinuates nothing like it. However it be, Juno expressed an extreme repentment for the desperate affront that she thought her judge had put upon her. This was a wound that bled for a long time, and disquieted her mind all the rest of her life.*

Nec dum etiam causæ irarum ævique dolores
Exciderant animo: manet alta mente repositum
Judicium Paradisi, spretæque injuria formæ (198).

Nor were as yet the causes of her rage,
And keen resentments, by her restless soul
Forgotten: deep within her bosom lay
The judgment giv'n by Paris, and th' affront
Of her scorn'd beauty.

TRAPP.

I shall observe, by the by, that Macrobius is mistaken in one of the differences he mentions betwixt Virgil and Homer. These are his words: 'Nullum commemorationem de judicio Paradisi Homerus admittit: idem vates Ganymedem non ut Junonis pelicem à Jove raptum, sed Jovialium poculorum ministrum in cœlum à diis ascitum refert, velut Ἰσοπεπτός. Virgilius tantum deam, quod cuius de honestis feminæ deforme est, velut speciem victimæ Paride judicante doluisse, & propter catamiti pellicarum totam gentem ejus vexasse commemorat (199).' It is certain that Homer has mentioned Paris's judgment, and assigned it as the cause of Juno's implacable anger against the Trojans (200): it is not therefore true, as Macrobius pretends, that Virgil has departed from Homer upon this point. It would signify nothing here to say, that Euripides (201), and Coluthus (202) have mentioned the same judgment of Paris.

[DD] *She washed herself in a fountain and that from that time the waters of that fountain had a most agreeable smell.* Ælian has preserved this

story. He says (203), that this fountain was transparent to the bottom, and that the inhabitants of the country, and the Syrians also, had among them the tradition just mentioned, and attributed to it the agreeable smell that was all round the place. Ἐξ οὗν ὁ χάρος εὐωδίας ἀναπτύσσει, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀέρ χύκλῳ ταύτῃ κίεῖται. Unde locus etiamnum suæ odorem spiret qui in vicinum etiam aërem circumquaque distribuitur (204). This shews the character both of a superstitious and fabulous spirit. People are easily led to derive from a celestial origin all the singular properties that are found in certain places of the world: and as the heathens suffered themselves to be abused with a chimerical, and foolish tradition of the amours and marriages of the gods, they believed that Juno, being willing to wash her body the next day after her wedding, chose a very clear fountain, and left there some marks of her presence. Note, that according to Turnebus, they fancied that the divine beings made themselves known by their smell (205).

Omnia finierat: tænes secessit in auras.
Manit odor: posses scire fuisse Deam (206).

She spoke no more, and vanish'd in the wind;
The heavenly fragrance, she left behind,
Betray'd the goddess.

This is what Ovid says, speaking of Flora, and here follows what Virgil says, speaking of Venus.

Dixit, & avertens roseæ cervicæ refulsit,
Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
Spirare (207).

She said, and, as she turn'd, her rosy neck
Shone bright: her hair a fragrance divine
Ambrosial breath'd.

TRAPP.

John le Maire de Belges follows this opinion: for he affirms (208), that all terrestrial beings kept silence and expressed a respectful admiration; during the appearance of the divine bodies (209), which had already perfumed the circumambient air with their fragrant, divine, and ambrosial odour. The Heathens would have easily believed that the spittle, &c. of the gods, was rose-water at least. Balzac (210) observes, that the Poet *Furius makes Jupiter spit snow* (211); and that another Poet makes *Nectar enough to proceed from him to form the rivers of the golden age*. Balzac adds, 'that he whom Matthieu's history names the Chrysolom of France, said, preaching before the late king Henry the Great: *Sir, though your majesty shed pearls instead of tears, and spit emeralds, though rubies and diamonds proceeded from you whenever you sneeze and blow your nose, &c.*' It would not have been difficult to persuade the Heathens, that the gods actually did all this. Thus children are made to believe that Urganda, for example, or some other fairy, getting her head combed, and asking *what is it that falls from my head?* heard with pleasure this answer, *gold and silver*. Most of those who believe this in their infancy, would believe it all their lives, if they were not undeceived when they are grown up, or if they saw that these things were the common opinion in matter of faith. There are many natural properties, which the traditions of the Christian people attribute to miraculous causes, as the Heathens attributed to Juno the fragrance of the fountain before mentioned. Behold, said one to me one day, that little tract of land where the grass is so pale: it was that way a martyr went, when he was led from the prison to the place of execution. All the way he went bears the marks of it ever since. The wheat, the grass, whatever is sown there has a tincture of it, and never acquires the verdure which you see on the right and on the left.

8 A

There

(196) John le Maire de Belges, Illustrations de Gaule, & singulière de Troie, livr. i. chap. xxxiii, pag. 108. Lyons, 1549, in fol.

(197) Id. ibid. pag. 109.

(198) Virgil. Æneid. lib. i. ver. 25. See also the 36th verse of the same book, cum Juno æternum servans sub pectore vulnus.

(199) Macrobius. Saturn. lib. v. cap. xvi, pag. m. 407.

(200) Homer. Iliad. lib. ult. ver. 25, & seq.

(201) Eurip. in Troadibus, ver. 924, & in Helena, ver. 23.

(202) Coluthus and that from that time the waters of that fountain had a most agreeable smell.] Ælian has preserved this

(203) Ælian. Histor. Animal. lib. xii, cap. xxx.

(204) Id. ibid.

(205) Turneb. Advers. lib. xxx, cap. xxxix. I am not very well satisfied with the proofs he alludes to, viz. the passage of Virgil, and that of Ovid, which I have set down.

(206) Ovid. Fastor. lib. v, ver. 375.

(207) Virgil. Æneid. lib. i, ver. 402.

(208) That is, of John le Maire de Belges, ubi supra, pag. 109.

(209) That is, of John le Maire de Belges, ubi supra, pag. 109. See the remark [HH] of the article MAHOMET, what the followers of that false prophet say of his sweat.

(211) Jupiter hi-bernas cana nive conspuat Alpes.

Jupiter's adulteries may be said to be the more inexcusable [EE]. It would be meer wrangling to criticize Arnobius, who has judged of it in this manner. The superstition of the Romans was so great, that some women honoured Juno by pretending to comb her and dress her, and hold a looking-glass before her [FF]; but others were in little fear of her, for they went and seated themselves in the Capitol by her husband, fancying themselves to be his mistresses. See my last remark.

There is hardly a parish, where you will not hear such stories. I wish some travellers would make a large collection of them. They are contented to collect what concerns great towns, but a collection of what concerns the country parishes would have its value too. And hereupon I remember I heard a man of judgment say, that his taste was not like that of an antient father, who wished he had seen at Rome a triumph. I rather wish, said he, I had been present for some months at the conversations of the Roman citizens, and that I knew how the women practised their devotions, and how they talked of Jupiter and Juno; what was their common discourse on a wedding-day, on a day of child-birth, or of a general procession, a day of Læstifernum, &c. concerning the gods and goddesses, *Subigus* or *Subiga*, *Fabulinus*, *Perunda*, and the rest. Books do not teach us those particulars, it is only by conversation that we come to the knowledge of them.

[EE] *Juno's beauty made Jupiter's adulteries more inexcusable.* It is thus Arnobius argued: 'Et quid Regi Saturnio matrimonii fuerat cum alienis rei? Non illi fuerat satis Juno, nec fedare impetum cupiditatum in regina poterat nimum, cum nobilitas eam commendaret tanta, facies, oris dignitas & ulnarum nivei marmoreique candores (212). — And what bad Jupiter to do with other mens wives? Was not Juno enough for him; and could he not satisfy his lust with the queen of the gods, so famed for her graceful air, beauty, and white hand?' A cavilling Sophist might attack this argument of Arnobius, and say that at a certain period of time, the beauty of women loses all its charms with respect to their husbands, the nature of things being such, that they no longer affect us, after we are used to them, *ab assuetis non fit passio*. He would maintain, that this political axiom, that the best methods of preserving dominion, are those that have been made use of to obtain it (213), is false in the empire of beauty: for if beauty makes a conquest, it does not preserve it; a husband who fell in love only because his mistress was handsome, will not continue in love, because his wife continues to be so: custom hardens him against that sort of charm, and he makes every day some steps towards insensibility: Some come sooner to it, others later; but at last all arrive at it, and the affection which may be, and is frequently preserved, is not grounded upon beauty, but upon other qualities. Experience shews that the husbands, whose love is most lasting and strong, are not for the generality those who have handsome wives. Look elsewhere than in beauty for that charm, which unites the hearts, and keeps them afterwards united (214). A Sophist might heap up many other observations of the same nature; but after all, he ought to be looked upon as a caviller; for it is certain that Arnobius's remark

is grounded upon a kind of common notion. All the neighbours are much more scandalized with the intrigues of a man, who has a handsome wife, than with those of another, whose wife is ugly. A whole nation, though never so numerous, will be more indulgent to the galantries of a king, when the queen is deformed, and loathsome, than when he is married to a princess of a rare and excellent beauty. Some body has inserted in the Scaligerana a story which has some affinity with this. Porthaise, a famous preacher, preaching at Poitiers, and having heard of the debaucheries of a Physician, named Lumeau, who though he had a handsome wife, sometimes went elsewhere, pointing at him one day, very pleasantly in the pulpit, when having spoke against this vice in general, he came to particulars, he said, nay, we have heard with great concern, that there are some men who are so profligate, as to commit adultery, though they have wives in their own houses, who are such, that for our part, we should be well enough contented with them (215).

[FF] *Some women honoured Juno by pretending to comb her . . . and hold a looking-glass before her.* What a misfortune it is that we have not the book, in which Seneca condemned this base superstition, and many others like it. St. Augustin has cited it. 'In Capitolium perveni, said Seneca (216), pudebit publicatæ de-mentiae, quod sibi vanus furor attribuit officii: alius nomina Deo subijcet, alius horas Jovi nunciat, alius licitor est, alius unctor, qui vano motu brachiorum imitatur ungentem. Sunt, quæ Junoni ac Minervæ capillos disponant, longè à templo non tantum à simulachro stantes, digitos movent ornatum modo. Sunt quæ speculum teneant . . . Sedent quædam in Capitolio, quæ se à Jove amari putant, nec Junonis quidem, si credere poetis velis, iracundissimæ respectu terrentur. — I came to the Capitol: you will be ashamed of the public madness, which they practise under the notion of honouring him: one gives the god a list of names; another tells Jupiter the hour of the day; another is licitor, another anointer, who counterfeits the action of one that anoints. Some are employed in disposing the hairs of Juno and Minerva, standing at a distance, not only from the temple, but also from the image, and move their fingers as if they were adorning the statues. Some women hold a glass . . . Some sit in the Capitol, thinking Jupiter is love with them, nor are terrified with the sight of Juno, though full of resentment, if you will believe the Poets.' We may confirm this by a passage taken from a book which is still in being. Deum colit qui novit. Vetemus lintea & strigiles Jovi ferre, & speculum tenere Junoni (217). — He worships a god, who knows how to worship him. I allow no one to carry napkins and combs to Jupiter, or to hold a glass to Juno.

(215) Scaligerana, pag. m. 192.

(216) Seneca, contra Superstitiones apud August. de Civitate Dei, lib. vi, cap. x. pag. m. 605.

(217) Seneca, Epist. xxi, pag. m. 396.

JUPITER, the greatest of all the Heathen gods, was the son of Saturn and Cybele. There was no crime, but what he was defiled with; for besides that he dethroned his own father, that he castrated him, and bound him in chains in the deepest hell [A], he

[A] *He dethroned his own father, . . . and bound him in chains in the deepest hell.* Saturn was dealt with according to the *Lex Talionis*, since he had usurped the empire of the world, which his father Cælus possessed (1); but Jupiter was nevertheless guilty of a horrible usurpation; it is not lawful to punish one crime by another; one cannot absolve himself by imitating the wicked. It is remarkable that Cælus was betrayed by his own wife; for it was the earth, heaven's wife, who excited her children to rebel (2), and who put a sickle into the hands of the youngest (3) which he made use of to castrate him. Saturn who had done that exploit, was treated so exactly in the same manner, that Jupiter used the same instrument to cut off his privy parts, as he had used for the castration of Cælus (4). Note, that Saturn's party made a long resistance: it was not vanquished till after ten years war (5). Saturn being conquered, was loaded with chains,

and thrown into Tartarus, the darkest and deepest dungeon of hell. It was as remote from the earth, as the earth is from heaven. Τὸ πρῶτον δὲ τῶν ἐπε-
Cælus ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ δὲ, τοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχον διδ-
εσμα, ὅσον ἀπ' ἐξάνθ' γῆ. Is locus est ad Inferos
tenebrosissimus, qui tantum à terra distat, quantum à
caelo terram abesse ferunt (6). The chains were not very heavy; for they were made of wool (7). He had every year some days of liberty allowed him, during the Saturnalia; a time in which slaves were permitted to do what they pleased (8). Some say, that Saturn escaped from prison, and retired into Italy to king Janus. Others say, that his son was contented only to expel him. Virgil is of this last opinion:

Primus ab ætherio venit Saturnus Olympo
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regis exul adeptus (9).

Firſt

(9) Virgil, Æa-
lib. viii, ver. 319.

(212) Arnobius, lib. iv, pag. m. 341.

(213) Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est. Sallust. in Peram. Belli Catil.

(214) Hæc res & junctis servat amicos. Horat. Sat. III, lib. i, ver. 54.

(1) Apollodorus, lib. i, init.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) It was Saturn.

(4) Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. ii, pag. m. 86.

(5) Apollodorus, ubi supra.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Apollodorus in Perſide, apud Natal. Comiten, pag. 85.

(8) Age libertate Decembris. Quando ita majores voluerunt uter. Horat. Sat. VII, lib. ii, ver. 4.

he committed incest with his sisters, daughters, and aunts [B], and even attempted to ravish his mother. He debauched a great number of maids and wives; and to compass his designs, he borrowed the shapes of all sorts of beasts. He was guilty of the unnatural sin; for he stole away the beautiful Ganymede (a), and preferred him to the office of cup-bearer to the gods, that he might have him at hand, as often as his heart desired. Treacheries and perjuries, and in general, all actions that

(a) See the article
GANYMEDE.

First exil'd from Olympus Saturn came,
Flying his kingdom, and the arms of Jove.

TRAPP.

But Statius is not, since he speaks of the liberty that was granted to Saturn once a year.

Saturnus mihi compede exoluta
Et multo gravidus mero December,
Et ridens jocus, & sales protervi
Adfuit (10).

(10) Statius.
Silva VI, lib. i.

Come Saturn, from thy fetters loosed,
December, reeling in thy cups,
With pleasantries, and wanton wit.

(11) Lib. iv,
pag. m. 143.

To which you may add these words of Arnobius (11):
"Numquid patricidii causa vincum esse Saturnum, & ablu diebus stans, vinculorum ponderibus & levare."
"That Saturn was chained on account of patricide, and that he was washed, and freed from his chains, on certain days." I forgot to say, that after the complete victory that Jupiter's party had obtained, Apollo sung upon his lyre a poem which he had made in praise of the conquerors. Tibullus informs us of this circumstance in an elegy, which he inscribes to Apollo (12).

(12) It is the fifth
of the second book.

Sed nitidus pulcræque veni, nunc indue vestem
Sepositam, longas nunc bene peste comas,
Qualem te memorant, Saturno regis fugato
Victori laudes concinuisse Jovi.

But come, adorn'd in all thy beauty's pride;
Resume thy shining garment laid aside;
Deck the long ringlets of thy flowing hair,
And in full majesty of dress appear;
At erst, when Saturn driv'n from heav'n above,
Thou sang the praises of the victor Jove.

The best allegories that may be found under these fables, is to say, that the Ancients meant by them that ambition stifles all natural affection, and the duties of friendship and alliances (13), and that Poets and Orators are always ready to declare for the party that is uppermost.

[B] He committed incest with his sisters, daughters, and aunts. He lay with his sister Juno, without staying till she was his wife, and afterwards married her. I speak of it in another place (14). He debauched his other sister Ceres, and had Proserpina by her. He lay with three of his aunts, namely, Themis, Dione, and Mnemosyne. From his incest with the first came the Horæ and the Paræ: by the second he begat Venus, by the third the nine Muses (15). Seeing his mother one day asleep, he attempted to lie with her by surprise; but as she awaked, and put herself in a posture of defence; he made use of force, and would probably have accomplished his abominable design, if the ardour of his passion had not evaporated in his struggle to overpower his mother (16). Arnobius very justly exclaims upon it: "O rerum imaginatio indecora! ô

(13) Natalis
Comes, who is every
fond of all-gories,
speaks thus,
pag. 85. Nulla
sunt enim vel
naturæ vel ami-
citie, vel bene-
ficientie satis fir-
ma vincula ubi
majestatis & im-
perandi furiosum
desiderium inva-
serit: illa omnia
liquidem facili-
tate conculantur & proster-
nantur.

(14) In the re-
mark [A] of the
article of JUNO.

(15) Hesiodus, in
Theogon. Apol-
loder. lib. i.
pag. 9.

(16) Arnob. lib.
v, pag. 161.

(17) Arnob. lib.
pag. 162.

habitus sœdus Jovis ad obscœni certaminis expeditio-
nem parati! Ergone ille rex mundi, cum incautus &
properus obreptionis esset rejectus à furto, in impe-
tum se vertit: & quum rapere voluptatem insidiosa
fraude non quivit, vi matrem aggressus est, & aper-
tissimè corpi venerabilem subruere castitatem? Collu-
ctatus ergo diutissimè cum invita est, victus, fractus,
superatque deficit: & quem pietas dijungere ab in-
fando matris non valuit appetitu, effusa libido di-
junxit (17)? — O indecent image of things! O filthy
posure of Jupiter, prepared to enter the obscene lists!
Did then this king of the world, when he could not
compass his design by stealth, have recourse to violence,

and openly attempt his mother's chastity? He struggled
a long time with the unwilling goddess; but, vanquish-
ed at last, was obliged to desist; and, whom filial
piety could not keep from impiously lusting after his mo-
ther, passion extinguished prevented from accomplishing
his desire. He observes that the Heathens made ad-
vantage of those vain efforts of Jupiter; for they said,
that a stone grew with child by him, and brought
forth a son ten months after. Et sane hoc loco fru-
galitatis magnæ viri, & circa res etiam flagitiosas ope-
ris parciore, ne sancta illa semina frustra videantur
effusa, silex, inquit, ebibit Jovialis incontinentiæ fœ-
ditatem. Quid deinde, quæso, consecutum est, di-
cite? In sinu medio lapidis, atque in illa cotis duri-
tie informatum atque animatum est infans, Jovis mag-
ni futura progenies, &c (18). Such a sort of pro-
pagation hath been observed about the attempts Jupi-
ter made to debauch his daughter Venus. This maid,
who was otherwise so bountiful in her favours to other
men, made a vigorous resistance to Jupiter. I explain
this in the margin by the words of a modern author,
which are somewhat coarse (19). Arnobius makes
mention of another wicked attempt of Jupiter, where-
in he succeeded. But it is according to the opinion
of those, who said that Ceres was the mother of this
god. Quondam Diespiter, inquit, cum in Cere-
rem suam matrem libidinibus improbis atque incon-
cessis cupiditatibus, æstuet, nam genitrix hæc Jo-
vis regionis ejus ab accolis traditur, neque tamen au-
deret id, quod procaci appetitione conceperat, aper-
tissima vi petere, ingeniosas comminiscitur captiones,
quibus nihil tale metuentem castitate imminueret ge-
nitricem: fit ex Deo taurus, & sub pecoris specie sub-
fessoris animus atque audaciam celans: in securam
& nesciam repentina immittitur vi furens, agit ince-
stus res suas, & prodata per libidinem fraude, intel-
lectus, & cognitus evolat (20). — Jupiter, they
say, once lusting after his mother Ceres (for the inha-
bitants of that country pretend she was his mother) and
not daring openly to gratify his desires, ingeniously
contrived to rob her of her chastity by surprise: he
was transformed into a bull, and, concealing him-
self under that brutish form, attacked her, when she
was off her guard, committed the incest, and, being
discovered by the lustful action, fled away. Ceres
was angry to little purpose; that action made her big
with Proserpina, who went through the same trial as
her mother: Jupiter got the maidenhead of Proser-
pina, his daughter. Quam (Proserpinam) cum verve-
ceus Jupiter bene validam, floridam, & succi esse
conspiceret plenioris, oblitus paulo ante quid malo-
rum & sceleris esset aggressus, & temeritatis quan-
tum, redit ad priores actus: & quia nefarium vide-
batur fati, patrem cum filia comminus uxoria conju-
gatione misceri, in draconis terribilem formam mi-
grat: ingentibus spiris pavescant colligat virginem;
& sub obtentu fero, mollissimis ludat atque adula-
tur amplexibus (21). — Jupiter, seeing Proserpina
strong, florid, and healthy, forgetting the crime he
had a little before attempted, returned to his former
practices: and because it looked ill for a father openly
to use his daughter as a wife, he took upon him the
terrible form of a serpent: he wreathed his monstrous
folds about the affrighted virgin; and, under this sa-
vage appearance, embraced and toyed with her in the
softest manner. Meziriac (22) quotes several authors,
who say, that Jupiter, transformed into a serpent, got
the maidenhead of his daughter Proserpina, by whom
he got the first Bacchus, surnamed Zagreus. I will
conclude this remark with a passage of Arnobius.
Quid tantum, quæso, Jovis deo to the Heathens (23),
de vobis Jupiter iste, quicumque est, meruit, quod
genus est nullum probri infame, adulterium nullum
quod in ejus non caput, velut in aliquam congeritis
vilem luteamque personam? — What has this Ju-
piter, whoever he be, deserved so greatly of you; he,
who stuck at no crime, no adultery, like the vilest of
mortals? This is to nonplus Paganism.

(18) Id. lib.

(19) Nonnus, book
xiv, says, that
the other Centaurs
were begotten by
the seed of Jupiter
which fell upon
the earth when he
was transformed
into a bull, &c.
Meziriac on Ovid,
pag. 173.

(20) Arnob. lib.
pag. 170.

(21) Id. pag. 172.

(22) Id. pag. 419.
He quotes Nonnus,
lib. v, & vi.
Arnobius, lib. v.
Clement Alexand-
rinus, in Pro-
treptico. Tzetzes
upon Lycophron.
The Scholiast upon
Pindar, in the
seventh Isthm.
The author of the
Great Etymologi-
con, at the word
Ζαγρεύς. The
Scholiast upon
Aristophanes, in
Ran. Didorus
Siculus, lib. iii.
Arianus, lib. ii,
de Exped. Alex-
andri. Hyginus,
cap. clv, & clvii.
Cicero, lib. iii,
de Nat. Deor.

(23) Arnob. lib.
v, pag. 171.

[C] Some

(b) See the preface
which Natalis
Comes gives for his
Mythol. lib. i.
cap. xviii, and
Archibius, quoted
below, in the re-
mark [D].

are punishable by the laws, were familiar to him (b). They had gone so far, as to say, that he devoured one of his wives [C]; and therefore nothing can be more monstrous, than the religion of the Pagans, who looked upon such a God, as the supreme governor of the world, and suited to that notion, the religious worship that was paid him. The fathers of the church have laid a great stress upon this argument, to prove the falshood of the Pagan religion; and it may be said, that this system was very proper to corrupt morality [D]. I shall say nothing about the fables, that concern the birth or education

(24) Ζεύς δὲ
θεῶν βασιλεὺς
πρώτην ἄστρον
θεῶν Μηνῆν.
Uxorē primam
Metim sibi Ju-
piter addidit.
Hesiod, in Theog.
ver. 886.

(25) Natalis
Comes, Mythol.
lib. ii, pag. m.
90.

[C] Some went so far as to say that he devoured one of his wives. Hesiod observes, that the first wife Jupiter married, was called Metis (24). Seeing her big with child, he devoured her, and became himself big with child by that means, and afterwards brought forth Minerva. Joannes Diaconus his verbi: Καὶ ἔχον τούτην ποινδμένην, καταπίνει αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ ἄλλῃ τις τῶν θεῶν ἀποκνησθῇ παρ' αὐτῆς ἀναίδης, καὶ ἀπόδαλῃ: quam cum gravidam fecisset, deglutit, ne quis alius Deorum nasceretur ex ea impudens ac fatuus. Ex eo cibo mox ipse Jupiter pro uxore gravidus factus Palladem armatam ē capite peperit (25). — Having got her with child, he devoured her, as Joannes Diaconus has written in these words: having got her with child, he devoured her lest any other impudent and foolish god should be born of her. By this food Jupiter himself becoming pregnant, brought forth from out of his head the armed Pallas.

Since the first edition of this Dictionary, I have more exactly examined this, and I have found, that Natalis Comes advances nothing, but what is grounded upon the words of Joannes Diaconus, whom he cites. This Diaconus is a Greek author, and a Christian, who composed allegories and scholia upon Hesiod's poem, intitled Θεογονία, the Generation of the Gods. He positively says, that Jupiter having swallowed his wife Metis, brought forth Minerva, καὶ τούτην καταπίνων ἀποτίκτει ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς τὴν τρίτογενεῖαν Ἀθηνᾶν. He makes use, I say, of these words immediately after those contained in the passage of Natalis Comes, which I have quoted; and thereby he manifestly declares, that he would have it thought that Minerva sprung from Jupiter's head, because Metis being with child, had been devoured by Jupiter her husband. But Hesiod does not lead us to this thought, nor does he so much as insinuate, that the tragical end of Metis contributed to the birth of Minerva. Here follows the substance of what he says (26). Metis, Jupiter's first wife, was ready to be delivered of Minerva, but Jupiter hindered her; he used a flattering discourse, which deceived her, and swallowed her into his belly. Caelus and the earth had given him this advice, and had cautioned him, that unless he did it, he would lose his sceptre, since the destinies declared, that Metis after she had brought the wife Minerva into the world, should lie-in of a brave boy, who should rule over the gods and men. Jupiter avoided the fatal blow; he shut up Metis in his bowels, before she became a mother; he shut her up, I say, that she might forget him good and evil (27). He afterwards married Themis, by whom he had many children: he had also many by his mistresses. He had by Eurynome the daughter of Oceanus, the three Graces; afterwards he lay with Ceres, who brought forth Proserpina. After this he fell in love with Mnemosyne, and made her the mother of the nine muses. He had by Latona a son and a daughter, namely Apollo and Diana, and at last he married Juno, who brought him three children, Hebe, Mars, and Lucina; and as for himself, he conceived Minerva in his head, and was delivered of her. Thus you see, that if Hesiod had intended his readers should think, that he meant that this birth of Minerva was an effect of Metis's being shut up in Jupiter's belly, he had done all that was necessary to frustrate his design; for he puts between this effect, and this cause, such an interval as leads our thoughts to quite another thing from his intention. Let us say then, that he had no such intention, or else, that he excelled in the shameful art of giving a wrong account of a thing, and expressing it obscurely. Note, that if the nineteen verses which we find in one of Galen's works (28), were Hesiod's, we could not blame this Poet for being too obscure. It plainly appears from them, that the same Pallas, who was born from Jupiter's head, was conceived in Metis's womb. But it ought to be observed, that she was

(26) Hesiod, in
Theog. ver. 887,
& seq.

(27) Ἄλλ' ἄρα
μὲν Ζεὺς προ-
βέν ἔδην ἐγκά-
θετο νηδύν, ὥς
εἴ οἱ φράσσαίτο
θεῶν ἀγαθόν τε
κακόν τε.
Sed illam sane
Jupiter ante in
suum condidit
ventrem.
Ut nempe ei in-
dicaret dea bo-
namque malum-
que. Id. ibid.
ver. 899.

(28) Galenus, de
Hippocr. & Pla-
tonia, Placitis,
lib. iii, cap. viii,
pag. 131. Edit.
Paris 1679.

not conceived, till after Metis had been swallowed up by Jupiter. This is a variation, which deserves to be taken notice of. I add, that it is not probable these are Hesiod's verses; for if they were, there would be in his poem of the Generation of the Gods a chaos which the critics do not complain of. Galen is somewhat to blame, for not putting it out of doubt whether the pronoun αὐτοῦς ipse, which precedes the nineteen verses, refers to Hesiod or Chrysippus. I believe it relates to the latter, and that this great Philosopher, after he had produced Hesiod's verses concerning Metis, cited those of another Poet, in which the conception of Minerva was described somewhat differently. If you ask me, to what end Chrysippus alleged these verses of Hesiod, and the others, I answer, that it was to shew, that his opinion concerning the seat of the rational soul, was not contrary to the tradition of the birth of Minerva. He placed the rational soul in the heart, and yet Minerva, that is Reason and Wisdom, was born from Jupiter's brain. This was the objection Chrysippus examined; he took advantage of the circumstance of Minerva's being conceived by Metis, after she was swallowed by Jupiter, and he maintained, that this signified, that reason was formed in the breast, and that the delivery of Minerva signified speech, that is to say, that reason proceeds from the head, in as much as the mouth is the organ, by which the thoughts conceived in the heart, are outwardly produced. Galen (29) thinks it very strange, that Chrysippus should trouble himself to give a serious explanation of poetical traditions (30). He cannot be too much blamed for spending his time so ill.

[D] The system of the Pagan religion was very proper to corrupt morality (31). Christian authors have drawn potent arguments from these infamous actions of Jupiter, to convict the Heathens of the falsity of their gods; as may be seen in many places of Lactantius, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and several others. For besides that such horrid crimes are inconsistent with the deity, the Gentiles might thence take a just pretext for giving themselves up to all sorts of wickedness . . . not believing themselves criminal, whilst they imitated their gods. This is what Ion means in a tragedy of Euripides, that bears his name.

- - - Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνθρώπου κακῶς
λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακὰ
μιμῶμεθ', ἀλλὰ τὸς διδάσκοντας τὰδε (32).

Blame not the wretch, who imitates the gods,
But charge the crime on those, who set his example.

Meziriac makes this reflexion upon a passage of Ovid, where Phædra (33) observes, that incest was scrupled in the rustic time of Saturn, but that under the reign of his successor, a woman might be permitted to lie with her son-in-law. Jupiter, says she, authorises all by his marriage with his sister.

Nec quia privigno videar coitura noverca
Terruerint animos nomina vana tuos.
Ista vetus pietas, ævo moritura futuro
Rustica Saturno regna tenente, fuit.
Jupiter esse pium statuit quodcumque juvaret,
Et fas omne facit fratre marita foror

Let not the name of step-mother affright;
What now seems wrong, when Saturn reign'd was
right.
Jove teaches us, whate'er we like, to prove,
And bids a sister meet a brother's love.

Ovid falls here into a very gross mistake (34), since it is certain that Saturn was married to his sister, just

(29) Id. ibid.
pag. 133.

(30) See, above,
citations 41) and
(68) of the article
CHRYSIPIUS,
the Philosopher.

(31) See M. Ar-
nould, in the fifth
Denonciation de
Peché Philoso-
phique, pag. 34.

(32) Meziriac
upon Ovid, pag.
419, 420.

(33) In Epist. ad
Hippolytum.

(34) Meziriac,
pag. 419, makes
this observation.

education of Jupiter (c). Moreri has mentioned something of it; and this is to be found in a great many books, which school-boys have daily in their hands. I shall only speak of the eagle that brought him Nectar [E]. This particular is not so commonly known. Mr Charpentier does not faithfully relate a thing, for which he quotes Homer [F].

What the Heathens have said of Jupiter's original; seemed to me for a long time so unaccountable, that the more I thought on it, the more monstrous it appeared to me, and such, in a word, as I could not apprehend how the Philosophers could maintain it; but I have at last discovered, that they might be led into that error, by a sort of reasoning [G], the weakness whereof it was no easy thing for them to find out. They did

as Jupiter was to his. One might add to the passage of Euripides, quoted by Meziriac, a hundred others of the same force. Nothing is more common in the ancient poets, than to see people, in order to excuse their crimes, maintain, that they have only imitated the gods, or that the gods have instigated them to do evil (35). But not to dissemble the truth, it must be said to the glory of the Heathens, that they did not live according to their principles. It is true, that the corruption of manners was very great among the Heathens; but many of them did not follow the example of their false gods, and preferred the ideas of virtue before so great an authority. What is strange is, that the Christians, whose system is so pure, come but a little short of the Heathens in their vices. It is a mistake to believe, that the morals of a religion answer the doctrines of the articles of faith.

[E] I shall only speak of the eagle that brought him Nectar. A woman named Moero, author of a poem intitled Memory (36), says, that Jupiter, unknown to all the gods, was bred up in a cave in the isle of Crete, by pigeons that brought him Ambrosia, and by an eagle that brought him Nectar. The Ambrosia came from the ocean, and the Nectar was drawn from a stone. Jupiter having dethroned Saturn, immortalized this eagle, and translated it into the heavens.

Νέκταρ δ' ἐν πτέρυγας μέγας αἰετὸς αἰὲν ἀ-
ρῶσσαν.

Ταυφὴν δὲ φέρεσκε [πτερῶν] Διὶ μῦθον.
Τὸν καὶ νηχέας πατέρα Κρόνον εὐρύστα Ζεὺς,
Ἀθανάτων ποινὰς καὶ ἑρῶν ἐγκάτασσαν.

Nectar verò ex saxo ingens aquila semper bauriens,
Advolans portabat consulto prudentique Jovi.
Eam viro patre Saturno Juppiter alifonus,
Immortalitate donatam, in cælo habitare voluit (37).

[F] Mr Charpentier does not faithfully relate a thing for which he quotes Homer. I speak of Mr Charpentier of the French academy. He expected to harangue the king at the head of the academy, after the taking of Mons; but that prince would have no harangue at that time. That of Mr Charpentier was inserted in the *Mercur Galant* for the month of May, 1691. We read in it, that the king is like Homer's Jupiter, against whom all the other gods are united, and who after having upbraided them with the vanity of their design, shews them by experience, that his force is not to be shaken; and whilst they all pull against him, he lifts them up altogether with the globe of the earth. By his leave, Jupiter in Homer (38) does not put this in practice; he only boasts of it, and threatens to do it.

The other gods were not persuaded, that his boasts were well grounded: they only believed, that in a single combat he would be too hard for them. His menace appeared ridiculous to Mars, who remembered that it was not long since Neptune, Juno, and Minerva, having undertaken to seize Jupiter, and bind him, put him into a horrible fright, and had actually bound him, if Thetis had not had pity of him, and called to his relief Briareus with his hundred hands (39). If Mr Charpentier had known the satirical wit of our libel writers, he would probably have abstained from comparisons. He would have thought on Lucian.

[G] They might be led into this error, by a sort of reasoning. Let us see first of all, what Hesiod says of the genealogy of the gods (40). He begins with the Chaos; this is the first being he lays down; af-

terwards he brings in the earth and love: he adds, that Erebus and the Night were begotten by the Chaos and that Æther and the Day proceeded from the marriage of Erebus and Night; and that the Earth, without any marriage begot Heaven and the Sea, and afterwards being married to Heaven she produced Oceanus, Rhea, Themis, Tethys, Saturn, &c. This extraordinary fruitful marriage gave but little comfort to the earth; for Heaven, her husband, shut up all her children as they were born. She encouraged them to revenge, and did it so effectually, that Saturn with a stroke of a scythe cut off his father's nameless parts, and cast them into the sea (41). They produced a

froth, from which sprung the goddess Venus. The children of Saturn and Rhea, were Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Pluto, Neptune, Jupiter (42). This is what I take from Hesiod's poem. Some other Genealogists (43) said that Æther and the Day, children of Erebus and of the Night, were the father and mother of Heaven, and had for their brothers and sisters, Love, Fraud, Fear, Labour, Envy, Destiny, Old Age, Death, Dark

ness, Misery, Dreams, &c. We have seen in another place (44) how Carneades made use of this genealogy to confute the Theology of the Stoics. I shall only say now, that according to this tree of consanguinity there must have been necessarily some god, whose father was not a god; for if on one hand it had been granted to Carneades, that Heaven, Æther, the Day, Erebus, the Night, were gods, they would have denied on the other, that the Chaos, which was antecedent to all these divine beings, was a god, and consequently they were forced to say, that the gods had been made of a matter, which was not a god, and without an efficient cause which had the nature of a god. This is certainly a thought, which contradicts the most solid and the most evident notions of natural reason; nevertheless, some great Philosophers have supposed the generation of the gods, and have assigned them a cause of their being, which was not a god. 'Anaximenes omnes rerum causas infinito aëri dedit, nec deos negavit aut tunc: non tamen ab ipsis

aërem factum, sed ipso ex aere ortos credidit' (45). — Anaximenes ascribed the causes of all things to the infinite air, nor did he deny, or say nothing of the gods; yet he did not believe that the air was made by them, but that they sprung from the air. By these words of St Augustin, we better understand the doctrine of Anaximenes, than by these of Cicero: 'Anaximenes aëra deum statuit, eumque gigni, esseque immensum & infinitum, & semper in motu' (46). — Anaximenes supposed the air to be god, and that it was immense and infinite, and always in motion. Cicero does not seem to have well related the opinion of this Philosopher; for since Anaximenes made the air the principle of all things, and ascribed to it immensity and infinity, we must believe, that he supposed it eternal, and unproduced, and that if he called it god under this notion, he did not believe the generation of god in that respect. When therefore he said, that the infinite air was the cause of all beings, and that the gods themselves were produced from it he did not ascribe to it the name and nature of god, in the same sense, that he ascribed it to the gods, which owed their origin and existence to the air. Perhaps he meant this: he was willing, in order to avoid all disputes about words, to give the name of god to the immense and infinite air, which he looked upon as the principle of all things; but he did not pretend, that Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Minerva, and the other gods, which the Heathens adored, were that air, or had produced it: he supposed on the contrary, that that air was their principle, as well as that of other beings which compose the universe. He gave this principle a perpetual motion, from whence it may

(c) I shall say something of it in the article METEORIC.

(41) Id. ibid. ver. 130.

(42) Id. ibid. ver. 453.

(43) See Cicero de Natura Deorum lib. iii, cap. xvii.

(44) Citation (87) of the article CARNEADES.

(45) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. viii, cap. ii, pag. m. 711. See, above, citat. (15) of the article DIOGENES, of Apollonia.

(46) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. i, cap. x.

(35) See the article HELENA, remark [C].

(36) Athen. lib. xv, pag. 490.

(37) Id. ibid. pag. 491.

(38) See the eighth book of the Iliad, at the beginning.

(39) Taken from Lucian, in Deor. Dialogis, pag. 173, 174. Tom. I. See Homer, Iliad. lib. i, ver. 398, & seq.

(40) Hesiod. de Deor. Generat. ver. 116.

did not believe, that any thing could be created, and acknowledged no substances wholly distinct from extension. Now when once these two hypotheses are laid down, it is almost as easy to imagine, that a subtilized matter might become a god, as to believe the soul of man to be material, as most Philosophers believed. See the remark [G]. There was in Arcadia a temple of God the Good. Pausanias conjectures that it was consecrated to Jupiter: his reason is because that epithet ought to belong by way of pre-eminence

be concluded, that he took it for an immanent cause, which produced in itself infinite effects, without end; and he reckoned amongst those effects, not only the stars and meteors, plants, stones, and metals, but also the gods and men. Such a doctrine was at the bottom a meer Spinozism; for, according to this opinion, God, or the eternal and necessary being of Anaximenes, was the only substance, of which heaven and earth, the animals, &c. were but modifications. Thales perhaps was of such an opinion, who taught that water was the principle of all things (47). Perhaps he called it god on that account. This was the god he meant, when he said, that god having not been produced, was the oldest of all beings (48). He added, that the world being the work of God, was the beautifullest of all beings (49). Spinoza would acknowledge this; he does not deny that God is the cause of all things, that is to say, the immanent cause, which modifies itself a thousand different ways, from whence results what we call the world, and the whole universe in general. If Thales said also that the world is animated, and full of spirits (50), this signified perhaps, that water, the principle of all things, the unproduced god, had so modified itself, that it had formed a soul dispersed through all the bodies, and the particular spirits like the gods, which were adored by the Heathens. This would help us to comprehend, what we have seen elsewhere (51), and which is doubtless very surprizing, namely, that Thales and the other Natural Philosophers, who lived before Anaxagoras, explained the generation of the world, without interposing the direction of a divine intelligence. Thales and Anaximenes could not admit it, if they supposed, the one that water, and the other, that air was the principle of all things, a principle eternal, and unproduced; for though to avoid contention about words, they called this universal and uncreated principle, god, they could not consider it as an intelligent cause antecedently to the particular beings, which it formed since it produced them in itself, and from itself, as an immanent cause, and not as a cause external, and distinct from it's matter. But because Anaxagoras was the first (52) who acknowledged a spirit distinct from the matter of the world, a pure spirit, and unmixed with body, he must have reasoned otherwise than the Natural Philosophers his predecessors: he might say, arguing consistently, that the world had been formed by the direction of a spirit, that disentangled and put the parts of matter into order. His hypothesis admitted an intelligence antecedent to the formation of the world; the other hypotheses supposed nothing before the world, except the chaos, or water, or air, &c. And so they were to give a beginning to intelligent beings, as well as to the coarsest creatures. All things proceeded from the first principle by way of generation or production. Jupiter the greatest of the gods, Saturn his father, and Heaven his grandfather, Æther his great grand-father, and all the genealogy upwards, was a particular being, which owed it's origin, birth, and existence, to eternal and uncreated matter, the principle of all things, the chaos according to Hesiod, water according to Thales, and air according to Anaximenes. But, you will say, did not Thales acknowledge, that the gods knew the very thoughts of men (53). I answer, that we can only conclude from it, that he ascribed a vast extent of knowledge to some of the beings, which the water had produced, and which were called Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Neptune, &c. Note, that Homer, who so pompously describes the power of the gods, says, that all proceeded from the ocean.

Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

Oceanumque Deorum parentem & matrem Tethyn (54).

The great and prodigious absurdity of those hypotheses consists in saying, that the gods, endowed with great knowledge, were formed from a principle, which knows

nothing; for neither the chaos, nor the air, nor the sea, are thinking beings. How then could they be the total cause of those divine natures, which, in the system of the Poets, and of the most ancient Natural Philosophers, know so many things? but though those hypotheses be never so false and absurd, I no longer wonder, as I did, how they could be admitted by Philosophers. Most of them supposed that the soul of man was material (55). They believed therefore, that it was formed of the subtlest parts of the blood, or of the seed. Now when once this step is made, one may go a great way in a little time. Set experience aside; consult only the ideas of the Theory, and it will not appear more easy for matter received in the womb to be converted into a child, who by eating and drinking grows into a man of great understanding, than for a child to be born of a tree. From thence a Heathen thinks it possible, that at the beginning men were born either from the mud of the earth, or from some liquor dropped from heaven (56). When this seems to be possible, it is easy to go on, and to believe what the Poets did of the birth of Venus (57). It is no longer thought strange, that by the fermentation which cleared the chaos, or formed the different degrees of rarefaction and condensation in the infinite extension, the stars should begin to exist in the firmament, and the gods in heaven, as plants and animals on the globe of the earth. The common opinion of the Heathens about the divine nature made but a difference of more or less between the gods and men. Now in consequence of this, nothing hindered them from imagining, that the finest and subtlest parts of matter had constituted the gods, since those which remained massive and gross, and which as the lees and sediments of all, had composed the earth, were nevertheless converted into men. Note, that they thought, that some spirituous particles falling from heaven, were sufficient to animate these gross and terrestrial parts: hence it is that Lucretius acknowledged that living bodies have a celestial original.

Denique cœlesti sumus omnes semine oriundi
Omnibus ille idem Pater est, unde alma liquenteis
Humorum guttas Mater cum Terra recepit,
Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbutaque læta.
Et genus humanum, & parit omnia sæcla ferarum
Pabula cùm præbet, quibus omnes corpora fac-
cunt,
Et dulcem ducunt vitam, prolemque propagant.

Quapropter merito Maternum nomen adepti'st (58).

Lastly, we all spring from celestial seed:
The universal father he, from whom
When mother earth receives the watry drops,
She teems with shining fruits, and flowering herbs,
Gives birth to men and beasts, and food prepares,
By which they live, and propagate their race.
Hence does she justly claim a parent's name.

We may infer from all this that there is nothing more dangerous or contagious, than to lay down a false principle. It is a bad heaven, which though it be but small, may spoil the whole lump. One absurdity once laid down, draws after it many others. If you only err concerning the nature of the human soul; if you falsely think that it is not a substance distinct from matter; that falsity will lead you to believe that there are gods, who at first were born from fermentation, and afterwards multiplied by marriage. I cannot conclude, without observing a thing at which I am amazed. Nothing appears to me grounded upon clearer and more distinct ideas than the immateriality of every thinking being, and yet some Christian Philosophers maintain, that matter is capable of thinking (59); and they are Philosophers of great parts, and

(47) Diog. Laërt. lib. i, n. 27.

(48) Προσβύ-
πτου τῶν
θεῶν θεός
ἀγεννητον γὰρ
καλλίστου κόσ-
μου ποιητὰ
γὰρ θεὸς. Anti-
quissimum eorum
cunctum que
sunt, Deus; in-
genitus enim.
Pulcherrimum
mundus; a Deo
enim factus est.
Id. ibid. n. 35.

(49) See the fore-
going quotation.

(50) Τὸν κόσμον
ἐμψυχον καὶ
δαίμονον πλά-
σας. Animatum
mundum se di-
monibus plenum
Diog. Laërt. lib.
i, n. 27. See also
Aristotle, de
Anima, lib. i,
cap. v.

(51) In the re-
mark [D] of the
article ANAX-
AGORAS.

(52) See the same
remark.

(53) Ἡρώτης
τις αὐτὸν εἶ-
πάειν θεῶν; ἐν-
θρονος ἐδύναν.
Ἄλλ' ὅδ' αὖτε
νοήσαντος ἔφη.
Interrogatus late-
ret ne Deos homo
male agens: ne
cogitans quidem,
inquit. Laërt.
lib. i, n. 36.

(54) Homer.
Iliad. lib. xiv,
ver. 201.

(55) See Pli-
narch. de Placit.
Philosoph. lib.
i, cap. iii, pag.
898, and Aristotle
in the first book de
Anima.

(56) See, above,
remark [B] of the
article ARCHE-
L AUS, the Philo-
sopher.

(57) See, above,
remark [C] of the
article DIO-
GENES, of
Apollonia.

(58) Lucret. lib.
ii, ver. 990. To
which may be
added the words
of Virgil, Georg.
lib. ii, ver. 345.
Tum pater om-
nipotens fecundis
imbribus arbor
Conjugis in pre-
mium læte let-
centis, & omnia
Magnus alis
mixtus corpore
factus.

(59) See, above,
remark [A] of the
article DIO-
GENES, of
Apollonia.

(d) In the article
P E R I E R S.

(c) In the article
HERCULES;
citat. (13).

spent

for other reasons. The French have said in one of their Opera's :

Jupiter vient sur la terre
Pour la combler de bienfaits :
Il est armé du tonnerre ;
Mais c'est pour donner la paix.

That is,

*Jove comes on earth,
To heap blessings on it :
He is armed with thunder,
But 'tis to give peace.*

I know not whether they have found that notion in the monuments of antiquity that are extant.

[K] *It was said that he required human sacrifices.* There was scarce any temple of Jupiter, more celebrated than that which was built on mount Lycæus, in Arcadia. The tradition of the country imports (68), that he was educated upon that mountain by three nymphs, one wherof gave her name to a fountain, which had a wonderful property ; for when any long drought wafled the fruits of the earth, they never failed of a plentiful rain, provided the priest of Jupiter Lycæus threw an oaken branch upon the surface of that fountain, after the requisite prayers and sacrifices (69). There was upon the fame mountain, a court consecrated to this god, and famous for wonderful qualities ; for the men and the beasts, that went into it, cast no shade. Every body was forbidden to set his foot into it ; and if any had the boldness to go in notwithstanding the prohibition, he necessarily died before the year expired. Arcas having purified as far as that place the bear, into which his mother was metamorphosed, had been put to death with her, if Jupiter had not placed them among the stars.

(68) Pausan. lib.
viii, cap xxxviii,
pag 678.

(69) *Id. itid.*

Heathens had of the goodness of Jupiter, and of the other gods.

filiv cum venaretur (*Arcas*) inscius vidit matrem in
ursa speciem converiam, quam interficere cogitans,
persecutus est in Jovis Lucei templum: quo & qui
accessisset, mors poena erat Arcadem lege. Itaque
cum utrumque necesse esset interfici, Jupiter eorum
misertus, ereptos inter sidera collocavit (70).—
*Arcas, hunting in the woods, saw his mother, whom
he knew not, transformed into a bear, whom, thinking
to kill, he followed into the temple of Jupiter Ly-
caeus, whither, by a law of the Arcadians, it was death
for any one to approach. It being therefore necessary
they should both be slain, Jupiter taking pity of them,
snatched them away, and placed them among the
stars.* St Augustin informs us of what concerns the
sacrificing of infants. * Nominatim exprellit (*Varro*)
quendam Demanetum, quum gustasset de sacrificio,
quod Arcades immolato puero deo suo Lycæo fa-
cere solebant, in lupum fuisse mutatum, & anno
decimo in figuram propriam restitutum, ad pugilla-
m sese exercuisse, & Olympico vicisse certamine (71).
*Varro has mentioned by name one Demanetes, a boy,
having tasted of the sacrifice, which the Arcadians,
slaying a boy, were wont to offer to their god Lycæus,
was turned into a wolf, and after ten years restored
to his own form, and exercised himself at boxing,
and came off victor in the Olympic game.* This
sacrifice had a strange effect, it metamorphosed those
who tasted it, into wolves. Porphyrius (72), observes,
that the custom of sacrificing men in Arcadia at the feast
of the Lupercalia, remained in his time. Note, by
the way, that Saturn was not the only deity that de-
lighted in human victims (73). Jupiter his son would
not degenerate in that respect.

(70) Hygin. in
Astronomico,
cap. 4, pag. m.
362. *See also*
cap. i, pag. 357.

(71) August. de
Civit. Dei, lib.
xviii, cap. xvi,
pag. m 589.

72) Porphyry.
ib. i, de non
dendis Animal.

73) *See the Pen-*
tes diverses sur
Cometes, n.
2.

[L] Jupiter

spent nine nights in the production of the Muses [L], and he applied this to a quite different subject, I mean, to the adventures of Alcmena. Authors, who have a quick and lively fancy, are subject to the like mistakes. Jupiter made love both in heaven and upon earth, he took all that came, whether goddesses or women; it was all one to him. Arnobius did not forget this, and observed that the bodies of mortal women, though transparent with respect to Jupiter, had yet sufficient charms to inspire him with a leud passion [M]. It is not improper to observe, that the ridiculous stories which the poets had vented concerning that God, served as a foundation for the Pagan religion, and that some grave men endeavoured to explain them either by allegories or by the principles of Natural Philosophy; but their labour was as ridiculous as that of the poets [N], and

(74) Hesiod, in
Theogon., ver. 135.

[L] *Jupiter spent nine nights in the production of the Muses.* Mnemosyne, Saturn's sister, having lain nine nights together with Jupiter her nephew, lay-in of the nine Muses upon mount Pierus (74).

Τὰς ἐν Πιερίῳ Κρονίδῃ τέκε πατρὶ μῆτις
Μνημοσύνη
Ἐννέα γὰρ οἱ νύκτας ἐμίσσετο μνηϊέτα Ζεὺς,
Νόσφιν ἄν' ἀθανάτων, ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων.
Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐνιαυτὸς ἔην, περὶ δ' ἔτραπον
ῥέει
Μηνῶν θινόνων, περὶ δ' ἤματι πολλὰ ἔτε-
λυσθη,
'Η δ' ἔτεκ' ἑννέα κέρας ὁμόφρονας, ἥσιν
δοιδὴν
Μέμελεσσαι.

Quas in Pieria Saturnio peperit patri mixta
Mnemosyne
Novem enim ei noctes mixtus est prudens Jupiter,
Scorsim ab immortalibus, sacrum lectum concen-
dens.
Sed cum jam annus exactus, circumvoluta vero ef-
fent tempora
Mensium decrefcentium, diesque multi transacti ef-
fent,
Ipsa peperit novem filias concordēs, quibus carmen
Curæ est (75).

(75) Id. ibid.
ver. 53.

Begot by Jove on fair Mnemosyne.
Nine nights apart from the celestial choir,
He climb'd the sacred bed, and press'd the dame,
Who, when the year had fill'd it's circling course,
Bore the nine sisters, who preside o'er verse.

A scholiast upon Hesiod pretends that Mnemosyne was Jupiter's daughter; but it is not thus that the words of that Poet ought to be understood. We must not find in them that the Muses owed their birth to an incest so odious. The same scholiast proposes a doubt to himself: How, says he, could Hercules get fifty one sons in a night, whilst Jupiter stood in need of nine days to beget the nine Muses? he answers, that Jupiter not being ignorant, that the love of the Muses arrives slowly to it's perfection, resolved to make use of a perfect number. If this Scholiast deserves no commendation for the solidity of his thoughts, he at least deserves to be praised for his brevity upon a subject, that might have afforded an allegorist infinite observations and moral precepts.

[M] *Arnobius observed that the bodies of mortal women, though transparent with respect to Jupiter, had sufficient charms to inspire him with a leud passion.* Perhaps, says he, his adulteries might be tolerated, if he had minded only the goddesses; but what could he find worthy of him in human bodies? ought he not to have an aversion for those objects, which are under the skin, and which are not hid from his piercing eyes? ought not the sight to produce in him the same disgust, which the bare imagination can produce in all others (76)? 'Et tolerari forsitan male tractatio hæc posset, si eum saltem personis conjungeretur comparibus, & adulter à vobis immortalium constitueretur deum. In humanis verò corporibus quidnam queso inerat pulchritudinis, quid decoris, quod irritare, quod flectere oculos posset in se Jovis? Cu-

(76) Arnob. lib.
iv, pag. m. 142.

tes, viscera, pituita, atque omnis illa proluviæ intestinorum sub involucriis constituta: quam non modo Linceus ille penetrabili acie possit horrescere, verumetiam quivis alter sola vel cogitatione vitare (77). O egregia merces culpæ! ô digna & pretiosa dulcedo, propter quam Jupiter maximus cygnus fieret, & taurus, & candidorum procreator ovium! O egregius reward of guilt! O worthy and precious pleasure, for the sake of which the supreme Jupiter becomes a swan, a bull, and a progenitor of steezy sheep! This objection of Arnobius is a good one, and a hundred times more forcible than if a great king was censured for debauching not only princesses but also the meanest women. I shall set down what Juno told Thetis, shewing her the reason of her affection for her.

Οὐρεκεν ἐκ ἔτλης εὐνῇ Διὸς ἱεμένοιο
Λέξασθαι (κείνῳ γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰδε ἔργα μέ-
μλεν
'Ἢε σὺν ἀθανάταις ἢ ἐνυτῆσιν ἰαίνειν.)

Propterea quod noluisse Jovis quamquam optantis cu-
bile
Usurpare (quoniam hoc illi studetur opus,
Ut vel æternas infomnis vel amplectatur huma-
nas) (78).

Because you shunn'd th' embrace of amorous Jove,
He, who promiscuously divides his love
With mortal nymphs below, and goddesses above.

(78) Apollonius,
Argon. lib. iv,
ver. 793, pag. m.
453, 454.

[N] *Some grave men endeavoured to explain the stories of the Poets either allegorically, or physically; but their labour was as ridiculous as that of the Poets.* We have seen in another place (79) how Cicero ridiculed the Philosopher Chrysippus, who had taken great pains to reconcile the fables of the ancient Poets with the Stoical Theology. Here is a passage that will give us a specimen of that attempt: 'Hic locus à Zenone tractatus, post à Cleanthe, & Chrysippo pluribus verbis explicatus est. Nam vetus hæc opinio Græciam opplevit, exfectum Cælum à filio Saturno; vinctum autem Saturnum ipsum à filio Jove. Physica ratio non inlegans inclusa est in impiis fabulis. Cælestem enim altissimam, æthereamque naturam; id est, igneam, quæ per sese omnia gigneret, vacare voluerunt eâ parte corporis, quæ conjunctione alterius egeret ad procreandum. Saturnum autem esse voluerunt, qui cursum, & conversionem spatiorum, ac temporum contineret . . . Saturnum autem esse appellatus, quod saturaretur annis: ex se enim natos comesset fingitur solitus, quia consumit ætas temporum spatia, annisque præteritis insatubilliter expletur. Vinctus est autem à Jove, ne immoderatos curius haberet, atque ut eum siderum vinculis alligaret (80).

— This topic was handled by Zeno, afterwards by Cleanthes, and explained at large by Chrysippus. For the old tradition obtained all over Greece, that Cælus was castrated by Saturn, and that Saturn himself was bound in chains by his son Jupiter. There is an elegant physical meaning in these prophane fables: for they intended by them, that the celestial, supreme, and æthereal, that is fiery, nature was void of that bodily part, which stands in need of the conjunction of another, in order to procreation: but by Saturn they meant that being, which contains the course and revolution of time . . . And he is called Saturn, because he is filled (saturatur) with years; he is said likewise to devour his children, because time consumes it's several periods, and is filled, without being satiated, with past years. But he is bound by Jupiter

(79) Cicero (49),
de Nat. Deorum,
lib. ii, cap. xxx.

(80) Cicero, de
Nat. Deorum,
lib. ii, cap. xxx.

and terminated very often in serious impieties. See the remark [N], where I shall speak

Jupiter, that he may not run to immoderate lengths, and that he may restrain him by the limits of the stars. This is sufficient to shew the folly of those explications. We cannot read them without pitying the Philosophers who have so ill employed their time; and if we deplore on one hand the mischievous consequences of the fictions of the Poets, and the unruly licentiousness with which they have sported upon a subject, that deserved to be reverently treated; we cannot but be diverted, on the other, with their agreeable inventions, whilst we consider them as witty conceits. But when we see some Philosophers very gravely undertake to find mysteries in these follies, we can no longer bear their extravagance: and these words may well be applied to them.

Turpe est difficiles habere nugas,
Et stultus est labor ineptiarum (81).

*'Tis labour misapply'd, and ill-judg'd toil,
When trifles only waste our time and oil.*

The greatest mischief is, that whilst they endeavoured to avoid one impiety, they fell into another; for by rejecting the gods of the Poets, animated and living gods, they brought in others destitute of life and knowledge. Cicero upbraids them with it. *Hic idem (Zeno) alio loco æthera Deum dicit esse, si intelligi potest nihil sentiens Deus, qui nunquam nobis occurrit neque in precibus, neque in optatis, neque in votis. Aliis autem libris rationem quandam per omnem naturam rerum pertinentem ut divinam, esse affectam putat. Idem astris hoc idem tribuit, tum annis, mensibus, annorumque mutationibus. Cum verò Hesiodi Theogoniam interpretatur, tollit omnino usitatas perceptasque cognitiones Deorum, neque enim Jovem, neque Junonem, neque Vestam, neque quemquam qui ita appelletur, in Deorum habet numero: sed rebus inanimatis, atque mutis per quandam significationem hæc docet tributa nomina (82).* — *This same Philosopher (Zeno), in another place, says the æther is God; if we can suppose an insensible God, who never occurs to us in our prayers, our wishes, or our vows. But, in other books, he supposes a certain divine reason diffused through the whole nature of things. The same Philosopher ascribes the same thing to the stars, to years, months, and the changes of years. But when he would explain Hesiod's Theogony, he quite takes away the usual and received notions of the gods; for he neither allows Jupiter, nor Juno, nor Vesta; nor any so called, to be gods; but teaches, that these names are ascribed, in a certain signification, to things inanimate and mute.* By these false interpretations they used men to take the sacred skies for Jupiter. *Hunc Ennius nuncupat ita dicens,*

Aspice hoc
Sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.

Planiusque alio loco idem,

Qui, quod in me est, execrabor hoc, quod lucet,
quidquid est.

Hunc etiam Augures nostri, cum dicunt, Jove fulgente, tonante: dicunt enim celo fulgente, tonante. Euripides autem, ut multa præclare; sic hoc breviter:

Vides sublime fufum, immoderatum æthera,
Qui tenero terram circumjectu amplectitur:
Hunc summum habeto Divum: hunc perhibeto Jovem (83).

This Ennius mentions in these words:

Look up, and see
The azure vault, which we invoke as Jove.

And the same Poet more plainly in another place:

I will curse this that shines, be't what it will.

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This our augurs mean, when they say, Jove lightening, thundering: for they say, the heaven lightening, thundering. But Euripides, as he expresses many things excellently well, so in brief this:

*See'st thou yon wide, extended, vault of heav'n,
Which clips around this earth: 'tis the great god,
Supreme of deities, 'tis Jove himself.*

As for Juno they reduced her to the air, as Cicero informs us. *Ær autem, ut Stoici disputant, interjectus inter mare, & cælum, Junonis nomine consecratur, quæ est foror & conjux Jovis, quod & similitudo est Ætheris, & cum eo summa conjunctio. Effeminarunt autem eum, Junonique tribuerunt, quod nihil est eo mollius (84).* — *But the air, as the Stoics pretend, diffused between the sea and the heaven, is consecrated under the name of Juno, who is the sister and wife of Jupiter, because it resembles both the Æther, and is closely united to it. But they effeminated it, and ascribed it to Juno, because there is nothing softer than air.* Whatever they might say, there was no avoiding of absurdities or impieties in that system. Which I prove thus: let us ask these Philosophers some questions. You believe that Jupiter so much celebrated by the Poets; and he whom you adore in the capitol, and every where else, is that great space wherein we see so many stars; and that Juno, sister and wife of Jupiter, so jealous, so haughty, and powerful, to whom the Argivi and other nations pay so many honours, is the air that encompasses the earth, and gets into the lungs of animals, and in which the clouds, the rain, &c. are formed? but is it not evident that this celestial space, and this air, are a portion of the matter of the world, and that matter, as matter, cannot think? Do not we clearly know that the air has no more life or knowledge than snow and hail? If therefore Juno is nothing but the air, it is ridiculous to direct prayers, and offer sacrifices to her; for she hears and knows nothing, and therefore your doctrine overthrows religion; it is a material Atheism; you rob Juno of all her Divinity; you only leave her the vain and indeterminate name of a goddess; and you are more absurd than Epicurus, since you worship an illusive and imaginary name. Juno is only an instance; but Jupiter and Neptune, and all the other deities fall in the same manner, by the force of the same argument. If you say that you do not consider the air as a meer body, when you maintain that Juno is the air, explain to me, I desire you, what other notion you have of it. Do you pretend that the air is united to the goddess Juno, that she is the soul of it, that the said air is the body of the deity? But is not this to suppose, a sort of animal, of which we have no idea? Does not the notion of an animal imply a conjunction of parts, which constitute one entire continuum? Does it not exclude what we call discrete quantity? And is it not certain that the parts of the air are continually separating from one another, and that the least stone that is cast into it, makes a solution of it's continuity, which must be a very smarting wound, if the air be an animal? To what inconveniencies do you expose the Divinity of Juno, in making her the soul of the air? Does she not perpetually receive an infinite number of wounds? If you answer me that this deity is united to the air, not to be it's soul, but only to influence it, you fall into another absurdity, which is no less ridiculous, than if we should say, that a pilot is a ship, and that a rider is a horse. Will you answer, that there is a great deal of difference betwixt these things, since a pilot is not united to the ship, as Juno is to the air? Explain therefore that union, and observe how Aristotle puzzles you, when he says, it is against reason, that the air and fire should be animals; but that if they have a soul, it is an absurdity to say, they are not so. Consider well these words: *Διὰ τίνα μὲν γὰρ αἰτίαν ἐν τῷ αἰέρι, ἢ ἐν τῷ πυρὶ δῶκα ἢ ψυχῇ, ἐποικίει ζῶον ἐν δὲ τοῖς μικτοῖς, καὶ τὰ τὰ βελτίων ἐν τέτοις εἶναι δοκῶσα; ἐπιζητήσετε γὰρ ἀντίς, καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἢ ἐν τῷ αἰέρι ψυχῇ, ἢ ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις βελτίων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀθανάτω τέρα. συμβαίνει δὲ ἀμφοτέρως ἀποτον καὶ παράλογον καὶ γὰρ τὸ λέγειν ζῶον τὸ πῦρ, ἢ τὸν αἶρα, τῶν παραλογωτέρων ἐστὶ καὶ μὴ λίγην*

8 C

(81) Martial.
Epig. lxxxvi,
lib. ii.

(82) Cicero, de
Natura Deor. lib.
i, cap. xiv.

(83) Id. ibid. lib.
ii, cap. xxv.

speak of those who said that Juno was the air, and Jupiter the Æther.

ἡν ἡ ψυχή ἐν ἀέρι, ἄτονον. Quam enim ob causam anima in aëre quidem vel igne si inest, non facit animal, in mistis autem facit; præsertim eum, in illis videatur esse præstantior! Quæret etiam quispiam quam ob causam anima ea, quæ est in aëre, præstabilior est ac immortalior ea, quæ in animalibus inest. Utrobique autem emergit quoddam absurdum & rationis egrediens metas, nam ignem aut aërem animal esse dicere, rationis egreditur fines, & asserere rursus animalia non esse, si inest in ipsis anima, per absurdum est sane (85). — If there be a soul in air or fire, why does it not constitute an animal, as well as in mixt nature; especially as it seems to be more excellent in them? It may likewise be asked, why that soul which is in air, is of a more excellent and lasting nature, than that which is in animals. In both cases, there is something absurd, and irrational; for to say that fire or air is an animal, is irrational, and again to assert they are not animals, if they have a soul, is certainly very absurd. Thus you find yourselves between two precipices. If Juno is the soul of the air, and if the air and she do not constitute an animal, it is an intolerable absurdity; but if they compose an animal, it is both an absurdity, and a horrible impiety. Carneades, with that strength of reason which was his peculiar talent, confuted invincibly the pretended existence of this kind of animal (86).

I shall conclude with an observation which Pausanias has furnished me with. He tells us that he disputed one day with a Sidonian in the temple of Æsculapius. That man maintained that the Phenicians were much more skilled than the Greeks, in matters relating to the deity, and in others also. They say, added he, that Æsculapius is the son of Apollo, and they do not suppose that he had a woman for his mother; for he is the air, the fountain of health, both for men and beasts. Apollo, who is the sun, is justly esteemed Æsculapius's father, since by the vicissitudes of the seasons, which his motion brings about, he makes the air healthy. Pausanias granted all this; but he maintained, that they did not belong to the Phenicians more than to the Greeks, and that it is manifest even to children, that the health of men is an effect of the sun's motion (87). Judge by this of the orthodoxy of the Heathens. Those who pretended to understand best theological doctrines, made it appear when they explained themselves clearly, that they acknowledged no other gods, besides the air, the stars, &c. This was at the bottom a true Atheism; it was to convert the necessity of nature into God. I have observed in Euripides, a passage in which Jupiter is invoked, without knowing truly what he was. He is said to govern all things justly by occult ways; but he who speaks these words, adds, that it is very difficult to know him, and that he knows not whether he be the necessity of nature, or human understanding. What a faith is this! A Spinozist would not much scruple to subscribe to it.

Ὁ γῆς ὄχημα, καὶ πῆ γῆς ἔχων ἐδραν.
Ὅς τις πῶτ' εἰ σὺ δυστάπασθαι εἰδέναι
Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσει, εἴτε νόσ βεστάν,
Προσνέξασθαι σε, πάντα γὰρ δι' αἰθέρα
βαίμων κελεύει, καὶ δίκην τὰ θνήτ' ἀγείν.

O terræ vehiculum, & in terra habens sedem,
Quicumque tandem es, impervestigabilis animis nostris
Jupiter, sive es necessitas naturæ, sive mens mortalium,
Te invoco, omnia enim per arcanam
Vadens viam ducis mortalia iuste (88).

O vehicle of earth, in earth residing,
Whoe'er thou art, being unsarchable,
Necessity of nature, or the mind
Of mortals, I invoke thee, Jupiter,
Who human actions and events dost guide,
Thou' fate's inextricable maze, aright.

JUSTINIANI (AUGUSTIN), bishop of Nebbio in the isle of Corsica, was born at Genoa in the year 1470. He became a dominican the twenty fifth of April 1487, and applied himself to his studies with so much earnestness, and under such able masters, that he became a very learned man. He understood Philosophy, Mathematics, Divinity, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee. He taught in the province of Lombardy eighteen years with great advantage to his hearers; he was made bishop of Nebbio the fifteenth of November 1514, at the recommendation of cardinal Bendlino Saoli, his cousin, and received his bulls before he knew the good offices this cardinal had done him. He assisted at the council of Lateran, and opposed some articles of the Concordate agreed upon between France and the court of Rome. Nevertheless Francis I. invited him to Paris, and made him his almoner. He made use of this prelate's great skill to set up the study of the oriental tongues in the university of Paris. Justiniani finding himself so near England, took a voyage thither, and was very much caressed by Henry VIII. He collected a very fine library, and left it by his will to the republic of Genoa [A]. He made many reparations in his bishopric, and increased the revenues of it; he so beautified his cathedral church, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, that Maracci placed him among her faithful servants. He also translated into the vulgar tongue some Latin works, the reading whereof might be useful to clergy-men (a). He lost his life at sea, in passing from Genoa to the isle of Corsica, in the year 1536 (b) [B]. He was not only a learned prelate,

(a) Trasportando ancora da Latino in volgare de' libri per giuvenimento del suo Clero. *Vie abbot Michael Justiniani, ubi infra, pag. 27.*

(b) Taken from the abbot Michael Justiniani, gli scrittori Liguri descritti, pag. 26, & seq.

[A] He collected a very fine library, and left it by his will to the Republic of Genoa. It was especially valuable for the great number of antient manuscripts in all languages, and sciences, which he had collected with vast labour and expence. But some of them he had without any cost or pains: I mean those which Andreolo Justiniani, his grandfather, left him. It is remarkable that the republic made no advantage of this will; for those manuscripts are only to be found in the libraries of some private persons, who, to conceal their theft, have taken off from the title pages the marks of that prelate. *Benche al presente non si trovi verun vestigio di essi nel Palazzo publico, ma presso diversi particolari, che, per non esser scoperti, gli han levati nel frontispizio i contrafigni di quel buon Vecchio (1).*

(1) Michael Justiniani, gli scrittori Liguri descritti, pag. 28.

[B] He lost his life at sea . . . in the year 1536. The abbot Michael Justiniani (2) proves, this by the registers of dominicans of Genoa, and from the bishopric of Nebbio's being given to cardinal Jerome Doria the fifteenth of November 1536. Vossius says (3), it is not known whether Justiniani perished at sea, or fell into the hands of the pirates; that it is only certain that he was never seen since the year 1530, when he embarked to go from Genoa to his bishopric. I doubt not but he is mistaken as to the year. Paul Jovius says in general, that it was never known, whether this bishop was shipwrecked, or taken by the pirates of Barbary. *In cursu fluctibus obrutus, aut a Pœnis prædonibus interceptus creditur, quum nulum siquam naufragii, aut piratarum prædæ vestigium apparuerit (4).*

(87) Taken from Pausanias, lib. vii, cap. xxiii, pag. 585.

(88) Hecla, and Euripidem in Troilus, ver. 814, pag. 107.

(2) Id. lib.

(3) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. lib. iii, cap. xlv, pag. 681.

(4) Paulus Jovius, Eclog. cap. cxxi, pag. 275.

[C] The

but very laborious, as it appears by the works he composed, and by those which he caused to be printed [C]. I mention them in a remark. He designed to publish a Polyglot Bible, and the Pfalter which he printed may be looked upon as part of it. He was at great charges for the edition, and finding that he could not get his money by the sale, and that princes did not favour his design, he complained of the ingratitude of his age [D].

[C] *The works he composed, and those which he caused to be published.* His *Precatio pietatis plena ad Deum omnipotentem composita ex duobus & septuaginta nominibus divinis Hebraicis, & Latinis cum interprete commentariis*, was printed at Venice in the year 1513 in 8vo. He published there the same year *Enne Platonici de immortalitate animarum deque corporum resurrectione aureus Libellus*, cui titulus est *Theophrastus*. He published at Paris in 1520, in folio, *Chalcidii viri clarissimi luculentæ Timæi Platonis Traductio, & ejusdem argutissima Explanatio*; as also *Victoria Porcetti adversus impios Hebræos in qua tum ex sacris litteris, tum ex dictis Talmud, ac Cabalistarum & aliorum omnium Auctorum quos Hebræi recipiunt, monstratur veritas Catholicæ fidei*; moreover *Rabi Mossei Egyptii Dux seu Director dubitantium aut perplexorum*. He spent five years upon writing a history of Genoa, with an extreme application; but death did not permit him to put the last hand to it. It was published in the

(c) At Genoa, in folio. They pretend that his manuscript was interpolated in several places, by the person who put it to the press. *Scrisse gl' Annali della sua patria, con grandissima diligenza, e ottima fedeltà i quali in molti luoghi dopo la morte di lui furono corrotti* (6). This is the testimony of Francesco Zazzera, which is confirmed by George Justiniani, in an epistle dedicatory: 'Magnam profecto inde me voluptatem cepisse fateor, & in eodem plane sensu fuisse gaudeo ipsius nepotem Augustinum Justinianum, illum scilicet qui postea ad Nebensem Pontificatum evelsus, rerum nostrarum Annales orditus est, quos post ejus obitum imperitus, omnique eruditionis expertus, horridos sane & incultos, ut hodie leguntur, ex defuncti Schedis divulgavit (7). — I confess it gave me great pleasure, and I rejoice that his grandson Augustin Justiniani was of the same opinion, him I mean, who being afterwards advanced to the bishopric of Nîmes, began the history of our affairs, which, after his death, an unskillful and illiterate person published, in the rude, unpolished, manner we now read them, from the papers of the deceased.' These interpolations of the manuscript gave Paul Jovius occasion to censure this history (8); but he is in the wrong to say, that the author made too much haste in publishing it; for it was not printed till after our Justiniani's death. Paul Jovius's words are very offensive. 'Scribendæ patriæ historiæ negotium suscepit, adeo ineptis ad id ingenii viribus, ut præcipitate editionis male audiendo pœnas daret (9). — He undertook to write the history of his own country; but was so unequal to the task, that he suffered in his character by a hasty edition.' I shall speak hereafter of his Polyglot Bible. Here is a passage taken from his Life, written by himself, in which you will see a specimen of his labours: 'Hò fatto imprimere in Parigi dodici opere in utilità de Studiosi; hò tradotto più cose in materna lingua per utilità di Chierici della mia Diocefi, che sono tutti ignari di lettere: hò tradotto l'Economico di Senofonte per instructione di mia cognata, e de miei nepoti: hò descritto molto minutamente l'Isola di Corsica per utilità della patria intitolata al Principe Andrea d'Orta, e messa poi la descrizione in distinta pittura hò donato al magnifico Ufficio di S. Georgio (10). — I have caused to be printed at Paris, twelve pieces for improving youth: I have translated several things into Italian, for the benefit of the ecclesiastics of my diocefi, who are all illiterate: I have translated the economics of Xenophon, for the instruction of my sister-in-law, and of my nephews: I have made a very exact description of the island of Corsica, for the service of my country: I inscribed to the prince Andrea Doria, which description I afterwards presented to the office of St George.' The last work mentioned in these Italian words, is in the library of the Vatican. It is a manuscript.

[D] *The Pfalter which he published.* he complained of the ingratitude of his age. It was printed at Genoa in the year 1516, in folio, in eight columns, 'Quarum prima habet Hebræam editionem; secunda Latinam interpretationem respondentem Hebrææ de verbo ad verbum; tertia Latinam communem; quarta Græcam; quinta Arabicam; sexta paraphrasim, Sermonem quidem Chaldaeo, sed literis Hebraicis conscriptam; Septima Latinam respondentem Chaldaeo; ultima vero, id est octava, continet Scholia, hoc est annotationes sparsas & intercasas (11). — The first of which has the text in the Hebrew, word for word; the third the common Latin; the fourth the Greek; the fifth the Arabic; the sixth the Paraphrase, in Chaldee, but written in Hebrew letters; the seventh the Latin answering the Chaldee; but the last, that is the eighth, contains the Scholia, that is, scattered annotations.' The author dedicating it to Leo X, tells him, that he designs to publish the whole bible in that manner, and that he does not question to go through it, if the Pope approves it, and promotes the impression. This is the sense of these words (12). *Quod si tu rem ipsam probaveris, & dignam editione duxeris, in promptu erit nobis universo operi manum extremam imponere, & utrumque instrumentum, isdem distinctum linguis, eademque serie & structura, tradere impressoribus mandandum, &c.* He intimated in a letter, that he wrote to cardinal Bendinello Saoli, that all the New Testament was finished, and that the old would soon be ready, and he intreated him to get the whole work printed (13). He gave leave to Pellican, who was at Rome, in the year 1517, to transcribe the preface of his new Testament into eight languages, with the first verses of St Matthew's gospel (14). Gesner ascribes Justiniani wrote to that cardinal. He has also inserted part of that preface in his Bibliotheca. This honest prelate was at great charges for the impression of the Pfalter; he caused two thousand and fifty copies to be printed off, and presented it to all the princes of the world, Infidels as well as Christians; he caused fifty to be printed upon Vellum; he expected not only to be praised, but also to get a great deal by it; and he had already designed his gain for the relief of his relations. He hoped that the good success of this specimen would engage the prelates and the princes to be open-handed for the impression of the whole bible, but unfortunately he got nothing but praises. His Pfalter was commended, and not bought; he had much ado to sell the fourth part of the edition, and was not in a capacity of printing the rest of his work. Let us hear his complaints (16). 'Feci stampare in Genoua alle mie spese con quel travaglio, e con quella spesa, ch'ogni letterato può giudicare due mila volumi del Davidico Pfalterio in le predate cinque lingue Hebræa, Chaldaea, Græca, Latina, & Arabica, parendomi di quest' opera dover' acquistare gran laude, e non mediocre guadagno, il quale pensavo esporre in la souvenzione di certi mei parenti, ch'erano bisognosi, credendomi sempre che l'opera dovessi havere grande uscita, e che i Prelati ricchi, o Principi si dovessero muovere, e mi dovessero aiutare in la spesa di far imprimere li restante della Bibbia in quella varietà di lingue; ma la credulità mia restò ingannata, perchè l'opera fù da ciaschedun laudata, ma lassata riposare, e dormire, perchè a pena si sono venduti la quarta parte de i libri, come che l'opera sia per valent huomini, e per ingegni elevati, che sono al mondo rari, e pochi, e con stento puoi ricavar i danari, ch'aveva poste in la stampa che furono in buona quantità, perchè oltra i due mila volumi stampati in papero, ne feci imprimere cinquanta in carta vitellina, e mandai d'essi libri à tutti i Rè del Mondo, così Christiani, come Pagani.' Paul Jovius was so barbarous as not to pity his unhappy fate. Nay, he takes delight in insulting him for it, and will not allow at least, that he received the praises of the public. If we believe him, that honest bishop was at great charges, and got neither money nor glory by it (17).

(11) Gesner, in Biblioth. fol. 104, verso.

(12) August. Justin. Pref. Pfalter. apud Gesner. ibid. fol. 105, verso.

(13) In altera quoque epistola ad eundem, novum testamentum jam absolutum esse testatur, vetus autem brevi futuro paratum: & hortatur ut corret totum opus prælia excudi. Gesner. ibid.

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) August. Justiniani, in the account of his Life, apud Lancellotti di Perugia, Hoggidi, Part. I, disgan. no. xxvii, pag. 273, 274.

(17) Gravi quidem sumpto & tenal cum laude quum impressa domi prelati volumina emptores rarissimos invenirent, sic ut temere conceptum spem lucri inanes inite rationes elasserint Jovius, ubi supra.

KECKERMAN

K

(a) Konig places his birth in the year 1571, and his death in the year 1609. Vossius, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 262, says, he lived forty two years.



KECKERMAN (BARTHOLOMEW) a native of Dantzic, was professor of Philosophy there towards the beginning of the XVIIth century. He had been before professor of the Hebrew tongue at Heidelberg. He wrote a great many books, in which he discovered more method than wit [A]. He was a Calvinist. He died in the year 1609, being thirty eight years of age (a). His books are full of Plagiarisms, and have been pillaged by the plagiaries.

[A] He wrote many books, in which he discovered more method than wit. He made systems of almost all the sciences. Here is Vossius's judgment of him. Parum idoneè judicat de eo (*Diogene Laërtio*) vir cæteris eruditus, sed novellorum scriptorum quam antiquitatis studiosior Bartholomæus Keckermannus. At ille libro suo de historia, scripsisse Laërtium laudat & frigidè, sæpe tamen non inutiliter. Quæ frigida profecto laus est operis utilissimi & auro contra non cari. Quippe ex quo discere sit cum alia tam multa ad historiam temporum pertinentia; tum præclara tot veterum apothegmata quorum Keckermannus, malo sanè exemplo, Erasmodum laudare mavult autorem, quam Plutarchum, Laërtium & similes (1). *Bartholomæus Keckerman, otherwise a very learned man, but more conversant in modern, than ancient authors, passes a wrong judgment on Diogenes*

(1) Vossius, *de Histor. Græcis*, pag. 223.

Laërtius. He says, in his book concerning History, that Laërtius wrote without life and spirit, but often usefully. This is in truth a cold commendation of a most useful and most valuable work. For we learn from it, not only many things relating to History, but also many famous sayings of the ancients, which Keckerman, setting an ill example, abuses rather to praise Erasmus for recording, than Plutarch, Laërtius, and such like authors.

[B] His books are full of plagiarisms, and have been pillaged by the plagiaries. I have mentioned in another place (2), the complaint of a Scotch writer, who had been pillaged by Keckerman. Another Scot (3) did just the contrary, he pillaged Keckerman, as Thomasius observes in his collection of plagiaries (4). He charged (5) some other writers with the same fault, with respect to Keckerman.

(2) In remark [B] of the article DONALDSON.
(3) Called Andrew Aldrich.
(4) Nov. 346, pag. 153.
(5) Ibid. in 354

(a) It is one of the four foreign towns.

(b) Called James Hailbrunner.

KELLER (JAMES), one of the best writers amongst the Jesuits of Germany towards the beginning of the XVIIth century, was born at Seckingen (a), in the year 1568. He became a Jesuit in the 1588, and after he had taught Classical Learning, Philosophy, Moral, and Scholastic Divinity, he was made rector of the college of Ratibon, and afterwards of that of Munich. The first of these two employments lasted two years; but he continued in the second sixteen years together. He was a long time confessor to prince Albert of Bavaria, and to the princess, his wife, and he was often consulted and employed by the elector Maximilian in important affairs. He disputed publicly with the most famous minister (b) of the duke of Neuburg; and if we may believe his brethren, he had the better of him [A]. He published some books of controversy [B], and several political pieces upon the affairs of that time. He appeared under

[A] He disputed . . . with Hailbrunner, and if we may believe his brethren, he had the better of him. Alegambe and Southwell say, that James Hailbrunner found himself so pressed in that dispute, that he was almost reduced to silence, and that he fell sick the night following, or pretended to be so, that he might not be obliged to enter the lists again the next day. *Tam fortiter pressus est, ut tantum non obmutuerit, morbumque reipso nocte illa contraxerit, vel ne cogeretur iterum in arenam descendere, callide simulavit (1).*

(1) Alegambe & Sotuel, in *Biblioth. Script. Societatis Jesu.*

This conference, as to the subject, was much like that of Du Perron, and du Plessis Mornai; for it run upon the accusation brought against the Lutheran minister, of having quoted several passages of the Fathers with a thousand falsifications, in a High Dutch book, intitled, *Papatus Catholicus*. The conference of Keller and Hailbrunner, was held at Neuburg, in the month of June, 1615 (2), and if we may believe the Lutherans, the innocence of their minister appeared with the greatest evidence. *Ex inspectione & examinatione dictorum patristicorum, innocentia Hailbrunneriana luculentur patuit. Vid. Straten. Theatrum historicum, pag. 1111. D. Dorst. in Kircher. dev. prælim. 100. usque 106 (3).*

(2) Andreas Carolus, in *Memor. Ecclesiast. seculi xviij*, pag. 384.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 385.

[B] He published some books of controversy. These are the titles of them: *Tyrannicidium, seu scitum Catholicorum de Tyranni interfectione adversus inimicos Calviniani Ministri Calumnias in Societatem Jesu factas*, at Munich, 1601, in 4to, in Latin and High Dutch.

Papatus Catholicus, seu demonstratio fundamentalis veritatis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Romanæ contra Jacobum Hailbrunner, at Munich, 1616, in two volumes in Folio, in High-Dutch. *Compendium ejusdem operis*, in the same place, at the same time, in 4to. *Agonia seu sudor mortualis Jacobi Hailbrunneri, hoc est refutatio Hailbrunneri qui extremam anæthem infestus fuerat scripto libro*, in the same place, 1618, in 4to, in High-Dutch. *Fusciculus solidus 50 fusciculorum, id est absurditas prædicantium in Colloquio* (4) *Ratibonensi*. He took the name of *Jacobus Silvianus* in this work, printed in the year 1604, in 4to (5). He took the same name in a book printed at Ingolstadt, in 1607, and intitled, *Philippica in anonymum quandam prædicantem qui Societatem Jesu mendacis oneravit*. The writers of the Jesuits *Bibliotheca*, have not mentioned this book of James Keller, Placcius (6) tells us, that it was an answer to a book in High-Dutch, wherein the author had collected several passages taken from the seditious books of some Jesuits. The author of the collection confuted Keller's *Philippica*, in the year 1608: his answer is intitled, *Anti-Philippica*; it is a High-Dutch book, in which the author completed the collection of the seditious things that are to be found in the writings of the Jesuits (7). The author of these two collections was counsellor to the Elector Palatine, and his name was Michael Loeffenius (8). I have read in the third volume of the *Morale Prati-que*, that our Keller is the author of *Cavea Tartarica*. The reader will be glad to see here Mr Arnould's own words

(4) And see Collegio, as it is in Placcius, de *Plac. doctum*, pag. 261.
(5) Taken from Alegambe and Southwell, ubi supra.
(6) Placcius, ubi supra.
(7) Id. ibid.
(8) Decibel, de *Scriptis adfectis*, pag. 153.

under a disguised name, in the title of his political writings [C]. He died at Munich the twenty third of February 1631 (c).

(9) Arnould, *Morale Pratique*, Tom. III, pag. 112.

(10) Goussier de Vries, in *Differtation de Lanca*, pag. 112.

(11) Jo. Frider. Mayerus, de *Fide Bellarmini* suspecta, pag. 197, 198.

(12) Keller, in the *Appendix Cancellariae Anabaptinae*, says that this is false.

(13) Nicolas Hartlein denies it in the preface of his *Responsio Apologetica* to the *Ajax* of Fabius Hercynianus.

(14) Alegambe has mistaken that name; for he says *Helfit*, and that he was chancellor. Father Southwell has not corrected those two faults: he says *Helfit*, &c. Placcius, de *Anonymis*, n. 256, pag. 71, has not corrected them, and falsely places this work among the anonymous ones, not knowing that the author took the name of Fabius Hercynianus.

words: (9) Gravina . . . a learned Dominican, having complained with a great deal of modesty in his *Vox Turturis*, that cardinal Bellarmine had spoke sharply of the ancient orders in his book *De Gemma Columbae*; and having represented that it was no wonder if they had abated of their authority in the space of so many ages since their foundation: your father James Keller answered him haughtily in his book, intitled, *Cavea Turturis*, ch. 14. Societati Jesu non est periculum, ne post aliquot annorum centurias sibi multum dissimilis appareat. Habet enim aromata in putredine perseverantia. — The society of the Jesuits is in no danger of degenerating from itself after some centuries: it has spices and perfumes to preserve it from putrefaction.

Mr Mayer ascribes the *Cavea Turturis* to some other authors. His words are these. Cui (Voci Turturis) esse D. Riedelius, *Ecclesiae Landshutanae Decanus*, aut sub Riedelii nomine Jacobus Balde, Jesuita, *Caveam Turturis* opposuisset, Gravina Vocem congemmantem Turturis publico dedit, &c. (10).

[C] He appeared under a disguised name, in the title of his political writings.] The bloody war, which desolated Germany from the year 1618, to the peace of Munster, was doubtless a religious war; for the league which the Protestants formed, against which the Roman Catholics opposed a league, whereof the elector of Bavaria was the head, owed its birth to the suspicions they had conceived, that the Imperial court, animated by the Jesuits, had a mind to break the peace of Passau. The elector of Bavaria, a very able prince, would not suffer the Catholics to lie under that imputation. He caused some books to be published, in which the Protestants were accused of having confederated for pernicious designs, and particularly to oppress the Romish church. This accusation came out in the year 1621, in a book intitled, *Cancellaria secreta Anabaptina*, id est, *Occulta Confilia, Inaudita Proposita, Periculosa adinventiones*, & prodigiose Machinationes Capium ad Directionem unionis correspondentium in Germania, occasione Rebellionis Bohemicae ad ejusdem Coronae, & Imp. Rom. pernitiem agitata. Post nuperam illam, omnibus posteris memorabilem Viatorum Pragensem, 8. Novemb. 1620, in *Originalibus Scripturis* ac documentis *Cancellariae Anabaptinae*, Divina Providentia deprehensa. The Protestant princes caused this book to be refuted, which was said to have been compiled by William Jocher, counsellor to the elector of Bavaria, and by Dr Leickard.

(11) It was thought, that these princes made use, for that end of Volrad Pless, counsellor to the elector Palatine (12). Our James Keller believed it; for he consulted their consultation, in a work printed in the year 1624, and intitled; *Palradi Plessii* (13) *Heidelbergensis olim Consilarii Ajax post oppugnatam frustra Cancellariam Anabaptinam in spemiam incumbens, five Appendix Cancellariae Anabaptinae, auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* Alegambe, and his continuator, knew not, that Keller had taken the name of Fabius Hercynianus in this work. He had taken it, the foregoing year, in the answer to a book, published by Lewis Camerarius, in the year 1622, and intitled, *Cancellaria Hispanica: adjecta sunt Acta publica, hoc est; Scripta & Epistolae authenticae, à quibus partim infelicitas belli in Germania, partim Proscriptionis in Electorem Palatinum scopus praecipuus apparet. Adjecti sunt sub finem*

Wlone Scoppiani, ex Clossio belli sacri. This work has another title after the index, viz. *Viva demonstratio causarum praesentis in Germania belli religionis ergo suscepti*. Keller's answer to this book of Camerarius is intitled, *Litura, seu Castigatio Cancellariae Hispanicae, à Ludovico Camerario Excancellario Bohemico, Exconsiliario Heidebergensi, &c. inscripta. Auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* There was a new edition of it in 1624, with this title: *Cancellariae Anabaptinae, pars secunda. In qua non ita pridem à quibusdam edita Cancellaria Hispanica nervose simul & lepide refutatur: tum ex quibusdam interceptis ad Gaborem literis, Hungaricorum qui sequuti sunt & adhuc durant motuum inventores seu auctores demonstrantur. Auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* Alegambe, and his continuator, were ignorant, that James Keller took this false name in the title of this work. They were not ignorant of it, with respect to two pieces, which were intitled: *Rhabarbarum domandae belli quam in Apologia sua prorsilavit Ludovicus Camerarius propinqua à Fabio Hercyniano J. C. anno 1625. Tabula Galileana, habescentibus Ludovici Camerarii oculis, in litura Hispanica Cancellariae male advertentibus, ad claris videndum tornatus, à Fabio Hercyniano. Aditis in fine testimonii causa, & pro tuba, & pro Rhabarbaro, ipsius Camerarii epistola anno 1625. Nicolaus Hartlein, answering the *Ajax* or the *Appendix Cancellariae Anabaptinae*, observes, that the Jesuit, who was the author of it, was very much accustomed to disguise himself. Nihil huic homini insolens esse, ut veritatem, ita nomen suum pervertere: & modo sub Aurimontii (à matre sua Golbergera) modò sub Didaci Tamias, modò sub Fabio Hercyniano (à sylva Hercynia, five Nigra, prope quam supra Basileam in oppido Seckingen natus est) nomine fallere, & his literis, J. C. quae non Jurisconsultum, ut alias, sed Jacobum Cellarium denotant, lectori imponere (14).*

As he made no scruple of perverting truth, neither did he of falsifying his name: for sometimes he disguised himself under that of Aurimontius, from his mother Golberg's sometimes under that of Didacus Tamias; and at other times that of Fabius Hercynianus, from the forest Hercynia, or the black forest, near which, above Baxil, in the town of Seckingen, he was born: he likewise imposed upon the reader by these letters J. C. which denote, not Jurisconsultus, as upon other occasions, but Jacobus Cellarius. These disguises were unknown to the two Jesuits, who compiled the *Bibliothèque* of the writers of their order. The same Nicolas Hartlein informs us, that James Keller was the author of the *Mysteria politica* (15), a work, which made a great noise (16), and which was very injurious to the court of France. But he ascribes (17) to another Jesuit a work intitled, *Secreta secretorum Galileo-Turcica*, the author of which had concealed himself under the name of *Honestus Cogmandolus*. He who answered him, in a book intitled, *Secreta secretorum Turco-Papisticæ*, took the false name of *Justinus Justinopolitanus*, instead of *Ludovicus Camerarius*, his true name. The contents of writers about the affairs of the time, were then more grave, than they are in this present war (18), and as vehement in their kind, as those of warlike times. At present, we see hardly any thing but scurrilous satires.

(c) Taken from Nathaniel Southwell, in the *Bibl. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 373.

(14) Nicolas Hartleinus, in *Praefat. Responsionis Apologeticae*, printed in 1625.

(15) Legat mysteria politica nuper à vobis, & quidem à te Jacobo Kellere (ut multorum fuit opinio) edita.

Nicolas Hartlein. *Apolog. pag. 8.*

In the *Mercure François*, Tom. XII, pag. 1662, & seq.

(16) See the *Mercure François*, Tom. XI, pag. 1662, & seq.

(17) Hartleinus, ubi supra, pag. 10.

(18) I write this in October, 1695.

(19) Taken from Gassendus, in *Vita Tychoonis Brahe*, lib. v, pag. m. 451.

(20) Id. Gassendus, pag. 456, & 459.

KEPLER (JOHN) one of the greatest Astronomers of his age, was born at Wief in the country of Wirtemberg, the twenty seventh of December 1571. He began to study Philosophy at Tubingen, in the year 1589, and two years after he studied Mathematics in the same university, under the famous Michael Mœstlin. He made so great a progress in that Science, that, in the year 1595, he wrote an excellent book, which was printed at Tubingen the year following, with this title, *Prodromus Dissertationum de proportionibus orbium caelestium, deque causis colorum numeri, magnitudinis, motuumque periodicorum genuinis & propriis, &c.* He had been already invited to Gratz in Stiria, to teach Mathematics (a). Tycho Brahe being settled in Bohemia, and having obtained of the emperor all sort of conveniencies to perfect Astronomy, passionately desired to have Kepler with him, and wrote to him so many letters upon this subject, that he engaged him to leave the university of Gratz, and to remove into Bohemia with his family and library, in the year 1600 (b). Kepler in this journey got a quartan ague, which lasted seven or eight months, so that he could not do Tycho Brahe all the services he was capable of. He was even not well pleased with the reservedness with which Tycho

(c) Ib. pag. 460.

(d) See the remark [F].

(e) Gassendus, ubi supra, lib. vi, pag. 471.

(f) They came out with that title.

(g) Gassendus, ibid. pag. 472.

Brahe treated him (c), for he did not communicate to him all his knowledge. And as that great Astronomer died in the year 1601, Kepler could not in that short time be very useful to him, nor improve much by him. From that time Kepler had the title of Mathematician to the Emperor all his life (d), and acquired more and more great reputation by his works [A]. The emperor Rodolphus put him upon finishing Tycho's Tables (e), which were to be called Rodolphine (f). Kepler set heartily about them; but the king's treasurers were so ill affected towards him [B], that he could not publish them till the year 1627. He died, in November 1630, at Ratibon, where he was endeavouring to get the arrears of his pension paid him (g). LEWIS KEPLER, his son, a Physician at Koningberg in Prussia, finished the impression of his father's *Somnium*, *Lunarifve Astronomia*; and he was in great fear that it would occasion his death [C]. John Kepler's opinions

[A] He acquired . . . a great reputation by his works. I shall only set down the titles of some of his books. *Harmonices mundi libri V. Apologia pro sua harmonica mundi contra demonstrationem analyticam Roberti de Fluctibus. De Cometis libri tres. Ad Visitationem Paratipomena, quibus Astronomiae pars optica traditur. Epitome Astronomiae Copernicanae. Astronomia nova, seu physica coelestis tradita commentariis de motibus stellae Martis ex observationibus Tychoonis Brahe. Cibilis logarithmorum in totidem numeros rotundos. Supplementum Cibilis logarithmorum. Nova Stereometria solidorum vinariorum & Stereometriae Arithmeticae supplementum. Dioptrice. De vero natali anno Christi. Eclogae Chronicae de tempore Herodis Herodiadumque, baptismi, ministerii, passionis, mortis & resurrectionis Christi, deque tempore belli Iudaei. Tychoonis Brahe Hyperaspistes adversus Scipionis Claramontii Anti-Tychoinem in aciem productus.* This is sufficient to shew, that our John Kepler was not one of those genius's who only move in a narrow sphere; his activity extended to a great many objects. See, in the text of this article, the title of the first book he published. It is the same with his *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, and it is that which, of all his works, he most esteemed. He was so charmed with it for some time, that he declared he would not renounce the glory of the discoveries of that book for the electorate of Saxony. Thomas Lansius in Mantissa orat. pag. 792. memorat, Keplerum aliquando à se rogatum, quem ex editis à se libris loco dignaretur praecipuo, primum dedisse *Mysterium cosmographicum*, testatur in illo scripto quinquaginta quatuor corporum regularium sublimis secretum tot saeculis absconditum pandi: inventum autem illud cum adhuc recens esset, tanti se fecisse, ut, si eodem tempore Saxoniae electoratus sibi dono oblatus fuisset, addita conditione, alterutrum, aut donum ut inventionem repudiandi; amplissima, & tot metallorum copias sibi provincia excidere, quam invidenda & perpetuam gloriam secum ductura inventionem carere maluerit (1). — Thomas Lansius, in Mantissa, orat. p. 792. relates, that Kepler, being asked by him, which of his works he esteemed most, gave the preference to the *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, affirming, that the sublime secret of the five regular bodies, hidden for so many ages, was laid open in that work; and that he set such a value on that discovery, being yet new, that, if at the same time, the electorate of Saxony were offered him, on condition of rejecting either the gift or the invention, he would prefer the immortal honour of that discovery to that large and rich country.

[B] The treasurers were so ill affected towards him. Wo to the learned, who depend on those gentlemen, and cannot perfect a work without the good humour of the Intendants of the Finances; a sort of men, who to serve their prince well, must tire his pensioners with a thousand difficulties. They leave him by that means whilst it costs him but little, the glory of being liberal. I use Gassendus's expressions, to shew Kepler's dissatisfaction. Alacriter quidem ille se accinxit; verum illae brevi, ac aliae deinceps, partim ex operis natura, partim ex tergiversatione Praefectorum aërii, subortae fuere difficultates, ut priusquam Tabulae perfectae, evalgataeque fuerint, annus saeculi XXVII. adventarit. Conquestus est certe ab annis II. ac III. configi se limis Praefectorum oculis; & cum anno IX. specimen laboris insigne, Commentaria de motibus Stellae Martis edidisset, ac Rodolphus praeter editionis impensas, perfolvi illi concessum mandasset, tum stipendiorum residua, quae inquit, ad duo millia monetæ argenteae majoris excreverant, tum alia insuper duo millia; expostulabat tamen adhuc biennio post, decreta Rodolphi in se munificentissima nullum eventum consequi, ac se incautum facere sumptus,

pulsareque jam Camerae Silesiaca, jam Imperialis aërii fores (2). — He set about it with a good will; but he met with such difficulties from time to time, partly from the nature of the work, and partly from the backwardness of the treasurers, that, before the tables were completed and published, the twenty seventh year of the century was come. It is certain, he complained, from the second and third years, of the cold looks of the Financiers; and when, in the ninth year he had published a noble specimen of his works, viz. Commentaries on the motions of the planet Mars; and the emperor Rodolphus, besides the expence of the publication, had ordered the immediate payment, both of the arrears of his pension, which, he says, amounted to two thousand crowns, and of two thousand over and above; yet he complained two years after, that the bountiful orders of the emperor were fruitless, and that he knocked at the doors of the Imperial chamber, and that of Silesia, to no purpose. Kepler was no less discouraged by the Financiers under the emperor Matthias, than under Rodolphus (3). He had occasion still for his patience, under the reign of Ferdinand; but at last he received his arrears. Perseveravit adhuc querela post exactum XIX. quo Ferdinandus Mathiae successit, etiamque post XXI. quo edidit partem doctrinae Copernicanae theoricam juxta quam deductio tabularum foret: quousque optimus Imperator rebus licet nondum penitus compositis etiam vetera quae Antecessores debebant stipendia persolvit, ac ut necessarii ad maturationem editionemque operis sumptus suppeditarentur mandavit (4). — His complaints still continued after the year XIX, in which Ferdinand succeeded Matthias, and even after the year XXI, in which he published the theoretic part of the Copernican doctrine, according to which the tables were to be deduced: till at last that good emperor, tho' his affairs were yet unsettled, discharged even the debts of his predecessors, and ordered the necessary expences for completing and publishing the work to be defrayed. The payment of his pension was interrupted; for the reason why he went to Ratibon in the year 1630, was to solicit the payment of his arrears (5).

[C] LEWIS KEPLER . . . was in great fear that the publication of his father's *Somnium* would occasion his death. The last work that Kepler composed, was the description of the moon; he had not the satisfaction of publishing it, because he died whilst it was printing. James Bartichius, his son-in-law, and his faithful follower in Astronomical opinions, took care of the book, and continued the impression; but death interrupted it again. Lewis Kepler, the author's son, was so surprized at these accidents, that it proved a very difficult thing to persuade him to meddle with this work. He feared he should lose his life in it, as his father, and brother-in-law, had done; and his mother-in-law, John Kepler's widow, who was poor, and had many children, was obliged to use a great many intreaties and arguments to engage him to that undertaking. At last she obtained her desire. A learned Professor of Utrecht made use of these circumstances to cry down the doctrine of John Kepler concerning the world in the moon. Unum, says he, praeterire nequeo, quod spectat Selenographiae Keplerianae natales, unde jure merito male ominor Levaniae, ejusque incolis. — One thing I cannot omit, which relates to the nativity of Kepler's Selenography, whence I bode ill to Levania, and it's inhabitants. He relates the death of the author, and that of Bartichius, and then adds: Illa vero ut intellexit Ludovicus Keplerus, Johannis filius, noverca viduae inopis ac liberis onusta precibus atque erga patrum nomen affectu, vix vinci potuit ut belli

(a) Gassendus, ubi supra, lib. vi, pag. 471.

(1) Licet non inopinate Mathias Rodolphus successit, & extingui speraretur, quousque optimus Imperator rebus licet nondum penitus compositis etiam vetera quae Antecessores debebant stipendia persolvit, ac ut necessarii ad maturationem editionemque operis sumptus suppeditarentur mandavit (4).

(4) Ib. ibid.

(5) Cum . . . anno XXX. . . ad Comitia Ratibonensia, ut stipendiorum residua persolverent, se contulisset, & ex ea occasione laborio Decebris, ut cum ad David tam scriptis Berengerius, cum & estimo Eichstadius ad me scripserat, fuisset cum ea thoro extinctum, quem apothematam quendam cerebri obnitionem percrebrant. Id. pag. 472.

nions are sometimes very singular; one would think that he ascribed to the earth a soul, endowed with sense [D]. It is pretended, that he afforded very good hints to Des Cartes [E]. We may place him among those authors, who have said, that they

(6) Gerardus de Vries, in Dissertatione de Lunicolis, pag. 253, 254. It is printed with the Physiologia of Daniel Fictus, at Utrecht, 1688.

(7) Martinus Schoockius de Scepticismo, lib. iv, pag. 387, 388.

(8) Vossius, de Origine & Progressu Idolatriæ, lib. ii, cap. lxiii, sub fin. pag. m. 641.

'belli inchoatæ editioni absolvendæ manum admove-
'ret, territus (quod ipse fatetur) improvise & patris &
'affinis obitu, metuensque ne cum illis in Levantiam
'relegaretur (6). — Lewis Kepler, the son of John,
'bearing of these accidents, was hardly prevailed up-
'on by the intreaties of his mother-in-law, who was
'left a widow, poor, and burthened with children, and
'by filial affection, to finish the publication of the book,
'being alarmed (as he himself confessed) with the
'sudden death of his father and brother-in-law, and
'fearing lest, with them, he should be banished to Le-
'vania.' I have hardly met with any author so violent
against Kepler as Schoockius; as if this great ma-
thematician had made himself the most ridiculous man
in the world, by endeavouring to apply mathematical
speculations to Natural Philosophy. I do not be-
lieve, that this design can ever succeed; for the ob-
ject of Mathematics, and that of Physics, are things
irreconcilable: the one is a quantity, which only
exists in idea, and cannot exist any other way; the
other exists out of our mind, and can never be really
in it. However it be, I shall set down Schoockius's
words: 'Ubi Mathematicus, nemo eodem (Joban-
nes Kepler) melior & subtilior, ubi vero Physicus,
'nemo eodem pejor atque ineptior, ut æpissime do-
'learn, si non ingemiscam, virum tam eximium, di-
'vinam illam Matheseos nugamentis suis Physicis adeo
'fœdè commaculasse. Quid absurdius enim vel fer-
'bricitans anus in somnio videat, quam quod terra
'ingens animal sit, quæ per montium crateres & ca-
'minos, ceu os aut nares, ventos expiret? & hoc
'tamen expresse docet, lib. 4. Harmonicæ, cap. 7.
'ubi serio quoque probare nititur, quod terra cum
'cælo sympathiam colat, & naturali instinctu siderum
'posturam cognoscat. Similiter in scripto de Motibus
'Martis fol. 173. contendit solem magnum magne-
'tem, seu magneticum corpus esse, supra proprium
'centrum diurno motu circumactum, quod secundum
'speciem quandam diffusam, omnes reliquas Planetarum
'sphaeras commoveat, & in orbem agitet. Nec sic Ke-
'plerus solum, per Matheseos imprudenter & infelici-
'ter Physicæ applicatam, in errorum præcipitum ruit;
'sed cum eo multi quoque alii quorum indicem alio
'in scripto, si Deo placerit vitam prorogare, exhi-
'bebo (7). — Where Mathematicians were concerned,
'no one excelled John Kepler; where Natural Philo-
'sophy, no one was so unskillful; insomuch that I have
'often lamented, that so great a man spoiled that di-
'vine science with his physical follies. For what greater
'absurdity could a feverish old woman dream
'of, than that the earth is a huge animal, which
'breathes out winds through the crannies and crannies
'of the mountains, as thro' a mouth and nose? Yet
'this he expressly teaches, in the fourth book of
'his Harmonica, ch. 7. in which he gravely endea-
'vours to prove, that the earth maintains a sympathy
'with the heavens, and perceives the position of the
'stars by instinct. In like manner, in his treatise of
'the motions of Mars he contends, that the sun is a
'large load-stone, or magnetic body, revolving by a di-
'urnal motion on it's own centre, and giving motion
'to the whole system of planets, by a certain diffused
'power. Nor has Kepler erred alone, by rashly ap-
'plying Mathematics to Natural Philosophy; but ma-
'ny others with him, a catalogue of which, if God
'grant me life, I will give in another work.'

[D] One would think that he ascribed to the earth
a soul endowed with sense.] Vossius observing the ab-
surdity of placing the earth among the gods, the
earth, I say, which all the world took for a body,
trampled under foot, and covered with all sorts of
filth, adds, that the wiser sort were well aware of
this absurdity, and said, the earth was either an ani-
mal, or part of a great animal, called the world (8).
Kepler, continues he, was not far from this opinion
for he not only said, that the diurnal motion of the
earth proceeds from the earth, but also, that the earth
perceives beforehand the appearance of comets, that
it sweats for fear of them, and that thence proceed great
rains. 'Audiamus eum loquentem libro de cometis
'anni post millesimum & sexcentisimum septimum, at-
'que item duodevigesimi: Facultas mundi sublunaris
'cometam PERSENTISCIT, ET OBSTUPESCIT,

'unaque facultates cæteræ omnium rerum sublunarium.
'Ac postea: Facultas telluris, insolenti Cometæ appa-
'ritions CONSTERNATA, uno terrestri superficie
'loco multum exsudat vaporum, pro qualitate illius
'partis sui corporis, hinc diuturnæ pluvie, & elu-
'viones (9). — Let us hear what he says in his book (9) Id. Ibid.
'of the comets of the years 1607 and 1618: The fa-
'culty of the sublunary world PERCEIVES the
'coming of a comet, and is TERRIFIED, and to-
'gether with it the other faculties of sublunary things.
'And afterwards, the faculty of the earth, AF-
'RIGHTED at the unusual appearance of a comet,
'sweats out a large quantity of vapours from one part
'of the terrestrial surface, according to the quality of
'that part of it's body, whence proceed great rains.
'Gassendus observes, that, according to Kepler, all the
'stars are animated, and that, as animals move by means
of their muscles, the earth and the planets have also
muscles proportioned to their bulk, which are the in-
struments, by which they move. He gives the sun a most
noble and active soul, and will have it, that the beams
of the sun put the souls of the planets in action. 'Ad-
'noto dumtaxat Keplerum ita sidera fecisse animata,
'ac ut instrumenta motus in Animalibus sunt fibræ
'digestæ per musculos; sic censuisse illum esse
'& in Terra, & in Planetis cæteris ingenteis fibras
'aliquas pro ratione molis cujusque, per quas Anima
'vim suam motricem exercent. Censuit verò etiam,
'præter speciales Animas, & vireis, quæ insunt id
'cæteris, esse in ipso Sole Animam nobilissimam po-
'tentissimamque, quæ dum Solem circa proprium ax-
'em (à centro Mundi propterea non discedentem) cir-
'cumagat, immateriatas species (sic enim appellat) ir-
'radiando, circumfundit, quibus, Planetæ velut corres-
'pondenti, ipsi Soli circumducantur (10). — I only ob-
'serve, that Kepler supposed the stars to be thus animated
'and as in animals the instruments of motion are the
'fibræ digestæ thro' the muscles, so he supposed there
'were in the earth, and the other planets certain large
'fibræ, in proportion to their respective magnitudes, by
'which the soul exercises it's motive force. He believ-
'ed likewise, that, besides the souls and forces, which
'are in the rest, there is in the sun a most noble and
'powerful soul, which, whilst it carries the sun round
'it's own axis, keeping it thereby in the centre of
'the universe, darts all around immateriated species
'(so he calls them), which, seizing on the planets,
'whirl them round the sun.' Here is what I quote
out of Mr Leibniz, and observe, that it would
be pretty difficult to confute Kepler's hypothesis; for
we are no more in a condition of knowing, whether
the earth be animated, than a louse is of knowing, whe-
ther we are living creatures. 'Tantarum tamque
'conflantium veritatum causas dare nondum potuit
'(Keplerus) tum quod Intelligentiæ aut sympathiarum
'radiationibus inexplicatis haberet prædeditam men-
'tem, tum quod nondum illius tempore Geometria
'interior & scientia motuum eo quo nunc profecti-
'sent (11). — Kepler could not yet assign the causes
'of such great and constant truths, both because his mind
'was perplexed with intelligencies and radiations of
'sympathies, of which he could give no account, as
'also because at that time, the interior Geometry, and
'the science of motion, had not arrived to their pre-
'sent perfection. A louse is contented with feeding
on what it draws from the surface of our bodies: it knows
not whether we think, nor can it discover the secret
springs that move us. Can we make more discoveries up-
on the question, whether the earth thinks and whether
it has sensations, which, like ours, determine certain in-
ward springs to move themselves in a certain manner?

[E] It is pretended that he afforded very good hints
to Des Cartes.] Kepler, says Mr Baillet (12), had
'particularly cultivated Astronomy and Optics, and tho'
'he left many things to be discovered, or perfect-
'ed, yet it must be confessed, that the reading of his
'writings has not been useless to Des Cartes. In ano-
'ther place (13) he mentions three things, which seem-
ed to have been common to Des Cartes and Kepler.
'The first is the knowledge of the celestial vortices,
'which it is pretended Kepler had at least a confu-
'ed idea of, as well as Jordanus Brunus. The second
'is, the explication of gravity, which Kepler gave the
'first

(10) Gassend.
Physica, Sect II,
lib. iii, cap. vi,
Oper. Tom. I,
pag. m. 655.

(11) Act. Erudit.
Lipsienf 1689,
pag. 82, 83.

(12) Vie de
Des Cartes, Tom.
I, pag. 226.

(13) In Tom. II,
p. 344. He quotes
O. G. Leibniz
Tom. I, Art.
Erditor. Lips.
Indeed Mr Leib-
niz speaks thus,
pag. 187. Cl.
Speissius . . .
notat solemne
fuisse Cartesii
præterite nomina
auctorum, & ex-
emplum asserit
mundanorum
vorticum, ad
quos Jordanus
Brunus & Jo-
hannes Keplerus
ita digitum in-
tenderent, ut tan-
tum istud voca-
bulum ipsis de-
fuisse videretur.
... Speissius ob-
servat, that Des
Cartes was content
to conceal the
names of authors,
and be influenced
in the mundane
vortices, which
Jordanus Brunus
and John Kepler
had so described
that they seem
to have wanted
the name.

they valued a production of the mind above a kingdom (b). Moreri has been guilty of more faults of omission than of commission [F].

* Tom. III, of the Letters, pag. 397. (14) *Acta Erudit. Lips. 1689, pag. 83.* (15) *In Censura Philosoph. Cartesianæ, cap. viii, pag. m. 216.*

first of all, by the comparison of small pieces of straw, which, by the motion of water circulating in a vessel, gather in the center. The third is the knowledge of Optics, in which Des Cartes has owned Kepler for his master in the year 1638. Here is the testimony he gave of it to Father Merenne. He says he, who accuses me of having taken the Ellipses and Hyperboles of my Dioptries from Kepler, must be ignorant or malicious. For as to the ellipses, I do not remember, that Kepler speaks of it; nor, if he does, it is, no doubt, to say, that it is not the anacastic, which he looks for. And as for the hyperbole, I remember very well, that he pretends to demonstrate, that it is not that neither, though he says, it is not very different from it. Now I leave you to judge, whether I could learn, that a thing was true, from a man, who endeavoured to prove, that it was false. Which does not hinder me from acknowledging, that Kepler was my first master in Optics, and that he knew more of it than all those that went before him. Mr Leibniz, whose words I have mentioned concerning the Vortices, says something in another place about the subject of gravity. He pretends, that we are indebted to Kepler for the cause of that Phenomenon, and he accuses Des Cartes of having made use of that excellent discovery, without ascribing the invention of it to its true author. Ipsi (Kepler) primum indicium debetur veræ causæ gravitatis, & hujus naturæ legis, à qua gravitas pendet, quod corpora rotata conantur à centro recedere per tangentem, & ideo fi in aqua festucae vel palæ innatent, rotato vase, aqua in vorticem acta, festucas densior, atque ideo fortius quam ipsæ, excussa à medio, festucas versus centrum compellit; quemadmodum ipse diserte duobus & amplius locis, in Epitome Astronomiæ exposuit; quanquam adhuc subdubitabundus, & suas ipse opes ignorans, nec satis conficius quanta inde sequerentur; tum in Physica, tum speciatim in Astronomia. Sed his deinde egregie usus est Cartesius, cui more suo autorem dissimulavit (14). — We are indebted to Kepler for the first discovery of the true cause of gravity, and the nature of that law, on which gravity depends; to wit, that bodies whirled round endeavour to recede from the centre in a tangent; and therefore, if straws swim in water, and the vessel be whirled round, the water, being driven into a vortex, and being denser than the straws, and therefore forced more strongly than them from the centre, drives the straws towards the centre; as he has expressly taught in two or more places, in his Abridgement of Astronomy; tho' still expressing his doubts, and ignorant of his own ability, nor well aware what consequences follow from thence in Natural Philosophy, and especially in Astronomy. But Des Cartes afterwards made an excellent use of this discovery, tho', according to custom, he says nothing of the author. See the bishop of Avranches (15), who cites some passages of Kepler, accusing Des

Cartes of having stolen several things from this German.

[F] Moreri has been guilty of more faults of omission than of commission. The faults of the first kind will easily appear to all those, who will be at the pains of comparing his article with this; and much more, if it were compared with an article, containing those things, which I have not observed. Here are his faults of commission. I. The emperor, who succeeded Rodolphus, was not called Mathew, but Matthias. These two names are very different, and no body should have known it better than Moreri, who, as a priest, read every day his Breviary. Are not the seals of St. Mathew and St. Matthias distinct? II. He should not have said, that Kepler died about the year 1620, but in the year 1630. An error of ten years is inexcusable in speaking of a great man of our age. III. He should not say, that John Kepler is different from Lewis Kepler, he should say that Lewis Kepler was John's son. Moreri might easily have avoided the first fault, since Vossius, whom he copied, speaks thus: 'Primum Rodolphi Imperatoris, exinde MATTHIAS, tandem & Ferdinandi Cæs. Mathematicus fuit (16).'

— He was Mathematician, first to the emperor Rodolphus, then to MATTHIAS, and lastly to Ferdinand. I shall occasionally say here, that, before Kepler had that title, he had been professor at Gratz in Stiria. His engagement with Tycho Brahe had like to have been broke, because the States of Stiria did not approve of it (17). Tycho gave Kepler to understand, that he had procured him a greater salary at the court of the emperor, with the character of Mathematician to his Imperial majesty, so that the loss of his salary in Stiria ought not to stop him (18). Hereupon Kepler left the university of Gratz. The emperor Rodolphus made him his Mathematician: but he obliged him to serve Tycho as an Arithmetician (19). I find, that the emperor Matthias gave Kepler a fixed settlement at Linz, and that he ordered him a salary from the States of the Upper Austria, which was paid for sixteen years. Neque enim sibi satis esse, quod Cæsar etiam ante Imperium decrevisset idoneam, fixamque sedem Lincii; ac adjecisset exhibendam à Proceribus Austriæ super Anstanz stipendia, quibus donec res pacatiores evaderent, sustentaretur; uti & fuit illis reipsa per annos sexdecim sustentatus (20). You see the reason why Vossius, speaking of the Steurometry that was printed in 1617, calls Kepler 'Cæsaris Mathematici & illustrium Ordinum Archiducalis Austriæ supra Onasum Mathematicus (21). — Mathematician to the emperor Matthias, and the States of arch-ducal Austria, above the Onasus.' I find also, that Wallstein settled Kepler at Sagan in Silesia, and there it was that this Astronomer caused the continuation of his Ephemerides to be printed in the year 1630 (22). 'Deinceps autem anno xxx. post editas Sagani Silesiorum (ubi Dux Meckelburgi) Wulstemi (23) sedem illi tribuerat) Ephemeridas (24) ad Comitum Ratisbonensia . . . se contulit.' (25) This is only to be understood of the second part of the Ephemerides; for the first was printed at Linz, in 1617.

KERMATIAN, a sect in Arabia. See the remark [A] of the article ABUDHAHER.

KESLER (ANDREW), a Lutheran Divine, was born at Coburg in Franconia, in the year 1595. He did not follow his father's profession, which was that of a Taylor (a); he applied himself to study, and distinguished himself by his wit, and the progress he made; which was doubtless the cause that John Casimir, duke of Saxony, who had erected a famous school at Coburg, gave him a pension (b). This enabled him to maintain himself in the university of Iéna, and afterwards in that of Wittemberg. In the later, he was admitted into the faculty of Philosophy, and shewed by several theses he maintained, that he was well versed in Logic, and that he successfully employed this science in refuting the Socinians [A]. He was prevailed upon to leave

Wittemberg

[A] He was well versed in Logic, and successfully employed it in refuting the Socinians. He published a tract de principiis Logici quæ in Photinianorum librorum lectione occurrunt, containing thirteen disputations which he had maintained in the university of Wittemberg. He dedicated it to his Mæcenas prince John Casimir of Saxony. The Epistle Dedicatory is dated

from Wittemberg the first of August 1621. He gave a second edition of this work in the same town, in 1624, in 4to. It is intitled, *Logice Photiniane examen, seu Principiorum Logicorum quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio: cui præmissus est tractatus brevissimus de illegitimo Photinianorum disputandi modo, & legitima ratione pie philosophandi.* A new edition

Wittenberg (c), to accept of an employment (d) in the college of Coburg, and at the end of a year and half he was made pastor and superintendent of Eisfeld. He discharged this office well, and this was the reason why prince John Casimir would not permit him to accept the superintendence of all the churches of the country of Eisenach. He took his doctor's degree, and accepted an invitation to Steinfurt. He was offered the superintendence of the church: he declined it; but he readily accepted it after the misfortune he had to lose his library, when the Imperial troops sacked the town of Eisfeld in the year 1632. Beside the superintendence of the church, he had likewise at Steinfurt the direction of the college, when he was called to Coburg, to succeed the superintendent of the churches. He discharged this employ with applause. His sermons were very much followed on account of his eloquence and his doctrine. He was seized with an Apoplexy in the very pulpit (e), and died, after languishing some months, the fifteenth of May, 1643 (f). He composed some books [B], some in Latin, and others in German, only part of which have been published.

(c) Spizelius, ubi
supra, pag. 256.

(d) That of
professor of Logic.

(e) Taken from
Spizelius, ubi
supra, pag. 156.

(f) Henn Witte,
in Diario Biographico.

(1) At Wittenberg.

edition of it in 8vo, was published at Wittenberg in the year 1642. Michael Wendelerus, professor of Philosophy (1), prefixed to it a small preface, in which he placed among the Socinian authors Smiglecius, one of the Jesuits who have the most strongly refuted them. Kessler next attacked the Socinian Metaphysics in a work, intitled *Metaphysicæ Photinianæ partis generalis examen, seu principiorum ad generalem Metaphysicæ partem pertinentium quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio*. I have seen only the third edition of it, which is that of Wittenberg, 1648, in 8vo, but I conjecture, that the first is of the year 1623; for the Epistle Dedicatory is dated from that town the tenth of March, 1623. The *Metaphysicæ Photinianæ partis specialis examen, seu principiorum ad specialem Metaphysicæ partem pertinentium quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt Consideratio* appeared, if I am not mistaken, in the year 1626; for the author's Epistle Dedicatory is dated from Eisfeld the fourteenth of January of that year. I have seen only

the third edition, which is that of Wittenberg, 1648, in 8vo. He attacked likewise the Physics of the Socinians: the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Physicæ Photinianæ examen, seu principiorum Physicorum quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio* is dated from Eisfeld the first of January 1628. I have seen only the edition of Wittenberg, 1656, in 8vo. There is a good deal of method and exactness in these writings.

[B] He composed several books. We see the titles of them in Spizelius's *Templum Honoris referatum* (2), and in Henningus Witte's *Diarium Biographicum*; but without any mark of the time or place of the edition. I have remedied this fault as much as I could with regard to the books, which I have mentioned in the foregoing remark. I cannot go on with regard to the rest, which are *Tractatus de Consequentia: Quadrigena Discursum Philosophico-Theologicorum: Historia Epiphanicæ Dominicæ: Responsio belli ubiqueficti Laurentio Forero opposita*, &c.

(2) At Pag. 160.

KILIANUS (CORNELIUS), a native of Brabant, was an excellent corrector of the press, for the space of fifty years, at Plantin's Printing-house. He did not content himself with exactly correcting the proofs of other peoples works; but he wrote some books which were esteemed [A]. He had no ill success in making Latin verses, as it appears from his Apology for the Correctors against Authors [B]. He died very old on Easter-day in 1607. Most of the things I have been speaking of will be verified in the remark, wherein I insert his epitaph [C].

(1) Athen. Belg. pag. 190.

[A] He wrote some books which were esteemed. Swertius (1) begins the list of them with these words. *Scriptit Etymologicon Teutonicæ Linguae, five Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum à Justo Lipsio laudatum. Typis Moreti 1599, in 8vo. — He wrote an Etymologicon of the Flemish tongue, or a Dictionary of Flemish and Latin, cited by Justus Lipsius. Printed for Moret, 1599, 8vo.* His other works are Latin verses, and a Flemish translation of Philip de Comines, and of Lewis Guicciardin (2).

(2) Description of the Netherlands.

(3) Tom. VII, pag. 327.

(4) Pag. 203.

THE faults in books are not always to be imputed to the Printers.

[B] His apology for the correctors against authors. It is an epigram of eighteen verses, which we find in Beyerlinch's *Theatrum vitæ humanæ* (3). Mr Chevilier has inserted it in his *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris* (4), after having said a thing, which deserves to be mentioned. 'We will not however charge the Printers or Correctors with all the faults that are in the printed books. They have their excuse upon the authors. Faults remain sometimes in an edition through the ignorance, or negligence, of the writer, or the publisher. He gives a very incorrect copy, which is faithfully printed, and consequently with the faults of the manuscript: but it happens, that the learned, who judge without flattery, censuring what deserves it; he, who is not guilty, is accused, though the fault be entirely in the author. An excellent corrector of Plantin's press,

called Cornelius Kilian, made an apology for the Correctors against the authors, who, being mistaken for want of learning and judgement, and giving incorrect copies, do nevertheless blame the innocent.'

[C] I insert his epitaph. It was made by Francis Swertius, his friend, and consists of these words: 'D. O. M. CORNELIO KILIANO Duffæo, constantis laboris, & perennis industriæ laude ornato & amato viro. L. ann. Plantin. Typographiæ correctorem fessit. Quam fideliter, perite, doctè, ipsos rogare libros elegantia, nitore, fama æternæ artis primos. Nec semper alienos tractavit, cum & suos reliquerit, Latina oratione disertus, versificatu felix, patriam quoque eloquentiam excoluit, cultumque ejus & proprietatem revocavit. Obiit ætate operibusque gravis MDCVII ipso paschatis festo (6) — To the memory of the very industrious and beloved CORNELIUS KILIANUS. He was fifty years corrector of the press to Plantin; how faithfully, skillfully, and learnedly, the elegant and beautiful editions he was concerned in sufficiently shew. Nor was he wholly conversant with other writers; since he left works of his own, being an eloquent Latinist, an happy Poet, and a restorer of the purity of his native tongue. He died full of years and works, in the year 1607, on Easter day.'

(5) Mr Chevillier, pag. 196, calls him Peter.

(6) Franc. Swertius, Athen Belg. pag. 189, 190.

KIRCHER (JOHN), a native of Tübingen in the duchy of Wirtemberg, studied with great success in the university of his country, and raised very great hopes of himself; but, having chosen another sort of life, and seeing no probability of a settlement in it, he changed the Lutheran for the Romish religion, and went into Hungary (a). This was about the year 1640. He published, according to custom, the motives of his change, to which were made several answers [A]. I can proceed no farther in my account of him; and

(a) Joh. Georgius Doricheus, Epist. Dedicat. Hodegetici Catholic.

[A] He published the motives of his change, published is intitled, *Ætiologia in qua migrationis suæ ex Lutherana Synagoga in Ecclesiam Catholicam veras*

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and I should be to blame, if I did not own it, since the learned Mr Baillet made no scruple to acknowledge, that he was ignorant of this person's adventures [B].

veras & solidas rationes succinctè exponit, & perspicuè, ac distinctè omnibus & judicandi dexteritate pollentibus ritè, accuratè & modestè considerandas proponit. It was printed at Vienna in Austria, in the year 1640, and dedicated to Emeric Loff, archbishop of Strigonia. This work turns upon these two hinges; one is, that the Lutheran religion ought to be quitted, because it has no infallible authority to direct us to judge what we ought to believe: the other is, that Popery ought to be embraced, because we find in it such an authority (1). He was confuted. Consult Mr Baillet (2) who will tell you, that John Conrad Schragmüller published an Anti-Kircher in High-Dutch in the year 1654, and that Abraham Calovius put out an *Examen Anti-Kircherianum* at Königsberg in Prussia, in the year 1643. He does not there mention (3) the book of John George Dorscheus, professor of Divinity at Strasburg, though it may be reckoned an Anti-Kircher. The title of it is; *M. J. Kircherus devius, five Hodegeticus Catholicus, quo ostenditur M. Johannem Kircherum Tubingæ Wirtembergicæ migrationis suæ ex synagoga, quam vocat, Lutherana in Ecclesiam Catholicam institutione ivisse, non qua eundem est sed qua ita.* It was printed at Strasburg in the year 1641, in 12mo, and contains two parts, the running titles whereof are 1^o. *Hodeget. Cathol. Antikirch. prælim.* 2^o. *Hodeget. Cathol. Antikirch.* Dorscheus maintains the perspicuity of the scripture, which is the foundation of the Protestant faith, and shews, on the other hand, that neither the councils, nor the decisions of the Popes, can be a good foundation of certainty. The citations take up more than half the book, and especially in the places, wherein are examined Kircher's complaints, that the Protestants impute to the Catholic church all the impertinencies of particular au-

thors. This book of Dorscheus was answered by a German Jesuit, called Henry Wangnereck, who published an Anti-Dorscheus in the year 1653, and, in his turn, was confuted by an Anti-Wagnereck, which Balthasar Bebelius (4) published by way of Theological Thefes in the year 1682.

[B] Mr Baillet made no scruple to acknowledge, that he was ignorant of this person's adventures. As there is a good deal of wit in his confession, I will relate at large what he says (5). 'You would have no occasion to reproach me for it (6), if I could have discovered the register of his baptism or burial. Of the four German Kirchers, whom I know to have been authors, and whereof two were Jesuits, ours whose name was John, is he, whose life and employments I am least informed of. I believe, that if he had died a Lutheran, Mr Henning Witten would have done him the honour to place him in his memoirs, with so many others, who did not deserve it better than he; another of his fraternity would have made his funeral oration, or published an historical eulogy on him. Perhaps also, if Kircher, when he turned from Lutheranism to the church of Rome, had become a monk, some Bibliographer, or other curious person of his order, would have been at the pains of collecting his actions and writings, and of placing him among the famous men of his order. But I have too good an opinion of your memory, to repeat what I have told you upon this subject in the article of the Anti-Cochleus, when you was desirous to know, why the Protestant writers are generally better known to us than the Catholics, and why, among the latter, the Monks, of whatever order they be, are commonly better known than the other Catholics.'

KIRCHMAN (JOHN), famous for his works, was born at Lubec the eighteenth of January 1575. He studied in his country till he was eighteen years of age, after which he went to Francfort upon the Oder, where he spent four years, constantly attending the lectures, and avoiding the amusements and debaucheries, in which most scholars lose their time [A]. He studied afterwards in the university of Iëna, and then in that of Strasburg. He desired to travel into foreign countries; but having not sufficient means for that, he was forced to refrain his desire. He was not long under that constraint; for he was made governour to the son of a burgomaster of Luneburg, and went with him into France and Italy. He returned into Germany in the year 1602; and, being at Rostoch, he so well discovered his capacity, that he was made professor of Poetry the year following. The work he published in the year 1604, *de Funeribus Romanorum*, procured him the reputation of a very learned man, and contributed, perhaps, to his meeting with a good match as readily as he desired; for he had no less an inclination to increase the number of the inhabitants of the world [B], than that of his books.

[A] He avoided the amusements and debaucheries, in which most scholars lose their time. It has been a dispute for many ages, whether it be better to educate children at home, or to send them to the universities (1). There are reasons on both sides; but that which is most plausible against sending them to the universities, is the great danger of being drawn into debauchery. Studious scholars are very scarce; but those who disturb others, either by their bad example, their solicitations, or their raileries, are very numerous. See what is said of our Kircher, and of most of his schoolfellows. 'Ibidem per quadriennium fere sublitit; non cibos & potiones tantum percolando, non Charadrii viam agendo, non ludicris aliorum exagitationibus, aut lascivis Gynæcei lustrationibus se oblectando, non securilibus Lurconum nugis optimum juventutis florem pessime corrumpendo, quibus egregiis, scilicet exercitiis, deplorato & exulcerato hoc seculo, maxima (2). pro dolor! Academicorum pars dedita est; sed lectiones & disputationes publicas diligenter visitando, cum viris doctis familiariter conversando, & interdiu nocturneque bonis literis, quibus animum totum applicuerat, strenuè incumbendo (3). — He continued there almost four years, not spending his time in feasting and diversions, which is too much practised in most of our universities, but in attending public lectures and disputations, in conversing with learned men, and applying himself with the utmost diligence to his studies.'

[B] He had a great desire to increase the number of the inhabitants of the world. It is here necessary, more than in other places, to set down the very words of my author. 'Quemadmodum prole animi bonas litteras promovere studuit Kirchmannus, ita etiam prole corporis humanum genus angere apud se constituit. Quamobrem eodem anno, quo Funera Romanorum publici juris fecit, illique nominis sui funera planè exterminavit, vitæ sociam sibi elegit Virginem castissimam & pudicissimam, Emerentiam; Joachimi Schellii, Senatoris Rostochiensis prudentissimi, filiam (4). — Kirchman, as by the offspring of the mind he endeavoured to promote learning, so by the offspring of his body he resolved to increase the human race. Wherefore, the same year that he published the Funerals of the Romans, by which he immortalized his name, he took to wife a most chaste and modest lady, Emerentia, the daughter of Joachimi Schellius, a Senator of Rostoch. Here you see a man, who very much regarded the public good; he confined not his zeal to the advantage of the Republic of Letters; he laboured also for that of the state, by the procreation of children; he consecrated both his body and mind, to the benefit of mankind. The learned Helena Piscopia Cornara had very different notions; for, to shew, that she trod in the steps of Minerva, the goddess of science, who always preserved her virginity, she got herself admitted into the academy of Gli insecundi. But then the most learned Tiraguelus was

(1) Taken from Dorscheus's Hodegeticus Catholicus, pag. 1, & 329, 330.

(2) Baillet, in the first Tome of the Anti, n. 25, pag. 224, 205.

(3) Note, that he speaks of it in the 267th page of the same Tome, but not under the notion of Anti-Kircher.

(1) See Quintilian, Instit. Orat. lib. i, cap. ii, and Mr Ducler's Remarks upon the Life of Numa Pompilius, at the end, and the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, for June 1700, pag. 886.

(2) See the remark [D], citat. (12). See likewise the article ERFORT, remark [D].

(3) Jacob Stollertus, Orat. Funebri Johannis Kirchmanni, apud Witten Memor. Philol. Orator. &c. pag. 525.

(4) Professor of Divinity at Strasburg. See the *Acta Eruditorum*, in 1682, pag. 249, and Mr Baillet, *ubi supra*, pag. 268.

(5) Baillet, *ubi supra*, pag. 206, 207.

(6) That is, for saying nothing of that Kircher's Life or Death.

(4) Idem, Stollertus, pag. 530.

books. It was therefore very fortunate for him, to find a wife the same year that he set up for an author, especially since the wife he met with made him attain the end he aimed at; for she brought him children; besides, she lived with him with great union and concord [C]. Being looked upon as a man who educated youth well, and suffered not his boarders to commit any irregularity in his house [D], he had many scholars sent him from the other towns of Germany; and at last, when the magistrates of Lubec saw, that their school wanted a new rector, they intreated him to take upon him that employment. One of the reasons that engaged him to accept it, was, his fear of offending God, if he should refuse so lawful a request [E]. He took possession of that employment in the year 1613, and continued it all the rest of his life, with wonderful industry, though he had the mortification of being exposed to many slanders [F], under pretence, that the school visibly decayed. It is alleged that it was not his fault. He died the twentieth of March, 1643 (a). I will give a catalogue of his works [G].

(a) Taken from his Funeral Oration, pronounced by James Stalterhous, his son in law. Witten has inserted it in the *Memoria Philo-sophorum*, pag. 516.

(5) For Novemb. 1682, art. XII, pag. 977.

(6) Orat. Funeb. apud Witten, Memor. Philo. pag. 531.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 530.

(8) See his article remark [C].

(9) Orat. Funeb. ubi supra, pag. 530.

(10) Utinam id fecum probe voluerent illi, qui conjugium, quod debet esse, eritatis vinculum, faciunt certamen, rixosum, quo seipsos excarnificunt, & quotidiani quasi morte molestant! Satiis istis esset, non quam matrimonio contraxisse, quam contractum tam fide deturpasse. Id. ibid. pag. 531.

(11) Est quedam fere voluptas: Exolevit lacrymis, exsuperatque dolor. Ovidius, *Trist. lib. 10, Elg. iii, ver. 37.*

an example to our Kirchman; for it is said, he produced every year a book and a child. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (5), on the subject of Mrs le Fevre. The following words shew, that our Kirchman was not disappointed in his good intentions. 'Quoniam vero præcipuus conjugii scopus quo Kirchmannus collimavit est procreatio liberorum. . . . etiam hunc scopum attigit, & conjugium ex benedictione divina uti jucundum, ita & lætandum habuit. Ex uxore quippe suavissima, nunc proli dolo! Vidua mœlissima, quinque liberos suscepit, filios tres & filias duas (6). — But, whereas the chief end of matrimony, at which Kirchman aimed, is the procreation of children. . . . he attained this end, and, by God's blessing, met with a wife, both agreeable and fruitful. For she brought him (though now a most disconsolate widow) five children, viz. three sons and two daughters.'

[C] They lived together with great union and concord. The funeral oration says, that for thirty seven years that their marriage lasted, they had no need of a reconciliation. 'Quod conjugium felicibus auspiciis coeptum felici etiam successu non caruit. Tanto enim amore hi conjuges se mutuo sunt complexi, tantâ concordia septem & triginta annos transegerunt, ut nunquam in gratiam redire, aut ad aram Bonæ Deæ litare necesse ipsis fuerit (7). — Which match, happily begun, proved so in the end. For they lived together thirty seven years, in such mutual affection, that they never stood in need of a reconciliation or bad occasion to sacrifice at the altar of the Bona Dea.' Pomponius Atticus had the like good fortune with his sister, and with his mother (8), but not with his wife. The author of the funeral oration pretends that this conjugal concord proceeded from this, that both the husband and the wife well understood, that it was pleasing to God and men, and that the inconveniences of marriage, great enough in themselves, ought not to be aggravated by dissensions, but rather sweetened by an agreeable conversation. Nimirum uterque ipsorum probe intellexit, Deo hominibusque gratum; si bene inter maritum & uxorem conveniat, nec conjugii molestias, alias sat graves, odiosis rixis & acerbis concertationibus cumulas, sed suavisimâ potius oblectatione, & jucundissimâ conversatione leniendas esse (9). Hereupon he makes a very pathetic wish: would to God, says he (10), that all those, who do not live well together, would consider this great truth. I do not believe this author has hit upon the true cause. This great truth is universally known; even those families, where discord reigns most, are fully convinced of it: but they are not governed by this persuasion; and I question whether the quarrelling part be not pitched upon as the least inconvenient; they would be more tormented by their discontent and antipathy, if they kept them within their breast. Scolding is like tears (11); it swages the grief, with which one is oppressed.

[D] He permitted not his boarders to commit any irregularity in his house. There are some professors so covetous, that for fear of having their boarding cried down, they are very cautious how they cross their boarders in their pleasures. Young men, to revenge themselves of the restraint they are kept under, would make their relations believe a thousand lies, in order to remove to some other place. Kirchman did not govern himself by such apprehensions. 'Non enim Bacchanalia cum convitiis suis Kirchmannus vivebat, non scyphos ad ordinem evacuat; non ad mensuras sine mensura vivebat, non noctem Baccho

ut perviligem ducerent domesticis suis permittebat, quemadmodum nunc nonnulli in Academicis Professoribus & Juventutis censes, egregios scilicet! facere audimus; sed ita in omnibus se gerebat, ut studiis moribus convenienter irent; ipsiusque domesticis, adeoque omnes literis humanioribus addidit vivum haberent exemplum, ad quod vitam, mores, & res suas omnes examullum componerent (12). — For Kirchman did not revel with his boarders, did not put the glass about, did not live irregularly, did not suffer his family to sit up all night drinking, as we are informed some professors in our universities (excellent instructors of youth, truly!) do at present; but he always took care to polish the manners, as well as direct the studies, of his pupils, and to set his family, and all men of letters, a lively example of good behaviour and conduct.'

[E] He was afraid of offending God, if he should refuse so lawful a request. This is a proof of a very nice conscience. Many reasons dissuaded him from leaving Rosloch; but this is the first thing that he opposed to them. 'Contra vero ab hac parte non minus sollicite secum perpendebat divinam & legitimam vocationem, quam si contemptum repudiaret, in gravissimam Dei iram & certissimam ejus vindictam incurreret (13). I think he was too scrupulous: his call was not like that of Abraham; and he might have refused to answer it, without any danger of provoking heaven.'

[F] He was exposed to many slanders, under pretence that the school decayed. When the scholars plaid any mad tricks, the rector was blamed, and publicly censured for it. 'Statim bonus Kirchmannus cum suis Collegis vulpabat, & neglecti officii ac disciplina reus agebatur. Neque hæc cantilena in convivii, transitu, & privatis congressibus tantum à vulgo, cui neque judicium, neque veritas, identidem canebatur; verum etiam in publico sæpius Vir optimus acerbè perstringebatur ab iis, quorum officium potius fuisset, Kirchmanni & Scholæ nostræ causam agere, ipsiusque Authoritatem & existimationem, si qua à malevolis arderetur, defendere (14). He bore it patiently, and courageously despised those injurious reflexions (15). His son-in-law enlarges much upon this, and, without denying that Kirchman had his faults (16), he maintains, that the decay of the college proceeded from introducing into the town the use of domestic tutors. 'Qui primum clancularios præceptores in nostram civitatem introduxit, quis quis etiam fuerit, & quot domos tot ferè scholas in nostra urbe aperuit, hunc violentas huic Lyceo manus intulisse, & ad prosterendum primo ictu petiisse, tam confidenter assevero, ut nihil confidentius. Quid præterea accesserit, & scholæ nostræ fundamenta pendè everterit, unusquisque ipse secum reputet, in animo enim mihi non est omnia rescribere, & Camarinam, quod avertit, movere (17). — Whoever he was, that first introduced private tutors into this city, and opened in it as many schools as there are houses, I will venture to affirm, that he laid violent hands on this Lyceum, and first attempted its ruin. What farther contributed to its downfall, every one will recollect; for I have no mind to rub up old sores.'

[G] I will give a catalogue of his works. It is at the end of his funeral oration (18). *Oratio funebri Amplissimo Viro, Jacobo Bordingo, Consuli Reipublicæ Lubecensis, scripta: Roskocbii 1616, in 4to. De Funeribus Romanorum libri quatuor: Hamburgi 1605, in 8vo. Lubecæ, 1623, 1637. Brunsvigæ, 1661. Francof. 1672.*

(12) Orat. Funeb. pag. 533.

(13) Ibid. pag. 535.

(14) Ibid. pag. 540.

(15) Ut magni & nobilis erat animi, more magne fide latius mihi necurum canum securus excutiebatur, & ut cultem, aut muscam moleste circumstrepentem levem manu, & citra iracundiam abigimus: sic ipse perverse iudicantium calumnias nulla tristitia eludebat, pr. be. intelligens, f. plenam virum per eas quibus petiit, illustrari. Ibid.

(16) Ibid. pag. 542.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Apud Witten, pag. 553.

1672, in 8vo. Ludg. Bat. 1672, in 12mo. *De ira cohibenda disputatio*: Rostoch. 1611, in 4to. *Oratio de vita & obitu Pauli Merulae*: ibid. 1607, in 4to. & Ludg. Bat. 1672, in 12mo. *Εὐχαριστικὸν, de Pacificatione Boitzenburgensi ad Legatos Ordinum Unitarum Belgii Provinciarum*: Lubecæ, 1620, in 4to. *Oratio de vita & obitu Georgii Stampelii, Ecclesiæ Lubecensis Superintendentis, habita*: ibid. 1622, in 4to. *De Annulis liber singularis*: ibid. 1623, Slesvigæ, 1657.

Francof. 1672, in 8vo. Ludg. Bat. 1672, in 12mo. *Rudimenta Rhetorica*: Bremæ, 1652, in 12mo. *Rudimenta Logica Peripatetica*: Lub. 1669, & *sepius* in 8vo. *Tabulæ Logicae & Rhetoricae*: ibid. in Folio. *Genetliacum Illustrissimi Principis, Adolphi Friderici, Ducis Megapolitani, Primogenito Filio scriptum*: ibid. 1624, in 4to. He designed to publish a manuscript, with notes, which did not come out till 1684, by the care of his grandson (19).

(19) See the
Nouv. de la Rep.
des Lettres,
February, 1685,
arts II.

(a) Qui cum indolem hominis viderent, animi verbis & exemplis addiderunt, ut pertenderet, atque istas literas, quæ nondum inter Christianos debitum cultum & nitorem acceperant, à barbarie vindicaret ac liberali manu afferret. Idud magno fore Reipub. literariæ bono, & sibi ornamento illustriori. *Orat. Funeb. Kirstenii, apud Witten, Memor. Medicor., pag. 114.*

KIRSTENIUS (PETER) professor of Physic at Upsal, and Physician extraordinary to the queen of Sweden, was born at Breslaw, the capital city of Silesia, the twenty fifth of December 1577. He learned, in his own country, Latin, Greek, a little Hebrew and Syriac, Natural Philosophy, Anatomy, and Botany; after which he went to see the universities of Leipsic, Wittemberg, and Iëna; and, having improved much in four years time, under the professors of those three universities, he travelled into the Low-Countries, and into France. He had heard say, that, in order to be eminent in the practice of Physic, it was necessary to understand Avicenna; whereupon he was very desirous to learn Arabic, for he knew that the translation of that Physician's works was very bad. He therefore applied himself to the study of Arabic, and designed to read not only Avicenna, but also Mesue, Rhafis, Abenzoar, Abukafis and Averroës. He was confirmed in this design by Scaliger and Casaubon, who thought him capable of mastering that language, to the great advantage of the Republic of Letters (a). This inclination did not retard his desire of travelling. He saw Italy, Spain, England [A], and spent seven years in his travels, before he came home again. He took his degree of doctor of Physic at Basil, being twenty four years of age. A little after his return into Silesia, he went to Iëna, and married there; afterwards he was invited by the magistrates of Breslaw, to be director of their college, and schools. A fit of sickness obliging him to quit that painful employment, which besides he was weary of, he applied himself wholly to Physic, and the study of the Arabic. Nay, he gave the preference to that language [B], and made it appear, that he was born to succeed in it. He added a great deal of piety to the practice of Physic [C]. We are not told why he removed with his family into Prussia; but that removal proved advantageous to him; for it gave him an opportunity of being admitted into chancellor Oxenstiern's house, who took him into Sweden, where he was honoured with the professorship of Physic in the university of Upsal, in the year 1636; and was also made Physician to the queen. He would have discharged much better the duties

[A] He saw Italy, Spain, and England. The funeral oration stops there, and speaks not of Kirstenius's travels in Greece and Asia. But they are mentioned in his epitaph. 'Neve huic fatis fuit tot vidisse populos Europæ celeberrimos, ni matrem olim artium permearet Græciam, & Alcurani sedem permigraret. Asian, vinolamque per Hungariam reverteret (1).'
(1) Apud Witten, *Memoriæ Medicorum*, pag. 122.

[B] He even gave the preference to the Arabic. For he not only bellowed on that study all the time that he stole from the practice of Physic, but also spent, upon the impression of Arabic books, all that he saved out of his gain. 'Quicquid succisivi temporis laboriosæ praxi Medicæ suffurari potuit, hoc excolendæ Arabicæ linguæ totum destinavit: adeo ut cum lingua isthæc, velut cæteræ, superiorum facultatum, ut vocant, & imprimis Medicinæ ministra esse debuisset, contra praxim Medicæ illi linguæ sæpe serviret: dum quicquid herus inde lucri redundantis abradere potuit, illud Arabicæ typographiæ adornandæ, & monumentis in illa edendis impendit (2).' His Panegyrist had reason to say, that few men make such an use of their gain. They, who have a profitable profession, are infinitely more careful to buy lands, or put their money out at interest, or to eat and drink well, than to be at the expence of printing books. 'Raro sane & laudando exemplo. Quales sunt hujus ævi mores, plerique si rem faciant, aut sœnori eam locant, aut fundis emendis, aut gulæ deputant. In publicandis ingenii monumentis sumptus facere, rem sterilem esse credunt, & quæ nihil hæredem juvet (3).' To the shame of learning, the professors of it are wholly bent on growing rich in lands and money:

(3) Ibid.

(4) Horat. Sat. II, lib. i, ver. 13.

Dives agris, dives positus in sœnore nummis (4);

and they follow this bad maxim,

Vos sapere & solos aio bene vivere, quorum
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis (5).

Wisdom and happiness is theirs alone,
Whose wealth in villas and estates is shown.

[C] He added a great deal of piety to the practice of Physic. This would be no less a rarity, than his disinterestedness, if the common reports concerning the religion of Physicians are to be believed. It is said, that Kirstenius expected nothing from remedies, without the divine assistance, and made the success of Physic depend on the blessing of heaven. 'Auspiciis suorum laborum à pietate Christiana fecit, quam Eculapius ignorabat. Noster autem senex sciebat, virtutem herbarum & usum medendi inutilem esse sine virtute divina: itaque à Deo, cui soli est potestas summa in omnia à se creata, in ipsam vitam & mortem hominum, Medicinæ felicitatem & successum petendum esse (6).' Nay, it seems that commonly he Kirstenius did not undertake to cure his patients, till after they were reconciled to God (7). He used likewise to encourage them, by exhorting them to trust in God, who in a moment can cure the most desperate diseases, unless he thinks fit to translate his children from this vale of tears into heaven. 'Ægroti malo ex lege humanitatis indolebat, eumque bono animo esse Deoque fidere jubebat, etiam in morbo dubiæ salutis, quod cum Comico sciret, bonum animum in re mala diutius esse mali. Ægrotum jam à Medico desertum, vel solo Dei nutu facile ad sanitatem reduci posse, si Deo volenti, ipsi saluti esset. Aut ex hac calamitosa vita ad meliorem transferri (8).' He was very careful to frequent pious exercises; he began and ended the day with the reading of the Bible; and he had read that sacred book sixteen times from the beginning to the end. 'A Bibliorum lectione diem ordiens & claudens, multoties illa pervolutavit. Sedecies ab illo perlecta liberi ferunt (9).'
(10) Ibid. pag. 121.

(5) Idem, *Epith. XV*, lib. i, ver. 45, 46. Compare the remark (8) of the work HORSTIUS (JAMES).

(6) *Orat. Funeb.*

(7) Ita agere non minus Deo reconciliatis, etiam agere. Ad agendum tamen animi rectitudinem adhibere recentem quam in morbo diutius esse mali.

(8) Ibid. pag. 121.

(9) Ibid. pag. 121.

(10) Ibid. pag. 121.

[D] He

duties of his professorship, if the strength of his body had been answerable to the vigour of his mind; but he was very much worn out, and lived but till the eighth of April 1640 (b). He published several books [D]. It is said in his epitaph, that he understood twenty six languages.

[D] He published several books. The following catalogue is to be found at the end of his funeral oration (11). *Decas Sacra Canticorum & Carminum Arabicorum ex aliquot MSS. cum Latina interpretatione.* Bressæ, 1609. *Evangelistarum quatuor ex antiquissimo Codice MSS. Arabico Casareo erute.* Francof. 1609. in Folio. *Tria Specimina Characterum Arabicorum, nempe Oratio Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Psalm. L. &c.* ibid. 1609, in Folio. *Grammatica Arabica,* ibid. 1609, in Folio. *Liber Secundus, de Canone Canonis à filio Sina studio, sumptibus ac typis Arabicis, quâ potuit fieri fide, ex Asiatico & Africano exemplari MSS. Casareo Arabici per partes editus, & ad verbum in Latin. translatus, notisque textum concernentibus illu-*

stratus, ibid. 1610, in Folio. *Epistola S. Judæ ex MSS. Heidelbergensibus Arabico ad verbum translata, additis notis ex textuum Græcorum & versionis Latinæ vulgaris collatione,* Bressæ, 1611, in Folio. *Liber de vero usu & abusu Medicinæ,* Francof. 1610. & Germanicæ, ibid. 1611, in 8vo. *Oratio Introductoria in Gymnasio Uratislaviensi habita,* ibid. 1611, in 4to. *Notæ in Evangelium S. Matthæi, ex collatione textuum Arabicorum, Syriacorum, Egyptiacorum, Græcorum & Latinorum,* Bressæ, 1612, in Folio. *Ἐπιστολὴ, sive informatio Medicæ artis studiose perutili, aliquandâ in Pharmacopoliâ versaturo Caspary Peveri, edita à MSS. Petri Kirstenii.* Upsaliæ, 1638, in 8vo.

(b) Taken from his Funeral Oration delivered by John Leccenius, his colleague, professor of the Civil Law. Witten has inserted it in his *Memorie Medicorum.*

KNOT (a) (EDWARD) an Englishman, born in Northumberland, turned Jesuit at twenty six years of age; which was in the year 1606, being already a priest. He taught a long time at Rome in the English college; afterwards he was made sub-provincial of the province of England, and, after he had exercised that employment out of the kingdom, he was sent thither to perform the functions of provincial. That employment was twice conferred upon him. He assisted in the quality of provincial at the general assembly of the order held at Rome in the year 1646, and was elected Definitor. He died at London the fourteenth of January, in 1656 (b). Alegambe placed, among the works of this Jesuit, a piece which concerns the hierarchy [A], and displeased the bishops. Southwell has left it out. We shall see in one of the remarks his catalogue of the books of Edward Knot [B].

(a) Vero nomine Mathias Wilfons. *Sotuel, ubi infra.*

(b) Sotuel, in *Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu,* pag. 185.

[A] Alegambe has placed, among his works, a piece, which concerns the hierarchy. Alegambe speaks thus. *Scriptis doctissimum libellum, qui sub nomine Nicolai Smithei est editus hac epigraphæ, Modesta & brevis discussio aliquarum assertionum D. Douais Kellisoni, quas in suo de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia tractatu probare conatur, ex Anglico in Latinum à Georgio Wrighto conversa, & plurimis Doctorum atque adeo Catholicarum Universitatum suffragiis approbata (1).*

— He wrote a very learned piece, which was published under the name of Nicolas Smith, with this title; A modest and short Examination of some Assertions of Dr Kellison, which he endeavours to prove in his Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, translated out of English into Latin by George Wright, and approved by several doctors and Catholic universities. This book was printed at Antwerp, in the year 1631, in 12mo. I am satisfied, that most of my readers will be pleased to find here the occasion and progress of this hierarchical dispute. You must know then, that Richard Smith, bishop of Chalcedon, having received the authority of an ordinary over the Catholics of England, in the year 1626, went into that island a little after. He undertook to extend his jurisdiction over the Jesuits, and the other Regulars; but he met with so many obstacles, that he was obliged to desist, and to return into France. They perceived, that the charities, which were bestowed upon this prelate, that he might keep up the dignity of his character, came no longer to them, which did not please them; therefore they formed a party so artfully, that they obliged the bishop to retire. This retreat was quickly followed by a furious paper-war. The first that entered the lists, was Dr Kellison, professor at Douay; he wrote in defence of the bishop's authority. Knot, provincial of the Jesuits, answered him under the name of Nicolas Smith (2). A little after, a book came out upon this subject (3), the author whereof took the name of Daniel à Jesu, though his name was John Floyd. He was a Jesuit, professor at St Omer. The archbishop of Paris censured the books of both these Jesuits: the Sorbonne, and the general assembly of the clergy of France, did the same: (4) *Which was so far from stopping the mouths of the Jesuits, that it engaged them to reprint their books in the Latin tongue, with great approbations.* They published also a remonstrance against the bishop of Chalcedon, in the name of the Catholics of England. The secular clergy published, the same year, 1631, three pieces, in England (5), in opposition to the Jesuits, who were so far from quitting the field by reason of the number of their enemies, that they began a fresh combat against both the Sorbonne doctors,

and the French clergy, under the feigned name of Hermannus Loemelius, whose chief author was the above-named Jesuit Floyd, with the assistance of his brethren, as the diversity of the style shews. And another book came out against the faculty of Paris, in vindication of Knot, or Nicolas Smith, with many approbations of bishops, universities, and private doctors, and in vindication of the propositions of Ireland, which had been likewise censured at Paris. Another book came forth, under the name of Edmondus Ursulanus, whose true name was Macmahone, prior of the Franciscan convent in Louvain. About the same time the Jesuits published their censure (6) of the Apostolical Creed, in imitation of the censures, at Paris, against their doctrines (as though their doctrines were as certain as that, and themselves as infallible as the apostles:) wherein they charge the bishops, their enemies, with reviving old heresies, and broaching new ones. The Jesuits, having now done such great things, triumph unreasonably in all places, as having utterly overthrown their enemies, and beaten them out of the field: when, in a little time after, Hallier and Le Maître, two doctors of the Sorbonne, undertake the quarrel against them; but none was so highly magnified, and infinitely applauded by the French clergy, as a person under the disguised name of *Petrus Aurelius*; whose achievements in this kind they celebrated, next to those of the Pucelle d'Orleans, and printed all these works together at their own charge: and wrote a high eulogium of him, which is prefixed to them. The secular clergy of England sent him a letter of congratulation on his triumphs, subscribed by John Colleton, dean of the chapter, and Edmond Dutton, secretary; wherein they sadly lament the discords that have been among them here, and the heresies broached by their adversaries, occasioned by them. The main of this controversy related to the dignity, necessity, and jurisdiction of the episcopal order; as appears by the censures of the bishops of France, and by Aurelius, who says, "that although the dispute began on occasion of the bishop of Chalcedon, and the English clergy, yet it was now carried farther, to wit, whether the episcopal order was necessary to the being of a particular church? whether it was by divine right, or no? whether confirmation might be given without bishops? whether the episcopal order was more perfect than the monastical? whether the regulars were under the jurisdiction of bishops (7)?"

[B] We shall see . . . Alegambe's catalogue of the books of Edward Knot. Mercy and Truth; or, Charity maintained by Catholics. It is a book printed & seq.

(6) See, above, remark [A], of the article *GE-DICUS*.

* Petri Aurelii, Opera, Tom. I, pag. 62.

(7) Taken from a book of Dr Stillington, intitled, *A Discourse concerning the idolatry practised in the Church of Rome.* London, 1676, pag. 427, & seq. See also the Letters, intitled, *Les Imaginaires*, letter iii, pag. m. 499.

(11) Apud Witten, ubi supra, pag. 124.

(1) Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 99.

DISPUTE concerning episcopal jurisdiction between the Jesuits and the other Catholics.

(2) A Jesuit, who was lately dead.

(3) Intituled, *Apologia S. Sedis Apostolicæ quod modum procedendi circa regem Catholicorum in Angliâ,* 1631, in 8vo. Alegambe, pag. 242, mentions it; but Southwell says nothing of it.

(4) Stillington, ubi infra, citat. (7), pag. 394.

(5) Idem, pag. 394, 395, 396.

at St Omer, in 1634, in 4to, against Dr Potter, who had charged the church of Rome with want of charity, in maintaining, that Protestantism destroyeth salvation. *Christianity maintained*, against the reply of Chillingworth, at St Omer, in 1638, in 4to. *A Direction to be observed by N. N. (i. e. Chillingworth)*, at London, 1636, in 8vo. *Infidelity Unmasked: or, the confuta-*

tion of a book of Mr Chillingworth, intituled, The Religion of Protestants, a safe way to salvation, at Ghent, 1652, in 4to. His *Monita utilissima pro patribus Missionis Anglicanae* (8), have not been printed. We may easily guess, that some political reasons hindered the publication of this last book.

(3) See Nathan, Southwell, page 185.

KNOX (JOHN) a Scotch minister, was one of the principal instruments in the work of the Reformation, in his own country, in the XVIth century. He had been a disciple of John Major, one of the subtlest schoolmen of that time; whose steps he followed so successfully, in teaching school Divinity, that, in some things, he was more subtle than he; but, having examined St Jerom's and St Augustin's books, he quite altered his taste, betook himself to a plain and solid Theology, discovered abundance of errors, and published a confession of faith, which made him pass for a Heretic. He was imprisoned [A]; and, had he not fortunately escaped, he had died upon the scaffold. He retired into England, where he was so much esteemed by king Edward, that he might have been made a bishop: but he was extremely angry when they offered him a bishopric; he rejected it as a thing, that favoured too much of Antichristianism [B]. After the death of that prince, he left England, that he might not fall into the hands of the persecutors, and retired to Francfort, and afterwards to Geneva, where he preached to the refugees of his country, and entered into a strict friendship with John Calvin. He returned into Scotland in the year 1559, and laboured to establish the Protestant doctrines with an extraordinary zeal, both by word of mouth and in writing. His enemies having expelled him from Edinburgh, he retired to St Andrews, where the devil raised him many enemies, and especially when he opposed certain persons, who conspired against the royal majesty (a). The news of the Paris massacre overwhelmed him with grief; but he quickly found himself comforted by the success of affairs in Scotland. The banished were recalled to Edinburgh and he among the rest (b), where he resumed the functions of the ministry. They granted him the colleague he desired, and he installed him, the ninth of November 1572, and this was the last sermon that he preached. He fell sick a little after, and, till the twenty fourth of November following, which was the day of his death, he was altogether taken up with pious discourses to his wife, his servant, and those who visited him (c). He lived fifty seven years (d). Nothing can be more abusive, than what Moreri says of our John Knox, from Spondanus. Those passages have been left out in the Dutch editions. The misfortune is, that the episcopal clergy of England agree with the Popish au-

thors

(a) Quo ut primum venit multos illi Satanas excitavit hostes, praesertim cum se illis qui contra regiam majestatem conspirant opposuisset. Melch. Adam. in Vit. Theol. Exter. pag. 138.

(b) It does not appear, that Beza knew he had been expelled from thence.

(c) Taken from his Life in Melchior Adam, ubi supra.

(d) Beza, in Iconibus.

[A] He was imprisoned.] Melchior Adam gives us here but a lame account, and in some things contrary to that of Beza. Let us rectify it, and say, that John Knox, not being contented with renouncing the school divinity, but having also very freely censured several other things, was forced to leave Edinburgh, and escape to Hamelton, the only sanctuary of the faithful at that time (1). He there (2) published a confession of faith, the consequence whereof was, that David Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, caused him to be condemned for contumacy, as a Heretic, and degraded him from the priesthood (3), and that he would have been assassinated, had not a Scotch gentleman saved him. Great revolutions followed. This archbishop, who was also a cardinal, was killed: the French made themselves masters of the fortrefs of St Andrews: Knox fell into their hands, and obtained his deliverance, and betook himself to Berwick, an English town on the borders of Scotland. He there disputed, according to Beza, with the bishop of that place (4) *illius civitatis pseud-Episcopo*: their dispute was referred to the parliament of England, who adjudged the victory to Knox. 'Utroque ad supremum Angliae senatum rejecto, (tum autem Eduardus regnare coeperat) tantum effecit ut victoria penes veritatem stante, damneretur quidem 'falsae religionis pseud-episcopus, ipsum vero tum pietas, tum diligentia magnopere commendaret (5).' I cannot tell whether this dispute was not the same with that which happened to John Knox in the diocese of Durham. He was obliged to speak his thoughts concerning the mass, and he exposed, in a sermon, with so much strength, the blasphemy and idolatry of that sacrifice, that bishop Tontal, and his doctors, could give him no good answer. I suspect they have made two events of one. However, here is the proof of what I have said concerning this sermon. 'Specimen ejus illustre depositum tum alias, tum anno 1550, in terra Dunelmensi: quando coactus coram Episcopo Tontali & ejus doctoribus super Missa Pontificia opinionem suam exponere: pro concione illius idololatrias & horrendas blasphemias tam solidis argumentis demonstravit, ut adversarii, quod vere opponentes, non

'haberent (6).' Perhaps, Knox's life (7), which I have not by me, if consulted, would clear this matter. We shall, in the next place, see what the king did for him.

[B] He might have been made a bishop; but he rejected it as a thing, that favoured too much of Antichristianism.] His zeal against the hierarchy appeared upon that occasion, for this we find in Melchior Adam, at the 137th page of the lives of foreign divines. 'Cum Episcopus de Regis voluntate Cnox esset oblatu, indignabundus Cnoxus non solum honorem recusavit, sed etiam Oratione gravi titulos illos improbat, vit, quasi regni Antichristiani quiddam redolentes. His refusal of such an office is very much praised by Beza, who, doubtless, whatever some modern ministers may say of it, was fully persuaded, with his colleagues, that the equality of pastors is of divine right, and that therefore the ecclesiastical hierarchy is a fundamental corruption. Here are some sharp strokes of Beza against episcopacy. 'Inde Novocastrum ac deinceps Londinum ad Regem accito (Knox) quum Episcopus quidam offerretur, tantum abest ut illum receperit, ut etiam in totam illam verè Satanicam potestatem graviter sit invehens, ut quæ divino jure nullo nitatur, ac ne ex veteribus quidem canonibus administraretur: qua in re, etsi non obtinuit (quod si in Anglia & alibi factum esset, id est si causa illa Tyrannidis omnis Ecclesiasticae præcipua & primaria esset sublata, longè alia facies Ecclesiarum esset) conscientiam tamen suam singulari cum Christianæ Modestiae exemplo liberavit (8). — Knox, being sent for by the king to Newcastle, and afterwards to London, and being offered a certain bishopric, was so far from accepting it, that he inveighed heavily against degrees of episcopal all that truly diabolical power, as not founded on divinely right, nor even supported by the ancient canons: in which though he did not prevail (which if it were brought about in England, and elsewhere, that is, if that principal cause of ecclesiastical tyranny, were taken away, the church would wear a quite different face) yet he discharged his conscience with a singular instance of Christian modesty.'

[C] The

(6) Melch. Adam. ubi supra, pag. 142.

(7) Written by Thomas Storer.

(8) Beza, in Iconibus. A little after he has these words: Non veram tantum doctrinam, sed etiam veram & ad divini verbi normam certum disciplinam pulchrum tum verbis, tum re ipsa statuerit. . . . Sibi non in ulla gradu pseud-Episcopatus tyrannide cui merito fuit inimicissimus, sed in Evangelico ministerio una cum reliquis Collegis & Professoribus æquo procius jure administrando, Joannem Londinium successorem designatum amplexus. . . . He disapproved not only true doctrine, but even true ecclesiastical discipline, both in words and fact. . . . Beza, for by the king to Newcastle, and afterwards to London, and being offered a certain bishopric, was so far from accepting it, that he inveighed heavily against degrees of episcopal tyranny, and rightly disapproved his modesty.

(1) Hameltonum unicum tunc piorum asylum per fugere coegerunt Beza, in Iconibus.

(2) And not at Edinburgh, as Melchior Adam affirms, in Vitæ Theol. Exter. pag. 137.

(3) Melchior Adam is guilty of a considerable omission, in not saying, that Knox was a priest.

(4) Berwick is not an episcopal town: Beza expresses himself wrong.

(5) Beza, ubi supra.

thors in aspersing him as an apostle, who established his reformation by fire and sword [C], and who taught the most seditious doctrines [D]. I have not been able to verify by the reading of his works, whether all that is imputed to him be true: but when I consider the answers that are made for him [E], I cannot doubt, but that his opinions concerning

[C] *The bishops of England agree with the Papists, in aspersing him as an apostle, who established his reformation by fire and sword.* Spondanus, having said that Knox, an apostate priest and Monk, a corrupter of many women, and even of his mother-in-law, and a Magician, was returned into Scotland with full instructions from Calvin, in the year 1559, adds what follows. 'Adeo prædicationibus suis & invecivis rem auxit, ut non solum passim templa & monasteria destructa fuerint, sacra conculcata, imagines confractæ, ornamenta & bona expilata, exturbati monachi, sacerdotes pulsi, Episcopi ejecti; verum etiam omnis obedientia Regenti renunciata, omnisque auctoritas abrogata, & in quorundam, quos tanquam consiliarios eligebant, translata (9). — He so far prevailed

(9) Spondanus, ad ann. 1559, n. 30, pag. 587.

(10) Ad ann. 1567, n. 3, pag. 690.

(11) Idem, Spon. ad ann. 1539, n. 7, pag. 456.

(12) Joannes Brexleius Sacerdos Anglus in Apologia Protestantium pro Romana Ecclesia, Tract. III, sec. ii, pag. 623, 624.

* *Vide Holinsheadi magnam Chron. ultimæ editionis, pag. 340, initio § fine; & Bancrofti in lib. Propositiones, Sc. pag. 15, ante medium, ubi ait: Hortens illa Card. & Archiepiscopi Sancti Andree, quippe qui & ante fuerat & tunc erat præfractus (novi scilicet Evangelii) adversarius, & ejus cædes anno 1545 perpetrata, nuper scripto defenditur, tanquam facinus pium, aliique ad paria facinora audendum excitantur per Knoxium in Historia Scotiæ, pag. 187. — The horrid murder of the cardinal and archbishop of St Andrews, a zealous adversary of the new Gospel, perpetrated in the year 1545, has been lately defended in writing at a pious action, and others are exhorted to the same attempts by Knox, in his History of Scotland.*

† Holinsheadus, ubi supra, pag. 366, b. lin. 14, 15, &c.

by his sermons and invecivies, that not only churches and monasteries were demolished in many places, images broken to pieces, ornaments destroyed, the Monks, priests, and bishops driven out; but all obedience to the Regent renounced, all authority abrogated, and vested in certain persons, whom he pitched upon as his counsellors. He says in another place (10), relating the different opinions of those, who voted concerning the destiny of queen Mary Stuart, that some, by Knox's advice, were for putting her immediately to death. Lastly, he says, that king James recommended it to his son not to read Buchanan's libels, nor Knox's chronicle, but on the contrary to punish severely such as kept those pernicious books, and to suppose, according to the doctrine of Pythagoras, that the souls of those seditious authors were transmigrated into the bodies of such as read them, or maintained their opinions, and that therefore they deserved the same punishment, as would be justly inflicted upon those authors, if they were raised from the dead. 'Haud tam famulos libros Buchananii, aut Knoxii Chronica evolueret: sed si quod ejusmodi scriptum inveniret, cum ejus depositarii ex legis severitate ageret. In eo Pythagoræ discipulum se profiteretur; ut exstimaret ipsos manes istorum seditum flabellorum templa chosi quadam in eorum corpora transisse, qui eorum vel libros retinerent, vel dogmata defenderent: eoque non minori supplicio plestendos, quam si ipsi auctores jam à mortuis essent resuscitati (11).' He cites the second book of the *Basiliæ Doron*: I have consulted it, and find nothing in it but what follows. 'I do not mean those histories full of gall and invecivies, those defamatory libels, which ought neither to be read nor kept by your subjects under great penalties, which you ought to lay upon them. For in this case I would have you, as a disciple of Pythagoras, believe that the souls of those infligators of sedition are passed into those that keep their writings, and defend their opinions; who ought to be punished neither more nor less than the authors themselves.' These are king James's words; see the *Basiliæ Doron*. Spondanus goes beyond the bounds of an historian, when he makes king James expressly quote these two authors: he should have been contented to say by conjecture, that this prince meant them. Let us see what the episcopians cited by Brexley say; for, not being able to come at their books, I have been forced to depend on him, and to transcribe what he cites, whether in the body of the page or in the margin (12). 'Et primo quidem de Joanne Knoxio . . . notum atque ipsorum Protestantium testimonio confirmatum est, eum postquam Geneva in Scotiam rediisset, Religionem vi & armis ad phantasmam suam ibi reformare aggressum esse. Cumque Caltrum Sancti Andree clanculariis insidiis occupasset, & Cardinalem horrendo assassinatu in cubiculo suo occidisset, & ob id vocatus fuisset, nec compareret, perduellium declaratum esse. Ille vero audaciam non deponens, sed confirmans, mox Perthæ turbas ciere. Magistratum Sancti Joannes & Dundee cum plebe ibidem tumultuante ut imagines, & Altaria, per omnes Ecclesias, & monasteria, aliisque Religiosorum domiciliis undique per circuitum diruerent, hortari: ipse autem post concionem qua talia auditoribus suavit, habitam, Carthusianorum, Prædicatorum, & Carmeli-

tarum Domos subvertere, Imagines & Altaria Fidei, Angulæ, Mernæ, & aliis in locis destrueret, & sic omnes Religionis illius Ecclesias (novo scilicet modo) reformare pergebat. Post hæc inquit Bancroftius (qui & ipsius Knoxii Chronicon citatis istis suis ubi singula facta narrantur, in testimonium adducit). Alia vice coierunt reformatores ad Sancti Andree, ubi ex instigatione Knoxii pro concione tam fratrum Religiosorum domos, quam reliqua illius oppidi Monasteria spoliarent, dejecerunt, vallarunt. Idem Scoti, Strylingæ, Lithquo, & Edenburgi pararunt: Regina ob metum fugam capescente, duobus mensibus in campo castra metati sunt, & monetæ cudentæ instrumenta diruperunt, & factum defenderunt, &c. Regnam mentiam esse sæpe conviciati sunt, eamque indignissimis latoris onerant, eique obedientiam præstare renuerunt, immo eam omni autoritate regali exuerunt, expresse instrumento ad id a Knoxio exarato. — And first as to John Knox . . . it is known, and confirmed by the testimony of the Protestants, that, after his return from Geneva into Scotland, he attempted to reform religion there, after his own fancy, and by force; and, that having by treachery seized the castle of St Andrews, and barbarously murdered the cardinal, and being sent for by the queen to Sterling, to answer for that crime, and not appearing, he was declared a rebel. But he, not in the least terrified, soon after raised commotions at Perth. He exhorted the magistrates of St John and Dundee, together with the tumultuous mob, to demolish the images and altars in all the churches and monasteries round about, together with other religious houses: and he himself, after a sermon, in which he advised his hearers to do so, destroyed the houses of the Carthusians, preaching Friars, and Carmelites, and threw down the images and altars at Fife, Angus, Merns, and other places; and thus went on, in this new manner, to reform all the churches of that religion. After this, says Bancroft, (who alleges the chronicle of Knox himself, and the very pages, where each fact is mentioned, in proof of what he says). Another time, the Reformers met at St Andrews, where, at the instigation of Knox, they pulled down, and plundered all the monasteries of that town. They did the same at Scoone, Sterling, Lithgow, and Edinburgh. The queen flying away thro' fear, they encamped two months in the fields, and seized on the mint, &c. They often reproached the queen with a lie, insulting her after a shameful manner, refusing obedience to her, and even deprived her of the regal authority by an express instrument drawn up by Knox.

[D] . . . and who taught the most seditious doctrines.] Let us hear Brexley again, page 625. 'Summa autem opinionis ejus, ut ex scriptis suis colligitur, & ex ipso solo pro quolibet horum assertionum citato patet, his propositionibus (quas citat Bancroftus) continetur, †† Proceres tenentur si modo Rex non lit, Religionem reformare. Plebs †† est Religionem reformare. †† Deus constituit Proceres ad effrenes Principum appetitus coercendos. *** Principes ob justas causas deponi possunt. ††† Si Principes adversus Deum ac veritatem ejus tyrannice se gerant, subditi eorum à juramento fidelitatis absolvuntur. Cum plerique aliis id genus dogmatibus. — The sum of his opinion, as is collected from his writings, and appears from the very leaf, cited for each of these assertions, is contained in these propositions, quoted by Bancroft; The nobility are obliged, if the king will not, to reform religion. It is the business of the vulgar to reform religion. God appointed the nobility to restrain the unbridled appetites of princes. Princes may be deposed for just reasons. If princes behave themselves tyrannically against God, and his truth, their subjects are absolved from their oath of fidelity. With many the like tenets.' Compare with this the words of Petra Sancta, which shall be cited in the following remark.

[E] When I consider the answers that are made for him.] The first thing I am to say, is, that those, who defame the actions and opinions of our Knox, maliciously

† Bancroftus, in libro cui titulus, Assertionem scandalosam, &c. pag. 12.

† Ibid. pag. 13, initio, & Sundry in Responsum ad libellum quendam supplicem, pag. 193, prope finem quærit à Puritanis, Num rationes à Knoxio & Wollocko allatæ satis probarent, nempe Principem, seu Gubernatricem legitime constitutam, à subditis deponi posse, quemadmodum ipsi de facto Reginam Scotiæ gubernatricem regno abdicant? — Sundry . . . Puritani, consider the reasons, alleged by Knox and Wellock, sufficiently prove, that a prince, or lawful governor, may be deposed by the subjects, as they in fact deposed the queen of Scotland.

** In lib. cui titulus Assertionem scandalosam, &c. pag. 14, 15.

†† Knoxius, Appellat. fol. 25.

†† Idem, ad plebem, fol. 49, 50.

†† Idem, Hist. pag. 343.

*** Idem, Hist. pag. 371.

††† Idem, ad Angliam & Scotiam, folio 76.

concerning the royal authority were such as the episcopal clergy, and the Catholic party

(13) See Spon-
dan, ad ann.
1559, n. 30.

+++ Sic Bancroftus in Assertionibus, seditiosis, pag. 10, initio.

††† Calvin. in
Epist. cccv. fine
& pag. 565. in
conclusionē illius
Epistolæ quæ ad
Knoxium scribi-
tur, ubi sic habet
*Vale eximie vir,
& ex animo co-
lende frater.*
Et Beza, in Epist.
Theolog. Epist.
Ixxiv. sic habet
*Joanni Knoxi
Evangelii apud
Scotos reſtauratori
fratri, & sym-
mista observando.*

* Vide hoc in
Hift. Ecclefiaſt.
Scotiae per Vau-
trouilleſium,
pag. 213, & cita-
tur à Sutcliffe
in Reſponſ. ad
Libellum ſuppli-
cem, pag. 192,
& 71. In Affir-
tionibus, &c.
pag. 10.

† Calvinus, ut
supra, ad ††† :
& vide Calvin.
Epist. cccvi, ubi
eum *virum exi-*
mum vocat, *fra-*
tre colendum, &
Knoxio *coadjuto-*
rem fidelem.

† Calvinus,
Epist. ubi supra,
pag. 566, circa
med. ait, Strenuè
operam suam
Christo & Eccle-
siæ impendit.

† Calvinus, ubi
supra, Epist.
ccv, Joanni
Knoxio, pag. 565,
ait: Evangelium
apud vos tam fe-
lices lætosque
progressus facere
vehementer, ut
par est: lætor:
certamina vobis
moveri non no-
vum est, sed eo
clarius refugit
Dei virtus, &c.
quando ad resi-
stendum pares
nunquam fuisse-
tis, nisi à cælis
vobis opem tulis-
set, qui superior
est toto mundo.

(14) Quoting
Bexa's own
words.

maliciously presuppose, that he acted in concert with Calvin, and brought from Geneva the notions that he advanced in Scotland (13). With this view, they affect to produce the encomiums, which Calvin and Beza bestowed upon him. We must hear Berley, page 619. '*Hinc Joan. Knoxius [scholæ] Genevæ discipulus (quem Calvinus) Virum infignem vocat & fratrem suum reverendum doctrinæ Calvini præconius, ex opinione Calvini & aliorum quorundam Ministrorum Genevæ commemorant (teste * Sutelciffi & Bancrofti) docuit: Licere subditis si Principes nollent, immo si id ipus esset, vi & armis Religionem reformare. Hinc est quod licet doctrina & facta Goodmanii & Knoxii sic conjurationis faciant, ut id nulla tergiversatione celari possit, eos tamen ambos Calvinus † fratres suos venerandos nominet, & eandem Knoxii in eo genere temeritatem laudet ‡, quem egregium Christo & Ecclesiæ operam navasse ait, ¶, & se vehementer lætari dicit, quod tam felices & lætos progressus fecerit. — Hence John Knox, a disciple of the school of Geneva, (whom Calvin calls an excellent man, and his reverend brother) being well acquainted with Calvin's doctrine, taught, agreeably to the opinion of Calvin, and other ministers residing at Geneva, (as Sutelciff and Bancroft witness): that subjects are at liberty, if princes refuse, and there be occasion for it, to reform religion by force. Hence it is, that tho' the doctrine and actions of Goodman and Knox are so favourable to conspiracy, that they cannot pretend to deny it, yet Calvin calls them both his reverend brothers, and commends the bold rashness of Knox, who, he says, was of great service to Christ and the church, and he rejoices greatly, he says, at the happy success of his endeavours.' They do not forget that Beza, in Icones, calls him the apostle of Scotland. 'A quibus (Angli), says Spondanus under the year 1559 n. 30. (14) ad Scotos transeuntibus primus occurrit magnus ille JOANNES KNOXUS, quem si Scotorum in vero Dei cultu infaturo and velut Apostolum quendam dixerō, dixisse me quod res est existimabo, & sequens vera ipsius vitæ narratio testabitur.' Cardinal Richelieu, when he was yet but bishop of Luçon, published a book of controversy, where-in he made great use of John Berley's collections, and particularly in what relates to Knox's seditious opinions. I have consulted the answers that were made to this book of the bishop of Luçon; but I confess, I could find nothing in them to make me suspect the credit of Berley's citations.*

Peter de la Vallée, minister of Fontenai le Comte, published a book at Rochelle, in 1619, in 4to, intitled, 'An apology for the epistle of the ministers of the gospel at Paris, inscribed to the king; in answer to the book, written against them by Armand John du Pleffis de Richelieu, bishop of Luffon: containing a summary decision of the principal controversies of this time, concerning religion, by the authority of the scripture, and the testimony of the ancient doctors of the church; with a brief defence against the reproaches, which are made against the Protestants, on occasion of the troubles and wars, that have happened in France, Germany, Scotland, and Denmark. extracted for the most part from the history of James Augustus Thuanus, president in the parliament of Paris, or from the very historians acknowledged and approved by the bishop of Luffon.' He quotes the very words of the objection. 'I could, says the bishop, prove your opinion in this matter by a great number of authors, if what you teach upon this subject was as advantageous, as it is prejudicial to you. I am contented to desire the reader to consult a book intitled *Apologia Protestantium*, one of the most useful books that has been printed for a long time; in which he will find more passages upon this subject, and some, amongst others, which prove, that some of your writers have written, that by divine and humane laws, it is permitted to kill impious kings; that it is a thing agreeable to the word of God, that a private person, by a special instinct, may kill a tyrant; a doctrine every way detestable, which will never enter into the thoughts of the Catholic church.' Here follows the answer to that objection. 'There was no need here, where we are only concerned in the search of truth, of such rhetorical flourishes

'which are only fictions and falsties; for how is it possible, that he should have so many authors at hand who make us guilty of so detestable a doctrine, and yet not produce one that speaks a word of it? Nay, to produce the weak proof that he has advanced, he was forced as it were to run over all the earth, and to go into the other world among the savages, and bring Buchanan to life again, who had his birth there: And who, yet, never made profession of Divinity. How is it credible, that the bishop should be so moderate as not to produce those many authors, because it is not to our advantage, but to our prejudice; since he has undertaken to write against us? It is a prevarication to conceal what is detrimental to one's Antagonist, and adverse party, and to alledge what is advantageous to him. Such dissimulations are not becoming a bishop, who professes to speak the truth; he should not have spared us, since the business was to make us acknowledge our fault in so important a point; he should not have referred us to the *Apologia Protestantium*, which book I never saw, nor know where to find it, but I know very well, that the author of it, if he be one of ours, does not speak as the bishop says he does; but if he be one of their writers, he advances this of his own head, and has no good proof for it (15).' It is manifest that this answer does not at all clear John Knox. Another minister (16), much more learned than he of Fontenai le Comte, answered the bishop of Lufflon: he had (17) read John Brexley's book, and gives a satisfactory answer to the objections grounded on some passages of Calvin: but he forsakes John Knox, and maintains, that the encomiums, which Calvin and Beza give him, no ways concern his notions about the royal authority, nor his particular actions, in which some footsteps of rebellion might be found. This minister's words are these (18). 'As for Knox, Goodman, and Buchanan, the occasion and time, in which they wrote, lessen in some measure the odium of the doctrine, which they spread in Scotland, inconsiderately and against the truth; which their anger, natural to that nation, and the general troubles of the state, hindered them from distinctly discovering; according to the custom of men, who chafe rather, even with sharpness and obstinacy, to defend an ill thing, in which they are engaged thro' passion, and without any ill will, than to confess what has been ill done, or ill contrived, either by themselves or their party. Notwithstanding those excesses, they were all three great men, and in other things very serviceable; Buchanan particularly in tutoring the king of Great Britain, and the others in the work of the ministry, to which they should have been entirely and wholly dedicated. Granting then that Calvin ** (in the letters that he wrote to them) called the two first *Brethren* and *excellent men*; and that Beza gave . . . the first . . . the title of Restorer of the gospel in Scotland; doth this prove, that they subscribed to their opinions concerning the supreme authority of kings, or that they were communicated to them, or that they so much as knew what passed in Scotland after the change of religion, or that our adversaries go upon good grounds, in affirming, against the truth, that the books of Knox and Goodman were printed at Geneva with the approbation of Beza and Calvin. If those gentlemen are pleased to prove what they certify upon their bare word, and to aver, that the ministers of Geneva communicated with the above-named in other than ecclesiastical things, or that they were informed of their particular opinions concerning the rights of kings, or that they truly understood, and afterwards approved, what they have taught concerning politics, then they shall have liberty to complain. But, on the contrary, it appears, from the letters cited in the bishop of Lufflon's little book, that the ministers of Geneva never gave, nor received advice from foreigners, except in matters purely ecclesiastical; and particularly (from those, which Beza wrote to Knox) that at Geneva they had no certain news of the Scotch transactions . . . If therefore Calvin, Beza, Whitaker, or some others of our religion, have called Knox and Goodman their brethren, it does not follow from thence that they adopted their opinions, but only that they called them

r (15) La Vallée,
Apologie, pag.
544.

(16) *David
Blondel. His
answer, printed
at Sedan, 1619,
in 8vo, is intitu-
led: Modeste
Declaration de la
Sincerité & Verité
des Eglises Re-
formées de
France.*

(17) See his answer, pag. 287.

(18) Blondel,
pag. 294.

There are but five Letters written to Knox; three of Calvin; and two of Beza: One of Calvin to Goodman, and one of Beza to Buchanan. There is not one word of advice about state affairs to be found in any of them.

party charged him with. Some ascribe to him a spirit of prophecy [F]. It is, doubtless, doing some service to the memory of John Knox, to shew the extravagancies of those, who have aspersed his reputation. This obliges me to set down a passage of Thetvet wherein we shall see such gross and outrageous abuses [G], as will alone be sufficient

so, with respect to the ecclesiastical office, with which they were invested. If they praised them, they did it only according to their knowledge, not because they thought them impeccable; for it is not impossible, but that, amongst those, who preach Christ (as St Paul says to the Philippians) some should preach him out of envy and contention, and mix the fervour of their zeal with their infirmities; amongst which if the lord frequently accomplishes his work, drawing light from darkness, and order from confusion; it is that the glory of what is well done may belong to his conduct, and the evil to the imperfections of his instruments. Is not this to acknowledge, that Brexley, and those he quotes, have not calumniated Knox with respect to the opinions they impute to him?

Just as the bishop of Luffon had made use of John Brexley's collections, the Jesuit Petra Sancta, some time after, made use of this bishop's book, to object against du Moulin, what several Protestants had said about the obedience of subjects. Here follows what he alleged against Knox (19): 'Si principes, inquit, aduersus Deum & veritatem ejus tyrannice se gerant, subditi eorum à juramento fidelitatis absolvuntur. Idem præter alia multa, illud, inquit, audacter affirmaverim, debuisse Nobiles, Rectores, Judices, Populumque Anglicanum, non solum resistere & repugnare Mariæ illi Jezabel, quam vocant Reginam suam; verum etiam de eâ & Sacerdotibus ejus, & aliis omnibus, quotquot auxilium tulerunt, mortis supplicium sumere, ut primum ceperunt Evangelium Christi suppressere. — If principes behave themselves tyrannically against GOD and his truths, their subjects are absolved from their oath of fidelity. He goes on: This I boldly assert, that the nobles, rulers, judges, and people of England, ought not only to have resisted that Jezabel, Mary, whom they call their queen, but even to have put to death her, and her priests, and all who were assisting to her, as soon as ever they began to suppress the gospel of CHRIST. What did Mr du Moulin reply? He made no mention of John Knox, but was contented to say, that Buchanan, whom the Jesuit also spoke of, had only treated of the right of the Scotch, and that, if other authors had run into excess, it ought to be ascribed to their particular temerity, and not to the spirit of their religion (20). Rivetus, in his answer to the same Jesuit, referred him to the two abovementioned books written against the bishop of Luffon, and expressly declared, that the Protestants disapproved the opinions of John Knox, and of others like him, who had rather acted according to the spirit of their nation, than according to the spirit of their religion. Upon which he observes (21), that of the 105 kings, who reigned in Scotland before Mary Stuart, there had been three deposed, five expelled, and thirty two killed. Nemini nostrum probantur quæ vel ex Goodman, vel ex Knoxe, vel ex Buchananis in eam sententiam describuntur, quamvis eò usque non procedant, quo Jesuitæ processerunt, vel alii qui in Gallia scripserunt de Justa Henrici tertii addicatione, & etiamnum in Belgio foverunt, ubi scribit Jesuita Romanus. Id præterea observandum est, si quæ durissimis persecutionum temporibus à Scottis & Anglis nonnullis temerè scripta fuerint, ea posse imputari non tam Religioni, quam nationum illarum, Scoticanæ præsertim, fervido ingenio, & ad audendum prompto: quod tamen valde mitigatum fuisse accensa veritatis Evangelicæ luce, ex eo constat, quod ex centum quinque regibus suis, usque ad Mariam, tres exautorantur, quinque expulerunt, & triginta duos necarunt: quod ne religioni imputetur magis vestra interest, quam nostra (22). After this, I may be allowed to believe, that Knox's books contain the propositions, which Brexley quoted out of them upon the credit of the episcopals.

[F] Some ascribe to him a spirit of prophecy. Petra Sancta having mentioned the praises, which Calvin and Beza bestowed upon Knox, adds (23), à Witakero ex unanimo Scotorum sententia, Spiritu Prophetico, & Apolitoico prædicitur appellatur. David Blondel (24) says something more particular: 'endowed with a prophetic spirit, by which as it is reported

by those of his nation he foretold many things that are come to pass, as Whitaker observes in his writings.'

[G] Here is a passage of Thetvet, wherein we shall see gross and outrageous abuses. This man might pass for a stripped Monk, though he always professed himself a Catholic. No one can question that he was a bad compiler. He was so little exact, that, when he undertook to write of the affairs of Scotland, he did not so much as give himself the trouble to observe the true names of persons. You will see, that he knew not the right name of our John Knox. 'All this

while, says he (25), the Scotch suffered not England to be at rest; which happened, when Henry VIII plaid his pranks with chalices, relics, and other ornaments of the English churches: which tragedies and sports have been plaid in our time in the kingdom of Scotland, by the instigation of Nopitz, the first Scotch minister of the bloody gospel. This diaphorist, who was fond of diffentions, was not contented to tread in the steps of Luther, Zuingleus, and Farel, much less in those of his master Calvin, who had lately redeemed him from the galleys of the prior of Capus, in which he had remained three years for his crimes, unlawful amours, and execrable whoredoms, and for his dissolute life, and for having been convicted of parricide and murder, committed upon the person of James de Beton, archbishop of St Andrews, by the connivance and treachery of the earl of Ropphol, James Lescle, John Lescle their uncle, and William du Coy. This Simonist, who had been a priest before in our church, and fattened with benefices, which he sold for ready money, seeing he could not prove his cause to be good, fell into the most horrid blasphemy in the world. First, he denied the power of God; he preached openly, that virginity was no better than marriage: which he had stolen from Luther's heresy, out of his new Epithalamium. Likewise he induced many devout wives, and religious virgins, to prostitute themselves. He taught likewise, that we must reject, despise, and trample under foot the holy crism, pull down images, take up and burn the bodies of saints, and seize the treasures of the church. This is not all. He did not cease for two years to animate the people to take up arms against the queen, to drive her out of the kingdom, which he said was elective, as it had been in the days of Paganism. Could the greatest Barbarians in the world say any thing more cruel and mischievous. . . . The Lutherans have temples and oratories; their ministers sing psalms and say mass; and, though it be different from ours, yet they add to it, Kyrie Eleison, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus, and other prayers like ours. In like manner their ministers in the time of divine service, wear copes, chasubles, and surplices like ours: being careful of their salvation, and of the public weal. Whereas the people of Scotland have lived these twelve years without law, without faith, without ceremonies, and without acknowledging either king or queen, any more than brutes, being better pleased with the fables of this rank hypocrite of Nopitz, a man unfaithful to God and his country, than with the purity of the gospel, the canons of the councils, and the doctrine of so many holy Greek and Latin doctors of the Catholic church. This fine preacher, after the decease of his first wife, suddenly provoked with his venomous tongue the nobility of Scotland to set up against the clergy, more than he had done before; and then the clowns assaulted, plundered, burnt, and ruined the castles and houses of the gentlemen, merchants, and others, who would not join in their debaucheries and murders. . . . It is certain, that this traitor, puffed up with the spirit of ambition, and prompted by the flesh, came into so great credit and honour with the ignorant people of that country, that he married for his second wife a gentlewoman of an ancient family, related to the Scotch princes of the royal blood. Are not authors, who write with so little judgment, well qualified to make us question the truths they advance, suppose any such escape them?

8 G

[H] The

(19) Silvester Petra Sancta, Not. in Epistol. Molinæ ad Balzæcum, pag. 104. That book was printed at Antwerp, in 1634, in 8vo.

†† In Admonit. ad Nobil. & Pop. Scot. atque Angliæ.

(20) Buchananus scripsit de jure regni apud Scotos, sed hoc nihil ad Galliam, Angliam, Germaniam, Hispaniam. Nec si quis aliquid scripsit quod modum excedat, debet continuo adscribi ejus religioni, potius quam ejus ingenio. Nam ejusmodi libri quot citat Jesuita, five veri five falsi, nullam præferunt fronte approbationem Doctorum. — Petra Molinæ in Hypographe, lib. iii. cap. xi, pag. 492.

(21) David Blondel had already observed it, ubi supra, pag. 213.

(22) Rivet. in Castigation. Notarum, in Epistol. ad Balzæcum, cap. xiii, n. 14. Oper. Tom. III, pag. 539.

(23) Petra Sancta, ubi supra, p. 105. He cites Witak. Contr. 2, q. 53, cap. xiii.

(24) Blondel, ubi supra, pag. 295. He quotes Witaker, de Ecclesiæ, 9^o 5, cap. xiii.

sufficient to prejudice us against whatever the Catholic writers have published concerning that great Scotch reformer. I wish it were as easy to confute the accusation of a Lutheran, who charges him with inconstancy [H].

[H] *The accusation of a Lutheran, who charges him with inconstancy.* James Thomafius, professor of Leipzig, published a little discourse, intituled, *Historia affectionum se miscantium Controversiæ de Gynæocratia*. He there speaks of the passions that attend the dispute concerning the government of women; and he says, that this question was warmly debated in the XVth century, when Mary succeeded Edward king of England, and Elizabeth succeeded her sister Mary. Those two queens took opposite methods, as to religion; the one banished the Non-Catholics, the other recalled them, and made the Reformation triumph. Those, whom Mary had persecuted, maintained, that it was contrary to natural right, and divine and human laws, that a woman should rule over a whole nation; but their language was quite different under the reign of queen Elizabeth. See how Schlussemburgius insulted hereupon our Knox and others. 'Qui Calvini placita sequerentur, his nihil erat magis exosum fœmineo Mariæ regimine; iisdem vicissim, ubi ad clavum Reip. feliciter erectam conspexissent Elisabetham, nihil magis venerabile, quam Regina talis. Atque ut hoc de suo Schlussemburgius*, magnæ constantiæ doctrinæque Theologus, largiatur mihi, ex eadem Calvini religione Gilbertus, Goodman & Knoxus, (qui scilicet exilium suum Mariæ imputabant) publicis libris Genevæ impressis, docuerunt, esse contra jus naturale, divinum, & humanum, ut mulier etiam in rebus politicis regnet. At ubi Mariæ imperium Elisabetha excepisset, eximia & Pontificiorum hostis, & Calvinæque auxitrix, protinus verso remigio à Reformationis Angliæ, non regina tantum in temporalibus illa est proclamata, sed etiam caput Ecclesiæ in spiritualibus. Ita spacio duorum annorum (ipsissima Schlussemburgii verba recito,) quod prius fuit Calvinistis Genevæ moratis ipsissimum verbum DEI, mox atque in Angliam redierunt, mutatum est in verbum Diaboli. Tantum videlicet potuit amor in religionem, quam sub alterius fœminæ regno conculcatam viderent, sub alterius resurgentem, ut à personis in ipsum imperii genus desectente se affectu jam prosciberent Gynæocratiam, jam dignitati ac famæ restituerent' (26). — *To those who followed Calvin's tenets, nothing was more odious than the female government of Mary; and the same persons, when they saw Elizabeth happily raised to the throne, thought nothing more venerable than such a queen. And as Schlussemburgius, a divine of great constancy and learning, offers me this, so, out of the same religion of Calvin, Gilbertus, Goodman, and Knox, (who imputed their banishment to Mary) taught, in public books, printed at Geneva, that it was contrary to natural, divine, and human laws, that a woman should govern even in political matters. But, when Elizabeth succeeded Mary, an eminent adversary of the Pope's, and favourer of the Calvinists, immediately the Reformed English proclaimed her not only queen in temporal matters, but even head of the church in spirituals. Thus in the space of two years (they are the very words of Schlussemburgius) what was before, to the Calvinists residing at Geneva, the very word of God, as soon as they returned to England, was changed into the word of the devil. Such was the force of the love of religion, which they saw oppressed during the reign of one of these women, and reviving under that of the other, that, turning their affection from the persons to the kind of government itself, they one while proscribed female government, another*

time restored it to it's dignity and credit. Thomafius, who furnishes me with these words, pretends that the Calvinists of France changed also their maxims, after the persecution they suffered under Charles IX: and he expressly cites Lambert Danæus, who on the one hand declared against the monarchical power, and on the other for the authority of women, in favour of Elizabeth queen of England. 'Ut Anglico regimini præ Gallico faveret (Danæus) illud maxime fecit, quod suæ sectæ hominibus & sub Elizabetha laudissima esset fortuna, & sub Carolo Gallo vix aliud præter gladium, crucem, ignis expectandum. Notæ sunt Parisiæ nuptiæ † eo actæ eventum, ut ab illis † Anni 1574. maximè temporibus scriptores Galli petilentem inciperent in Politica doctrina sectam sive novam condere, sive sepultam resuscitare, quam solemus vocare Monarchomachorum. Huic nomen addidit etiam suum Danæus: ut mirari aliquis possit, quomodo scriptor ille, qui vix Regem æquo animo pati posset in solio Monarchico, ferre in eodem potuerit Reginam. Nempe vereor, ut non hic suas partes egerit hinc odium in perfidiam Galli, illinc amor tūm in felicissimam Elisabethæ gubernationem †, tūm in Religionem Calvini, cui periculum æ tampestate in illa insula satis tutum erat (27). — Danæus, that he might favour the English government above the French, brought it about, that those of his sect should expect the mildest treatment under Elizabeth, and nothing but persecution under Charles. The Parisian nuptials are well known, attended with this event, that, from that time especially, the French writers began, in their politics, either to found a new sect, or revive an old one, which we call animonarchy men, or republicans. Danæus insisted with this sect: so that one might wonder, how this writer, who can scarce bear a king on the throne of monarchy, yet can bear a queen on it. I suspect, that he is influenced, on the one hand, by resenting the perfidy of the French king, and, on the other, by affection for the happy government of Elizabeth, and the religion of Calvin, which met with an Asylum in that island.' It is certain, that, in that century, the general affairs whirled about in such a manner, both in France and England, that each party changed their maxims. See the remark [I] of the article HOTMAN. The Roman Catholics, who spoke very ill of the government of women in the reign of Elizabeth, had very much commended it in the reign of queen Mary. Knox, and some others, on the other side, had the same inconstancy. The Roman Catholics, under Charles IX, preached nothing so much as submission to the authority of the king (28): but they spoke and did quite the contrary in the time of the League, and their adversaries thought it very strange. I have read, in Savaron, a thing which I thought very curious (29). Pedro Corneio, a Spaniard... thinks it strange and wonderful, that this town (30) should have remained firm in it's fidelity to it's prince, and that the late troubles did not disturb it's constancy, nor shake it's resolution: since, says he, it is a very Catholic town, and beautified with a church, in which God is served with great modesty, ceremony, and music, and as much revered, as in any church I have seen. Generally speaking, it is a proof, that the passions make men speak either for or against the right of princes, to see the same people disputing for the affirmative or negative, just as the interests of their cause happen to change.

* Lib. iv. Theol. Calvinist. pag. 324, 325. Conf. Respons. ad Calvin. & Bez. pro Princip. Balduino, pag. 75.

(26) Jacobus Thomafius, in Prefatione c. 6, pag. 328. Edit. Lips. 1681.

(a) Oldensworth Eiderstedensis. Müller. Voyage ad Hister. Clericorum. Cimbr. Part. III, pag. 164.

KNUZEN (MATTHIAS) a native of the country of Holstein (a), arrived to such a degree of extravagancy, as publicly to maintain Atheism, and undertook great journeys to gain proselytes. He was a restless man, who discovered his impieties first at Königsberg in Prussia (b). He boasted, that he had a great number of persons of his opinion in the principal towns of Europe [A], and even seven hundred in the single

[A] He boasted, that he had a great number of persons of his opinion in the principal towns of Europe. These are his words. 'Nemo homo mihi vitio vertet, si una cum meis gregalibus, (quorum innumerus mihi numerus Lutetia, Amstelodami, Lugduni, in Anglia, Hamburgi, Hafniae, nec non Holmiae, imo

Romæ & in contiguis locis adstipulator) universa Biblia belle fabella loco habeam, qua belluar, id est, Christiani, rationem captivantes, & cum ratione insipientes delectantur (v). — No one will impute it to me as a crime, if, with my companions (an infinite number of whom, at Paris, Amsterdam, Leyden, in England

† Hoc nostris tempore (ingrat. Pule. Corvian. lib. vi, cap. iii, pag. 398.) Elizabethæ Regine Anglorum Imperio nihil ulli unquam esse vidit felicius & optatius. — At this time, Elizabeth revive an old one, which we call animonarchy men, or republicans. Danæus insisted with this sect: so that one might wonder, how this writer, who can scarce bear a king on the throne of monarchy, yet can bear a queen on it. I suspect, that he is influenced, on the one hand, by resenting the perfidy of the French king, and, on the other, by affection for the happy government of Elizabeth, and the religion of Calvin, which met with an Asylum in that island.

(27) Thomafius ibid. pag. 334.

(28) See the remark [E] of the article SAINTES.

(29) John Savaron, Traité centre les Maliques, pag. 44. Paris Edit. 1681. H. quon Breve Relation de la Liga, en Brucelles en las casas de Roger Vespicio, 1591.

(30) Clermont in Auvergne.

(b) Tobias Plannerus, system. Theologie generalis, pag. 35.

(v) Amad. Micron. Syntagma. Histor. Eccles. pag. 2291. Edit. 1699.

single town of Iēna (c). His sect was called the Conscientiaries, because he said, there was no other God, religion, or lawful magistracy, than conscience, which teaches all men the three precepts of Justice, *to do no injury, to live honestly, and give every one his due*. He drew up a summary of his system, in a short letter, of which several copies were spread [B]. It is dated from Rome. You will find it entire in the last editions of Micraëlius. He dispersed also some German writings (d). All this was confuted in the same tongue, by John Musæus, a Lutheran professor [C]. This sect began about the year 1673.

A book was printed against Knuzen at Wittenberg in the year 1677 [D].

England, at Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and even at Rome, and the adjacent places, agree with me in opinion I look upon the whole Bible as a fine invented tale, with which the beasts, that is the Christians, captivating their reason, and running reason mad, are delighted. We must not imagine, that he used the stratagem of state conspirators, who, to bring more people over to their party, always pretend they have a vast number of accomplices. It is more probable he spoke in this manner, because that he was a hair-brained fool.

(2) He drew up a summary of his system in a short letter, of which several copies were spread (2). Micraëlius's continuator has reduced the contents of that letter to six articles. I. Non esse Deum neque Diabolum. II. Magistratum nihil æstimandum, templum contemnenda, Sacerdotes rejiciendos. III. Loco Magistratus & loco Sacerdotum esse scientiam & rationem cum conscientia conjunctam, quæ doceat honeste vivere, neminem lædere, & suum cuique tribuere. IV. Conjugium à scortatione nihil differre. V. Unicum esse vitam: post hanc nec præmium nec pœnam dari. VI. Scripturam sacram secum ipsam pugnare (3). — I. That there is neither God, nor Devil. II. That the magistrates are to be looked upon as nothing, the churches are to be despised, and the priests rejected. III. That knowledge and reason, together with conscience, which teaches to live honestly, to hurt no body, and give every one his own, is in the room of magistrates and priests. IV. That there is no difference between marriage and whoring. V. That there is but one life: that after the present there is neither reward nor punishment. VI. That the Scripture contradicts itself. This system, besides its horrible impiety, is also plainly extravagant; for one must be stark mad, to believe that mankind can subsist without magistrates. It is true, they would not be necessary, if all men would follow the dictates of conscience, which this impious man exhibits to us; but are they followed even in those countries, where the judges punish, with the greatest severity, the injustice done to our neighbour? I do not know but it may be said, that there is no impertinence, be it never so extravagant, but may teach us some truth or other. The follies of this German flew us, that the ideas of natural religion, the ideas of virtue, the impressions of reason, in a word, the light of conscience, may subsist in the mind of man, even after the ideas of the existence of God, and the firm belief of a life to come, are extinguished in it.

(3) He was confuted by John Musæus, a Lutheran professor. The author I have this from, observes, that Musæus engaged in this work, to remove all suspicions that might be entertained to the disadvantage of the university of Iēna: for this wretched man had boasted of abundance of associates there (4). That book of Musæus contains a great many ridiculous things, concerning the life of this spark; but, if you would have a solid apology for the scripture against the blasphemies of this man, you must have recourse to the second edition. And if you understand High-Dutch, consult, as Mr Mollerus advises (5), the book, which he names (6), and observe his reflexion. He says, that if people continue to make their enemies suspected of Atheism, as the author of this piece with a hasty zeal, and mixed with his passions, has done, they will afford matter enough to Mr Christian Thomafius, who is about an apology for those, who have been unjustly exposed to such accusations. The author of several Thoughts upon Comets has insinuated (7) the design of such a work, and given a curious idea of it. But let Mr Mollerus's words inform us of the malignity of such sort of accusers. 'Quo in opere opotandum esset ut Theol. celeberrimus (Jo. Mullerus Antistes Hamb.) suo in Antagonistas odio minus indulgisset, nec per insignem animi impotentiam, Schuppli τῷ μακαρίτῃ Demegorias, piis omnibus commendatissimas, & Christ. Hoburgii, ad extremum Atheismo contrarium, superstitionem sc. & Enthufiasmum, proclivioris, scripta collo obtorto iis, quæ Atheismum vel occultant, vel quadamtenus promovent, aggregasset. Certe, si zelo hujusmodi præcipiti, privatiq; affectibus obnoxio, Theologi Atheomastiges sibi invidios in suspicionem impietatis Atheismo assensu pergent adducere, vereor ne calamo Christi. Thomafii τῷ μακαρίτῃ, Gabr. Naudæi (qui magiæ reis est patrocinatus) exemplo apologiam pro Atheismi falso insinulatis parturienti, campus se pandat amplissimus innocentiam illorum, cum hominum cordatorum applausu, vindicandi (8). — In which work, it were to be wished, that the famous divine, John Mollerus, Antistes in Hamburg, had less indulged his hatred towards his adversaries, and had not perversely, ranked among the writers, who conceal Atheism, or in some measure promote it, the Demegoria of Schuppius, so acceptable to pious men, and the works of Christopher Hoburgius, who is more inclined to superstition and enthusiasm, the very reverse of Atheism. Certainly, if the divines, who write against Atheism, go on, through such a rash and partial zeal, to charge with atheistical principles those whom they hate, I fear, lest, after the example of Gabriel Naudé, who defended those accused of Magic, the free pen of Christopher Thomafius may find ample occasion to justify, with the approbation of all sensible men, the innocence of those, who are falsely accused of Atheism.'

(4) A book was printed against Knuzen at Wittenberg, in 1677. The title of it is, *Exercitationes Academicæ II de Atheismo Renato des Cartes & Matthiæ Knuzen oppositæ. Autore Valentino Greiffingio Corona Transylvano Elector. Saxon. alumno.* This I have from a book of Caspar Sagittarius (9).

KONIG (GEORGE MATTHIAS) in Latin Konigius, professor of Poetry, and of the Greek tongue, and library-keeper in the university of Altorf, deserves a place here in a particular manner; for I should be ungrateful, should I not acknowledge, that the book he published in the year 1678 (a) is of considerable use to me. I make no doubt that it is serviceable to a great many men of letters, notwithstanding the censure that was passed upon it [A]. Our Konig died towards the end of the year 1698,

[A] The censure that was passed upon it. John Mollerus, a very learned man, who published at Hamburg, in the year 1691, an *Ussage ad historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, had given us, four years before, *Cimbricæ literatæ Prodromus*, wherein, according to the liberty which ought to prevail among the subjects of the Republic of Letters, he freely spoke his thoughts as to the defects which he found in Konig's book. Daniel

William Mollerus, an Hungarian, and professor of Metaphysics and History, in the university of Altorf, immediately opposed the Critic, and yet could not deny, but that part of the faults, observed by him, were real. Now see what the Critic in general pretends, as he explains himself in a preface (1). 'Innumeros in opere Konigiano autores esse omisso, de Antiquis paucissimâ satique confute in medium allata, & Recentiorum rum,

(b) See, below, citat. (4).

(d) Mollerus, ubi supra, p. 165.

(5) Ib. pag. 167.

(6) Atheismus devictus. It was printed in the year 1673. The author calls himself Jo. Mullerus, Antistes Hamburgensis.

(7) In the preface to the Addition printed at Rotterdam, 1694.

(8) Mollerus, ibid.

(9) Intituled, *Introductio in Historiam Ecclesiasticam*, pag. 879. It was printed in 1694, in 4to.

(a) Intituled, *Bibliotheca vetus & nova*, in fol. I often quote it, and sometimes I criticise upon it.

1698, being eighty two years old (b). He was son of GEORGE KONIG (c), a native of Amberg, who died in 1654, after he had taught Divinity thirty eight years in the university of Altorf.

(b) Acta Eruditor. Lips. 1699, pag. 360.

(c) Konig, Biblioth. pag. 448. See his Elogium in Witten's Memoriarum Theolog. Renovate, Decade VIII, pag. 1100, & seq.

rum, etiam Polygraphorum Scriptis quamplurimis plerumque vix unius aut alterius factam mentionem, ac raro Synopticam aliquam de Autoris patria, ætate, ac vita, librique editi loco ac tempore, narrationem adjectam, manifestius est, quam ut latere lectorem eruditum, aut negari ab homine candido possit. Nomina etiam sæpius, uti in Prodomo monui, & scripta falsa auctoribus esse attributa, circa patriam atque vitam illorum erratum, inedita pro editis venditata, & ex uno scriptore duos aut tres inepte profucos, exemplis plurimis ἀπαλαμψεῖς possem ostendere, si in expurgando hoc Augiæ stabulo tempus pariter atque operam vellem perdere, aut sordes illius in præfationem hanc convecrare. — That innumerable authors are omitted in Konig's work, that but few of the antients are produced, and those very confusedly, that of the moderns, even those who have written many works, the writings of one or two at most are mentioned, and that there is seldom added a succinct account of the author's country, age, and life, and of the time and place of the publication of his works, is so plain, that it cannot escape the learned reader, nor be denied by any man of candour. That he likewise ascribes false names, and false works, to authors, as I observed in the Prodomus, that he mistakes as to their country and life, that he pretends books were published, which never were, and ignorant-ly splits one author into two or three, I could demonstrate by many instances, if I would lose my time and my labour in cleansing this Augean stable, or transfer it's filth into this preface. He adds, that, in this, he agrees in judgment with many learned men of the first rank. Agnoverunt eandem, quotquot ex chori

literarii primiceriis, de Opere Konigiano, aut eadem mecum, aut his etiam asperiora judicant. Petrus scilicet Lambecius, non alio, quam Rhapsodi, titulo Autorem dignatus †, Dan. Georg. Morhofius †, & (qui meum de eodem judicium suo verbotenus adject) Alex. Cæsa. Wilh. Ern. Tenzelius †, alii item complures, quorum verba allegare superfedo, cum rerum testimonia ipsi adversario, nolenti volenti, veritatis confessionem extorserint. Non audent enim is Bibliothecam hanc, cui patrocinatur, veterem ac novam pro accurata, aut tali, quæ Seculi applausum mereatur, venditare, sed fatetur nomen in ista interdum cum nomine esse confusum, errata nonnulla commissa, & Autores aliquot omisos, in qua ipsius confessione acquiesco. — The same has been acknowledged by such learned men, as have passed the like, or even a more severe, judgment on Konig's work. To wit, Peter Lambecius, who thinks the author deserves no other title than that of Rhapsodist; Daniel George Morhofius, and the most accurate William Tenzelius, who added, word for word, my judgment of this author to his own; with many others, whose words I forbear to alledge, since the force of truth has extorted a confession from the very adversary himself. For he dares not put off this work, which he patronizes, for an accurate performance, or such as deserves the applause of the age, but confesses, that the author sometimes confounds names, that he has committed some mistakes, and omitted some authors. Observe, that he does not rob Konig of the praise of an old professor, who had done good services to the Republic of Letters (2).

† V. Jovius celeberr. Tenzelii mox allegandum.

† P. I. Polyh. Litterarii, cap. xliii, pag. 202.

† In Collegiis mensuris versuculis, M. Moria A. 1682, pag. 316, 317.

(a) Senis de re literaria bene meriti elogium Konigio ab eadem ejus Philologicæ argumenti libella non recedit. Mollerus, præfata, Hægog.

KOORNHERT (THEODORE) a native of Amsterdam, and secretary of the town of Haerlem, in the XVIth century, made himself famous by some writings that were very singular in point of religion (a). He is ranked amongst those Spiritualists or Enthusiasts, who believed, that all the sects of Christianity had been corrupted for many ages, and that, without an extraordinary mission, authorized by miracles, no body had a right to intrude into the functions of the gospel ministry (b). Upon this footing, he publicly condemned Calvin and Luther's undertaking, though he acknowledged, that the church of Rome was no true church. He would have all Christians of whatever sect, (till it should please God to raise Reformers, like the Apostles) unite under one form by way of Interim, or provisionally [A], the model whereof was, that the Scripture should be read to the people without offering any explication, or preferring any thing to the auditors by way of precept or prohibition, but only by way of advice.

[A] He would have all Christians . . . unite under one form, by way of Interim, or provisionally. Hoornbeeck, who had read his Dutch book, explains this fancy. "Iste Coornhert passim suis libris . . . aliquod schema Ecclesiæ communis erigendæ proponit, in qua, vel solus Scripturæ textus legeretur, absque glossis & expositionibus, vel etiam admonitiones ex Scripturâ sub aliorum judicio, non autem ex auctoritate, aliquando fierent, ad modum alterius & novi Interim, usque dum novâ divinâque ad extruendam aliam Ecclesiâ missione accederent ministri, quales Apostoli fuerunt, Ecclesiâ ex Christi præscripto novam erecturi, qua jam divinâ missione ad erigendam per Reformationem aliam Ecclesiâ omnes, juxta eum, careant. Tomo primo, pag. ult. in delineatione istius Ecclesiæ sic loquitur: "Raro, aut nunquam utuntur hic humanis glossis, non quod peccatum sit, sed quia incertum, à sole ad stellâ, & à fontibus ad cisternas recurrere. Atque ita etiam nemo hic sibi (absque certâ & speciali missione) arrogat docendi officium, ut eum auctoritate mandet vel prohibeat, bene quidem ut sub meliori sententiâ admoneat, idque ex Scripturâ (1)." — This Coornhert in many parts of his works . . . proposes some plan for erecting a common church, in which, the text of the scripture alone is to be read, without glosses and expositions, and admonitions out of the scripture to be sometimes delivered as matter of advice, not authority, in the manner of a second and new Interim; till ministers should come, such as the apostles

were, with a new and divine commission, to found a new church, after the institution of Christ; which divine authority, for erecting another church by a reformation, all, according to him, want. In his first volume, pag. ult. in delineating that church, he thus expresses himself: "Here they seldom or never, use human glosses; not because it is unlawful, but because of the uncertainty of running from the sun to the stars, from springs to cisterns. And thus also no one here (without a certain and special appointment) arrogates to himself the office of teaching, so as to command, or forbid, with authority, but fetches admonitions solely from the scripture." This visionary would have had the magistrates lay their injunctions on the preachers to say nothing but what was contained, word for word, in the scripture, and to oblige the laity, under the penalty of a fine, to lay aside all their divinity books. You will see this more exactly in these Latin words (2): "Hoc libello vel dialogo (3) ita sententiam suam exponit: existimo, Magistratui significandum, quæcunque scripta humana, glossas, dogmatæ quid impuri, errores & ambages continere, à quibus omnibus immunis est Scriptura, certam pandens salutis viam. Quare reverenter rogandus esset, ut vellet, ad modum novi alicujus Interim, (& hoc ad tempus usque quo concorditer decretum esset quæ doctrina sequenda foret) omnibus Concionatoribus interdiceret, ne è suggestu populum aliud quid docerent, prælegerent, dicerent, præter claram Scripturæ textum,

(a) Id. ibid. pag. 435, 437.

(3) Pra. de m. nendum Sociâ.

(1) Hoornbeeck, Summa Controv. lib. vi, pag. m. 435, 436.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 435, 436.

(c) Ex opugnata in herbis Reformatione nostrarum Ecclesiarum, præsertim nostra Catechesi, & probata sibi nec nostra Ecclesiâ, nec aliis, solum intentus carpendis omnibus, & magnis imoietis dis omnibus, Calvinum dico, Bezum, Dancum, Saraviam, alios, gloriam hinc inanem inter suos occupatos fuit. Id. ibid.

advice. He did not believe, that, in order to be a true Christian, one ought to be a member of any particular church, and he practised it accordingly [B]; for he neither communicated with the Catholics, nor with the Protestants, nor with any other sect. He wrote with great assurance against the Reformed Religion, and particularly against Calvin and Beza (c), and was accounted such a disturber of religion, that the magistrates of Delft expelled him from their town, and the States of Holland decreed many things, upon which he complained, that the Inquisition was renewed (d). Nothing appeared to him more contrary to reason and the Gospel, than to persecute those, who are not of the religion of the state. He wrote thereupon against Beza and Lipsius [C]. He died

"textum, citra unius syllabæ aut additionem aut demotionem, quomodo in Veteri Novoque Testamento solebat fieri. Hoc demum pasto sectas evanitas. Præterea populo sub multâ injungendum esset, ut omnes suos libros de Scripturâ tractantes, quæ ipsæ non essent mera Scriptura, ad manus Magistratus deferrent, ibique servarentur, ut vel redderentur postmodum suis Dominis, vel prout visum foret, de illis disponderetur. Hæc Coornhertus. — In this book, or dialogue, he thus lays down his opinion: "I think, the magistrate should be told, that all human writing and glosses contain something impure, errors, and intricacies, from all which the scripture is free, which shows the true way to salvation. Therefore he is respectfully to be desired to forbid all preachers to teach, read, or deliver any thing from the pulpit, to the people, besides the plain text of the scripture, without adding, or taking away, one syllable, as was wont to be done in the Old and New Testament; and this, till it be unanimously decreed what doctrine is to be followed. By this means sects will be at an end. Besides, the people should be obliged, under penalty, to give into the magistrate all their books of Divinity, but such as are meer scripture, to be kept by him, and afterwards returned to the owners, or otherwise disposed of, as shall be thought proper." Thus Coornbert.

[B] He did not believe, that one ought to be a member of any particular church, and be practised it accordingly.] Not believing, that there was any Christian society upon earth, that was pure, and directed by true pastors, he no where communicated at the Lord's table. He denied not, but that, for the security of the weak, there ought to be an external communion appointed; but he pretended, that no body ought to ascribe to himself a heavenly mission, or teach the necessity of the use of the sacraments. This is the sum of the following Latin words. Coornhertus palam scribebat inter omnes sectas se nullibi Christi Ecclesiam deprehendere; Romanum nostrâ, quam ne quidem Ecclesiæ nomine dignabatur, meliorem esse. Tom. I. in Dialogis, fol. 484, nec S. Cœnam ullibi id circo participabat, quia veram Ecclesiam, & legitimos ministros scilicet desiderabat: unde & communio illam esse necessitatem, quæ vulgo docetur, negabat. Tom. I. lib. Confessorium, in initio. Tom. III. in Delineatione impartialis Ecclesiæ: ubi statim à principio docet, posse nunc quem esse verum Christianum, utcumque non sit membrum visibilis alicujus Ecclesiæ: Rogatusque, quid præstaret, an extra visibilem Ecclesiam vivere, quousque ipse Deus per certos Ministros Ecclesiam restauraret; an Ecclesiam, infirmorum gratiâ, non valentium vivere absque externâ illâ formâ, quin ad Sectarum partes prolabantur, colligere? respondit: prius quidem esse magis certum; at secundum videri sibi necessarium. Collapsam quidem esse Dei Ecclesiam, sed non apparere manifestum mandatum eam restaurandi: attamen ovile aliquod pro infirmis, adversus varios lupos defendendis, sub tali nempe libertate, qua nemo sibi arroget, à Deo se ad docendum missum esse, & Sacramentorum Baptismi ac Cœnæ usus relinquatur liber, pro infirmis habendum: nullum verò istorum urgeri debere præceptum, aut necessitatem (4). — Coornbert openly declared in writing, that, among all the sects, he no where found the church of Christ; that the Romish was better than ours, which he did not think worthy the name of a church; nor did he communicate with any, because he could not find a true church, or lawful ministers: whence he denied there was that necessity of communicating, which is commonly taught; Tom. I. lib. Confess. at the beginning: Tom. III. in Delineat. impartial. Eccles. where he begins with laying it down, that one may, now, be a good Christian,

(4) Hoornbeck, ibid. pag. 438.

"without being a member of any visible church; and being asked which was the best, to live without the pale of a visible church, till God should restore it by proper ministers, or to unite a church, for the sake of the weak, who are unable to live without that external form, and must otherwise fall off to the sects? he replied, that the first was more sure; but that he thought the latter necessary: that the church of God was fallen; but that there did not appear an evident command to restore it; nevertheless, that there must be a fold for the weak, to defend them against the many wolves; to wit, under such a liberty, that no one should pretend a commission from God to teach, and that the use of the sacraments of Baptism, and the Eucharist, should be left free, for the sake of the weak; but that no precept or necessity should be pleaded for such things."

[C] He wrote concerning persecution against Beza and Lipsius.] There is something to be found fault with in these words of Voëtius: "Coornhertus qui Latino Dialogo contra Lipsii politicam hanc causam agit eundemque Dialogum postea contra Lipsii responsum (cui tit. adversus Dialogistam) defendit, idem Belgico scripto Processum de Hæreticidâ edidit contra Bezam (5). — Coornbert, who, in a Latin dialogue against Lipsius's Politics, pleads this cause, and afterwards defends the same dialogue against Lipsius's answer, intitled Adversus Dialogistam, published, in Dutch, a piece against Beza, intitled, Processus de Hæreticidâ." It is not true, that Koornhert's dialogue against Lipsius's Politics is in Latin: it is in Dutch (6). Voëtius himself acknowledges it in a passage which I shall presently cite. Note likewise, that the title of that Dutch book answers to *Lit. seu Processus de Hæreticidâ*. Koornhert's Reply is in Latin (7); it had been larger, if he had lived longer (8). The title of it is: *Defensio Processus de non occidendis hæreticis contra tria capita libri IV Politicorum J. Lipsii: ejusque Libri adversus Dialogistam confutatio. Sub extremum mortis fatum per suæ patriæ libertatis studiosissimum THEODORUM VOLCHARDUM COORNHERT conscripta*. The edition I make use of is of Hanaw, 1593. If you desire to see what perplexity Lipsius was thrown into by that reply, read what follows: "Lipsius petitus libello Belgico à Diederico Volckero Coornbert, postea libro, de Una religione dicto Died. Coornbert reposito addidit, se veram & probam intelligere: sed non explicat, & explicaturum se negat, quænam sit vera & proba religio. Hinc dictus Coornhertus in refutatione libelli Lipsiani anno 1591. tit. *Defensio processus de non occidendis hæreticis*, &c. ita constrinxit Lipsium, ut à Papiistica, aut Ethnico-Machiavellica (quarum alterutram pectore premebat, quamvis tunc Leidæ conciones publicas frequentaret) se liberare non potuerit. Et hanc unam putant ex causis præcipuis fuisse, cur statione Leidensi turpiter deserta hypocriticos larvam deponeret, ad partes hostiles transfugeret, atque ibi Papiismi professionem susciperet (9). —

Lipsius, being attacked in a Dutch book by Theodore Volcker Coornbert, afterwards in his book, of the one Religion, against the said Coornbert, added, that he meant the right and true religion: but he does not explain, and declares he never will, which is the right and true religion. Hence the said Coornbert, in the refutation of Lipsius's book in the year 1591, intitled, *Defensio*, &c. drove Lipsius to such extremities, that he could not clear himself from the Popish, or Heathen-Machiavellican, one of which he concealed in his breast, tho' at that time he frequented the public sermons at Leyden. And this is thought to be one of the principal reasons, why he shamefully left Leyden, threw off the mask of hypocrisy, went over to the enemy, and openly professed the Popish religion." Add to this the remark [B] of the article L I P S I U S.

8 H

[D] He

(d) Voëtius, de Politia Ecclesiæ. Tom. II, pag. 454.

(5) Voëtius, de Politia Ecclesiæ. Tom. II, pag. 386.

(6) Plebeia (scriptio) futilis, & concepta plebeio stilo. Lipsius, in Pref. libri de una Religione adversus Dialogistam.

(7) He wrote it in Dutch; but his heirs procured it to be translated into Latin.

(8) See the advertisement to the reader, at the end of that Reply.

(9) Voëtius, ubi supra, pag. 433.

(c) See the advertisement to the reader, at the end of his Reply to Lipfius. Note, that Konig has wrongly placed his death in the year 1599.

(f) Ludov. Guicciard. in Descript. Belgii, cap. de Antuerpia, pag. m. 118.

(g) He is mistaken; for Coornhert was a native of Amsterdam.

the twentieth of October 1590 (c), acknowledging the doctrine of Predestination, which he had so much opposed [D]. His works were published in the year 1630, in three volumes in folio. He began to study somewhat late [E]. Lewis Guicciardin (f), speaks of an excellent Engraver, a native of Haerlem (g), whose name was THEODORUS COORNHERT. He is doubtless the same that is mentioned in Freherus's *Theatrum* [F], and who makes the subject of this article. This is all I could collect from some Latin books; and I was ready to send it to the press, with the six first remarks subjoined to it, not thinking to add any thing else, when, being informed that Coornhert's Life was prefixed, in Dutch, to his works, I procured some extracts to be made out of it, which have occasioned the addition of what follows. They import, that Koornhert was born in 1522, of an antient and good family of Amsterdam; that he took a journey into Spain and Portugal when he was very young; that, at his return, he married against the intention of his father's will, and without consulting his mother; that his wife having hardly any fortune, he was obliged to get into the service of Renaud de Brederode baron of Vianen; that he became his steward, and got into his favour; but quickly left him, because he could not reconcile himself to a court life; that he settled at Haerlem, and maintained himself by Engraving; that, having some scruples about some matters of Divinity, and thinking he could find them resolved in St Augustin, and in some other fathers, he learned the Latin tongue at thirty years of age, wherein he made such a progress, that he soon found himself able to translate Tully's Offices, and several other books, into Dutch; that he understood Music and Poetry; that he was very good company at table, but his mirth was inoffensive, and that he never exceeded the rules of sobriety; that he loved to work, and made it a law to himself to be but six hours in bed; that he was made notary in 1561, and secretary to the town of Haerlem in 1562, and secretary to the burgomasters of the same town in 1564; that in 1565 and 1566, he was frequently deputed to the prince of Orange, governor of Holland; that he had several conferences with Henry de Brederode upon the subject of the troubles [G] that began to rise in the Low-Countries, and of the famous petition, that was presented to the dukes of Parma in April 1566; that he was carried away by force from Haerlem, and removed to the Hague, where he endured a long and severe imprisonment; that there he wrote several poems in Dutch, that his wife, being persuaded he would never have his liberty, endeavoured to catch the plague, that so, infecting him, they might both die together, that he severely reprimanded her for it, and commanded her patiently to submit to providence; that he vindicated himself so well, that he was released, and only prohibited to go out of the Hague; that, understanding there were fresh orders come from Brussels to re-imprison him, he privately retired to Haerlem, and afterwards into the country of Cleves, where he maintained himself

[D] He died acknowledging the doctrine of Predestination, which he had so much opposed.] He cried out, as he was dying, my God, from thee I have my soul; it is in thy power to save, or reprobate it, according to thy good pleasure; I have no reason to complain. 'Obiit a. 1590 xc, & quod valde obervandum, is qui tam impotenter de Prædestinatione multa, sibi nequaquam intellecta, adversus Theologos nostros conscripsit, sub mortem, veritatem ejus in se sentire & agnoscere coactus fuit, ad Deum exclamans: "se animam suam ab eo possidere, quam Deo integrum fit pro suo beneplacito servare, an reponere, sibi nil esse quod conquatur." Quod nil est, quam vim & summam prædestinationis divinæ in nobis aut salvandis, aut abjiciendis, pro Deo summo in nos omnes arbitrio, proprio sensu confiteri, & in morte sincerius testari, quam tot infrunitis & impetuosis adversus eam scriptis, per vitam (10). — He died in the year 1590, and, what is very remarkable, he, who had written so violently against our divines, concerning the doctrine of Predestination, which he did not well understand; at the time of his death was sensible of the truth of it, and forced to acknowledge it, crying out to God; "that he received his soul from him, which he might save, or damn, as he pleased, and that he had nothing to complain of." Which is nothing else, but acknowledging, that he felt the force of the divine Predestination in saving, or rejecting us, according to his supreme authority over every one of us, and bearing testimony to it, at his death, with more sincerity, than he had opposed it, in such vehement writings, during his life." This citation was necessary, considering the reflexions it contains, and may suggest.

[E] He began to study somewhat late.] I have seen at the Hague, in Mr Van Beuning's library, the works of Theodore Volcard (11) Coornhert, in Dutch. He was an Enthusiast, who had a very ready wit. He learned of himself Greek and Latin (12), at forty years of age, and made so great a progress in these two languages, that he translated into Dutch any

author he had a mind to. He wrote several treatises of Divinity, some of which have been consulted by Calvin and Danæus. He wrote also against Lipfius, who answered him, in his book *De una Religione*. The Hollanders speak of him as of a wonderful man. He died in the year 1590, being sixty eight years old (13). There are some exaggerations in this passage of Colomies. I have read in a good author, that Koornhert was but thirty years old, when he began to study the Latin tongue (14). He never was a great master of it, and his writings have been in no great repute for this long time. Note, that Boxhornius (15) says most of the things contained in this passage of Colomies.

[F] In Freherus's *Theatrum*.] There we see, that Theodorus Cornhertzius, an excellent Sculptor, exercised his art with praise at Amsterdam, where he was born, and left many works made upon the model of Martin Hemskerck, whom he imitated. He was also a good Poet; he died at Tergou, in the year 1590, being seventy eight years of age (16). This is our Koornhert: but it should have been said, that he lived sixty eight years, and not seventy eight. See the margin (17).

[G] He had several conferences with Henry de Brederode, upon the subject of the troubles.] Koornhert had been steward to Renaud de Brederode, and had done him good services. By that he discovered himself to the best advantage to Henry de Brederode, Renaud's son. He conferred with him at Vianen, and at Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Haerlem, about the means of preserving the liberty of their country, and he engaged him to present to the dukes of Parma, the petition, which had such remarkable consequences. He was the author of the first Manifesto that prince William published in his camp (18), the title of which was, *Advice to the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, for the law, for the king, and for the flock* (19). Bor, who mentions that Manifesto, in the fourth book of his history, fol. 182, declared to some people that he knew very well, that Koornhert had writ it (20).

[H] Bring

(10) Hoornbeck, ubi supra, pag. 431.

(11) Volcard was his father's name, and not his own.

(12) It is said in his Life, that Dr John Balfus, who was afterwards counsellor to the prince of Orange, taught him the Latin tongue. No mention is made of the Greek.

(13) Colomies, Melanges Historiques, pag. 43.

(14) Vir ingenui quidem aliquis, sed ut æquitate quippe ut auctorem verum XXX linguam Latinam cupit addiscere, lra, &c. Horak ad Japra.

(15) Boxhornius in Theatro Hollandicæ, cap. de arte Amstelodami, pag. m. 263.

(16) Paul Freherus in Theatro, pag. 1483. He quotes the Academia Germ. Pictorem Joach. à Sandrart.

(17) Freherus should have called him an Engraver, and not a Sculptor, and should have said, that he practised his trade at Haerlem, and not at Amsterdam.

(18) In Decembris. 1566.

(19) It is the translation of the Dutch title.

(20) Taken from the extracts, imparted to me, in Latin, out of the Dutch Life of Theodorus Koornhert.

himself by his old trade of Engraving; that, the States of Holland having firmly resolved to maintain their liberty against the Spanish tyranny, he returned into his country, and was honoured with the post of secretary to the States of the province; that endeavouring to oppose the disorders committed by the soldiery, and being deputed to take information of them, he became so odious to the commanders of those insolent troops [H], that, to save his life, he thought fit to exile himself; that, having written to the prince of Orange, and to the States of Holland, the reasons of his retreat, he took refuge at Embden; that, after things were restored to a better state, he returned to Haerlem; that he engaged in disputes, wherein he was opposed by the most zealous ministers; that he published several pieces in defence of his cause, and maintained it by word of mouth, at Leyden, and at the Hague; that, to be the more ready to enter the lists, he went and lived at the Hague; that, these verbal disputes having been prohibited by authority [I], he often intreated the States, and the ministers, and particularly at the

[H] Being deputed to take information of the disorders committed by the soldiery, he became so odious to the commanders of those insolent troops. The captains, who were conscious of many extortions, thought themselves of a very effectual expedient, to prevent a discovery; which was to cry down Koornhert, as a dangerous Papist, and thereby expose him to a thousand dangers. They found a very specious pretence for it; for he was continually saying, that it was just, and for the interest of Holland, not to persecute the Catholics, but to observe the promise, which the prince of Orange had made them concerning the free exercise of their religion, &c. The count de Lumet, who commanded the troops in Holland, was far from standing to this promise. Koornhert very boldly condemned this conduct; whereupon he was diffamed, as a most accursed favourer of Popery. The count de Lumet, to whom he had been represented in black colours, swore his destruction and gave orders to kill him. There was no safety for him in the highways of the country, nor in the streets of the town: he had recourse to the protection of the prince of Orange; but that was not sufficient to balance the great credit this count had with the soldiery. Wherefore Koornhert was obliged to retire into the country of Cleves (21). This happened in the year 1572. Note, that he favoured so little the cause of the Spaniards, that he was expressly excepted in the Amnity, which Lewis de Requesens caused to be published at Brussels, in the year 1574, for all those who should in two months time receive absolution in the confessional of the priests (22). Here follows a passage, which shews, that he did not love the church of Rome, and yet was for granting the Papists liberty of conscience.

The private exercise of their religion was forbidden in Holland, in 1581. Some among them employed Koornhert to draw up a petition addressed to the prince of Orange, by which they desired to be maintained in the exercise of their religion, in the monasteries of Haerlem, and in the temple, which the Protestants had quitted, after they became masters of the great church. Koornhert, being obliged to appear before the burgomasters of Haerlem, on account of that writing, delivered it into their hands, according to the order he had received, and declared, that he did not undertake the defence of it, any more than that of Popery, which he considered as a den of murder; but that, nevertheless, he was persuaded, that it was a piece of injustice to break one's word with the Roman Catholics, and to force their conscience. The burgomasters gave this petition to the prince of Orange, who sent it back to the States; these sent for the burghers of Haerlem, who had signed it, and ordered them to cancel their names. They ordered also Koornhert to tear the draught of it; all which was executed (23).

[I] These verbal disputes having been prohibited by authority. Here are some circumstances of those disputes. They began at Delft, in the year 1578; and what occasioned them was, that a certain person, who quitted the church of Rome, to embrace the Reformed, alledged such reasons for his change, as shewed he understood neither of them very well. Koornhert tells him very freely, *what remains to be examined, is, whether you have chosen a religion better than that you have left.* He was called to an account for this discourse; for a clamour was raised about it, and it was odiously represented: which occasioned the conference betwixt Koornhert, and two ministers of Delft, which

turned upon the notes of the true church. He undertook to prove, that the churches, which followed the doctrines of John Calvin, and Theodore Beza, were false; and he grounded himself upon three points; predestination, justification, and the punishment of Heretics. The conference was scarce begun, when the States of the province put an end to it: it was renewed by their order, and in the presence of their commissioners, at Leyden, the fourteenth of April; but it lasted only a day and a half; Koornhert complaining, that his adversaries made an ill use of the secular authority against him, retired. He boasted, that he had reduced the two ministers to their last shifts, though he was not permitted to attack them upon the third point (24); he pretended that his naming Calvin and Beza served as a subterfuge to his adversaries, because the commissioners said, that he knew very well, the States would not suffer the names of those two Geneva ministers to come into the dispute, and that therefore he ought to expect their indignation. Finding himself thus threatened, he declared, he would not return to a conference, where he had not an entire liberty of speech. The ministers and commissioners failed not to appear at the place, where the dispute began. They said for Koornhert, sent to his lodgings, and took his absence for a flight, and an undoubted proof of his defeat. The States of Holland caused the magistracy of Haerlem to forbid him to write any thing concerning that dispute (25).

Some years after, he wrote against the Catechism of Heidelberg, which was received by the Reformed Churches of Holland. He addressed this piece to the States of the province, and, with a prodigious boldness represented to them the mischiefs of receiving this Catechism, and of the design, the ministers had, said he, of imposing on every body the necessity of thinking and speaking like themselves. He desired, that those misfortunes might be prevented, and offered to prove what he advanced. The ministers, on their part, presented a writing to the States, full of complaints against Koornhert, and declared themselves ready to justify their propositions. The States after mature deliberation, resolved, with the approbation of the prince of Orange, to make Koornhert dispute with the ministers before fifteen deputies. Hadrian Saravia, professor of Divinity at Leyden, was chosen to be a disputant for the ministers; a notary was appointed him, and another to Koornhert, that whatever should be said, on both sides, might be authentically set down in writing. The dispute began at the Hague, the twenty seventh of October, 1583, and continued to the third of November, when Koornhert desired leave of the commissioners to go to Haerlem, to see his wife, who was upon her death-bed. The dispute began again, the twenty eighth of November; but because Saravia, for four days together, had dictated very long writings to his notary, the deputies resolved to send Koornhert home, there to compose his answer. It were more polite than the writing of Saravia, and was confuted by a reply of the ministers, that was much longer. The States finding, that one article, among fifty, that were to be examined, took up so many sessions, thought there would never be an end of this affair, and interrupted the course of it. Koornhert boasted of his victory, and that he had settled himself at the Hague, that he might be the more at hand to dispute. The order of the States for interrupting the conferences, hindered not the parties from attacking one another in writing (26).

(24) *Vie.* The punishment of Heretics.

(25) *Ibid.* ex pag. 507, ad ann. 1578.

(26) *Ibid.* ex lib. xii. pag. 693, 694, 605, ad ann. 1583.

(21) Taken from the extracts, imported to me, in Latin, out of Gerard Brandt's Dutch History, Part. I. lib. ix, pag. 535, ad ann. 1572.

(22) *Ibid.* ex lib. xi, pag. 553.

(23) *Ibid.* ex lib. xii, pag. 667, 668, ad ann. 1581.

synod of Tergou, to permit that they should be continued and ended; that he presented a petition upon this subject to the prince of Orange; that he strengthened it with many arguments; that he belought him to order it so, that, if his petition was rejected, he might at least have leave to go on in modestly and christianly confuting errors, and thereby enjoy the liberty of conscience, which had been purchased with so much pains; that, in case of a refusal, he begged, as the last favour, permission to retire into some neighbouring country, in friendship with Holland, to spend the rest of his days in finishing an Index to the holy Scriptures, upon which he had laboured twenty six years, and also to prevent the oppression of his conscience, the dangers of his person, the miseries of poverty, and the scandal of the Reformed church; that he desired to have a safe conduct; that he promised he would return to the Hague, to terminate the dispute, when they should think fit to recall him; that all his requests being rejected, he nevertheless publicly declared, that he found great errors in the Heidelberg Catechism; that he got many enemies by it; that he was disparaged from the pulpit, and elsewhere; that he was loaded with invectives and calumnies; that he met with a great many troubles and vexations, this having prejudiced and provoked several people against him; that he always prudently and constantly bore up against this adversity; that there is great probability that he was protected by the prince of Orange [K]; that no one at that time wrote so strenuously as he for the liberty of the country, and for that of conscience [L]; that his writings against the doctrine of Predestination and original sin were strengthened with so many arguments, that the consistory of Amsterdam having ordered James Arminius to confute them some years after, this minister answered, that he did not see, that either he or any body else could answer them from Scripture (b); that, having almost finished his Dutch version of Erasmus's Paraphrase (i), he was seized with a distemper, in which he signalized his patience, and held most edifying discourses, till he expired, full of confidence in God, the twenty ninth (k) of October, 1590; that he was buried at Tergou (l); that he would neither be buried at Amsterdam, where he was born, nor at Haerlem, where he spent most of his time; that he has been praised by Isaac Pontanus, in the description of Amsterdam, and by Grotius, and even by Justus Lipsius his adversary. This is what I gather from the Latin extracts, communicated to me out of Koornhert's Life, written in Dutch. Some other things there are, which I shall put in the remarks. I shall also make use of some Latin extracts, taken from Gerard Brandt's book, I mean the Dutch history which he wrote concerning the reformation of the Netherlands. They have been made by the same person, who imparted to me those of Koornhert's Life, and who understands well the Dutch tongue, and is very exact. I think they may be depended on.

(b) See, below, the text of the article ARMINIUS, between citations (b) and (c).

(i) Upon the New Testament.

(k) I have quoted, above, an author, who says the twentieth, but probably this difference proceeds from that of the old and new Style, and from this, that when a man dies in the night between the ninth and tenth day of a month, for instance, some say he died the ninth, others that he died the twentieth.

(l) In the great church, with a very honorable epitaph composed by his good friend Henry Laurence Spiegel. See Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Netherlands, book xv, ad. ann. 1590.

(27) Ibid. ex lib. xv, pag. 759, ad ann. 1589.

(28) Taken from the extracts of Koornhert's Life.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Extracts of Brandt's History, lib. xv, pag. 757.

(31) Ibid.

(32) In the duchy of Cleves.

The synod of South Holland being assembled at Tergou in August 1589, Koornhert, who lived in the same town, sent a letter to the assembly, to offer them a fresh battle. The synod having read the letter, sent it back to the author, and declared they had nothing more to do with him, and that, if he desired any thing, he must address himself to the States (27). [K] There is great probability, that he was protected by the prince of Orange. It is certain, that this prince, knowing him to be a man of parts, a great lover of liberty, and a great enemy to the Spaniards, thought him a fit man for the affairs of that time. He made use of his pen on several occasions; he gave him several commissions; he desired they would recall him from his exile (28); and one can hardly apprehend, how Koornhert could have withstood his enemies, if he had not been under-hand supported by a very powerful and well-managed protection; for he observed no measures in relation to the public doctrine of the churches; he attacked the mission of their ministers, condemned all sects, and was for leaving an entire liberty to the Roman Catholics, which, considering the circumstances of those times, would have been very dangerous. His censure on the Catechism of Heidelberg was so bold and insulting, that, since the States of Holland, who had it examined by a professor of divinity, and a minister, were contented to order, that the copies should be put into the hands of the magistrates (29), he must needs have had a powerful support. If the prince of Orange had been alive, when Koornhert went to live at Delft, I do not think the magistrates would have commanded him to depart in twenty four hours, as they did in the year 1588 (30). Some persons tried to get him imprisoned for the rest of his life; but the prince and the supreme magistrates rejected that proposal (31).

[L] No one . . . wrote so strenuously as he for the liberty of the country, and for that of conscience. Whilst he was at Santen (32) in a voluntary exile, in the year 1574, he drew up the plan of a book, to shew all Christian princes, that the conduct of the provinces, which opposed the king of Spain, and the

duke of Alba, was not a rebellion, nor a popular itch of pulling down images, but an emanation of the supreme authority, which the people have to defend their rights, their laws, and the liberty of conscience. Add to this what I say in the remark [H]. The acts of the pacification of Cologne, begun in the year 1579, which were published at Delft, with the licence of the States, and with excellent notes by Haggai Albada, Koornhert's intimate friend, are thought to be the work of the latter. Eusebius Philaletes ascribes all this to him, in a book printed in 1617. See likewise Koornhert's first treatise against Justus Lipsius. He wrote a piece in the year 1584, concerning the means of refuting the king of Spain, and he shewed, among other things, that it was necessary to put themselves under the protection of France. Being persuaded, that the Christian peace was one of the most important doctrines of the Gospel, and that it could not be maintained, but by reducing the truths necessary to salvation, to a small number, and by permitting the difference of opinions with respect to other doctrines, he laboured with all his might to put things upon that foot. He took the advantage of the great Erasmus's opinion (33), and agreed with two doctors of the Reformed church (34); and it seems, that prince William was somewhat inclined that way. Consult the History of Bor, book 21. fol. 107.

(33) In epistola ad Archiepiscopum Panormitanum. Operibus Hilarii presbiteri.

(34) Hubert Duvellius, and Tucco Sylvestri.

(35) That is, of professing whatever is dictated by the conscience and

and that all pious people, who, by faith in JESUS CHRIST, endeavoured to imitate him, are good Christians, and that the magistrates ought to account all peaceable people, good subjects (36). He was so full of this hypothesis, that, to the prejudice of his tranquillity and temporal interests, he made use of all his courage, parts, and learning to maintain it (37).

(36) Extracts of Koornhert's Life.

(37) The Dutch Disfich, made by Peter Hooff, to be put under Koornhert's print, imported, that he had been insatiable of knowledge and liberty.

KORN MANNUS (HENRY) a German Civilian, author of some curious treatises [A], of which there are several editions. He lived in the beginning of the XVIIth century.

[A] He is author of some curious treatises. That, which is intitled, *de Virginitatis jure Tractatus novus & jucundus, ex Jure civili, canonico, Patribus, Historicis, Poëtis, &c. confectus*; and that which is commonly printed with it, with this title, *Linea Amoris, sive Commentarius in versiculum Gl. visus, colloquium, convivius, oscula, factum*, have been often printed. The oldest edition I know of them, is of Francfort, 1610. It is a great and fruitful subject; but the author runs over it, and examines nothing to the bottom, and what he says is very common. He may please those, who love brevity. His other works are, *Templum naturæ historicum, seu de natura & miraculis*

quatuor elementorum, De miraculis vivorum, seu de natura, proprietatibus, &c. hominum vivorum, at Francfort 1614. *De miraculis mortuorum, &c.* It has been said, that Kirchmannus, in his book *de Funeribus Romanorum*, borrows a great deal from this last work of our Kornmannus (1). And yet I do not find, that the book *de Miraculis mortuorum*, came out before the year 1610; whereas the book, intitled *de Funeribus Romanorum*, was printed in 1604. It is true, the author gave a new edition of it in 1625, and he might have made use of our Kornmannus's work for his additions. This we may examine another time, if we have leisure.

(1) Anton. Borremans, Varior. Lectio. cap. IV, pag. 32.

KORTHOLT (CHRISTIAN) doctor and professor of Divinity at Kiel, was born the fifteenth of January 1633, at Burg in the isle of Femeren (a). He was instructed both in piety and learning, with great care, at his father's house, and in the school of Burg, till he was sixteen years of age; after which he was sent to Sleswic, where he pursued his studies for two years. He afterwards studied in the college of Stetin, where he gave public proofs of his progress; for he maintained two Theses (b), one *De veracitate & taciturnitate*, the other, *De natura Philosophiæ, ejusque in Theologia usu*. He was author of the latter. Being come to Rostoch, in the year 1652, he was a diligent attendant on the professors lectures, and successfully maintained two other Theses (c), of which he composed the first. The death of his father obliged him to leave this university, at the years end; but he returned thither some months after, and gave new proofs of his knowledge, both by the Thesis *de Christo θεανθρώπῳ*, which he composed, and publicly defended, and by the lectures he read at home in Logic, Metaphysics, and Hebrew. He solemnly took his degree of doctor in Philosophy, in the year 1656; and then he went to study in the university of Iëna, where he acquired great reputation by the academical acts, in which he was sometimes Respondent, and sometimes Moderator, and by the private lectures he read upon Philosophy, the Oriental tongues, and Divinity. He left the university of Iëna, in 1660, and visited those of Leipzig and Wittemberg, and afterwards returned to Rostock, where he shewed his capacity several ways; so that, in February 1662, he was made professor of the Greek tongue. He took his doctor of Divinity's degree in November the same year. Not long before, his parts and learning discovered themselves, in three disputes with the Roman Catholics [A], in the presence of Christian, duke of Mecklenburg. He married on the twenty sixth of April 1664, and was invited the following year to be second professor of Divinity in the university lately founded at Kiel. He was created Vice-chancellor in the year 1666, and in 1675 he succeeded Peter Musæus, who had the first Divinity chair. He was so desirous to make this new university flourish, and had so much gratitude for the kindness, which the duke of Holstein, his master, shewed him, that he refused all the preferments that were offered him in several places, though they were noble and honourable. This prince procured him the professorship of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, in 1680, and declared him perpetual Vice-chancellor of the university in the year

(a) Near the Baltic Sea, in the country of Holstein.

(b) That is, two dissertations, and not meer positions.

(c) One was *de supposito & personis*, and the other *de sphaera activitatis*.

[A] His parts and learning appeared in three disputes with the Roman Catholics. These are the particulars we find upon that subject in his funeral programma. "An. MDCLXI. à Serenissimo Duce Mecklenburgico, CHRISTIANO, Principe eruditione, facundia, comitateque singulari prædito, per Cancellarium ejus, D. CHRISTOPHORUM KRAUTHOFIUM, invitabatur in aulam Suerinensem, ad colloquium cum Pontificio Austriaco, EGGEFELDIO, viro quidem docto, sed admodum supercilioso, de religionis negotio, habendum. Quod & in conspectu multorum aulae Procerum, ac peregrinorum etiam, qui fortè tunc aderant, institutum, ac postero die cum alio Pontificio Polono, ELLERNIZKIO, continuatum est Stinchenburgi, ipso Principe præsentem, qui cum illuc accessit clementerque acceptum toto officio secum retinuit. A quo & sequenti anno MDCLXII. denuò ad certamen, cum Pontificio quodam Parisiensi, cui nomen de la BUISSON (1) erat, ibidem instituendum, provocatus comparuit, in eoque de gravissimis religio-

nis controversiis cum omnium applausu per aliquot dies disputavit. — In the year 1661, CHRISTIAN, duke of Mecklenburg, a prince of singular learning, eloquence, and affability, invited him, by his chancellor, CHRISTOPHER KRAUTHOF, to the court of Suerin, to a conference, to be held, concerning the business of religion, with EGGEFELD, a Roman Catholic of Austria, a learned man indeed, but very supercilious. Which was begun in the presence of many of the courtiers, and also strangers, and continued, the next day, with another Roman Catholic, a Polisher, named ELLERNIZK, in the presence of the prince himself, who, having invited, and received him graciously, retained him with him eight days. And being again called by the same prince, the following year 1662, to dispute with a Roman Catholic of Paris, named du BUISSON, he appeared, and disputed some days, with universal applause, concerning the most important controversies of religion."

(1) It should be *de Buisson*.

[B] He

(d) It is, at the bottom the same thing with rector, because there was no other rector at Kiel, but the prince himself, who founded that university.

year 1689. He discharged the duties of all those places, and of that of Vice-rector (d), (which fell five times to him) with great ability, application, and prudence. His death, which happened the thirty first of March, 1694, was a very great loss to the university of Kiel, and to the Republic of Letters, which he had enriched with a great number of books [B], to which he might have added many more, if he had lived longer. He left two sons, who tread very worthily in his steps (e) [C].

[B] He enriched the Republic of Letters with a great number of books. I have seen the catalogue of them, which was printed at Kiel in the year 1694. Some are in High-Dutch, and others in Latin. The titles of the Latin are these: *Tractatus de Origine & Progressu Philosophiæ Barbaricæ*. Jenæ in 4. 1660. *Tractatus de Persecutionibus Ecclesiæ primitivæ, veterumque Martyrum Cruciatibus* ibid. in 8. 1660. *Prodiit longe accuratior, & triplo auctior*, Kilonii ann. 1689. in 4. Valerianus Confessor, hoc est, solida Demonstratio, quod Ecclesia Romana hodierna non sit vera Christi Ecclesia; deducta ex Valer. Magni, Capucini, Apologia Anti-Jesuitica. Rost. in 12. 1662. *Opusculum illud auctior Kilonii in 4. est editum* 1666. *Dissertatio de Nestorianismo*. ibid. in 4. 1662. *Tractatus de Calumniis Paganorum in veteres Christianos*. Rostochii, in 4. 1663. *Longe auctior publicatus est Kilonii anno 1668 novoque plane habitu, in tres Libros distinctus, brevi, V. D. & Typographeo Kiloniensi proditurus est* (2). *Exercitatio in Historiam Judith. Rostoch. in 4. 1663. Exercitatio in Præfationem Hieronymi in Judith*. ibid. in 4. 1663. *Tractatus de Canone Scripturæ, Bellarmino, ejusque propugnatoribus, Gretsero & Erbemannio Jesuitis, oppositus*. Rostochii, in 4. 1665. *Tractatus de Religione Ethnica, Muhammedana, & Judaica*. Kilonii, in 4. 1665. *Oratio de Scholarum & Academiarum ortu & progressu, præsertim in Germania, inter solemnia inaugurationis Academiæ Kiloniensis habita*. Sleiv. in fol. 1666. *Dissertatio Historica de Philippo Arabis, Alexandri Mamæ, Plinii Junioris, & Annæi Senecæ, Christianismo*. Kil. in 4. 1667. *Apologia pro Valeriano Confessore, adversus Capucinum Salisburgensem*, ibid. in 4. 1667. *Tractatus de Variis Scripturæ sacre Editionibus*. ibid. in 4. 1668. *Longe auctior vulgatus est Kilonii ann. 1686. Pseudodelphia Heiniana, D. Johanni Heinio, Theologo Reformato Marpurgensi, opposita*. ibid. in 4. 1669. *Tractatus de Lectione Bibliorum in linguis vulgo cognitæ*. ibid. in 4. 1670. *Revisus & auctus Planæ recensio est anno 1692. Funus Ecclesiæ Romanæ in Clemente IX Papa defunctæ*. ibid. in 4. 1670. *Papa Utopicus*. ibid. in 4. 1670. *Tractatus de Origine & natura Christianismi ex mente Gentilium*. Kil. in 4. 1672. *Apologia pro Valeriano Confessore, adversus Christianum Fabrum, Gallo-Sebutianum*. Kil. 4. 1673. *Commentarius in Epistolam Plinii & Trajani de Christianis primævis*. ibid. in 4. 1674. *Commentarius in Justinum M. Athenagoram, Theophilum Antiochenum, Tatianum Assyrium*. Kil. in fol. 1675. *Auctior editus est Lipsiæ ann. 1686. Dissertatio de Viribus humanis in ordine ad Civilia & Spiritualia*. Kil. in 4. 1676. *Exercitatio anti-Salmastiana de Pane & risoria, quem in Oratione Dominica petimus*. in 4. 1676. *Disquisitiones anti-Baronianæ*, ibid. in 4. 1677. *De Tribus Impollitoribus Magnis, liber, Edoardo Herbert, Thomæ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinozæ oppositus. Cui addita Appendix, qua Hieronymi Cardani & Edoardi Herberti de Animalitate hominis opiniones philosophicè examinatæ*. ibid. in 8. 1680. *Disquisitio anti-Baroniana peculiaris de Reliquiarum cultu*. ibid. in 8. 1680. *Tractatus de Vita & Moribus Christianis primævis per Gentilium malitiam affectis*. ibid. in 4. 1683. *Theses Theologicæ XXV Disputationibus publicis in Universitate Kiloniensi propositæ*. ibid. in 4. 1684. *Prodierunt & gentilitate sunt altera vice 1686, ac rursum anno 1692. Tractatus de Processu disputandi Papiſtico. Cui subjuncta Dissertatio de Hostiis Eucharisticis, sive Placentalis orbiculatis, quibus in S. Synaxeos administratione utimur*. ibid. in 4. 1685. *Exercitatio de Christo Crucifixo, Judæis scandalo, Gentilibus stultitia, Creditentibus autem Dei potentia & sapientia. 1 Cor. 1. 18, 23, 24. ibid. in 4. 1686. Exercitatio de Atheismo Veteribus Christianis, ob Templorum inprimis aversionem à Gentilibus objecto, inque eisdem à nostris retorto*. ibid. in 4. 1689. *Silentium Sacrum, sive, de Occultatione Myſteriorum apud veteres Christianos Dissertatio*. ibid. in 4. 1689. *De Studio Belli ac Pacis Dissertatio Theologica, in gratam memoriam redditæ divina clementia Cimbricis provinciis Concordiæ, restitutive feliciter Reverendiss. Serenissimique Slesvici & Holstatiæ Ducis regnantis Dn. CHR. AL-*

BERTI. Ibid. in 4. 1689. *De actionibus Forensibus Exercitatio Theologica*. Ibid. in 4. 1690. *Alexander Papa Octavus Pseudonymus*. Ibid. in 4. 1690. *De Magnanimitate Aristotelica, Christianæ Modellæ aliisque veris Virtutibus inimica, Dissertatio*. Ibid. in 4. 1690. *De Schismate, superiori seculo Protestantes inter & Pontificios enato, Dissert. Historico-Theologica*, ib. in 4. 1690. *Apotheosis Papæ*. Ibid. in 4. 1691. *In Canonem 6. Nicænum Cardd. Baronio & Bellarmino opposita Exercitatio*. I id. in 4. 1691. *Miscellanea Academica*. Ibid. in 4. 1692. *Disquisitio de Pontifice Romano*. Ibid. in 4. 1692. *De Rationis cum Revelatione in Theologia concursu*. Ibid. in 4. 1692. *De Veterum quorundam locutione illa: Filius Dei assumpsit Hominem*. Ibid. in 4. 1692. *De Nominibus, quibus per ludibrium & contemptum Christiani olim à profanis appellati; deque Notis occultis, quibus iidem se insignivisse crediti, Dissertatio; addita Mantissa, qua disquiruntur: Num filiola, quam octo dierum infans enixa est, Baptismi capax*. Ibid. in 4. 1693. *De Sacris Publicis, debita cum reverentia præsentique Numinis metu colendis, Diatribe Ascetica*. Ibid. in 4. 1693.

Since his death, a tract has been published with this title, *Pastor fidelis, sive de Officio Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Opusculum*, at Hamburgh, 1695, in 12°. See the *Acta Eruditor.* (3). They have also published his *Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti*, at Leipzig in 1697, in 4. See the same Journal (4).

[C] He left two sons, who tread very worthily in his steps. He had ten children, five sons, and five daughters, whereof four sons and four daughters were living, when he died. The two eldest daughters were already married, one to Mr Lindeman, professor of Physics and Metaphysics at Rostock, the other to Mr Pasch, professor of Morality at Kiel (5). The eldest of the sons, HENRY CHRISTIAN KORTHOLT, studied Physic, and was then travelling in foreign countries. MATTHIAS NICOLAS KORTHOLT, and SEBASTIAN KORTHOLT, his brothers, had already given excellent proofs of their parts. JOEL JOHN KORTHOLT, the youngest of them all, studied well, and was a man of fine hopes. 'Natu minor, they are the words of the funeral programma, JOEL JOHANNES, pietatis & literarum studio diligenter incumbens, optimam de se spem excitat, quam abunde jam impleverunt ætate profectibusque multo majores, MATTHIAS NICOLAUS, & SEBASTIANUS, pluribus præclaris bonæ indolis ingenique excellentis speciminibus editis. — The younger, JOEL JOHN, applying himself diligently to piety and learning, raises the greatest hopes of himself, which MATTHIAS NICOLAUS, and SEBASTIAN, had already abundantly answered, being much his seniors both in age and proficiency, and having given many proofs of an excellent disposition and genius.' I have seen the dissertation of *Poësis Episcopalis*, which Mr Sebastian Kortholt printed in the year 1699, and submitted to the examination of the learned, *Examini Eruditorum publico*, when he was preparing to take his doctor's degree in Philosophy (6). It is a very curious piece, and it shews the great reading of the author.

Since this was printed, I have seen two other pieces of his, on which I pass the same judgment: one is intitled, *Disquisitio de Entusiasmo Poëtico*, and was printed at Kiel in the year 1696, in 4to; the other, *De Puelis Poëtriciis emissis ab Adriano Bailleso*, printed in the same place, in the year 1700, in 12mo. I have been informed also, that the author was made professor of Poetry in the university of Kiel, in February 1701, and that his brother (Matthias Nicolas) being invited to Gießen, to be professor of Eloquence and Poetry in that university, made his inaugural oration, the twenty second of June 1700. He treated *De antiqua Eloquentia recentiorum perperam posposita a Carolo Peraltio scriptore libri, cujus est titulus, Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes, &c.* This oration seemed to me to be very good. You may see the elogy of this professor, in a letter from Mr Majus (7), dated from Kiel the twenty second of May, 1700.

(1) Taken from his Funeral Programma, printed at Kiel, in 1694.

(2) For January 1696, pag. 7, & seq.

(3) For September 1697, pag. 438.

(4) He published in 1695, Schediasma de curiosis hujus seculi inventis quorum accuratio cultus faciem præstat antiquitatis. He is representing it with great additions.

(5) Pro summi in Philosophia honoribus imptandis.

(6) Jo. Borchardus Majus Eloquentie & Historiæ professor primarius. He is every famous for his writings.

KOTTERUS

KOTTERUS (CHRISTOPHER) is one of the three fanatics, whose visions were published at Amsterdam in the year 1657, with this title *Lux in Tenebris* [A]. He lived at Sprottaw in Silesia. His visions begun in June 1616. He fancied he saw

[A] With this title, *Lux in Tenebris* I have observed, in another place (1), the occasion of this title and will not repeat it. This book was printed in the year 1657, at the expence of a rich patron (2) whom Comenius had found at Amsterdam. It contains the Revelations of our Christopher Kotterus, those of Christina Poniatovia, and those of Nicolas Drabicius. Comenius published an abridgment of it in 1660, with this title, *Revelationum divinarum in usum seculi nostri faciarum Epitome*. He reprinted the whole work with this title. *Lux & Tenebris novis radiis aucta*, &c. This last edition contains the sequel of Drabicius's revelations till the year 1666. A professor of Divinity at Franeker, a Polander, called Nicolas Arnoldus, presently wrote against this work, and replied to Comenius's apology. Marcius, professor of Divinity at Groningen, wrote against the same book, in his thesis *de tribus Videntibus*, in the year 1659; and when, ten years after, he published an answer (3) to a piece of Comenius concerning the Millennium, he reproached him more than once, and with great vehemence, for printing the pieces of those three pretending prophets. This book, after some years, fell into oblivion and contempt; but when the Turks besieged Vienna, in the year 1683, it was wonderfully sought after. They, who had lodged the copies in garrets, where they had relicked a long time, fetched them out, and sold several of them at a great price; and if the Turks had taken Vienna, I doubt not but they must have made a new edition of it, tho' the copies had been never so dear. They were very much inquired for in France, the count d' Avaux sent some thither; and therefore we may very well wonder, that Mr Jurieu should suppose, in the year 1691, that Drabicius was not known at Paris. This supposition is inexcusable, since, not long before, he himself had very much contributed to spread the name of that fanatic all over the world. Besides he alleged this wrong supposition as a proof of a state crime; for he pretended, that the *Avis aux Refugiez*, — *Advice to the Refugees*, making mention of Drabicius, could not have been written in France. These are things, which my readers would scarce believe; wherefore it is necessary I should prove them, by giving an account of what was replied to him. Here is the answer made by the author he accused (4).

"The first of his proofs is, that the *Avis aux Refugiez*, *Advice to the Refugees*, was not written at Paris." Now this he demonstrates thus: "He", who wrote that advice, gives a particular account, of Drabicius's prophecies; he saw them, read them, and knows all the particulars of them. "But the learned of Paris scarce know the name of Drabicius. "Therefore the author of the advice is not at Paris. "If I should deny the first proposition, I am sure he could never prove it; because it does not appear from the *Advice to the Refugees*, that the author of it knew any thing more of Drabicius, than that he attempted to excite a war against the house of Austria. Any man of letters may know this without reading the books of that Prophet. "But the second proposition is still more palpably false. For, not to say, that, during the siege of Vienna, Drabicius's book was much talked of in France, and that many copies were sent for from hence (I myself was desired by one of my friends, at Rouen, to send him one) who knows not, that the great encomiums Mr Jurieu bestowed on the prophetic Triumvirate, I mean Christina Poniatovia, Kotterus, and Drabicius, in a book *† more common than Almanacks*, as he himself boasts of it *†*, using the best comparison that was ever seen; who knows not I say, that those great encomiums bestowed on Drabicius, and so likely to make this prophet talked of, have drawn upon the panegyrist some very mortifying censures from the bishop of Meaux *†*, and Mr Pellisson ****, in some books, published at Paris before the impression of the *Advice to the Refugees*? Who doubts, that the satire intituled *L'Esprit de Mr Arnauld*, so well known since the year 1684, raised a

curiosity in abundance of Frenchmen to see Drabicius's prophecies, the scheme whereof Mr Jurieu draws *††* there, in such a manner as to promise the public, on one hand, from Drabicius, the ruin of the house of Austria, to the king of France the imperial crown, to the Turks the taking of Vienna, Carinthia, and Stiria, and the destruction of the republic of Venice, and of the city of Rome, and to promise, on the other hand, in the name of the Protestants, *all that they can do to accomplish those prophecies*? The learned of Paris must have been very stupid, if they did not enquire after a book, of which Mr Jurieu has given the following notion. "I found, says he (5), in the prophecies of Cotterus, Christina, and Drabicius, published by Comenius, something great and surprising. Kotterus, who is the first of these three prophets, is great and lofty; the images of his visions are as noble and majestic, as those of the antient prophets. They are also admirable well concerted; they are all of a piece; and there is no inconsistency, in them. It is inconceivable how a meer mechanic could have imagined such great things without the assistance of God. The two years of Christina's prophecy are, in my opinion, a train of miracles, as great as have happened since the Apostles: nor do we find any thing in the life of the greatest prophets, that is more miraculous, than the adventures of this maid. Drabicius has also his sublimity. But there is much more obscurity and difficulty in him. These three prophets conspire in foretelling the fall of the antichristian empire, as what must very soon come to pass. But then there are so many other things in them, which offend, that one cannot set his heart upon them." If this had not raised a desire of knowing Comenius's prophetic collection, at least, those would have had a curiosity, who had seen Mr Pellisson's *Reflexions sur les differens de la Religion*. For when a writer discovers a great deal of haughtiness, it is impossible not to feel a secret pleasure, when he happens to be mortified as Mr Jurieu was by these words of Mr Pellisson. "A prophet, and more than a prophet, a forerunner doubtless of the Millennium, which he declares to us, who at least assumes the authority of reforming, correcting, and chastising, when he pleases, such as he has formally acknowledged for prophets, and inspired men", a sort of people, whom the event has already proved to be guilty of a hundred impostures, and who have been confounded in the sight of all the world, by the taking of Buda, tho' they had assured us, as from God, that it would never return to the Christians by force of arms, but by a treaty with the Turks (6). He gave (7) formal proofs of all this, by quoting the very words of Mr Jurieu (8), and the places where Drabicius expressly said, that Buda should never come out of the hands of the Turk, but in a peaceable way. When people are affected towards an author, as they were at Paris, with respect to Mr Jurieu, they are so well pleased to see him convicted either of imposture, or Fanaticism, that they will seek for such a conviction at the fountain head. But is it true, say they, that Drabicius affirms such a thing? may not one see it with one's own eyes, that there may remain no scruple, to lessen the ridiculousness of such a scene? Then they will seek a copy of Drabicius wherever they think it may be had; and if it cannot be met with, they will however keep his name in their memory.

It cannot be said, that I digress from my subject; for, since it is a falsity in point of fact, to say that Drabicius's name was scarce known at Paris in 1690, it belongs to this Dictionary, and I was obliged to use all the proofs, that confute this falsity.

If Mr Jurieu had been contented to say, that, in comparison of the noise Drabicius's name would have made in France, in case the Turks had taken Vienna, he was scarce known at Paris, when the *Advice to the Refugees* was written, I think he would not be in the wrong; for the taking of Vienna would have made Drabicius more talked of, than the grand visier. The book, which Mr Jurieu wrote during the siege of that town, to praise and vindicate the three prophets of Comenius, by his illustrations, and learned commentaries, would have been translated into several languages, and

(1) In the article DRABICIUS, citat (r).

(2) His name was Lawrence de Geer.

(3) *Initial d*, Antirhetoricus, five defensor pili 2-ii, &c. contra J. A. Comenium.

WHETHER the name of Drabicius was unknown in France in the year 1690.

(4) In the Cabale Chimérique, pag. 230, & seq. of the second edition.

* Pag. 18.

† Accompliss. des Prophetes, printed in 1636.

‡ XXI Lettre Pastorale de the year 1689.

§ Hist. des Variations, lib. xiii, n. 41, printed in 1688.

** Reflex. sur les differens de la Relig. Part. II, printed in 1687.

†† Tom. II, pag. 291.

(5) Preface to the Accomplissement des Prophetes, printed in 1636.

* Christopher Kotterus, of Silesia. Christina Poniatovski, of Bohemia. Nicolas Drabicius, of Moravia.

(6) Reflexions sur les differens de la Religion, Part. II, sect. xvii, pag. 435. Edit. Amst. 1689.

(7) Ibid. pag. 501, & seq. See also Les Chimeres de Mr Jurieu, Part. IV, pag. 141.

(8) Those which I have quoted above out of the preface of the Accomplissement des Prophetes.

saw an angel in the form of a man, who commanded him to go and declare to the magistrates, that, unless the people repented, the wrath of God would do terrible executions. Tho' he had received this order six times successively, he did not execute it; His pastor and his friends dissuaded him from it. But, in April 1619, believing he saw the spirit, which threatened him with eternal damnation, if he kept silence any longer, he discharged his commission in a full assembly of the magistrates, the twenty ninth of August 1619. They laughed at him. The apparitions went on, and were followed by extasies and prophetic dreams. The elector Palatine, declared king of Bohemia by the Protestants, was concerned in these visions. Kotterus went to him at Breslaw in December 1620, and acquainted him with his commission. He went to some other places, and at last in 1625, to the court of Brandenburg (a) [B]. He got himself acquainted the same year with John Amos Comenius, who became a promoter of his prophecies (b) [C]. Now as most of those things turned upon presages of prosperity to the elector

(a) Taken from his Revelations, published by Comenius.

(b) Comenius, Hist. Revelation, pag. 16, & 19.

PEOPLES
tempers during
the siege of
Vienna, in 1683.

and would have made Drabicius for a long time the discourse of all companies. His performance came to nothing as to Drabicius's memory, by the raising of the siege: the great Sobieski, two or three hundred leagues off, destroyed a book, which was just ready to be put to the press. I began to know, during the siege of Vienna, how much I was mistaken in believing, that, at last, the world was cured of the chimerical hopes, which they had so often grounded upon visions. I every where met with people, that talked of nothing but of Drabicius's prophecies, and who built many castles in the air, so far as to destroy Babylon in a moment. They could not sufficiently admire how Drabicius could guess so right with respect to Tekely. This is what I wanted them to say; for I made it appear, that Tekely, who was then the great actor of this opera, made no figure in Drabicius's book, which is a plain nullity. I question not but the French had been very attentive, if the enterprize of the grand visir had succeeded. They would gladly have lent their hand to the credulous concerning Drabicius's visions, since they promised the empire to the king of France. It is therefore certain, that the name of this false prophet would have been incomparably more famous at Paris, if the Turks had taken Vienna.

[B] He was . . . in 1625 at the court of Brandenburg.] The elector George William, hearing the great noise, that was made of Kotterus's Revelations had a mind to see him. He ordered the divines of Francfort upon the Oder to examine him; after which, he sent for him twice to Berlin, first in the year 1625, and then in the year 1626. His renown, spreading as far as Strasburg, so struck one of the burgomasters, that he sent a messenger into Silesia, to intreat Kotterus, to explain to him sixty two points, and to come to Strasburg, where he might more safely exercise his prophetic ministry. Kotterus answered his sixty two questions, but excused himself from going to Strasburg, upon his having no commission for it from the spirit, and suffered his picture to be sent to the burgomaster (9).

[C] He got acquainted . . . with John Amos Comenius, who became a promoter of his prophecies.] After the edicts of the emperor, commanding the ministers of Bohemia and Moravia, in the year 1624, to depart out of the country, it was resolved in a secret assembly in March 1625, that the ministers of Bohemia should retire into Poland, and those of Moravia into Hungary, and that, some should be deputed with letters both into Poland and Hungary, to prepare a reception for them. Comenius was deputed to Poland, and, passing through Gorlitz in Lusatia, the governor of the young count Zerotin told him, as very comfortable news, that the ruin of Antichrist was at hand, as it appeared from what the Holy Ghost had revealed to a good man of Silesia, called Christophor Kotterus. He mentioned, and read several passages of it, and, because Comenius was too incredulous, he advised him to go to the place, and discourse with the prophet. Comenius, passing through Spottaw, desired to see Kotterus: his wife answered him, that he was sent for by the elector of Brandenburg. The pastor of that place (10) confirmed the same thing to him; he assured him that Kotterus was a true seer, and gave him his revelations to read. Comenius, waiting till Kotterus's return, meditated on this manuscript, and was amazed at it. Soon after, he saw Kotterus, performed his journey, returned quickly to Spottaw, translated the manuscript of the revelations into the Bohemian tongue, and was fully convinced, that they proceeded from God. He

returned into Poland, and took the prophet with him, who told him in the way, that he knew by revelation, that there would be a council of all Christendom, in which the Pope would be deposed, and a canon made, forbidding every body hereafter to usurp the title of universal bishop. Comenius represented to him, that he had not read that article in the manuscript: Kotterus answered, *I had no orders to write it, but however I have learned it.* Returning from Poland, Comenius parted from Kotterus, and went to Berlin, where he found, that, even among the refugees of Bohemia and Moravia, they passed very different judgments on this man: some held him for a true prophet, especially when the post brought news, that the king of Denmark was raising troops. Others said, he was a cheat, who, having spent his fortune, and not knowing how to live, set up for a Prophet. *Alii rursum ex iisdem meis scabiosissima de Cottero effutiebant: bel-luonem, rei suae decorem, desperationeque ad prophetandum aditantes, miraque de prophetis ipsius mendacia inter se spargentes, mibique referentes* (11). This made Comenius uneasy; but Christopher Pe-largus, superintendent-general of the churches of Brandenburg, who had examined Kotterus by the elector's order, removed his doubts, by saying, that he ought not to question that man's extraordinary mission (12), nor repent of his having translated his revelations into the Bohemian Tongue. This translation was not kept secret, as the author says he desired; it was shewn to some persons, who had it transcribed, and so the copies multiplied prodigiously in Bohemia: Nor is it any wonder, since that book promised a hundred triumphs to king Frederic. Some time after, it was printed, in the Bohemian tongue at Perna, in Misnia, with commendations and marginal notes. But all the ministers did not fall into the snare. Two of them, with some elders, found fault with the transcribing of that book; the interest of the true faith, and the danger which they were exposed to, were the two reasons that made them vote for the suppression of those chimeras, as being either an ingenious fiction, or the fantastical dreams of an Enthusiast. 'Scriptum illud (sive id ab aliquo ingenioso confictum, sive ab ipso fanatico homine conscriptum esset) suppressi petierunt. Duplex enim fuisse periculum, & Conscientiarum, si se homines à certo dei Verbo ad incerta id genus figmenta abduci paterentur, & Corporis atque vitæ, si hæc in adversariorum veniant manus (13).' In the year 1626, the electress Juliana, mother to king Frederic, having acquainted a great lord of Moravia, who was as well as she, a Refugee at Berlin, that she had received a letter from the king her son, in which he enquired, whether he could have the prophecies of the man of Silesia in writing, this great lord procured a copy of them, and, not being able to present it himself, because he was sick, he employed Comenius to do it, who was then at Berlin. Comenius, instead of delivering it to the electress, went directly to the king, who was then at the Hague, desired audience, harangued him, and, amongst other things, told him, that, since his majesty and his children bore the principal part in that divine piece, they, who had this manuscript, would have thought themselves guilty of an absurdity, if they had not communicated it to his majesty. 'Cujus (Cotteri) omnia cum sint in scriptum relata, ibidemque Majestas Vestra, cum Progenie sua, tanquam primaria in hac Dei Comœdia introducitur Persona; absurdum visum est illis, qui ea suis hactenus custodierunt manibus, ad notitiam Majestatis Vestrae hæc non deduci.

(11) Comenius, Hist. Revela. pag. 21.

(12) Videri hæc Bibliothecæ morav. (infra) sive in bibl. cisterciensis ubi cum totum per Germaniam, quæ me secretis hac colligatum extiterit, intrinsecus ratum comes Authores, antiquos & recentiores confutavit, ut quid de questione illa, Utrum possit Christum & Apollinem, obsequiumque Noni Federici Comenii, ullæ notæ admittende sint, divine vel angelicæ, revelationis, sententiam sit cognoscere? Sed nemo me feropulis liberare potuit. Ego igitur ad preces coarctatus, ardente illius invocatum Deum (sæpe etiam michi surgens & me in faciem provocans) ut se preteretur illi d. Ecce hæc sunt verba Post omnia vero tandem pensatis, divinitusque suggestis, non aliter habeo quod dicam, nisi DEUM MISERERE AGNOSCE VITAM, qui nominat nobis servum suum, quæ oportet fieri citò: quæ sunt Agnoscere Verba Annot. 21, 63 Comenius, Hist. Revela. pag. 21.

(9) Comenius, in Epitome Revelationum, Append. III, pag. m. 209.

SOME particulars relating to the History of the Revelations of Kotterus.

(10) His name was Abraham Mencilius.

elector Palatine, and unhappiness to his Imperial majesty, it happened, that David Wachsmann, the emperor's Fiscal in the lower Silesia, and in Lusatia, used all sorts of means to seize Kotterus, whom he looked upon as a seditious impostor. Kotterus fell into his hands the second of January 1627. He was examined, and put into a dungeon, and the sentence of the court of appeals was expected from Prague. The Fiscal received it the twenty fifth of April; but, as he died a little after, it is not known what it contained. Kotterus was released from imprisonment, and permitted to be visited by his wife and his friends; and at last he was put in the pillory [D], and banished the dominions of the emperor, not to return upon pain of death. He went into Lusatia, which belonged to his electoral highness of Saxony, and there lived quietly till his death, which happened in the year 1647 (c). It is by an error of the press, that Moreri's Dictionary makes him ninety two years of age [E]. Comenius is inexcusable for printing such prophecies [F]. He knew, that part of them had proved false by the event.

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(c) Taken from the Abridgement of his Revelations, Append III, and from the Hist. rev. Revelationum, pag. 21, 22.

* Non quidem ut Majestati Vestre ista præcisè credendi imponatur necessitas: sed, Primum, ut hæc apud Majestatem Vestram tanquam in archivo sacro afferatur, in futurum testimonium: nè, si demùm post completa prædicta hæc palam fiant, ex eventu sic esse collecta, suspicari quis, aut calumniari, possit. Deinde, ut occasio sit attendendi, num fortè divina providentia tales in eventus res disponat. (Nam si de imminente rerum mutatione Politicos discursus, vel Astrologicas prædictiones, aut similes Prædientiorum conjecturas, cognoscere non aspernamur, cur hæc ab altiori venientia principio aspernari libeat?) Curantur itaque ex authentico descripti exemplar, quod Majestati Vestre per me humiliter cum observantia exhibent: simulque exhibui (14). This is not meant, adds he, to impose on your majesty the necessity of believing these things, but only to desire, that you would preserve them in your archives, to the end, that if they prove true, no body may object, that those predictions were made after the event, and that you may also have an occasion to observe, whether providence prepares the way to those great revolutions.

Here the mystery lies: they would have it, that princes, who are capable of executing a design, and interested in the execution, should form it, in hopes of succeeding in it. This is frequently the first motive of our prophets, and apocalyptic commentators, and of those, who favour them. But to return to the thread of the history.

Comenius was received, and dismissed honourably, by king Frederic, and went into Bohemia, where Kotterus met him, in October 1626, and conferred with some ministers and gentlemen (15).

Here is a passage, in which I find no exactness. Quam turpiter vero in borum (Cotteri & Drabicii) & Christinæ Poniatovæ virginis Bohemæ conatibus, qui ejusdem omnino farinæ erant, juvenis modo dictus Comenius se dederit, è Voëtii Diss. part. 2. p. 1080. liquet (16). — How shamefully the said Comenius promoted the attempts of these men (Cotterus and Drabicius) and of Christina Poniatovia, a Bohemian lady, appears from Voëtius, Diss. part. 2. pag. 1080. These are Mr Hartnac's words, in his new edition of Micræus's ecclesiastical history. He had been condemning the pretended prophecies of Kotterus, and Comenius, who published them; he had been saying, that Drabicius's hand and head were cut off, who well deserved that punishment (17); and then he adds, that it appears, by the 1080th page of the second tome of Voëtius's disputations, that Comenius committed a most shameful fault in publishing the revelations of those persons. I have consulted that place of Voëtius; but there is nothing relating to Comenius, either in the 1080th page, or in the following.

[D] He was put in the pillory.] These are Comenius's words. Post aliquot adhuc mensium deliberationem ignominie pena affecerunt tali. Eductum carcere collocarunt ad cippum fori, ferreo adstrictum collari, affixaque supra caput scheda, cui inscriptum fuit: Hic est Pseudo-propheta ille, qui prædixit quæ non evenerunt. Horæ spatium sic spectaculo relictus, per Lißtorum urbem fuit eductus, exireque patriæ, nec in Cæsaris ditones redire sub capitis pœna, jussus (18). After some months deliberation, they sentenced him to this ignominious punishment. Being brought out of prison, they set him in the pillory, with this inscription over his head; This is the false prophet, who foretold things, which have not come to pass. Being thus exposed an hour, he was led out of the city

by an officer, and commanded to quit his country, and not return into the emperor's dominions, on pain of death.

[E] It is by an error of the press, that Moreri's Dictionary makes him ninety two years of age.] His birth is placed there in the year 1585, and his death in 1647; he therefore lived 62, and not 92, years. But the Printers do often confound the figures 6 and 9.

[F] Comenius is inexcusable for printing such prophecies.] God forbid, I should pronounce judgment on what passes in the heart of my neighbour: those mysteries belong only to God: but on some occasions, one may speak one's thoughts upon appearances. Much more may I be permitted to relate historically, what others have thought of the conduct of Comenius. Whilst he lived in Prussia, they deliberated about him in the courts of some princes, and it was made a case of conscience, whether he did not deserve the punishment, which the law of God decreed against false prophets. He was suspected to have been counsellor and secretary to those, who intended to make an irruption into Bohemia, which they would have executed, if the English (19) had furnished them with the supplies, which they demanded. He, and those of his temper, were accounted the abettors of the war, which Ragotski, and the princes Radzivil, undertook against Poland. The delivery of the church of God from Papal tyranny, was the object that was set before their eyes, to make them take up arms. I say nothing, but what I have a good authority for: read these words of Arnoldus to Comenius. Prævaricatio illa, quam

dicis, tanti tamen non fuit, ut super ea in aula Principum deliberaretur, casus conscientie formati viris doctis decidendi mitterentur, an sim falsus Prophetæ, & consequenter, an in me pœna divinitus in falsos Prophetas statuta animadvertendum non esset, quod de te in Borussia cum adhuc morarer per scriptum memini, & forte autographum illarum literarum adhuc possideo. Tanti, inquam, non fuit illa prævaricatio, ut propter eam ἀποστασίου ἀκούειν, ac desertâ statione mea Professoria, Magnatibus pro flabello in concitandis motibus bellicis essem, uti de te rumor est, qui à manu & consiliis intimis fuisse illis diceris, qui in Bohemiam irruptionem ante annos moliebantur, si modo annuissent illorum votis Angli sollicitati. Ego id non dico, quam stylus literarum tuo non sit ab similibus. Jam per rumores in Borussia (ut nisi me omnino fallat memoria illinc ad te per scripti,) audiveram, Principes Radzivilios & Rakocium à vobis fuisse inductos, qui arma contra Polonos capefferent, spe liberandæ Ecclesiæ à tyrannide Pontificia, cujus rei haud exigua passim in volumine illo triuno extant argumenta. Ego tamen non definio (20). — Yet that prævarication you speak of, was not so great, as to occasion debates thereupon in the courts of princes, and cases of conscience to be drawn up, and proposed to the decision of learned men, whether I am a false prophet, and consequently, whether the punishment, appointed by God for false prophets, ought not to be inflicted on me: which I remember was written concerning you, whilst I continued in Prussia, and, by chance, I still have a copy of those letters. I say, that prævarication was not so great, as to procure me the appellation of a busy meddling fellow, who, deserting my post of professor, excite the great to take up arms: as it is rumored of you, who are said to have been the chief abettor of those, who, some years ago, designed an irruption into Bohemia, if the English, whom they solicited, had assisted them. I do not affirm this, though the stile of the letters is not unlike yours. I had al-

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(20) Arnoldus, in Discursu Theologico contra Comenium, pag. 10.

(15) Taken from the Historia Revelationum, published by Comenius in the year 1659, pag. 155, & seq.

(16) Micræus, Histor. Eccles. pag. 1324. Edit. 1699.

(17) Interceptus in illo regno (Hungaria Drabicius) capite manaque amputatus. libro quoque cui titulus, Læx in Tuderis, infami loco combusto dignum ponam luit. Id. ibid. See citation (18) of the article DRABICIUS.

(18) Historia Revelat. pag. 28.

Since his death, they have been more and more confuted by the course of affairs in Europe. The Turks, who, according to those prophecies, were to destroy the house of Austria, have restored it to its former lustre, by their continual losses [G]. He made himself very much suspected of having a design to kindle a war. The same suspicions are

ready heard, from common fame, in Prussia (as, if I remember right, I acquainted you from thence by letter) that the prince Radziwil and Ragotski, had been induced by you to take up arms against the Polanders, in hopes of freeing the church from Papal tyranny; of which there appear very strong proofs in that three-one volume, in many places. Yet I decide nothing. I do not wonder that Comenius was suspected of political contrivances, and intrigues of war; for a divine, who travels as much as he did, and who has such frequent business at the courts of princes, is a man, who is not much to be trusted. The electress, mother to king Frederic, inquires whether a collection of Kotterus's prophecies is to be had; the person, to whom she makes her application, gets a copy transcribed, and, not being able to present it himself, desired Comenius to do it: Comenius, who is at Berlin, and has but two steps to make, to present it to the electress, chooses rather to go to the Hague, that he may give it with his own hand to king Frederic, and harangue him upon the contents of the book, which, at least, said he, would make him attentive to the occurrences. This looks very much like the contrivance of a prophetic fiction (21). They foretel what they desire should be attempted, and then they leave no stone unturned, to engage in the enterprize such as they think fit for it. It is very likely, that the great pains Comenius took, to re-unite the Protestants (22), proceeded from his desire of forming a powerful party, that might accomplish the prophecies with carnal weapons. There is another thing, which did Comenius some prejudice. He was a man of parts and learning; he argued very sensibly in other matters, and in these like a man of wit; there was nothing in him that looked like Enthusiasm. This made people believe, that he was not persuaded of what he said. There may be, and there is sometimes, some imposture in exaltational grimaces; but those, who boast of inspiration, without shewing in their face, or by their words, that their brain is disordered, and without ever being put out of their natural state, are incomparably more to be suspected of a cheat, than those, who from time to time fall into convulsions, as the Sibyl more or less.

(21) See, above, remark [C], towards the middle.

(22) He owns, in his book de uno Necessario, that one of the three labyrinths where in he had intangled himself, were the pseudo-irreligion, five varietate, profligate exitio circa fidem dissidentes Christianos reconciliandi desiderium. See Somnerhus, in Inflicta Literato, pag. 1025.

(23) Virgil. Æn. lib. vi, ver. 46.

(24) Ibid. ver. 77.

(25) It was proved against him, from his own words, that he believed some of Drabicius's predictions to be false; that, for instance, which imparted, that Comenius was to be present at the coronation of the king of Hungary at Presburg. Arnoldus, ubi supra, pag. 42.

him? If God had inspired him, he would have had Ragotski to destroy the house of Austria, and to know, that heaven had designed him for that great work. But if this had been God's will, would he not have inspired that prince with the desire of making war against the emperor, or at least with some credulity for Drabicius? here is a thing, which shews the conceitedness of Comenius. His son-in-law (26) desired Arnoldus, professor of Divinity at Franeker, to assist his father-in-law with his good advice, who seemed to hesitate about the impression of the three prophets. Arnoldus advised him not to print them (27); the son-in-law gave the same counsel (28), which he grounded upon very strong arguments. But how could Comenius adhere to the advice of two persons, since he had no regard to the decree of the Polish churches, which, having examined the pretended revelations of Kotterus, and Christina Poniatovia, condemned them to be suppressed for ever (29).

[G] The Turks, who, according to those prophecies, were to destroy the house of Austria, have restored it to its former lustre by their continual losses.] See hereupon the indecent insults of the author of the *Advices aux Réfugiés*. — *Advice to the Refugees*. 'It is certain, says he (30), that the glory and happiness of his Imperial majesty, in this war against the Turks, are wonderful; and that, to the eternal confusion of the prophecies of your DRABICIUS, God has given greater success to this prince, than to the emperor Charles V. This false prophet, more eager to curse than Balaam, who even, when a neighbouring king importuned him with great promises, would do nothing rashly, pronounced, for the space of several years, against the house of Austria, the most terrible curses he could think of, and devoted it, as we may say, to the furies and infernal gods, *Diris & numinibus inferis*, because it had persecuted your religion. But the event has shewn, that he did not understand that trade, and that he had no good hand at cursing. No man did ever deserve less the encomium that was bestowed upon Balaam, *He whom thou blestest shall be blessed, and be whom thou curstest shall be cursed*; and, if all your prophetic imprecations are like those of Drabicius, people will be forward hereafter to desire your curses, and you will be sought for with greater importunity to utter them, than the king of the Moabites used to make Balaam, the false prophet, curse his enemies.' Since the impression of that *Advice*, the success of the emperor's arms has been sometimes interrupted (31); but this has been but a short respite for the Turks; their bad fortune quickly began again to display all its fury. She was near over-whelming them the last year (32); she made them every where feel her indignation, in Dalmatia, in Hungary, in Poland, upon the Archipelago; and, if we may believe our news-writers, they lost two naval battles, in a little time, last winter, though the victors did not think fit to pursue their victory, but rather to quit the idle of Chios. The new Sultan raises in some manner the hopes of the Porte. They apply to him what Florus said of Trajan (33); but hitherto it does not appear by the relations of our news-writers, that he has had great success. And as for Tekeli, who, during the siege of Vienna, was given out for Drabicius's hero, we have lately been told in the Gazettes, that the Turks, weary of the obnoxious malignity of his stars, have shut him up in the seven towers.

This is what I was saying in the month of October 1695, whilst we saw a kind of suspension of the great and glorious fortune of the Imperial arms in Hungary. The Paris Gazettes daily amplified the victory which the Sultan had lately obtained; the other Gazettes continually diminished it. It was not as yet known to what party, according to the news-writers, the consequences of this battle would be favourable. The progress of the Turks would have confirmed the relations of Paris, and confuted those of Holland and Germany. But they made none at all; they retired, a little after, into their own territories, without shewing themselves as conquerors, and hereby the contest was ended, to the confusion of the Paris Gazetters. The fortune of

(26) His name was Figulus.

(27) In D'iculus Theologus, pag. 5.

(28) Ibid. pag. 50.

(29) Cotterianus & Poniatovianae visiones ut vane ad silentium & tenebras forent ab illis condemnate. Arnoldus, ibid. pag. 26.

(30) Pag. 157.

(31) For example, when the Turks retort Belgrade in the year 1694.

(32) I write this in October 1695, when our news-writers tell us that the loss of the Imperialists at the battle of Lopus is very considerable.

(33) Quibus interea Caninum quasi comitibus, quæ decemque milia quodlibet Trajano principem movere lacertis, & greater spem omnium, lacertis imperii, quasi reditis inventuræ, reviviscit. Florus, in Proemio, &c.

are entertained of a minister, whose prophecies are of a later date [H]. Advantage has been taken of some words, which he has dropped in his book, and by which it is pretended,

his Imperial majesty was uppermost afterwards, and especially in 1697, by a defeat of the Ottomans, so compleat, so shameful, and pernicious to them, that there is hardly any like it in their annals. The Sultan who was there in person, was so mortified with this blow, that he thought of nothing but peace, and accepted it the year following, on what conditions they would prescribe him, which were most glorious and advantageous to his Imperial majesty. No false prophecies did ever receive such bloody affronts, as those, which the prophecies, published by Comenius, received by this glorious treaty of peace. The emperor, whom they did so much threaten, mortified, humbled, and trod under foot the haughtiness of the Ottomans, to whom they had promised so many conquests over the house of Austria. He added the lustre of an advantageous peace, to the glory, which had attended his arms, and made him triumphant, by reducing the strongest places, and gaining several battles. He does whatever he pleases in Transylvania; he has made a kingdom hereditary, which had been always elective (34), and is in possession of that whole kingdom, whereas before he only possessed part of it. What shall we say of the advantages and glory he obtained by the treaty of Ryfwic, by the recovery of so many countries which had been taken from the empire, or his allies, and by the re-union of Friburg and Brisac to the hereditary states of the house of Austria? if this prince is happy abroad, he is no less at home; fecundity, marriages, &c. make his family prosper; his second son is to inherit almost the whole monarchy of Spain, by such transactions as France itself has consented to (35). Take warning by this confusion of Comenius's false prophecies, you, who have the confidence to threaten with the Apocalypse those that do not please you.

[H] The same suspicions are entertained of a minister, whose prophecies are of a later date. What I have said of Comenius, I say also of a famous divine at Rotterdam, who has explained the prophecies of the scripture, pretending confidently to be inspired. I do not pretend to judge of his heart, and I am willing it should be believed, that he did not act against his conscience; but no body ought to take it amiss, if I say, that he has been suspected to have no other design than to make people take up arms, and put Europe in a flame. They go upon this, that there appeared no sign of confusion in him, when the event gave the lye to his prophecies, in a most undeniable manner. He had, say they, so great an opinion of his own parts and knowledge, that he would have fallen into a mortal discontent and humiliation, by so terrible a proof of illusion and ignorance, as this would be; but, being inwardly convinced, that he was not deceived, he has preserved the same good opinion of his understanding that he had before, and so the ill success of a prophecy, which was a mere juggler's trick, has not humbled him. They build also upon this, that, like Comenius, he has attempted re-unite the Lutherans and Calvinists (36), in hopes, say they, of increasing the number of troops that should attack Antichrist. Once more, I am willing that this should only be looked upon, as a faithful account of what many say and think. Let us go farther, and see what one of his adversaries has published (37). One must needs be stupid, not to perceive so gross an artifice, especially when he seems to give you notice of it himself, and to say here and there, some things whereby he may discover his secret hereafter, and secure himself from your reproaches. It is certain, says he in one place*, that often prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those, for whom they were made, with a design of undertaking the things that were promised them. Men of sense need no more to make them understand his intention, and discover his views. And elsewhere: one day, perhaps, the world shall know the principal reason that made me speak so positively, and with so much assurance upon the explication of the prophecies. We shall know it, most dear brethren, in the way he will then explain it. If he be under a mistake, as one may well believe he is, he will tell you, I had nothing but conjectures; but a good cause ought to be supported as well as it can; and our

people were to be animated with some few hopes. I knew that prophecies, even such as are fictitious, are wont to produce a like effect. If, on the contrary, the present junctures, the jealousy of nations, the indignation of the Protestant states for their assaulted religion, the controversies of France with the court of Rome, should produce any important effect, which might give you new hopes; I well knew, would he say, what I said in the year 1686; an angel spoke to me: but if I had said so then, I should have been taken for an impostor; the angel himself forbade me to speak of it. He speaks to me still, and gives me liberty to declare it to you. Follow me; we are going to begin that kingdom of God, of which you doubted, and which, nevertheless, you begged of him in your daily prayer. Were it true, that Jurieu is guilty of the imposture, he is charged with, he would have been afraid, that the public had not been able to dive into his secret; and therefore, chusing to preserve the good opinion of his wit, at the expense of his honesty, he would have dropped some words (38), that might discover the mystery to the clear sighted.

The knaveries, that have been discovered amongst the little prophets of Dauphiné, have occasioned a large comment upon the passage of Mr Pellisson, before cited. We need only read a book, intitled, *Histoire du Fanatisme de notre temps, &c.* The history of the Fanaticism of our time, and the design there was of making the discontented Calvinists in France rise up in arms. It was printed at Paris in the year 1692. Mr Brueys, the author of it, having collected together several passages out of Mr Jurieu's book, to prove, that this minister set up for a prophet, adds immediately; However, it ought not to be imagined, that this minister was truly persuaded himself of what he would persuade others; he designedly affected to appear like a prophet. He knew well enough, that he was not; but he had a mind to impose upon the people, to make an insurrection, and to kindle a civil-war in the heart of this kingdom, in order to favour the design of our enemies. He was so full of this detestable project, when he composed his book of prophecies, that he himself cannot forbear discovering his design to the reader, who has never so little penetration. The time in which he wrote, the motives that induced him to it, and the strokes, wherein he has inadvertently scattered some drops of the venom his heart was filled with, discover the design of this false prophet (39). I will not produce the proofs he has given of each of these remarks, but will only set down what he observes concerning the last. Here is, says he (40), what he has let fall in some places of his book, which manifestly discovers, that he had no other design, than to cause an insurrection of the people. The prophecies, which are in that piece, at first scandalized the most understanding men of his party; he says to himself, in the second edition of his book. Some says he †, believe, that the hopes I gave of a Restoration, in a few years, may be very prejudicial. He attempts first to shew, that there is no reason to fear it, and then he adds: It is certain, that often prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those, for whom they were made, with a design of undertaking the things that were promised them. Could he declare more expressly the intention he had of running the hazard of venting false prophecies, to make the malecontents of France rise up in arms, and inspire them with the design of procuring to themselves the speedy deliverance, which he promised them? Those of his party were not only scandalized at his venturing to publish such prophecies, but much more at his talking so positively. He himself informs us of it. As to the reflexion, says he †, which so many people have made, that I speak too positively of things, which I should have proposed as strong conjectures: one day, perhaps the world shall know the principal reason that made me speak so positively, and with so much assurance. What then is this principal reason, which he dares not speak and which, perhaps, the world shall know one day? Is it that he is truly persuaded of the things

(34) That of Hungary.

(35) I write this in June, 1700, when the news-writers tell us of a treaty of a partition of the Spanish monarchy, agreed upon by France, England, and Holland.

(36) See the bishop of Meaux's Addition to his *Histoire des Fanatiques*.

(37) Pellisson, *Chimères de Mr Jurieu*, Part IV, pag. 184, 185, of the Amsterdam edition.

* In the second edition of the *Accomplissement des Prophecies*, at Rotterdam, 1686, cap. xv.

(38) The two passages, for example, quoted by Mr Pellisson out of the *Accomplissement des Prophecies*.

(39) Brueys, *Histoire du Fanatisme*, pag. 44.

(40) Ibid. pag. 54.

† Tom. I, Addition to the Avis, second edition.

† Tom. II, pag. 134.

pretended, he has discovered the secret of his design. They too much exaggerate what they impute to him [7]. My reader may judge of it by examining the passages I have

things he says? This is the only reason that ought to oblige an honest man to speak positively. But if it be his reason why does he not say so? Is he afraid of speaking the truth? Let us press him no farther upon it: he is more sincere than we think; he has already told us this principal reason; does he not say, *that it is certain, that often prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those, for whom they were made, with a design of undertaking the things that were promised them.* This is his principal reason; we need not seek for another. This false prophet did not expect, that these two passages would be put together some time or other (41), he had separated them on purpose in two different tomes: they are now placed together, and so naturally explain one another, that he must be blind, who cannot see, that, if Mr Jurieu spoke in so decisive a manner of the approaching deliverance, which he promised the Protestants of France, it was because he thinks, that often prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those, for whom they were made, with a design of undertaking the things that were promised them.

Mr Brueys seems so fully persuaded, that he has discovered all the mystery, that he repeats this observation more than once. Nay, he is so malicious as to put his reader in mind of the artifices of the Heathens. This minister, says he, promised the Calvinists the fall of Popery, and the approaching deliverance of their church; he promised them these things in the name of God, telling them they were contained in St John's Revelation. And therefore those prophecies could not but inspire those, for whom they were made, with a design of undertaking the things that were promised them; because there is nothing that has more force upon the minds of men, than religion; and every thing appears lawful to them, when they firmly believe, that God is on their side, and that they are only executing his orders. Those who know what use the cunning Greeks and Romans made of their oracles, Diviners, Augurs, and of those priests, whom they called Haruspices, Feciales, Præpotes and Officines (42), whose functions consisted in foretelling the will of the gods, when they deliberated about any important affair; some by observing the entrails of the victims, others the singing, flying, or different motions of certain birds: those, I say, who know of what use those things were formerly, are not ignorant that men of sense and judgment gave no credit to them, and used them only to possess the people and the soldiers with a desire of undertaking what they promised them from their gods; but, at the bottom, it was nothing but what they themselves had resolved upon, before they consulted their oracles. Here you see exactly the fictitious prophecies, and the pretended persuasion of Mr Jurieu (43).

I here renew the protestation I have already made which is, that I do not pretend to be a judge: I only relate what others say. It is true, I will not end this remark, without saying, that, in all times and countries, prophecies have been forged, to induce people to revolt. I could bring a hundred instances of it; but one will be sufficient. The Spaniards, who rebelled against Charles V, spread a malicious prophecy, importing that there should reign in Castile a prince named Charles, who should ruin and burn the country; but that a son of the king of Portugal should take possession of Castile, and restore the kingdom to a good condition. The ring-leaders of the sedition got this prophecy printed, and ordered every one of

[7] They too much exaggerate what they impute to him. If you consider well Mr Brueys's words, you will find an artificial Rhetoric in them, which ought to be suspected. It is not possible for Mr Jurieu's best friends to disown, that he published his predictions upon the Apocalypse, only with a design of raising the discontented Calvinists in France; that the league, which was then forming, finding the kingdom divided against itself, might more easily accomplish its utter destruction, and the Calvinists might re-establish their religion upon the ruins of their country.

Now reckon up, if you can, all the crimes and villainies of such an execrable project; the artifices, fictions, and impostures, to seduce the simple; the profanation of Holy Writ, and its sacred oracles; the impieties and blasphemies against the holy Spirit; the violation of the most holy laws of Christianity; the overturning the principles of the morality of Jesus Christ; the contempt of the constant practice of the church, and of the examples of martyrs; the forgetting his own maxims; the precepts of revolt against the powers, which God has ordained; exhortations to subjects, to Christians, to Frenchmen, to take up arms, and join with those who have conspired the ruin of their country; the horrible wishes he induces to make for the defeat of our armies, the plundering of the kingdom, the depopulation of our provinces, the burning of our towns, the effusion of blood, and the murders of their fellow citizens, friends, and relations. Lastly, all the inhumanities and barbarities, that a civil and intestine war would have added to the most furious and bloody foreign war, that was ever known.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

Such mighty ills religion cou'd persuade.

Thus you see, to speak of things as they are, the consequences of Mr Jurieu's false prophecies, and the scope of the seditious writings of this famous defender of Calvinism, who, to restore the public exercise of his religion in France, inspires his party with great fury, and prompts them to greater cruelties, than the barbarous Mahomet caused heretofore to be committed for the establishment of his Alcoran (45).

Here I must quit the character of a meer copyist, and take up that of critic. It is false any league was forming against France, when Mr Jurieu published his predictions; for they were given out in March, 1686, above two years before he had the least suspicion of what happened in the year 1688. So that the anachronism of his adversary, is here a very gross fault (46). If Mr Brueys had consulted Mr Nicole, he would have been more equitable; he would not have been ignorant, that Mr Jurieu, in publishing his explication of the Apocalypse, believed, that arms would have no share in the events, which he predicted. See how Mr Nicole has done him justice (47).

Who would not, for instance, take for a menace of a very bloody war, these last lines of the preface to his System of the Church (48). *We shall quickly establish truth upon the throne of falsehood, and the raising up of that, which has been cast down, shall be performed in so glorious a manner, that it will be the astonishment of the whole earth.* Did ever an author write in such a strain? Who would not believe that such a discourse is to be followed by an army of a hundred thousand Protestants combined together, to restore the pretended Reformed Religion in France? Mr Jurieu might even be charged with a state-crime, and looked upon as a seditious man. It is therefore necessary to undeceive the world in this point, and to inform them, that this discourse is no ways grounded upon any conspiracy against France (49). All that he says here, by the way, in so dreadful a manner, is much less terrible being explained at large by his Accomplishment of the prophecies. For there we see, that this glorious restoration of the pretended Reformed shall be made without any, or with very little effusion of blood.

nay, that this will not come to pass by an army of foreigners, nor by a multitude of ministers, who shall repair into France, but by the effusion of the spirit of God, which shall re-animate the extended bodies of Enoch and Elias, that is to say, according to Mr Jurieu, the Protestants, who were formerly witnesses of the truth, and who, having cowardly forsaken it, are at present deprived of life, and stretched out in the place of the city of Antichrist, that is, throughout all France, the principal part, according to him, of the Antichristian empire.

(41) Mr Brueys often repeats the consequences, which he draws from the conjunction of those two passages. See especially, pag. 227, 230, 241.

(42) Those two names, *præpotes* and *officines*, were not given to certain priests, but to certain birds, which served for Divination.

(43) Brueys, *Hist. du Fanatisme*, pag. 230, 231.

(44) See, among the epistles of Antony de Goëvara, that which the Amirate of Castile wrote to the inhabitants of Seville, in the year 1520. It is the thirtieth of the third book. What I mention is pag. m. 65.

(45) Brueys, *id.* supra, pag. 241.

(46) This is not the only anachronism, that is to be found in Mr Brueys's book. He says, pag. 175, that Mr Jurieu being weary of writing controversial books, and political letters, resolved to take another course, and to let us see a prophet. This is wrong; for Mr Jurieu began to write his political letters, after he had published his prophecies.

Mr Brueys, pag. 24, speaks of a guess concluded in 1685; but he should have said in 1684.

(47) Nicole, *face to his book de l'Unité de l'Eglise*, pag. 24.

(48) This book of Mr Jurieu was printed the same year, that his Accomplishment of the prophecies was.

(49) Nicole, *id.* supra, pag. 24.

Mr Jurieu, *part. II*, pag. 173.

have quoted. The author of the Thoughts upon Comets maintains, that Drabicius's prophecies found little credit [K].

(50) Brueys, ibid. pag. 79.

(51) In a glass-house, situated upon a mountain of Dauphiné, called de Peyra. Brueys, ubi supra, pag. 76, 77.

(52) Ibid. pag. 75, 76.

(53) Ib. pag. 98.

(54) That is, the shepherd of the Cross.

(55) Brueys, ib. pag. 106.

(56) Mr Brueys had been saying, pag. 39, that Mr Jurieu, as a great prophet, would have some forerunners, viz. Kotterus, Christians Ponticovius, and Drabicius.

(57) Brueys, ib. pag. 145.

(58) Pag. 73.

There is another thing, that Mr Brueys deserves to be blamed for. He insinuates (50), that Mr Jurieu is the oracle, that was consulted, for the erecting of a school (51), wherein children were to be taught to set up for prophets. See here the description of that infamous school: 'Could this be believed, unless one had seen it? This was the first time, that a school was erected, in which the art of prophesying was taught, and to which they went to learn how to foretell things to come; and, after having gone through the necessary trials, they were persuaded they received the Holy Ghost from the impure mouth of a sacrilegious master, who pretended to breathe it with a kiss into the mouth of those miserable scholars (52).' This is so horrible a design, that it ought never to be declared, or insinuated, without good proofs, that a minister was so wicked as to suggest the model of it. Mr Brueys has given too great a scope to the consequences he draws from Mr Jurieu's care to save the honour of the prophets of Dauphiné (53). 'He could never be prevailed with to revoke what he had published at first concerning this prophecies (54), and he maintained it in all his letters with so much obstinacy, that, even after God had retrieved that maid from her errors, and she became a good and devout Catholic, and confessed to her judges how she was seduced by Du Serre; this minister persisted in what he had advanced, was constant to his shepherds, notwithstanding her unfaithfulness, and had even the imprudence to say, speaking of her, and of the other little sleeping prophets, that they might become rogues, but yet had been prophets. . . . (55). This minister openly declared in favour of the little prophets, notwithstanding what the honest people of his party could say to him; and maintained that their inspiration was true, with an invincible, but affected, obstinacy, as I have already observed, because he had his views, and designed to get successors in prophecy, as he had got forerunners (56). . . . Ought we to (57) wonder after this, that Mr Jurieu could not resolve upon forsaking those, who had so much improved by his lessons, and that, like a fond father, who does not see the imperfections of his children, he would never acknowledge the folly of those, to whom he had given birth? The consequences, that are drawn from hence, are not very just; for how many things are there, which men resolve to maintain, when they find them already done, without knowing how wickedly they have been performed, which they would never advise, if they knew it, and if those things were still to be done? thus charity will have us to extenuate, as much as possible, the faults of our neighbour, and to suspend our judgment, notwithstanding the strongest probabilities, if they do not amount to a good proof.

Mr Brueys's rashness will more evidently appear, if it be observed, that, not contented to insinuate his accusation, he proposed it in clear and affirmative terms, not only against the minister Jurieu, but also against many others. 'The most factious of the fugitive ministers, says he (58), who burned with impatience to see again what they had left in France, considering, that the stratagem, contrived by Mr Jurieu, might advance their affairs, hearing with what greediness the malecontents of the kingdom received the prophecies, which promised them a speedy deliverance, and persuading themselves, that there was no better expedient to bring on a revolt, thought they ought not to lose so fair an opportunity of kindling a civil-war in the heart of the kingdom, which might give it a mortal blow, with a

prospect of seeing their religion rise again upon the ruins of monarchy, which they believed at the very brink of destruction. And these were the same ministers, who at first made a great noise against his predictions, threatened to complain of them, and were angry he had spoken so affirmatively; but the false prophet having imparted his secret to them, and giving them to understand, that often prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those, for whom they were made, with a design of undertaking the things promised them; and having told them in the ear that principal and secret reason, which should one day be known, and which made him speak so positively; they were quickly satisfied; his stratagem was approved in their secret council, and it was resolved to prophesy, in order to cause an insurrection.' Here are two things to be censured; for, in the first place, no proof can be given, that the French ministers had a hand in the horrid plot of those seducers, who taught little children to pretend to inspiration; and in the second place, it is not true, that the French ministers made a great noise against his predictions, and threatened to complain of them. Mr Brueys alleges that false supposition a hundred times over (59); tho' he has cited, at the 216th page a passage, which might easily have undeceived him. The passage is this: 'The other thing, which some have been offended at, they are Mr Jurieu's words, concerns the MILLENNIUM. Several divines of THIS COUNTRY have murmured so far, as to threaten to complain of it.' It is manifest, that those loud murmurs came from the Dutch divines, and not from the French ministers, and did not concern the promises of a sudden deliverance, &c. but the Millennium, a doctrine which was most odious to the churches of Holland, and for which Mr Jurieu had been brought into trouble, had it not been for human supports. Notwithstanding those supports, complaints were made against him in the Walloon synod, who inserted some words in an act, of which we may say what cardinal d'Ossat said of the strokes of the switch, which the deputies of Henry IV received (60).

[K] The author of the Thoughts upon Comets maintains, that the prophecies of Drabicius found little credit. He was more equitable than the person cited in the remark [G]: he acknowledged, that the Protestants made no great account of Drabicius. 'The Protestants themselves, says he (61), are not over-persuaded, that Drabicius was a prophet. Many believe, that he was a Fanatic, who had his brain turned by reading the commentaries upon the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the Apocalypse: that, being full of those ideas, he looked upon the emperors of Germany as so many Pharaohs, Sennacheribs, Nebuchadnezzars, and emissaries of the great whore, drunk with the wine of the wrath of her whore-dom; that he came at last to be persuaded, that God had appointed him to command several princes to exterminate those persecutors. They who had suffered persecution, and who thought that the divine providence would punish, sooner or later, the authors of so barbarous a conduct, might probably believe Drabicius's visions. Nevertheless, most of them made little account of them, especially having experienced that he was deluded, and that he contradicted himself frequently in the most palpable manner, and such as cannot be excused but by recurring to a multitude of glosses, which make the incredulous laugh more, than the sincere confession of that man's errors would; for by the help of such glosses, multiplied as occasion serves, there is no false prophet but may find an apology.'

(59) See page 30, 219, 220, 221.

(60) We felt them no more than if a fly had gone over our cloaths. See the article of HENRY IV, citat. (41).

(61) Pag. 785.

KRANTZIUS (ALBERTUS) a famous historian, born at Hamburg [A], had

[A] He was a native of Hamburg. And not of Bamberg, as Bellarmin (1), John Gerard (2), Christian Matthias (3), David Blondel (4), and Hottinger (5) affirm. There can be no doubt about it, though a modern author has affected to suspend his judgment. Res in apico est posita, ac proinde risu digna interpretari.

(1) De Script. Eccles.
(2) In Theatro Histor.
Henrici VII, pag. 71.
VOL. III.

(3) In Patrolog. pag. 673, apud Mollerum, Isagoge ad Histor. Cherson.
(4) De Johanne Papista.
(5) Mollerum, ibid.

Mart. Disenbachii † nupera, qui litem de loco ejus natali fore quam decidere putavit consultius (6). The matter is plain; and therefore the doubt of Martin Disenbachius, who thought it better to keep up the dispute concerning the place of his birth, than to decide it, is ridiculous.

8 L

[B] Tbe/se

had no sooner gone thro' his classical learning in his country, but he went to travel. He saw the principal parts of Europe, and so studiously cultivated the sciences in his travels, that he became a very able man. He was doctor of Divinity, and of the Canon-Law, and professor of Philosophy and Divinity in the university of Rostoch. He was rector there in the year 1482 (a). Those, who say he was a canon of Naumburg are mistaken [B]. He went from Rostoch to Hamburg, where he obtained a canon's place in the cathedral. He did not enjoy this preferment, as so many others do, like a sluggard, but spent his time in preaching and reading lectures of Divinity. He was elected dean of the chapter in the year 1508, and performed the visitation of the diocese with the dispositions of a man resolved to cure the disorders he should find in it. He did the same in the year 1514. He did many good services to the town of Hamburg [C], and other Hanse-towns; and got such a reputation for ability and prudence, that the king of Denmark himself made him arbitrator in a considerable controversy [D]. He died the seventh of December in the year 1517 [E], being very sensible, that the church stood in need of a reformation (b) [F]. He wrote several good books

(a) Chytr. Part. 1. Chronici Saxonici, pag. 496, & Petr. Lindebergius, lib. v. Chron. Rostoch. cap. xi, apud Mollerum, ubi infra.

(b) Taken from Mollerus, Itagoge ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ, Part. 1, pag. 95, & seq.

[B] Those who say, that he was a canon of Naumburg, are mistaken. Two very learned authors have affirmed it; but Mr Sperlingius, who is writing Albert Krantz's Life, will shew their mistake. Sunt qui in Collegio etiam Canonicorum Numburgensium aliquandiu vixisse, ac Diaconi partes obisse perhibent. & hos inter Daumviri celeberrimi, Henr. Meibomius Jun. & ac Conr. Schurtzleischius. Sed falli eos, ac Krantzium Numburgum forte nunquam vidisse, satis sibi esse exploratum. Dn. Sperlingius nobis significavit, in ipsa Krantzii Biographia prolixius sententiam hanc impugnaturus (7). — Some pretend, that he lived for some time in the college of the canons of Naumburg, and officiated as a deacon; among whom are the famous Henry Meibomius the younger, and Conrad Schurtzleisch. But Sperlingius has informed me, that he is convinced they are mistaken, and that, perhaps, Krantzius never saw Naumburg, and that he will more fully refute this opinion in the Life of Krantzius.

[C] He did many good services to the town of Hamburg, &c. Under pretence, that this town began, only in the year 1546, to have ordinary syndics, one cannot deny what is found in the Danish remonstrance, in answer to the apology of the Hamburgers, in the year 1642, viz. that Albert Krantzius was syndic of Hamburg; for that title was given, in his time, to those, whom the town deputed upon particular affairs. Now it is certain, that Albert Krantzius was deputed two or three times. He was at the assembly of Wismar, in the year 1489, in behalf of the Hanse-Towns (8); and he went into France in 1497, to desire a truce; and into England, in 1499, to desire some privileges against pirates (9). This is what we learn from Mollerus in the book I have quoted: His proofs are in the margin.

[D] The king of Denmark himself made him arbitrator in a considerable controversy. This was in the year 1500. Read what follows (10): 'Quantam vero, in reliqua etiam Cimbrica, Prudentia & Integritate singulari sibi conciliavit Auctoritatem, vel inde perspicies, quod A. 1500. Johannes, Rex Daniæ, & Fredericus, Dux Holstatiæ, Arbiui ipsi Honorarii Partes, in Controversiis quæ cum Diithmaris sibi intercedebant, decidendis, deferre non dubitaverint *.' — What esteem his singular prudence and integrity gained him in other parts of that country, appears from hence, that, in the year 1500, John, king of Denmark, and Frederick, duke of Holstein, did not scruple to appoint him arbitrator in a dispute between them and the Diithmars.

[E] He died the seventh of December, 1517. This appears from his epitaph: it is therefore a mistake to say, with Gesner's continuators, and Theodorus Zwinger, that he flourished in the year 1520. Gesner should not have been taxed with that fault by Mr Mollerus (11). The error of Father Fournier, a Jesuit, and John Andrew Bosius, is much greater. The Jesuit makes him die in 1569 (12), and the other in 1570 (13). Those faults would not come near the blunder of a famous professor of Oxford (14), if he took Albert Krantzius to be the same with Albertus Magnus, bishop of Ratisbon. But Mr Mollerus, who taxed him with it, has acknowledged his mistake, and acquits him clearly of the fault. No body had given him notice of it: he himself has discovered it, and confesses it publicly like an honest man. See the

738th and 739th pages of his treatise De Scriptoribus Homonymis.

[F] being very sensible, that the church stood in need of a reformation. He acknowledged this necessity, both with respect to doctrine and morals, if we may believe Melchior Adam. Animadverit in doctrina ejus temporis multum fuisse errorum & superstitionum: & mores Canonicorum ac monachorum acerrime reprehendit; eosque in ordinem redigere conatus est. Sed cum id frustra se tentare videret: quod perveritas illorum hominum munia esset auctoritate Pontificis, dixisse fertur: nunquam posse eos reduci ad meliorem frugem, nisi prius a vitiis doctis expugnata arce. Interrogatus cur sese ipse non opponeret tam crassiss erroribus, respondit: se neque eruditione neque ætate parem esse tantis negotiis (15). — He observed much of error and superstition in the doctrine of that time; and he severely censured the manners of the Canons and Monks, and endeavoured to reform them. But, finding his endeavours fruitless, the perverse behaviour of those men being screened by the Pope's authority, he is said to have declared, that they could never be brought to behave better, till some learned man should besiege and take their fortrefs: And being asked why he himself did not oppose such gross errors, he replied, that he was neither learned, nor young enough for such an undertaking. There is a thing in this passage, which puts me in mind of Teleseus in Velleius Paterculus. This Teleseus was general of the Samnites, and a very brave captain; he mortally hated the Romans, and approached Rome with an army of forty thousand men, fully resolved to push on; and to that end he continually animated the soldiers with these words: It is necessary to destroy this city; for the wolves, that ravish the liberty of Italy, will never be wanting as long as this forest subsists, in which they find shelter. The words of Paterculus deserve to be set down. Circumvolans ordines exercitus sui Teleseus, distansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem, voriferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem, adjiciens nunquam defuturos raptos Italica libertatis lupos, nisi silva, in quam refugere solerent, esset excisa (16). He did not argue amiss. Krantzius was likewise of opinion, that, whilst the court of Rome prevailed, it was impossible to suppress the corruption of the Monks and clergy. Here I must expose a notable piece of insincerity in Moreri; for thus his fault ought to be called. He had read Melchior Adam, who says, that Krantzius, seeing Martin Luther's positions against the doctrine of Indulgences, cried out, 'He has too powerful adversaries; he will never succeed; I advise him to desist from his enterprize, and to shut up himself in his cell, and say, Lord have mercy upon me (17).'

What has Moreri done? he has curtailed this passage, and only given us the last words of it, which he understands as if Krantzius had condemned Luther's attempt. 'Krantzius, says he, deplored, at the hour of his death, this unhappiness (18), which he had foretold in his life-time. It is affirmed, that in that moment he often repeated these words, speaking against the same Luther, Frater, abi in cellam, & dic, miserere mei Deus.' Though we should not attend to several passages of Krantzius's works, which testify his opinion of the corrupt state of the church, the words, which he pronounced, when he saw the first positions of Luther, would alone sufficiently acquaint

books [G]; but all that are ascribed to him are not his [H] His reputation has been aspersed by some critics [I].

quaint us with Moren's prevarication. Consider what follows (19). 'Vitia quæ doctrinam & cultum Ecclesie Romanæ publicum deformabant, agnovit, & quanto Emendationis eorum desiderio teneretur, cum locis Scripturæ suorum plurimis, tum Vocibus hinc Cygnæis est testatus, quibus suum de Theobis Lutheri Anti-Tezelianis, in Læculo sibi Emortuali oblati, iudicium exposuit †: Vera quidem dicti, Bone Frater, sed nihil efficit: Vade igitur in Celum tuam, & dic: Misere mei Deus. — Ho acknowledged the corruptions, which deformed the doctrine and public worship of the Romish church; and be showed his zeal for reforming them, both by many passages of their writers, as also by these swan-like words, in which he declared his opinion of the Anti-Tezelian theses of Luther, which were brought to him as he lay on his death-bed: You speak the truth, good brother, but to no purpose: go therefore into your cell, and say, Lord have mercy upon me.' I will conclude this remark with a passage, which will teach us, that, if Flacius Illyricus has not made use of Albert Krantz's authority against the church of Rome, in his *Catalogus testium veritatis*, the compilers, who followed him, made amends for that omission; for they made a good collection of what they had read in Krantz, that favoured their design. Nay, the editors of the Francfort editions have been at the pains of observing those things in the marginal notes. Here is the passage I have promised (20): 'Ipsi theologi Protestantium cordiores Scriptoris huius, licet Pontificii, atque adeo ἀλλοφύλου, Lectionem sibi habent commendatissimam, & Arma ex illo depromunt, quibus adversus Ecclesie Romanæ Hyperaspistas haud infelicitur κατ' ἀρθρον depugnantur, Invektivas scilicet in Vitiis non Monachorum solum ac Canoniceorum, sed & Episcoporum atque Pontificum, ἀποφροντιστικὰς, crebrique de statu Ecclesie & Aulæ Pontificie corruptissimæ querelas. Quas uti à Matth. Flacio in *Catalogo Testium Veritatis* miror omittas, ita à Joh. Wolfio †, Joh. Conr. Dieterico †, aliisque Recentioribus, satis diligenter video esse gestas. Observationes etiam, quas Wecheliani Operum Krantzii editionibus accessisse diximus, Marginales loca ejusmodi studiose notarunt: obelo vicissim hanc ob causam notatæ, & Impietatis infusulatæ, à Rob. Bellarmino *, Joh. Bona ** & Aub. Miraë ††, qui Textum etiam ipsum ab Hæreticis esse vitiatum affirmare non erubescit. — The more sensible Protestant divines approve the reading of this author, though a Catholic, and borrow arms from him, with which they successfully attack the champions of the Romish church; I mean, his investigators, not only against the Monks and canons, but even the bishops and Popes, and his frequent complaints of the corrupt state of the church, and the court of Rome. Which, as I wonder they were omitted by Flacius, in his catalogue of The Witnesses of the Truth, so I find they are carefully compiled by John Wolfius, John Conrad Dietericus, and other moderns. Likewise the marginal observations, which I said were added to the editions of the works of Krantz by Wechel, constantly refer to these kind of passages, and are, for that very reason, stigmatized as impious by Robert Bellarmine, John Bona, and Aubert Miraë, who is not ashamed to affirm, that the text itself has been corrupted by the Heretic.'

† V. J. Balch, Schuppili, Speculum penitentiae Niniivice, pag. m. 18, alioque Theologos c. m. pluræ.

(20) Mollerus, ibid. pag. 110.

† Cent. XV, Lect. memorabil. pag. 963, 977.

† In Breviario Pontificum.

* In Libro de Script. Eccles. pag. 504.

** In Catalogo Autorum, Operi de Plalmodia Divina præfixo.

†† P. I. Biblioth. Eccl. pag. 278.

(21) In the library of Reinhard, unit of Westphalia, dean of Logne.

(22) Taken from Mollerus, ubi pag. 35.

(23) Ibid.

work, translated into High-Dutch by Basil Faber, was printed at Leipzig in the years 1563, and 1582 (23). (23) Taken from III. The book intitled *Vandalia, sive Historia de the Sane, pag. 100*. *Vandalorum vera Origine, variis Gentibus, crebris à patria Migrationibus, Regnis item, quorum vel Antores fuerant, vel Everfores, Libris XIV. à prima eorum Origine, ad A. C. 1500. deducta*. The first edition, which is of Cologne, 1519, was followed by three others at Francfort (24), and one at Hanaw (25). (24) In 1575, The German version, printed at Lubeck, in the year 1600, was done by Mark Stephen Macropus (26). (25) In the year 1619. IV. The book intitled *Metropolis*: it contains, in twelve books, the Ecclesiastical History of Saxony, Westphalia, and Juland, with the lives of the prelates, that, from the year 780 till 1504, possessed the twelve bishoprics of that country. Joachim Mollerus, the younger, a native of Hamburg, counsellor to the dukes of Brunswick, is the first who published this work. He did it, at Melanchthon's request, from the author's original, which was the only manuscript extant of that book: Henry Bucholz, bishop of Lubeck, had given it to this Mollerus's father. This first edition is of Basil, by Oporinus, in the year 1548: it was followed by that of the year 1568, from the same press, and by two others (27) at Cologne (28), and three more at Francfort (29). V. The work intitled, *Spirantissimum opusculum in officium Missæ in optimum Ordinem pro sancta & suavi Sacerdotum Ecclesie institutione digestum* (30); and the book intitled, *Ordo Missæ secundum ritum Ecclesie Hamburgensis*, at Stralsburg 1509, in folio. *Consilium de ordine & privilegiis creditorum in bonis suorum debitorum*. It is inserted in the fourth volume of the *Responsorum Juris*, printed at Francfort in the year 1572. *Institutiones Logice, compendiosæ admodum, pariterque absolutissimæ, nec minus Latine*, at Leipzig in the year 1517. *Grammatica culta & succineta*, at Rosloch 1506. There are in the library of Leipzig some treatises of Philosophy of Albert Krantz, which have not been printed (31).

[H] . . . all those, which are ascribed to him, are not his.] He is not the author of the *Tractatus de Romanis Pontificibus, & præsertim de Viâre II. alias Episcopo Eystetensi*, which Father Jacob (32) ascribes to him; nor of the *Life of Anigarius*, which Gesner's continuators father upon him; nor of the *Scriptum de Imperii Romani interitu*, ascribed to him by Scherzerus (33).

[I] His reputation has been aspersed.] This motto, *Per convicia & laudes*, might suit him as well as many other great men. Several learned men (34) bestow great encomiums upon him; but some critics use him very severely. He is accused of venting many false stories, about the original of nations; of citing ancient authors very wrong; of transcribing whole pages from other authors, without citing any body; and of falsifying the monuments of history, to gratify his passions. Mr Mollerus (35) names the authors of those censures, and says something in his vindication; he denies not, but that Albert Krantz was a plagiarist; he only endeavours to excuse him from the practice of that age. 'Solenne præterea ei esse fatetur, Eginhardum, Wittekindum, Herm. Contraatum, Adam. Helmodum, Arnoldum Saxonem, Albertum Stadensem, Gobelinum, Blondum, Cornerum, alioque veteres, de verbo ad verbum exscribere, ac non Periodos solum, sed & paginas atque Capita integra, in sua inde scripta, nulla plerumque Autoris mentione adjecta, transferre. Observatum id nobis in Accuratori Narrationum de iisdem Rebus Collatione: Observatum & ante nos Vellejo, Reinuccio, Meibomiorum Trigæ, Vossio, Malinerotio, Conringio, Bangerto, Sigittario, Schurtzleischio, Madero, quorum Testimoniis Lectores meos nolo obruere (36). — I confess likewise, that he frequently transcribes, word for word, Eginhard, Wittekind, Hermannus Contraatius, Adam, Helmod, Arnold the Saxon, Albertus Stadenus, Gobelin, Blondus, Cornerus, and other ancient authors, and that he borrows, not only periods, but even pages, and whole chapters, for the most part without mentioning from whence he takes them. I observed this in my accurate comparison of different accounts of the same things: it was observed likewise, before me, by Vellejus, Reinuccio, the Meibomii, Vossius, Malinerot, Conringius, Bangertus, Sigittarius, Schurtzleisch, Maderus, with whose testimonies I will not trouble my readers.'

KUCHLIN

KUCHLIN (JOHN) minister and professor of Divinity, was born in 1546, in a little town of the county of Hesse, called Wettera. His father, a good and honest mechanic, tho' he had the charge of ten sons and three daughters, whom he maintained only by the labour of his hands, designed to make a scholar of him; but he died before the young boy had made any considerable progress. The minister (a) of the place took care of him, the more willingly, because he very much improved in Greek and Latin under Justus Wulfeius, rector of the school of Wettera. But when Kuchlin was fit to go to the university, he had no little difficulties to overcome by reason of his poverty. However he was not discouraged, but resolved to seek his fortune; and, to that end, he went to travel, as a young college-adventurer. He found nothing at Francfort. His landlord at Mentz carried him to the Jesuits, who kept him no longer, than 'till they saw that he would not abjure the Protestant religion. All that he could find at Strasburg, was a letter of recommendation from John Sturmius to Brentius, who was professor at Tubingen. But the latter did not keep him long, as thinking he was not sufficiently prepossessed with the Ubiquitarian notions. Kuchlin went to Heidelberg with the same letter of Sturmius, where he at last found what he wanted; for Urfinus put him in a way of living, and going on quietly with his studies. The university of Heidelberg was then in a very flourishing state. This young man made a great progress in six years; after which he was sent to teach in the school at Newstadt [A], where, amongst other colleagues, he had Fortunatus Crellius, and Frederic Sylburgius (b). At last he was admitted minister, and had the church of Tackenheim, which he faithfully served till after the death of the elector Frederic in 1576, when Lewis, his successor, expelled the ministers, who would not turn Lutherans. Kuchlin, retiring into his country of Hesse, and finding nothing there but discouragement, by the advice of his wife, took sanctuary (c) in the great ark of the fugitives, I mean in Holland. He passed thro' Emden in 1577, and staid there some time; from whence he was invited to Amsterdam to the office of the ministry [B]. He accepted it, and exercised it eighteen years: After which, he earnestly engaged in the mastership of a college of Divinity, which the States of Holland had erected at Leyden in 1591, and of which he had from that time the management for some months. It was in 1595, that he wholly left his church at Amsterdam, to fix in this college. He taught Divinity there till his death, which happened the second of July 1606. He had married his two daughters to two learned men, Peter Bertius, and Festus Hommius (d). A collection was made, in one volume in 4to, at Geneva, in 1613, of all the theses of Divinity, which he caused to be maintained at different times. Guy Patin has extremely commended him, and a little too much, for he calls him *one of the most learned men of his age* (e).

(a) John Pinter, brother-in-law to the professor Iperius, professor of Divinity at Marburg.

(b) He was his countryman, and relation.

(c) Meursius, whose words are quoted in remark [B].

(d) Taken from his Funeral Oration, pronounced by Luke Trulicatus. See also Meursius, Athen. Batav. pag. 182.

(e) Patin, Lettres, pag. 427, of the second volume.

(1) Henningus Witte, ad ann. 1606.

[A] He was sent to teach in the school at Newstadt. The author of the *Diarium Biographicum* (1) says, that Kuchlin was rector of this school; but his funeral oration, wherein such a preference would not have been omitted, says expressly, that he taught at Newstadt, when Basil Pithopæus was rector there. There is another fault in the same *Diarium*: it makes two different books of the *Disputationes Theologicæ ad Catecheses Ecclesiarum Belgicarum* explanationem, and the *Disputationes de Religionis Christianæ præcipuis capitulis*. They are but one and the same book.

[B] From whence he was invited to Amsterdam to the office of the ministry. Moreri did so little examine the authors he consulted, that he considered only the first part of Meursius's period. If he had read the whole period, he would have seen the quite contrary to what he affirms. He says, that Kuchlin was minister at Emden and Groningen in the Low-Countries; but it is certain he was not minister at Groningen. He had his choice of this town, and Amsterdam; and, though he had more inclination to the former than to the latter, yet he was persuaded to choose the latter.

(2) Athen. Batav. pag. 182.

Here are Meursius's words (2). 'Infinstu uxoris quæ Belgica erat in Belgium abiit, Emdamque venit anno

1577. ubi cum operam aliquamdiu tum in schola quam in Ecclesia navasset, eodem tempore ab Amstelodamensibus & à Groeningensibus evocatus fuit. Ille, cum propter Germanici idiomatis vicinitatem Groeningenses præferendos judicaret, à clarissimo viro D. MENSONE ALTINGIO gravissimis rationibus permotus fuit, ut operam suam Amstelodamensi Ecclesie addiceret. — At the instigation of his wife, who was a Dutch woman, he went into Holland, and came to Emden in the year 1587, where having officiated some time both as a school-master and a divine, he was invited, at the same time, by the inhabitants of Amsterdam and Groningen. But, though he preferred those of Groningen, on account of the vicinity of the German idiom, yet he was persuaded by MENSŌ ALTINGIUS to serve the church of Amsterdam.'

It is also great carelessness in the same Moreri to say, in general, that Kuchlin taught Divinity at Leyden. He should have specified, whether he did it in the quality of professor of the university, or of principal of the Divinity college. Meursius would have very clearly explained it to him.

KUHLMAN (QUIRINUS) one of the visionaries of the XVIIth century. He was born at Breslaw in Silesia, the 25th of February 1651 (a), and gave great hopes by his early progress (b). But his studies were interrupted by a sickness he had at eighteen years of age (c). He was looked upon as a dead man the third day of his distemper. That day he had a terrible vision. He fancied himself surrounded with all the devils in hell, and that at mid-day, being not asleep. This vision was followed by another of God himself, encompassed with his saints, and Jesus Christ in the midst of them. He then saw and felt unutterable things. Two days after, he had still these sort of visions (d); and, when he was cured of his distemper, he perceived indeed a great change as to those sights, but he always saw a circle of light, which attended him on his left side (e). He had no longer any relish for literature. He (f) had sometimes such extasies, that they hindered him from seeing and hearing those that were with

(a) Epist. Theo. sophicus Leidensis, pag. 11.

(b) See his Prodromus quinquennii mirabilis, pag. 10, 12, and the fragments of the Letters prefixed to it by him.

(c) Prodrom. quinquenn. mirabilis, pag. 5.

(d) Ibid. pag. 6.

(e) Ibid. pag. 11.

(f) Ibid. pag. 14.

with him; and he formed the design of abundance of books, which were so many methods for learning every thing, without much trouble, and perfectly. At nineteen years of age, he left his native country, where justice was not done him, and went to visit the universities. He published a second edition of his epitaphs (g), a work he had composed at fifteen years of age; and he put out a treatise of Morality (h): but, as he made an extraordinary progress every day, he found the sheets unworthy of him, which the Printer sent him, his knowledge was so enlarged, while the book was printing (i). He made no account of the public lectures and disputations in the university of Iēna, and would have no teacher but the Holy Ghost (k). His desire of seeing Holland was so strong, as not to permit him to put off his journey till he might see what would be the issue of the war, which had proved so mischievous to that country in 1672. He landed at Amsterdam (l) three days before the town of Naerden was retaken (m). He went to Leyden a few days after, and was not long there, before he met with the works of Behme [A], of whom he had never heard before. The reading of that author was casting oil into the fire; he admired that Behme had prophesied things, which no body knew of but Kuhlman himself (n). There was at that time, in Holland, one JOHN ROTHE, who pretended to prophesy [B]. Kuhlman contradicted the proverb, that

people

[A] He was not long at Leyden before he met with the works of Behme. Jacob Behme, or Boehme, was an Enthusiast, of whom I shall some time or other speak more largely. He was born in a village of Germany, near Gorlitz, in the year 1575, and, when he had learned to read and write, he was taken from school, to be a Shoemaker. He began to exercise his trade at Gorlitz in 1594. He fell into an ecstasy for the space of seven days, in the year 1600, if we may believe what he published in a book, intitled, *Aurora*. This book was presented to the magistrates of Gorlitz, by George Richter, dean of the pastors of the place, as containing many errors of Paracelsus and Wigelius; for Behme had applied himself to Chymistry in his youth. The magistrates suppressed this *Aurora* as much as they could, and ordered the author to write no more. He was silent seven years; but when he found, that the director of the electoral laboratory had recommended him to several persons at court, as a good Chymist, he lifted up his head, and boldly opposed George Richter, and wrote above twenty books in five years time. He died the eighteenth of November 1624 (1). Many persons suffered themselves to be infatuated with this man's visions. Kuhlman was not the least of his admirers, as it appears from this passage (2): 'Ejus (Jo-

gatore, sub intensioris devotionis specie, ita primum dementatus fuit, ut totus ei adhæreret non tantum, sed quoscunque posset, ad familiam ejus novam pertrahere totis viribus allaboravit. Verum postea, eo quod patrem forsan non ferret, nedum superiorem, quo loco Labadæum novæ devotionis artificem & præconem habere tamen tenebatur, quamdiu civitati ejus adscriptus esset, secessionem ab eo molitus est, gloriosum in Christo Regnum infando strepitu in terris, magno illo vexillifero, multo felicitius erecturus (4). He boasted of his revelations; he promised wonders to such as would lift themselves under his banner; he disturbed the church and state with his libels; but nothing came to pass of what he had foretold; and, to complete his misfortune, he was shut up in the prison of Amsterdam. See this more at large in Mr Saldenus's Narrative (5). 'Hinc numerosas vacillantium animarum copias colligere, sociis suis aureos montes promittere, Ecclesiam Rempubliamque libellorum famosissimorum plaustris conturbare, Servum Dei Joannem Prophetamque eximium seipsum indigitare, Revelationum tandem extraordinariorum universa volumina in vulgus spargere, neque erubuit neque destitit. At quis tandem omnium horum exitus?

Mons parturivit, natusque est ridiculus mus.

Eorum, quæ prædixerat, nihil evenit; evenere contra multa, quæ nec prædixerat nec prælagierat. Missio enim, quod erecturum se esse gloriatus erat, vexillo, & cum De Raatis, Somers, Richardsonis, novi Regni designatis Assessoribus, redux in Patriam factus, soluta societate tribunitiæ & schismaticæ, patriæ urbis & Imperatoris inclusus est: impetrata simul plenissima facultate & potestate, Prophetias suas ludicras & ridiculas resumendi & retractandi, periculumque faciendi, num prædicere certiuscule forsan posset, quo tempore & modo ex illo suo ergasterio liberandus tandem sit, quam multa alia prænunciavit. — Hence he neither blushed, nor ceased to gather numerous forces of unstable souls, to promise his companions mountains of gold, to disturb the church and the state with cart-loads of libels, to call himself John the servant of God, and a great prophet, and at last to disperse among the people whole volumes of extraordinary revelations. But what was the event of all this?

The mountain labour'd, and brought forth a mouse.

Nothing of what he had foretold came to pass; on the contrary, many things fell out, which he had neither foretold, nor foreseen. For the standard, which he had boasted he would set up, being thrown away, and returning home, together with the De Rats's, Somers's, and Richardson's, the designed assessor of his new kingdom, the tribunitial and schismatical association being dissolved, he was shut up in his own country prison; with full leave at the same time, to resume and revive his ludicrous prophecies, and to try, whether he could not foretell with greater certainty, than he had done many other things, when, and after what manner, he should be released from his confinement. Mrs Bourignon did not suffer herself to be seduced by

V O L. III.

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the

(1) Taken from Micraelius, Hist. Eccles. pag. 1449, & seq. Edit. 1699.

(2) Micrael. ibid. pag. 1324.

(3) Ut à prima imagine summe melancholicus, ita in eligendis quas quoad religionem sequeretur partibus inconstans plane ac desultorius. Saldenus in otii Theolog. pag. 194.

(g) Ib. pag. 25.

(h) I think this book was intitled, *Moralis Heralius Historicus*.

(i) Prodom. pag. 26.

(k) Ibid. pag. 30.

(l) The third of November, 1673.

(m) Prodom. pag. 38.

(n) Id. pag. 40.

(4) Idem, Saldenus, ibid.

(5) Ibid. pag. 195.

(a) *Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro.*

(p) *His Letters to him, and those he received from him, are printed with this title, Theophrastæ Epist. Leidenæ.*

(q) *Multa millena millia inventa omnem ætatem ad stuporem provocantia. Pag. 33.*

people of the same trade envy one another (o) [C]; for he wrote with the greatest humility to this John Rothe (p). He called him a man of God, and John III, the son of Zacharias. He begged the assistance of his knowledge, and denounced woe to those, who did not attend to him [D]. He dedicated to him his *Prodromus quinquennii mirabilis*, printed at Leyden in 1674, which was the forerunner of two volumes he designed to publish. He intended to put into the first the studies and discoveries he had made, since his first vision, till the year 1674. We should have found in it a thousand inventions, that would have astonished all ages (q). The latter was to have been the key of *eternity*, *æternity*, and *time*. He communicated his design to father Kircher; and, praising the fine works that Jesuit had published, particularly the *Ars combinatoria, sive ars magna sciendi*, he gave him to understand, that he had only made the first draught of what he (Kuhlman) designed to carry farther [E]. This Jesuit answered

(5) *That is, God discovered to her, by experience, how far the presumption and folly of men may go in conjunction with the illusions of the devil; never suffering her to be seduced by them, for he inwardly discovered every thing to her. Vie continuee d'Antoinette Bourignon, pag. 293.*

(7) *Id. ibid.*

(8) *His name is Daniel Hartnaciuc.*

(a) *Microellus, Histor. Eccles. pag. 1324. Edit. 1679.*

(10) *In the year 1700.*

(11) *Ad calcem Epist. Kircheri scriptæ, pag. 51.*

the whims of John Rothe; she had a sovereign preservative against such charms; she would have her prophecy to be like the privileges of the gentlemen of Germany, who *hold immediately of the Empire*; she would be prophets in chief, and hold only of God, without any subordination, without any collaterals. However it be, let us see what judgment she made of John Rothe, and Kuhlman. Which (6) then particularly appeared on occasion of a famous pretended prophet of Holland, who set up standards, to list under them the twelve tribes of Israel, which he was to restore, and whom some honest people actually followed, besides others, who, without following him, gave credit to his chimerical revelations. In some visits that he made to her, she easily discovered his illusion, though he assured her he had a frequent commerce with the angels, and with God, and that he should be for the future as a God to her, since God would only discover himself to her by his means. She was so weary of him, as to resolve not to see him any more, nor to open his prophetic letters, which are at present sealed up still among her papers. She cautioned her friends to beware of him, because undoubtedly he was not of God; for she applied to God on purpose to know what he was; and God, to the question she asked, *Lord, is this man thy prophet?* answered, *No*; and to the second question, *Who is he then, Lord?* he answered her, *He is a presumptuous man, over whom the devil hath a great power*. God had given her the same sentiments of those of his tribe, and particularly of one Quirinus Kuhlman, who lately printed a letter, which he addressed to this gentlewoman, to try whether he could jumble together the spirit of God, and the visions of the devil, with which this false prophet has his head filled, roving up and down to seduce those who deserved to be seduced, by reason of the little esteem they have for the truth, that comes from God (7).

We find in Micraelius's Continuator (8), that John Rothe, being the son of a man, whose name was Zacharias, boasted of being the forerunner of the son of God, with respect to the last judgment, and that, in the year 1668, he ordered, in king Melchisedec's name, the emperor, all kings, and princes, to lay down their sovereignties, for as much as the reign of Jesus Christ was at hand: that he was examined in the year 1677, and shut up in prison by order of the States of Holland and West-Friesland; and, that afterwards, being set at liberty, he was laughed at by every body, his prophecies being found contrary to the event (9). That author should have added, that he was cured of his visions, that he married, and became as usual of other people. He is still living whilst I write this (10).

[C] He contradicted the proverb, that people of the same trade envy one another. This was more edifying, take it altogether, than what we have seen since. We have seen two interpreters of the Apocalypse write one against another, though they were agreed upon the pretended myteries of the year 1689. But because they met in that point of union, by different roads, each would maintain his hypothesis, to the prejudice of his brother interpreter. This was not well; and, if the public had been less indulgent than it was, no body ought to have wondered at it.

[D] He denounced woe to those, who did not attend to John Rothe. He thundered out (11) *Vae! vae! si prophetas servorum Dei spreveritis, seu Batavia olim mirabilis nunc miserabilis sprebit & moriens spernit.* — *Woe! woe! if you shall despise the prophecies of the servants of God, as wretched Holland despiseth,*

and dying continues to despise them. Hoc anno, continuæ be, & hujus anni una die veniet & mors & luctus & fames Babylonis Belgicæ, & igne exuret cœlesti, quia validus est Dominus Deus damans eam. — This year, and on one day of this year, the death, grief, and famine, of Belgic Babylon will be happen, and she will burnt with fire from heaven, because mighty is the Lord God, who condemns her. All this because they had spoke much against John Rothe, and his visions had been laughed at. Kuhlman maintained, that heaven had declared for that prophet, by the great storm on the twenty fourth of March, 1674, and by the ruins that happened in several places the twenty first of May following (12). He referred to the Gazetteer, who mentioned them, and applied to his friend the famous words of an old Poet. *O miselli Theosophistæ & Diabologi! nullis verbis, calumniis, invectionibus eluditis Prophetam, nimium Deo dilectum,*

Cui militat æther, Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti (13).

(13) *Ibid.*

— O miserable Theosophists, and diabolical speakers, with no words, calumnies, or invectives, do you deceive the prophet, highly favoured of heaven, for whom the æther fights, and under whose banners conspiring winds enlist. He apostrophized in particular Amsterdam (14), where the wind had torn up many trees; and forgot not the thunder, which fell upon the great church at Utrecht; but especially, he cried out miracle (15), because it thundered on the twenty fourth of March, the day before John Rothe left Holland, whilst there was still some snow in the streets, and ice in the canals. These storms, thunders, and lightnings, were, according to him, the fore-runners of the destruction of the country; and yet from that time the affairs of the United-Provinces went on better and better every day. It is not improper to observe all these things, in order to know the predominant spirit of such people; they make an ill use of every thing, and find their pretended myteries every where. We have instances of it of a later date.

[E] He acquainted Father Kircher that he had only made the first draught (16) of what he (Kuhlman) designed to carry farther. Father Kircher did not stand to defend his works, nor pretended to be more knowing than Kuhlman. He struck sail before him, and declared, that, having written in a human way, he pretended not to equal those who wrote by inspiration. *Quod porro de arte combinatoria ceterisque paradoxis meis, tum in polygraphia, tum in musurgia, jam publicæ luci traditis meliori modo fieri potuisse contendis, nil moror cum scientiæ tuæ tam sublimis et deosâternis prorsus incapacem ineptumque me esse humiliter obsequio fitear.* Quæ scripsi ego, divina aspirante gratia humano more, id est studio & labore adquisita scientia scripsi, non divinitus inspirata aut infusa, conjuncti puram inter mortales dari non existimo. . . . Non dubitem quin tu pro incomparabili ingenii tui vastitate meis nugis & majora & admiratione digniora sis proditurus. — As to what you say, that my *Ars Combinatoria* and *Paradoxes*, which are already published, might have been better performed, I confess it, and own, with great humility, my own incapacity for that sublime and celestial science you are master of. What I have written, I have written by the grace of God, after a human manner, that is, by knowledge acquired through study and labour, not divinely inspired or infused, which is not to be expected.

(16) *Incommet arte combinatoria inventi pult in Medicinâ Chymicæ, rebus paradoxis suis subjunxit, sed hoc optatum (non tam libere) ut magis interna quoniam externa, ut cœcum quoniam cœcæ quævis. — It is a great many things in Physic and Chymistry may be found by the Art. you have rightly submitted to your Paradoxes; but I could wish (I take the liberty to advise you) that you would examine rather the inside than the outside, the kernel rather than the shell.*

(r) In quibus
majora in omni
scibili erantur,
quam à nobis vel
ullo homine ex-
pectantur. *Monit.
ad Lector. in
limine Epist. ad
Kircher.*

(s) Omnia quæ
possideo sapientie
incarnate non
mihi veniunt ad-
scribenda. *Ibid.*

answered him civilly, and gave him good advice [F]; and particularly upon the design he had to write to the Pope [G]. The prophetic spirit had not made our Kuhlman insensible to the pleasure of being praised; for there was no encomium written to him, either by those, whom he had presented with his books, or by others, but what he published in the front of his *Prodromus*. As for the praises that he bestows upon his own writings, they are undoubtedly very great (r); but, as he declares, that all his knowledge proceeds from the incarnate wisdom (s), I will not be positive, that it is a sign of pride (t). I do not well know when he left Holland; but I have lately seen a book (u), wherein it is said, that he wandered a long time in England, in France, and in the East [H]; and that at last he was burnt in Muscovy, on the third day of

October

expected, pure and unmixed, among men.
I doubt not but you are able, through the wonderful
capacity of your genius, to produce works greater
and more admirable than the trifles I have written.
Our prophet took this in earnest, and was not sensible, that the Jesuit laughed at him. He carefully published Father Kircher's answer, and used capital letters in the places where he thought himself praised.

[F] Father Kircher gave him good advice. Kircher's second letter makes it plain, that he knew the weakness of this man, and that he jeers him, when he says in a serious manner: 'Magna sanè ἀπίσα καὶ ἀνευρεῖται promittis, quæ uti supra omnem humani ingenii captum longe constituta sunt, ita ea quoque a nemine huc usque non dicam tentata, sed nec cogitata quidem fuisse audacter affirmo, atque adeo aliud mihi fulcipari non liceat, nisi talem te divino munere scientiam adeptum esse qualem sacra Pagina de PROTOPLASTO & SALOMONE testatur: explico Adamæam, Salomoniam, verbo infusam, nulli mortaliū nisi Tibi soli notam, cæteris inexplicabilem scientiam. — You promise wonderful things; which as they exceed all human capacity, so I boldly affirm they never were attempted, or so much as thought of, by any one before: and therefore I can only suspect, that, by a divine gift, you have acquired such a knowledge, as the scripture ascribes to Adam and Solomon; an Adamic, Solomonic, in a word infused, knowledge, known to no mortal but yourself, and inexplicable to all the world beside.' But what follows is charitable advice. All things well considered, Father Kircher advised him to keep that infused knowledge to himself, and not to expose himself to the raileries of an age so scoffing as this is. Indeed, our age seems to be more terrible to the Visionaries than the preceding ones. The bishop of Meaux has touched upon it in one of his books; but I question whether at the bottom the appearances are not fallacious (17).

'Quicquid fit, ita est Kircher's words, ego sane considerato rei non parvi momenti negotio, pro singulari quo te prosequor affectu, etiam atque etiam quam obnixissime contenderim, ne hanc tuam noviter obtentam scientiam Centralisque abyssi profunditatem ulli vana quadam jactantia ostenderes, ne Tertii post Adamum Salomonis dicam & cum risu nomen incurras. Potissimum hoc sæculo sarcastico, quo Criticorum, Thraconum, & Sycophantarum non parvus est numerus qui aliud non moluntur, quam ut gloriosos aliorum labores canino dente rodere, fannis ludibrisque exponere non cessent. — Whatever it be, the friendship I have for you induces me, upon mature deliberation, earnestly to advise you, not to boast of this newly acquired science, lest you be laughed at by the name of the Third Solomon since Adam. Especially in this sarcastical age, in which wou'd-be critics, brag-gadocios, and sycophants are so numerous, who make it their business to snarl at the glorious labours of others, and to expose them to mockery and laughter.' And, to make greater impression by his remonstrances, he was pleased to tell him what had happened to himself; which was, that he had found by experience, that a man exposed himself to many evils, when he rashly and inconsiderately sets up for an author. *Quanta malorum Ilias ex inconsiderata scriptione resultet, ego jam 40 annorum spatio, quo in hoc omnium gentium & nationum theatro, meam utut passum personam ego, frequentis experientia comperi.*

[G] and in particular upon his design to write to the Pope.] Though Kuhlman fancied, that he was the man promised by Drabicius, and though he knew, that Drabicius's promises concerned the ruin of the Roman Antichrist, yet he had a mind to

write to the Pope. He thereupon consulted Father Kircher, and expressed to him the passionate desire he had of communicating to the sovereign Pontiff his great secrets for the good of Christendom. *A te, Reverendissime Pater, peterem ne denegares mihi occasiōem præbere, qua Pontifici Maximi manibus propriis quedam Epistola à me insignum observantia transmittenda traderetur. Vellem enim arcana ponderosissima ad Christianæ Ecclesiæ commodum singulariter proficua, candido ore diloque candido, tam admirabili tempestate Pontifici communicare amore Reip. Christianæ impulsus.* I do not know the particulars of the good advice, the Jesuit gave him upon this subject; he left them out of the answer he received; for that passage was printed in the following manner:

Quod denique de literis ad summum Pontificem dandis, eidemque propriis manibus à me consignandis Te cogitare scribis. quæ scribo ut quanta cautela & circumspectione Romæ procedendum sit cognoscas. — As to your design of writing to the Pope which I tell you, that you may know

with what caution and circumspection affairs are to be carried on at Rome. But he did not strike out that part, wherein he was told, that his great work, dedicated to the Pope, would be applauded and admired, provided he left nothing in it, that might offend the censors of books, and took care not to pretend to an inspired knowledge *silentio quoque suppressa divinitus Tibi inspirata scientia.* This last counsel, though good in itself, was the least likely to be relished; for it is by boasting of a divine illumination, that one may strike the people with astonishment (18). Let us speak a word concerning the knavery or folly of false prophets. About the time that Kuhlman was ready to write very respectfully to the Pope, for the good of Christendom, he wrote to others, that he hoped to see quickly the destruction of the Papacy. This is the plain meaning of these words of Kuhlman, according to the file of our Visionaries. 'O Pontifex Clemens X! an figilli mei duplicatum Quinarium X excedes, mox orbis aspiciet universus? In Clemente I Petro & Lino jure præterito Episcopatus Romanus incipit: in Clemente X quid futurum sit tempus evolvet. — O Pope Clement X! will the whole world hereafter see, whether you will exceed the double Quinary X of my seal? The bishopric of Rome, Peter and Linus justly omitted, began in Clement I: what will happen under Clement X, time will shew.' I could name a man (19), who has been extremely vexed, because the public has been informed, that, whilst he furiously inveighed against Lewis XIV, he wrote some letters to a duke, full of flattery towards that prince.

[G] He wandered a long time in England, in France, and in the East.] I have lately found many little books of this Enthusiast, printed at London at his own expence, some in 1681, and others in 1682. The first of them dated from London the 24th of June, 1681, is dedicated to Lewis XIV, with this familiar inscription, *Salve Ludovico XIV. Rex Liligere, salve.* The author exhorts this prince to assert the Regale, which was the talk of that time, and acquaints him, that Drabicius had promised him the city of Rome (20). We find in this collection a letter, which he wrote from Lubec to Father Kircher, in February, 1676, *De sapientia infusa Adamæa, Salomonæaque*; and a piece, which he inscribed to Mahomet IV, *De conversione Turcarum.* It is dated from Constantinople the first of August, 1678. The author sets his mystical seal to it at London, the first of May, 1681, and signified to the Sultan, that the comet, which appeared the preceding winter, presaged the conversion of all nations; and he congratulated his highness on having appointed a fast throughout his empire.

'Apexilli

(r) See the *Entretien* sur la *Caule chimérique*, printed in 1691, pag. 109.

(u) *Diarium Biographicum* Hennigii Witte, Tom. II, pag. 168.

(18) See the bishop of Meaux's Commentary upon the *Apocalypse*, Dutch Edit. pag. 429.

(19) Quem verisimile non est, Signis persicille est. *Horat. Sat. P. II, ver. 87.* [The person intended here is Mr. Jurieu. REM. CRIT.]

(20) A Deo data scientia Romæ nunc cribans a Drabicio Tib olim promissa.

(17) See the article ABARIS, remark [1].

(x) Ob vaticinia
quedam & seditionis motum
concrematus.
Id. ibid.

October 1689, for some predictions actually seditious (x). I do not know whether he caused his medal to be struck, as some other new prophets have done; but the same book informs me, that his effigies came out, under which there are so many titles given him [I], that I believe the eastern monarchs hardly give themselves more. If it be thought, that I speak too seriously, and too copiously of him, I desire it may be known, that there is a seriousness, which upon such things is worse than jesting; and it is requisite the world should be informed of the prodigious variety of Fanaticism. It is a more contagious evil than is imagined. The reading of Drabicius completed the ruin of Kuhlman [K]. Those, who have not the *Prodromus* of the latter, need only read three or four pages of Morhofius's *Polyhistor* (y), where they will see the magnificent promises and vast projects of this Enthusiast.

(y) From page
357, to pag. 361.

For the rest, he was not one of those inspired men, who pretend to continence; he was married twice, if we may call a marriage, and not a concubinage, the commerce that is between a man and a woman, without observing the formalities prescribed by the canon and civil laws. He understood well enough how to trick people out of their money, and he wrote to some persons in a magisterial and prophetic tone, that it was necessary for the advancing of the new kingdom of God, that they should send him such or such a sum, in default of which he threatened them with the most terrible punishments the avenging hand of the most High could inflict. Van Helmont was one of those, who received such letters; but he was wiser than to pay any regard to them (z).

(z) I have this
from some persons,
who knew
Kuhlman.

‘Aspexisti ante aliquot menses, O Capitaneus grandis ab Oriente Solis, Cometam in-audite-ingentem, NUNTIUM REALEM REGNI JESUELITARUM, hoc est Reformationis Populorum omnium ad Deum Unicum & Triunum. Bene Te, quod cor tuum coram Deo flexeris, & Proclamatione Diei penitentialis Catholici in Regnis tuis, in-ceperis adimplere Verba Dei ad Prophetam Drabicius: Si Christiani voluntatem meam in destruendo Antichristianismo, Doctrinamque prava & Idololatria exequi renuent, facient id Christianis in opprobrium Turca & Tartari: quod horrore erit angelis meis & hominibus. Maeste illa indole. — You saw, some months before, O great Eastern leader, a comet of unusual magnitude, A TRUE PROGNOSTIC OF THE KINGDOM OF THE JESUELITES, that is, of the restoration of all people to the one true God. O! well is thee, that thou hast turned thy mind before God, and, by proclaiming a general fast throughout thy empire, hast begun to fulfil the words of the Lord to the prophet Drabicius: If the Christians shall refuse to perform my will in destroying the kingdom of Antichrist, and corrupt doctrine and idolatry, the Turks and Tartars shall do it, to the disgrace of the Christians; which will be an horror to my angels, and to men.’ He wrote to the Aga of Smyrna, the twenty eighth of June 1678 (21). Some months after, he dedicated to the Sieur Van Dam the mystery of Kotterus’s twenty one weeks, in which he declared, that the house of Austria was about to lose the Imperial crown. By his piece intitled *De magnatibus naturæ ultimo ævo reservatis*, inscribed, *Ad adeptos magosque orbis terrarum*, at Geneva the thirtieth of January 1682, it appears, that he was going into the Holy Land. His *Arcanum microcosmicum* is dated from Paris the first of November 1681.

[I.] There are so many titles given him.] Here is what I find in a book I have quoted (22): In effigie quam Andreas Lippius edidit, ita celebratur:

Alter Scaligerum, Taubmannus, Grotius, Opitz,
Barthius, Iscanus, Gryphius, Muretus, Erasmus!
Henoch, Josephus, Davides, Joshua, Moses,
Elias, Daniel, Salomon, Elisa, Johannes!
Cyrus, Alexander, Constantin, Karl, Fridericus!
Liligerus, Juvenis, Frigerans, Artista, Sophata:
O Pater hæc tua sunt! Hæc ad te cuncta reflexit.

In the print published by Andreas Lippius, he is thus celebrated:

Another Scaliger, Taubmna, Grotius, Opitz, Barthius, &c.

A little before, it is said, that he sometimes called himself LUDOVICUS LUDOVICI. The catalogue of his writings, as Mr Witte gives it, does not

comprehend the *Epistola Theosophica Leidenſis*; but then, it contains nine letters written to Father Kircher: besides *Epistolarum Londinensium Catholica ad Wicklesio-Waldenses, Hussitas, Zwingianos, Lutheranos, Calvinianos*; besides in High Dutch, *De celesti osculo amoris, sive cogitationes poeticae ex Cantico Cantorum. Discursus sacri & profani de pulcherrimis virtutum fœculis. Mortalitas immortalis, sive centum epistaphia. Caduceator Historicus. Neo-Bebmus illustratus, &c.*

[K.] The reading of Drabicius completed the ruin of Kuhlman.] Kuhlman found in Drabicius’s prophecies two passages, which he applied to himself (23). The first contains these words (24). ‘Qui legit, intelligat! cum numerabitur QUINQUE finem accipient filii contumaciae, conspecto me potestatem habere in caelos, terram, mare. — Let him, that readeth, understand: when FIVE shall be numbered, the sons of contumacy shall have an end, it being seen that I have power over the heavens, the earth, and the sea.’ Here follows the other (25): ‘Abundantia benedictionis Te (Drabicius) parata expectat! Wratilaviae, ac si oculis videas tuis. — An abundance of blessing attends thee (Drabicius) at Wratilaw, as thou sawest with your eyes.’ Add to these two passages, that which he took from the *Astrologico-Prophetical Prognostic*, written by Paul Felgenhaver in 1647, and published in 1655. ‘Quantus error sit pacis spes, illud nobis duplicatus QUINARIUS demonstrabit, cum venerit post paucos dies. — How ill grounded are the hopes of peace, the double Quinary will shew, when it shall come after a few days.’ He imagined, that he was that double Quinary, whom Felgenhaver had promised, being convinced of it by two reasons; first, because his name was Quirinus, secondly, because, in 1674, it was five years since he had received an infused science (26). He therefore believed, that then the time promised by Drabicius was come, cum numerabitur quinque, finem accipient filii contumaciae; so that he hoped quickly to throw down Antichrist and Babylon with his pen. Let us hear the Hallelujah’s, which he sung before hand: ‘Corruet Antichristus proprio suo iudicio, & Babylon excidium suum properabit cum admiratione populorum. Hallel. Quem Cæsares armis potentibus non debellavere, juvenis inermis debellabit in virtute Jesu Christi prælians. Hall. Stant Mercatores Antichristi horrore procul tremantes, desent iterum suum insperatum ab insperato timore futurorum. Hall. (27). — Antichrist shall fall by his own judgment, and Babylon shall hasten it’s ruin with the admiration of the people. Hallelujah! whom the emperors with powerful arms have not conquered, an unarmed youth shall subdue, fighting in the strength of the Lord Jesus. Hallelujah! the merchants of Antichrist stand at a distance, trembling with horror; they lament their unexpected destruction thro’ an unexpected fear of what is to come. Hallelujah!’ If I had not read this, I should hardly have believed, that the extravagance of Fanaticism could have gone so far.

(23) Epist.
Theosoph. pag. 4.

(24) Reclut.
194, Feb. 75
ann. 1664.

(25) Reclut.
6-8, May 24
1664.

(26) Epist.
Theosoph. pag. 4.

(27) This is what
he wrote to John
Rothe, the twenty
fourth of
April 1674, from
Leyden. See the
Epist. Theoph.

(21) Kuhlman
was then in the
port of Smyrna,
on board a
French ship. He
was still at Smyrna
the twenty
seventh of October
1678, as appears
from the letter,
which he wrote to
James Van Dam,
the Dutch consul.

(22) *Diarium
Biographicum
Henningi Witte,
Part. II, pag.
168.*

KYRIANDE

KYRIANDER (WILLIAM) a German Civilian, after he had begun the study of the Civil-law in Germany, continued it in France and at Padua, and went afterwards to Venice, to add the practice to the theory, by frequenting the bar (a). He there undertook the translation of a book of Leander Albertus [A], which was printed at Cologne in 1567. You will find in Moreri, that he was syndic of Triers, and that he published the Annals of that town [B]: But you will not find there, that he changed his religion, and that his book was much disparaged by the Jesuits upon this account [C].

(a) Kyriander, Præfat. Descript. Italiae.

[A] He undertook the translation of a book of Leander Albertus. This work contains the description of Italy, and has not been despised by the learned. Read Vollius, chapter 12, book 3, *De Historicis Latinis* (1), and La Popeliniere, pag. 414 of the *Histoire des Histoires*. Kyriander made use of three Italian editions of this work, which he translated into Latin; but I wonder he says nothing of the edition, to which was added the Description of the Islands that are near Italy. That edition was printed at Venice, *apresso Ludovico de gli Avanzzi*, in the year 1561, in 4to. The translator is very much to be blamed for not having made use of it, and for not adding to his work the Description of the Islands.

(1) Pag. m. 680.

[B] He published the Annals of the town of Triers.

It is a Folio printed at Deuxponts in the year 1603. Michael Hertzius does not mention this edition. He only mentions that of 1625, and pretends, that those Annals begin with the year of the world 966 (2). Which carries them up to above seven hundred years before the deluge. Zeiller (3) might have taught him to say 1966, and not 966. In the second Holland edition of Moreri's Dictionary, there is 1066; which goes back to near 600 years before Noah.

(2) Hertzius, Bibliotheca Germanica, no 464.

(3) De Hist. Part. II, pag. 81.

[C] He changed his religion, and his book was much disparaged by the Jesuits upon that account. Masenius speaks of it thus: *Kyriander res Trevirensium, ut fidem Deo Principique suo violarat, perversè persecutus est* (4).

(4) Masenius, in Dedicat. Compend. Hist. Trevir. apud Magurum, Eponymol. pag. 498.



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8 N

L A B E

L.



(a) La Croix du
Maine, pag. 291.

LABE (LOYSA) a courtesan of Lyons, has been reckoned among the French authors, by la Croix du Maine, and du Verdier Vau-Privas. She flourished at Lyons, in the reign of Henry II, in 1555 (a). Her works were printed there the same year [A]. She did not resemble the courtesans in all things; for, if she was, on the one hand, of their humour, in that she would be well paid for her favours, she had, on the other hand, some regard for learned men, which others have not; for she bestowed her favours on them gratis. Her character will be better known by the passage I shall quote [B].

[A] Her works were printed at Lyons, in 1555. They contain a dialogue in French prose, intitled, *Le debat de Folie & d'Honneur* (A debate between Folly and Honour), and several poems of her own invention (1); besides the writings of several poets in her praise, in Greek, Latin, Italian, and French verse (2).

(1) La Croix du
Maine, pag. 291.

(2) Du Verdier
Vau-Privas,
Bibl. Française,
pag. 822.

(3) Id. ibid.

[B] Her character will be better known by the passage I shall quote. I make no alteration in du Verdier's words. 'Loyfa Labe, says he (3), a courtesan of Lyons, (otherwise called the handsome Ropemaker's wife, being married to an honest Ropemaker) managed a horse very well; for which reason, the gentlemen, who had access to her, called her captain Loys; she was a woman of a good and cheerful wit, and tolerably handsome. She obligingly entertained in her house lords, gentlemen, and other persons of merit, with discourse, music, both vocal and instrumental, in which she was admirably well skilled, reading of good Latin, Italian, and Spanish books, wherewith her closet was curiously furnished, and with exquisite sweet-meats. In fine, she communicated to them privately the most secret pieces she had: in a word, she was free of her body to such as paid for it: however not to all, not to mechanics, and men of mean condition, whatever

money they might offer her. She loved learned men above all, who were so much in her favour, that those of her acquaintance were preferred before any great lord, to whom she would rather do a favour gratis, than to another for a great many crowns; which is contrary to the custom of those of her trade and condition.' This passage has been quoted in the continuation of the *Critique Generale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme* (4), with the addition of this (4) Letter xviii, reflexion (5): 'Demosthenes would have been glad, if the courtesan Lais had been like this; he would not have made a voyage to Corinth in vain, nor experienced,

Qu'à tels festins un auteur comme un sot,
A prix d'argent doit payer son écot.

That at such treats an author pays his scot,
And is no better dealt with than a sot.

This woman at the same time honoured and dishonoured learning: She dishonoured it, whilst, being an author, she led the life of a courtesan; and she honoured it, because the learned were better received by her gratis, than the ignorant at any price.

LABERIUS (DECIMUS) a Roman knight and a Poet, had an admirable faculty at playing the part of a *Mime*. He durst not refuse Julius Cæsar, who was desirous he should come upon the stage to act one of those pieces, tho' this was very unbecoming his condition, and his age. He excused himself the best he could in his prologue [A], and maliciously slipped in some strokes against Cæsar [B]; which determined that

[A] He excused himself the best he could in the prologue. Macrobius has preserved it to us, and very judiciously observes, that a master, even when he intreats, uses a sort of authority, which there is no resisting (1). 'Laberium asperæ libertatis equitem

(1) Asinius says more: Quod est potentissimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poterat. Which is the strongest kind of command, he entreated, who might have commanded. Præfat, Centon. Nopt.

Necessitas, cujus cursus transversus impetum Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt, Quo me detrussit pæne extremis sensibus? Quem nulla ambitio, nulla umquam largitio, Nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas Movere potuit in juvena de statu: Ecce in senecta ut facile labefecit loco Viri excellentis mente clemente edita Submissa placide blandiloquens oratio? Etenim ipsi Di negare cui nihil potuerunt, Hominem me denegare quis posset pati? &c (2).

(2) Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. ii, cap. vii, pag. 11, 342.

Cæsar prevailed upon Laberius, by a large gratuity to appear upon the stage, and act a part in his own farces. But power, not only when it invites

but when it intreats, compels. And therefore Laberius excused himself in the prologue, as being compelled by Cæsar, in the following manner:

Necessity, which many would avoid, but few can, whether has it driven me, almost in the last stage of my life? whom neither ambition, nor bribes, nor fear; whom no power, no authority, could influence, in youth I behold how easily the courteous invitation of a great man unsettles! For can I, a man, deny him anything to whom the gods themselves can deny nothing?

[B] He slipped in some strokes against Cæsar. This we have from Macrobius (3). 'In ipsa quoque actione subinde se qua poterat ulcisceretur, induito habitu Syri, qui velut flagris Cæsar præripientique se similis exclamabat:

Porro Quirites! libertatem perdimus.

& paulo post adjecit:

Necesse est multos timent quem multi timent.

Qua dicto universitas populi ad solum Cæsarem oculos & ora convertit, notantes impotentiam ejus hac acacitate lapidatam. During the action itself, he revenged himself in some sort, in the character

(a) That is, on the day that he acted a play, out of complaisance to Julius Cæsar,

that prince to mortify him a little, by preferring another poet before him [C]. Laberius was rallied by Cicero that day, (a) and he repaid him in his own coin [D]. He died ten months after Julius Cæsar (b). His verses have not been so much despised by Horace, as it is thought [E]. Moreri has committed some faults [F].

(b) Eusebius, in Chronico.

of Syrus, who, representing one beaten with rods, and flying from punishment, cried out:

Ye Romans! We lose our liberty,

and a little after, he added,

He must necessarily be affraid of many, whom many fear.

At which words, the whole audience turned their eyes upon Cæsar, observing that he was struck with this piece of satire. Father Briet hath not well observed this passage; for he supposes, that Laberius did not offend Cæsar till a long time after. *Procedente tempore ipsum Cæsarem offendit, & maxime hoc versu.*

Porro Quirites libertatem perdimus,

Item & isto

Necesse est multos timeat, quem multi timent (4).

Afterwards he offended Cæsar himself, especially by this verse,

Ye Romans! we lose our liberty.

And by this,

He must necessarily be affraid of many, whom many fear.

[C] Cæsar preferred another Poet before him.] Here is another passage of Macrobius: 'Ob hæc in Publium vertit favorem. Is . . . productus Romæ per Cæsaris ludos omnes qui tunc scripta & operas suas in scenam locaverant provocavit, ut singuli secum posita invicem materia pro tempore contenderent. Nec ullo recusante superavit omnes; in quibus & Laberium: unde Cæsar arridens hoc modo pronuntiavit:

Favente tibi me visus es Laberi à Syro:

Statimque Publio palmam & Laberio annulum aureum cum quingentis sesteritiis dedit: Tunc Publius ad Laberium recedentem ait: *Qui cum contenti scriptor hunc spectator sublevis* (5). For this reason he turned his favour on Publius. This man . . . during the celebration of Cæsar's games at Rome, appeared, and challenged all the dramatic Poets to contend with him, alternately giving each other a subject; and, no one refusing him, he vanquished them all; among the rest, Laberius; whence Cæsar, smiling, said:

Favour'd by me, Laberius, by Syrus you are vanquish'd:

And immediately he gave the palm to Publius, and a gold ring, with 500 sesterces, to Laberius. Then Publius said to Laberius, as he went away; defend him as a spectator, with whom as a writer you disputed. Laberius, some time after, composed a Mime, in which he declared, that the fate of arms is as uncertain upon the stage as any where else; and that, if he had lost the first rank, the same disgrace would happen to his successor. *Sequenti statim commissione, Mimo novo interjecti hos versus:*

Non possunt primi esse omnes omni in tempore. Summum ad gradum cum claritatis veneris, Confites ægre; & quam defendas, decides. Cecidi ego, cadet qui sequitur, laus est publica (6).

In his next new Mime he inserted these verses:

It is impossible always to excel: when you reach the summit of perfection, it is with difficulty you will keep your footing, and, when you descend, you will fall. I am falling, he who follows me, will fall; praise belongs to the public.

Here follows a passage out of Aulus Gellius (7). 'C. (8) Aul. Gellius, autem Cæsarem ita Laberii maledicentia & arrogantiâ offendebat, ut acceptiores & probatores sibi esse Publii quam Laberii Mimos prædicaret. — Cæsar was so offended at the insolent behaviour of Laberius, that he declared he preferred the Mimes, of Publius to those of Laberius.'

[D] He was rallied by Cicero that day, and he repaid him in his own coin.] After Laberius had acted his piece, Cæsar presented him with a ring, and gave him leave to retire. Laberius went to look for a place among the knights; but they ordered it so, that he could find none. Cicero, seeing him perplexed, said to him, 'Recepissem te, nisi anguste federem. I would make way for you, were I not crowded.' Mirum, answered the other, si anguste fedes, qui soles duobus sellis federe (8). — It is strange you should be crowded who generally sit upon two seats. Cicero killed two birds with one stone. He laughed at Laberius, and at the many senators of a new creation, simul & illum respuens, & in novum senatum jectus, cujus numerum Cæsar supra fas auxerat (9). But the answer that was made him, taxed him with trimming (10), that is with neither being a good friend to Pompey, nor Cæsar. Cicero male audiebat, tunc Pompeio certus amicus, nec Cæsari, sed utriusque adulator (11). I shall observe, by the by, that Macrobius has confounded the places of the knights with those of the senators: he thought, that the senators sat upon what was called the fourteen benches, which is a mistake. Quod Cicero dixit, nisi anguste federem, scomma fuit in C. Cæsarem, qui in senatum passim tam multos admittebat, ut eos quatuordecim gradus capere non possent (12). — Cicero, in saying, if I did not sit too close, reflected upon C. Cæsar, who admitted so many into the senate, that the fourteen benches could not contain them. This was the place of the knights since the law of Rœcius Otho.

Sic libitum vano qui nos distinxit Ottoni (13)

[E] His verses were not so much despised by Horace, as it is thought.] Here are the words of Horace:

Nec tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera, nam sic

Et Laberi Mimos, ut pulchra poemata mirer (14).

Nor, granting this, the rest I shall allow;

So might Laberius' Mimes, obscenely gay,

For perfect pieces, in my judgment pass.

Mr Dacier's note runs thus: 'Horace does not here condemn Laberius absolutely, nor so much as censure his works; but only speaks by comparison. Laberius's Mimes were agreeable; but they were not fine and perfect poems. Nor were they made to that end; for the Mimes had only obscene jests in them. For which reason Ovid calls them *Mimos obscæna jacentes*, and they were only designed to make people laugh. If Julius Scaliger had well understood Horace's meaning, he would not have condemned the judgment, that Horace makes of Laberius's Mimes (15).'

[F] Moreri has committed some faults.] I. The Prænomen of Laberius is not Decius but Decimus. II. He survived Julius Cæsar so little a time, that there was no need of saying, he lived in the reign of Augustus. III. It is not true that he received presents from Augustus. IV. And that Macrobius says it. V. It is false, that Cæsar made him a Roman knight. See what Laberius says in the prologue of the farce acted by him in complaisance to that emperor.

Ergo bis tricenis annis actis sine nota,
Eques Romanus Lare egressus meo
Domum revertar mimus (16).

Twice thirty years pass'd without blemish,
I, who this morn came forth a Roman knight,
Shall home return degraded to a Player.

Which

Which is an undeniable proof, that he was a Roman knight independently of Cæsar. That which deceived Moreri, with many others (17), is, that Cæsar, at the end of the play, gave a ring to this farce-player, as we learn from Macrobius; but it is easy to find in that very place a proof of the justice of my censure. Here is the whole passage: 'Deinde cum Laberius in fine ludorum annulo honoratus à Cæsare è vestigio in quatuordecim ad spectandum transiit, violato ordine, & cum detrectatus est Eques Romanus, & cum minus remissus, ait Cicero prætereunti Laberio, & sedile querenti, recepissimè se nisi anguste federem' (18). — At the end of the games, Laberius, being honoured with a ring by Cæsar, would have taken his seat on the fourteen benches, among the Roman knights as a spectator; but, being refused admission,

and looking about for a seat, Cicero said to him, as he passed by him; Laberius, I would make room for you, were I not crowded. It is evident, that Macrobius says, that the order of the knights was dishonoured two manner of ways. I. Because a place was refused to a Roman knight. II. Because a farce-player was sent from the stage to the place, where the Roman knights sat. From whence I necessarily conclude, that Laberius owed not his knighthood to the favour of Julius Cæsar. All that can be said, is, that he disgraced himself by his complaisance in acting on the stage; and that he was re-habilitated by Julius Cæsar. The ring, that he received, may be looked upon as a new patent of nobility: but this does not excuse Moreri. Seneca confirms what we have said (19).

(19) Dicitur Julii ludis suis munus protulit (Laberium) deinde equestri illi ordini redditum iussit ire scilicet in equestrio ordine ut se curaret ut venientem non reciperent. Seneca, Controu. XIII, sub fin.

(18) Macrob. lib. cap. iii, pag. 329.

(a) See the remark [A].

(b) Patria Lotharingus, virtutis sue suffragis ex gregario milite per omnes militarium honorum gradus ad Tribunatum euectus. Vallones aliquot annos magna cum laude gubernavit. Ang. Gallucci, de Bel. Gal. lib. xiii, pag. m. 35.

LABOURLOTTE (CLAUDIUS) one of the bravest captains of his age, owed his fortune to his courage; for his birth was so mean, that it is still a dispute, whether he was a native of Lorraine, or of Franche Comté (a). It is said, that he had been Barber to count Charles of Mansfeld [A]; and that he did him a signal piece of service [B]. He went thro' all the military degrees, till he was made commander of the Walloon troops in the service of the king of Spain (b). He was more fortunate than judicious [C]; for he never more willingly engaged in an enterprize, than when it was very dangerous (c). He was wounded on several occasions [D], and at last he was killed with a musket-shot, the 24 of July 1600, whilst he was making an intrenchment betwixt

(1) Bongars's Letters, pag. 493, of the Hague Edit. 1695.

(2) It was not true. See, below, the remark [E].

(3) It is thus we should translate the *Rosini confilio* of Bongars, and not *de Rosini*, as is done in the translation of his Letters.

(4) Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert, livr. iv, pag. 263.

(5) Hist. Universelle, Tom. III, lib. v, chap. xix, pag. 729.

(6) Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert, livr. iv, pag. 264.

(7) That is, to fort Isabella.

(8) Grotius, Histor. de Reb. Belg. lib. ix, ad ann. 1600, pag. m. 57.

[A] It is said, that he had been Barber to count Charles of Mansfeld.] This is said by Bongars, in a letter written to Camerarius, the sixth of August 1596, in which he sent him some news about the siege of Hulst. 'Some, says he (1), write, that Labourlotte has been killed in it (2); that man so famous for his bravery and courage. He was formerly Barber to count Charles of Mansfeld, who died in Hungary. The cardinal chiefly made use of Labourlotte's boldness, and Rone's counsel (3). He, who, in 1693, published the history of archduke Albert, does not say, that Labourlotte was a Barber; but he says nothing that can prove the contrary. 'His birth, says he (4), resembles that of great men, which is frequently disputed: Lorraine will have him to be her's; Burgundy claims him as her's. The name Claudius favours the Burgundians. Whatever country he be of, it is certain he is come of a good family. The many enemies he has had, are a demonstration of his extraordinary merit. Envy, like the thunder, passes over shrubs, and falls upon lofty trees. They say he was of mean extraction, and that he handled the razor and the lancet, before he handled the sword and the pike: but the unprejudiced speak otherwise. They say, that indeed he knew good remedies for wounds; but that he was led to his study by curiosity and charity, and not by necessity.' When d'Aubigné (5) relates, that Labourlotte was killed in a skirmish in the counterescarp of fort Isabella, which he had recruited and victualled, he adds, 'that he was lamented by the arch-duke, and his superiors, and not by his equals; who, enraged with envy, could not bear, that merit should make a colonel of a country Barber.'

[B] . . . and that he did him a signal piece of service.] He delivered him from the trouble of a most unlucky marriage. An author, whom I have cited, will not believe it. His words are: 'It is said, that he got into the favour of Mansfeld, by ridding him of his troublesome wife; but I believe nothing of it; he was too honest a man to be guilty of so base an action (6).' The action would certainly be very base, whatever pleasure it might have given the count. What makes me say, that the incredulity of this writer might be ill grounded, is, that Grotius has hinted at that action; an evident sign, that he did not think the story that was spread to be a vain report. His words are worth relating, as informing us of the merit of the deceased, with some circumstances well expressed. 'Huc (7) quoque se Claudius Burlota transfulerat, bonamque & extremam navavit operam; trajectus globo vir nobilis audacia, Lotharingus ortu, curandis olim vulneribus vitam toleraverat: mox per facinus haud honestum conciliatus Mansfeldio ferebatur, dictus uxorem ejus sustulisse: sed nactus honores, ita se gesserat, ut mereri majora semper judicaretur, quo mors ejus nec luctu apud ducem, nec apud ipsius novitatis invidentes gaudio caruit (8). — Hitherto likewise came Claudius Labourlotte, a man of

remarkable boldness, and who had formerly lived by practising Chirurgery: afterwards he is said to have got into the favour of Mansfeld by a dishonourable action, I mean, by ridding him of his wife: but, being advanced to honours, he so behaved himself, that he was always thought to deserve more; for which reason the general lamented his death, but those, who envied his rising greatness, rejoiced at it.'

[C] He was more fortunate than judicious.] Here is what Father Gallucci says of him (9): 'Animosus, magis quam cautus, accerere sæpe non expectare mortem visus est. — He was more brave than prudent, and was often seen to seek death, rather than expect it.' 'He would undertake any thing, and was terrified with no danger. He began a fight as if he was sure of the victory. The bold attempts were committed to him. They, who did not care to be put upon such hazards, or saw themselves eclipsed by his success, called him a fortunate fool, hardly self low (10).'

[D] He was wounded on several occasions.] At the siege of Noion, in the year 1593; at that of Ardres, in 1596; at that of Hulst, the same year; and at the battle of Newport, in 1600. See Father Gallucci (11): I believe he is mistaken as to the last wound. I have met with no other historian, that mentions it: and besides, they all say, that Labourlotte, a few days after the battle, brought a considerable succour to Newport, which contributed very much to the raising of the siege, that prince Maurice had laid to that place. As to the wound at Hulst, it was not mortal, as Bongars will have it. What I have cited from him, in the first remark, was written the sixth of August 1596: he was not undecieved twenty days after; for he affirms, in a letter of the twenty seventh of August, in the same year, that Labourlotte was dead of his wounds (12). Thus you see how the very ministers of princes are subject to spread false news, and not quickly to know the falsity of them. They ought to be more circumspect in that point, than the person I am speaking of, whose ability otherwise deserves great encomiums. But when we follow him close, we cannot forbear saying, that he too lightly believed agreeable news, and was too hasty in imparting them to his friends. Here is another proof of it, taken from the same letter, in which he affirmed, that Labourlotte was dead: *You will probably rejoice, when you hear, that the king of Spain is dead, and that the Spaniards will not receive his son for their king, as being born of an incestuous marriage, Rideas etiam cum intelliges Regem Hisp. mortuum, & filium repudiari ab Hispanis natum nuptiis incestis* (13). This is what he wrote to his friend, the sixth of August 1596. At that time all the news disadvantageous to Spain was as easily believed, as now (14) those that are to the disadvantage of France.

[E] He was killed the twenty fourth of July 1600.] The author of the history of archduke Albert says the twentyfifth of July, at page 138; but, at page 264, he infers

(9) De Belli Belg. lib. xii, pag. m. 35.

(10) Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert, pag. 264.

(11) In Hist. Belli Belg.

(12) Bongars's little credulous.

(13) Burlotta post Rosinum ex voluerit ubi. Bongars's, Epist. pag. 500. Hague Edit. 1695.

(14) Id. Hist. pag. 497.

(15) I write this in the year 1695.

(d) Hist. de
l' Archiduc
Albert, *printed in*
1693. pag. 264.

(15) Hist. de
l'Archiduc
Albert, pag. 264.

(16) In *Topographia Gallo-Brabantiae*, printed at Amsterdam, in 1693, in folio, pag 74.

(17) Pag. 718.

(18) See, above, citation (64) of the article *GRE-GORY VII*.

(19) Le Roi,
ubi supra, pag.
74.

(a) Diog. Laërt
lib. iv, n. 59.

(b) Id. *ibid.*

(c) That garden
was in the aca-
demy.

(d) Diog. Laërt.
ibid. n. 69.

(e) *Id. ib. n. 61.*

(f) Id. ib. n. 60.

(1) Diog. Laërt.
lib. iv, n. 28.
*See also the same
author, in Proœm.
n. 14.*

(2) *Id. ibid.* n. 59. *See also the same author, in* Proem. n. 14.

(3) Cicero,
Academ. Quæst.
lib. iv, cap. vi.

(4) Diog. Laërt.
lib. iv, n. 60.

(5) Menage, in
Diog. Laërt. lib.
iv, n. 60.

(6) Plut. in De-
metrio.

(7) Justin. lib.
xxxvi.

(8) Plut. in
Discrim. Adul
& Amici, p.

(9) Plutarch
been mentio
a concealed
action of A
files.

[D] *The love a goose had for him is very remarkable.* She followed him every where, within doors and without, in the day time, and in the night time. *Potesť et sapientie videri intellectu huius infansibilis esse.* *Ita comes perpetuo abascessit* Lacydi Philopolo *dicatur, nusquam ab eo, non in publico, non in balnei, non noctu, non interdiu digressus* (10). When she died Lacycles made as noble a funeral for her, as if she had been his son or his brother (11).

(10) Plin. lib. x,
cap. xxii, pag. m.
48 See also
Athenæus, lib.
xiii. pag. 606.

(11) *Ælian. lib.*
vii, Hist Anim.
cap. xli.

(12) Diog. Laërt
lib. iv. p. 61.

D. (13) Athen lib
xt x. cap. x, pag.
438.

ld

gh

ed.
nes.

ther (14) Nomeni
what apud Euseb.

ants; lib. xiv, cap.
t in, pag. 734, &
caſion

t not *μῆτις*, *gen.*
be

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(g) Rapin,
Reflex. sur la
Philosophie, n. 8,
pag. m. 326.

gross mistakes [G.] The difference, that father Rapin finds betwixt Arcefilas and Lacydes, is a meer illusion. Philosophy, says he (g), was *reflex* under the former, and

(16) I do not
keep to the Greek,
in which there is
αἷς τῆ νοῦλον
γραμμάστιον,
cava quadam in
arcula.

(17) Τὸ τὰ
μύσους πένη.

be troubled with the key, he put it in a hole (16), which he sealed up, and then he threw his seal into the pantry (17) through the hole of the lock. His servants, having discovered this, easily, and as much as they pleased, tricked him. It was no difficult thing for them to get the key, and to place it again where he had put it, and to seal up the hole. They eat, they drank, they robbed him as they thought fit, and laughed at him into the bargain. He on his part very easily perceived the diminution of his wine and provisions; and, not knowing where to lay the fault, he remembered the doctrine of Arcefilas, who taught, that our senses and our reason comprehend nothing, and he attributed the Vacuum of his bottles and baskets to that incomprehensibility. Thus he began to philosophize, in Arcefilas's school, against the certainty of human knowledge. Nay, he made use of that domestic experience, to prove, that he had reason to suspend his judgment in every thing. I will not alledge a hear-say, said he one day, gravely to one of his friends; I know by experience what I am going to tell you; I can speak of it without any doubt. Hereupon he told him from one end to the other the adventure of his buttry. What, continued he, could Zeno say against an argument of this force, which has so clearly demonstrated to me the *Atalepsia*? Have, not I reason to mistrust every thing, when, having shut, sealed, unsealed, and opened again my pantry with my own hands, I cannot find what I had left in it? I only find my seal there, which will not permit me to believe that I am robbed. When he came to that part, his friend could hold no longer; he broke out into such a fit of laughter, as made the Philosopher perceive his blunder, and resolve to look to his seal better. His servants did not trouble their heads about it; and whether they had learned from the Stoics, or elsewhere, to dispute with him, they unsealed his key, without troubling themselves to put the same seal on again. They put on another, and sometimes none at all. It vexed him, when he saw their roguery; but they maintained they had never meddled with the seal, and that he had forgotten to put it on. He made long discourses to let them see, that he well remembered he had sealed it, and went so far as to swear it. You have a mind, answered they, to divert yourself, and to laugh at our simplicity. A Philosopher, like you, has neither opinions nor memory; for you maintained the other day, that memory was an opinion. He confuted them with reasons different from those of the Academics; but they had recourse to a Stoic, who taught them how to reply to their master, and to elude all his arguments by the doctrine of Incomprehensibility, which they did with a great deal of pleasant humour. The worst of it was, that they continued to rob his provisions, and Lacydes perceived, that his goods vanished away every day. He found himself in great perplexity; his principles, instead of serving him, were against him, and he was forced to behave himself like the vulgar. All the neighbourhood was filled with his clamours and complaints. He protested by the gods and goddesses, that he was robbed (18); at last he took the resolution not to stir out, and to keep within sight of his buttry-door (19). What did he get by disputing with his servants? he made use of the method of the Stoics against them, and they answered him in the way of the Academics, and beat him with his own weapons. At last, resolving to free himself once for all, from the intolerable perplexity he was in, he ingenuously told his servants; children, we dispute one way in the schools, and we live another way in our houses. Οὐδὲν δὲ εἰς ἐδὲν, ἀπὲρ λῶν, ὑπειδόμενον οἱ τὸ σὸρον αὐτῶν ἐρχέσθαι, ἀπικαλύψασθαι. Ἄλλως, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ἢ παίδες, ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς λέγεται ἡμῖν, ἄλλως δὲ ζῶμεν. Verum ubi nihil agit, secum ipse cogitanti, quo sua sibi veritas recideret: tandem animi sensum palam ac sine furo aperiens, nimirum, inquit, famuli, aliter hæc in schola disputamus, aliter vivimus (20).

This is a pretty story, and Mr de la Fontaine might have made it very diverting; but it is plain, that it has been forged by a pious fraud of the Stoics. This has been a method used at all times, and in all places;

people have always endeavoured, and do so still, to turn the doctrine and person of their adversaries into ridicule; and to that end a thousand fables are invented, if the least pretence can be found to strain maliciously the consequences of their opinions. This passion has been so blindly indulged against the Sceptics, that not only sincerity, but even probability has been laid aside; for they never denied, that, in the ordinary conduct of life, men ought to trust to the testimony of their senses. They only denied, that the absolute nature of objects is just the same as it appears to be. Note, that Diogenes Laërtius (21) is contented to observe, that our Lacydes, having sealed the door of his pantry, threw his seal into it, and that his servants made use of the seal, to steal his provisions, without being discovered by him.

[G.] *Moreri has committed very gross mistakes.*

I. Instead of saying, that Lacydes's father was a native of Cyrene, he should have said, that Lacydes was born there. II. He ought not to have adopted Laërtius's error, concerning the foundation of an academy by Lacydes. III. He ought not to have placed his death in the fourth year of the XXXVth Olympiad. This is no error of the press; for he adds, that it was the 1131b year of Rome. If the Printers had omitted something in the first calculation, they would not have erred so exactly in the second. It is therefore certain that they followed the copy. Now what can be more absurd, than to believe, that Arcefilas lived in the CXXth Olympiad, and that Lacydes, his disciple, died the last year of the XXXIVth Olympiad (22)? IV. Though his death had been placed in the fourth year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad, it would still be an error; for he died not till about the second year of the CXLth. Here is the proof of it. Diogenes Laërtius observes, that Lacydes, who began to be the head of the academy, the fourth year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad, died after he had taught Philosophy twenty six years. Ἐπελεύτῃσι δὲ σχολαρχεῖν ἀρχάμενοι τῷ τελεσθῇ ἐτι τῆς τελεότης καὶ τελευτῆς καὶ ἐκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφίστασθαι ἐξ αὐτῶς τοῖς εἰκοσιν ἔτη. Obiit autem cum scholam administrare cepisset quarto anno centesima trigesima quarta Olympiadis, vixitque sex annis in schola consumptis (23). V. It is an absurdity to find in these words, that Lacydes began to be in reputation . . . after he had taught for the space of twenty six years (24). VI. This can hardly be said of any professor; for if he spends twenty five years in his profession, without esteem, he runs the hazard, generally speaking, of dying without any reputation.

Note, that Father Hardouin is mistaken, as to the time of our Philosopher's death. 'Obiisse dicitur,' says he (25), anno 4 Olymp. CXXX. — He is said to have died in the fourth year of the CXXXth Olympiad.' He cites the 120th page of Diogenes Laërtius, of the London edition, 1664, in Folio. But besides that, we find there (26) the CXXXIVth Olympiad, and not the CXXXth, it is certain, that it concerns Lacydes's entrance on his profession, and not his death. Father Labbé has committed but one of these two faults: he says (27), citing Diogenes, that the Philosopher Lacydes died the last year of the CXXXIV Olympiad. It will be asked, whether it can be proved, that he did not die at that time? I answer, that there are two proofs to be given for it. The first is, that he was not the head of the academic school till after Arcefilas's death (28), and we know, that Arcefilas was cotemporary with Eumenes, prince of Pergamus (29), who succeeded not Philaërus till the CXXIXth Olympiad. Father Labbé says so (30); the correspondence of this Philosopher with Eumenes, requires that he should have lived till the CXXXth Olympiad. Which being so, it cannot be said, that his successor died the fourth year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad; for he taught twenty six years. My second proof is drawn from this, that Attalus, king of Pergamus, caused the garden of the academy to be made, wherein Lacydes taught, and desired to have that Philosopher at his court. There is little probability, that these two things relate to the first year of his reign, that is, to the third year of

(21) Diog. Laërt.
lib. iv, n. 59.

(22) Moreri 69
60, in Arcefilas.

(23) Diog. Laërt.
ubi supra, n. 61.

(24) Moreri
quotes only Diogenes Laërtius.

(25) Hardouin,
in Pliniam, lib.
x, cap. xxii, p. 408.

(26) That is in
the Greek; for
the Printers have
left out quite
in the Latin
translation.

(27) Father
Labbé, Chronol.
Franc. Tom. II,
pag. 301, ad ann.
Romæ, 115.

(28) Diogenes
Laërtius, lib. iv,
n. 60, says, that
Lacydes is the
only Philosopher
who resigned his
chair during his
life.

(29) Diog. Laërt.
ibid. n. 38.

(30) Labbé, ubi
supra, pag. 285.

(18) Οἰκουρὸς
ἦν Φίλος τοῦ
πατρὸς προκα-
θήμενος Domi-
deiinceps hære-
bat perpetuo, ac
pro cella sue
foribus affidebat.
Id. ibid. This
translation seems
to me to be better
than that of
Kleinias, in his
note upon Diog.
Laërt. pag. 523.
Semper amicium
cellæ penuriae
custodem domi
reliquit.

(20) Id. ibid. C.

and *contradicting* under the latter. It is certain, that it was never more contradicting, than under Arcefilas.

(31) See Father Labbé, *ibid.* pag. 300.

of the CXXXIVth Olympiad (31). Let us say then, that Lacydes died not the following year; and let us remember, that, if he had taught but a few months in that garden, it would be an absurdity to give him no other school but that, and even to observe, that

it had its name from him. He must therefore have taught there several years, and consequently he did not die a year after Attalus came to the throne. Seth Cal-
vius (32) has been guilty of the same fault as Father Labbé.

(32) Sethus Calvius, ad ann. mundi, 3709, pag. m. 268.

(a) Melch. Adam. in Vita Petri Martyris, pag. 33.

(b) *Id.* *ibid.*

(c) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 36.

LACISIUS (PAUL) a regular canon of the congregation of Lateran in the XVIth century, was of Verona (a). He taught the Latin tongue in the priory of St Fridian, at Lucca, whilst Peter Martyr was prior there (b); and having relished, with him, the doctrine of the Protestants, he followed him into Germany, where they openly professed it in 1542. After they had been some time at Zurich, and at Basil (c), they were invited to Straßburg by Martin Bucer, and by his means Peter Martyr was made professor of Divinity, and Paul Lacisius, professor of the Greek tongue (d). The latter died at Straßburg, I know not when (e). His Latin version of Tzetzes's *Chiliads* was printed, with the Greek, in 1546, at Basil, by John Oporinus (f).

(d) *Id.* *ibid.*

(e) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 35.

(f) Epitome Biblioth. Gesner. pag. 657.

LÆVIUS, a Latin poet. It is not certainly known when he lived; but it is very probable, it was before Cicero's time. He wrote a poem, intituled, *Erotopœgia*, that is, Sports of Love. Aulus Gellius (a) cites two verses from it. Apuleius (b) gives us six from the same poet, but does not say what work of his he takes them from. Lævi-
us wrote a poem called the *Centauris*. Festus cites it at the word *Petrarum*. I shall ob-
serve some mistakes [A].

(a) Noct. Attic. lib. ii, cap. xxiv.
(b) In Apologia.

(1) De Poët. Lat.

(2) Philippus Carolus, Animaverf. in Aul. Gellium, pag. 162.

(3) It was the sumptuary law of Licinius.

[A] I shall observe some mistakes. Since Vossius (1) was apprised of the two last citations, I mention, it is very strange, he should reckon Lævi-
us among the Poets of whom we know no more, than that they lived before the days of Charlemagne. But this is a small slip in comparison of the blunder of an author (2), who has put in Aulus Gellius, Livius, for Lævi-
us, and pretended that Aulus Gellius cited Livius Andronicus. How could he cite out of this Livius a passage, which concerns a law (3) made in the 656th year of Rome; how, I say, could he on this occasion

cite Livius Andronicus, who was a grown man in the 514th year of Rome? for one of his comedies was acted that year (4). The author I confute, pre-
tends, that Nævius and Pacuvius flourished after Livius Andronicus; but had he not seen a particular in Aulus Gellius, which manifestly proves, that this Livius could not be acquainted with the Licinian Law? Aulus Gellius tells us (5), that Nævius had some of his comedies acted in the five hundred and nineteenth year of Rome, and that he bore arms in the first Punic war.

(4) It was the first that was acted in Rome. See Cicero in Brutus.

(5) Lib. xvii, cap. xxi.

LAIS, a famous courtesan, was of Hyccara, a town of Sicily [A]. She was carried into Greece, when her country was plundered by Nicias the Athenian general. She settled at Corinth, which was the fittest town in the world for women of her profession [B]; and there she made so great a noise, that no courtesan had ever a greater resort

(1) Plutarch. in Nicia, pag. 531. See also Plutarch. in Alcibiades, sub finem.

(2) "Εὐκάρπια, Virginitium etiam in Alcibiades, sub finem. *Idem*, in Nicia, pag. 533, C.

(3) Thomasius, de Varia Hist. lib. i, cap. lxxxi. One of the commentators upon Alcibiades, pag. m. 330. Du Verdier, Van-Prives, Diverses Leçons, liv. iii, chap. vi, pag. m. 184.

(4) Παρθένων. Achuc puellam. Pausan. lib. ii, pag. 45.

(5) Solin. cap. v. "Ανδραπόδων, Hyccaricum mancipium. On the other hand, he cites (10) Neanthes, author of a book concerning illustrious men, who says, that she was born at Crastus, a town of Sicily. He also cites Timæus, as having said, that she was of Eucarpia in the same island: and yet we have seen, that Timæus, quoted by Athenæus, makes her a native of Hyccara; and since no body makes mention of a place in Sicily, called Eucarpia, I find Berkelius's conjecture (11) very probable, namely, that Stephanus Byzantinus made use of a copy of Timæus, where the transcribers had put Εὐκάρπια for Τυχαία. Cafaubon (12) observes, that the country of Lais, like that of Homer, and of some other illustrious men, has not been well known; and he cites Solinus, who says, *Lais eligere patriam maluit quam fateri* (13). — Lais would rather chuse than confess her country. Cafaubon adds, that some will have her to be born at Pancarpia in

Phrygia; but probably his memory failed him (14): he remembered confusedly, that he had read, that in Stephanus Byzantinus mentions in the article of Eucarpia of Phrygia. This confounded his ideas; he fancied, that he had read, that Pancarpia, in Phrygia, was Lais's birth-place, according to some writers. Pinedo goes farther than Cafaubon, as to the parallel of Homer with this courtesan: he pretends, that several towns contended for the glory of having produced Lais (15). [B] Corinth was the fittest town in the world for women of her profession. However I do not believe all that is said of her by Lotichius. He affirms, that the Corinthians, in their solemn prayers, begged of the gods to increase the number of the courtesans (16). He cites Athenæus, who says no such thing. But this probably misled Lotichius; he honestly depended upon these words of Erasmus: 'tus Corinthi honos habebatur meretricibus, ut quomodo ex autoribus docet Athenæus, illic in templo Veneris prostarent, atque in solemnibus precibus illud addi soleat, ut Dii augerent meretricum numerum. Quin & illud refert meretrices sacro sacro Veneri, civitatem extremo periculo laborantem servasse placata Veneri (17). — Harlots were in such esteem at Corinth, that, as Athenæus informs us from authors, they prostituted themselves there in the temple of Venus, and in solemn prayers they usually added this petition, that the gods would increase the number of harlots. He likewise tells exercise it is us, that the harlots, by sacrificing to Venus, had saved the city in extreme danger.' Erasmus strains the matter. Athenæus says only, that there was an ancient law at Corinth, ordaining, that, when the town should make supplications to Venus in any important affair, they should summon as many courtesans as they could, that they might assist at the pomp of the procession, and pray to that goddess, and return the last in her temple (18). Erasmus is right in his

(14) See Pinedo, in Stephanum, voce Εὐκάρπια.
(15) Celebris meretricis urbes etiam à Diis placet illustriant de qua (Lais) decetbant quendam civitates haud fecit ac de Homero Pinedo, in voce Κρατία. See the same Pinedo on the word Τυχαία.
(16) Lotichius, in Petronium, pag. 232.
(17) Erasmus in Proverb. Κορυνθιαῖστας, id est, fornicationibus ac lustris intulere, they usually added this petition, that the gods would increase the number of harlots. He likewise tells exercise it is us, that the harlots, by sacrificing to Venus, had saved the city in extreme danger.' Erasmus strains the matter. Athenæus says only, that there was an ancient law at Corinth, ordaining, that, when the town should make supplications to Venus in any important affair, they should summon as many courtesans as they could, that they might assist at the pomp of the procession, and pray to that goddess, and return the last in her temple (18). Erasmus is right in his

resort [C]. She had been informed by a kind of revelation, that she should be eminent, and get a deal of money; for she dreamed, that Venus appeared to her, to acquaint her with the arrival of some very rich customers [D]. The most illustrious Orators, and even the most austere Philosophers, fell in love with her. Every one knows, that Demosthenes made a journey to Corinth on purpose to lie with her; but the price discouraged him [E]. It is also well known, what a passion Diogenes the Cynic had for her [F]. He found her very complaisant, as poor and slovenly as he was, which is more to be admired than her great intimacy with the Philosopher Aristippus, who was a very genteel and polite man. It is said, that she did not love him, and he was

jefted

his further account of the matter; for it is true, that Athenæus says, it was believed, that the prostitutes of Corinth had very much contributed to the safety of all Greece, by the prayers they put up to Venus, when Xerxes made his irruption. He adds, that the Corinthians promised Venus a certain number of those creatures, if they obtained the favours they begged of her, and that Xenophon, the Corinthian, made a like vow, if he carried the prize at the Olympic games. Having obtained the victory, he punctually performed his vow, consecrating twenty five young women to the service of Venus, and presenting them to this goddess, during the ceremony of the sacrifice he offered to her, after his return from the Olympic games. Nay, these twenty five girls began the hymn that was sung during the immolation of the victim. Concerning the whoredom of Corinth, see Erasmus's Adages (19), where he cites a notable passage of Strabo (20).

This is sufficient to make good my text, and at the same time to shew, that the Heathens could not say, that the abominations they published of their gods, were only poetical stories; for here is a most flourishing city, which testifies by its laws, and public worship, that it believes, that the courtizans by their prostitutions, did an agreeable service to Venus, and that their intercession with her was of the greatest efficacy to prevent public calamities. It is a sign they gave credit to the stories that were told of this goddess's adulteries.

[C] No courtesan had ever a greater resort. Of this Propertius (21) gives an express testimony.

Non ita complebant Ephyrææ (22) Laidos sedes,
Ad cujus jacuit Græcia tota fores.

Lais ne'er sent such siging crowds away,
Tho' at her doors all Greece enamour'd lay.

The expressions of Plutarch are as strong as can be. He says, that Greece was inflamed with the love of Lais, that two seas fought for this woman (23), and that she had an army of gallants (24). *Ἦν δὲ δὴ πᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λαίδας τὴν αἰσθητὴν ἐκείνην καὶ πολυήγορον ὡς ἐπὶ τῇσι πύλαις τὴν ἑλλάδα, μᾶλλον, δὲ ταῖς δυνάμειν ἢ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐβόωντο.* Inaudivisti band dubie quid Laidi obtigerit. Nobilis illa & tam multis amata viris, quæ sui desiderio Græciam inflammavit, atque adeo de qua duo maria certaverant. See her epitaph in the remark [K].

Mrs Jacqueline Guillaume says, at the 77th page of her *Dames Illustres* (25), 'that one of the principal gallants of Lais, a public courtesan, erected to her a statue like that of Pallas, with this inscription: "To the divinity of Lais, for having triumphed over the wisdom of all the Philosophers, and the courage of all the conquerors." I wish she had quoted some good author, or at least some author, for it; for her own authority cannot well be depended upon.

[D] She dreamed, that Venus appeared to her to acquaint her, with the arrival of some very rich customers. It was Venus, firnamed Melænis, or the black, that appeared to her. She had a temple, with this title, in a suburb of Corinth (26). It has been thought, that this surname was given her because, generally speaking, men go about the multiplication of their kind by night (27), and not like beasts by day (28). If this reason of the surname Melænis was a solid one, it does not seem that Venus, as black, should have shewn herself in a dream to young Lais, who was not designed to mind the distinction of days and nights. However it be, this dream was mentioned by an Orator in one of his pleas: you need only read these words of Athe-

næus: ἡ καὶ Ἀρροδίτη ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἡ Μελανίς, καλεμένη, νυκτὸς ἐπιφαίνουμένη ἐμνήσεν ἐρασὺν ἐφ' ὅσον πολυτάλαντον. ἢ ὅτι περὶ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνους δευτέρῳ. Huic (Laidi) cum esset Corinthi, Venus Melænis five Nigella dormienti noctu se ostendit, & adventum prænuñciavit amatorum qui forent pecuniosissimi, ut memorat Hyperides Aitione secunda contra Aristagoram (29). — When Lais was at Corinth, Venus Melænis, or the black, appeared to her in a dream, and foretold the arrival of some very rich lovers, as Hyperides relates it in his second oration against Aristagoras.

[E] Demosthenes made a journey to Corinth on purpose to lie with her; but the price discouraged him.

This story has been very prettily dressed up in French by Mr le Pays (30). 'Aulus Gellius tells it thus (31): "Lais Corinthia ob elegantiam venustatemque formæ grandem pecuniam demerebat: conventusque ad eam ditiorum hominum ex omni Græcia celebres erant: neque admittebatur, nisi qui dabat, quod poposcerat. Poposcebat autem illa nimium quantum." Hinc ait natum esse illud frequens apud Græcos adagium, ἡ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλεῖς. Quod frustra iret Corinthum ad Laidem qui non quiret dare quod poposceretur. Ad hanc ille Demosthenes clanculum adit; & ut sibi copiam faceret, petit: at Lais μισίας δραχμῶν ἢ τάλαντον poposcit. Hoc facit nummi nostratis denarium decem millia. Tali petulantia mulieris atque pecunie magnitudine iustus expavidusque Demosthenes avertit; & discedens, Ego, inquit, pœnitere tanti non emo! Sed Græcia ipsa, quæ fertur dixisse, lepidiora sunt, ex ἀνέμοις, inquit, μισίων δραχμῶν μεταβλήσας. — Lais earned a great deal of money by the elegance and beauty of her person; and many of the richer sort flocked to her from all parts of Greece. But her price was very high. Hence they say amongst the Greeks, so frequent among the Greeks, that it was not every man, that could make a voyage to Corinth. Demosthenes came privately to this lady, and asked the favour: but Lais demanded a whole talent. Demosthenes, struck with the insolent demand, went away, saying, I am not for buying repentance so dear.'

[F] It is well known what a passion Diogenes the Cynic had for her. She obliged him to the full; he kissed her gratis. This is what Aristippus's servant represented to his master, who lavished his estate upon that prostitute. But Aristippus answered him: I pay her well, not that others may not lie with her, but that I may do it. 'Ορεῖς δὲ μένος ὑπὸ οἰκίτῃ, ὅτι σὺ μὲν αὐτῇ τοσούτον ἀργύριον δίδως, ἡ δὲ προίκα Διογένης τῷ κυνὶ συγκυλίσταται. ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐγὼ Λαίδῃ χορηγῶ πολλὰ, ἵνα αὐτὸς αὐτῇ ἀπολαύω, ὃν ἵνα μὴ ἄλλος (32). Aristip-

pus was the most obliging man in the world to his mistresses; he was not jealous of them, nor did he regard their bellowing upon others the same favours he received. This is what he declared to Diogenes, who told him (33), 'You lie with a prostitute; either leave her, or be a cynic as I am. Do you think it absurd, answered Aristippus, to lodge in a house, that has lodged many others, or to embark in a vessel, which has carried many passengers; No, replied Diogenes. Just so, said Aristippus, it is no ways absurd, to have to do with a woman, whom many others have known before (34). Here is a diverting description of the equipage, with which these two Philosophers rambled about Lais's house, if we believe Tassoni. 'Ma che bel vedere Diogene Cinico col Mantello di romagnuolo squarciato, e rappezzato, la barba squalida, senza camicia, e lordo, e pidocchio far dell' innamorato, passeggiando lungo la porta della famosa Laidè, dall'

(19) Erasmi in Proverbiis, Non est ejuslibet Corinthum appellere. It is the first of the fourth Century of the first Christad, pag. m. 132.

(20) Strabo, lib. vii, pag. m. 261.

(21) Propert. lib. ii, Eleg. vi.

(22) Thot is, Corinthia; for Ephyræ was the ancient name of Corinth. Plin. lib. iv, cap. iv.

(23) Plutarch, in Amatorio, pag. 767.

(24) Ἀποδράσας τὴν ἀλκων ἐρασίου κρηφά μισαν κρατὸν. Magnam aliorum amatorum clam subterfugiens exercitum. Id. ibid.

(25) That book was printed at Paris, in 1665.

(26) Pausan. lib. ii, cap. ii.

(27) Id. lib. viii, cap. vi.

(28) Confer quæ supra, citation (45) of the article of the third duke of GUISE.

(29) Athen. lib. xiii, pag. 581.

(30) In his Amicitia, Amour, & Amourette.

(31) Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. i, cap. viii, ex Sotionis Libris, cui Titulus, Κόρινθ' ἀνὰ Κόρινθ'.

(32) Athen. lib. xiii, pag. 581.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) See the New Letters of the Marquis of Caluso, Hist. of Caluso, pag. 550. There is a de Perdre's Hist. Française, pag. 680, a pretty poem upon this, composed by Peter de Bruch, a native of Bordeaux.

withstanding the pleasure she found in distinguishing herself by the great number of her admirers, she left Corinth, where she had always a crowd of galants, and went to Thessaly in quest of a young man with whom she was passionately in love [K]. The women of that country conceived so much jealousy against that beautiful woman, that they put her to a cruel death. They drew her into the temple of Venus, and there stoned her (c), or, according to others, killed her with the stools they found at hand. All authors do not agree, that she died in that manner [L]. I have said in another place (d), that she performed her apprenticeship under the Painter Apelles; and indeed, it seems that he got her maiden-head, if we may depend on the authors I have alledged. See (e) how he answered those, who laughed at him, under pretence, that he had chosen a novice: but if the matter be discussed, we shall have reason to doubt of this story [M]. The conjecture of those, who say, that there were two cour-

tezans

(c) See the remark [K].

(d) In the article APELLES, remark [E].

(e) Ibid.

ἐμοδὲν καὶ ἀδρα τῇ πόλει. ἔπειτα λαμπρῶς τῇ πόλει, καὶ πρὸς τῆς τήνης, ἥ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὑπὸ χαλαρὰ ῥυτίδι κατέλυσεν, τὰς ἐν ηλικίᾳ παιδοτρύβει, καὶ τοῖς ἑξένοις ἀντικαθίστηεν. Nisi forte aliquid dicunt qui & sponsum nobis à matris genere verbis efferunt, genus ejus à famosa illa Laide ducentes. Nam Lais (dixit jam quidam historiarum scriptor) mancipium fuit Hyccaricum, emptum ex Sicilia, unde nobis venit illa pulchrorum filiorum mater quæ celebrem illum peperit. Et ipsa quidem olim scortum fuit Naucleri heri, deinde, Rheoris similiter heri, tertii deinde post illos conservi, & clam civitatis, deinde palam civitatis artique præfuit meretricis, à cujus opera postquam ob maturas rugas destitit, adulas jam puellas in ea instituit, hospitibusque pro se substituit (50). — Unless perhaps they say something who extol the bridegroom on account of his maternal descent, pretending to derive it from the renowned Lais. For Lais (a certain historian says) was a slave of Hyccara, bought from Sicily, whence we have that mother of a beautiful offspring, who brought forth this famous man. And she herself was formerly concubine to a master of a ship, next to a Rhetorician, in the third place to a fellow-servant, and privately to a whole city; afterwards she publicly professed the trade of a whore; and, when incapacitated by age, she instructed young women, who supplied her place with strangers. Here you see a woman, of whom it might be affirmed, that the last state was worse than the first; for her prostitution was less pernicious than her trade of procuring.

[K] She went to Thessaly, in quest of a young man, with whom she was passionately in love. What has been said (51) of the poverty, and procuring trade of Lais, does not agree with what Plutarch says of her; for he affirms, that when this courtesan left Corinth, she had there a great army of galants, and that the women of Thessaly killed her only for the envy they bore to her beauty (52). The Thessalian spark she fell in love with was called Hippolochus, if we believe Plutarch, but Athenæus calls him Pausanias (53). They both agree, that the temple of Venus, in which she was killed, had a surname given it, which denoted that crime; it was surnamed according to Plutarch, the temple of Venus Homicide, Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδροφόνου, and according to Athenæus, the temple of Venus Profaned, ἀνοσίτης Ἀφροδίτης. A tomb was built to Lais upon the river Peneus with this epitaph:

Τῆς δὲ πόδ' ἡ μεγάλανχος ἀνικητός τε πρὸς ἄλλην
Ἑλλὰς ἐδολώθη κάλλος ἰσοθέη,
λαίδος, ἣν τέκνωσεν Ἐρως, δρέψεν δὲ Κορίνθος,
κεῖται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θερταλικοῖς πεδίοις.

Hujus aliquando, magnanima, & fortitudine invicta Græcia, formâ deabus æquiparandâ, victa & in servitutum redacta est.

Laïdis, amoris filia, alumna Corinthi,
Quæ in nobilibus Thessaliæ campis sita jacet (54).

Here the fam'd Lais lies, in death's cold arms:
Greece felt the pow'r of her exalted charms,
Love gave her birth, and Corinth's walls a place:
The fields of Thessaly her ashes grace.

Athenæus confutes those, who said, that she was buried in a suburb of Corinth called Cranion. How-

ever it is true, that her monument was seen in that (suburb (55), and nothing hinders but that it might be there, and in Thessaly too: for, tho' the Corinthians had not her body, they doubtless erected a monument to her. They engraved upon it a lioness, whose fore-feet rested upon a ram (56). See Alcianus's Emblems (57). According to Pausanias, the galant, that Lais went to Thessaly in quest of, was called Hippostratus. For the rest, I do not think Geufius's conjecture to be solid. He believes, that the women of Thessaly sacrificed Lais to Venus, as having made herself odious to that goddess, by the ambition of equalling, and even eclipsing her. He grounds his conjecture upon their leading her to the temple of Venus, though they might have killed her in other places. ' Verifimile est, says he (58), quod hæc Lais ab invidis & furiosis istis feminis non simpliciter necata, sed tanquam piacularis victima ' Deæ Veneri in ejus templo immolata fuerit: quia forma sua & pulchritudine Veneris ipsius gloriam affectasse, imo obscurasse, & ita indignationem & iram ejus in se excitasse videbatur. Nam quare ipsam non in alio loco, in foro, platea, vel ædibus occiderunt? quare ipsam in Veneris templo lapidibus & scæmnis obruerunt, nisi propterea, ut Laida Veneris æmulam coram ipsa Veneri in sacrificium im-

[L] All authors do not agree, that she died in that manner. Some say (59) that she was choked with an olive-stone; and so her death was much like that of Anacreon. Others pretend, that she died in the venereal act (60). Which to one, who had devoted herself to the service of the goddess Venus, was a glorious death; she died in the bed of honour, and in signaling her fidelity; just as when a warrior is killed in a battle. Some body has said, that an emperor ought to die standing (60*); but, according to the principles of the Pagans, a courtesan, to die gloriously, ought to be in a quite different posture; and Lais, in her way, did what Vespasian advised emperors to do.

[M] We shall have reason to doubt of this story. Let it be remembered, that the birth of Lais ought to be placed in the fourth year of the LXXXIXth Olympiad, and that Apelles, being at sea, was forced by a storm to put in at Alexandria, under the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagos (61), which reign could not begin at farthest till the CXIVth Olympiad. The most convenient supposition for the authors of that story would be to say, that Apelles was but twenty years old, and that Lais was twenty five at the time they speak of, and that he put into Alexandria, the first year of Ptolemy's reign: and therefore he must have been born the first year of the XCIXth Olympiad. But then, would he not have been near ninety five years old, when Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, began his reign? And is it likely, that, at such an age, he would have been in a capacity of bearing the sea, and doing what he is supposed to have done at the court of Egypt? Would this great age have been passed over in silence by all the writers that remain? These difficulties cannot be removed but by extending the time of Lais's virginity longer, that is, by supposing, that this Painter, at twenty years of age, entertained her, when she was already forty or fifty five years of age. Now this is to suppose things quite contrary to probability, and to what we find in authors. It would be much more reasonable to suppose, that Apelles was twice as old as Lais. It is highly probable, that she began her filthy trade very early, and consequently, that Apelles did not debauch her. Note, that the fountain of Pyrene, from whence, it is said, he saw

(55) Pausan. lib. ii, pag. 45.

(56) Pausan. lib. ii, pag. 45.

(57) The Emblems of the fourth, pag. m. 329.

(58) Jacobus Geufius, Theophrastus & Medea Frisius, in Tract. de Victimis humanis, Part. II, pag. 422, 423.

(59) Pausan. lib. ii, pag. 45.

(60) Imperatorum ait Plutarchus, qui meretores Vespasianus, apud Athen. lib. xiii, pag. 359.

(61) See, above, citation (51), the words APELLES.

tezans called Lais [N], is grounded upon this, that every thing that is said of Lais cannot be understood of the same woman, without contradicting chronology. There is no probability, that she was the daughter of Alcibiades (f), or that she was an author [O]. We have a very pretty epigram of Aufonius upon the looking-glass

(f) See the remark [T].

her return, when he was struck with her beauty, was at Corinth. Wherefore, if this story were true, it must be concluded, that he made some stay in that town, which I do not believe any author has positively said.

[N] Some conjecture, that there were two courtezans called Lais. She I speak of was removed to Corinth, when Nicias commanded the Athenian army in Sicily, that is, the second year of the XCIII Olympiad. She was then seven years old, if we believe (62) Ad Plutarch. Aristophanes's Scholiast (62). Now, since Demosthenes durst not go to Corinth, but *incognito*, in order to lie with Lais, he could not be a young scholar, but a man of a great reputation. He must therefore be supposed to have been at least thirty years of age, and so Lais would have been then sixty seven years old (63). Therefore there is no probability, that Demosthenes would have been desirous to see her, or that she would have asked a great sum of him. It was therefore another Lais, who asked Demosthenes so much. There were therefore two courtezans called Lais. The difficulty would be very great, though we should suppose, that Demosthenes made this voyage to Corinth at about twenty years of age; for our Lais would have been then near sixty. I find, that many authors build upon a passage of Athenæus, wherein it is said, that Alcibiades was always attended by two concubines, namely Damafandra, the mother of young Lais (64), and Theodota, who took care of his funeral, when he was killed in a town of Phrygia. This passage of Athenæus is of some weight; for it supposes there was a woman, called Lais before her who was the daughter of Damafandra; nevertheless there remain great difficulties. In the first place, Athenæus, who says so many things concerning Lais, makes no distinction; he speaks all along as if there never had been but one Lais. Does a man express himself thus, when he is persuaded, that there are two, and intends to inform his reader of it? secondly, Plutarch speaking of Lais, the daughter of Alcibiades's concubine, says expressly, that she was a native of Hyccara in Sicily, and that she was brought a slave from thence. Ταύτης λέγουσι θυγατέρα γενέσθαι Λαΐδας, τὴν Κορινθίαν μὲν περὶ ἀγορεύειν, ἐν δὲ Τηκερῶν Σικελικῇ πολιματῇ ἀιχμάλωτον γεγονέναι. *Hujus ferunt filiam fuisse Laidem, quæ dicta fuit Corinthia quum Hyccaris Sicilia oppidulo fuisset.* (65) Plutarch. in Alcib. sub fin. pag. 213; D.

(64) Τῆς Λαΐδος θυγατρὸς Ἰωνίου Λαΐδος ματρός. *Atten. lib. xiii, pag. 574.*

(65) Plutarch. in Alcib. sub fin. pag. 213; D.

(66) Lais μισθὸς δραχμῆς ἢ τάλαντον ποσὶς, hoc facit nummi nostris denarium decem milia. *Atten. lib. i, cap. viii. Denarium decem milia, make, according to Gifford, 3722 livres.*

(67) See Scyliger, in Eusebium, n. 786, pag. m. 49.

(68) Athen. lib. xii, pag. 535.

expressly (69). Note also, that Athenæus calls Lais's mother sometimes Damafandra, and sometimes Timandra, and ascribes to Theodota the care of Alcibiades's funeral; but Plutarch says, that Timandra was the mother of Lais, and that she buried Alcibiades (70).

[O] It is not probable, that she was an author. Pliny (71) mentions two things, which he had read in the writings of a woman called Lais. He names her the first time with Elephantis, and the second time with Salpe, and a little after he makes mention of a midwife, called Sotira. It is known, that Elephantis had written some books full of obscenities. See the remark [P] of the article HELENA, and Suetonius in the forty third chapter of the Life of Tiberius, and Martial in the forty third epigram of the twelfth book. Galen witnesses (72), that Elephantis had written a treatise of Cosmetics. I have observed, in another place (73), the meaning of that word. Salpe was of the isle of Lesbos (74), and had written a book of jests, or of sports and diversions; but there is no great probability, that Pliny alledged her with respect to that work. * Lais & Salpe, says he (75), 'canum rabioforum morsus, & tertianas quartanaque' febres, menstuo in lana arietis nigri, argenteo 'bracchiali incluso;' that is, according to du Pinet's version, 'Lais and Salpe, two very renowned courtezans, say, that, if we wrap up some menstrual blood in the wool of a black ram, and put it in a silver bracelet, it is good for the bitings of mad dogs, and tertian and quartan agues.' This is clearly to insinuate, that these two women had written a book of medicinal receipts. Father Hardouin affirms, that Salpe wrote *De Remediis muliebribus* (76). The other passage of Pliny, in which Lais and Elephantis are joined, intimates the same thing. * Quæ Lais & Elephantis inter se contraria prodidere de abortivis, carbone & radice brassicæ, vel myrti, vel tamaricis in eo sanguine exlincto; item asinas non concipere tot annis, quod grana hordei contacta ederint: quæque alia nuncupavere monstrifica, aut inter ipsas pugnantia: cum hæc fecunditatem fieri iisdem modis, quibus illa sterilitatem prænnunciaret, melius est non credere (77). That is, according to du Pinet's version, 'As to what the courtezans Lais & Elephantis say of the menstrual blood, and to cause a child to dissolve in the mother's belly and of the coals made of the roots of cabbage, myrtles, or tamarisks, and extinguished in the same blood, there is no reason to give any credit to it: for one of them contradicts the other. The same may be said of what they tell us, that a she ass will not conceive every Grecian for so many years, as she has eaten grains of barley stained with the same blood. These two courtezans say many monstrous things upon this subject, to which we ought to give no credit: for what one of them says helps propagation, the other holds to be proper against it.' This translator undertakes to decide a thing, which Pliny has not expressed. He says boldly, that the courtezans Lais is here spoken of; and doubtless he means her, who makes the subject of this article. If he had said this, in a marginal note, he would have shewn himself less rash; but he gives it as the true version of the words of the original, which is an inexcusable boldness. Father Hardouin has been infinitely more reserved; he confesses, that he does not know, whether Pliny cites one of the two courtezans called Lais, and he calls her Midwife, *obstetrix*, whom Pliny quotes (78). If I did not find remedies for the tertian and quartan ague, in Pliny's words, but only for barrenness, and receipts for abortion, I should be more inclined to believe, that he cites a book written by our Lais, or ascribed to that famous courtezans; for there are hardly any people so well skilled in what can promote or prevent conception, or cause abortion, as those of Lais's trade, a trade, that takes up the wretched art of doing a good turn to those, who are afraid of disgrace; a trade, in a word, which terminates in that, when age does no longer favour the other functions. But after all, I do not think it probable, that our Lais wrote books. However I would not deny, that those, which are mentioned

(69) Plut. in Alcibiade, sub fin. pag. m. 213.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Plin. lib. xxviii. cap. vii.

(72) Galen. in libris nat. r. 7000.

(73) Above, remark [A], of the article CRITON, n. 4.

(74) Athen. lib. vii, pag. 324.

(75) Plin. ubi supra, pag. 583.

(76) Hardouin. in Indice Author. & Plinii, pag. 128.

(77) Plin. ubi supra, pag. 587.

(78) Hardouin. ubi supra, pag. 117.

glafs of this leud woman [P]. I forgot to say, that she was so much in love with Eubates, that she obliged him to promise her marriage [Q]; but he found a way of evading his engagement. As many charms as she had, she could not conquer the continence of the Philosopher Xenocrates [R]. She defended herself one day very artfully against Euripides, who censured her with reason [S]. Tatian has upbraided the Heathens with the monument, that was erected to the debaucheries of this whore (g). He calls the Sculptor, who made it, Turnus; from whence we may conclude, that he

(g) Tatian, contra Græcos, pag. m. 170.

was

mentioned by Pliny, and set by him in opposition to those of another leud woman, named Elephantis, were ascribed to her. I question, whether an honest matron, expert in secrets, and a Midwife by profession, would have been called Lais; for this name, like that of Chrysis and Thais, and the like, was bestowed upon the naughty tribe, in the works of the Poets. And it was doubtless in allusion to that custom, that a book was printed in France, towards the beginning of the XVIth century with this title, *A Dialogue of Arcin, wherein are related the lives, manners, and behaviours of Lais, and Lamia, courtezans of Rome*. Aristænetus calls his mistress Lais (79). By that word is meant not only a woman he loved (80), but also a woman by whom he was beloved and favoured, without any reserve; for he says, that her bones were almost flexible, and that the traits of his embraces remained imprinted on them, as much almost as on the flesh, which covered them.

(79) See his first Letter, wherein he gives a very particular description of the beauties of that mistress.

(80) Λαΐδα τὴν ἑμὴν ἐρωμένην, Ἀριστ. μὲν. Laidæ. Aristænet. Epist. i. lb. i. init.

(81) Id. ibid. pag. 6.

Οὕτω μὲν τοι σύμμετα καὶ τρυφερά τῆς Λαΐδης τὰ μέν, ὡς ὑπερβύς αὐτῆς λογίζεσθαι τὰ δὲ τῷ πεποιημένῳ δοκεῖν τοιγαρὶν ταῦτα μικρὰ γὰρ ὁμοίως δὲ ἀπαλότητα συναπομαλάνεται τῇ σαρκὶ, καὶ ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς ἀγκύλαις ὑπείκει. Ceterum tam concinna, tam delicata Laidæ membra, ut pressus adreñans dicas lenta & du-tilia ossa. Nam ea fere una cum carne impressos digito recipiunt tenerima, ceduntque amplexibus amatorum ulnis (81).

[P] We have an epigram of Ausonius upon the looking-glass of this leud woman. Ausonius does but translate an epigram of Plato, which is in the *Anthologia*. He has done it very well:

Lais anus Veneri speculum dico: dignum habeat se
Æterna æternum forma ministerium,
At mihi nullus in hoc usus, quia cernere talem
Qualis sum nolo; qualis eram nequeo (82).

(82) Ausonius, Epigram. lv.

Veneri, this glass I dedicate to thee;
Useless, alas! the utensil to me;
My former face I can't, my present will not see.

This is to suppose, that Lais survived her beauty, and that her looking-glass became to her an useless, and even unpleasant utensil. This agrees with the authors, I have mentioned in the remarks [H] and [I], but not with Plutarch. See the remark [K].

You will find, in the commentaries upon Alcianus's Emblems, some Latin verses, in which Lais's complaints are prettily represented. They were grounded upon two reasons: the first was, that she found, herself impaired, when she consulted her glass; the second was, that she still felt the flames of lust; she complained, that she had all the lascivious desires of youth in a body almost decrepit. It was a sad thing.

Et tamen idem animus stimulos sub pectore eisdem
Et noto sensit fervida corda Deo;
Sic secum: Facie nimium vivacior, o mens,
Cur dudum hæc anus est, tuque puella manes (83).

(83) Emblem. Alcian. pag. 330. Edit. Patav. 1661, in 4to.

Still the same pow'ful deity she confess'd,
And the same passions warm'd her aged breast.
Then sighing, thus she said: how ill we see
A youthful mind, and an old face, agree!

The truth is, that an old courtesan of Venice was represented under her name. 'Accepi pridem à viris Italici soli, id scriptum fuisse in quandam meretricem Venetam, quæ ætatis lapso, seu decusso flore, quoties se in speculo conspiceret, fronte jam rugis obstita, misere contabescebat, & nihilo segnius ardore tentiginis premebatur (84).' Horace has afforded this thought:

(84) Ibid.

Dices, heu (quoties te speculo videris alterum)

Quæ mens est hodie cur eadem non puero fuit?

Aut cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ (85)?

(85) Horat. Ode X, lib. iv, ver. 6.

Ofst as in the too faithful glass you spie

That alter'd form, you with a sigh will cry:

O! that I thus had thought, e'er youth was o'er,

Or that these thoughts cou'd fleeting youth restore!

[Q] She was so much in love with Eubates, that she obliged him to promise her marriage. Her passion must needs have been very violent, since she was willing to submit to the laws of Hymen (86), which would not have permitted her to continue freely her prostitution. She discovered to Eubates the desire she had to marry him. He pretended to give his consent, fearing her ill offices; but he did not lie with her; he put off that affair till after the games, in which he was to dispute the prize. He obtained it, and thought no more of his promise of marriage. He returned to Cyrene his country, contenting himself to take along with him the picture of Lais. He thought, by that means, that he should be a man of his word. The wife he had at Cyrene thought herself obliged to recompense so noble a continence; for which reason she erected a statue to her husband. I am afraid, that Ælian (87), who relates this story, has lost all the wit of it. Clemens Alexandrinus relates it in fewer words; but he calls the man Aristotle, whom Ælian calls Eubates; and he quotes the book of Ister περί ιδρύσεως ἀδελφῶν, de proprietate certaminum. He does not agree with Ælian in all the circumstances. 'Ὅτε Κυρηναῖος Ἀριστοτέλης, Λαΐδα ἐρώσαν ὑπερέσχε μὲν, ὁμοιωθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἐταιρίᾳ, ἢ μὴν ἀπάγειν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, εἰ συμπράξειεν αὐτῇ τινα πρὸς τὰς ἀταγωνισίας, ἐπειδὴ διεπράξατο, χαλεπῶς ἐντελὴν τὸν ὅρκον, γράψαντος αὐτῆς ὡς ὅτι μάστιγα ὁμοιοτάτην εἰκόνα, ἀνέσχεον εἰς Κυρήνην. Et Cyrenæus Aristoteles amantem Laidem solus depexit. Cum meretrici itaque jurasset, se eam esse in patriam abducurum, si ei adversus decertantes adversarios in aliquibus opem tulisset, postquam id perfecit, lepide à se scriptum iurandum exequens, ejus quam simillimam Cyrenæ statuit imaginem (88).

(86) Ἡστίη αὐτὴν ἐγκατατάτα καὶ τοῦ γάμου λίγας προέσχετο. Ἀριστ. μὲν. a. m. v. de matrimonio in comen. in Ælian. P. u. lib. i. lb. 2, cap. ii.

(87) Ælian. lib.

(88) Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. iii. pag. 447.

[R] She could not conquer the continence of Xenocrates. Lais laid a wager, that she would oblige this Philosopher to divert himself with her at a game of love. She pretended to be frightened, and, under that pretence, took sanctuary in his house, and spent the night there; but he did not meddle with her. When she was required to pay her wager, she answered, that she had not laid it about a statue, but about a man. Thus an old interpreter of Horace (89) relates the story. Diogenes Laërtius ascribes this to the courtesan Phryne, and does not speak of the wager. He says (90), that she fled to Xenocrates's house, pretending, that some body pursued her; and as he had but one bed in the house, she intreated the Philosopher to let her have part of it. He consented to it. After that, she made other demands, which came to nothing. Whence it was, that when she was asked, how things went, she answered, she had lain, not with a statue, and with a man. Some say, that Xenocrates's disciples one day put Lais into his bed, and that he was so fully resolved to preserve his continence, that he several times suffered incisions to be made in his privy-parts, and fire to be applied to them. 'Ἐνιοὶ δὲ Λαΐδα φασὶ παρὰ κατακλίνειν αὐτὴν τῆς μάστιγος, τὴν δὲ ἑτοὺς εἶναι ἐγχεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τομάς καὶ καύσεις πολλὰς αὐτῇ περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. The Latin translation runs thus, Quidam vero discipulos Laidem illi iniecisse in lectulum tradunt, illumque adeo fuisse continentem, ut cum se ad libidinem incitari præfensisset, & scire & urere verenda sæpe pateretur (91). We ought not to be satisfied either with the Greek author or his translator. The latter adds of his own head, that Xenocrates found in him the rebellion

(89) In Horat. Sat. III, lib. i.

(90) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, c. 2.

(91) Id. lib.

was a famous master in that art; and yet neither Pliny, nor Pausanias, nor any other writer, make mention of him. I will make but one remark for the faults of Moreri, and those of some other Dictionaries [T]. There never was a more extravagant boldness, than that of Antony de Guevara. He has vented a thousand ridiculous falsities about Lais [U], as if he had found them in ancient authors. I had almost passed over in silence the adventure of the Sculptor Myron [X].

(92) Cum se ad libidinem incitari p[er]fessisset.

(93) Τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰσχρῶς ποιεῖ. Quam postea cogitasti cum scriberes in tragedia, Abi in malam rem αἰσχρῶς ποιεῖ. Mazon apud Athen lib. xiii, pag. 552.

(94) In the Medes, where this verse is to be found. Ἐπὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσχρίας.

(95) Ἐν γὰρ αἰσχροῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσχρίας. Ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰσχρῶς ποιεῖ. Et tu porro, inquit, videris aere turpia. Apud Athen. lib. xiii.

(96) It is the fifth verse of Euripides' Alceus, in Barnes's edition.

(97) Machon. ubi supra.

(98) See Brodard, Miscellane. lib. vi, cap. xix.

(99) See Leppard, Emendat. lib. i, cap. vi.

(100) Plutarch. de Audiend. Poet. pag. 33.

(101) See the remark [EE], of his article.

(102) Doct. & acute dubium movet, siquid Aristophanem dicere ea quae rationi temporum nequeunt convenire, quippe cum eo tempore, quo Plutarchum fabulum dedit, non potuerit Lais esse valde celebris, quippe quae a Nicias imperatore capta sit in Sicilia septennis. Valisias, Not. in Notis, Musaei ad Harpocration. pag. 124.

(103) Athenaeus, lib. xiii, pag. 502. See also Harpocration, voce Nais.

(104) Amiot, in his translation of the Life of Alcibiades, at the end.

(105) Ταύτης ἄνευ αἰσχροῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσχρίας.

rebellion of lust (92); and as to Diogenes Laërtius, he does not tell us what became of Lais: he puts her in the Philosopher's bed, without saying what she did there, or how she came out again, and, instead of finishing the narration of this particular adventure, he falls upon a general thing; that is, upon the remedies, which Xenocrates had several times made use of, to be proof against love.

[S] She defended herself one day very artfully against Euripides, who censured her with reason. Euripides, with pen in hand, was going to compose something in a garden. Lais, seeing him in that posture, accosted him, and asked him (93) what he meant by some words, which he had used in one of his tragedies (94), to denote, in general, a man, who does filthy actions. He was surprized at the impudence of this question, and answered her, *You your self are one of those I mean* (95). She fell a laughing, and quoted a verse (96) in which he said, that an action was not filthy, unless he who did it thought it so. Τὴν αἰσχρὴν εἰ καὶ τοῖσι χρομένοις δοκῇ, *Equid vero turpe est nisi qui utantur sic putent* (97)? We are not informed, whether Euripides was confounded by this argument *ad hominem*, or whether he made any reply; but it is certain, Lais could not have more handsomely brought her self off, nor have more subtly perplexed her censor. This maxim would carry the Philosophical sin to the utmost point, and would be of dangerous consequence; for which reason the Philosopher Antisthenes (98) corrected it in this manner, *Αἰσχρὸν τὸ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν καὶ δοκῇ καὶ μὴ δοκῇ*. What is filthy is filthy, whether it appears so, or not, to those who do it. Stobæus ascribes this correction to Diogenes the Cynic (99), and not to Antisthenes, as Plutarch does (100).

There is reason to doubt of this conversation; for since Euripides died in the XCIII Olympiad (101), when Lais could not be above fifteen or sixteen years old, it is not likely, that he had any discourse with her upon this point, or any other. We shall be the more easily convinced of it, if we consider, that he spent his last years at the court of Archelaus, where no author says that Lais had ever been. Suppose, as much as you please, two courtizans of this name, you will never clear the matter; for the first must be she, who was sold, when Hecceara was plundered by Nicias. But, according to Aristophanes's scholiast, she was then but seven years old. By this Chronology that scholiast raises a very considerable difficulty on the mention that is made of Lais in Aristophanes's *Plutus*, a comedy, that was acted at a time, when Lais could not as yet be famous (102). The difficulty will vanish, if it be supposed, that it ought to be read *Nais*, and not *Lais* in that play. You will find this correction in Athenæus (103). It is certain, there was a courtizan named *Nais*, and probably many authors have confounded her with *Lais*. Perhaps it was with *Nais*, that Euripides entered into discourse.

[T] I will make but one remark for the faults of Moreri, and . . . some other Dictionaries. Moreri's first fault consists in saying that Lais lived in the 420th year of Rome. She must then have lived about the end of the CXIth Olympiad: judge whether this can be said of a person, who was removed from Sicily to Corinth, in the second year of the CXIst Olympiad. There is no recurring to the hypothesis of two Lais's, since, besides that Moreri speaks only of one, he expressly says, that he speaks of that Lais, who was a native of a little town of Sicily called Hecceara. This Lais is manifestly she, who was seven years old, when Hecceara, her native town, was taken in the second year of the CXIst Olympiad. II. It is not true, that Plutarch says, that it was believed, she was daughter to Alcibiades. Moreri cannot father this falsity upon Amiot; for it is plain, that in this phrase *l'on dit que Lais . . . étoit sa fille* (104), the word *sa* ought to be referred to Timandra, Alcibiades's concubine, and not to Alcibiades. There is no ambiguity in the Greek (105). How could Alcibiades be Lais's

father, who went not into Sicily, but with Nicias? Was not Lais then six or seven years old? III. It is not true, that Lais went to Alexander's camp; she had been dead a long time before Alexander was born. Amiot has occasioned this fault: for, not understanding a passage of Plutarch (106), wherein some words are wanting, he translates it, that Lais, falling in love with Hippolochus . . . left mount Aircorinthus . . . and went to the great camp of Alexander.

Charles Stephens is mistaken, in saying, that Lais removed from Sicily to Corinth, that her prostitution might be more profitable to her. She was but seven years old, when she went to Corinth, and she went thither against her will, having been bought in Hecceara by a man, who carried her with him into Greece as a slave. This fault has not been corrected by Lloyd or Hofman. I can scarce believe, that Charles Stephens found in any good author what he says: I. That Lais, going into Thessaly, so gained the love of the young men of the country, that they poured out wine before her door. II. That the Thessalian women, out of envy, stabbed her, whilst they were performing their devotions in the temple of Venus, at which the men could not be present. III. That this action drew upon Thessaly a plague, which ceased not, till they had built the temple of Venus [ἀλλοστία] (107). Lloyd and Hofman have both of them these three particulars.

[U] Antony de Guevara . . . has vented a thousand ridiculous falsities about Lais. I will not stay to refute them, and shall only mention a small part of them. He says (108) that she was born in the Ille Bithrite in the confines of Greece; 'and, as the chroniclers have written of her, she was the daughter of a great priest of Apollo's temple, who lived at Delphos, a man greatly experienced in the art of Magic, by which science he foretold the ruin of his daughter. Now this amorous Lais, was at the height of her glory in the time of the renowned king Pyrrhus. . . . who, being a youth of sixteen or seventeen years of age, came into Italy to make war with the Romans. . . . This amorous Lais remained a long time in king Pyrrhus's camp, and with him she came into Italy, and returned with him from the war. . . . and retired to the city of Corinth, to make her abode there, in which place she was followed, and courted by many kings, Lords, and princes.' He afterwards relates the adventure of Demosthenes, and concludes with saying, that Lais died at Corinth at seventy two years of age. How can a man have the confidence to publish such gross falsities? There are above 130 years between the birth of Lais, and Pyrrhus's expedition against the Romans, and above forty betwixt the death of Demosthenes and that expedition. And yet this impostor has imposed upon men of sense, for it was after him that Brantome vented many fables concerning Flora (109). I say nothing of Du Verdier Vau-Privas, who tells us, that Lais was a long time in king Pyrrhus's camp in Italy (110). He had read this in Guevara, and took it to be true.

[X] The adventure of the Sculptor Myron. It is one of the ridiculous adventures of a grey-headed lover. Myron, venerable for his hoary head, went to Lais, to ask a night of her, but was sent back without so much as being heard. He thought he had found the reason of her slight, and hoped, that if he should offer himself with a brown head of hair, he should be admitted. He thereof changed the colour of his hair, and returned to Lais: *What a fool you are said she, to come to ask a thing of me, which I have refused your father*. Aufonius tells the story very prettily (111).

Canus rogabat Laidis noctem Myron:

Tulit repulsam protinus.

Causamque sensit: & caput fuligine

Fucavit atra candidum.

8 Q

Idemque

(106) In the Treatise of Love, pag. m. 706. Edit. in 8vo. 1621.

(107) The right word ἀλλοστία, is in the Paris edition, 1620.

(108) Ant. de Guevara, Epitres Dorées, livr. 12, pag. m. 262. of the French translation by Guleroy.

(109) See the article FLORA (the second) remark [F].

(110) Du Verdier, Diverses Leçons, livr. III, cap. vi, pag. 185.

(111) Aufonius, Epigram. xvii, pag. m. 17.

Idemque vultu, crine non idem Myron,
Orabat oratum prius.
Sed illa formam cum capillo comparans,
Similemque non ipsum rata,
Fortasse & ipsum, sed volens ludo frui,
Sic est adorta callidum:
Inapte, quid me, quod recusavi, rogas?
Patri negavi jam tuo.

Old, hoary, Myron, setting age aside,
One night of Lais ask'd, and was deny'd.
The cause he found, and black'd his silver hair,
And once more waited on the cruel fair.
By the chang'd colour of his locks deceiv'd,
The nymph address'd him, not the same believ'd:
Fool that thou art, fondly to hope to gain
A favour, which your father ask'd in vain!

Costar has given a list of some witty sayings, ascribed to different persons; amongst which he has this answer of Lais: 'Spartian, says he (112), relates, that an old man, who was very grey-headed, having been denied some favour by the emperor Adrian, came to ask it again a few days after, having painted his hair of the finest black he could meet with. This prince, discovering the trick, wittily answered him, *What you ask of me, I have already denied your father.* Nevertheless, in Aufonius, it is the courtizan Lais, who makes this ingenious answer; and yet Athe-næus does not speak of it, though he has so carefully preserved to us all the notable sayings of that handsome lady.' If the conjecture of some moderns was right, we need not wonder that Athæneus says nothing of this witty repartee of Lais; for they pretend, that Aufonius invented it (113). I mean, that,

L AMBECIUS (PETER), one of the most learned men of his age, was born at Hamburg in the year 1628. He went early to study in foreign countries, at the expence of the learned Luke Holstenius, his uncle; and he made so great progress, that, at nineteen years of age, he published a book (a), which was extremely applauded. He staid eight months at Toulouse with the archbishop Charles de Montchal, and two years at Rome with Cardinal Barberini. He was made professor of History at Hamburg, the thirteenth of January, 1652, and rector of the college of that town, the twelfth of January 1660. He had taken his doctor of Laws degree some years before in France. He had a thousand vexations in his own country, as well because his scholars would not obey him, as because his enemies accused him of Heterodoxy, and even of Atheism, and sharply censured his studies and his works. The unfortunate marriage, which he contracted [A] in 1662, having compleated his misfortunes, he gladly listened to the proposals of the queen of Sweden, who advised him to retire elsewhere. He therefore left his wife and country, and took a journey to Vienna, from whence, having had the honour to wait on his Imperial majesty, he went to Rome, and there made public profession of the Romish religion. He had abjured the Lutheran long before [B]; tho' he made still profession of it. He returned to Vienna towards the end of the year 1662, and was very well received by the emperor, who made him first his sub-librarian, and afterwards his first librarian, with the title of his Counsellor and Historiographer (b). He continued in that employment to his death, and acquired

[A] The unfortunate marriage, which he contracted.] It may be said of many learned men, that they behave themselves with respect to marriage, as Pomponius Atticus did with respect to Poetry. 'Attigit quoque poeticon: credimus ne ejus expert esset suavitatis (1). — He touched upon Poetry: that he might, I suppose, have a relish of it's sweetness.' They have a mind to try it, that they may know what pleasure there is in it. But I do not think, that Lambecius had such thoughts; for he married an old woman; and, as she was very rich, it is probable he hoped only for the pleasure of having a good estate. His hopes were greatly frustrated; the lady was so covetous, as not to suffer her husband to make use of her estate. She declared her mind so soon upon that point, that Lambecius had not been married above a fortnight, when discontented and weary of his condition, he left his house and his country, never to return again. Here follows my voucher. *Ad hæc adversa postquam tædium Conjugii, inauspicato A. 1662. cum Vetula Divite, sed parca, atque avara (A. 1690. Hamburgi defuncta,) contraxi, accessi, baud difficulter à Cbrisina,*

knowing the emperor Hadrian's answer, he feigned that Lais made use of it, and made an epigram upon it. I believe this answer came rather from a woman, than from the emperor Hadrian; for one can hardly imagine any good reason, why an old man, after a refusal, should fancy, that, appearing as a man without grey hair, he should obtain from this prince what he designed to ask of him. It is easy to conceive why he might hope for such a thing, if he desired a love-favour from a lady. We may say then, that the writers of Hadrian's history, men of little judgment and exactness, have confounded with his witty sayings, those which he only recited. He had read somewhere, what Lais is said to have answered Myron: perhaps he had read, that this answer was made to some other old galant, by some other courtizan: he told the story before his friends; the thing going from one hand to another lost it's principal circumstances, so that at last Hadrian was looked upon as the inventor of it (114).

I will not end this remark without saying, that Mr Costar praises this witty sentence of Lais too much. I confess, the answer was smart, and fit to mortify the galant, and to give the courtizan the pleasure of laughing at the old man; but, in short, she reasoned very ill, and against the rules of her art. *I have refused the son, much more should I refuse the father,* is the principle of a woman of pleasure; her argument turns upon this hinge: but here, on the contrary, Lais supposes, that, since she has denied a decrepit old father, she ought to deny his son, a young man, full of vigour. This is forsaking one's principle and fundamental rules.

To conclude, Myron could not be young, when Lais was in her glory: he flourished in the LXXXVth Olympiad (115), seven or eight years before he was born.

(112) Costar, Suite de la Defense de Voiture, pag. 55.

(113) Scaliger, in hunc locum Aufonius. Baptista Pius in Annotationibus posterioribus, apud Vindobonam, Epigram. xviii.

(a) Intituled, Lucubrationum Gellianarum prodromus.

(b) D. 27. Novemb. 1662. Præfatura Biblioth. August. vicaria, A. autem sequenti, 1663, d. 26. Mæli, suprema ejusdem qua Mat. Mauchterus Th. D. se abdicaverat, Ephoria, cum Consiliarii atque Historiographi Cæsarei titulo, est collata. Mollerus, ubi infra, citat (3), pag. 139, quoting a letter of Lambecius, which I shall cite in the remark [B].

(1) Corn. Nepos, in Vita Attici, cap. xviii.

Suecorum Regina, Hamburgum delata, persuaderi sibi est passus, ut, duabus post nuptias Hebdomadibus vice elapsis, patriam & uxorem, d. 14. Apr. A. 1662. dederet, ac Vindobonam commigraret (2).

[B] He had abjured the Lutheran religion long before.] Nihufius, a famous convert, was, in Holland, the director of Lambecius's studies: he began his conversion; after which, the Jesuit James Sirmond compleated it, at Paris. He would have engaged his proselyte to take the habit of St Ignatius; but he could not persuade him to it. Let us see the proofs that are given of these facts. 'Cœtui Ecclesiæ Romanæ publice se aggregavit'. Sacris enim ejus diu ante jam erat initiatus, cum in Batavia à Barth. Nihufio, Apollata celebri, ac Studiorum ipsius Academicorum Ephoro, tum in Gallia à Jac. Sirmondo, Jesuitarum doctissimo; sed externa Lutheranismi Professione Cives incautos hæcenus fefellerat. Constat id mihi ex Illustris Guidii, quo familiariter ille apud Exteros est usus, Narratione, & Gallica, quam Idem asserabat. Claud. Sarrauii, Senatoris Parisiensis, ad Salmasium Epistola. Huic enim ille jam, A. 1647. significat, Lambecium, Holstenii

(114) fœca ejus plurima exant. Nam fœcæ ejus dispach. Unde illud quoque innotuit, quod cum eisdem ex-nescienti quiddam negasset, eidem iterum potenti, sed infecto capite, respondit, Jam hoc part tuo negavi. Spartian, in Hadrian, cap. xx.

(115) Plin. lib. xxvii, cap. vii, pag. m. 108.

(a) Moller Historie ad Historiæ Cheroneis, Combricæ, Part. III, pag. 536.

(v) Epist. ad Ren. Franc. Sufium, libro I, Operis, de Bibl. Vindob. inter-tam.

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acquired a great reputation in it, by the books he published [C]. He was about many others, but had not time to finish them, dying in April 1680 (c) [D].

(c) Taken from Mollerus Sagoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Climacice, Part. III, pag. 537, & seq.

(3) Moller ubi supra.

Hollstenii ex Sorore Nepotem, à Sirmondo, in Jesuitarum cum Societatem pertrahere conato, & Milite-rio persuasum, ad Pontificis desecisse (3).

[C] He acquired a great reputation by the books he published. I shall say something of those he published before he was the emperor's librarian. The first was his *Prodromus Lucubrationum Gellianarum*, printed at Paris in the year 1647. The second was, if I mistake not, *Origines Hamburgenses, sive liber rerum Hamburgensium primus ab V. C. & A. C. 808. ad A. 1225. Adjecta est tum duplex vita Augusti à Remberto & Gualdone scripta, ac notis Lambecii illustrata, tum diplomatum libri hujus historiam illustrantium Enneas* (4). He designed to continue this history to his own time; but he only published the second book. *Liber secundus rerum Hamburgensium ab A. C. 1225. ad A. 1292. una cum diplomatum veterum, lucem ei offerentium, Mantissa Chronologica & Aulario Lib. I. ab A. 808. ad A. 1072. Dissertatione de Amino ad Lyram, Monumento Edis Cathedralis Sepulchrali insculpto, Scriptorum Autoris Catalogo, & Epistolis tandem Job. Christiani, L. Baronis à Boineburg, & H. Conringii ad eundem encomiasticis* (5). Here follows the judgment, that was made of those two works by the author, whom I cite so often in this article.

(4) Printed at Hamburg, in the year 1652, in 4to.

(5) Printed at Hamburg, in the year 1661, in 4to.

Ambo libri (in quibus, præter nimiam patriam affectus vestigia, passim obvia, & ab eodem subinde proflexerunt, æquequæta nihil facile reprehendas) summa diligentia & fide sunt congesti, & Narrationum singularum Veritas Locis Scriptorum ac Diplomatum Antiquissimorum, cum judicio selectis, confirmata (6). — Both books, (in which, except a too frequent partiality for his country, there is nothing to be found fault with) are compiled with the greatest diligence and fidelity, and the truth of every narrative confirmed by passages selected with judgment out of writers, and ancient Diplomas. Lambertus printed a book at Paris, in folio, in the year 1655, in which he displayed a great deal of learning. I mean

(6) Moller, ubi supra, pag. 541.

his *Animadversiones ad Codicem Originis Constantinopolitanæ, & ad Anonymi excerpta & ad Leonis Imp. Oracula*. I say nothing of his orations, which he published in the year 1660, nor of some other books of his: I proceed to that vast work he compiled at Vienna, which the reader may form a just idea of by these words of Mr Baillet. 'Though the catalogue of the manuscripts of the emperor's library at Vienna be divided into eight volumes in Folio, it is not yet finished, the death of the author having deprived us of so curious and important a work. Lambertus had undertaken, in that great work, the explication of the manuscripts of that library, which he has done in a critical and historical manner; resolving to lay out upon it all his learning and industry; in which he has very much distinguished himself from all the catalogue-makers I have spoken of. It must be confessed, that there are abundance of very particular and curious things in this copious and splendid commentary: but the author might have included the substance of so many volumes in a narrower compass, if he had consulted rather the income and leisure of private persons, than the magnificence and majesty of his prince (7).'

(7) Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, Tom. II, pag. 230.

(8) He succeeded Lambertus in his place of library-keeper.

(9) Henningus Witte does so, in Diario Biograph.

[D] He died in April, 1680. I keep to this date, because herein I find Nesselius (8) more to be credited, than those who place Lambertus's death in September, 1679 (9). Perhaps we might easily reconcile Meibomius and Nesselius, as to the day; for the twenty fourth of March, according to the old stile, belongs to the month of April, according to the new. But these two authors differ very much as to the cause of the plague, the other that it was the dropy. *Henr. Meibomius Jun. Peste illum Viennensi Epidemia obisse perhibens, ad d. 24 Mart. A. 1680. Successor autem ipsius, Dan. Nesselius, qui Hydropem mortem ejus accelerasse testatur, ad M. Aprilis ejusdem A. 1680* (10).

(10) In Introduct. ad Hist. Sax. inf. pag. 62.

(11) In Supplemento Operis de Biblioth. Cæsar. ann. 1690, editio. V. Tenzelli, Catalog. Menstr. M. Oct. ann. 1690, pag. 946.

(12) Moller, ubi supra, pag. 546.

LAMBERT, bishop of Liege, or rather of Maestricht. It is a common opinion, as I have shewn in another place (a), that he was killed by Pepin's order, at the suggestion of Alpaide; but the thing is not certain. This is what I shall discuss [A].

(a) In the article ALPAIDE.

So

[A] This is what I shall discuss. I shall make use of the proofs alleged by the baron le Roi in one of his books. He is of opinion, that neither Pepin, nor Alpaide, had any hand in St Lambert's murder, and he builds (1), I. Upon the silence of Godescalcus, a contemporary writer. Here then is a negative argument, on which Dr John de Launoi lays so much stress. Godescalcus assigns no other reason for the murder of St Lambert, than the murder of two brothers related to Dodon. These two brothers had used Lambert very ill; for which reason they were killed by two of his relations. Dodon, a potent lord, and of great interest with Pepin, would neither suffer this murder to go unpunished, nor revenge himself upon inconsiderable persons; he resolved therefore to make away with St Lambert, for whose sake his two cousins had been murdered. This was the only reason, according to Godescalcus, of this bishop's death. He says nothing of Pepin or Alpaide. II. Mr le Roi (2) observes, that the first, who imputed St Lambert's murder to Pepin, was a canon of Liege, called Anselme, who lived in the XIth century. This canon failed not to say, as well as those that lived before him, that Dodon caused St Lambert to be murdered, to revenge the death of his two relations; but he related also, as another tradition, what concerns Alpaide's resentment against this prelate. III. It is observed (3), that Siegbert (4) suppressed the ancient cause, mentioned by all authors, and spoke only of the new one, which Anselme began to publish. Thus you see how errors successively and gradually increase. The authors, who succeeded Siegbert, have said nothing of the ancient cause, or else they have confounded it with the new, and added a hundred circumstances to it, unknown to the first Historians (5). Baron le Roi cites very grave authors, who reject the new tradition, and answer the influence brought against Godescalcus's silence. They will have it, that the true cause of St Lambert's martyrdom was

(1) Jacobus le Roi, in Topogr. Hist. Gallorum. Erabant. lib. vii, cap. ii, pag. 250.

(2) Ibid. pag. 251, ex Carolo le Coigne Annal. Ecclesiast. Francorum, Tom. IV, pag. 476.

(3) Idem, le Roi, ibid.

(4) Sanctus Lambertus Pipinum Principem increpare ausus, quod pellicem Alpaidem Plebani legitime uxori sue superdiderit, à Dodone fratre ipsius Alpaidis Leodii martyrizatur. Siegbertus, ad ann. Christi 698. Quo mortem Sancti Lamberti male consignat. Jacobus le Roi, ubi supra, pag. 251.

(5) Id. le Roi, ibid. pag. 252.

suppressed by him, to avoid provoking Pepin's successors. Father Mabillon answers, that, since they durst publish, that Charles Martel was damned, it might with the same boldness have been said, that his father had caused a bishop's death? 'Ut hæc ratio valuerit in Godescalco, inquit Mabillon, cur eam causam dissimulavit Stephanus, qui sub extremis Carolinæ stirpis regibus vivebat? Sane longe atrocior erat fabula de Caroli Martelli damnatione, quam tamen Hincmarus Remorum Archiepiscopus, Adrevaldus, alique Auctores, imperante Carolo Calvo Martelli abnepote, in vulgus jaculare non dubitarunt. Unde omnino incertum videtur an Landebertus ob increpuitum de pellicatu Pipinum cæsus sit, at vero alienum omnino videtur à tanti principis bonitate & clementia ut cædis illius fuerit auctor (6). — If this reason is of any weight in respect to Godescalcus, says Mabillon, why did Stephanus suppress that cause, who lived under the last kings of Charles's race? certainly, the fiction of Charles Martel's damnation was more odious, which nevertheless Hincmarus, archbishop of Rheims, Adrevaldus, and other authors, in the reign of Charles the Bald, great-grandson of Martel, made no scruple to spread among the vulgar. Whence it seems altogether uncertain, whether Lambert was murdered for reproving Pepin on the account of whoredom; and it even seems quite inconsistent with the goodness and clemency of that prince, to have been the author of that murder.' Father Jourdan, cited by Mr le Roi, makes no question, but that Pepin married Alpaide with all the usual ceremonies, after he had divorced Plestrude. It is true, that the Christian law forbade such divorces and marriages; nevertheless, human laws permitted them at that time even among Christians. These second marriages had nothing of shame or infamy in them (7). This Historian observes (8), 'That Pepin and Alpaide had been a long time parted, when Lambert was assassinated in the year 708. Alpaide, adds he, had no hand

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Jourdan, Hist. de France, & de la Maison Royale, Tom. II, pag. 460, & seq. apud le Roi, ibid.

(8) Apud le Roi, ibid. pag. 253.

So many authors have written his Life, that it is disfigured thereby [B]. I have only read that, which was printed at Liege in 1657, composed by the Sieur du Bosc de Montandr . The title of it is, *Le Courtisan Chr tien, &c. The Christian Courtier sacrificed as a State Victim to the Passion of the Court: or St Lambert, bishop of Tongres and Martyr, sacrificed for the interests of Conjugal Honour.*

in it, since she was parted from Pepin at the beginning of the century, and retired into a monastery. Ado was the first, who, 180 years after, imputed the death of that saint to Pepin and Alpaide. Hadrian Valefius, cited by the same Mr le Roi, observes, that, notwithstanding the canons, people married in those days a second wife, in the life-time of her that was divorced, and that Pepin made use of that custom. He says however, that others maintain, that Pepin never divorced Plectrude, nor married Alpaide, and that Beda favours this opinion. He is in the right to add, that it is probable, that out of flattery to Pepin's descendants, who reigned in France, Historians supposed, that Alpaide was married (9).

(9) Certe hand parum simile veri est finxist hoc in Principum suorum gratiam auctores, qui dominantibus Pipini posteris scripserunt, & Alpaide quae viva Plectrude iusta & legitima Pipini coniux esse non poterat, uxorem Pipini posterorem vocavisse, ne Carolus ex pellice susceptus crederetur, cui regio generi aliqua inde nota inureretur. *Hadrianus, Rerum Francicarum, Tom. III, lib. xxviii, pag. 379, apud le Roi, ibid.*

We find, in the supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, Mr Godesu's arguments against those, who on this subject follow Siebert's chronicle; but those arguments do but create confusion. One thing seems to me to be certain, that it is of no use as to the true cause of St Lambert's murder, to know whether Alpaide was married in form, or whether she remained a concubine; for since the church severely condemned marriages contracted after a divorce, bishop Lambert would not have failed to call Pepin's commerce with Alpaide, a concubinage, though Pepin had married her. Thus, by supposing the marriage, their opinion, who say, that Pepin was censured, remains still probable. And because a prince's mistress has generally more interest than a lawful wife, it is no ways necessary, that Alpaide should be married to Pepin, to apprehend, how she could prevail with him to put the bishop to death, who censured them. Father Jourdan's chronological reason is, in my opinion, the best that can be urged against Siebert.

[B] So many persons have written his life, that it is disfigured thereby. This is Father Mabillon's observation, which baron le Roi furnishes me with. 'Sanctus Landebertus plures habuit vitae suae scriptores, Godescalcum Diaconum Leodiensem supparem. Stephanum Episcopum Leodiensem ineunte saeculo X. Anselmum ejusdem Ecclesiae Canonicum, & Reinemum Monachum saeculo XII. Denique Egidium Aureae Vallis Caenobitam medio saeculo XIII. Felicius certe futurus si vel unicum eumque diligenter habuisset. At S. Landeberto, id quod pluribus sanctis, accidit, ut dum auctores alius post alium ipsius res gestas illustrare exornando amplificandum moliti sunt; eas de contrario incertis ac fabulosis narrationibus inepte obscurarint atrocibusque mendis foedarint (10). — The life of St Lambert has been

(10) Mabillonius, in Commentario ad Vitam S. Lamberti, apud Baronem le Roi, ubi supra, pag. 251.

(a) See Seckendorf, Mist. Lutheran. lib. ii, pag. 40.

(b) Ex Gesnero, Biblioth. fol. 249 verso, & 250.

LAMBERT (FRANCIS) a Franciscan Monk, born at Avignon, was one of the first Monks in France, who renounced his order, to embrace Lutheranism. He arrived at Wittemberg in the month of January 1523 (a). He taught Divinity, and began by explaining there the prophet Hosea. The Commentary he made on that prophet was printed at Strasburg in the year 1525, in 8vo. He dedicated it to Frederick duke of Saxony, and inserted in his Epistle Dedicatory an account of the martyrdom of John Castellanus, who had been burnt at Metz for having followed the Reformation. He added to the commentary on the fourth chapter of Hosea a treatise *De arbitrio hominis vere captivo contra impios liberi arbitrii adsertores*. He had published in 1524 his commentary on the Song of Songs; and in dedicating it to Francis I, he observes that he had already sent to that prince his treatise on marriage, *de sacro & fidelis Conjugio*, and that he had inserted therein a letter, in which he acquaints him with his reasons of abjuring Popery, and marrying (b): he published several other commentaries on the Scripture, and divers controversial writings [A], which have been a long

[A] He published several other books. The Oxford catalogue contains the following: *Commentarii Evangelistici in regulam Minoritarum, unde palam fit quid de Monachorum Regulis sentiendum sit in 8vo. Commentarii in Amos, Abiam, Jonam, Micheam, Nabum, & Habacuc, at Strasburg, 1525, in 8vo. Farrago omnium fere rerum Theologicarum sc. Paradoxa, in 8vo.*

De Fidelium vocatione in Ecclesiam & ad Ministeria ejus, deque vocatione Matricae per sortem, in 8vo. Exegesis in Apocalypsin, at Basil, 1539, in 8vo. This edition of his Commentary on the Revelations, is not the first; for this is what Bullinger says: *Mr Francis Lambert, a man of learning and great piety, has taken great pains on the Apocalypse, having publicly read that*

written by several authors; Godescalcus, deacon of Liege; Stephanus, bishop of Liege, in the beginning of the XIIth Century; Anselm, canon of the same church, in the middle of the XIIth Century; Nicolaus likewise, a canon, and Renierus, a Monk, in the XIIth Century; lastly, Egidius, a Monk of the Golden Vale, in the middle of the XIIIth Century. It would have been certainly much better for St Lambert, had but one author, and be a careful one, written his life: but it has happened to him, as to many saints, that whilst authors have successively endeavoured to illustrate and set off their actions, they have unskillfully obscured them with uncertain and fabulous accounts, and spoiled them by notorious mistakes. This is the origin of so many impertinent falsehoods. The multitude of panegyrics and lives will always produce this effect: no body is contented with the wonders published by foregoing authors; they therefore invent new ones, much more in favour of the book, and it's author, than in favour of the hero, who makes the subject of the book.

I must except the legends; for they have commonly more at heart the reputation of the saint, than any thing else; but the reason is, because the greater it is, the more it will encrease the number of devotees, and pious charities. Here follows a fine passage of Ludovicus Vives, wherein he condemns the false zeal, which has stuffed the history of saints with so many fabulous stories. 'Quae de iis sunt scripta, praeter pauca quaedam, multis sunt commentis foedata, dum qui scribit affectui suo indulget, & non quae egit divus, sed quae ille egisse eum vellet, exponit: ut vitam dicter animus scribens non veritas. Fuere qui magnae pietatis loco darent mendaciola pro religione confingere: quod & periculosum est, ne veris adimatur fides propter falsa, & minim  necessarium: quoniam pro pietate nostra tam multa sunt vera, ut falsa tanquam ignavi militum inutiles oneri sint magis, quam auxilio (11). (11) Ludov. Vives, de Tradenda Disciplina, lib. v, pag. m.  go Vice aliam, lib. ii, pag. 90.

— The accounts of them, some few excepted, are full of fictions, whilst the writer gives himself a scope, and sets forth, not what the saint did, but what he would have had him done: inasmuch that the author's fancy, not truth, dictates the life. Some have thought it great piety to lie a little for the sake of religion: which is a dangerous thing (since what is false may destroy the credit of what is true,) and by no means necessary: since there are so many things true, that false accounts, like idle or useless soldiers, are rather a burthen than a help.

a long time very little known. He was very much esteemed by Luther [B]. I do not very well know when he left Wittenberg; but I believe it was in 1526, and I know that he settled at Marburg, and that he was there professor of Divinity, and that he died there the eighteenth of April, 1530 (c). He was one of the principal instruments employed by the Landgrave of Hesse to introduce the Reformation in his dominions [C].

that book in the famous university of Marburg, and afterwards composed and published seven books of exposition, in the said town, in the year 1528 (1). Gessner mentions a commentary of our Lambert on Joel, and on St Luke's Gospel (2). The abridgment of Gessner specifies, *Antithesis verbi Dei & inventorum Hominum. Confessio de Symbolo fœderis nunquam rumpendi quam communionem vocant, in qua spectari potest quid Marpurgensi colloquio effectum sit* (3). *De Prophetia, eruditione, lingua, deque litera, & spiritu. Commentarius de Causis excitationis multorum seculorum. In Acta Apostolorum, & libros Regum. De cœlibatu regni filii perditionis. De differentia stimuli carnis & Satanae nunciis.*

[B] He was greatly esteemed by Luther.] That reformer speaks of him in these terms, in a letter which he wrote to Spalatin: 'Adest Joannes ille Serranus, vero nomine Franciscus Lampertus, imaginibus quoque nobilibus, inter Minoritas viginti annos versatus, & generali verbi (forte legendum est: Generalis) officio functus, ob perfectionem exul, & pauper factus. De integritate viri nulla est dubitatio: testes sunt apud nos, qui illum & in Francia & in Babilœa audierunt; tum Babilœensis suffraganeus ille Tripolitanus, cum pellicanus, dant illi pulchrum testimonium. Et quamquam nos abundemus Lectoribus optimis, tamen, si quid poterit, non abjiciemus: mihi per omnia placet vir, & satis spectatus mihi est, quantum homo spectari potest, ut dignus sit quem in exilio paupulum feramus & juvemus. Sed tu meam nosse facultatem, ut non sit opis meæ illum alere, qui ipse alienis vivo: videretur mihi Principi persuadendum, ut jam non perdat, sed in charitate Christo sceneret viginti aut triginta florenos, in eum collocandos, donec vel à suis tribulibus, vel proprio stipendio sese sustentet de labore suo (5). — Here is that Johannes Serranus, whose true name is Francis Lambert, of a noble family, who was twenty years a Franciscan, and guardian of his orders, but banished by persecution, and stripped of every thing. The bonesty of the man is unquestionable: we have here witnesses of it, who heard him both in France and at Basil; which testimony of his good character is confirmed by Tripolitanus, suffragan of Basil, and Pellicanus. And though we abound in excellent lecturers, yet, if possible, we will not lose him: I am thoroughly satisfied with the man, and think he deserves to be assisted. But you know my abilities, that it is not in my power to maintain him, who myself live upon alms. I think the prince should be persuaded to bestow twenty or thirty florins on him (which would not be money

thrown away, but lent to the Lord,) till he be supported by his relations, or maintain himself by his own industry.' We learn from this passage, that our Lambert took the false name of *Johannes Serranus*, that he was of a noble family, that he had been a Franciscan twenty years, that he had been in office in his order, that he had staid some time at Basil, and brought from thence a good testimonial of his probity. Luther (6) composed a preface to a book, which this Ex-Monk of Avignon published, *De Minoritarum Regula*. It appears by another letter of Luther, that this profelyte, preparing to go to Zurich, to be nearer France, an attempt was made to procure him from the elector, the expences of his journey (7). If this letter of Luther was written to Spalatin in the month of August (8), 1523, we must believe, that Lambert changed his design, because they gave him a post in the university, and thus what Mr de Seckendorf adds, that he had nevertheless composed at Wittenberg, and dedicated to the elector, the exposition of some of the prophets, and of the Song of Songs, and St Luke's Gospel (9), would not be referred to its true time, and there would be in it a *tamen* a little misplaced. But it is probable, Luther wrote this in the month of August, 1526, whence we must conclude, that the *tamen* is very right, and that the journey to Zurich was put a stop to, because Lambert was called into the country of Hesse, as I am going to say.

[C] He was one of the principal instruments employed by the landgrave to introduce the reformation in his dominions.] He had been recommended to this prince as a man remarkable for his piety, wit, and learning, and able to confound and silence the Popish doctors. For this reason he deputed him to the synodical assembly, held at Hamburg, the twenty first of October, 1526. There Lambert exposed to public disputation, an hundred and fifty Lutheran propositions, and maintained them vigorously against the attacks of the guardian of the Franciscans of Marburg. The landgrave suffered every body to enter the lists, and caused the respondent's theses to be explained in German by his chancellor, when any one desired it. After the dispute, he ordered the Monks and Nuns to quit their convent; he appropriated their revenues to the support of the university of Marburg, and of the hospitals; he settled Lutheran ministers in the churches, and broke down the images. Lambert was chosen professor of Divinity in the university founded at Marburg, in 1527 (10).

LAMECH, a descendant in a right line from Cain, was of the seventh generation, reckoning from Adam. The Holy Scripture (a) observes, that he had two wives, one whereof was called Adah, and the other Zillah, and it is believed, that this observation has a mystery in it, since it serves to shew us the origin of Polygamy. It did not begin in the posterity of Seth, who feared God, but in the corrupt and depraved posterity of Cain, and by Lamech [A], who told his two wives, that he had killed a man. Such an origin, say they, must needs be scandalous. However it be, the marriage of this first transgressor of the law of Monogamy, established in the terrestrial paradise, did not bear the marks of reprobation, if we may judge of it by temporal blessings; for children proceeded from it, who had the skill of inventing

[A] And by Lamech.] The author of the *Polygamia Triumphatrix* was a very odd man; he spent his estate and his life in maintaining the lawfulness of Polygamy, and yet one wife would have been too much for him (1). He mightily commends Lamech's resolution of marrying two wives (2), as an heroic action, and highly praises him, as being the first, who attentively examined that command of God, *encrease and multiply*, and who, having well considered it, made it his duty to obey it, according to the full extent of his strength, by marrying two wives (3). No body durst venture upon it before him; the remembrance of Eve's transgression, and the consideration of Adam's banishment, had made people timorous

in that respect. Lamech was the first, who made that bold step, with an heroic courage, without minding the difficulties that he was sensible of. He commented, not in words, but in actions, upon the text of the universal law, *encrease and multiply*; a law, which is a true commandment, and not a meer benediction (4). By this means he broke the ice, and gave a good example to those that came after him. Observe here how this poor author was bigotted in favour of Polygamy; it was his darling notion; he thought that the Scripture mentions the double marriage of Lamech as an excellent exploit; whereas divines maintain with reason, that it was with a design to brand Polygamy in it's birth.

V O L. III.

8 R

[B] The *Ibid.*

(1) Bullinger, preface to an hundred sermons on the Revelations.

(2) Printed for the second time, at Stralsburg, 1725, in 8vo.

(3) Printed in 1530.

(4) I should think it ought to be read *Guar-dian*.

(5) Luther. Epist. lib. ii, pag. 121, apud Seckendorf. Hist. Luther. lib. ii, pag. 423.

(1) See the *Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres*, April, 1685, art. 1, & ii.

(2) Polygam. Triumph. pag. 188.

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 191.

(c) Seckendorf, ubi supra, pag. 41. Freher, in Theatr. pag. 104.

(6) See his Letters, lib. ii, pag. 128.

(7) Seckendorf, ubi supra.

(8) Seckendorf mentions this month, but does not say in what year.

(9) Scipferat tamen Lampertus Wittenbergæ & Electori dedicaverat, teste Chytræus, lib. xii, fol. 34^b. Enarrationes in Prophetas aliquos, in Canticum Solomonis, & Histor. Lucæ. Id. *ibid.* Note, that he dedicated his Commentary on the Song of Solomon to Francis I; and that on St Luke to George Spalatin; so that Chytræus is mistaken.

(10) Taken from Seckendorf, ubi supra, who cites Chytræus. See also Paul Freher's Theatr. pag. 104, and note, that, according to Freher, and several others, the university of Marburg was founded in 1526.

(a) Genesis, chap. iv.

(4) Ipse autem insuper habitis omnibus imminentibus & precæ conceptis difficultatibus heroicis animo hoc primum ausus, & proprio facto verba legis excollebat (crecit & multiplicavit): non benedictoria tantum, sed simul imperatoria, explanare, & bono exemplo omnibus suis posteris præire voluit.

venting many good things [B]. Now the inventors of arts were so much esteemed, that most of them have been placed in the number of the gods. It was therefore a great glory, and consequently a remarkable temporal blessing at that time, to have the wit that was necessary for invention; but it is no sign, that God approved of Lamech's Polygamy. The scripture mentions only four of this man's children (b); but, according to Josephus (c), he had seventy seven by his two wives. What he told his wives is a riddle to me [C]; I ingenuously confess, it is above my understanding. *I have slain a man, said he (d), to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt; if Cain shall be avenged seven fold, truly Lamech seventy and seven fold.* Many pretend, that he meant he had killed Cain [D], and Tubal-Cain; for there is a common tradition, that Lamech, who had been a great lover of hunting, continued the sport, even when by reason of his great age, he was almost blind (e). He took with him his son Tubal-Cain, who not only served him as a guide (f), but also directed him, where and when he ought to shoot at the beast. One day, as Cain was laid among the thickets, Lamech's guide seeing something move in that place, gave him notice of it; whereupon Lamech shot an arrow, and slew Cain. He was extremely concerned at it, and beat his guide so much, as to leave him dead upon the place. This, say they, is the way to make sense of his words, which run thus, according to the vulgar translation, *Occidi virum in vulnus meum, & adolescentulum in livorem meum*; wherein he distinguishes his way of killing the man (it was by a wound) from his way of killing the young lad, which was by bruises, that made his body black and blue. There are a thousand absurdities

(b) See the remark [B].

(c) Antiq. lib. i, cap. ii.

(d) Genesis, chap. iv.

(e) Vide Perr. in Genes. cap. iv, ver. 23, 24. Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Tom. I, pag. 211.

(f) Others say, that his guide was one of his servants.

[B] *The skill of inventing many good things.* Jabel and Jubal, the sons of Adah, Tubal-Cain, and Naamah his sister (5), whose mother was Zillah, are the four children of Lamech, that are mentioned in Scripture. Jabel invented tents; Jubal invented some musical instruments: Tubal-Cain invented several instruments of brass and iron. The holy scripture, which teaches us this, does not attribute any invention to Naamah; but, if we believe the Rabbins, she invented the art of spinning and weaving (6).

[C] *What he said to his wives is a riddle to me.* It is no easy thing to know how the words of Lamech in the original ought to be translated. The Geneva version makes use of the future tense, *I will slay*, and represents Lamech as a man, who was to receive a wound before he should kill: but the Vulgar renders it, *I have slain*; and as for the wound, one cannot tell to whom it relates; for this phrase, *Occidi virum in vulnus meum*, is a barbarism, which means nothing in Latin, and may signify whatever we please, as soon as we depart from the rules of Grammar. Some interpreters, well skilled in the Hebrew language (7), translate it neither by the preter-tense, nor by the future, but reduce it all to a conditional proposition. *I would kill a man with a wound, and even a young man with a cudgel, or with my fist, if they would attack me.* Now what way is there of coming at the true construction of a period, which is as much in the future as in the preter-tense, and as much in the optative as in the indicative mood. But though we could get clear of the matter in the grammatical sense, we should not be far advanced; it would still remain to be considered, what Lamech meant, speaking to his two wives; which is no little difficulty. Nothing seems more remote from probability than the thought of those, who take all this to be arodomontade of Lamech (8): others take it to be a menace that he would kill his wives, if they continued to vex him by their bawling and disputes (9). But others, on the contrary, take it to be an interrogation, designed to remove their fears: they were afraid that some body would kill him: he bids them have a good heart, with these words, *Have I slain a man, &c.*

[D] *Many pretend, that he meant he had killed Cain.* A commentator (10), otherwise a very judicious and learned man, is mistaken here; for he thinks it is the most probable interpretation of Lamech's words. He brings two proofs for it. First, says he, Cain's posterity extended itself to the deluge, and yet Moses confines it to Lamech and his sons; of which doubtless there is no other reason than this, that Cain's life ended in the generation of Lamech, who killed him. Second, says he, the only reason why Moses has related the murder, committed by Lamech, is, to point out the miserable death of Cain. I could confute these proofs several ways. but I shall only say, that Pererius supposes a thing, which has no probability, viz. that it was Moses's intention to inform the world, that Lamech killed Cain. If he had had such an intention, would he have left such im-

penetrable darkness in the fourth chapter of Genesis? Had the death of Cain any thing mysterious in it, which ought to have been involved in such enigmatical expressions? In truth, if it could be proved, that Moses had a like intention, we ought to apply to him this verse of the gospel, *never man spake like this man* (11), and cry out, *tacui, Domine, quia fecisti*, I was silent, O Lord, because it was thou that didst it. That would be unpardonable in an author not inspired. For the rest, I pretend not to oppose, in general, the thought of those, who take for marks of inspiration, in the relations of Moses, certain singularities, which are of such a nature, that it is not probable an author would ever have made use of them, if he had directed his own work (12).

[E] *There are a thousand absurdities in this story, and the circumstances that attend it.* I. It is an ill-grounded supposition, to say, that Lamech was almost blind (13) with old age, whilst Cain, his grandfather's grandfather, was still alive. II. It is absurd to make him go a hunting at an age so decrepit, that he could not see his game, and stood in need of a guide to tell him when he was to shoot an arrow. III. It is absurd to suppose, that the reason, which induced him to talk in this manner to his wives, was their ill treatment of him at that great age; either because they could not resist his excessive lasciviousness, or because of the ill manners of his children (14). What probability is there, that, at so great an age, he could give occasion to his two wives to complain of his too frequent caresses? IV. It is absurd to say, that, when Lamech had been guilty of this double murder, his wives refused to lie with him, as believing that the race of Cain was to come to an end, according to the oracle, after the seventh generation (15): this, I say, is absurd; for God was so far from threatening Cain to destroy his descendants after the seventh generation, that he assured him, that *whoever should kill him, should be punished sevenfold*. It is still more absurd to say (16), that Lamech led his two wives to Adam, and that he desired him to catechise them, upon their refusal to lie with him, and that Adam, beginning to reprimand them, was interrupted in such a manner, as put him to confusion. *Does it become you, said they to him, to teach us our duty? Let your censures fall first upon your self, since for so many years you have lived apart from your wife's bed.* I omit the little confidence there is between the age they make Lamech to be of, and his eagerness to make his two wives hearken to reason, with regard to matrimonial enjoyment. I do not say, that the pretended recrimination would have been better imagined, if Adam had censured Lamech at their request, and upon the complaints of his two wives; but I say, that Adam and Eve's separation from bed, after Abel's death, having lasted, according to the idle fancies of the Rabbins, but 130 years, it is absurd to suppose, that Adam was reproached for it, as a thing that continued still, when Cain was killed. Isaac Vossius has, upon this subject, confounded Lamech, who had two wives at one time, with

(c) Josephus says, she was the daughter of Tubal-Cain.

(6) Apud Genebrard, in Chron. & in margine versionis Gallicae Josephi.

(7) Apud Rivetum. Oper. Tom. I, pag. 186.

(8) Vide Rivetum, ibid. pag. 187.

(9) Vide Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Tom. I, pag. 212.

(10) Pererius, in Genes. chap. iv, ver. 23, 24.

(11) John vii, 45.

(12) Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, July, 1686, art. II, at the beginning.

(13) Some say he was quite blind. See Polygama Triumph. pag. 185.

(14) Hanc tradunt historiam, Lamechum in senectute male tractatum esse ab uxoris, vel propter nimiam ejus libidinem atque lasciviam, vel propter truculentiam filiorum ejus ingens.

(15) Gedalis, in Cat. Fab. & Hist. Patriarch. Orient. apud Lyserum, Polyg. Triumph. pag. 192.

(16) Aben-Ezz, apud eund.

absurdities in this story, and in the circumstances that attend it [E]. Suidas will have Lamech to have killed two brothers of Enoch, and that he married their wives (g).

You will find a collection of many passages upon this in a thesis (b), that was maintained at Wittemberg in the year 1673, *sub præsidio Jo. Wilhelmi Hilligeri*.

with Lamech the father of Noah. 'Judæorum est fabella, says be (17), Lamechum de uxoribus conquestum esse apud Adamum, illum his iussisse ut ad maritum reverterentur ac sui facerent copiam. Itas respondisse Adamo ut ipse prius suæ satisfaceret conjugii, à qua jam per centum & triginta annos propter scelus Caini esset separatus. Verum quis adeo sit hebes ut non videat narratiunculam hanc esse ineptissimam? Ex ea sequeretur Lamechum qui à Setho septimus fuit diu fuisse antequam Sethus nasceretur. — The Jews tell a story, that Lamech complained of his wives to Adam, who commanded them to return to their husband, and obey him. That they replied to Adam, that he should first make satisfaction to his

own wife, from whom he had been separated an hundred and thirty years, on account of Cain's wickedness. But who is so stupid, as not to see the folly of this tale? It would follow from thence, that Lamech, who was the seventh from Seth, lived long before Seth was born.' It is absurd to suppose, that Tubal-Cain being yet a young lad, was killed by his own father; how could he have been the inventor of divers instruments of brass, as the Scripture says he was? For the rest, Josephus says nothing of this pretended murder of Lamech; so that Tostatus, who cites him for this old tradition (18), has erred through want of memory.

(g) Suidas, in voce Λάμης.

(b) De homicidio & vindicta Lamechi.

(18) Vide Pererium, ubi supra.

LAMECH, the son of Methuselah, and father of Noah, was the ninth man from Adam inclusively (a). He lived 777 years. Isaac Vossius (b) complains, that Sigismund Gelenius has foisted into the version of Josephus a fact that is not in the Greek text of that Jewish historian, viz. that Adam was still living in Lamech's time. This critic, in censuring this fault, has committed another; he has confounded Lamech, the father of Noah, with Lamech sprung from Cain, as I have shewn in the last remark of the foregoing article.

LAMIA, a Roman family. It was a branch of the house of the Ælii [A], into which probably it entered only by adoption; for it is said to be descended from LAMUS (a) the son of Neptune, and king of the Læstrygones, who lived in a town, which was afterwards called *Formiæ*. This is the opinion of Horace [B]. So ancient a Genealogy as this, with which the Poet flatters his friend ÆLIUS LAMIA, is doubtless the reason why Juvenal, being willing to denote a lady of the first quality, made use of these words, *quædam de numero LAMIARUM* (b). It is very probable, that he, to whom Horace inscribes the seventeenth ode of the third book, and whom he mentions, in several other places, with marks of esteem, was the father of LUCIUS ÆMILIUS LAMIA (c), who died towards the end of the reign of Tiberius, in the 786th year of Rome, after he had been governor of Syria [C]; from whence he was recalled to be governor of Rome. He was honoured with the funeral rites of a censor (d). From him perhaps descended ÆLIUS LAMIA, the husband of Domitia Longina, whom Domitian took from him. He put him to death some time after [D]. There was also one LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA, who for having too zealously embraced Cicero's party against Piso, was banished. Afterwards he was made Ædile, and then Prætor, after the death of Cæsar, in the year of Rome 711. Some think it was he, who, being thought

(a) Genes. ch. v.

(b) De vera Ætate Mundi. pag. 13, 14.

(c) Glandorp, *Onoma*. pag. 14, says, he is the same, who died in the year 786. He makes him live too long.

(d) See the remark [C], citat. (23).

[A] It was a branch of the house of the Ælii. The Antonini, emperors of Rome, descended from that house; it contained seven or eight branches, that were all Plebeian; viz. the Cati, the Tiberones, the Galli, the Stilonæ, the Præconini, the Segani, and the Lamie (1). No one says, that the Ælii descended from Lamus king of the Læstrygones; but this was said of the Lamie; and therefore the latter must have entered by adoption into the family of the others.

[B] This is the opinion of Horace. These are his words (2):

Æli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
Quando & priores hinc Lamias ferunt
Denominatos, & nepotum
Per memores genus omne fastos:
Autore ab illo ducis originem
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps, & innantem Maricæ
Littoribus tenuisse Lyria
Late tyrannus.

Ælius, whose race from Lamo came,
Whence first arose the Lamian name:
From him your high descent you prize,
Who bade the walls of Formiæ rise;
Who wat'ry Lyria taught to obey,
And rul'd with wide-extended sway.

The antient Romans were as ridiculous in point of Genealogy, as people are at present. How many families did they not lay descended from a companion

of Hercules, or some other person of the fabulous ages? Silius Italicus believed, that Lamus had reigned in Cajeta (3). See Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (4).

[C] LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA. governor of Syria.] He had only the title of it, and did not keep it long; the injustice done him upon that occasion proved glorious to him. 'Extremo anni mors Ælii Lamie funere censorio celebrata, qui ad ministrandæ Surie imagine tandem exsolutus urbi præfuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; & non permilla provincia dignationem addiderat (5). — At the end of the year, the death of Ælius Lamia was honoured with such funeral rites, as belonged to the dignity of censor; who, having laid down his imaginary government of Syria, was made Præfect of the city. He was of an honourable family; enjoyed a vigorous old age; and the not permitting him to enjoy the province turned to his honour.' He had commanded in Africa (6).

[D] ÆLIUS LAMIA. Domitian put him to death some time after.] I speak of it in the article of DOMITIA LONGINA, where I cite the necessary authorities. Juvenal alludes to the death of this Lamia in the fourth satire.

Sed perit postquam Cerdonibus esse timendus
Cœperat, hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti (7).

Soon as the dread of Coblens he became,
Tho' wet with slaughter of the Lamian name,
He met his fate.

[E] LUCIUS

(3) Et regnata Lamo Cajeta. *Sil. Ital. lib. viii.* ver. 530. See Dausqueius's notes.

(4) Lib. i, cap. xxxiii.

(5) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. xxvii, ad ann. 786.

(6) Id. lib. iv, cap. xiii.

(7) Juven. Sat. IV, in fine.

(c) Pag. 74, &
seq.

dead, so that fire was put to his funeral pile, recovered his senses by the action of the fire [E]. Consult Streinnius's Roman families, and Glandorp's *Onomasticon* (c).

[E] *LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA*
being thought a dead man . . . recovered his senses by
the action of the fire. See what Valerius Maximus
says of it: 'L. quoque Lamia prætorio viro æquæ

'vocem fuisse super rogum confluit (8). — L. La-
'mia likewise, of Prætorian dignity, was found to be
'alive, when on the funeral pile.' Pliny also makes
mention of it (9).

(8) Val. Maxim.
lib. i. cap. viii.
Rom. xii.
(9) Plinius, lib.
vii. cap. iii.

(a) Diodorus Si-
culus, lib. xviii.
Pausanias, lib.
vii. pag. 215.

(b) Suidas, in
Δάμια.

LAMIA, a town of Thessaly. It is chiefly memorable for the battle that was fought, in its territory, between the Athenians, assisted by the other Greeks, and Antipater, governor of Macedonia. It was after the death of Alexander. The success of that battle was very fatal to the Athenians, and to several other towns of Greece (a). Suidas is mistaken in saying, that Antipater lost the battle (b).

(a) Pausanias,
lib. x. pag. 327.

(b) Suidas, in
Δάμια.
See what Alpa-
sius, in Arist. de
Morib. lib. vii.
cap. v. says of a
Lamia in Pontus.

LAMIA, the daughter of Neptune. The Greeks said, that the Africans named her Sibylla; that she was the first woman that prophesied; and that Jupiter had a daughter by her, named Herophyle, who was one of the Sibyls (a). Others say, that Lamia was a handsome African woman [A], by whom Jupiter had some children, and that Juno destroyed them all out of jealousy; which threw the mother into such a furious grief, that she not only became ugly, but also so cruel, as to steal away children, and killed them (b). Hence doubtless came the popular tradition, which the Poets adopted upon the stage [B]. Lamia, or the LAMIAE, were spoken of under another notion; for it was said, that they could lay aside their eyes, and resume them when they thought fit. They took them out in their own houses, and put them in again, when they went abroad. It is the emblem of curiosity and self-love [C]. Philostratus represents them as very lascivious [D]. I know not whether the fish LAMIA [E] had its name from what the fables said of the Lamia, or whether the latter owed their name to that fish. Moreri's faults are not considerable [F].

[A] Several say, she was a handsome African woman.

(1) In Suidas, in
voce Δάμια.

(2) In Pacem.

Τὴς τέρας τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσὺν βροτῶν
Ὀὐκ ἴδ' ἡ Λαμία τῆς Αἰθιοπίας γένος;

Quis Africanæ nesciat Lamia genus

Infame nomen & tetrum mortalibus (3)?

(3) Euripides,
apud Bochart.
Geograph. Sacr.
lib. i. cap. xxxiii.

Who knows not Lamia, thy detested race,
Most infamous, and Africa's disgrace?

Diodorus Siculus relates, that Ophellas, king of Cyrene, going to meet Agathocles, who made war with the Carthaginians, found a cavern, wherein it was said, that queen Lamia was born (4). Bochart (5) thinks, that the name Lamia is derived from the Punic word *labam*, or *labama*, which signifies still, among the Arabians, to devour.

[B] The popular tradition, which the Poets adopted upon the stage. It is upon this that Horace gives them good advice.

Fista voluptatis causa sint proxima veris,
Nec quodcumque volet, poscat sibi fabula credi,
Neu pransæ Lamia vivum puerum extrahat alvo (6).

(5) Ibid.

Fiction shou'd still the semblance bear of truth:
Thou, shou'dst unnatural Lamia eat a child,
And then disgorge, alive, the human meal,
The tale improbable wou'd shock belief.

(6) Horat. de
Arte Poet. ver.
338.

(7) Σαρπῶν καὶ
μάστιχα ἀνθρω-
πίνων ἐσθῶν.
Carnes appetere
humanas impi-
tis. Philostrat.
in Vita Apollin.
lib. i.

Philostratus says, that the Lamia were fond of human flesh (7). Among the old womens stories, in some countries, there are many, in which fairies are mentioned, as great eaters of children.

[C] It is the emblem of curiosity and self-love. Consult Plutarch (8), who says, that like Lamia, who was blind at home, and when she went out, took her eyes out of a box, in which she kept them, every man is very intent upon the faults of his neighbour, but makes no use of his eyes to discover his own vices.

(8) Plut. de
Curiositate, init.
pag. m. 515, 516.

[D] Philostratus represents them as very lascivious. He says (9), that, out of a principle of lewdness, they enticed the men, whom they desired to devour, in a proper time and place; and that they especially delighted to eat handsome boys, when they were grown fat

(9) Ubi supra.

and plump. It was not easy methinks, to grow fat in the service of those lascivious creatures. Philostratus should have thought of this difficulty. Perhaps one might apply to the present subject, the explication, which some have given of the fable of Diomedes king of Thrace, who fed his mares with the flesh of his guests. The meaning of which is, according to some, that he forced them to satisfy the lust of his daughters, till they had nothing left but skin and bones. 'Diomedes Thraciae Rex cum aliquot haberet filias salacissimas, coegit hospites ut earum libidinem satarent; dictus ob id equas humanis carnibus pascere; equa enim & mulier solae animalium appetunt marem etiam prægnantes, unde equitendi vocabulum, ut ait 'Aristoteles', trahitur maledicto in feminas procares: comedunt verò carnes humanas, cum viros exsugunt, & coitu emaciatos ad tabem perducunt; ut recte Solomon † à mulierum consuetudine revocet adolescentescens, ne frustra gemere incipiant, posteaquam carnes suas consumperint (10). — Diomedes king of Thrace, having some very leud daughters, obliged his guests to satisfy their lust; whence he was said to feed his mares with human flesh; for a mare, and a woman, are the only animals, who desire the male, when pregnant; whence, according to Aristotle, leud women are said, by way of reproach, equine, to play the mare; and they devour human flesh, when they drain men, and waste them away through copulation; so that Solomon rightly dissuades young men from the company of women, lest they begin to lament in vain, after they have consumed their flesh.'

[E] The fish LAMIA. It is a fish of a prodigious bulk and voracity. Some times the whole body of a man has been found in its belly. See Mr Ray in his History of Fishes, and the following remark, wherein I censure Calepin.

[F] Moreri's faults are not considerable. I. Phavorinus, who is a modern author (11) should not have been cited. II. Much less ought he to be cited, before Suidas. III. Instead of saying, that the ancients gave the Lamia the name of Lares, he should have said Larvæ. IV. He ought not to have cited Rhodiginus, but Philostratus, from whom he took all that he has said of the Lamia (12). V. He should however have cited the twenty ninth, and not the forty ninth book; for his *Antiquæ Lectiones* contain only thirty books. VI. He should not have cited Pliny, since he has said nothing of the fish he calls Lamia (13); and yet Moreri wanted an author, who had considered the Lamia as extraordinary fishes. This puts me in mind of a false citation, that I have observed in Calepin; Pliny is cited there, Lib. 29. Cap. 24. immediately after these words: 'Lamia item piscis est (unde & Lamiarum strigum nomen, quod

(11) He published
his Dictionary in
the year 1523.

(12) Lloyd and
Hofmann seem to
have been igno-
rant of this.

(13) Father
Hardouin, in
Lanc. Leam Plinii,
lib. 29. cap. 24. exi-
t, thinks it is a
kind of ray.

' ravenous, that it has been found to have devoured an
' armed man. This they tell you is the fish that swal-
' lowed Jonah.' Pliny says not a syllable of all this;
however the ninth book should have been quoted, and
not the twenty ninth.

. (a) Polemo, apud
Athenæum, lib.
xiii, pag. 577.

(1) Plut. in
Demetrio, pag.
895, E.

(2) Δημήτριος
δ' ὁ Πολιορκη-
τῆς ἡ δαίμο-
νιος ἦρα Λα-
μίας τῆς αὐλῆς
τρίδος. ἐξ ἧς
ἔρχε καὶ θυγα-
τέρα Φιλαν.
Demetrius Po-
lioretes (and no
Phalereus, as it
is in *Albanius's*
translation) La-
miam tibicinem
amavit perditissi-
me, ex eaque
gnatum Philam
suscepit. *Alben*
lib. xiii, pag.
577.

(3) Plut. in
Demetr. pag.
895. F.

(4) In the remark [C].

(5) Machon,
apud Athen. ubi
supra.

(7) Plot. in
Den etr. p. 902.

ef- [

Plutarch

[D] S

ПОД

(24) Plut. in
Demetrio, pag.
901. A.

(25) *We read in Amos's Plutarch this marginal note: As for the Lamie, all the soap and all the water in the world would not clean or wash those, who perverted the use of the talents railed on the people, and employed them to purchase lands and lordships witnesses of the leudness of such harlots, execrable pars of commonwealths, and an eternal disgrace to those who follow them, and fit engines to pick the pockets of both great and small.*

(26) Athen. lib.
xiii, pag. 577.

(27) *Ælian.*
Var. *Hist. lib.*
xii, cap. xvii.

(20) Ex Plot.
in Demetr. pag
901.

(30) Memoire
des Dames Ga
lantes, Tome
II, towards
the end.

(c) Polemo, apud
Athen. lib. vi,
pag. 253.

(16) His name
was Polemo.
See Athenaus,
lb xiii, pag.
577.

(17) Written by
an author named
Lynceus. See
Athenaeus at the
beginning of the
fourth book.

(18) Plot. in
Demetr. pag.
696.

(19) See the remark [F].

(20) Athen. lib.
xiii, pag 577.

(21) Idem, lib.
vi, cap. xiv, pag.
253.

(22) 'Επ' αὐτῶν,
in inferis, for
ἐπ' αὐτῶν, sua
parte.

(23) Tacit.
Annal. lib. iii,
cap. lxxv.

not many faults to charge him with [M]. I am surprised at a doubt of Mr Menage [N].

You will find a great commendation of this Lamia in a book (d) that Mr Baudelot published in the year 1698.

(31) Epitres dorées, liv. i, pag. m. 260, & seq.

(32) In a book printed at London in the reign of king James I, and entitled, Le Preau des Fleurs mellées. See the eighth chapter of the second book, pag. 244, & seq.

(33) Lloyd has left out the quotation of Plutarch. Hoffman has done the same.

we must take the advice, says he (31), of a courtesan, who was one of the most famous in former times, and very well skilled in her profession, viz. Lamia who said, &c. One Francis Voilleret, Sieur de Florizel, counsellor, notary, and secretary to the king, house and crown of France, published (32), as true matter of fact, all the follies he had read, in that Spanish author, concerning the three courtezans Flora, Lais, and Lamia. So true it is, that one bad author is enough to spoil many others.

[M] Moreri is very short upon this head, I have not many faults to charge him with. I. This expression, The Thebans consecrated to her the temple of Venus Lamia, is fallacious: it induces one to believe, that the Thebans had a temple of Venus Lamia, which they consecrated to Demetrius's mistress. Moreri should therefore have said, to avoid ambiguity, that the Thebans built a temple in honour of this mistress, and called it the temple of Venus Lamia. II. It is not true, that Plutarch makes mention of this; he should have cited Athenæus. Moreri had this false quotation from Charles Stephens (33).

[N] I am surprised at a doubt of Mr Menage. He questions whether the courtesan Lamia is the same Athenian lady, that was kept by Demetrius Phalereus. An eadem est ac illa nobilis femina quam amabat Pha-

leræus (34)? in calling her a noble woman, he builds upon these words of Diogenes Laërtius: Ἀλλὰ αὖτ' καὶ εὐσεβὲς συνόχευε Λαμίαν τῇ ἐρωμένῃ. Verum urbana ac nobili amica Lamia urebatur quam amabat. If these words be pointed thus, one may very well deny, that Lamia, the mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes, was loved by Demetrius Phalereus; for, the mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes was only a player on the flute, and consequently was not of a noble family. Menage was in the right to censure Dalechamp, who has translated these words of Athenæus, Δημοκρίτης δὲ Πολιορκητῆς ἡ δαίμωνιος ἡγε Λαμίας τῆς εὐλαϊστῆς; thus, Demetrius Phalereus Lamiam tibicinem amavit perditiſſime; but he should likewise have censured Aldobrandin, who says, that the Thebans, out of complaisance to Demetrius Phalereus, built a temple to Venus Lamia, in order to honour the memory of his mistress Lamia (35). Aldobrandin cites Cælius Rhodiginus, l. 29. c. 5. Here are three things to be censured. I. It was not to please Demetrius Phalereus, but Demetrius Poliorcetes, that the Thebans built this temple. II. Aldobrandin should have quoted Athenæus, and not Cælius Rhodiginus. III. He should have said, that the Athenians had the same complaisance as the Thebans.

(d) Intituled, Histoire de Platonisme Aulicte, &c. See the seventh chapter of the second part, page 347, & seq.

(34) Menage in Diogen. Laërt. lib. v, n. 76, pag. 221.

(35) Thebanos autem Demetrio blandientes, Veneris Lamie templum excitavit ut Lamie ab eo amate memoriam colerent, scribit Cælius Rhodig. lib. xxix, cap. v. Aldobrandin in Diogen. Laërt. lib. v, n. 76. He can mean no body but Demetrius Phalereus of whom he had been speaking.

LAMPONIANO (JOHN ANDREW) descended from an illustrious family of Milan (a), was one of three domestics of Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, who conspired against that prince, and killed him in St Stephen's church, the twenty sixth of December 1476. It was Lamponio that gave him the two first wounds. He pretended to remove the crowd, and to have letters to present to the duke. He was enraged against him on account of a law-suit [A], in which he could not prevail with this prince to interpose his good offices against his adversary; he hoped to find his account in a revolution of the state; and he wanted an after-game, for he had squandered away the greatest part of his patrimony, and found himself as vain, and as much addicted to luxury as before. His two accomplices were Charles Visconti, and Jerom Olgiate. The latter was engaged in this black conspiracy by the glory, which a School-master, who hated the duke, represented to him in the murder of a tyrant [B]. As

(a) Egnatius, Exempl. lib. iii, cap. ii, sub fin. fol. m. 95, ver. o.

[A] He was enraged against the duke of Milan on account of a law suit. The thing was thus, according to Paul Jovius: 'Ad audendum immane usque adeo & periculosum facinus vehementer incitabat illata sibi injuria à Castellione Comensium antistite, à quo sacri latifundii possessione contra jus interrupta locatione, se perinique spoliatum querebatur. Totum autem ejus injuriæ odiumque venenum vertebat in principem, qui à se suppliciter deprecante eam contumeliam, sæpe rogatus adversarium in extrahendum à lite præpotentem, neque advertere, neque mollire voluisset (1). — He was prompted to this great and dangerous attempt by the injurious treatment of the bishop of Como, who, as he pretended, had unjustly robbed him of large possessions. He turned his whole resentment of this injury against the prince, whom he had in vain petitioned against his too powerful adversary.' This puts me in mind of Philip King of Macedon, who was killed by a man (2) who could not obtain from him the revenge he desired for a bloody affront (3). He thought no longer of revenging himself on the author of that affront, but on the prince, who did not do him justice (4).

(1) Paul. Jovius, in Elogio Galeacii Sfortie, lib. iii, Elog. pag. m. 244.

(2) Called Paulinus.

(3) Pauliniam Attalus mero conularum nefarius convivarum ludibrio exponebat. Freinsh. Supplem. in Quint. Curt. lib. i, cap. ix.

(4) Adolescentia . . . odium ab auctore injuriæ in negligentem ejus vindicem convertit. Id. ibid.

(5) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 245.

tyrant, and by that means restoring the liberty of his country. He extolled to the skies the merit of Brutus and Cassius. In a word, it was he, who, by his vehement exhortations, inspired him with the design of executing that horrid attempt (6). Olgiateum pend imberbem, levissimumque adolescentem inani spe parandæ gloriæ inflaverat Cola Montanus literarii ludi magister; si occiso tyranno patriam in libertatem afferret; sæpe Cassios & Brutos in schola magnis extollens laudibus, qui gloria ducti pulcherrimi facti consilium olim suscepissent (7). So true it is, that a bad lesson is able to do great mischief, and that princes themselves ought to take care not to be hated by considerable men. There are few such. Cola, being taken some time after, fell into the hands of Laurence de Medicis, who caused him to be hanged (8). The courage he inspired into Olgiate, in hopes of an eternal fame, did not fail him at the place of execution. Olgiate and his comrade made their escape, by reason of the confusion, which the assassination of the duke caused in the church: but because no body durst harbour them they were taken two days after. Their punishment was suited to their crime; and Olgiate expressed a great constancy: 'Olgarius ipse mirum visu audituque vesana constantia oblitum animum in conspectu carnificis gerens, seseque in ipsa morte confirmans hæc contumaci ore protulit verba; collige te, Hieronyme, stabit vetus memoria facti; mors quidem erit acerba, sed tormentum breve, atque ejus fama perpetua (9). — Olgiate, maintaining a most wonderful constancy in the sight of the executioner, and at the instant of death, spoke these obstinate words; Courage, Jerom! the fame of thy action will live for ever; death is indeed bitter; but the torment is but short, whereas the credit of it will be immortal.'

(6) Huius Cola diris cohortationibus conjurationem inchoatum ad exitumque perducit fuisse. Olgistus ipse ex scriptis. Id. ibid.

(7) Idem, pag. 244.

(8) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 247.

(9) Idem, pag. 246.

The reader will, perhaps, be glad to find here some verses, which he made in prison. They are a proof

(b) Lamponianus
Infantula plebis
& puerorum tur-
bae ad ludibrium
concessus, injectis
laqueo per cunctas
urbis regiones
rapatus est.
Fratulus, ubi
infra.

for Charles Visconti he was moved to it by two powerful reasons [C]. Lamponiano endeavouring to escape thro' the women, was killed by a Moor. His corps, biting the ground [D], was delivered to the mob (b), who made it their sport for some time (c). Peter Crinitus made some verses in praise of this assassin [E]. It is said, that this duke of Milan had very good qualities (d), and that he governed like a good prince, without any notable fault, except a prodigious lewdness; which it was so much the easier for him to satisfy, because the ladies of his court gloried in their gallantries [F].

(c) Taken from
Paul Jovius, in
Elogio Galeatii
Sforzae.

(d) Jovius, *ibid.*

proof of his boldness, and contain an insult upon the prince he had assassinated.

Quem non mille acies, quem non potuere phalanges
Sternere, privata Galeaz dux Sfortia dextra
Concidit, atque illum minime juvare cadentem
Astantes famuli, nec opes, nec regna, nec urbes.
Hinc patet humanis quæ sit fiducia rebus,
Et patet hinc sævo tutum nil esse tyranno (10).

(10) *Idem*, pag.
247.

Great Milan's duke, unconquer'd in the field,
To private violence at last must yield.
He fell; attending servants naught avail:
To ward the blow e'en wealth and kingdoms fail.
Learn hence, there is no trust in human things,
Nor any safety for tyrannic kings.

[C] . . . as for Charles Visconti, he was moved to it by two powerful reasons.] In the first place he was provoked to see that the Sforzas had usurped the dominion, to the prejudice of his family. Secondly, he had a sister, whom Galeazzo had debauched, and afterwards imparted to a handsome young man, who was his catamite. Germanæ sororis probro quam Galeosus adamaret, atque subigeret, permovebatur: tanto indignantius quod eam decore adolescenti, qui ætatis florem principi fruendum dedisset, concitasse & communis suspicaretur (11). This prince was reckoned so leud, that not only his amours were talked of, but also his pimping (12). We have here an instance of female compliance. Francis Visconti's sister, not content to gratify the duke with the use of her body, satisfied also the lewdness of his catamites, when he pleased. Probably she had no great difficulty in giving this mark of complaisance to the duke, since it was in favour of a handsome young man.

(11) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 244.

(12) Principem enim in amore improbum atque adeo impudentem perique vel falso existimabant, ut alienæ libidini lenocinii obsequium lubens præbere crederetur. *Id. ibid.*

(13) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 246.

[D] His corps, biting the ground.] I may use this phrase in the literal sense, since Paul Jovius expresses himself thus. 'Ipsius Lamponiani cadaver solum lingua & dentibus commorens jacebat (13). — The body of Lamponiano lay biting the ground with its tongue and teeth.'

[E] Peter Crinitus made some verses in praise of this assassin.] They are in the second book of his poems (14), and are intitled, *De virtute Joannis Andree Lamponiani Tyrannicidæ*. The six first run thus:

(14) Pag. m. 833

Parabat olim sacra Bruti manibus
Antiqua virtus Italum.
Ac forte lesam dum rependit hostiam
Marti dicatam vindici,
Frontem retorsit illico ad acres Insubres
Mirata fortem dexteram.

(a) Vigneul
Marville, Mé-
langes d'Hist.
& de Littérature.
pag. 125.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) I take the
meaning of it to
be, that he died
in 1694, or
thereabouts.

LANCELOT (CLAUDIUS), a Benedictin Monk, was a native of Paris (a). (b) Having studied very well in his youth, he was intrusted with the education of a young gentleman, and afterwards he retired to Port Royal des Champs, where he taught classical learning with great success. Some years after, he turned monk in the abbey of St Cyran, where he was in great intimacy with the late abbot Barcos; at whose death that society being dissolved, and the monks dispersed, Dom Claudius Lancelot was confined to the Lower-Bretagne, where he died two or three years ago (c). He composed many good books [A], but did not put his name to them, and they were ascribed in general to the gentlemen of Port-Royal.

[A] He composed many good books.] The *New Methods* for learning the Latin and Greek tongues: the *Garden of Greek Roots*: an Italian grammar: a Spanish grammar: a French translation of Phædrus's Fables;

Old Italy, for fortitude rever'd,
Once, sacred rites to Brutus' shade prepar'd;
And, whilst she bid the chosen victim dye,
Sacred to Mars, th' avenging deity,
Perhaps she look'd toward the Insubrian land,
In admiration of th' advent'rous band.

We must not wonder, that Peter Crinitus praised this assassin: for we find an hymn (15) in praise of Balthazar Gerard (16), among the sacred poems of Leovinus Torrentius, bishop of Antwerp. Among other eulogies, this is to be found in it.

Morte inferendus cælicolam choris
Æterno ab omni labe puram
Reddis ovans animam parenti.

(15) Hymnus, in
laudem Bal-
tharis Gerardi, sac-
tissimi tyranni-
cidæ.

(16) He killed the
prince of Orange
in the year 1584.

Pure from all spot, triumphantly you die,
And join, by death, the chorus of the sky.

[F] The ladies of his court gloried in their gallantries.] The description, which Paul Jovius gives of the corruption of the women of that country, is horrible. They looked upon chastity as an obstacle to politeness; they thought, that the love of that virtue was not good breeding, and looked like the awkward air of a country-woman. In short, they did not believe that lying with a prince was an action contrary to virtue; they pretended, that the way to raise their husbands above others, was to make them wear golden horns. Galeazzo, who was a handsome vigorous young man, and of a leud temper, found his account in it. Paul Jovius's words are much better than mine, therefore I insert them here. *His artibus quum boni, splendidissimique principis nomen tueretur, premebant ejus famam intemperantes vagaque libidines. Nam ea tum erat ex multo ocio luxuriantis seculi conditio, in ipsis præcipue nobilioribus matronis, ut totum pudicitie decus ab humanitate aulæ alienum profusus & subagreste putaretur, ideoque princeps ad licentiam libidinis proclinalus, & juvenæ vigore venustateque oris supra omnes spectatu dignissimus, procacibus scæminarum oculis & desideritiis cupidissimè deserviret. Erat enim tum vulgatum inter scæminas, nullam ex principis concubitu fieri impudicam, earumque maritos qui ineptis birici videri possent, ita excellere aureis cornibus, ut dignitate cunctos anteirent (17).* This is, doubtless, the utmost degree of corruption; for if any thing prevents chastity from being banished out of the world, it is the annexing, with respect to women, an idea of disgrace to the contrary vice (18). It is the main barrier, to stop a little the progress of lewdness, and hinder it from overflowing all mankind like the waters of the deluge, which spared but few persons.

(17) Jovius, ubi
supra, pag. 243.

(18) Confer quæ
supra, in remark
[C] of the article
AUSTRIA
JONAS (AUG-
USTINUS.)

and another of some Comedies of Terence: a treatise of the Hemina (1), the second edition whereof, being much larger than the first, came out in the year 1688. [A], of the article AUSTRIA. Lastly, all the pieces and observations, that are to be found

(1) I have cited
it in the remark
[A], of the ar-
ticle AUSTRIA
(Don JOHN OF.)

L A N D A. L A N D A U.

717

(a) Vigneul-Marville, *Mélanges d'Hist. & de Littérat.* pag. 126.
(3) *Id. ibid.* pag. 126.

found at the end of the Bible printed at Vitry, as an introduction to the understanding of the holy scripture (2). The author, from whom I have this, affirms (3), that the *Grammaire générale & raisonnée*, which con-

tains the grounds of the art of speaking, is of Mr Arnauld's invention, and composed by Dom Claude Lancelot.

L A N D A (CATHERINE) ought to be reckoned among the learned women. She was very young, when, in 1526, she wrote a Latin letter to Peter Bembus, which was printed amongst those of that writer (a), with his answer to it. Hilarion de Coste (b), who miscalls her LAUDA, observes, that she was of Piacenza, and very handsome, and the sister of count Augustin Landa, and wife of count John Fermo Trivulcio.

(a) It is the thirtieth of the sixth book of Bembus's letters.

(b) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames illustres*, Tom. II, pag. 728.

L A N D A U, a city of the Lower Alsace, near the river Queich, on the borders of the Palatinate, equally distant from Spire and the Rhine, was mortgaged for a very small matter to the bishop of Spire by the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, in the year 1308; but, in the year 1511, it was redeemed by Maximilian I, and restored to all its liberties (a). It is one of the ten towns, that make up what is called the provostship or prefecture of Haguenau, towns, which, excepting as to matters civil and criminal before the provost of Haguenau, pretend to hold immediately of the empire (b) [A].

(a) Mercure Historique, Orléans, 1702, pag. 388. See also *Louis du May*, *Etat de l'Empire*, Dial. VIII, pag. m. 526, and *Musier*, *Coinçon*, pag. 471.

(b) Du Val, *Descript. de l'Allemagne*, pag. 159.

(1) Heils, *Hist. de l'Empire*, Part. II, pag. 473, Hague Edit. 1685.

[A] It is one of the ten towns . . . which pretend to hold immediately of the empire. Mr Heils will explain this to us.

Haguenau, says he (1), is the first of the towns of Alsace dependant on the prefecture, the tribunal of which is established in the same town.

After the treaty of Munster, the king of France, in imitation of the landgraves of Alsace, his predecessors, retained this provincial council, in which his great bailiff, or lieutenant, presided. But, as it has been entirely ruined in the last war, the most Christian king has removed this council to Brisac. This town, as well as the other nine, at that time, acknowledged the king for protector, on the same terms as they acknowledge the emperor, and the princes of Austria, in that quality, without derogating from that immediateness, in virtue of which these ten towns pretend to continue free states of the empire. But, as they have been convinced of the right of sovereignty, with which the king of France has been invested, they have renounced this immediateness, and have entirely submitted to his most Christian majesty. The other nine towns are Colmar, Schlestat, Weisemburg, Landau, Oberkheim, Kaiserberg, Munster in the valley of St Gregory, Rosheim, and Turckheim. They had not yet submitted to this yoke in the year 1673. They were very far from it: you need only read these words of the duke de Navailles. 'Intending to go to Brisac, I passed through Colmar. I there found, that the inhabitants, as being near so considerable a place as Brisac, affected an extraordinary independence. Their town was filled with all sorts of warlike ammunitions and provisions; they appeared little disposed to receive, and submit to, the king's orders. They took no care, with regard to me, to shew a proper respect to those, with whom the king entrusted his authority. There were still in that country, Schelestat, Haguenau, and four other little Imperial towns; they were very much united, always kept deputies at the diet, and were ever taking liberties contrary to the obedience, they owed to the king. And when I arrived at Brisac, these seven towns, which pretended to be Imperial, sent deputies to me. Those of Colmar were at the head, and spoke for the rest. They harangued me in the same manner they had done my predecessors. They seemed to make use of expressions, which did not sufficiently shew the submission they owe to the king, treating him only as their protector: I answered them, that he had, with regard to them, a stronger title; that he was their guardian, and that it belonged to him to regulate their conduct. I spoke to them with so much force, that the intendant, who was present, said to me before them: Sir, if your predecessors had made them know their duty as you do, the king would have more authority in this province, and these gentlemen would not be at so great an expence in keeping deputies at the diet. These deputies were thunder-struck, and they fell upon their knees before me. I thought I ought to mortify them a little, I sent the next day five hundred horse to take the cattle at the gates of their towns. This opened their eyes, and shewed them their error in pretending to be independent of

France. They came a second time to speak to me;

but I would not hear them, and I sent them word,

that I must be going to Philipsburg (2). A little after, he tells the king, that he had a fair opportunity to put Colmar, and the other towns, which call them-

selves Imperial, on the proper footing (3). The king immediately profited by this advice; for, going into Alsace, he seized on the towns of Colmar and Schlestat (4). The other towns surrendered upon a bare summons, on pretext, that the king had a right to those

places as great bailiff of Haguenau, and that he seized year 1673, pag. 479.

them, to prevent the Imperialists from taking advantage of two such convenient posts, as those two towns were (5).

I remember there was great reasoning about the reduction of these places, and that there were some, who

said, it was folly to pretend they could still keep their liberty. It was not impossible, they said, that they

might be at once under the form of a commonwealth, and under the guardianship of the landgrave of Alsace, as long as this landgrave was a German; but,

when he was king of France, there was a kind of necessity that they must, sooner or latter, fall under

his full authority. This followed from the order of political affairs, and the natural course of human things.

A town could not be free, and at the same time acknowledge for its protector, or guardian, a king, who

might be at war with the emperor, or the empire. Can clients declare against their patrons? If they cannot lawfully, the prefecture of Haguenau must necessarily side with France in those wars; and if it cannot

justly do this, as being a part of the Germanic body, it must either declare against France, or desire a neutrality. In the first case, the king of France had just

as much right to subjugate Colmar and the other Imperial towns of Alsace, as the four foret-towns. In the second case, it must be considered whether the

towns of the prefecture of Haguenau were really desirous to observe a neutrality, or only pretended to desire it, with the sole view of putting themselves into

the hands of the emperor's troops. If this be the sole motive of their desiring a neutrality, they must expect to be treated as a concealed enemy, who, in point of

prudence, must not be allowed time to discover their ill designs. But, supposing that they sincerely desire to be neuter, it remained to be examined, whether they

could maintain themselves against the German troops, who would endeavour to oblige them to receive a

garrison. It is plain, they were not strong enough to support themselves in a neutrality; and thus order will

have it, that the king of France should not suffer the Germans to have places of arms there, especially considering that the Spaniards were at that time masters

of Franche Comté. The protector or guardian must support his title, that his pupil may not declare against

him. If this title obliged him to hinder any one from using the towns of Alsace ill, it authorized him to hinder

any one from arming them to his prejudice; for it would be strange indeed, if a monarch were obliged to protect a

state, which thought it self obliged to declare war against him. The mutual obligations both lie under contradicts this; and, consequently, those who should yield

to France the protection of the Imperial towns of Alsace, would necessarily open a door to a full authority over them. The incompatibility of titles began from

(2) *Mémoires du Duc de Navailles*, pag. 268, 269. Amsterd. Edit. 1701, ad ann. 1673.

(3) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(4) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(5) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(6) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(7) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(8) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(9) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(10) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(11) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(12) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(13) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(14) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(15) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(16) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(17) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(18) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(19) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(20) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(21) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(22) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(23) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(24) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(25) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(26) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(27) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(28) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

(29) *Id. ibid.* pag. 273.

They were yielded to France by the peace of Munster to belong to it in the same manner as they had belonged to the house of Austria; but by degrees all restriction has ceased (c). Some have pretended, that the citizens of Landau have not been cavaliers, and that they maintained their town at a time when the others were pillaged (d). This seems to me to imply, that, during the long war, which ended by the peace of Munster, and in other such like times, they were not unreasonably obstinate in resisting the strongest. They gave an instance of this compliance in the year 1634, as may be seen in Puysegur's Memoirs (e). Another writer (f) observes, that they have not been subject to intestine dissensions, and that they have always forbore provoking, by words or actions the neighbouring princes, and that, in 1552, the troops of Henry II, king of France, and those of Albert of Brandenburg, did them a great deal of mischief. The Sieur de Val affirms, that *the wine of Landau is the best Rhenish wine that can be drunk* (g). This town was but moderately strong at the time of the peace of Ryswic, in 1697, but, soon after, it was fortified with all imaginable care. The famous Mr de Vauban employed his whole skill in it. The Imperialists, under prince Lewis of Baden, blocked it up in the month of April 1702, and opened the trenches the seventeenth of June following. The place was surrendered by capitulation the tenth of September. The king of the Romans arrived in the camp the twenty seventh of July [B]. What the news-writers published concerning this siege will give me occasion to make some remarks [C], yet without expecting they will prove useful to those gentlemen

(c) See the remark [A].

(d) Du Val, Acquisitions de la France, pag. 38.

(e) Memoirs de Puysegur, pag. 113, 122, Dutch Edit. ad ann. 1635 (it should be 1634).

(f) Munster, Cosmogr. pag. 472.

(g) Du Val, Acquisit. pag. 38.

that time to be propagated; and, if the emperor had established places of arms at Colmar and Schefflad, in order to make irruptions as far as Dijon, and Lyons, no one would have commended France for suffering these towns to enjoy all their privileges, but would rather have laughed at her imprudence and simplicity.

People reasoned almost after the same manner, when she seized on Strasburg; a town, which neither would, nor could, always preserve its neutrality, and which surrendered its bridge to the German armies *toties quoties*. It was a thorn in the foot, too big to be left there. One of two things must be, either that Strasburg sincerely desire a state of neutrality, and religiously observe it, or that it be capable of making a resistance, when any one would oblige it to declare for one side. Now nothing of this was true, said these reasoners. I believe they might be easily refuted by those who teach the Civil-law in the universities.

[B] The king of the Romans arrived in the camp the twenty seventh of July. The news-writers of his party gave out, that the count de Melac, governor of Landau, sent a trumpet to him, the same day, to compliment him, and to desire him to let him know where he intended to fix his quarters, that they might not fire upon them; but that the intrepid monarch, having thanked him for his civility, sent him word at the same time, that he might fire where he pleased; that his quarters were every where (6). An officer of the garrison of Landau relates this piece of news as follows (7).

(6) Mercure Hist. August, 1702, pag. 159.

(7) Journal of the Siege of Landau, pag. 112, 113, Paris Edit. 1702.

(8) It belonged to an officer, who had been taken prisoner in a folly of the siege.

(9) Lewis XIV.

The count de Melac sent a trumpet, the thirty first of July, at eight of the clock in the morning, to the enemy's camp . . . to demand of the prince of Baden, where were the king's quarters: this prince informed the king of the Romans of it, who answered, 'that his quarters were at Inphling; that he thanked him for the sword he had sent him (8); that he might fire every where, serving his king as he had hitherto done.' It is certain, that, in this, the count de Melac acted as has been practised for a long time towards kings, who assist at a siege. The besieged governor pays them this compliment. As to the answer of the king of the Romans, we must observe two things; the one, that the accounts of the two parties are not extremely different at the bottom; the other, that, being always gallant, it is especially so, the first time it is used; for, when a king is informed, that another has made use of it, he thinks himself bound in honour to imitate, and, if possible, go beyond him. It is no longer a matter of choice, but a kind of necessity. I have been told, that the late William III, king of England, made use of this answer, when the governor of a place paid him this compliment. I know not whether it is true; but I know very well, that he never besieged any place, the governor of which acknowledged him as king. Be it how it will, he was not the first author of this answer; for, to say nothing of those, who may have made use of it before the year 1667, there is a printed proof, that it was used that year at the siege of Lille in Flanders. Read what follows: *As soon as the count de Broûay, governor of the place, was informed, that his majesty (9) was arrived in the camp, judging rightly that there was no*

farther room for feint, he made the citizens take an oath of fidelity, more than ten thousand of whom protested they would perish sooner than surrender. He then sent a compliment to his majesty, offering him his choice of the finest houses within one league round Lille, and even whatever he wanted for his household from out of the city, during the siege; and desired to know, where he would fix his quarters, that he might give orders not to fire that way; but he added, that he entreated his majesty not to take it ill, if he defended that place with the utmost vigour, for the service of the Catholic king, his master. His majesty, after having thanked the count de Broûay for his compliment, returned only this answer, that his quarters were all over his camp, and that the more obstinate his resistance was in opposing this conquest, the more glorious would be the success of it to his majesty (10).

The king of the Romans gained great esteem during this long siege; this first campaign was very much to his honour. The count de Melac, who saw him, the eleventh of September, received from him great honours and great praises (11). He supped the same night with prince Lewis of Baden, who paid him a (11) Journal of thousand civilities, and told him, that it was believed, in the Imperial army, that he dealt with the devil (12), to which the count de Melac replied, 'that he dealt with him just as much as he, but that the prince's correspondence was the better, since the devil had served him best (13).'

(10) Dalcourt, la Campagne Royale en années 1667, & 1668, pag. 78, 79, Paris Edit. 1668.

(12) Compare what is said in remark [P] of the article AGRIPPA, num. 1.

[C] What the news-writers published concerning this siege will give me occasion to make some remarks. Those of France continually said, that it did not advance, that the garrison repulsed every assault, and occasioned the slaughter of an infinite number of Germans: the news-writers of the other party said, on the contrary, that they easily carried every thing they attacked, that the Imperialists scarce lost a man, and that the mines of the besieged were always countermined, or that, if they were not, the enemy set fire to them so improperly, that they occasioned no loss. The author of the Mercure Galant reasoned much on the consequences, which might attend the conquest of this place. He pretended, that it cost the emperor at least five or six millions (14), and that the number of troops, which perished before Landau, must amount at least to 15000 men (15). I believe, adds he, that, were I to calculate the loss, which the Germans confest in the journals they commonly make, I should find, that it amounts to much more, though these journals are not faithful. I know not what journals of the Germans he means; but I can scarce believe that he saw any other than those, which they sent to the Dutch news-writers, and which we see printed in the Historical Letters, and in the Mercure Politique of the Hague. Now by these journals it does not appear, that the Germans had more than 800 men killed, from the beginning of the siege to the beginning of September. We have not seen in these books the particulars of the following days to the capitulation of the place; but we may judge, that it would not contain above forty killed. The number of the wounded is incomparably greater according to these journals; and yet some

(11) Journal of the Siege of Landau, pag. 295.

(12) Compare what is said in remark [P] of the article AGRIPPA, num. 1.

(13) lb pag. 340.

(14) Mercure Galant, Sept. 1702, pag. 335.

(15) lb pag. 340.

gentlemen, or cure that fond credulity they know so well how to inspire. They forgot

Dutch Gazettes, affirm, since the capitulation, that the number of the wounded was but double that of the slain. The latter amounted to a little more than 700, and the former, (of whom the most part were cured) to a little more than 1400. It is difficult to reconcile this with what the same Gazettes had said, that, for want of infantry, they were at last obliged to make the dragoons serve, and, as most of the wounded died, it was believed, that the besiegers made use of balls of a particular quality; but it is not my business here to reconcile the Gazettes with themselves; it would be almost as difficult as to reconcile the Gazettes of the two parties; the question is only to know, whether the journals of the besiegers acknowledge the great loss, which Mr de Vizé speaks of. Let us observe, by the way, that a prisoner, whom the garrison of Landau took the thirty first of July, affirmed, that the Germans had already lost near 2500 men, and that every one of them said, the balls of the besiegers were all poisoned, because none of the wounded recovered (16). The other news, which he told, is so false, that we ought to give very little credit to what he says concerning the loss of the Germans.

Mr le Noble maintains, that they lost, in this siege, 4 princes, 286 officers, and 12000 soldiers or thereabout (17). I believe, in respect to the 4 princes, he was deceived by this passage: 'The young prince of Bareith died the first of this month of the wound he had received before Landau, at the assault of the sixteenth to the seventeenth of August. He is the fourth prince that the war has deprived us of in a very short time, and whose death I am obliged to give notice of in this month only (18).' A little more attention would have informed Mr le Noble, that the author there means the duke of Holstein, the prince of Commercy, the count of Soissons, and the prince of Bareith; but the first lost his life in Poland, the second in Italy, and the fourth recovered of his wound, as he might have learned by the author's own retraction, which I suppose he misunderstood (19). Judge, I pray you, whether an author, who so grossly mistakes as to the number of princes killed at a siege, deserves much credit in what he says concerning the number of officers and soldiers, who perished at it.

One cannot sufficiently wonder at the ignorance, which the Paris Gazetteer, and the author of the Mercure Galant, have discovered of the state of the siege (20). Those who should trust to their relations, would swear, that, at the beginning of September, the affairs of the besiegers were no farther advanced than at the beginning of July, and that they were even in a worse condition by the frightful slaughter, which the garrison made the twenty fifth, twenty sixth, and twenty seventh of August, in repulsing the attacks of the Germans. These are three imaginary attacks. We see the following words in a Mercure Galant dated the fourteenth of August (21). *It is an unheard of thing, that, after a siege of two months and a half, a great army should not have yet taken any of the outworks of Landau.* This author might have talked after the same manner a month after, in reasoning upon his own accounts, and those of the Paris Gazette, which had said nothing of any progress of the besiegers since the above-mentioned date of the fourteenth of August. What is more surprising is, that the Paris Gazette of the sixteenth of September, the day on which the surrender of Landau was known at Paris, went on talking in the same tone; inasmuch, that it prepared infinitely less for the news of the capitulation of the place, than that of the raising of the siege. We may ask hereupon, did these public news-writers know what passed before Landau, or did they not? If they believed the accounts they published, their ignorance was very gross and inexcusable; for from the first days of the month of September, there were private persons in the provinces, who knew very well, that Landau could not hold out longer than the tenth at the farthest. We have seen in Holland letters which have expressly mentioned this piece of news. Is it not shameful, that public news-writers should know less of the state of a siege, than a meer country tradesman? Is it not a reproach to them, to have no other lights than the report of deserters, whose business it is to please by agreeable lies, and to gain by it an advan-

tageous reception? If these news-writers were well informed of all that passed at Landau, their insincerity was monstrous and inexcusable. Why did they so disguise things? did they fear to cause an insurrection in the provinces by a faithful account? This fear, which perhaps would be reasonable in other countries, was ridiculous in that in which they wrote. I know not then to what to impute the perplexity they threw themselves into by the necessity of finding some solution, when at last they were obliged to publish the unforeseen news of the capitulation. They were so severely handled (22) on the subject of the taking of Namur in 1695, that it is strange they did not profit by it. I am of opinion, that the siege of important places will always be a troublesome rock for the news-writers (23). I would have them always remember, that the taking of a place is not subject, like the gaining of battles (24), to historical Pyrrhonism, and that therefore it is better to prepare the readers for it by degrees, than to overwhelm them with it all at once, when they least expect it. *Tela prævijsa minus feriant.* The disgust at being imposed upon aggravates the chagrin they feel on the sudden news of a capitulation, which overthrows the hopes they had conceived. I say nothing of the insulting raillery they are exposed to, when at last they are obliged to confess the surrender of a place, before which the news-writers had made the enemy dance attendance, without allowing them to have made any progress. They become the jest of the news-writers of the opposite party (25).

Here is another very surprising thing. It was not known at the court of the elector of Bavaria what passed before Landau, and this may make us think, that Catinat knew no more of it. The garrison beat the champagne the ninth of September (26), it was reduced to the utmost extremity, and the governor had remonstrated to the council of war, from the fourth of September, that it was time to capitulate (27). It is pretended (28), that, about the twenty second of August, he had sent a man (29) to the *marschal de Catinat*, to inform him, that he could hold out but eight days. Nevertheless the French envoy at the court of the duke of Bavaria imagined, the ninth of September, that the taking of the town of Ulm would oblige the enemy to raise the siege. *His electoral highness*, he wrote word that day (30), does not doubt but this will oblige them to abandon Landau. . . . when the junction of his troops with those of France shall be once made, we shall cut out so much business for the king of the Romans, and prince Lewis of Baden, and so dangerous in this country, that they will not think Landau of importance enough to detain them on the other side the Rhine. The elector of Bavaria wrote to the king of France, 'that a person, whom he had sent to the Imperial camp before Landau, had brought him word, that that place could yet hold out fifteen days, so that it might be still succoured in time, after the surprize of Ulm (31).' If these words may serve by way of consolation or excuse for the news-writers of Paris, I shall think my self happy in having produced them.

Some of those, who suffered themselves to be deceived by the fabulous relations, which came from Alliance, have themselves undeceived the public, whom they had led into mistakes; for we find what follows in a work of the author of the Mercure Galant. 'As for the chimerical accounts, which have been spread about, of pretended sallies, in which it was affirmed that we had killed two or three thousand men, and of furious assaults made on the out-works of the place, in which they no less magnified the enemy's loss, who gave these assaults with thousands of men, no action of this nature really passed. The garrison was not numerous enough to make such kind of sallies, and the enemy had not enough damaged the place, to give such assaults: thus the situation of affairs at that time is a sufficient answer to those, who published these accounts, and were but too ready to believe them. None of all these actions, in the journal you have been reading, deserve the name of battles (32).'

Let us conclude with this passage of the same author (33): 'It is indisputably true, that no peace will be made, unless the emperor be obliged to give up this place (34), in case it be not retaken before that

(22) In a printed paper of thirty two pages, in 8vo, intitled, A Letter to the Gazetteer of Paris, on the taking of Namur, by the author of Europe's Safety.

(23) See remark [D] of the article Mahomet II.

(24) That of Luinas, for instance, fought the sixteenth of August 1702, and which the writers of the two parties controverted with great variety of objections and answers, which can prove nothing to the disadvantage of the French, without proving as much or more to the disadvantage of the Imperialists.

(25) See in the following remark the passage of the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*.

(26) Journal of the Siege of Landau, pag. 240.

(27) Ibid. pag. 225.

(28) Mercure Hist. Sept. 1702, pag. 317.

(29) That man was seized by the besiegers. Ibid.

(30) Lettres Hist. Octob. 1702, pag. 415.

(31) See the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, Octob. 1702, pag. 413.

(32) Journal of the Blockade and Siege of the Town and Fort of Landau, pag. 318. Mr de Vizé is not the author of this Journal; but he has added to it reflections from page 292 to the end.

(33) Mercure Galant, Sept. 1702, pag. 346, 347.

(34) That is, Landau.

(16) Journal of the Siege of Landau, published by the author of the Mercure Galant, pag. 121, 122.

(17) Le Noble, *Entretiens Politiques*, du mois de Novembre, 1702, pag. 17.

(18) Lettres Historiques, Sept. 1702, pag. 361.

(19) Ibid. Oct. 1702, pag. 431.

(20) Note, That I only repeat here the reflections I have heard several persons make, and that I am not answerable for the Incivility of their expressions.

(21) Mercure Galant, July 1702, pag. 375. Note, That Landau was not invested till about the fifteenth of June.

got not to reflect on it's long continuance [D]. The fourth article of the capitulation, has been thought very extraordinary, since the governor demanded in it, that the inhabitants

'that time. Whenever the king has been willing to grant peace, this prince has given up, in confirmation of that same peace, the places which he had on the other side the Rhine, and it has been contented to at the same time, that he should keep all those, which he was in possession of on this side; and this has been taken for a rule, because the Rhine forms a kind of barrier.' I am surprized, that an author, who talks thus, should not know, that, by the peace at Nimeguen, France remained in possession of Brisac and Friburg two important places on the other side the Rhine. I might add, that the peace of Munster left her mistress of Philipsburg, as well as Briac. Where is then the rule this author speaks of?

[D] *The news-writers did not fail to make reflexions on the long continuance of the siege of Landau.* I need only produce the words of a very witty writer. He will afford us, not only a comment on my text, but likewise an illustration of the foregoing remark. 'This siege is so far advanced, that we daily expect the news of a capitulation: the French reproach us with the slowness of this conquest; but I know not whether it be not more disgraceful to her than to us. The prince of Baden wisely judged that he ought to be sparing of his men. With this judicious precaution, this able prince has not followed that furious and murdering way, which destroys so many brave men, and sometimes the whole flower of an army. If Landau be surrendered, the troops of the Upper Rhine would have suffered no extraordinary fatigue, and would march out of the trenches as out of an encampment, still fresh and ready for a new expedition. But, since the prince of Baden has by no means hastened the execution of his design, it follows, that he has given the enemy all the necessary time to succour the place: how comes it then, that they have not stirred? Does it not seem as if the prince of Baden affected to act without precipitation, the better to shew the weakness of France? This slow conduct in that general looks as if he would defy any one to prevent his striking the blow. It were to be wished for the honour of marshal Catinat, or rather his master's, that the place had been taken in a few days. The siege is protracted; in the mean time the marshal, who ought to endeavour a succour or a diversion, keeps at a distance, entrenches himself, as if the noise of the cannon of the besiegers affrighted him, and quietly suffers the town to be taken . . . The French readily allow, that the length of the siege of Landau proceeds from the moderation and prudence of the prince of Baden. As they make a merit of every thing, and turn even their losses to the encrease of their reputation, they pretend, that this duration of the siege is solely owing to the vigorous defence of the besieged. Will you believe their news-writers? The besiegers fall before Landau like the leaves of a tree shook by a strong wind towards the end of autumn; they lose a thousand men at the attack of a work, which they do not carry: if, the next day they become masters of the post, they are driven from it the third day: you will see at last, they will talk of raising the siege . . . Can any one advance such gross untruths? But can any thing be more injurious to the public, than to suppose them capable of acquiescing in such wretched impertinence (35)?' Thus does this witty author reason, in his news of the month of August 1702: let us produce what he says in that of the following month.

'The town of Landau has at length changed its master (36). . . . An ill omen of what was to follow. In France, they took all possible precautions to lull the people asleep, and make them believe this disgrace would never happen. The news-writers never tired themselves so much as on occasion of the siege of Landau. If all that they published about the besiegers were true, their army was but some broken remains, and nothing would be more astonishing than the surrender of the place. The Imperialists were knocked on the head without gaining any advantage; or, if they had the good fortune to carry a post, they were presently driven from it. These falsehoods at present do no honour to the count de Melac, or his garrison. How did this

'brave governor all at once spoil his fine defence? What panic seized him? Should he not have crowned his valour, and tried the patience of the Germans to the utmost? A good commander capitulates only to avoid a general assault, and it is affirmed these besieged had lost nothing. Now that the town is taken, how will they gild the pill, that the people may swallow it, without perceiving it's bitterness (37)? . . . Let us not imagine, that the tranquillity, with which France has suffered Landau to be taken, takes off any thing from the glory of this conquest. It cannot be denied, that the besieged made a vigorous resistance: the long continuance of the siege proves it. If the French are to be believed in this matter, the weakness of the garrison alone obliged them to submit. His most Christian Majesty was told, that if the count de Melac could have been reinforced with 1500 men, the place would have escaped. A melancholy consideration, and which serves only to aggravate the misfortune! But how does this agree with the pretended good fortune of the besieged in losing but few men upon every attack? Was the garrison then so small? this would be an unpardonable neglect in a fortress of this consequence. Let us compromise the matter. Both sides were equally vigorous: if the Imperialists attacked the town with great courage and resolution, the French answered them with no less valour and intrepidity, with this circumstance, that the prince of Baden, willing to spare his troops, marched sleep by sleep, sure to conquer, and defying all obstacles (38).'

Let us make some remarks on the ingenious thoughts of this author, and say, in the first place, that, in the situation things were in, it were to be wished, for the common good of his Imperial majesty, and his allies, that the town of Landau had been taken after a siege of three weeks. Prince Lewis of Baden might have executed, after this, whatever he pleased: the French would not have been in a condition to cross any of his designs: but the measures, which the length of the siege suffered them to take, broke those of the Imperialists in such a manner, that prince Lewis of Baden could execute nothing after the surrender of the town of Landau. The length of the siege gave France the advantage: the governor of the place received a letter from marshal Catinat, the tenth of August, in which he was directed to hold out as long as he possibly could, to prevent the enemy from making other attempts during the remainder of the campaign; that this would be the most signal service he could do the king (39). Thus, the loss which the besiegers would sustain of a great number of soldiers and officers, in vigorously pushing on the attacks, would be made up with interest by the designs they might put in execution before the end of the campaign.

I say, in the second place, that the thought of our news-writer, to wit that it would be disgraceful to the count de Melac to have behaved in the manner the French accounts relate, is very just. This governor would have imitated the poets, who do wonders in the four first acts of a tragedy, but succeed very ill in the last, wherein good poets principally exert their genius, and for which they reserve the most exquisite strokes (40). It cannot be denied, that the whole world saw with extreme surprise the conclusion of this siege. Even those on the side of the besiegers believed that it would be very bloody, and that the last assault would be fatal to many brave officers. On the contrary, it was found to be the easiest thing in the world, and they knew not what to think of it, nor what would be the unravelling of the affair. The news-writers have said many things on this occasion not worth repeating. What is most probable, is, that the garrison was too weak to stand the last assault. We learn by the journal of this siege, that, from the fourth of September, the count de Melac represented, that there were many brave men in the garrison; that it was for the interest of the king to preserve them; that they wanted the most necessary things, as money, medicines, and provisions; that these six days they had made broth for the sick of horse-flesh, not reckoning the want of ammunition (41). The same journal relates (42), that, when the enemy gave

(35) *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, August 1702, pag. 179, &c.

(36) *Ibid.* Sept. 1702, pag. 314.

(37) *Ibid.* pag. 315.

(38) *Ibid.* pag. 318.

(39) *Journal of the Siege of Landau*, pag. 140, 141.

(40) *Ibid.* te ad extremum & oro & hortor, ut tanquam poete boni, & actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte & conclusionem muneris ac negotii tui diligentissimus fac. Cetero ad 2. te. Nam fratrem, Epist. i. lib. ii.

(41) *Journal*, pag. 225.

(42) *Ib.* pag. 238.

inhabitants should be maintained in the exercise of their respective religions, and that the Roman Catholic religion should be preserved in it's purity [E].

the last assault, the besieged were retired to the half-moon, near the bridge of communication. Hence it was that the besiegers met with little or no opposition.

In the third place, let us consider these words; *was the garrison then so small? this would be an unpardonable neglect in a fortress of such consequence* (43). As soon as it was known, that the place was invested, the Dutch Gazetteers strove to out-do one another in publishing, that the garrison was very small, and that it wanted many necessaries. I know some, who blamed these gazetteers for thus lessening the glory of prince Lewis of Baden. They will remedy this one time or other, replied another fort; be in no pain about it; for, when the place shall be surrendered, they will not fail to publish a large list of ammunition and provisions found therein by the Imperialists: neither will they fail to give out, that the garrison was very numerous at first, but that the greatest part had perished by the sword, or the fire of the Germans, by desertions, and by sicknesses. It is not yet time to confess, that the place is well provided; the business is to make the readers expect that it will be soon taken.

I have wondered at the silence of the officer, who drew up the journal of this famous siege. He should have told us the number of the garrison, when the place was invested, and when it beat the chamade; but this he has not done. Those, who find a mystery in every thing, pretend, that thro' a political flattery, he chose rather to lessen the glory of the garrison, than to take off in the least from the king's prudence. If he had said, that the place was not provided with necessaries, or a good garrison, he would have accused the king his master of a prodigious neglect, and given great honour to the long resistance of the besieged. Now it was better that these should lose part of the praises due to them, than that their common prince should be exposed to censure. This, say some, occasioned this officer's silence. Others say, there was a way to have injured no body, which was to have observed, on the one side, that the garrison and provisions were very insufficient, and, on the other, that the king had very wisely judged them sufficient, since, for reasons capable of entirely satisfying political prudence, he had believed, that the elector of Bavaria would declare himself time enough to frustrate the design of taking Landau.

I have read in a news-writer, that the garrison of this place consisted of 2200 men, when it marched out; and that the French say, they lost but 412 men, in the siege (44). If this be true, it must have consisted, at first, of but 2612 soldiers, a number infinitely too small for the defence of such a fortress.

(44) Lettres Hist. Octob. 1702, pag. 432.

Let us not forget the remark of a news-writer of Paris (45). The besiegers 'had still much way to make, and many assaults to give, before they could become masters of it in form; and they would have had still more to do, and have lost more men than they did, had it not been for the treachery of an Engineer, who came to their camp, and discovered to them several mines: thus the treachery of this Engineer, and the want of necessaries in the place, were the cause that the Germans became masters of it.' The Dutch Journalists agree, that the fugitive Engineer did great service to the Imperialists (46); but what they added appeared to be groundless, to wit, that 'he was intercepted attempting to return to the town, after having taken an exact survey of the works of the besiegers. The prince of Baden would have had him hung up upon a tree without form of process; but this Engineer having offered to dry up the ditches of the place, and to perform other services, if they would give him his life' general Thungen remonstrated, that it would be good to try that which he promised to do; and this opinion prevailed. Presently he was put in irons, and informed, by the hang-man of the army, that he had nothing to do but to think in earnest of executing his promises, in which if he failed, 'he should be hung upon a gallows, which was shewed him (47).' It is not at all probable, that he had the least intention of returning to Landau; he knew too well, that he should be there condemned to the most ignominious punishment. The journal of the siege informs us, that, on the twenty sixth

(45) *De l'Etat, at the end of the Journal of the Siege of Landau*, pag. 307.

(46) Lettres Hist. Sept. 1702, pag. 335.

(47) *Ibid.* pag. 339.

of August, 'Mr de la Rouffillaine, captain of the gates, had orders from the count de Melac to deliver to the executioner the orders of Ladoder (48), and to cause the effigy of the said Ladoder to be hung on a gallows by the executioner, at the bottom of which was written: *The unworthy Engineer Ladoder, a traitor to his king and country.* A gallows was erected at the fort, in the half moon of the attack, where he was hanged in effigy (49).' The count de Melac was so incensed against him, that, when he was to receive the hostages of the prince of Baden for the capitulation, he ordered, that, notwithstanding they had laid down their arms, if Ladoder appeared, they should fire an hundred musket shot at him; but the hostages said, that he had been wounded the evening before in the arm by a musket ball (50).

(48) The name of the Engineer, who deserted.

(49) Journal of the Siege of Landau, pag. 204, 205.

(50) *Ibid.* pag. 243.

The news-writer, who has observed, that the diversion caused by the surprise of Ulm did not hinder the king of the Romans from taking Landau (51), forgot dates. How could the taking of Ulm, which was not known when Landau capitulated, retard the reduction of Landau?

(51) *Merc. Hist.* January, 1703, pag. 6.

[E] The governor demanded, that the inhabitants should be maintained in the exercise of their respective religions, and that the Roman Catholic religion should be preserved in it's purity? This article was obtained with this restriction, conformably to the treaties of Munster and Ryswick. The two points of the demand are surprizing, when one reflects that the king of France, who gives up Landau, and the emperor to whom he surrenders it, are two princes, who have shewed a great zeal for the extirpation of the Protestants, and the propagation of the Catholic religion. Was it necessary to demand of such an emperor, that he should maintain the Catholic religion in this place? Is it not a superfluous care? Was it proper besides to tie up his hands, to prevent him from abolishing hereby? He might do it in a conquered town; for the law of arms permitted him this, unless the contrary were stipulated and agreed to by the articles of the capitulation. If his Imperial majesty does not endeavour so effectually to re-unite this whole town entire to the body of the Papacy, as to re-unite it to the body of the empire, will not this be the fault of the king of France, who has made himself protector of the Heretics of Landau, by inducing the emperor solemnly to promise, that they shall not be troubled in the exercise of their religion (52)? He was in hopes, say some, that the place would be given up to him by the first treaty of peace. Are they aware, that, to avoid disparity, and to act consistently with his passed conduct, he must rather wish to recover Landau entirely Catholic, than to recover it mixed with divers religions? and consequently he ought to leave the Imperialists full liberty to make converts there by the best means they could. If he thought, that he ought not to allow them this liberty which might prove very inconvenient to the heretical inhabitants; if, in a word, he desired to procure an advantage to those inhabitants, what becomes of his zeal as a converter? What unequal, what irregular, conduct would not this be? But, at the bottom, his disquietudes would be a little superfluous; for he ought not to fear, in the present situation of things, that the emperor should harass the Protestants of Landau: his Imperial majesty has too great obligations to the whole party, and too much interest in keeping fair with it, to introduce the converting spirit into conquered places. One cannot therefore comprehend the motive of the fourth article of the long capitulation presented to the besiegers.

(52) The author of the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, has pursued this story finely in his month of September, 1702, pag. 320, 321.

Some persons, who, by dint of refining, plunge themselves into visionary notions, venture to say, that the court of France has so expressly stipulated the preservation of the Romish faith, in order to shew that the Catholics of Landau stood in need of protection, under the dominion of an emperor devoted to the Protestants. What chimeras!

As to the purity, in which it is demanded that the Romish religion shall be preserved, I have met with none who could explain to me what it meant; for, to pretend, that it was designed to prevent the introducing of Jansenism, or, on the contrary, the introducing of the superstitious practices and loose maxims, with which the Jesuits and Monks infect religion,

gion, this in truth would be the conceit of a visionary. Did they then apprehend a kind of Samaritanism? Were they desirous to guard against I know not what mixture of Lutheran or Calvinistical opinions

with the points decided in the council of Trent? I am clearly of opinion that this is chimerical; but I know not which way to determine about it.

LANDO (HORTENSIO) a Physician, born at Milan, lived in the XVIth century. He is the author of several books, and he loved to publish them under false names. He is thought to be the author of a dialogue, published under the name of *Philalethes*, against the memory of Erasmus. That conjecture seems to be well grounded [A]. He wrote two dialogues, which have been falsely ascribed to Cardinal Aleander [B].

[A] That conjecture seems to be well grounded. Here I shall perform a promise, which I made in the remark [C] of the article ERASMUS, by setting down the import of the Memoir which I have quoted in that place. Herold believed, that a Physician, born at Piacenza, whose name was Bassiano Landi, or Lando, concealed himself under the name of Philalethes. For my part, I rather believe it was Hortensio Lando, a Milanese, and a Physician too, and a man of parts, who wrote several Latin and Italian books, in which he always affected to appear in a disguise. He took the same name, Philalethes, in a dialogue, intituled, *Forcianæ Questiones*, in which he examines the manners and genius of the several nations of Italy. It is true that, in this last dialogue, he calls himself Philalethes Polytopienfis, whereas, in the dialogue against Erasmus, it is Philalethes Utopienfis, or ex Utopiâ civis. Which, so far from expressing any real difference, shows, on the contrary, that both these books are the productions of the same genius. He also called himself sometimes Hortensius Tranquillus; which Simler, the abridger and continuator of Gesner, has not observed, speaking of Hortensius Tranquillus, and Hortensius Landus, as two different writers. We have a book of this Lando, intituled, *Un Commentario delle più notabili e mostruose cose d'Italia, in 8vo. A diverting book; to which having not prefixed his name, he supplies that with a little advertisement at the end, where he says: Godi, lettore, il presente Commentario nato del costantissimo cervello di M. O. L. detto per la sua natural mansuetudine il Tranq. Who sees not that these three letters M. O. L. signify Messer Ortenzio Lando, & Tranq. Tranquillo. Next to this there is, *Un Catalogo de gli inventori delle cose che si mangiano, e delle bevande ch'oggi si usano; at the end of which are these capital letters SUI SNETROH SUDNAL ROTUA TSE. Which being read backwards, according to the order of the words make: HORTENSIVS LANDVS AVTOR EST. In the same manner at the end of his Paradoxes, printed at Venice in 8vo, 1544, SUI SNETROH TABEDUL, that is, HORTENSIVS LUDEBAT. It is therefore very probable, that it was not Bassiano, but Hortensio Lando, who was the author of the dialogue, which Herold answered: and what confirms me in this thought, is, that Hortensio being to prove in one of his Paradoxes, that it is no dishonour to be a bastard, alledges, the example of many men of letters. Peter Lombard, Giason Maino, Longelius, Celio Calcagnini, and Erasmus, speaking of the latter in these words. O quanti letterati hannoci ancora dato i furtivi abbracciamenti, &c. hannoci dato un Erasmo di Roterodamo, e per opra d'un valente Abbate ce lo dettero.**

I must not forget the Collection of Letters, which he printed at Venice, apresso Gabriel Giolito, in 1548, in 12mo. It is intituled, *Lettere di molte valorose donne, nelle quali Chiaramente appare non esser ne di eloquentia ne di dottrina alli buomini inferiori. There is at the end of it a short advertisement (1) of Bartholomæus Pestalofia, Rhetus, which intimates that Hortensius Lando collected these letters into one volume, at the request of Octavianus Raverta, 'Qui ob infirmam animi pietatem Terracina Pontifex designatus est (2). — Who, for his remarkable piety, was nominated to the bishopric of Terracina.'*

[B] He wrote two dialogues, which have been falsely ascribed to cardinal Aleander. The following passage was communicated to me by the author the foregoing remark. 'The two dialogues, one whereof is intituled, *Cicero relegatus*, and the other *Cicero revocatus*, were not written by Jerom Aleander, but by Ortenzio Lando, a Milanese, surnamed Tranquillo. They are dedicated to Pomponio Trivultio; and because the inscription of the epistle dedicatory is thus expressed, *Pomponio Trivultio, H. A. S. D. Henry Lewis Chasteignier, bishop of Poitiers*, thought that the letters H. A. signified Hieronymus Aleander. But they have been put there without any reason for it; or perhaps, by an equivocation, H. A. have been put for H. L. A. that is Hortensius Landus, the true name of the author. Simler, the continuator of Gesner, attributes these dialogues to Hortensius Tranquillus Mediolanensis, whom he erroneously distinguishes from Hortensius Landus; for Landus and Tranquillus are one and the same writer. He loved to disguise his name, and yet desired nothing more than to be known. L'Autore della presente opera, says he under the name of Paulo Mascranico, in an advertisement to the reader, at the end of his Paradoxes, *il qual fu M. O. L. M. † detto per soprannome il Tranq.* At the end of his *Commentario d'Italia*, in another advertisement to the reader, under the name of Nicolo Morra, he speaks thus. *Godi Lettore, &c.* (3). At the end of his *Sermoni funebri delle bestie*, he names himself at length, and without any disguise in the foregoing, *Hortensio Lando ditto † il Tranquillo.* Now this Lando, or Tranquillo, owns, in his last paradox, the dialogue, *Cicero relegatus*, to be his work. 'Non dubito certamente, says he, che molti non si habbino da maravigliare che ancora fatto non habbia la pace con M. Tullio, qual gia sono poco meno di dieci anni † chio mandai con suo gran scorno in effiglio — I doubt not but many wonder I have not yet made peace with Cicero, whom, ten years ago, I sent into shameful exile.' And lower, 'Quando scrissi il dialogo intitolo Ciceroe relegato. — When I wrote the dialogue intituled in 1534, *Cicero relegatus.*'

LANGIUS (PAUL) a German Monk, would scarce have been known by the chronicle he composed, if he had not inserted in it some complaints against the vicious lives of Ecclesiastics, and bestowed praises upon Martin Luther (a). Which has been the reason, why the Protestants have cited him a thousand times. He was born at Zwicka in Voigtland, and became a Benedictin Monk in the year 1487, in the monastery of Bozau, near Zeits in Misnia (b). The abbot Trithemius sent him, in 1515, to rummage all the convents in Germany, in order to make a collection of all the manuscripts that might serve to illustrate the history, or to enlarge the catalogue of ecclesiastical writers (c). Langius laboured also for himself in examining the libraries; for this was of great use to him, when he wrote his chronicle (d) [A]. It begins, according to Vossius,

[A] His chronicle. It is intituled, *Chronicon Citiense*. But this is no reason, why du Pleffis should call the author of it *Moine de Citique, Monk of Citique*. Coëffeteau, instead of correcting it, made use

of the same words. Nor are those of Rivet better, *Le Moine Citique, The Citique Monk*. See their passages in the remark [C]. Foreigners have great reason to complain, that the French do so disgrace pro-

(a) See Wolfii, 1st ed. Memorab. Tom. II, pag. 169, & seq.

(b) Vossius, de Hist. Latini pag. 644.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Vignier, Theatre de l'Anecdotin, in the Index of the authors quoted.

Vossius, in the year 1468; but he is mistaken [B]. Coëffeteau made use of a poor evasion [C], when he answered the *Mystery of Iniquity*, wherein some words of Langius were alleged. I do not think that to be a solid reflexion, which Andrew River made with relation to Pistorius, who published the chronicle of this monk, in the year 1583 [D].

Moreri's

(1) Vossius, de
Arte Historica,
cap. xii, pag. 69.

per names, that they cannot be known. Vossius makes this observation against the illustrious Thuanus (1). But here the mischief does not consist only in figuring the name of a town, but in something worse; for, under pretence, that Langius composed the chronicle of a cathedral, he has a name given him, derived from that church. Now that name does not suit him.

(2) Telle Paulo
Langio in Chronico
Citizeni
quod à dicto anno
(1588) usque ad
annum 1515
debatit Episcopum
Citizeni & aliorum
in vicinis antistiti-
um res gestas
commemorant. *Asb. Mirans, in
Geographia Ec-
clesiastica*, pag.
124.

[B] *Vossius is mistaken.* This book of Langius is a chronicle of the episcopal church of Zeitz. The emperor Otho I. founded this cathedral in the year 968. Pope John XIII confirmed it (2). Langius extends his chronicle from the foundation of it, till the year 1515, and not only gives the history of the bishops of Zeitz, but also speaks of the other bishops of those parts.

(3) De Pleffis
Mornai, *Mystère
d'Iniquité*, pag.
573.

(4) Porto que de
Martini Lutheri
doctrina diffusi,
non fecit disci-
pulus illius asser-
tere, quod ab eis
sed potius admi-
nistrare possit, ut
pote nullius ad-
huc inanis in
verba magistri.
Sed cum iam de
ego more suspen-
sus multorum,
quosque per Oc-
cumenicum uni-
versale & gene-
rale Concilium,
quid in tam ardue
re tenendum sit,
secretum facit
pariter nihil
tamen minus,
& modo & tem-
per à recte si-
plentibus doceri,
quorum etiam,
& potissimum
Romane Eccle-
sæ iudicio hæc
presentia, & alia
quasvisque
mea scripta, &
corrigenda & ex-
aminanda subi-
ci: tunc ego
spera narrata non
de Romanis, sed
Romanensibus
id est, non indi-
gentibus, sed aliunde
ad eam consue-
tione, descrip-
tim. Langius,
apud Wolfium,
Lect. Memorab.
Tom. II. pag.
175.

[C] *Coëffeteau made use of a poor evasion.* Du Pleffis Mornai does not forget the praises that Langius bestowed on Martin Luther. 'Paul Langius, a Monk of Citique, and a disciple of the abbot Trithemius, at the time that Luther began to appear; though he did not leave his monastery, yet he was very much moved, and gave him an incredible testimony: "This Martin, says he, was a consummate, profound, and incomparable divine, who endeavoured to restore the holy Theology to the dignity of its original, and to the first purity and innocence, sincerity and simplicity of the gospel, deriding all "secular Philosophy." . . . In another place, under the year 1503, adding to him Carlostad and Melancthon: "They handle, says he, and teach the "holy Theology, giving the wheat of the word of God, without any chaff; that is, without mixing "it with Philosophy and syllogisms. They above "all kept to the gospel of Christ, and to the apostle "St Paul, whom they take for their patron and founda- "tion; and to the study of learning, they add the "fear of God, and the seeds of all virtues, which they "sow in the hearts of their disciples, by words, ex- "amples, and books." And least it should be re- "pined, that it was before Luther had opposed the "Pope, see how he speaks of him under the year 1520, "after having discoursed of the abuses and excesses of "indulgences. "This man, says he, by his doctrine "and admirable preaching, brought all indulgences to "nothing. He dissuaded the people from buying them, "asserting, that they are no ways necessary to sal- "vation, and do not procure the remission of sins, "but make people careless of repentance, and of all "good works, and even are an incentive to vice." He further says, "That the merits of Christ and "his saints are not a treasury of indulgences; since in "the primitive church, and for above a thousand years "after, there was nothing written of them by the "holy men and doctors of the orthodox church. So "far were they then from entertaining so great an "opinion of them, as they do now, from a desire of "wealth, which accrues from them. Moreover, he "asserted and proved, that the church of Rome is not, "of divine right, the first, nor the head of other "churches, &c. And therefore, says he, they hither- "to persecute him as another Athanasius, especially "for having maintained this position, and some other "important doctrines, which not only the Romans "continue to impugn, but also very many learned "men, especially the Thomists; and yet this Martin, "who is undoubtedly the first and wisest divine of "our age, has not been hitherto vanquished, confirm- "ing and proving his doctrine by the testimonies of "the gospel, and of the apostle St Paul, and even "by the original texts of the ancient orthodox fa- "thers (3)." Do Pleffis does not forget the corrective, added by Langius to so many bold propositions. 'And "thus, says he, this Monk speaks, non assertivè, sed "admirativè, not to affirm any thing, but out of ad- "miration, suspending his judgment, like many o- "thers, till the matter be decided in a general coun- "cil." I put Langius's words in the margin (4). They fully shew, that he was a Catholic.

Here follows Coëffeteau's answer. 'What Mr du 'Pleffis urges from Paul Langius, a Monk of Ci-

tique, and a disciple of the abbot Trithemius, shews the sincerity of the Protestants, and their fairness in the publication of authors. For they make Langius say several things concerning Luther, which are entirely contrary, not only to the doctrine, which Langius constantly professed to his death, but also to what he wrote in the same chronicle, wherein are inserted the praises of Luther. Possibly the Protestants fancy they can make us believe, that this author was both a Lutheran and a Papist, a Heretic and a Catholic. Otherwise, certainly, they cannot reconcile what they make him say, with his first writings. And let no body be deceived by the name of Pistorius the publisher, for though he turned Catholic, it was some time after, and he was still a Protestant, when he published this chronicle, with some other works of the German writers. Nay, he says, that he had it from Henry Petreus, who lived at Basil among the Heretics. Moreover, those who were guilty of the imposture, were fully persuaded, that it would be difficult to believe, that Langius spoke so advantageously of the person and doctrine of Luther; for which reason they added a poor and insipid subterfuge, making him say, that what he had written about it, was not assertivè, but admirativè, not to affirm any thing but out of admiration, suspending his judgment, &c. One would think that Langius was in quest of a mallet, and was yet unresolved, what religion to embrace (5). This is a poor answer, and it were better to say nothing at all, than to use it. Father Gretier gave it up, and thought it more to the purpose to suppose, that good Langius, being extremely desirous to sport with a woman, looked upon Luther as a hero, that was to destroy celibacy. Let us see how the apologists for du Pleffis answered this pleasantry, and Coëffeteau's subterfuge. 'Paul Langius, a Monk of Citique, gives such a noble and great character of Luther's doctrine, that our Monk cannot bear it, and accuses the publishers of his work of having added to it all that is produced out of it upon this subject, measuring their corn by the bushel of the Papists, who corrupt, with additions and mutilations, all the writings that come into their hands. And yet it has pleased God to remove that objection, in that it was published by a man, who was then brooding the apostacy, which he at last hatched: namely, Pistorius, who would not have failed to discover afterwards this artifice, if he had done it, or any other that he knew of. Gretier, who might have asked him some questions about it, had not the impudence, though it be a predominant quality in him, to accuse the publishers of any imposture. He chose rather to abuse this poor Monk in these words. "It is this Langius, whose feet itched, at the first "hearing of the Lutheran gospel, to run from his "monastery, thinking that the acceptable time was "come, in which it should be lawful for the Monks "to throw off their cowls, and marry the nuns." At that time the Monks knew well enough how to lie with them, without marrying them, had they had no other itch. Coëffeteau is not ignorant, that they want no opportunity of scratching it elsewhere (6). These last words manifestly shew, that the common places, the missionaries make use of on account of the marriage of the reformers and Monks, who embraced the Protestant religion, are not so favourable to them as they imagine. It affords them a large field for declamation; they make an odious description of the sensuality of those profelytes: but they are easily answered, because it is but too true, that those, who make a vow of celibacy, do not always observe it; and common sense teaches, that, if the ministers of the church have not the power to abstain from women, it is better they should allay their heat with their own wives, than those of other men.

[D] *I do not think that to be a solid reflexion, which Andrew River made.* We have seen, that he pretends, that Pistorius would have discovered his fraud, when he turned Papist. I believe he is mistaken. If Pistorius had interpolated Langius's manuscript, he would

(5) Coëffeteau,
Réponse au My-
stère d'Iniquité,
pag. 1218, 1219.

(6) River, Re-
mèques sur la
Réponse au My-
stère d'Iniquité,
Part. II. pag.
633.

(c) They are in the first edition of his Dictionary.

Moreri's faults are not considerable (c) [E].

would never have boasted of it. Such a confession would have procured but an inconsiderable advantage to the church of Rome. Whether Langius praised Luther in the year 1520, or whether he dispraised him, or did not mention him at all, is but a trifle at the bottom. But Pistorius could not have discovered his cheat, without making himself contemptible to the Papists, and exposing himself to the insults of the Protestants, who would have found, in his own confession, wherewithal to convict him of being a wicked

man. People are not willing to own such faults: they are too material.

[E] The faults of Moreri are not considerable. He should have called Langius's native place Zwickau, and not Zwickau (7). His monastery was called Bozau, and not Bozan. The mistake of Pastorius, instead of Pistorius, is corrected in the Dutch editions. It should not have been said, that his chronicle begins in the year 1468; it is a mistake of Vossius, which I have already censured, and which Zeillerus has copied (8).

(7) In the Moreri of Holland it is called Zwickau.

(8) Zeillerus, de Historicis, Part. I, pag. 55.

LANGIUS (RODOLPH) a gentleman of Westphalia, and provost of the cathedral church of Munster towards the end of the XVth century, distinguished himself by his learning, and his zeal for the restoration of polite learning. He studied first at Deventer, after which he was sent by his uncle, the dean of Munster, into Italy, and followed the greatest masters of literature, Laurentius Valla, Mapheus Vegius, Francis Philolphus, and Theodore Gaza. By this means he acquired a good taste of the Latin stile both in verse and prose, and confirmed himself in it by several compositions. He took this journey in company with Maurice count of Spiegelberg, and Rodolph Agricola; and, after their return into Germany, they all three laboured to drive out barbarism, and were the first, who, by their example, and their exhortations, brought into credit the best way of writing Latin, and of teaching that language. Langius, being sent to the court of Rome, by the bishop and chapter of Munster, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV, acquitted himself very well of his commission, and returned with the letters of that Pope, and of Laurence de Medicis, which gained him still greater esteem with those who deputed him; and this put him in a condition the better to execute the design he had of making polite learning flourish, and banishing from the schools the barbarisms that reigned in them. He was forced to struggle some years with those who patronized it [A], and who pleaded, that it was dangerous to introduce a new method of teaching: but at last he overcame these obstacles; and he prevailed on his bishop to found at Munster a school, the direction of which was given to able persons. He pointed out to them the method of instruction, and the books they were to explain, and gave them access to his fine library. This school, being thus established a little before the end of the XVth century, became very flourishing, and served Germany as a nursery of literature till the revolutions, which Anabaptism caused at Munster in the year 1534. Langius died in the year 1519, aged eighty years. He published some poems, which prove, that, before Conrad Celtis, Germany produced some famous Latin Poets (a) [B].

Rodolph

(a) Taken from David Chytraeus, in Saxonia, lib. iii, pag. m. 80, etc. See also his Speech, de Veteris Saxonie Provincia amplissima quae Westphalia hodie nominatur, pag. m. 108, etc.

[A] He was forced to struggle some years with those who patronized barbarisms. The university of Cologne opposed the commendable design of Langius; but he had in his favour the suffrages of the Italians; and this was an authority, which fully determined the bishop of Munster. You will see more particulars in these words of Chytraeus (1). 'Causam bonarum literarum & emendationis studiorum doctrinae barbarae, passim in omnibus Collegiis & Scholis regnantium, majore cum fructu egit (Langius) tametsi aliquot adhuc annos reluctantibus veteris Barbariei patronis, ac nominatim Academia Colonienfis, quae datus ad Conradum Rithbergensem Episcopum, qui Henrico Swartzburgensi successerat, & summum Collegium, literis, usitatum tot seculis instituendae adolescentiae & docendi rationem & libellos, in scholis retineri, & mutationes novas, & studii & disciplinae periculosas, faveri flagitabant. Esi autem erudite & gravior Consilii sui causas Rodolphus explicabat: tamen ad Italorum doctorum judicia ipsi provocare necesse fuit. Qui cum emendationem doctrinae in scholis usitatae necessariam esse & Langium recte, Lovanienfes (2) perperam judicare, in responsis ad Episcopum suis pronuntiassent; Episcopus qui Italorum, apud quos olim vixerat, censuram magni faciebat, facultatem aperiendae novae bonarum literarum scholae Collegio dedit. — Langius more successfuly pleaded the cause of polite learning, and a reformation of those barbarous studies, which prevailed in all the colleges and schools, though for some years he met with opposition from the patrons of the old barbarity, particularly the university of Cologne, which, by letters to Conrad Rithbergensis, bishop, and successor of Henry Swartzburgensis, and to the supreme college, earnestly intreated them to patronize the ancient method of instruction in the schools, and to discountenance these innovations so dangerous to study and discipline. And although Rodolph with great learning and earnestness explained

(1) David Chytraeus, in Saxonia, lib. iii, pag. m. 80.

(2) As the author had not spoken of the university of Louvain, but of that of Cologne, perhaps he should read Colonienfes, and not Lovanienfes; but perhaps he had forgot to say, that the university of Louvain wrote also to the bishop of Munster, to thwart the designs of Langius.

the reasons of his undertaking, yet he was forced to appeal to the judgment of the learned Italians; who, in their answers to the bishop, having pronounced, that a reformation of the learning of the schools was necessary, and that Langius had judged right, but the university of Louvain wrong; the bishop, who paid a great deference to the opinion of the Italians, among whom he had formerly lived, gave the college power to open a new school of humanity.'

[B] He published some poems, which prove, that, before Conrad Celtis, Germany produced some famous Latin poets. Let us cite the same evidence once more: 'Primus autem Germaniae Poeta, ipse Rodolphi Agricola judicio, avorum aetate, aliquot ante Conradum Celtis annis celebris, hic Rodolphus Langius fuit, editis, de excidio Hierosolymae postremo, de obsidione Novesium, de Paulo Apostolo, de Maria Virgine, Poematis clarus. De quo condiscipulo & aequali suo Hegius cecinit:

Jam ferre Poetas

Barbarie in media Westphalia ora potest.
Langius hanc decorat majorum sanguine clarus
Monasteriaci lausque decusque soli
Primus Melpomenem qui rura in Westphala duxit
Cum caneret laudes, maxime Paule, tuas.

— But the first German Poet, in the opinion of Rodolph Agricola himself, in the time of our ancestors, some years before Conrad Celtis, was this Rodolph Langius, famous for his poems, on the last destruction of Jerusalem, the siege of Neus, the apostle Paul, and the Virgin Mary. He was school-fellow and equal of Hegius, who thus celebrated him.

Westphalia, which barbarity o'er-runs,
Can now produce Apollo's tuneful sons.

Langius

Rodolph Agricola dedicated to Langius his Latin version of the *Axiochus* of Plato (b).

*Langius exalts her glory, whose great name
To rising Munster gives immortal fame.
He first a temple to the Muses rais'd,
And in Westphalian verse the great apostle prais'd.*

Note, that Chytræus, in making use of the word

editis, declares that these poems were printed. Nevertheless the abridger of Geiner's Bibliothecæ (3), who mentions some other poems of Langius, insinuates some doubt; for he says, that Herman Hamelman, who acknowledges to have seen them, does not specify whether they were manuscripts, or printed works.

(3) Epit. Bibl. Geineri, pag. m. 734.

(a) Caisaremon-
tius.

(b) Vossius, de
Scient. Mathem.
pag. 388.

(c) And yet the
edition of 1612 is
mentioned in the
Catalogue of the
Bodleian library.

LANGIUS (JOSEPH) a native of Keisersberg (a) in the upper Alsace, and professor of Mathematics, and the Greek tongue at Friburg in Brisgaw, was writing his *Elementale Mathematicum* (b) in the year 1612, which was not printed (c), according to Vossius, till five years after (d). Isaac Habrecht, a Philosopher and a Physician, enlarged it, and adorned it with notes and figures, and published it (e) in the year 1625. Langius had printed, at Strasburg, in 1598, a *Florilegium* [A], in 8vo, which was followed some time after, by a book in Folio, intituled *Polyanthea Nova* [B]. He lived several years in the Protestant communion, and then he embraced the Romish faith (f). I give the titles of his other books [C].

(d) At Friburg.

(e) At Strasburg.

(f) See the pre-
face to his Poly-
anthea.

[A] *A Florilegium*. It is an alphabetical collection of sentences, apothegms, comparisons, examples, and hieroglyphics. Such a book is of use to scholars, in dilating upon a theme. It might be also serviceable to learned men, if all the citations had been well collated with the originals; but little care has been taken of that. Our Langius was contented to transcribe the modern compilers, and among others Thomas Hibernicus (1), whose book, *Flores Doctrinarum*, abounds with faults.

(1) Detericus
nihil aliud in
Langio reperit
dit quam credu-
litatem, qua se
ad Hibernico de-
cipi pultus est.
Thomastus, de
Flugis, n. 482.

(2) At Basil,
and then at Sarre,
in 1514, and at
Colgne in 1539.
Index libr.
prohib pag. 725.
Edit. 1667.

(3) It was re-
printed at Venice,
in 1592.

[B] *Polyanthea Nova*. The author, in this book, has followed the same method, as in the *Florilegium*. The Index of Spain corrects some places in it, and gives an account of the books intituled *Polyanthea*. I think it will not be amiss to give the substance of that account. The first *Polyanthea* was printed in 1512 (2): it is the work of the Monk Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius, author of the *Monasticon Evangelio-
rum*. The second was compiled by a Bookseller of Cologne, called Maternus Cholinus, and published in the year 1585 (3). He added to Mirabellius, all that he thought proper to be copied from three books, that had been published, I mean from the

collection of Bartholomæus Amantius, and from the *Sententiarum opus absolutissimum ex probatissimis au-
thoribus excerptum* (4), and from an anonymous book printed at Lyons. Cholinus, besides, inserted his own collections. The third, intituled *Polyanthea nova*, is the work of our Joseph Langius, and was printed at Geneva in 1600, at Lyons in 1604, at Francfort in 1607, and several times since. The fourth, called *Polyanthea novissima*, is divided into twenty books, and differs from the third only in some additions. The fifth, called *Florilegium magnum, seu Polyanthea floribus novissimis sparsa*, was published at Francfort, in 1621. What is new in this book, is owing to the industry of Franciscus Sylvius Insulanus. I have mentioned elsewhere (5) Gruterus's Supplements: they contain two volumes; so that the *Florilegium magnum* contains three volumes: the first is Sylvius Insulanus's; the second and third, printed at Francfort, in 1624, are Gruterus's.

(4) *Py Francis-
cus Tortius, seu
de Tort, of An-
gers. That work
was printed at
Paris, in 1560,
and 1580.*

(5) In the article
of GRUTERUS,
(IANUS), remark
[1].

[C] I give the titles of his other books. An edition of Juvenal and Persius at Friburg, 1608. *Tyr-
rocinium Græcarum Literarum*, ib. 1607. *Adagia,
five Sententia Proverbialia*.

LANGLE (JOHN MAXIMILIAN DE) minister of the gospel, was born at Evreux in 1590. He was made minister of the Reformed church at Rouën in 1615, being then but twenty five years of age. He discharged all the functions of his ministry for fifty two years with great reputation, piety, and eloquence. We have two volumes of his sermons, one upon the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, the other upon several texts of the Scripture, and a dissertation, by way of a letter, in defence of Charles I, king of England. Seven years before his death, he fell into a palsy, which occasioned an impediment in his speech; notwithstanding which, his ingenious and pious conversations were both pleasing and edifying. He died in 1674, in the eighty fourth year of his age, leaving several children behind him [A], who inherited his merit and his virtue (a).

(a) I publish this
article just as it
has been commu-
nicated to me.

[A] He left several children. SAMUEL DE LANGLE, his eldest son, was born at London, and was carried into France being one year old, where he constantly lived, till the last persecution obliged him to retire into England. He was a minister almost in the same year of his age as his father, and jointly officiated with him in the church of Rouën, for twenty three years. He was afterwards invited to Paris in 1671, to serve the church that met at Charenton, and was very much esteemed in both places for his gravity, his solid learning, and consummate prudence, being an intimate friend of Mr Claude. The persecutions of France, and particularly that which deprived fathers of their children, obliged him to retire into England. The university of Oxford made him doctor of Divinity, without his asking it: and king Charles II gave him, as a testimony of his esteem, a prebend in the abbey of Westminster. He was born in 1622. He fell sick in the seventy first year of his age, in June 1693, of a violent distemper, which lasted eight days, but hindered him not from preserving all the strength of his

parts, continually making excellent discourses to his relations and friends, and especially to his children, to whom he had given the same education he received from his father. The public has yet seen no other writings of his, besides a letter upon the differences between the Episcopallians, and Presbyterians in England. Dr Stillingfleet, the present bishop of Worcester (1), printed it at the end of one of his books upon the same subject; but they have found, among his manuscripts, a treatise concerning the Christian truth, which he began some years before, and finished a little before his death. It is hoped, that Mr de Langle, his eldest son, and a minister too, will publish it in a little time. He also made many critical observations upon several places of the scripture, and particularly on the Psalms, which it is believed he would have published himself, if he had lived long enough to put them in order as he designed them (2).

(1) He died in
1690, since the
first impression of
this passage.

(2) A Memoir,
imparted to me,
which I print just
as I have received
it.

As for the other children of John Maximilian de Langle, the memoir, I cite, says nothing of them.

(a) Thuanus, lib. xxiv, circa fin. ad ann. 1581.

(b) See the remark [A].

(c) Thuan. ibid.

(d) Id. ibid.

LANGUET (HUBERT), a native of Viteaux in Burgundy (a), became famous for his ability and virtue, in the XVIth century. Having read a book of Melancthon in Italy, he was so desirous of knowing that great man, that he went to visit him in Germany. He contracted a very strict friendship with him [A]. He charmed him with his fine conversation; for he had a very good memory, and an exquisite judgment (b). He was a long time one of the chief counsellors to Augustus elector of Saxony (c); and, if we may believe Thuanus, he did not leave that court [B], till he was suspected of being one of those, who advised Gaspar Peucer to publish an exposition of the doctrine of the Eucharist, agreeable to the Geneva confession. This historian adds, that, having left the court of Saxony, he retired to the prince of Orange, and was employed in great affairs, and that, whilst he applied himself to them, he fell sick, and died at Antwerp, the thirtieth of September 1581, being sixty three years old (d). He had a great share in the esteem of Mr du Pleffis Mornai [C]. He is thought to be the author of the speech, which was made to Charles IX, the twenty third of December 1570, in the name of several princes of Germany [D]. The famous

treatise,

[A] He contracted a very strict friendship with Melancthon. All that I have said about this, is afforded me by Joachim Camerarius, in his life of Melancthon. Hunc (Languetum) lectio libri cujusdam in Italia ubi tunc ipse degeret, a Philippo Melancthone compositi cupiditate incendit videndi autorem illius, & ea stimulos perpetuo admoveens perpulerat tandem ut in Germaniam veniret, & Wittenbergam se conferret (1). Languet came to Wittenberg in the year 1549 (2), and kept so close to Melancthon, that, excepting some journeys from time to time, he never left him. Neque ab ipso discessit, nisi interduum per intervalla quadam peregrinationum, quibus mirifice delectabatur, donec Philippi Melancthonis vita in terris duravit (3). Languet's conversation was admirable. He spoke learnedly of the interests of princes, and was thoroughly acquainted with the history of illustrious men (4). His memory never failed him as to the circumstances of time, or proper names; and he had an extraordinary sagacity at discovering the inclinations of people, and foreseeing the event of things. He, who gives him this testimony, was particularly acquainted with him. Neque ego, says he (5) audio ullum alterum, qui tam prudenter & certo, & plane, dilucide, disertè, exponeret, quicquid narrare instituit. Non ille in hominum nominibus falli, non indicis temporum errare, non confundere rerum negotiorumque seriem. Erat autem in eo singularis sagacitas in notandis naturis hominum, & conjiciendo, quo quisque suapte ingenio deferretur, & quæ esset voluntatis inclinatio. Consiliorum etiam solertissimus estimator, & eventuum futurorum provisione admirabilis.

(1) Joach. Camerarius in Vita Melancthi. pag. m 333.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Erat autem Philippo grata atque jucunda multarum magnarumque rerum, quas ille tenebat commemoratio, & oratio de Regibus Principibusque gubernationum, & aliis sapientia, virtute, doctrina prestantibus viris horum temporum. Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Quo tempore narrat in Philippo Melancthonis Vita Joachimus Camerarius eleganti illius & multiplici eruditione referti de anima libri à Melancthone non ita pridem scripti lectione Languetum tanta videndi auctoris cupiditate incensum fuisse, &c. Philib. de la Mare, in Vita Languet, pag. 10.

(7) Melancthonem ab eo tempore tanti assidue, ut religiosæ cæcæque & propriis affectibus indulgere judicet, unum autem sapere Melancthonem. Id. ibid. pag. 9.

means a first, and not a second journey. Perpulerat tandem ut in Germaniam veniret (8). Lastly, it is strange, that, if Languet had been Camerarius's disciple and his boarder at Leipzig in 1548, Camerarius should say, that he did not come into Germany till 1549, out of a desire of seeing Melancthon, which proceeded from his reading a book of his in Italy. Either he, or Mr de la Mare, must be mistaken. In all likelihood Camerarius's account is right; for Languet (9) himself tells him, that, having read in Italy Melancthon's common-places, in the year 1547, and not thinking him sufficiently clear about the Eucharist, he resolved to go and consult the author, and that he saw him in 1549. Would he have spoke after this manner, if he had embraced the Protestant religion at Leipzig in 1548, and if Camerarius had been his professor and landlord in the same year in the same town?

(8) Camerarius in Vita Melancthi. pag. m 334.

(9) Languet, Epistol. xv, ad Joach. Camerarius. pag. m. 27.

[B] If we may believe Thuanus, he did not leave that court, &c.] Thuanus speaks of it too generally. The exposition of the doctrine of the Eucharist came out in the year 1573. Languet was not then at the court of Saxony, but at that of the emperor; and did not leave that employment till 1577. A letter which he writ from Prague the first of March 1577 (10), informs us, that he had obtained leave from his electoral highness of Saxony to retire whither he pleased. Ever after he held a great correspondence with that elector, tho' he applied himself to the affairs of prince Casimir, or of the prince of Orange. All this is proved by his letters, published in the year 1699.

(10) It is the twenty eighth of those he wrote to Camerarius the son.

[C] He had a great share in the esteem of Mr du Pleffis Mornai. That appears from this passage (11): 'At his arrival at Antwerp, Mr du Pleffis found his wife and children sick: and a son whom God had given him, died immediately in his absence; besides he found Mr Languet, his particular friend, dead, whom Madam du Pleffis, tho' sick her self, had attended to his last breath. His last words were: That the only thing he was sorry for, was, that he could not see Mr du Pleffis again before he died, to whom he would have left his heart, if it had been possible. That he had desired to live to see the world grow better; but since it still grew worse he had nothing more to do with it; that the princes of this time were strange people; that virtue bad much to suffer, and little to gain by them; that he very much pitied Mr du Pleffis, who would feel a good deal of it, and would have a bad time to go through; but that he should not despond, and God would assist him: he entreated her to request one thing of him, that, in the first book he should publish, he would make mention of their friendship.' This Mr du Pleffis did, not long after, in a short preface at the beginning of the Latin version of his book concerning the truth of the Christian religion. What he says in praise of Hubert Languet in that preface, has been carefully collected by Voëtius (12). The epitaph alone is worth a panegyric. You will find it in the same Voëtius. Note, that Languet expressed a very great affection for Mr du Pleffis at the time of the Paris massacre (13).

(11) Life of Du Pleffis Mornai, pag. 56, ad ann. 1581.

(12) Disput. Theolog. Tom. IV, pag. 234, & seq.

(13) See the Life of Mr du Pleffis, pag. 22. See also pag. 12, of the same.

[D] The speech made to Charles IX, in the name of several German princes is ascribed to him. Mr Colomies gives a very solid proof of it in his Mélanges Historiques.

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treatise, intitled *VINDICIÆ CONTRA TYRANNOS*, is ascribed to him [E]. The Latin letters, which he wrote to Sir Philip Sidney, were printed at Frankfurt in 1633 (e). Those he wrote in the same language to the Camerarius's, father and son, came out in 1646, and were reprinted with some others (f) in 1685. The fine preface (g), prefixed to those letters, contains a noble encomium upon him.

A large collection of those he wrote to the elector of Saxony, his master [F], during the course of his negotiations, was published at Hall in 1699. I must not forget what Thuanus relates of a conversation he had with him in 1579 [G].

(e) See *Elis de Litterat.* July 1702, pag. 23.

(f) Which he wrote to Augustus, elector of Saxony.

(g) Made by Joachim Camerarius, grandson of the author of the *Life of Melancthon*.

(14) Pag. 13, 14. *riques* (14). He takes it from a letter of Languet to his hero Sir Philip Sidney, written from Vienna the first of January, 1574.

[E] *The famous treatise, intitled, VINDICIÆ CONTRA TYRANNOS.* What I have said above in the project of this Dictionary, at the word Brutus, is too long to be conveniently inserted here. I have thought it more proper to place it at the end of this work by way of dissertation.

(15) De quo supra, citat. (14), of the article BEZA.

(16) See *Mr de la Mare*, in *Vita Langueti*, pag. 67, 68.

(17) Lib. lit. Annal. Belgic.

(18) La Mare, ubi supra, pag. 121, 122.

Some say, he is the author of the book *de Furoribus Gallicis* (15), but without any good grounds (16). It was believed in his family, that he wrote the famous apology for the prince of Orange; which they inferred from his sending a copy of it to each of his relations, as a thing of his own writing. Nevertheless Grotius (17) ascribes this apology to another Frenchman, who was called Peter de Villiers (18).

[F] *They have published a large collection of letters he wrote to the elector of Saxony.* Mr Ludovicus, professor in the university of Hall, procured that edition. We should have been still more indebted to him, if he had added an Index to it, and if he had taken care, that the faults of the Printers, or transcribers, in the proper names, had been more carefully corrected. It is a wonder he put no preface to that book, and that the editions of Germany being generally valuable for the indexes there should be none in Languet's letters, which wanted it more than many other books; because each letter contains several particular facts, which have no connection with a general subject. Here is the title of that book: *Arcana seculi decimi sexti. Huberti Langueti, Legati, dum viveret, & Consiliarii Saxonici Epistolæ secretæ ad Principem suum Augustum Sax. Ducem & S. R. I. septemvolum. Ex APXELIO. Saxonicis descriptis primus à Musæo edit Jo. Petr. Ludovicus.* The abbot Nicaise assured me, that the life of the author, written by Mr de la Mare, would be prefixed to it; but that did not prove true. It was published by itself in the town of Hall in 1700, in 2mo. If it had come to my hands soon enough, this article had been better and fuller. I refer you to Mr Bernard (19), who gives a very large and exact account of that piece: it is well written, and very curious.

(19) In *des Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, March 1701, pag. 286, & seq.

[G] *We must not forget a conversation, which Thuanus had with him.* He became acquainted with Languet at the Baden waters, in the year 1579, and was so charmed with the carriage and fine discourses of that worthy man, that he thought he ne-

ver could part from him. This is the encomium he bestows upon him; which I relate, because neither Voësius nor Mr Teissier have mentioned it. 'Argentina Badam ventum, ubi Thuanus Languetum vacuum nactus ita mordicus per triduum ei adhæsit, ut ab eo divelli non posse putaretur. Ita candor hominis illum ceperat, insigni probitate, judicio non solum in literis, sed in publicis negotiis, quæ tota vita sub variis principibus magna fide gesserat, præditi, ad hæc rerum Germaniæ callentiss. ut Germanos ipsos res patrias suas doceret. Toto illo tempore cum eo assiduus, nisi quantum aquis sumendis impendebat, cum multa didicit, tum breviculum manu ipsius perscriptum, quod & nunc servat, postquam hinc discessit, ab eo accepit, quo generalis Germaniæ status, sicut hodie est, comitorium jus, circulatorum nemerus, consiliorum ordo describitur (20). From Strasburg he came to Baden, where Thuanus, finding Languet at leisure, stuck so close to him for three days, that it was thought he could not be parted from him: so taken was he with the candour of the man, his remarkable probity, and his judgment, not only in matters of learning, but also in public affairs, which he faithfully transacted, during his whole life, under various princes: add to these his thorough knowledge of the affairs of Germany, in which he was able to instruct the Germans themselves. He spent that whole time with him, excepting as much of it as was employed in drinking the waters; during which he not only learned many things, but likewise received from him a small manuscript, which he still keeps, describing the present state of Germany, the rights of the Diets, the number of the Circles, and the order of the Councils.' He says, that Languet shewed him a German lord, who was at a window with his wife, and afterwards asked him with a smile, *If it was in your choice, would you prefer such a handsome woman before the archbishopric of Cologne?* Thuanus, not knowing what was the drift of his question said nothing. Languet explained to him the mystery, telling him, that this German lord was the count of Issemburg, who had lately resigned the archbishopric of Cologne to marry Joan de Lignes, sister to the count of Aremberg. He added, that the suppression of celibacy in Germany was inconvenient to the great Protestant lords; for whereas in the time of Popery, they made their daughters Nuns, with a certain prospect of seeing them some time or other raised to the dignity of an abbess, in some very rich convent, they were obliged to marry them in a country where people multiply very fast (21).

(20) Thuanus de Vita sua, lib. ii, init. pag. m. 1176.

(21) Filles omnes quibus homines proletrij abundant, matrimonio elevari tenentur. *Id. ibid.*

(2) Ipse, Epist. Dedic. Uranometrie.

(c) Voësius, ubi supra.

LANSBERGIUS (PHILIP) a Mathematician of the XVIIth century, was born in Zealand (a) in 1561 (b). He was minister of the word of God at Antwerp in 1586, and afterwards at Ter-Goes in Zealand for several years [A]: and at last being declared *emeritus*, he retired to Middleburg (c), where he died in the year 1632. The titles of his works will be seen below [B].

(a) Voësius, de Scient. Mathemat. pag. 341.

(1) De Scient. Mathemat.

[A] *He was minister for several years.* Voësius (1) at page 237, says he was minister at Ter-Goes thirty nine years more or less, but at page 341, he says only twenty nine years. This is doubtless an error of the press; but I confess, it is uncertain whether it consists in the subtraction or addition of X. It is one of the two.

[B] *The titles of his works will be seen below.* *Chronologia sacra libri VI.* printed in 1626. *Prognosticata Astronomiæ restitutæ*, printed at Middleburg in 1629. *Triangulorum Geometricorum libri IV.* printed at the same place in 1631. *Uranometria libri III.* printed at the same place the same year. *Commentationes in motum terræ diurnum & annum, & in verum aspectabilis cæli typum*, wherein he openly de-

clares for the system of Copernicus, and even pretends to perfect it. He wrote this work in Dutch; but it was translated into Latin by Martin Hortensius, and printed at Middelburg in 1630. Fromondus, a doctor of Louvain, confuted it in his *Ant-Aristarchus, five orbis terræ immobilit.* Lansbergius, who lived not long enough to reply, left a son, who answered Fromondus, and at the same time Morinus, Regius professor at Paris, and a Dane called Peter Bartholinus. This answer, intitled, *Jacobi Lansbergii Medicinæ Doctoris Apologia pro commentationibus, &c.* printed at Middelburg in 1633, was confuted by a new book of Fromondus printed in 1634, with the title of *Vesta*, or *Ant-Aristarchi Vindex*. I think the dispute stopped there.

LARROQUE

LARROQUE (MATTHEW DE) in Latin *Larroquanus*, one of the most famous ministers the Protestants have had in France, was born at Leirac a little town of Guienne, near Agen in 1619. The misfortune he had to lose his parents just before he came of age, who for their rank and virtue were among the most eminent of their town, was followed soon after by the loss of his patrimony, nor is it known by what accident, or by whose fraud it happened. This was so far from discouraging him, that it animated him more vigorously to seek consolation in his studies, and to add to his classical learning, the knowledge of Philosophy, and especially of Divinity. He made a very great progress in them, and was admitted minister with applause. He was obliged to go to Paris two years after his admission into the ministry, in order to oppose the cavils of those who endeavoured to ruin his church. He could not overcome them; but he met with favourable conjunctures on other accounts. He preached sometimes at Charenton, and was so liked by the dukes de la Trimouille, that she chose him to be minister of the church of Vitre in Bretagne, and afterwards gave him many marks of a particular esteem. The same did the prince (a) and the princess of Tarente, and the dukes of Weimar (b). He served that church about twenty seven years, and applied himself to the study of the fathers with unparalleled ardour. He quickly gave public proofs of the progress he had made in it; for the answer he published to the motives of conversion of a certain minister (c), who had changed his religion, was full of their testimonies. The books he afterwards printed, extremely raised his reputation [A]. He contracted a very close friendship with Mr Daillé and his son, which was kept up by a frequent correspondence of letters. The journey he made to Paris, procured him the acquaintance of several learned men [B]. The church of Charenton resolved to call him thither in 1669; but the envy of some false brethren was so violent, that they used all artifices to prejudice the court against him, inasmuch that his majesty enjoined that church to lay aside their thoughts of him, notwithstanding the deputy-general of the Protestants (d) offered to be answerable for the good conduct of Mr de Larroque. It was a very great concern to him to be slandered; but the testimony of a good conscience was his remedy. He was invited to be both minister and professor of Divinity at Saumur. He accepted the first employment, but refused the latter, as judging it prejudicial to the study of ecclesiastical history, which was his favourite passion. He was preparing for his journey to Saumur, when the intendant of the province (e) forbade his undertaking it. He appealed

(a) Son to the dukes de la Trimouille.

(b) Daughter of the same lady.

(c) Named Martin.

(d) The marquis de Ruvoign.

(e) Named Mr Poisson.

[A] The books he afterwards printed, extremely raised his reputation. He published in 1665, an answer to a book of the gentlemen of Port-Royal, intitled *L'Office du St Sacrement, &c. the office of the holy sacrament, or the tradition of the church concerning the Eucharist, collected from the holy fathers, and other ecclesiastical authors*. This answer was very much esteemed: 'Mirā cum solertiā nimis Catholicorum virorum, qui ut legentibus fucum facerent SS. Patrum textum vel mutilaverant, vel pravo commento inquinaverant, pias fraudes vel impias dicam nescio, rexit. Mirati sunt omnes nihil inter respondendum illum fugisse, nihilque vindicandum intactum fuisse, tantā sagacitate ac diligentia unum quodque expendens officium, ut in ejus mellesem nemo pedem, vel Spicilegii causa intulerit (1). — He with amazing sagacity detected the pious, or rather impious frauds of the Catholic writers, who, to deceive their readers, had either corrupted the text of the holy fathers, or perverted it by their false comments. It was universally admitted, that in his answer, nothing should escape him, or be left untouched, which wanted vindication, while he discussed every particular with such uncommon industry, and ability, as to leave no room for any one so much as to glean after him.' As much as this book deserved admiration, it did not come up to the excellent work which this author published some years after, with this title, *Histoire de l'Eucharistie*. There were two editions of it in less than two years, and it was translated into English. The author did not put his name to the first edition; but he did to the second, which is that of 1671. It is true, it appeared there under some disguise by the Bookseller's fault, who undoubtedly mistook a g, for a q, in the author's manner of subscribing his name (2). From whence it has happened that several controversialists of the Romish communion have named him Larroque, instead of Larroque. He printed at Geneva in 1670, two Latin dissertations, *de Phostino & Liborio*, wherein, among other things, he shewed some errors of Petavius concerning the epocha of Photinus's condemnation. He confuted in a third dissertation what Mr David had urged against the first. After this he engaged in the defence of his deceased friend Mr Daillé against two learned Englishmen: That book is intitled, *Observationes in Ignatianas Pearsonii*

Vindicias, nec non in Beverigii Annotationes. — *Observationes on Pearson's Vindication of Ignatius, and on Beveridge's Annotations*. He had almost finished his reply to Dr Beveridge's answer, but being desired by some of his friends to drop that dispute, he readily complied with their request. His book concerning the conformity of the discipline of the reformed churches of France with that of the primitive Christians, came after those I have mentioned, and was followed by a treatise on the communion in both kinds, in answer to a book of the bishop of Meaux. This is what we find in the life of the author prefixed to a posthumous book published by Mr de Larroque his son in 1688. We find no mention there of the tract concerning the nature of the church, nor of that concerning the Regale; which two pieces must be added to the foregoing books. As to this posthumous book it is intitled, *Matthæi Larroquani Adversariorum sacrorum libri tres*. Opus Posthumum. Accessit diatriba de legione fulminatrice in qua expenduntur Veterum testimonia quibus hæc historia vera habita est. Authore Daniele Larroquano M. Filio. — *Sacred Observations, in three books, by Matthew Larroque. A posthumous work. To which is added a dissertation on the Thundering Legion: wherein are considered the testimonies of the ancients upon which this history has been founded, by Daniel Larroque, the son of Matthew*. Mr de Larroque the son, who had already given proofs of his knowledge and ability, is the author of the dissertation *De Legione fulminatrice*. He informs us that his father had undertaken an ecclesiastical history, and had finished the three first centuries, and begun the fourth. It is to be hoped the public will some time or other be obliged with that excellent work.

[B] The journey he made to Paris, procured him the acquaintance of several learned men. Among others Mr Justel, Mr Amproux (3), and Mr Conrart. They, and Mr Daillé and his son, and Mr Allix were the Protestants he had the greatest affection for. He made himself known also to several learned men of the Romish communion, particularly to the abbot de Marolles and Mr de Launoi. Several letters of these two gentlemen, and especially of the latter, were found among his papers (4).

(3) Counsellor in the parliament of Paris.

(4) Taken from his Life, prefixed to the *Adversariorum libri tres*.

(1) Daniel Larroquanus, in Vitæ summa Matthæi Larroquani, fol. 5.

(2) Confer what has been said above, remark [N] of the article CAYET.

appealed against that unjust prohibition: the church of Saumur earnestly solicited the necessary permission, and obtained it; however, he did not think proper to make use of it, nor to enjoy a place in spite of the intendant. He continued therefore at Vitré, where his pen was not idle. Three of the principal churches of the kingdom, that of Montauban, that of Bourdeaux, and that of Rouën, desired him for their pastor. he accepted only the invitation of Rouën, where he ended his life, at sixty five years of age, the thirty first of January 1684, after having established his character not only as a learned man, but also as an honest man, and a good pastor (f). He had united all these different characters [C], which are but too often divided. See his eulogium in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, in the fifth article of the month of March, 1684.

(f) Taken from the Abridgment of his Life, prefixed to the work, which Mr de Larroque bis (an published at Leyden in 1683, with this title, Matthæi Larroquani aduersariorum sacrorum libri tres.

[C] He united all these different characters. I have referred you to his eulogium in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres*. I refer you also to the preface, from which I have taken this article, and from which I shall also borrow some verses of Gregory Nazianzen. * Id duntaxat subiungamus colophonem * huic elogio imposituri, quod de suo parente nimirum dicebat Gregorius Nazianzenus, etenim nostro appropriè accommodari potest (5).

(5) Daniel Larroquani in summa Vice Matthæi Larroquani in fine.

* Ἦν μοι πατήρ καλὸς τε καὶ γὰρ ἁθὺς σφόδρα,
ἱσαίος, ἀπλὸς τὸν τρόπον, σάβμην βίη,
Πατράρχος ὄντως Ἀβραάμ τις δεύτερος,
Ὡν ἡ δοκὰν ἄριστος, ἡ τὸν νῦν τρόπον.
- - - Χριστὸν φίλος.
* Ἐπειτα ποιμὴν, ποιμένων ὅτι κρᾶτος.

Erat pater mi vir probus valdè, senex,
Simplexque, vitæ regula & certissima,

Patriarchus alter Abraham: non tam studens
Fama esse, quam re vir bonus contra atque nunc (6).
- - - - - Christi cultor
Exinde Pastor, ordinis decus & sui.

* I shall conclude this eulogium with what Gregory Nazianzen said of his father, being equally applicable to mine.

(6) It is an eulogium given by Theophylact to Amphiarus. See the article A.M. PHIA RAUS, remark [H].

So good, so reverend, my sire appears,
So plain, so strict in life, so full of years,
Another Abraham seems to tread the stage,
While in defiance to the present age,
Virtue, not fame, does all his thoughts engage.
- - - - -
A Christian first, and then a priest became,
And much the order owes to his great name

LASCARIS (CONSTANTINE) left Constantinople, his native place, in 1454, and retired into Italy. He was one of those who restored in the West the knowledge of the *Belles Lettres*. He taught this first at Milan, whither he was invited by Francis Sforza. After them he went to visit cardinal Bessarion at Rome, from whom he received several marks of friendship. He went afterwards to Naples, where he taught Rhetoric, and the Greek tongue with applause. At last he went to Messina, where he remained till his death. He drew a great concourse of scholars thither, and among others Peter Bembo, who was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal, by Clement VII. He left his library to the senate of Messina: It was composed of excellent books, which he had brought from Constantinople. The senate had honoured him (a) with the right of freedom, and his funeral was ordered at the public charge. His marble tomb in the church of the Carmelites, has been ruined by the injuries of time, and never was repaired (b). Our Lascaris is author of some books [A].

(a) In 1465.

(b) Taken from Jerom Ragusa, in Elog. Sculorum.

[A] He is author of some books. They concern the Greek Grammar: Aldus Manutius printed them with some other small pieces of the same nature in Greek and Latin. Besides these, Lascaris made a collection of the learned men, who flourished antiently in Sicily (1).

(1) The Jesuit Jeron Ragusa has inserted it in his *Elogia Sculorum*, printed at Avignon, in 1690.

LASCARIS (JOHN) surnamed Rhyndacenus (a), was of the family of Lascaris, which has produced some emperors of Constantinople. He took sanctuary in Italy, after the destruction of the Eastern empire in the XVth century, and was very kindly received by Laurence de Medicis. This great favourer of learned men thought him proper to be employed in making a collection of the best books which were in Greece, and to that end deputed him to the Sultan [A]. This deputation had a happy success,

(a) Perhaps from a town called Rhyndacus between the Hellespont and Phrygia, mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus.

(1) Paul Jovius is here mistaken; for it was not Bajazet II, but his father Mahomet II, who caused Bandini to be arrested, and sent him to Laurence de Medicis in the year 1478. See Guillet's History of Mahomet II, Tom. II, pag. 310, & seq. and pag. 439. Note, That Mr Wicquefort is very much mistaken in this matter: See his *Traité de l'Ambassadeur*, Tom. I, pag. m. 269.

[A] Laurence de Medicis deputed him to the Sultan. Twice, if we may believe Paul Jovius, who adds that this Sultan loved Philosophy, and had a particular esteem for Laurence de Medicis. It is necessary to set down the words of that historian; for I must compare them with those of Varillas. It is a point of criticism. * Is (Laurentius Medicus) tum absolvendæ Bibliothecæ studio tenebatur. Ob id * Lascarem, ad conquirenda volumina Byzantium cum legatione ad Bajazetem bis misit: nec defuit honesta petenti, nunquam Barbarus Imperator, quippe qui erat totius philosophiæ studiosus, Averroisique sectator eximius, & de Laurentio privatim tanquam de illustri cultore virtutis, optimè sentiret, quum paulò ante Bandinum percussorem fratris, fuga in Asiam elapsum in catenis ad supplicium tradidisset (1); singulari quidem religionis, atque justitiæ exemplo; quod ille immane scelus in templo ausus, merita poena plectendus censeretur. Itaque Lascaris

tuto abdita Græciæ percrutatus, quum patriæ opes victoribus cessissent, nobiliora divitiis antiquæ dignitatis volumina collegit, ut in Italia servarentur (2). (2) Jovius, Elog. cap. xxxi, pag. m. 74. * He (Laurence de Medicis) was then intent on completing his library. For this purpose he twice deputed Lascaris to Constantinople to Bajazet, nor did the Sultan discourage the well intended errand, being himself addicted to the study of Philosophy, and a celebrated follower of Averroës, and having also a particular regard for Laurence's virtuous character, to whom he had a little before ordered Bandini to be delivered up in chains who had fled into Asia, for the murder of his brother; an eminent instance of religion and justice, in giving up an offender to condign punishment, for so horrid a crime committed in a church. Therefore Lascaris being permitted to ransack the hidden treasures of Greece, though the riches of his country had been swallowed by the conquerors, yet he collected volumes of antiquity much more valuable than

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cefs, for the Grand Seigneur permitted Lascaris to search all the libraries, by which means an infinite treasure of rare learning was transported into Italy. After that Lascaris went into France, where he had the esteem of Lewis XII, who sent him to Venice, in quality of ambassador [B]. He went from thence to Rome in the pontificate of Leo X, and

(3) Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence, pag. 181.

'than richer, in order to their being deposited in Italy.' Varillas thought this narrative of Paul Jovius was too dry, and therefore he has embellished it with abundance of circumstances, as if, instead of faithfully translating another man's work, he had been employed to turn it into a romance. Here is his account (3): 'Laurence de Medicis received Lascaris with open arms; and committed to him the care of his library: one day as they discoursed about the means of enriching it, Lascaris recollected that Bajazet II, emperor of the Turks had an inclination for Philosophy, and having caused Averroës's commentaries upon Aristotle to be explained to him, would probably not be unwilling to have the Peripatetic writings preserved from the wreck of learning. Laurence de Medicis promised to furnish him with all things necessary for a voyage to Constantinople, if he would engage in that design. Lascaris took him at his word, and embarked without any other credentials, than what Laurence de Medicis gave him to his factors. However, he found access to the Grand Seigneur, and was introduced to his highness, who received him much better than he expected. They had a very long conversation, and Bajazet expressed to him all the esteem, an infidel was capable of, for the virtue of Laurence de Medicis, and permitted him (on his account) to buy up all the manuscripts which were to be sold in his empire. His highness appointed persons to conduct him to the places where he knew there had been libraries, and to prevent those who had plundered them, from selling the books too dear. Thus Lascaris had the conveniency of going through all Greece, and collecting those rare volumes, which are still preserved, in the king's library. However, he brought only one half of them in the first voyage he made: because the pleasure of shewing his patron the authors he had recovered, and which were supposed to be lost, would not let him stay from Florence any longer than two years. But Laurence de Medicis sent him back three months after, desiring him to continue his search, wherever there had been learned men. Lascaris waited again upon Bajazet, and received from him new civilities. He searched all Peloponnesus, and returned as it were in triumph, in a vessel laden with the remainder of the spoils of the Greek tongue. But he had not as yet placed his manuscripts in the sumptuous building designed for them, when Laurence de Medicis died, and left Italy in a calm, which was not of long continuance. The French army entered Florence, and plundered the books as well as the other effects of the house of Medicis.' Here are not only many circumstances, which Varillas has forged to embellish and enlarge his story, but also some falsifications; for he supposes, I. that Lascaris had no credentials to the Grand Seigneur. What is then the meaning of these words of Paul Jovius, *Byzantium CUM LEGATIONE ad Bajazetem missi*? II. That the rare volumes collected by Lascaris, are in the French king's library, the French army having plundered the books and other effects of the house of Medicis, in the time of Charles VIII. To confute this historian in this particular, we need only put him in mind, that he himself says in another book (4), that the house of Medicis was plundered by the Florentines, before the troops of Charles VIII, entered into Florence. He says expressly, that the Florentines plundered the prodigious collection of statues, pictures, BOOKS, and medals, which foreigners came to see with admiration in the palace of Medicis. Note, that the books of this library, which may have been brought into that of the French king, were conveyed thither by another channel than the expedition of Charles VIII. This removal is more modern; see Father Jacob in his treatise of libraries: he will inform you that Catherine de Medicis brought among other things to Henry II, her husband, the manuscripts of the famous library of Medicis, which were put into the royal library, where they are still preserved (5).

(4) Varillas, Histoire de Charles VIII, liv. iii, pag. 262, ad ann. 1494. Dutch Edit.

(5) Jacob, Traité des Bibliothèques, pag. 458.

When it shall be proved that Varillas had any other authority than the eulogies of Paul Jovius, for what he says of Lascaris in his Anecdotes de Florence,

I will see, whether I am wrong in accusing him of being the inventor of most of the circumstances he has mentioned. If he had met with what Jovius remarks, in another book, he would have given us a relation yet much more paraphrastic: this would have been a scene full of decorations. Jovius relates that the basha Cherseoglis got leave for John Lascaris to search all the libraries of Greece, when, by order of Leo X, he went in quest of old manuscripts. 'Nec illud quidem erga literarum studia eximia benignitatis officium prætermittendum videtur, quod Lascaris, quem supra memoravimus Græcorum nobilissimo, pariter atque doctissimo antiquos codices jussu Leonis decimi conquiriti, cunctas Græciæ bibliothecas imperato ad id regio diplomate, liberè excutiendas aperuit (6). — Nor must that good office of his to the Republic of Letters be forgot, in procuring for Lascaris, that noble and learned Greek, whom I before mentioned to be sent by Leo X, to search for ancient manuscripts, the Grand Seigneur's leave to examine all the libraries of Greece.' This historian had been saying that this basha having turned Mahometan out of spite, preferred in his heart the Christian faith, and had a crucifix concealed in a closet, which he worshipped in the night, when no body could discover him. He shewed his crucifix to John Lascaris, who afterwards related all these particulars to Jovius. The disgust which induced him to an outward abjuration of Christianity was this. He was going to be married to a great beauty, when his father falling in love with her, resolved to take her from him, and marry her himself. This injury so enraged the son that he retired to the neighbouring garrisons of the Turks, and afterwards to Constantinople, where Bajazet gave him a very kind reception, and promised him one of his daughters in marriage. The young man turned Mahometan, quitted his name of Stephen, and took that of Achomat, and Cherseoglis, and became son-in-law to Bajazet (7). What paraphrases and flourishes should we not have seen in the Anecdotes of Florence, if Varillas had come to the knowledge of this Latin passage? *Nam, ut ceteri ferè omnes à prima pueritia per delicias Christianis parentibus erepti, sed jam pland vir (Cherseoglis) ita à majorum religione discessit, ut nunquam ex arcano veræ pietatis oblivisceretur. Is Cherseobii reguli in Illyrico, ad montem Nigrum filius, quum adamata ei sponsa quæ erat à Stirpe Serviciæ Despoti, ad paratas nuptias duceretur, concupivit eam illico, quod esset egregiæ venustatis: proci oculis improbus pater, omnemque pudorem superante libidine, sibi statim impotenter excluso filio nuptias celebravit, frustra reclamantibus propinquis, qui id facinus filio contumeliosum patrique & domui infame detestabantur. Itaque juvenis tantæ injuriæ indignitate commotus, præcæpitque adus desperatione, &c (8).* I leave others to examine whether Jovius has not confounded the voyages which John Lascaris made by order of Laurence de Medicis, with the voyage he supposes that he made into Greece under Pope Leo X. Bajazet died before the pontificate of Leo X, and I question much whether Cherseoglis had any great interest with the succeeding Sultan; and it is certain, he was never in so great a capacity of serving John Lascaris, as in Bajazet's reign.

[B] Lewis XII. . . . sent him to Venice in quality of ambassador.] I find he sent him thither in 1503, and 1505. See Peter Bembo in the History of Venice (9), where he mentions the occasion of those embassies, and the substance of the ambassador's speech. Vianoli (10) affirms, that in 1507, the republic hearing of the league of Cambray, dismissed Lascaris ambassador to Lewis XII, but how could this league be then known, which was not concluded till December 1508? See the margin (11).

What Mr de Wicquefort says of this embassy, is not very complainant. The Pope, says he (12), 'knew, when it was too late, the fault which he had been guilty of, in making choice of an impetuous and ridiculous minister. John Lascaris, whom Lewis XII, sent on an embassy to Venice in the year 1503, was not much better. He was descended from a family which had formerly given great princes to the empire of Constantinople, and was very learned, but knew nothing

(6) Jovius, Historiar. lib. xiii, fol. m. 256.

(7) Jovius, ibid. fol. 255, verso.

(8) Id. ibid. fol. 255. See also Melancthon in the fifth book of Carion's Chronicle, pag. m. 874.

(9) Lib. vi, fol. m. 144, verso, & lib. vii, fol. 152.

(10) Historicæ Venetæ, Part. II, pag. 76.

(11) I believe that, by way of anticipation, that author calls the alliances which were forming before the conclusion of the treaty of Cambray, the league of Cambray.

(12) Wicquefort, de l'Ambassadeur, liv. 1, pag. m. 166.

and made another voyage into Greece, from whence he brought some young gentlemen to be educated in the college which was founded on mount Quirinal, in order to preserve the right pronunciation of the Greek tongue (b). He returned into France in the reign of Francis I [C], and having staid there some time, he went to Italy again, and died at Rome of the gout, being about ninety years of age. He was buried in the church of St Agatha. Tho' he had no settled income, he had always wherewithal to supply his expences, and yet he was intirely regardless of his domestic concerns, and loved to live great. His indolence did not suffer him to compose many books (c) [D]. He understood Latin very well, and did not think it beneath him to be corrector of the press [E]. I must examine Gyraldus's relation [F]. I omitted,

nothing at all of the affairs of the world. Besides, he had a very mean presence, and lived to very low and sordidly, that instead of appearing like an ambassador, and doing honour to the king, his master, he affected to imitate the false modesty of those who giving themselves up intirely to contemplative Philosophy, profess an affected poverty and something of the manners of a Cynic. His commission was the more difficult to execute, because he had orders to borrow money, and to make an alliance, at a time when the inclinations of the senate were not at all in the French interest; because the affairs of that king were not in a very good condition in Italy. Laurence Suarez de Figueroa, ambassador from Ferdinand the Catholic king, who did not fail to make his advantage of the discontent of the republic, which could not bear that king's sending them a pedant instead of an ambassador, said in full senate, that they might judge how the king of France would use them, if after the conquest which he pretended to make of the kingdom of Naples, he gained his ends, and could tyrannize over Italy as he pleased; since in his very troubles and necessities he despised the senate so much, as to send them a Greek Philosopher, who was just come from the college.

[C] He returned into France in the reign of Francis I.]

Paul Jovius says nothing of it, which is the reason why Varillas said nothing of it neither. His paraphrase on that historian imports, that Lascaris not knowing what to do, engaged himself with Charles VIII. And that being a man fit for business, he had an embassy, given him to Venice, which he honourably discharged in the reign of that monarch, and of Lewis XII, his successor. At last, Leo X being made Pope, invited Lascaris to Rome to be one of his council (13). This, according to Varillas, was Lascaris's last employment; which is a manifold mistake; for this Pope did not make him his counsellor, but director of a Greek college (14), and afterwards this learned man had some employment at Paris. I take it to have been that of the king's library-keeper, which I ground upon a letter, wrote by James Tufanus to Angelus Lascaris, the son of John, in which are these words (15). 'Jani patris tui excellentem in Romana lingua, nedom veitra, peritiam pluribus hic verbis ne fusius persequar, illud certe dicam: Græcæ literaturæ quantum usu, quantum scientia præcellat, ex hoc intelligi vel maxime posse, quod cum ex cunctis vestri generis hominibus de sententia doctissimorum delectum princeps noster Franciscus accersendum esse censuerit, ut Museo, quod in hac urbe longe omnium principe multo celeberrimum speramus excitatum iri, propediem, velut alter Apollo præficeret. — I shall not mention particularly your father's great abilities in the Latin, much less in your own language, but cannot forbear observing, that his superior knowledge in the Greek learning may be even most certainly demonstrated from hence, that out of all your learned men our king Francis made choice of him to preside like another Apollo over the library which is going to be established in this great city.' Here follows a passage, which though not free from faults, will however serve for a proof of this matter: it is taken from James du Breul's Antiquities of Paris (16). Emanuel Chrysoloras had

Budæus, as the same author testifies, were the first, at whose solicitation king Francis I, founded his library of Fontainebleau, and afterwards appointed royal professors, as the same author says. Lascaris & Budæus authoribus, Franc. I. Bibliothecam Fontenablaem instruxit, indeque anno 1530. linguarum & mathematicum professores. Nam ceteri sunt adscriptitii. There are many things to be censured in this passage. I. Tifernas was called Gregory and not Angelo. II. He died in the XVth century, how then could he come to Paris in 1523? Father du Breul had been saying that Chrysoloras, who died at Constance the fifteenth of April 1415, had taught him Greek. This was sufficient to shew, that he did not live till the reign of Francis I. III. It is absurd to pretend that John Lascaris, a native of Greece learned the Greek tongue of an Italian (17). IV. It is a gross ignorance to say, that in 1523, he and William Budæus were young scholars. Budæus was then fifty six years old, and was looked upon as the most learned man, and the greatest Grecian in France. V. Genebrard's passage cited by du Breul signifies that John Lascaris came into France after Tifernas, and after the death of Laurence de Medicis. He who cites it, did not understand it. Note, that Lascaris returned into France in the year 1518 (18), and that he continued there in 1528 (19). Which shews that Moreri is guilty of a gross fault, for he says that he died a little after Leo X, was made Pope.

[D] His indolence did not suffer him to compose many books.] He was desired to make some versions of the Greek authors, but he could hardly be persuaded to translate some tracts of Polybius concerning the art of war (20). I find in the catalogue of the Bodleian library, his book *De Veris Græcarum literarum formis, ac causis apud antiquos*, printed at Paris in 1536, in 8°. and his orations, printed at Francfort in 1573. Gesner (21) says that his Latin and Greek epigrams were printed at Basil in 1537.

[E] He understood Latin well, and did not think it beneath him to be corrector of the press.] The passage of Erasmus, which I have quoted in another place (22), shews, that John Lascaris was master of the Latin tongue, Jovius gives him the same commendation. 'Valebat Latina facundia, ita ut versus, qui extant percriberet (23). — The verses he has published prove him master of the Latin tongue.' Besides these two testimonies, and that of Tufanus (24), I could add some others, if it were necessary. Note, that Lascaris was not pleased with the commendation given him by Erasmus, in the dialogue intitled *Ciceronians*. He joined with the malecontents, who wrote satirical verses at Paris against the author of that dialogue (25). He was too exceptionous and angry without reason; for these are Erasmus's words: 'De Jano (Lascaris) quoniam adhuc superest, dicendum est parcius. Morum comitate generis nobilitatem præ se fert, acri judicio vir, multæ in Epigrammatibus argutiæ: poterat inter Ciceroniani cognominis candidatos numerari, ni crebræ legationes ac Regum negotia revocassent hominem à Musis (26). — As to John Lascaris, since he is yet living we must say the less of him. His great complaisance shews his noble birth; he was a man of great judgment, and a fine writer of epigrams; and had not his frequent embassies and state employments diverted him from his studies he might have been reckoned amongst the candidates for the Ciceronian honours.'

As for his being corrector of the press, read these words of Henry Stephens (27): 'Quid verò dicturos (27) Henr. M. illum Musurum & Janum Lascarin putamus, in quibus primis Græciæ reviviscere cepit, & qui principes in pandendo nobis ad linguæ Græcæ adyta itimelovendum de nere fuerunt? quid, inquam, dicturos remur, si, Vitis Stephan. quum ipsi tantum honoris arti typographice detule- rint

(13) Varil. Anecd. de Flor. pag. 184.

(14) See a Letter of Budæus, among those of Erasmus. It is the thirtieth of the second book, pag. 136.

(15) Gesner. in Biblioth. fol. 39. verso.

(16) Du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, livr. ii. pag. 583. Paris Edit. 1639. in 4to.

(b) Taken from Paul Jovius, in Elog. cap. xxxi.

(c) Ex eodem, ibid.

(17) Tifernas was an Italian.

(18) See Erasmus's Letters, book xi, n. iv, pag. 548, & n. 5. pag. 549.

(19) See the same Letters, book xx, n. 72, pag. 1030.

(20) Paul Jovius, in Elog. cap. xxxi, pag. 74.

(21) Gesner. Biblioth. fol. 39. verso.

(22) In the remark [A] of the article MUSEURUS.

(23) Jovius, ubi supra.

(24) Above, in the remark [C], citat. (15.)

(25) See Erasmus's Letters, pag. 1030, 1030, 1044, and elsewhere. Edit. Londin.

(26) Erasmus. in Ciceroniano, pag. m. 70.

I omitted, I cannot tell how, a particular very well worth observing, which is, that he 'first of all discovered, or at least brought again into use, the capital letters of the Greek alphabet, in which he printed in 1449 some moral sentences, and other verses which he dedicated to Peter de Medicis, with a long epistle dedicatory, wherein he acquaints him with his design, and the pains he had taken in tracing out the true figure of these great letters from the most antient medals and monuments of antiquity (4).

(4) Naudé.
Addit. to the
Hist. of Lewis
XI, pag. 303,
304.

'rint, ut non indignam existimant cui suam operam navarent, fungentes munere correctorum (liceat enim de rebus typographicis typographicè loqui) eò rem devenisse videant, ut siquis, &c. — *What think you would Musurus and Lascaris say, our first masters and introducers of the Greek language? What would they say, think you, if after having honoured the Printing art so far themselves as not to think it beneath them to do the office of corrector of the press they had lived to see matters brought to that pass, that if any one, &c.* We may also add to this the words of Mr Chevallier (28): 'I believe Lascaris was corrector of the press in the edition of *Avicenna*, printed at Lyons, in three volumes in folio, with the commentaries of James de Partibus, by John Trechsel, and John Cley, in the year 1498, as I conjecture from the Epistle Dedicatory to John Ponceau, Physician to the king, which he prefixed to that book.'

(28) Chevill.
Orig. de l'Impri-
merie, pag. 194.

[F] I must examine Gyraldus's relation.] It im-

ports, that the family of Medicis being expelled Florence, Janus Lascaris wandered about for some time, till Leo X, sent for him to Rome, that after the death of this Pope he was sent for into France by Francis I, who having made use of him in the foundation of a college and library, deputed him to Venice, where he continued a long time; and that at last, after the death of Clement VII, he was persuaded to come to Rome by the promises of Paul III, where he died soon after, leaving a son who was called Angelo (29). I observe here first a great omission. Gyraldus says nothing of the embassy to Venice under Lewis XII. I further observe, that he supposes Francis I sent Lascaris to Venice, in the quality of Legatus (Ambassador). I believe he is mistaken. Note lastly, that he did not know this learned Greek was at Rome in the year 1532, under the pontificate of Clement VII. See the twenty eighth letter of Bunel, wherein he says, that he saw John Lascaris at Rome in that year (30).

(29) Taken from
Lilius Gregorius
Gyraldus, de
Pict. Socor.
Tem. Dial. I,
pag. m. 552.

(30) Bonellus,
Epist. xxviii,
pag. 108. Edit.
Tolof. 1687.

LASICIUS (JOHN) a Polish gentleman (a), made himself known in the XVth century by the productions of his pen [A]. Genebrard has given him a very indifferent character. He makes him a perfect Proteus, a weather-cock in matters of religion. 'This man, says he (b), favoured the Trinitarians about the year 1565: but soon after became a Calvinist, and after this a Bohemian or Picard brother [B], and

(a) See the re-
mark [B].

(b) Genebr.
Chronol. lib. iv,
ad ann. 1582,
pag. m. 786.

[A] He made himself known by the productions of his pen.] It is said in Gesner's Epitome (1), that he composed a book in his mother-tongue, wherein he learnedly and effectually confuted the new Samofatenians and Arians, and also wrote a treatise against their errors in Latin, addressed to Duditius. The Oxford Catalogue takes notice of his book *de Diis Samogitarum, cæterorumque Sarmatarum & falsorum Christianorum: item de Religione Armeniorum & de initio regiminis Stephani Batorii*, at Basil, 1615, in 4to. His *Historia de ingressu Polonorum in Valachiam anno 1572, & Dantiscanorum clades anno 1577*, at Basil, 1582. His *veræ Religionis Apologia & falsæ Confutatio*, printed at Spire, in 1582, with *Collectio variorum Autorum de Russorum, Muscovitarum, & Tartarorum Religione, Sacrificiis, & Nuptiarum, ac Funerum ritu*. This is the work Genebrard speaks of. It is proper to take notice, that there is to be met with in it, a Latin translation which Lasicius made of a manuscript given by the great duke of Muscovy, in the year 1570, to a Protestant divine, who accompanied the king of Poland's ambassadors (2). 'Qui (Johannes Rokita) Anno Christi 1570. jussu seniorum suorum, Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ Legatus in Moscoviam comitatus, ipsi à sacris fuit Concionibus. Hic cum ipso Magno Moscoviæ Duce, Basilio (vocatus in arcem Moscoviensem die 10 Maii) colloquium habuit, & in magna Procerum gentis ejus frequentia fidei suæ rationem reddidit. A quo etiam (die 18 Junii) Librum Ruthenicis characteribus (quorum illic usus est) enarratum, accepit, quo summa Religionis Moscovitiæ continetur. Qui liber à Domino Johanne Lasitio Latio donatus Spiræ Nemetum Anno 1582 typis editus est, una cum Responsionibus, quibus Errores Moscovitarum deteguntur & refutantur. — *Who (John Rokyta) in the year 1570, was appointed to attend as chaplain to the king of Poland's ambassadors to Muscovy. Here he had a conference with the great duke himself, Basilus, being called into the castle of Muscovy, on the tenth of May, and gave an account of his faith before a large assembly of the grandees of that nation. From him he also received, on the eighteenth of June, a book written in Runic characters, which are there made use of, containing the sum of the Muscovite religion. Which book has been translated into Latin by John Lasicius, and printed at Spire, in 1582, together with an answer in confutation of the Muscovite errors.* Regenvolius has said the same thing. 'Hanc fidei Confessionem, à se, mandato Principis Moschi, conscriptam, Rokita toti Senatui ipsius, eo præsentem

(2) Martin. Grat.
de prima Ecclesiæ
Unitatis Fratrū
in Polonia Narr.
ad collem Jo.
Lasitii Histor.
Fratrum Bohem.
pag. 381.

exhibuit. Tum Moschus Dux Responsionem, ad hanc Rokitæ Confessionem, libro eleganter in quarto Ruthenicis literis scripto, & pretiosè tela auro textâ ornato, comprehensam; ei in manus porrexit. Author hujus Historiæ, vidit librum hunc, in Bibliotheca eximii cujusdam Patroni. Colloquium hoc; & Quæstiones ultrò citroque inter Moschovitarum Principem, & Rokitam Ministrum habitas, descripsit Latino idiomate, Joh. Lasicius, in Theologia Moschovica, Spiræ Nemetum, An. 1582 editâ: cum refutatione superstitionum Russicarum, & Evangelicorum, atque ipsius Lutheri defensione (3). — *Who, at the command of the great duke of Muscovy, drew up this confession of faith, and, in his presence, presented it to the whole senate. Upon which that prince gave Rokita a book in quarto, elegantly written in the Runic character, and richly bound, containing an answer to his confession. The author of this history saw the very book in the library of a certain eminent patron of learning. This conference, and the arguments which passed between the Muscovite prince and Rokita the divine, have been published in Latin, by John Lasicius, in his Muscovite Divinity, printed at Spire, in 1582; together with a confutation of the Muscovite superstitions, and a defence of Lutheranism.* In the following remark will be mentioned another work of Lasicius.

(3) Adrian.
Regenvolius,
Syst. Historico-
Chron. Ecclesi-
arum Slavonicarum, pag. 91.

[B] A Bohemian, or Picard Brother.] The preface before his history of the Bohemian Brothers, informs us (4), that at first he embraced the reformation according to the Zuinglian opinion, upon the lesser Poland, being reformed by some divines from Zurich; that afterwards having heard that the churches of the greater Poland, which had shaken off the yoke of Popery, had some of them received the confession of Augsburg, and others that of Bohemia, he enquired very particularly into the reasons of this difference; that he made a visit to the greater Poland, and after that to Bohemia, Germany, and France, where he examined every thing with great exactness; that no doctrine, or confession of faith, pleased him so much as that of the Bohemian brothers, and that finding this subject had never been yet treated of, he undertook the history of it; that he employed himself in it several years, and composed a work divided into eight parts, and intitled *Origo, Progressus, Reliquæ tam prosperæ quam adversæ nec non Mores, Instituta, Consuetudinesque Fratrum Bohemicorum*. — *The rise, progress, prosperity, and adversity, manners, institutions, and customs, of the Bohemian brothers.* That about the year 1585, he sent it to the churches in Bohemia, and desired

(4) Fuit Lasicius ille gente Polonus, natalibus Eques, dignitate ut à Rege Stephano ad exteros Principes legatus adhiberetur: Religione vero Evangelicæ, & Confessione Helveticæ; quam sollicitè Confessionem Poloniæ minor, Reformatores suos Tihoro machia suam fecerat. Prefat. pag. 10.

and in 1582, in a book he printed at Spire on the religion of the Muscovites (c), he declares himself a Lutheran. It is to be feared, that the weight of his sins will be so great that he will next year turn Mahometan, and afterwards Atheist. To this tends what he observes in p. 16. of that book, that there are a great many variations in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin manuscripts of the scriptures, the Heretics having expunged some things and corrupted, altered, and added others, which he proves from the fine testimonies of Erasmus, Beza, Castalio, Francis Lucas, and Francis Junius. He is strangely incensed against those who hold Mahomet to be Anti-christ, and appropriate to him the number 666 mentioned in the thirteenth chapter of the Revelations. He declares himself the defender of all sorts of intemperance (d): at which those who had once seen him would cease to wonder, for his gross bulk shews him born only for his belly, if he were the same I had some knowledge of at Paris, and whom I furnished with arguments against those of the Trinitarians, about the year 1567. This is what Genebrard says; but it will deserve very little credit, if we consider with what severe calumnies, he treated those who were not Catholics. Lasicius travelled very much, and had the character of envoy of Stephen Battori, king of Poland. He was living in the year 1599. These last particulars will be proved in the remark [B].

(5) Who was soon after governor of Moravia.

desired them to publish it, after having made such alterations and additions as they should judge necessary: that not finding his expectations answered, he sent a more correct copy of his work, in 1599, to the baron Charles of Zerotin (5), humbly beseeching him to make use of his authority and purse, in printing that manuscript; but that all this had no effect. At last, one of the Bohemian brothers published the eighth book of this history of Lasicius, in 1649, with an abstract of the other seven. This is the title of that edition: *Johannis Lasicii nobilis Poloni Historie de Origine & Rebus gestis Fratrum Bohemorum*

Liber octavus, qui est de moribus & institutis eorum ob præsentem rerum statum (6) *seorsim editus. Adduntur tamen reliquorum vii Librorum Argumenta, & particularia quædam Excerpta.* — The eighth book of Lasicius, a Polish nobleman's history of the origin and affairs of the Bohemian brothers, which treats of their manners and institutions, published by itself on account of their present situation. To which are added, the arguments of the other seven books, with some particular extracts out of them.

(d) Ille Gole, bibaculus, voluptuarius impudicus Patronum agit. Genebr. Chronol. lib. iv, pag. 786.

L A T I N U S (JOHN) a Moor by birth, was brought over into Spain, a little boy, and served in the family of the duke of Sueffa (a) [A]. The happy genius which was observed in him procured him the liberty of being instructed together with his young master; by which means he grew so learned, that being enfranchised, he obtained of the archbishop of Granada, the mastership of the grammar-school, belonging to the church of Granada. He worthily discharged that office for the space of twenty years and as he was no less esteemed for his virtue than for his parts, he met with a very advantageous match [B]. He published several poems (b) [C]. Some say, that Cle-

(a) Gonzales of Corduba, grandson to the famous captain of that name.

(b) Taken from Don Nicolas Antonio, Bibl. Hispan. Tom. I, pag. 547.

nard

[A] He served in the family of the duke of Sueffa.

He says so himself, in an inscription which is given us by Don Nicolas Antonio (1). Hæc Joannes Æthiops Christianicola ex Æthiopia usque infans advectus excellentissimi & invictissimi Gonfali Fernandi à Corduba Ducis Sueffæ, Gonfali magni Hispaniarum Ducis Neopitis servus, ab ipso infantie lacte simul nutritus, cum ipso à rudibus annis liberalibus artibus institutus & doctus, & tandem libertate donatus, Granatæ ab illustrissimo pariter & reverendissimo Petro Guerrero Granatensi Archiepiscopo extra omnem aleam doctissimo, S. Ecclesiæ Granatæ cathedram Grammaticæ & Latini sermonis accepit moderandum, quam per viginti annos feliciter moderatus est. — These John the Ethiopian, a Christian, brought out of Ethiopia an infant, servant to the most excellent and magnanimous Gonzales Fernando de Corduba, duke of Sueffa, grandson to the great duke Gonzales, educated by him from a child, and instructed together with him in the liberal arts, being at last made free, he was appointed master of the grammar school belonging to the church of Granada, by the most illustrious, as well as most reverend Peter Guerrero, archbishop of Granada, where he taught the Latin tongue with success for twenty years.

(1) Hic dum Mendoniam Heras I think it is an error of the press, instead of Heras Granatæ in ludum litterarum comitaretur, linguam Latinam eadem opera arripuit Schottus, Bibl. Hispan. pag. 450.

(3) De Scriptor. Seculi xvi, pag. 92.

(4) Nicol. Anton. ubi supra.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Granatæ linguam Latinam publice profiteri coepit, stupendo exemplo in castris nigrum hominem Latine loqui. Schottus, Bibl. Hispan. pag. 450.

(quis credat?) Joannes Æthiops genere, Latinus hinc dictus, at præstanti forma & Musicæ ac Poëticæ in paucis peritus (7). — In the memory of our fathers, John the Moor opened a school here, (at Granada) from whence he was called Latinus, being very handsome in person, and something skilled in Music and Poetry.

(7) Ludov. Nonnius, in Hispania illustrata, pag. 83.

[C] He published several poems. One upon the battle of Lepanto, another on the death of Pius V, and a great number of epigrams. Their titles are: *Aufriados libri II, five de victoria navali Joannis Austriaci ad Echinadas Insulas. De obitu Pii V, ejusque in Philippum regem studio. De augusta regali corporum ex variis tumulis in unum regale templum Escorialis translatione, atque illinc in Granatensē Regiæ Joannæ, Epigrammatum, five Epitaphiorum libri II.* a Granada 1576. — The Aufriad in two books; or, the Naval Victory of Don John of Austria, at Lepanto. Of the death of Pius V, and his affection for king Philip. Of the august translation of the royal bodies from their several sepulchres, to the royal church of the Escorial, and from thence to queen Joan's church at Granada. Epigrams, or Epitaphs, in two books. At Granada, 1576. The inscription, which I have inserted in the first remark, is taken from this last book; and as the author observes, that he was then fifty eight years old (8), one might expect to conclude from hence, the year of his birth. A man who is in his fifty eighth year, in 1576, must have been born in 1518. But we must take care how we reason in this manner; for though Latinus's epigrams and epigrams were published at Granada, in 1576, it does not follow that the inscription we speak of, was made in that year. This consequence would not hold, though we were sure he was then alive; but it will be much less conclusive, if we suppose he died in 1573, as his epitaph imports (9). This we may be certain of, that since he died in 1573, that inscription could not be made after that year; and consequently the author must be at least fifty eight years old in that year, and could not be born after the year 1515. Nicolas Antonio would deserve censure for not having mentioned, if he could

(8) Taken from Nicol. Antonio, Bibl. Hispan. Tom. I, pag. 547.

(9) It is to be seen in Nicolas Antonio, ubi supra, and in Moreri.

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have

nard brought him out of Æthiopia into Spain [D], and instructed him in the *Belles Lettres*. This is not true: it will be easy to shew their error. Moreri's mistakes tho' few in number, are very gross [E].

have done it, the year, in which Latinus said he was fifty eight years old. I could wish, for the rarity of the thing, that our Latinus had found a place among Mr Baillet's Poets.

- [D] *Some say, that Clenard brought him from Ethiopia into Spain.* The author of the *Academie des Sciences* (10), tells us, that Clenard, departing from the court of Fez, 'was only followed by an Ethiopian, his disciple, with whom arriving at Granada, in 1542, he wrote an elegant letter to the emperor Charles V, and died the same year, and left his Ethiopian disciple (known by the name of John Latinus) so well instructed in learning, that he composed a fine Latin poem upon the victory at Lepanto.' I have several reasons to believe, that here are some falsities. I. Latinus says he was but a child, when he was brought from Ethiopia into Europe (11). This could not be true, if he came from Africa to Spain with Clenard, in 1542. He was then at least twenty seven years old. II. He says, that from his childhood (12) he was educated and instructed with Gonzales Fernand de Corduba, his master, who at last gave him his liberty (13). Would he have spoken in this manner, if he had been indebted for all his learning to James Clenard, as Mr Bullart supposes? III. He says nothing which has the least relation to Mr Bullart's account. My third observation persuades me, that Aubertus Miræus is mistaken in saying (14), 'Discipulum reliquit (Clenardus) Joannem Latinum Æthiopem (quod prodigii simile est) Rhetorem Illiberitanum, cujus Poëma exstat panegyricum de navali Joh. Austriaci ad Echinadas Insulas victoria.' He (Clenard) left a disciple, John Latinus, a Moor, (which is almost a miracle) schoolmaster at Granada, whose panegyric poem on the naval victory of Don John of Austria, at Lepanto, is now extant. Doubtless Mr Bullart was deceived by this passage of Aubertus Miræus; but he has added to it a fault of his own, in supposing that Latinus was brought into Europe by James Clenard, in the year 1542. His error probably proceeded from this. Clenard says (15), that being sent to Braga to set up a school there, he
- (10) Bullart, Tom. I, pag. 287.
- (11) See the remark [A].
- (12) A rudibus annis.
- (13) Et tandem libertate donatus.
- (14) Aub. Miræus in Elog. Belg.
- (15) Clenard, Epist. lib. ii, pag. 303.

produced his three Moorish servants before his scholars, and commanded them in Latin to perform certain postures. These Moors had learnt, by his family conversation, Latin enough to understand what he commanded them in that tongue. 'Erant mihi Servuli tres, quos supra (16) nominavi, non sane periti Grammatici, verum domestica consuetudine tantum consecuti, ut me perciperent, quicquid dicerem, & contra Latine responderent, licet identidem peccantes in Priscianum. Hos in ludum productos, dialogos agere jussi, spectantibus discipulis, & cum eis multis de rebus sermonem miscbam, attentissimo auditorio, adeo miraculi loco fuit, quod Æthiopes loquerentur Latine. Hæc, Dento, inquam, falsa, &c.' From this story it might easily be concluded, that John Latinus was a disciple of this learned Grammarian.

[E] *Moreri's faults are very gross.* I. It is not true that Gonzales Fernand de Corbuba made our Latinus a slave, when he was still in his cradle. The inscription abovementioned (17), clearly intimates, that he and Latinus were almost of the same age; and therefore Gonzales, whilst he was in his cradle, must have made expeditions into Africa, or by sea, if it were true, that he made Latinus a slave. I would fain know why Moreri did not faithfully translate his originals. He had the book of Don Nicolas Antonio before his eyes; why was he not contented to say, that Latinus was a slave to Gonzales Fernand de Corduba? does this signify, that Gonzales himself had taken this Ethiopian, and afterwards (18) brought him into Spain? II. Latinus's employment at Granada was not merely to teach the young scholars of the cathedral. He publicly taught the Latin tongue to all comers; which was the custom of the schools of cathedral churches, as Mr Joli shews in one of his books. III. It is a great piece of ignorance to tell us of a poem, intitled *Aufriados* (19). This can admit of no excuse from the original, since Nicolas Antonio does not use the genitive case *Aufriados*, without adding *libros duos*.

- (16) This word refers to the following passage in page 295. Præter Guilielmum ministrum tres servos adduxeram Æthiopes, Dentonem, Nigrinum & Carbonem; nam sic eos nominavit Sclendius. . . . Besides my man William I brought with me three Moorish servants, Dento, Nigrinus, and Carbo; for so Sclendius has named them.
- (17) In the remark [A].
- (18) This is a consequence of Moreri's account.
- (19) This fault has been corrected in the Dutch editions.

LAUDICE, sister and wife of Mithridates, deserves a place in the list of persons of unhappy memory. Her husband meditating a vast design, stole from his court in order to view incognito, with a very small attendance, the situation of the places where he had determined to make war. Laudice hearing no news of him, fancied that he was dead, and would return no more; and instead of afflicting herself, gave her self up to the most filthy pleasures. The return of her husband gave her great uneasiness; she found it necessary to conceal her irregular conduct, and could contrive no better way of doing it, than by poisoning Mithridates. She was preparing for it, but one of her servant-maids betrayed her, and discovered the whole affair. Mithridates made no scruple to put such a wife to death (a). A modern author (b) falsely affirms, that this monarch was actually poisoned by his wife; but that being accustomed to his antidote, he recovered, tho' not without difficulty. Those who puzzle themselves with what Justin says, that Laudice had lain in, in her husband's absence [A], raise scruples out of nothing. I have spoken elsewhere (c), of another LAUDICE, sister to this, and still more wicked than she. Justin is unjustly said, to contradict himself in speaking of these two women [B].

- (a) Taken from Justin. lib. xxxvii, cap. iii, pag. m. 544.
- (b) Christ. Mathias, Theatr. Histor. pag. m. 28.
- (c) In the article CAPPADOCIA, remark [A], num. 3, to d line 3.

[A] *Laudice had lain in, in her husband's absence.* This lying-in was regular: Mithridates could not be offended at it; the computation of time allowed of his being father of the child which was born of Laudice in his absence. What makes me say so is, that Justin observes, that this prince was congratulated at one and the same time, both for his return, and for the birth of a son (1). No body durst have complemented him on a scandalous and notorious proof of his being a cuckold. Whence then, some will ask, came Laudice's uneasiness? probably she was with child, or afraid of being so, from her having had commerce with her gallants after her lying-in. Here is the reason, that, to conceal her adulteries, she endeavoured to destroy her husband. 'Laudice cum perisset cum crederet, in concubitus amicorum projecta, quasi admissum facinus majore scelere tegere posset, venenum adveniienti paravit (2). — Laudice having given up herself to her gallants, upon a sup-

position of her husband's death, to conceal one crime by a greater, prepared to poison him on his return.'

[B] *Justin is unjustly said to contradict himself.* Freinshemius charges him either with this, or with confounding history egregiously. *Aut contradicit sibi auctor, aut historiam mire confundit* (3). His reason is, that Justin relates in other places: I. That (4) Laudice, the widow of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, was killed by her subjects, for poisoning five of her children. II. That (5) Laudice, widow of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, was married to Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, whilst her brother Mithridates was preparing to succour her against the same Nicomedes, usurper of Cappadocia, in prejudice of Ariarathes, son of the deceased king. This accusation of Freinshemius is without foundation; for Justin speaks of two Laudice's queens of Cappadocia. The first had married one Ariarathes, who died in the war of Aristonicus, about the six hundred and twenty second year of

- (1) Inter gratulationem adventus sui, & filii generis Justin. lib. xxxvii, cap. iii, pag. 544.
- (2) Id. ibid.
- (3) Freinshemius in Justinum, lib. xxxvii, cap. i, pag. 543.
- (4) Justin. lib. xxxvii, cap. i.
- (5) Id. lib. xxxvii, cap. i.

of Rome. The second was sister to Mithridates, and wife of Ariarathes, who succeeded the former. Here is therefore neither contradiction, nor confusion. Note, that Justin has been censured in some places where

he is right, and passed over in silence, in a great many others, where he is wrong. The commentator, in *insum Delphini*, has renewed Freinshemius's accusation.

LAUNOI (MATTHEW DE) one of the most violent Leaguers in France, had been several years minister of the Reformed church; but having committed adultery, and despairing of a relaxation of discipline on his behalf, he returned to the communion of Rome. I dare not affirm, what I have read in some famous authors, that he was a priest when he turned Protestant [A], but if he was not then one he certainly became such, after his renouncing the communion of the Reformed. Though he had been branded at Sedan, for his adultery in the most ignominious manner [B], yet he was received with open arms by the Catholics. They made collections for him (a), they gave him a canonry in the cathedral of Soissons, and the cure of St Mederic at Paris (b). He made use of his tongue, his pen, and all the industry he was master of, to foment the rebellion of the Parisians (c); and made himself so considerable in the horrible faction of the fixteen, that he presided in all the assemblies which were held to consult the death of Barnabas Brisson, president in the parliament of Paris [C]. If he had not very narrowly escaped, he had kept company with those whom the duke of Mayenne caused to be hanged for having promoted the execution of that great man (d). He retired into Flanders (e), where I believe he spent the rest of his days. He published some books of controversy, and among others one concerning the motives of his changing his religion [D], and an answer to the calumnies, he pretended the ministers had spread against him. He is very weak in his answer to the accusation of adultery [E]; and

(a) *Memoires de la Ligue*, Tom. VI, pag. 349.

(b) *Memoires de la Ligue*, *ibid.* The other historians do not say that he had this cure given him.

(c) Thuan. lib. xcv, pag. 280.

(d) Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, ad ann. 1591.

(e) *Id.* *ibid.*

[A] I dare not affirm . . . that he was a priest when he turned Protestant.] Thuanus affirms it.

(1) Thuan. *Histor. lib. lxxvi*, pag. 172, ad ann. 1587. See also *Maimb. Hist. de la Ligue*, liv. i, pag. 55.

Matthæus Launæus, says he (1), sacri Sueffionum collegii Sodalis, olim sacerdos, & postea egerata majorum religione doctrinam protestantium amplexus, pastoris officio diu inter eos functus, uxore etiam ducta, cujus cum propter egestatem etate jam inclinata tæderet, errore recantato ad nos redierat, sed incerta fide, quam mox ut se vere Catholicum approbaret, factiolis addixit. — Matthew Launoi, canon of the cathedral church of Soissons, formerly a priest, and afterwards renouncing the religion of his ancestors, for that of the Protestants, having also married a wife, of whom he began to grow weary as he advanced into years, and became straitened in his circumstances, returned to us again, after having recanted his errors, and though at first not quite settled in his opinions, yet afterwards, to prove himself a true Catholic, he joined himself to the faction of the League. The same thing is repeated

(2) Pag. 280, ad ann. 1589.

in the ninety fifth book (2), with a very considerable addition: for in enumerating the reasons, which had induced this man to leave the Protestants, the punishment he had to fear, on his being convicted of adultery, is not forgotten. He returned into the pale of the church, says Thuanus; whether he repented of his errors, or was weary of his wife, or feared the punishments which the Protestants inflict on those who were convicted of adultery. Rursus seu penitentia ductus, sive uxoris pertæsus, & adulterii poenam, cujus convictus fuerat, metuens, ad sacerdotium reuersa uxore redierat (3). I shall by and by mention another passage in Thuanus, where the same things are partly repeated. I pass by these words of Du Verdier Vau-Privas (4): 'Matthew de Launoi, first a priest, afterwards a minister of the pretended Reformed religion, is now returned into the pale of the Christian and Catholic church.' Thuanus's authority is sufficient to prove what I advance. Let us see whether there is any room to doubt that Matthew de Launoi was a priest when he turned Protestant. The scruple I make, is built upon the silence of the man himself upon an occasion, where one would think he ought to have mentioned his priesthood. I do not

(3) *Defense de Blanche de Launoi & d'Hemi Penetier*, contrecelles fausses accusations & peruerses Calomnies des Ministres de Paris, Sedan & autres, pag. 47, 48. That book was printed at Paris, for John du Cramoel, in 1577, in 8vo.

regard, says he (5), what they say of my calling, before they drew me out of the bosom of the Christian and Catholic church, and of my deserting my former office. For I have been always in public office and authority ever since I finished my studies; and notwithstanding my youth, which was then very raw, and far from maturity, I behaved myself with credit and honour, to the satisfaction of those with whom I was concerned, till some ministers, and others of their sect, turned my head with their illusions and dreams. And the esteem they had for me was such, that as soon as I was listed in their party, which was in the year 1560,

they forced me to accept of an employment among them, in which they were so hasty, as not to give me any time to consider of it, they were so afraid of losing me. Nay, they obliged me to make but one probation sermon; and even, as soon as they heard me enter upon the subject, being content with my beginning, they ordered me to stop, and admitted me among them, to send me into Champagne.

[B] He had been branded at Sedan, in the most ignominious manner.] The Memoirs of the League say (6), (6) Tom. VI, that being convicted of having got a cousin of his with child at Sedan, where he exercised the holy ministry, he was hanged there in effigy.

[C] He presided in all the assemblies . . . which were held to consult the death of Barnabas Brisson, president in the parliament of Paris.] See the *Chronologie Novenaire* of Peter Victor Cayet (7), where you will find a more particular account than in these words of Thuanus: 'Matthæus Launæus qui olim Presbyter, postea egerata majorum religione Minister uxorem duxerat, ejusque pertæsus ad sacra redierat . . . principem locum in its conciliabulis semper tenuit (8).'

(7) Tom. I, fol. 508, & seq. ad ann. 1591.

(8) Thuan. lib. cii, pag. 443, ad ann. 1591. — Matthew Launoi, who being first a priest, afterwards turned Protestant minister, and married a wife, of whom he grew tired, and returned to the church . . . had always the chief hand in those consultations. This proof is sufficient for my purpose.

[D] He published some books of controversy, among others, one concerning the motives of his changing his religion.] It is intitled, *The Declaration and Confutation of the false Suppositions and perverse Applications of some texts of the holy Scriptures, which the ministers make use of in these latter times to divide Christendom; with an exhortation to the said ministers, to re-unite themselves, and to bring their auditors to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish church, from which they ought not to have separated . . . by Matthew de Launoi, and Henry Penetier, late ministers of the pretended Reformed Religion, and at present returned into the pale of the Christian and Catholic church: the whole digested, and divided into three books, by the said de Launoi. The Epistle Dedicatory (9) to king Henry III, tells us, that these two ministers met in the borough of Guines, in the re-conquered country, the first of June twenty ninth of 1576. Penetier being returned thither from England some time before, and the other newly come from Holland. It was there, say they, that they drew up this work, and resolved to make an open abjuration of their heresies.*

(9) It is dated from Paris the twenty ninth of September, 1577.

[E] He is very weak in his answer to the accusation of adultery.] He owned himself a frail man, and liable to fall into that sin (10). He does not confess the fault he is accused of; but alledges, in his justification, only some little cavils. 'My accusers, says he (11), are wrong as to the time for want of a good memory;

(10) *Defense de Launoi*, pag. 45.
(11) *Ibid.* pag. 47.

and as his conduct in the time of the league made him appear to be a profligate man, no credit ought to be given to the stories that he published against the Protestants [F].

That

mory; for in 1574, I was in Holland. They involve themselves in several inconsistencies, adds he, they say, it was a young woman, who had been intrusted with me, by honest people, and fearing God; and afterwards they say, she was a servant maid. Now there is a great deal of difference between the one and the other. For when a young woman is given in trust, this supposes she is of a good family, and has wherewithal to live, so that she is not a servant maid of six or seven livres a year. Besides, they had a mind to aggravate this pretended fact: for it would be a greater crime to corrupt a young woman of a good family, intrusted to one's care, than if it was a meer servant maid, who hires herself for wages, to serve and stay as long as her service is liked, or till some other occasion makes her leave her place. This is but a sorry defence: I have cited an author above (12), who says that Launoi got his own cousin with child. It was probably a young woman sent to him during the persecutions of France, for then several Protestants fled to Sedan. Now as Launoi was not very rich, and his refugee had not perhaps wherewithal to pay for her board, it is probable enough that by reason of her domestic services, she was to him instead of a servant maid; and so without any contradiction, some might say, that he had lain with his servant maid, and others that he had lain with a young woman, that was intrusted to his care.

Here is another pretended contradiction. 'They say, that being convicted of the fact before the consistory, I confessed it to three or four of them; they are uncertain as to the number (13). But they do not say how I was convicted: It was not, adds he (14), by being surprized in the fact, by the judge himself, attended with his sergeants, and others of his court. It was not by unexceptionable witnesses, for people do not call witnesses on such occasions. It was not by a violent presumption; for if they had had any, they would have very much transgressed, according to their own discipline. A presumption is grounded either upon the too great familiarity of the parties, or upon the woman's being with child. If they grounded their presumption upon familiarity, they should have given us notice of it, in order to preserve us by good remonstrances from falling into sin: so that they would be greatly to blame, for having suffered the evil to run on, without interposing by a brotherly charity, or requisite censures. If they grounded their presumption upon the maid's being with child, it is not sufficient to accuse me, much less to condemn me. It would be a fine law, if a servant maid should commit a folly in her master's house, and be got with child, that the master should be guilty of it. What reason is there for that? Fathers and mothers cannot sometimes preserve their own daughters, though they keep them close. How then should a master be accountable for a servant maid's being with child, whom he cannot always have under his eye? It would be much better to be one's own servant. Such a presumption therefore is of no force. But when they saw that young maid of a good family, with child, as they say, they should have sent for her, and examined who had got her with child, and then they had known the truth. But they forgot to do it; and therefore they cannot alledge a presumption, without condemning themselves: and after all, it would be of no force. It would be easy to shew the weakness of this defence, would one be at the pains; but the thing not deserving it, I only say, that though he had put this maid out of the way, they might have had convincing proofs of her being with child; so that he could take no advantage of her not being confronted and interrogated.

The following pretended contradiction is not much better than the former. 'They say, that I have been convicted before their consistory, which according to them, was composed of seventeen ministers, and thirteen elders, who make thirty persons. Now they maintain, that I was convicted by that confession, which, say they, I made before three or four: It was not therefore their consistory; for there would be twenty six or twenty seven persons want-

ing (15). A vain and childish cavil. It was not pretended that he had confessed his fault before the whole consistory; but that without confessing it before this assembly, it had been proved upon him; and it was added, that he had confessed the charge in particular to three or four persons.

He complains (16) that they equally condemned them both of adultery; and to the same penalties. Now adultery, as distinguished from fornication, is committed between, or by, married persons; and yet they say, she was a maid; she did not therefore commit adultery in that sense. This is a pitiful argument; for to commit adultery, properly speaking, there is no need that both the parties should be married, it is sufficient that one of them be so.

The last thing he objects, is the respect of persons (17): he pretends, that they had shewed great indulgence to the like faults; he names the persons and places; and whether he was willing to find a greater conformity between the crime he was accused of, and that whereof he accused some of his brethren, or whether he had other reasons, some servant maids appear almost always in his recriminations. He names a minister, whose name was prefixed to some fine books, and who was called in Holland the *Stroon Predikant* (18); if we may believe him, this handsome minister made himself formidable to his landladies, by his attempts upon their servant maids, and admirably made use of the maxim of a Roman Poet.

Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori (19).

Blush not to love an humble maid.

I shall observe in the following remark, that Launoi was not a man honest enough to injure the persons he slandered.

Let us make a little digression. Either clergymen should be permitted to marry, or forbidden to keep young servant maids; for the prodigious concubinage of priests, which hath scandalized the public for so many ages, owes its original to the permission of having women about them, to manage their houses. The intention of the superiors was, that they should confine themselves to the business of servant maids; but they easily suffered themselves to be persuaded to serve to some other purpose: the office of a concubine seemed so convenient to them on all accounts (20), that their masters had not much trouble to bring them to it. Since Luther's reformation, the priests have by degrees, grown less scandalous; but still at this day their maids, unless they be very old, are very much suspected to serve them doubly. Generally speaking, in all religions, if any leud business happens, which occasions complaints against unmarried churchmen, it is almost always on account of their maids. The reason is plain: the temptations on both sides, and the opportunities of sinning, offer themselves more readily and conveniently: and hence it is doublets, that the easy casuists do very much extenuate the sin of a maid got with child by her master. The Latin of the lower age, furnishes us with a term in this case, which is very expressive. At first, the word *facaria* was taken in a good sense; it signified a woman or a maid, who served in the house, and dressed her master's diet; but afterwards it was made use of only to signify the concubines of the clergy (21): the reason was, that most of their maids continued indeed to be their cooks, but besides that also lay with their masters. Let us conclude, that it ought to be a rule of discipline in all countries not to permit young unmarried clergymen to keep young maid servants.

[F] No credit ought to be given to the stories he has published against the Protestants. Though we should pass over the horrible crimes he committed during the League, we should have reason to charge him with forgery, in regard to many things he relates of the ministers, as being very remote from probability. He says (22) that the ministers who fled to Neuchâtel in Switzerland, being resolved to ruin a young man, who had preferred the study of Physic to that of Divinity, accused him of many false doctrines; but that one of the most famous amongst them, opposed their ill design: that they continued however, to prosecute

(12) In remark [B].

(13) Défense de Mr de Launoi, pag. 47.

(14) Ib. pag. 48.

(15) Ibid. pag. 40, 50.

(16) Ib. pag. 50.

(17) Pag. 51, & seq.

(18) That is, the handsome minister.

(19) Horat Ode 4, lib. II. See the article B.R. L. S.E.15, remark [E].

THE INCONSISTENCY of prohibiting marriages, and yet permitting the attendance of young maid servants.

(20) Compare what is said above with the remark [Z] of the article ADRIAN VI.

(21) See du Cange's Glossary at the word *facaria*, pag. 456, 470. Edit. Paris.

(22) Défense de Mathieu de Launoi, pag. 33, & seq.

That which relates to two pretended demoniacs is the most ridiculous [G].

this Physician: 'Some calling him a Sorcerer, others an Anabaptist, others an Atheist. Others said to him. How? Dare you say, that you do not believe the doctrine of Mr Calvin, by whose mouth we all speak? He answering, that Calvin was a man subject to error as well as others: they immediately cried out, O cursed Philosophy! O execrable blasphemy! For to speak against Calvin's doctrine, and against the intention and will of these venerable doctors, is in their opinion to speak against God, and lie against the Holy Ghost; and they make no conscience of prosecuting a man for it to death, if they can come at him (23).' What he makes these ministers say concerning Calvin (24) is so far from the spirit and maxims of the Reformed church, and so inconsistent with the title of the Protestants, that there needs nothing more to convince us, that he himself forged, and that very grossly, the slanders which he published. So that it can be no prejudice to the memory of those concerned, if I take the liberty of inserting here the following scandalous story. 'The eldest Capel had, a little before, plaid such another mad trick to a lady of a good family, who coming to Sedan upon business, did not care to be known. However, his over curiosity made him so bold, as to use the name and authority of the duke and dukes of Bouillon, to get into the chamber of the same lady, and to see her. At the same time, he plaid another prank, which discovered the height of his leudness, as well as madness. For coming out of church, moved with an odd sort of devotion, he took a young gentlewoman by the arm, who was very handsome and modest, and of an honourable family, and desired leave to speak one word to her. This being granted him, he whispered her in the ear, Madam, being charmed with your good qualities, as well of body as of mind, and especially with your wit, I take the liberty to beg a favour of you; but I would not by any means be denied. The lady answering, that she could grant nothing, before she knew what he designed to ask; he said to her, I would beg one hour of amorous diversion with you: we can easily meet in a place, where there shall be no body but you and I. The poor gentlewoman perfectly ashamed and amazed at the instruction given her by this reformed Philosopher, just coming from sermon, ran in haste to her mother, to whom she declared the whole matter: which the mother, by way

of complaint, told me the same day (25).'

[G] *That which relates to two pretended demoniacs is the most ridiculous.* This is the story in short. Matthew de Launoi was a celebrated minister in 1562. Some Merchants of the Low-Countries heard him preach with so much satisfaction at Aî in Champagne, that they detained him at their houses, as he was preparing to go for England. They admired both his language and diligence, for he often preached in six different places within the space of twenty four hours. They made him their minister at Tournay. Whilst he was there, it was reported that the exorcisms of the Catholic church had delivered several people possessed by the devil. This displeased the Calvinists: they feared their sect would be decied, if their ministers had not the gift of driving out devils, which was conspicuous in the Apostles, and was still to be seen among the Papiists. They therefore suborned two persons, a man and a woman, and engaged them to pretend to be demoniacs, for a certain sum, and a pension for life. These two persons plaid their part very well; and hereupon Matthew de Launoi, who knew nothing of this contrivance, was desired to go and undertake their relief. He went, and his prayers and sermons proved so effectual, that these two demoniacs, after a great many fetches, managed according to direction, declared that the devil was gone out of their bodies. The miracle was published in all places, and procured de Launoi a very great veneration. The cheat was discovered some time after; because the two persons who had played the farce, not receiving the promised reward, brought their action against the seducers. A Weaver, and a Rope maker acquainted de Launoi with this in Holland in the year 1574 (26). This was the motive of his conversion, if we believe the Franciscan Sedulius, who has inserted this story at length in his answer to the Alcoran of the Franciscans, printed in 1607 (27). He says, that Matthew de Launoi being still alive at Brussels, and writing several books against the Calvinists, could vouch the truth of it (28). Spondanus has inserted the substance of this fine story in his Annals (29). There is no need of shewing the absurdity of it; since all the world knows, that the Protestants professedly decry all the miracles of the latter ages, and maintain that they were by no means necessary to justify the reformation. Apply here what I have said in the remark [T] of the article CALVIN.

(25) *Defensio*, pag. 35, 36.

(26) *Non ante sunt ex technæ à Matthæo intellectæ, quam pecunitis non præstitis item movere debitoribus demoniaci ceperunt: totaque est ea fabula in Hollandia ad annum 1574. Matthæo à duobus, Christiano de la Quennoillie textore lini, & Joanne Wallæ, qui choridis nectendis vitam cucere confuevit, commemorata. Sedulius, ubi infra, pag. 283.*

(27) *Henr. Sedulius, Apologeticæ adversus Alcoranum Franciscanorum, pag. 280, & seq. Heuwaer Florentius vander Haer de initiis tumultuum Belgicorum.*

(28) *Vivit hodieque Matthæus Bruxellæ: principum urbe Brabantie, & multa adversus illos scribit, quibus mendacio palente non possunt reficere. Idem, Sedulius, ibid., pag. 283.*

(29) *Ad annum 1562, n. 50.*

LAUNOI (JOHN DE) in Latin *Launoius*, doctor of Divinity in the university of Paris, was born in a little village of Normandy near Coutances. He performed his studies in Philosophy and Divinity at Paris with so great success, that he became a formidable disputant. He was admitted a priest and doctor of Divinity in the year 1636 [A], nor did he make any use of these two characters to get money, and beg benefices [B], he had no other aim but to become learned; and to this end, he continued

[A] *He was made a priest and doctor of Divinity in the year 1636.* I have not followed Moreri, who affirms, that John de Launoi entered into holy orders in 1634, and took his doctor's degree in June the same year. My reason is this. In the elogy of this doctor it is said that he began his course of Divinity in 1633, and made such a progress in it in two years time, that he exceeded some persons of great parts and learning, and was exceeded by no body. It is added that he was promoted the following year to the priesthood, and to his doctor of Divinity's degree. *Studium Theologicum ingressus est anno trigesimo tertio supra millesimum & sexcentissimum, illudque biennio integro ita percurrit, ut multos ingenio & eruditione præstantes vinceret, & a nemine vinceretur. Ad ordinem sacerdotalem anno insequenti, & ad Theologiæ Magisterium egressus (1).* I thought it proper to place this following year, after the two years of his study of Divinity; for if it be put immediately after the year 1633, it would follow, that this doctor had studied Divinity one year as a scholar, after he had been admitted doctor. I would not however in this claim any preference of Mr Moreri: for the author of the elogy did not perhaps pretend to much exactness in these chronological punctilios. Has he not said (2), that after John de Launoi had spent five or six years in the study of Philosophy and scholastic Divinity, he began his

course of Divinity, and spent two years in it? Is this expressing ones self according to the strict rules of exactness. But however negligent he may have been, have preferred his authority to that of Moreri.

[B] *... nor did he make any use of these two characters to get money, and beg benefices.* This requires a remark; for a person exempt from avarice and ambition, is so rare to be found, even amongst doctors of Divinity, that when we meet with one, the public ought to be particularly acquainted with it. Such examples ought to be consecrated: all possible care should be taken to do them justice: this will prove an excellent instruction to the public; for it shews that providence does not entirely deliver up mankind to corruption. I say then that John de Launoi expressed from his youth a great indifference for the things of this world; which excellent disposition did not change, when he grew older; for he then gave up to his brothers and nephews all his pretensions to his father's estate (3), and would never hearken to the advice of his friends, who put him upon asking for prebends and livings. To get rid of their friendly solicitations, he declared to them that he found himself neither qualified for singing nor preaching, and that he would not enrich himself with the wealth of the church, whilst he could not do her any considerable services by the functions of his ministry. 'Monitus aliquando ab amicis, ut parceriam

(3) *Omnem ab ineunte adolescentia exuerat opum cupiditatem, quam divina vox flagitiorum fontem appellat. Sed ad firmam ætatem cum pervenisset, paternam hereditatem, parvam illam quidem, fratribus nepotibusque reliquit. Ibid. pag. 3.*

(1) *Elog. Launoi, pag. 2.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(a) Ex *Elogio*
Joannis Launoi,
Typis vulgato
Londini, 1635,
in 8vo.

tinued to pursue his studies with extreme industry. He did not content himself with reading all sorts of books; but resorted to the most learned divines [C], in order to consult them upon all the difficulties he met with (a). He received the most considerable improvement from the learned conversations of Father Sirmond [D]. It was not for his own particular satisfaction, but for the use of the public, that he heaped up such a vast treasure of learning; for there are very few divines who have published a greater number of books [E]. He made no scruple to attack several false traditions [F], and was one of the strongest supporters of the privileges of the Gallican church. He extended his criticisms even to subjects of devotion: and some saints would

‘rœciam præbendamve vacantem, eo nomine peteret
‘ab eo, cui conferendæ illius munus incumberebat, re-
‘spondit, se huic utrique officio parum aptum esse à
‘natura, cum per latera parum firma, perque vocem
‘minimè canoram, neque verba apud populum facere,
‘neque psalmos hymnosque decantare posset. Ingeren-
‘tibus nonnullis inde provenire non modicam copiam,
‘quâ quis commodius ageret, continuò regerebat, se
‘si jure illo uteretur, prospicere, rem ita comparatam
‘iri, ut Ecclesia sibi opibus suis fructum magnum,
‘ipse nullum Ecclesiæ, aut certè exiguum, Ministerio
‘suo afferret, quod factum minimè sane vellet, tanquam
‘iniquum nimis & invidiosum (4).’ We need not wonder
‘that he became so learned, since he applied himself
‘to his studies with a mind free from covetousness and
‘ambition. How many people would be very eminent
‘in learning, if the eager desire of making their fortune
‘did not continually divert them from their studies? See
‘what a poet says in regard to the impediments of
‘his art.

(4) Ibid.

Ad hæc animos ærugo & cura peculi

Cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi

Posse linenda cedro, & levi servanda cupresso (5)?

(c) Horat. de
Arte Poët. ver.
330.

*Shou'd a'rice once distract the poet's head,
He still may write, but never can be read.*

I must not forget John de Launoi's will. The preface of it was very remarkable. After the common form, *In the name of God, &c.* it went on thus, *I shall quickly make an end of this will, for I have but little wealth* (6). Mr Menage has not mentioned all; it also gave the reason why the testator left but little wealth, that God had given him to understand that it was much harder for a Christian to make a right use of riches, than to go without them (7). It is observable, that Mr de Launoi left more money behind him than he ever dreamed of his being found master of: an evident sign of his little concern for riches. He never took the pains of counting his money: and sometimes forgot where he had laid it. (8) Certum illum (9) fecit Launoius, plus penes se post obitum signatæ pecuniæ repertum iri, quam præstandis legatis requireretur; & revera longè plus repertum est, plique quam Launoius ipse repertum iri crederet. Sed id tantum abest ut ei vitio verti possit; quin potiùs laudi duci debet, cum illud omne quantumcunque fuerit, non avara manus asservasset usquam, sed contemptor opum animus domi projectum oblivioni penè dedisset. — Launoi assured him he would find more money at his death, than would pay the legacies he should leave, and indeed there was a great deal more found, than even Launoi could have imagined himself worth. But this was so far from being a fault, that it was rather a virtue, since the wbole sum, how great soever, had been carelessly thrown by out of contempt, and not heaped up out of avarice. We have here a proof that an indifference or extreme fondness for riches, may each produce the same effect: for there are some misers who hoard up so much wealth, that they themselves know not the extent of it (10).

(6) Menagiana,
pag. 216.

(7) Præfatur ideo
testaturum se de
re tenui, quoniam
à quo admodum
fuerat studiis
sublimioribus,
singulari Dei be-
neficio intellex-
erat facilius esse
hominis Christiano
bonis carere,
quam iis recte uti.
Elog. Launoi,
pag. 35.

(8) Ibid. pag. 36.

(9) That is, the
executor of his
will.

(10) Exilis do-
mus est ubi non
& multa super
sunt & dominum
fallunt, & profant
furibus, Horatius,
Epist. vi. lib. i.
ver. 45. See
what Horace says
of Lucullus a
little before.

(11) Elog. pag. 7.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

[C] He resorted to the most learned divines.] Nor was he contented with that; but consulted, by way of letters, the learned men who lived in other parts of France, or in foreign countries (11); and when he went to Rome, it was not to see the antiquities, but to get acquaintance with the Litterati. Those he most conversed with there, were Lucas Holstenius, and Leo Allatius (12). Iter etiam suscepit in Italiam, non quidem ut fluvios inspiceret & maria, non ut urbes lustraret, non ut vetera artium monumenta, novæ ædificiorum moles mirabundus intueretur, sed ut consuetudine frueretur eruditum (13).

[D] He received the most considerable improvement from the learned conversation of Father Sirmond.] He proposed his doubts to him; and was answered without heat or passion. That contentious way of disputing about the sciences, too common among the learned, was not the character of this Jesuit. ‘Suam seu percontationem, seu sententiam, de maximi momenti capitibus proponentem benigne audiebat perspicacissimus & cordatissimus senex, mentem ei suam candide aperiebat, & cum esset ab omni quæ in scholis viget rixandi consuetudine alienus, abstinerebat à contentione & pugna verborum, locoque indicabat concilliorum aut patrum, quibus innixus ita fentiret (14).’ — This most humane and understanding old gentleman gave him leave to propose his doubts, and opinions on subjects of the greatest moment, and then returned his own sentiments with all imaginable candour, and being himself an enemy to noisy methods of disputing in schools, he, without making any words or controversy, freely pointed to the councils or fathers whereon his sentiments were founded. He readily discovered to his friend the authorities of the fathers and councils, upon which he grounded his opinions. Mr de Launoi examined them with great exactness, and went again to visit Father Sirmond, who hearing him discourse upon these matters, answered him; *At first I understood these things better than you, but now you are much more master of them than I* (15). No Jesuit had a greater share in his intimacy than de Launoi, which did not please the fraternity. ‘Cam nullum haberet inter sodales suos Sirmondus quocum fidentius loqueretur, de quo & ipsi nonnunquam conquesti sunt, crebrius invisi vehementer optabat à Launoi cui nihil erat quod minus crederet quam sibi (16).’ — Sirmond having none of his own society, so much in his confidence, which they would all sometimes complain of, was extremely pressing upon Launoi to visit him the oftner, to whom he loved to communicate every thing he knew. The Menagiana has this passage. ‘Father Sirmond said of Mr de Launoi, that when he heard him say any thing that was good he went to write a book (17).’

(14) Ibid. pag. 2.

[E] There are very few divines who have published a greater number of books.] See the catalogue of them in the history he published of the college of Navarre in 1677. His Bookeller had often printed it by itself. The following nice remark seems to deserve a place here. ‘This (18) was his greatest favourite of all his books, whether it was that he took pleasure in this glorious testimony he had given the public, of his gratitude to that college of the faculty, which, he considered as his mother: or whether he was not altogether insensible of the pleasure of seeing all his own works particularized in this book: For he had inserted in it the catalogue of all his writings, which he chose to do himself as well to make it more exact, as to explain more readily the titles, and subjects of his smallest books, and of all his letters in particular, wisely judging, that any body else would be easily discouraged with their great number, and the large amplification of their titles (19).’

(15) Tunc ejus
solentiam & sagacitatem Sirmondus
dicere solebat,
Cum primum loqui hæc de re
cœpimus, erat in
ea forsitan aliquid
quod paulo melius
perspicimus
quam tu: nunc
vero cum eam
accurate pertractasti, nihil superest quod te faceret, quodque plenius perspicimus non teneamus, quam ego nunquam temerem. Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Menagiana,
pag. 223, of the
first Dutch edition.

(18) That is, the
History of the
College of Navarre.

(19) Baillet,
Jugemens des
Sçavans, Tom.
ii. p. 139, pag.
171.

[F] He boldly attacked several false traditions.] As the arrival of Lazarus and Magdalen in Provence; the apostleship of Dionysius the areopagite in Gaul; the cause of the retreat of St Bruno the founder of the Carthusians; the vision of Simon Stoch; the privileges of the Sabbatin bull. They whose interest it was to maintain those opinions raised terrible outcries against him. He was, according to them, an enemy to religion. ‘Credi vix potest quantam initio invidiam his scriptis in se conflagavit: licet enim antiquam atque adeo genuinam traditionem propugnaret, ejusque fidem, ut ipse sæpe ad locum Tertulliani alludens dicere solebat, ex temporibus afferret, tamen qui historias quas expungebat à tenacis annis imberant,

would have been struck out of the Kalendar, if his arguments had been admitted. It is worth observing what Guy Patin said upon it [G]. It was a favourable subject for

berant, quive illas credulæ plebi non sine aliquo commodo suo ingerebant, eas sibi eripi ægre patiebantur, nec qui id tentasset mitius inculcabant quam si firmissima religionis fundamenta convellere decrevisset (20). — It is scarce possible to conceive what a load of envy these writings at first drew upon him: for tho' he was a defender of the ancient, and consequently the genuine, tradition, and as himself often used to say, in allusion to a passage in Tertullian, vindicated it's authority from the times; yet they who had believed from their youth the legends he had expunged, or who found their account in imposing them upon the credulity of the people, could not bear the loss of them with any patience, but cried out as violently against all attempts of this kind, as if the most important fundamentals of religion had been attacked. He was not in the least affected with their clamours, but went on still, and undeceived not only the learned, but also some of the vulgar. Vicit tamen inextinguibili constantia Launoius hominum imperitum, & male feriatarum importunas inofficiosasque querelas, & aniles eorum fabellas ita revocit, ut nullum jam patronum inveniant inter eos, qui aliquâ curâ veritatem indagant, multo pauciores quàm antea apud vulgum, & apud eos qui ne literas quidem norunt (21). He vigorously attacked the Monks in two other points (22); for he demonstrated the falsity of the pretended privileges, by virtue whereof they refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of bishops; and confuted the arguments on which they ground their claim to the administration of the sacrament of penance. Here follows what the abbot de Marolles said of him. He found the art of discovering the most hidden truths: and the lovers of them are as much pleased with him for it, as those who are unqualified to discover or value them, are uneasy at his having made such glorious conquests. However they can reproach him with nothing; and it has not hitherto been possible for his adversaries to convict him of the least falshood, or of one wrong inference from the testimonies of the writers concerning the points he has examined. It is true, what we have seen of him, is inconsiderable in comparison of what we ought to expect from him, applying himself as he does to the most serious studies upon important subjects: but the most learned will always benefit themselves by the reading of his works, either by his method, or the certain discovery of truths, for which pure religion will have no less reason to glory, than in famous superstition to be concerned at it (23).

[G] It is worth observing what Guy Patin said upon it. 'I give you notice, that I have delivered a little packet to a young man of Lyons . . . You will find in it, among others, Mr de Launoi's book, wherein he undertakes to prove, that there never was such a saint as Renatus, nor any bishop of Angers of that name. It is the same who has writ against Dionysius the Areopagite, asserting that he never came into France; and against the scapulary of the Carmelites, and against Magdalen, pretending that she never came into Province. He is a doctor of Divinity, a Norman, a man of a mean look, but learned, and especially in ecclesiastical history. Some here call him a desperate and damned spirit, whom all should avoid; who turns every year a saint out of paradise, and it is to be feared will at last expel God himself. Yet hitherto no body has answered him. One of his friends told me that he had long been a pensioner in the college of the Jesuits (24), who made use of him to approve their books; but that at last, they had discarded him, for refusing to give his approbation to a new doctrine they had a mind to publish (25). What follows, is curious; I have it from Mr Menage, and it is he who speaks (26). Mr de Launoi, doctor of Divinity, of the faculty of Paris, pretends that several of our saints never existed: which occasioned Mr Feramus to say of him *

Tu quoque, Launoi, veri indagator & index
Addita qui falsis Numina falsa doces.

In search of truth, Launoi knows no restraint,
Nor spares his pen one Legendary saint.

I made this Greek epigram upon it,

Τὸν Λαυνοῖον ὄρεε, δὲ σύρρετον Οὐρανίωνων
Ῥίψε, ποδὶς τεταγῶν ἀπὸ βηλῆ Θεσπεσίους.

Launoi kicks down the scoundrels from above,
As Vulcan once was serv'd by Homer's Jove.

They say this last verse is taken out of Homer, speaking of Jupiter who kicked Vulcan out of heaven. But that is the very beauty of my epigram; it would be ridiculous, were this verse my own: And I dare say it is thought very pretty for that application, on which Mr Dailly, the father, who was particularly conversant with Homer, has often congratulated me. The abbot Faydit has not observed that it is only the last verse which Mr Menage has borrowed from Homer: he has quoted part of the first, as if it was to be found in the Iliad; and which is worse, he pretends that Jupiter turned out the whole rabble of the gods. His words are these (27). 'Rome could not without indignation bear that Mr de Launoi, as learned as he was, should uncanonize five or six unknown saints, who in the times of ignorance had been introduced into the Breviary; and that like Homer's Jupiter, who turned out the whole rabble of the gods, with one kick on the breech, from heaven to earth, this doctor should with one dash of his pen discard from the throne of glory some saints whom Rome had too hastily placed there.

— — — Ὁ πέρυτον ἱερώνων
Ῥίψε πόδους τεταγῶν ἀπὸ βήλῃ Θεσπεσίους (28).

She has cried out against this attempt, as the most horrid sacrilege. His books have been delivered up to the Inquisition, not being able to drag the author thither. She has decried him as a man of a suspected faith, and an enemy to the saints. It is certain that Homer says no more than, that Jupiter taking Vulcan by the foot, threw him down from heaven (29). If Mr Menage said in conversation the same thing as the abbot Faydit, we must conclude from it, that he had not considered matters so narrowly, as when he took pen in hand for the public, or that he flourished on that adventure in order to make it more agreeable, and more capable of the parallel. However it be, here is a passage out of the continuation of the Menagiana, wherein Homer is made to say what he has not said. (30) Mr Godefroy the Historiographer going abroad very early in the morning on New-years-day, met in Harp-freet Mr de Launoi, who was going to the Sorbonne. He accosted him, and saluting him, said, a good morrow and a happy new year to you, Sir; what saint will you discard from heaven this year! Mr de Launoi, surprized at this question, answered him; I discard no true saints from heaven whom God and their merit have placed there; but such as the ignorance and superstition of the people have undeservedly introduced thither, and without the approbation of God, and of the learned. This answer was the occasion of the epigram I made upon Mr de Launoi, wherein I compare him to Jupiter in Homer who cleared heaven of the whole rabble of false gods, who had crept in amongst the true ones, and who giving them a kick on the breech threw them headlong from his throne, and down from the stars to the earth (31).

If it was not for fear of making too many digressions, I would say that it were to be wished that several learned men were suffered to do what Mr de Launoi has done. The sham saints are no less multiplied than the pretenders to nobility; so that as princes from time to time issue out commissions of inquiry, in order to reduce the usurpers of quality to their proper Plebeian state, the clergy should appoint some commissioners, as rigid as Boisseau (32), to examine the titles and patents of saintship. If the troops of the church triumphant should come to muster before honest commissioners, there would be found a great many Fagots, not amongst the soldiers but amongst the great officers, I mean among the saints who are daily invoked. The

(27) Extrait d'un Sermon prêché le jour de St Polycarpe, pag 256.

(28) All the faults in this Greek, are probably errors of the press.

(29) Homer, Iliad. lib. i, vers. 591. There is in the fifth book of the Iliad a passage, which is more favourable to the abbot Faydit; see the article 'JUNO', citat. (31); but at bottom it is not favourable to him.

(30) Suite du Menagiana, pag. 293, 294. Dutch Edit.

(31) The Greek distich follows here in the continuation of the Menagiana, with some faults probably of the Printers.

(32) Every one remembers the song: For some time it has been, Nine but nobles are seen, Who through all our high roads, Bring their parcs, marts by loads, To prove that their titles are true: But Boisseau with his power, Throws out of doors, Nor will tread their long dead, But by minutes proceeds To give each pretender his due.

(20) Eleg. Launoi, pag. 10.

(21) Ibid.

(22) See his Elegy, from page 10 to page 13.

(23) The abbot de Marolles, Mémoires pag. 160. See also his catalogue of the authors who presented him with their books, under the name Launoi.

(24) There is no probability that he ever was their pensioner.

(25) Patin, Lett. xlii, pag. 207, of the first Tome. It is dated the eighteenth of November, 1650. See also Letter cli. pag. 594, of the same Tome.

(26) Menage, Anti Baillet, Tom. II, pag. 216.

* In his Elegy upon the death of Mr du Puy.

for the jocose humour of this Physician and it furnished so fruitful a source of pleasantry that several other persons diverted themselves with relating merry stories on that subject [H]. It was difficult for this learned divine to write so many volumes against the maxims of the Pope's flatterers [I], and against the superstitions, and pretended immunities

The Kalender wants more to be reformed on that account, than with respect to the procession of the equinoxes: and whereas a bare defalcation of ten days was sufficient for this last reformation, the other would require a subtraction by hundreds and thousands. It is a long time that the year has been unable to afford a day for each saint; they must be heaped one upon another in the same places, so that we may now say with Juvenal,

- - - Nec turba deorum
Talibus est hodie, contentaque fidei paucis
Numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori
Pondere (33).

(33) Juven. Sat.
XIII, ver. 46.

*Ever gods grew numerous, and the heav'nly crowd,
Press'd wretched Atlas with a lighter load.*
CREECH.

How many senators should we find in the celestial court *visio creati* (34), should we proceed rigorously? See how many volumes the *Acta Sanctorum* already amount to? One might apply to them this common distich (35):

(34) See the
Valefiana, pag.
48, 49. Dutch
Edit.

(35) See Balsae
Oeuvres diverses,
Discours XVI, pag.
m. 409.

Scripta gigantæ quorum sub pondere molis
Tristior Enceladus bibliopola gemit.

*Such monstrous works the Bookseller bemoans,
And with Enceladus's torture groans.*

I would have this understood, without prejudice to the esteem which is due to their learned compilers.

I must even acknowledge, to their honour, that they reject a great many fables, and that their sincerity exposes them every day to the same complaints which were made against Mr de Launoi. See Father Papebroch's answer (36) to the *Exhibitio Errorum* of Sebastianian of St Paul, a Carmelite; you will there find that this Jesuit has cashiered many intruders out of the kalender, and that upon very solid reasons. These intruders are not saints of a modern, but very ancient date. Cardinal Bessarion, seeing at Rome the canonization of some persons, whose lives he thought none of the best, cried out, that these new saints made him call in question the old ones. *Assè che questi santi moderni mi fanno assai dubitare delli passati* (37). But we may say, that there is infinitely more certainty in the modern, than in many of the ancient saints. We cannot doubt but the former lived on earth; and we have almost demonstrative proofs, that the latter never did. A witty man said the other day, in good company, that if he was to address to the saints, he had rather chuse the new comers, Capistran, for instance, or Thomas de Villeneuve, than St Catherine, or St Alexis. See the remark of the article P E R E Z (JOSEPH). I shall observe below (38), that the work of the Jesuit Papebroch incurred the displeasure of the Inquisition.

(36) It was
printed at Ant-
in 1696, in 4to.

(37) Bessarion
Cardinalis cum
inter Divos
inepta quadam
dubiositate
Romæ quam plu-
rimos referri vi-
deret quorum
vitam improba-
rat, se valde
dubitare dixit
utrum vera essent
quæ ab antiquis
prodit fuerunt.
*Edm. de Meib.
Hist. cap. iv, pag.
m. 75.* See in
the remark [F],
of the article
BELLAI (WIL-
LIAM) the ap-
plication which
has been made of
those words of
Bessarion.

(38) In the
remark [Q],
towards the end.

* Paul. Wan-
Sermones de
omnibus sanctis.

(39) Michael
Renigerus de Phi-
lippi Quinti & Gre-
gorii XIII, foro-
ribus contra Eli-
sabetham Angliæ
Reginam, cap.
xiii, fol. 102.
Edit. London,
1582.

A canon of Passaw, a good preacher, and professor of divinity in the XVth Century, said in one of his sermons, that if there were as many holy-days as minutes, the year would not afford one for each saint, and he quotes Durandus, bishop of Mande, who observes, that there are above five thousand saints for every day. 'Tanta (inquit ille) est Sanctorum numeritas, quod totum tempus anni non sufficeret etiam si singulis horis, etiam singulis minutis, ageremus festum unius Sancti; deinde Durandum citat. Quia sicut dicit (inquit) Guillelmus in rationali pro quolibet die plura quinque millia Sanctorum concurrerent (39).' The author, who quotes the sermon of the German canon, adds, that All-Saints day was appointed to supply the want of days in the year, and to prevent the displeasure of those saints, who might be angry for having no honour paid them. Quocirca quum Pontificiorum Divorum tanta illis autoribus fere infinitio sit, in supplementum cultus Sanctorum festum omnium Sanctorum excogitatum est. Quoniam humani cultus illos appetentes esse somniant, & in suos cultores prolixos, ne omittis & preteritis Divis Stomachandi ulla causa sit,

quod suo cultu orbentur: sic omnibus minutis etiam & manipularibus Divis, & non solum Patriciis & majorum Gentium, hoc omnium Sanctorum festo & Suplemento satisfactum esse putant. Atque hoc Guillelmi illius Mimatenfis Episcopi est, quasi salutari hoc pharmaco omnium divorum repulsæ & offensæ placari debeant. Durandi verba hæc sunt. Prop-ter ipsorum inquit multitudinem festare de illis specialiter non valemus. Ergo ut antea idem ait propter omnium (inquit) festorum suppletionem institutum esse festum omnium Sanctorum (40). — Therefore since the saints of the Pope's canonization are grown infinite, All-Saints day is contrived as a supplementary worship of them. Because, as they are supposed to be very fond of being worshipped, and to have a particular regard for their votaries, that there may be no room left for any of them to resent the not being taken notice of, this feast of All-Saints is esteemed a supplementary worship, not only of the bigger, but also of the lower, and every particular class of saints. And this, according to the same William Durandus, bishop of Mande, is a sort of expiatory commemoration, necessary to appease all the saints who have not been particularly recorded. These are his words. Their number is too great to allow of particular holidays for them; and therefore, as the same author has observed before, in order to supply the want of these (says he) the general feast of All-Saints was instituted. Those who make it their business to draw parallels, will not fail to remember, upon this occasion, the precaution of the Athenians, who consecrated an altar to the unknown gods (41), because they were afraid of neglecting the worship of some revengeful deities, whose names and qualities they were ignorant of. They thought they had lately suffered for it; so that to play a sure game (42), they resolved to pay their homage even to the deities unknown to them. This was the way to forget none of the gods.

[H] He furnished so many pleasant stories, that several other persons diverted themselves with relating merry stories on that subject.] Here is one of Mr de Vigneul-Marville: it is as good as that I have mentioned out of the Menagiana. 'Mr de Launoi was a terrible Critic, formidable both to heaven and earth; he has unshrined more saints, than have been canonized by ten Popes. He suspected the whole martyrology; and examined all the saints, one after another, as they do the quality in France. The curate of St Eustachius in Paris, said, "When I meet Dr de Launoi, I make a very low bow to him, and I speak to him with my hat off, and with the greatest reverence, for fear he should take away my St Eustachius, who has nothing to depend upon (43) (§ a)." These last words are very true; and here is a passage of the Valefiana, which confirms them. 'The life of St Eustachius is likewise a heap of fables; and I am very much surprised that the largest parish of Paris should have parted with the name of one of the most famous and illustrious martyrs we have, to take that of an unknown, and very suspicious saint (44).' Mr Ancillon heard Mr Daillé say, 'that one day meeting him in Mr Cramoisy's shop, a Bookseller in Paris, they expressed a great friendship and esteem for one another; and that as they parted, Mr de Launoi told him, Sir, "I strike every month one saint out of the Breviary, do you strike an error out of it (45)." If Mr de Launoi spoke in that manner, it was only in jest; for the number of saints he pretended to degrade, will bear no comparison with the months of his life. But he might, without any exaggeration, have affirmed the saints who are doubtful or fabulous, to be as numerous as the minutes of his long life. See the excellent History of the Church, published by Mr Bagnage, in 1699, in two volumes in Folio. There (46) we find so many fabulous saints and martyrs degraded, that in comparison of that ocean, Mr de Launoi's attempt is no more than a rivulet.

[§ a] These words have been omitted in the Paris edition, 1713. REM. CRIT.]

[I] He . . . wrote . . . against the maxims of the Pope's flatterers.] To go to the very root of the

† Guill. Durand.
Rubrica de Festo
omnium Sancto-
rum, lib. vii.

(40) Id. Reniger,
ibid.

(41) See the
Nouvelles de la
Republique des
Lettres, Jan.
1687, pag. 76.

(42) Τὸ πρὸς
ἀγνωστῶν θεῶν
ἀσπασίας.
Joan. 11: to joy,
for greater secu-
rity. Chrysostom.
Homil. xxxviii.
in Acta Apostol.
See several other
passages in Meur-
siau's Treatise
De Piræis, pag.
42, sec.

(43) Vigneul-
Marville, Mé-
langes d'Histoire
& de Littérature,
pag. 266, 267.
Edit. de Rouen,
1699.

(44) Valefiana,
pag. m. 43.

(45) Ancillon.
Mélanges Critique
de Littérature,
Tom. II, pag.
329.

(46) See the
pages referred to
in the Index, at
the words Martyrs
and Saints.

munities of the monks, without creating himself a great many enemies. He experienced in his latter years that he had offended a formidable party. He was forbid holding assemblies in his chamber (b) [K], as he had done for a long time once a week; and his Printer was brought into trouble [L]. He patiently bore those insults, and ceased not to labour for the public: it may be said that he died with his pen in his hand (c); for he not only had a book in the press during his last sickness [M], but also corrected the proofs the day before he died. He was buried in the church of the Minimes, as he had ordered in his will; but the epitaph which was composed

(b) Ex eodem
Elogio, pag. 30.

(c) See the *Mer-
cure Gallant* for
March 1678.

(47) In the year
1689, in fol.

(48) Elog. Lau-
noi, pag. 21.

(49) A native of
Angbora, and
minister of St
James's parish in
Hamburg. His
book is printed
in 4to, and con-
tains 862 pages.

(50) Elog. Lau-
noi, pag. 30.

the evil, in confusing the immunities the Monks pre-
tended to, he thought it necessary to lay down this
important truth, that the Pope can do nothing against
the canons of councils. He wrote several letters upon
that subject, which have been so well approved in
England, and thought so proper to mortify the
Ultramontains, that they have been reprinted at Cam-
bridge (47). He principally attacked Bellarmine; the
following account is given of his conquest over this
great champion of the Pope's. 'In eo vero adver-
sarium inter alios nactus est Cardinalem Robertum
Bellarminum, qui absurdissima quæque Romanæ cu-
riæ placita defendenda susceperat. Si quæ porro in
eorum confirmationem desumpta ex sacris libris te-
stimonia adduxit, clarissimè demonstravit Launois,
fuisse ea in pravam detorta sensum, & aliter intel-
lecta quàm ex sanctissimi quique patres intellexerint,
& quorum sensu in exponendis Scripturis recedere,
nihil aliud est quàm fidelissimos duces, & à Triden-
tina Synodo datos aspernari, & in errores omnes
seipsium conjicere. Si quos etiam canones aut patrum
textus laudat Bellarminus, eos plerumque interpolatos
ostendit Launois, & mala fide relatos. Sicque homi-
nem armis Scripturæ & traditionis nudatum exponit,
velut nutritum in philosophica palæstra tyronem, qui
adversus invictam castrorum aciem irrito ridendoque
conatu digladiatur; & tela ab Aristotele desumpta
juveniliter vibrat (48). — Upon this subject he
found, among other adversaries, cardinal Bellarmine,
who had undertaken to defend the most absurd maxims
of the court of Rome. Launois clearly demonstrated, that
the testimonies he had alledged out of scripture, in
confirmation of them, were all mis-interpreted, and
taken in a quite different sense from what all
the Fathers had understood them in; & the receding
from whose authority in expounding the scriptures,
was despising the most faithful guides, authorized
by the council of Trent, and plunging head-long into
all kinds of error. The quotations Bellarmine had
made out of the canons and fathers, Launois also proved
to be interpolated and unfaithful. So that he stripped
his adversary of all his armour borrowed from scrip-
ture and tradition, and exposed him naked, like a
freshman in the university, ridiculously disputing with
a most able Professor, and brandishing Aristotle's wea-
pons with a child's hand.' Reiserius, a Lutheran
minister (49), published a book, in 1685, which, strict-
ly speaking, is only an abstract of our Doctor's Letters.
He has put two titles to it, which are both to our
purpose. The running-title is, *Job. Launoii Theol.
Paris. Anti-Bellarminus*. But the title prefixed to the
book is, *Johannes Launois Theologus & Sorbonicus
Parisensis testis & confessor veritatis Evangelico-Cat-
holicæ in potioribus fidei capitibus controversis adver-
sus Robertum Bellarminum & alios quosdam Sedis Ro-
manæ Defensores egregius & luculentus, nunc post obitum
contra Christianum Lupum Lovaniensem, Imma-
nuèlem à Schellstrate Antverpiensem, Natalem Alexan-
dram Parisensem, Dominicum Galefium, & Franciscum
Marchesium Romanos, vindicatus*. The author of
this book pretends, that John de Launois is a person
fit to be put in the appendix to Illyricus's *Catalogus
reptum veritatis*. Mr Cousin has taken it in his head,
a little too late, to speak of this book of Reiserius, in
his *Journal des Savans*; the first mention he has made
of it, is in the journal of the 30th of July, 1696, and
in that of the 6th of August following. These two
extracts are very proper to acquaint us with Mr de
Launois's character.

[K] He was forbid holding assemblies in his chamber.
Nothing was more innocent than those assemblies;
the conversation run only upon learning; however he
was told, that the king desired they should be discon-
tinued (50). The archbishop of Paris was thought to
be the author of that affair, and there were some who
took occasion from thence to speak ill of him. Mr de
Launois neither took that liberty himself, nor would
V O L. III.

suffer this charge to be laid upon the archbishop in
his presence; though he could not forbear saying, that
if the accusation were just, he must be guilty of the
greatest ingratitude. *Hos animorum motus utcumque sedabat
Launois, reique acerbiter, benigna ut poterat interpre-
tatione leniebat. Absinebat ipse semper ab omni atrocitate
verborum, Archiepiscopum nec incusabat ipse, nec incu-
sari ab aliis, carpire coram se patiebatur. Sed tamen cum
vir esset candidissimi pectoris, disiteri non poterat, quin si id
præstitisset Parisiensis præsul, laboraret vehementer in-
grati animi vitio, quo cætera omnia facile continetur (51).* (51) Ibid. pag.
[L] His Printer was brought into trouble. This
happened in the year 1675; he was printing his book
concerning Simony, wherein, amongst other things, he
writes against the Annates, and confutes the Jesuit A-
zorius, who wrote a book towards the end of the
XVth Century, to clear them of Simony. The
copies of this work of Mr de Launois, were seized
at the Printer's; those which could be found were
carried away, and he was forbid selling the rest; but
for a fine of fifty livres, that prohibition was taken
off (52).

[M] He had a book in the press during his last
sickness. Let us see what Mr de Vize (53) says of
him. 'It may be said, that he died in a manner
' with pen in hand; since the day before he corrected
' the proofs of a book he had written in defence of
' the king's interests. It is an answer to an Italian
' writer, who some time before had printed a treatise
' in opposition to the right of secular princes, con-
' cerning the impediments to matrimony. Mr de Lau-
' noi had before maintained the quite contrary doctrine
' in a book published in 1674, wherein the rights of
' the king, and of all secular princes, are so solidly
' established, that this work may be looked upon as
' one of the most useful to the state. It was answer-
' ed in Italy, and as this answer took from secular
' princes their essential right, which they have to
' capacitate or incapacitate their subjects for con-
' tracting matrimony, this great man was not silent,
' but was taking care, when he died, of the impres-
' sion of what he had wrote to confute the errors
' of the Italian author. Thus all his time was em-
' ployed, either for the church, or for his prince; (54) It should be
' and he may be called, not only the vindicator of inferred from
' the king's rights, but also the defender of the just thence, that Mr
' authority of the bishops, the destroyer of false privi- Ancillon is mi-
' leges, and the assertor of the liberties of the Gallican taken when he
' church.' The author of Mr de Launois's elegy, does the second vo-
not agree with the *Mercur Gallant*, with respect to lume of the
the book which was then in the press. It was not, *Mélanges Critique
de Littérature*,
according to him, an apology for the right of princes that Mr de Lau-
over marriages, but an answer to Father Alexander. noi wrote that
He tells us, that Mr de Launois began the treatise book by order,
concerning the right of princes, at the request of both against his
cardinal Bentivoglio. Mr de Launois being at Rome, will and his opi-
when they were examining in France, whether the nion.
marriage of the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII, (55) *Hic titu-
lum esse voluit:
Indicis hujusmodi
mi erratorum in
libro scriptoris
Itali censorum.*
with the prince of Lorraine, was valid, met with
cardinal Bentivoglio in the library of the Dominicans,
and proposed to him this argument. If princes have
had the power to make laws concerning the obstacles
to marriage, they have it still, unless it has been taken
from them. But they have had it, and it cannot
be proved that it has been taken from them. There-
fore. The cardinal desired Mr de Launois to write
upon this subject, and to explain this argument. See
the margin (54). The book was small at first, but
before it was published, in 1674, it grew very large.
Dominic Galefius, bishop of Ruvo, in the kingdom
of Naples, wrote against it. Mr de Launois had no
sooner read the book of that prelate, but he undertook
to refute it; he had scarce finished that confuta-
tion (55), but he undertook to answer Father Alexan-
der (56). His answer was almost finished, when he
was seized with the distemper of which he died in a
few days. This last work was already in the press.
Hence

(52) Elog. pag.
28, & seq.

(53) *Mercur
Gallant*, March
1678, pag. 116,
117, Dutch Edit.

(54) It should be
inferred from
thence, that Mr
Ancillon is mi-
taken when he
says, pag. 310 of
the second vo-
lume of the
*Mélanges Critique
de Littérature*,
that Mr de Lau-
noi wrote that
book by order,
both against his
will and his opi-
nion.
(55) *Hic titu-
lum esse voluit:
Indicis hujusmodi
mi erratorum in
libro scriptoris
Itali censorum.*
Elog. pag. 33.

(56) Qui Anna-
tas à Simonie
libe liberandas
suscipere, &
Summam Theo-
logiam Thomæ
Aquini tan-
quam vero ejus
auctori asseren-
dam. Ibid. pag.
34. See con-
cerning that
work of Father
Alexander, the
*Journal des Sav-
ans*, Novemb.
18, 1675.

(d) Elog. pag. 37. He could not therefore be born the twenty first of December, 1603, as Moreri affirms.

(e) See what Mr Sallo, *Journal des Sçavans*, March 16, 1665, says concerning the book of Mr Thiers, against Mr de Launoi.

composed for him was not permitted to be put upon his tomb [N]. I forgot to observe that he died at the Hôtel d'Etrée [O], the tenth of March 1678, being above seventy seven years of age (d). He was a man, to whom the public is greatly indebted. Had he only published the book *De autoritate negantis Argumenti*, he would have done great service to the Republic of Letters; for he has given a thousand fine hints in that book, to distinguish truth from falsehood in historical matters. He had disputes with several, and among others with father Nicolai a Dominican [P] and Mr Thiers (e).

He drew upon him the whole order of St Dominic, for having so freely attacked the reputation of Thomas Aquinas. The marks of respect, which his prudence and gravity made him intermix with his censures, did not prevent the resentment of the Dominicans; for after all it could not be dissembled, but that the angelical doctor was guilty of great ignorance, or insincerity, in the notation of several passages designed for the confutation of heterodoxy. Father Baron endeavoured to justify Thomas Aquinas but was not very successful in his attempt. I shall take occasion on this head to make several observations [Q]. Father Alexander laboured with much greater success to shew,

Hence it appears, that Mr de Vizé, and the elogist do not agree concerning the book which Mr de Launoi had in the press when he died.

[N] The epitaph which was composed for him, was not permitted to be put upon his tomb.

Mr de Launoi had made his will eleven years before he died, and he had desired Mr Camus, first president in the court of aids, his old and intimate friend, to be his executor. Mr le Camus faithfully discharged that trust, and desired Mr le Clement, an ancient counsellor of the same court, to write an epitaph on the deceased (57). The Minimes having read and examined it, produced a letter from their general, signifying, that this epitaph could not be admitted, since it complimented de Launoi with having always maintained orthodoxy; and some time after they declared, that both the royal and ecclesiastical authorities had enjoined them not to suffer any inscription in praise of Mr de Launoi. 'Ubi illam (inscriptionem) expendunt, attulerunt præpositi sui generalis literas, quibus renunciabatur, nec probari nec recipi à se posse inscriptionem, quâ Launio laus defensionis perpetuo veritatis, & optimæ famæ, maximæque venerationis apud probos quæritur tribuatur. Postea veritum sibi prædicarunt regia simul & sacræ auctoritate, ne ullum apicem in capella sua extare sinerent, quo Launio nomen commendaretur (58). See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (59), and particularly a Letter to a prelate of the court of Rome, upon the decree of the Inquisition of the seventh of December, 1690. I shall quote a passage out of it, which may be of use in the history of our doctor. The abbot, who wrote this letter, takes notice, that the court of Rome maintains it's rights with greater policy than the court of France: he observes, that the former recompenses very magnificently those that write in it's favour, but that the latter takes no notice of those who assert the privileges of the Gallican church.

(58) Elog. Laun. pag. 38.

(59) For September, 1686, pag. 1033.

However, says the author of that letter, if I might advise, posterity should know by some mark of honour, the esteem which has been paid their merit, and the gratitude which has been shewn to their works. But you know how far this has been observed, with respect to one of your friends. We have not had a man of greater zeal for the doctrine of the clergy of France, nor more indefatigably studious to illustrate and defend it, than honest Mr de Launoi, who besides was remarkable for the strictest impartiality. What has been done to the honour of his memory? you very well know; they would not so much as suffer on his tomb, the few compliments his friends would have paid to his merit, and the services he had done to the church of France. Nay, they did in a manner stop his mouth some years before he died, by forbidding him to continue certain conferences upon this subject in his house, where it may be truly said, more were instructed to become defenders of our liberties, than in all other places beside. Nay, it is a kind of miracle, that we have what he printed in his life-time, upon the superiority of councils, and against the infallibility of Popes, and upon other subjects of this nature; and we owe it to his particular contrivance, which was to give it piece-meal in letters, which he wrote to different persons, by that means avoiding the intolerable slavery of the censure of certain

doctors of his time, without whose approbation, no book could be licensed, and who seemed as if hired to put a stop to all good books, and to put their authors into despair.

[O] He died at the Hôtel d'Etrée. The Cardinal d'Etrée, when he was only bishop of Laon, had in some measure ingrossed Mr de Launoi to himself. See Mr de Marolles (60).

[P] He had a dispute with . . . Father Nicolai a Dominican. The *Journal des Sçavans*, mentions three works of this author. I. His two dissertations *De concilio plenario quod contra Donatistas baptismi questionem definit* (61). II. His book *De Jejunii Christiani & Christianorum abstinentiæ vero ac legitimo ritu juxta veterem Ecclesiæ universalis usum* (62). The first of those three pieces is intirely against Mr de Launoi, who pretended that St Augustin meant the council of Arles, when he said that the error of the Donatists about the nullity of the baptism of Heretics, was condemned in a general council. Mr de Launoi drew from thence a great many consequences against the Ultramontains. The second book of the Dominican does not concern him; it is a work of which the Protestants of France took advantage, because it contains a formal condemnation of those who force Infidels to be baptized. The third work of this Monk, is against Mr de Launoi. Here is a passage out of the continuation of the Menagiana. 'I once told Mr de Launoi, that he had offended all the Jacobins by his writing against Father Nicolai, and that all of them would write against him. He answered me un luckily. I fear their penknife more than their pen (64).'

[Q] Father Baron endeavoured to justify Thomas Aquinas, but was not very successful in his attempt. I shall take occasion on this head to make some few observations. Unprejudiced persons would form this judgment of the success of his dispute, by only comparing his first piece with that of his adversary. Much more would they do so by comparing Mr de Launoi's first and second Reply, with the answer of Father Baron.

I shall only mention the pieces of this controversy. A letter of Mr de Launoi to Mr Faure (65), is that wherein he censures Thomas Aquinas. Father Baron's answer is contained in three paragraphs of the second section of the first book of his apology for the Dominicans (66). Mr de Launoi's Reply is in a letter to Mr Fortin (67). I have not seen Father Baron's Reply; but I know that his adversary refused it in a letter dated from Paris the first of August 1667 (68). I know not whether this dispute went any farther.

To give a small specimen of the judgment which the Monks formed of the genius of this Sorbonne doctor, I shall recite a few lines of Father Baron. 'Quisquis hominem privatim, seu publicis scriptis intimus noverit, etiam ex amicis, non abnuet meum de illo judicium, aut verius votum. Optandum plane, ne mores ingenuos corrumperet nimio fardum cogitationum amore, & alios jure, vel injuria carpenti, in naturam inducâ consuetudine. Unde ad minus, ut cetera omittam, illud incommodi accidet, ut magnum potius, quam bonum nomen videatur ambire, & doctiores viros voluisse innumbrare, neque, ut conveniebat sapienti Theologo, satis cordi fuerit

(60) You will find, in page 159, of his *Memires*, printed in 1656, the following words: His esteem for Mr de Launoi, doctor of Divinity, one of the greatest men of this age for his learning and probity, is a sign of his judgment. And indeed, such a man with him, he cannot be too careful of him: it is an inestimable treasure.

(61) *Journal des Sçavans*, April 3, 1668.

(62) *Ibid.* December 10, 1668.

(63) *Ibid.* June 17, 1675.

(64) Suite du Menagiana, pag. 173. Duch Edit.

(65) The first part.

(66) From page 119 to 134.

(67) The ninth of the fifth part.

(68) The fourteenth of the sixth part.

show, that Thomas Aquinas is the true author of the sum of Divinity, which is ascribed

* fuerit effatum illud medicorum, *malum bene possum*
* *ne moveo*. Plura enim ab heroicis Temporibus
* communi piorum opinione recepta, quæ nihil Fidei
* adversa, pietati etiam opportuna, aulus est, longe de-
* bilioribus, quam niterentur argumentis lacessere ;
* nullo alio operæ pretio quam ex summa morositate
* comparati sibi nominis, & iustis possessoribus, saltem
* ex probabili opinione juris plerumque inique crepti

(69) Vincentius
Baronius, Apolog.
Ordin. Predicat.
lib. i, pag. 119.

(69). — *Whoever has had any intimate acquaintance, either with his person, or writings, even the best friend he has, must join with me in my judgment, or rather wish, concerning him. It were much to be wished, that a too great fondness for his own notions, and an ill habit, which was grown natural to him, of censuring others right or wrong, had not so far corrupted his great parts. From whence arose this mischief at least, to mention no more, that he seems to have been ambitious of a great, rather than of a good, name, and desirous of eclipsing men of superior learning, without having sufficiently at heart that maxim of the Physicians, which a wise Divine will never forget, alter not a wrong method which has succeeded right. For he has had the assurance to attack some traditions generally received by the faithful ever since the primitive times, which, without contradicting their creed, were even subservient to their piety, and this he has done on far slenderer grounds, than those on which they were founded; purely for the sake of getting himself a name by his great censoriousness, and taking away that of others, who are much better intitled to it, at least according to the most likely opinion.* In the next leaf he opposes the character of Thomas Aquinas to that of this Sorbonist, and declares that Thomas would have made a scruple of conscience, and been ashamed of those things, which Mr de Launoi gloried in. The angelical doctor, adds he, would never have disturbed the French in their belief, that St Dionysius the Areopagite was their first apostle; he would never have robbed the inhabitants of Provence, of the glory they claim from the arrival of St Magdalen; nor the Carmelites of their descent from Elias, and of the scapulary of Simon Stock, nor the monasteries of their exemptions. He had better things to write; and even tho' he had met with some doubts, and a want of probability in these matters, he would have let them alone, and paid a due respect to those traditions which promote piety, without doing prejudice to religion. 'Habebat meliora scribenda (Divus Thomas) & subodoratus etiam, ut erat enunciat naris, aliquid incerti, aut minus verisimilis, ex medicorum præcepto, malum bene possum noluisset primus movere: atque ista longa traditione rata & firma, quæ nihil obstat fidei, profunt etiam pietati, in disputationem revocare, credidisset pertinere ad illius generis questiones ab Apostolo damnatas, quæ lites generant, non ædificationem (70). — Disputes of this kind, he would have referred to those condemned by the apostle, which produce strife and not edification.'

(70) Id. ibid.
Pag. 121.

If all the circumstances set forth by this Jacobin were true, there is no doubt but John de Launoi was deservedly condemned, as one, who, to make himself talked off, and to satisfy his ill nature, would oppose many general opinions, which had obtained time out of mind, to the advancement of piety, without detriment to faith, and were grounded upon proofs of infinitely more weight than his objections. This last circumstance alone would be sufficient to condemn an author, let his motives on other accounts be ever so just; for, undoubtedly, a long possession deserves too much respect, as to oblige us to maintain it, every thing else being equal. But if it be just to maintain it, when it's title is not inferior to the pretensions of the innovators; how much must it be more so, to forbear all attempts to overthrow it, when it's reasons are by far the strongest? But this is not the case of our Sorbonne doctor: the traditions he opposes, have no good title, and his arguments against them are unanswerable. Now in this case, it is plain, there is all the right in the world to bring the most general and ancient opinions to a trial, especially when their falsity keeps up a criminal devotion. I desire it may be observed, that the reasonings of this doctor were of such force, as to undeceive abundance of people: but yet the abuses have not been removed: things remain still upon the same foot in Provence, and elsewhere.

They tell you still the same stories they told your ancestors, and you see there the same worship, and the same ceremonies. This proves the difference there is betwixt private persons and the public. Particular people are most of them one time or other undeceived, and yet the practice of the public remains the same. Cicero says there was not an old woman so silly as to give credit to the stories, which were formerly believed concerning hell; and he makes use of this remark to prove that fabulous traditions vanish away in time, but that true doctrines, and such as are grounded upon the nature of things, are confirmed by age; and that this was the cause of the long continuance and increase of the worship of the gods. 'Videmus cæteras opiniones fictas, atque vanas diuturnitate extabuisse. Quis enim Hippocentaurum fuisse, aut Chimæram putat? quæve anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimecat? Opiniones enim commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat. Itaque & in nostro populo, & in cæteris, Deorum cultus, religionumque sanctitates existunt in dies majores, atque meliores (71).' Juvenal also complains, that the ancient doctrine concerning hell, was no longer believed.

A REFLECTION
upon the un-
certainty of
Launoi's labours.

Esse aliquos Manes, & subterranea regna,
Et contum & Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque una transire vadum tot millia cymba,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.
Sed tu vera puta (72).

(71) Cicero, de
Natura Deor.
lib. ii, cap. ii.

(72) Juven.
Sat. II, ver. 149

Ghosts, Stygian lakes, and frogs with croaking note,
And Charon wafting souls in leaky boat,
Are now thought fables, to fright fools: conceive'd,
Or children, and by children scarce believ'd.
Yet give thou credit.

TATE.

Thus you see a great change in the opinions of private persons, and yet the public worship was still the same, both in Juvenal's and Cicero's time. There were still the same feasts, processions, and sacrifices, not only in honour of the celestial gods, but also in honour of Pluto and Proserpine, and the other infernal deities. This sort of inconsistency on one hand, and constancy on the other, will always be more or less observable. Some doctors of quicker sight, and greater courage than their brethren, will undeceive abundance of private persons, and yet cause no change in the public ceremonies. The ritual will last longer than the faith on which it was built. Too many people will find it their interest to maintain it, and will be industrious enough to succeed, though they can give no better reasons for it, than those alledged to Cotta in Cicero's book before cited. Among other things they urged to him the apparitions of some deities; and to prove the truth of these apparitions, they alledged the foundation of some temples, a decree of the senate, a proverb. I expected some arguments, replies he, and you bring only popular stories. 'Tum Lucilius: An tibi, inquit, fabellæ videntur? Nonne ab A. Posthumio ædem Castori & Polluci in foro dedicatam, nonne S. C. de Vatiens vides? Nam de Sagræ, Græcorum etiam est vulgare proverbium; qui quæ affirmant, certiora esse dicunt, quàm illa quæ apud Sagram. His igitur auctoribus nonne debes moveri? Tum Cotta, Rumoribus, inquit, mecum pugnas, Balbe: ego autem à te rationes requiro (73). — To this Lucilius: 'What can you esteem these things fables? Do not Nat. Deorum, you see a temple in the Forum dedicated to Castor and Pollux by A. Posthumius, and a decree of the senate concerning Vatiens? And as to Sagræ, the Greeks have a common proverb among them, who when they would assert a thing, say it is more certain than anything in Sagræ. Are not these authorities therefore sufficient to convince you? To which Cotta: 'O Balbus, says he, you fight me with popular stories; but I expect you will give me reasons.' Mr de Launoi might have made use of the same answer, and of several others; but as I have already said, there were too many people interested in opposing the innovation, and maintaining the common tradition. It looks as if they

(73) Cicero, de
lib. iii, cap. v.

cribed to him (f). Mr de Launoi had proposed some doubts upon that matter (g). Of all his antagonists none had less regard for him than Father Theophilus Raynaud [R]. I will

(f) See the Journal des Sçavans, of the twelfth of November, 1675, pag. 264, Dutch Edit. (g) Ibid. August 12, 1675, pag. 226.

they had well weighed the consequences of the principle which Cicero has put into the mouth of one of his speakers: I mean that they seem to have learned how to prove the truth of a tradition, from its standing the test of time, and maintaining its ground for so many ages. It is laid down in Cicero, that an opinion ill-grounded can never grow old (74). * Quid enim est hoc illo evidentius? quod nisi cognitum, comprehensumque animis haberemus, non tam stabilis opinio permaneret, nec confirmaretur diuturnitate temporis, nec una cum sæculis ætibusque hominum inveterare potuisset. Etenim videmus cæteras

(74) Id. Ibid. lib. II, cap. II.

(75) The rest is quoted above, at citat. (71).

* opiniones fictas, &c (75). — For what can be more certain than this? which if it had not been fully known and understood, could never have prevailed so long, as an established opinion, nor been confirmed by length of time, and grown old, together with the several ages and successions of men. For we see other opinions which are false, &c. Doubtless, the monks are led by some weightier motive than what this argument supplies, to oppose John de Launoi, and those like him. Note, by the by, that the argument drawn from antiquity, is made use of in Cicero to prove a falsity, for it is there alleged to maintain the reality and existence of the false gods of Paganism. It is therefore a principle which may lead into error; and yet the maxim, *Opinionum commenta delet dies*, might have been long since urged against the false worship of the ancient Greeks and Romans, since there has been no country for many ages, wherein their religion, their Jupiter and their Juno, their Venus and their Neptune, &c. are acknowledged and adored. And thus their cause is lost when once it is supposed, that, sooner or later, time will destroy false doctrines. You may please to observe, that this principle can never be admitted as a certain proof, without first determining the duration sufficient to distinguish truth from error. If a thousand years suffice, every opinion which is a thousand years old is true; but if no time be fixed, it is in vain to conclude, that a doctrine which has lasted four thousand years must be taken for certain: no body knows what is to come, or whether the fifth millenary may not put a period to what has resisted the four preceding ones. A thought of Horace is applicable to this subject.

Scire velim, pretium chartis quotus arroget annus, &c (76).

(76) Horat. Epist. I, lib. II, ver. 35.

How old then must a piece be, to be good?

I have one thing farther to observe. There is no likelihood that those who follow the steps of John de Launoi can do any service whilst things are only carried on by way of a literary dispute. The patrons of false devotion will never recede; they find their account too much not to abate an ace, and they are powerful enough to secure themselves from any violence. The court of Rome will second and support them. The Romish church seems to have adopted the religion of the god Terminus of the Roman republic. This god never yielded a title, no not to Jupiter himself: which was a sign, said they, that the Roman people should never recede, nor yield an inch of ground to their enemies (77). If any Pope should be willing to sacrifice something to the reunion of the Schismatics, some insignificant devotions, some superannuated traditions, he might apprehend as great a murmur against him, as the Heathens made against the scandalous peace of the emperor Jovian (78). The Jesuits, with all their power, have not been able to hinder the Inquisition of Toledo from condemning several volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*; and it is certain that storm was raised only by the solicitations of the Carmelites, and other Monks, who were angry with Father Papebroch, and his assistants, for having rejected several acts, and old traditions, as apocryphal. They are to be commended for having merited this thunder-broke, and will do well to deserve others. The character of a Capanus (79) in this respect would be a very good one,

(77) See, above, citation (44), of the article JOURNAL.

(78) See, above, remark [B] of the article JOURNAL.

(79) Of whom Statius, Theb. lib. x, about the end, says, Paulum sitardus apertus Cessifent, potuit fulmen meruisse secundum. Whole fate had at one moment been delay'd, Woud have deserved the dreadful thunders aid.

Du tonnerre dans l'air bravant les vains carreaux, Et nous parlant de Dieu du ton de Des-Barreaux (80).

To brave the threatening thunders dreadful tone, And speak of God as Des-Barreaux has done.

(80) See, above, the remark [A], of the article BARBARA.

But by these sort of encounters with the inquisitors, they will render themselves unserviceable with respect to the reformation of public abuses; their criticisms, were they much more severe, could be of no farther use than for the instruction of private persons. The disease is past cure. You see Father Mabillon has laid down some very good rules concerning the worship of some saints, and the judgment to be made of relics (81). What did he get by it? he was answered, *Physician, heal thyself*. Reform first the worship paid, in some houses of your order of St Benedict, to saints as dubious as any. He was told of the injury he did to the church, and the advantage he gave the Protestants (82). Is not this shutting the door against all his good designs? Mr Thiers sets up against false relics, he examines where the bodies of the martyrs lie, he publishes some dissertations upon the holy Tear of Vendôme, and upon St Firmin. All this is lost labour. The king's council suppressed his book about St Firmin, as the bishop of Amiens had condemned a letter, which he had published upon the same question. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (83), and the third part of the *Bibliotheca volante*. The fruits of a discreet zeal are destroyed in the bud. They build upon this principle, that it is dangerous to abrogate old customs, that boundaries ought not to be removed, and that, according to the old proverb, *we should leave the minister where we find it* (84). The prosperity of the Christian Rome, just like that of the Pagan Rome, is founded upon the preservation of ancient rites (85). Consecrations must be complied with, religion will allow no alteration in them. *Sed illa mutari vetat religio, & consecratis utendum est* (86). In our days, said a sub-prior of St Antony, *let us beware of innovations* (87).

(81) In his dissertation about the worship of unknown Saints. See Mr Bultet's, in the second Tome of his Histoire de l'Eglise, pag. 1038, 1039, and the Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, August, 1668, pag. 372, & seq.

(82) See the same works, ibid.

(83) For March 1700, pag. 356, and for April, 1700, pag. 382.

(84) See Pasquier, Recherch. de la France, livr. viii, chap. xii.

(85) Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque. Ennius apud Cicero, citatum, ab Augusti de Civit. Dei, lib. II, cap. xxi. Vide etiam Vulestium Gallicanum in Avinion Cassio, pag. 454, Tome I.

(86) Quintill. lib. I, cap. vi, pag. m. 59.

(87) See the preface to the new editions of the Jesuits Catechism, written by Pasquier.

[R] Of all his antagonists, none had less regard for him than Father Theophilus Raynaud. You need only read his *Hercules Commodianus*, where you will meet with all the passion imaginable. Those who will not be at the pains of reading it, but shall only consider the following quotation, will easily perceive that our doctor was never so grossly abused. * Infanti vir ingenii Joannes Launoyus, cui nihil adeo sacrum fuit, quod non scelerat scriptione aliqua petulant ac plusquam censoria. Cælitibus ipsis non pepercit, imo in hoc non semel conisicavit. . . . Is cum in me quoque incurrisset, urgente quodam infomnio Marfya, qui sua deliria, imò aperte hæretica commenta, contacta extremis propè digitis in eo Antemurali, ægrè tulit, ex persona amici ac civis nostri S. Theologiz D. castigatus est: patefactis primum ejus fragoribus, quibus Herculem prætulit: Tum mendaciis, calumniis, loquacitate, scurrilitate, aliisque feminini generis maculis, quibus satyra verius quam scriptio ab eo in nos exarata, dehonestabatur: ita ut Commodi exemplo, Hercules simul terrificus, & femina, non nisi pellacis ac dolis armata, apparere voluisse in ea lucubratione videatur. Quæ causa fuit, cur *Herculis Commodiani* appellatione visus sit insigniendus (88). — Launoi was of so pragmatical a turn, that no thing was so sacred, which he did not pollute with his saucy, and more than satirical pen. He did not spare heaven itself, but has even here entered the lists more than once. . . . The attack he thought fit to make also upon me, at the instigation of a certain conceited Marfya, who was offended at my just touching in that out-work, upon his extravagant, and even heretical positions, has been revenged by a dollar in Divinity, my friend and fellow-citizen, after having first exposed all that blustering with which he pretended to be another Hercules; and then the lies, calumnies, tautologies, scurrilities, and such other female ill qualities, with which his piece, or rather satire against me was stained, so that in that work, after the example of

* Commodus,

will not pass over in silence (b) that he had struck out of his calendar *St Catherine virgin and martyr*, and said, that her life was a fable, and to shew that he gave no credit to it, every year on this saint's day he said a mass of Requiem (i). I must observe also, that his labours against the worship established upon fabulous traditions have been of no service as to the public (k). I shall mention the judgment passed on him by Mr de Vigneul-Marville [8]. Which will give me occasion to relate a particular not much known, and which does not well agree with the little friendship there was between this doctor and the Jesuits, and with his affection for Mr Arnould. The fact is, that his opinion concerning Grace, was contrary to the doctrine of St Augustine (l).

Commodus, to have designed acting the part of a terrible Hercules, at the same time with that of a woman armed only with female falsehood. Which was the cause of his being called Commodus's Hercules. This Jesuit in another place compares him to Ithamel. *Homo Ithaelita, cujus manus contra omnes, Joannes Launoy* (89).

(89) *Ibid.*
n. 73, pag. 70.

[8] I shall mention the judgment passed on him by Mr de Vigneul-Marville. Whatever esteem I have for Mr de Launoi, it must be confessed, that he had the predominant fault of critics, which is to observe no measure, and to defend the worst causes with obstinacy. His books of *Extream-Union*, and of *Aristotle's fortune*, and some others, are good pieces; but it may be said in general, that this doctor in all his writings shews much more learning than judgment and good reasoning. Commonly the principal subject is not what he handles best; but it is in incidental matters that he is so admirable, by which he frequently deceives the unattentive reader (90).

(90) Vigneul-Marville, *Mémoires d'Hist. & de Littérature*, pag. 267.

The author of the *Journal des Sçavans*, has affirmed (91), that Mr de Launoi 'can be charged with nothing less justly than defending bad causes with obstinacy. His particular character was to love truth above all things, to seek it without any prejudice, and freely to communicate it, when he had found it, &c.' Mr de Vigneul-Marville has answered (92) that there are two ways of loving truth; the one is to love it for its sake, the other, to love it in regard to oneself. . . . That St Augustine loved it for its own sake. . . . that it is quite otherwise with the generality of critics, who only love truth either for the glory it gives to those who first discover it;

(91) See the third Tome of Vigneul-Marville, pag. 266. Rouen Edit.

(92) *Ibid.*
pag. 267.

LAURENS (ANDREW DU) in Latin *Laurentius*, professor of Physic in the university of Montpellier [A], chancellor of the same university, and first Physician to Henry IV, died the sixteenth of August 1609, as we learn from Guy Patin (a), with some other particulars, which are mentioned in Moreri's Dictionary, and which I therefore will not repeat. I content myself with supplying the defects left in that Dictionary. No particular mention is there made of the writings of Andrew du Laurens. I shall therefore observe that he published several, which were very much esteemed, particularly his *Anatomy* [B], which has passed a great many editions, and was dedicated by

[A] Professor of Physic in the university of Montpellier. It is remarkable that before he was allowed to act as professor, he was obliged to pass thro' all his exercises again in order to take his doctor's decree a second time. 'Cum Regio diplomate *Montpelii Medicinæ publicæ docendi munus obtinisset, admitti tamē non potuit, donec iterum factus fuisset primò Med. Baccalaureus, deindè Licentius, tandemque Doctor, & toties iterum de Medicina respondisset, quoties in Academia ex illius instituto opus fuit* (1) *Altho' he had obtained the king's grant of the Physic professorship, yet he could not be admitted till he was again made first Batchelor of Physic, then licentiate, and lastly doctor, and had gone quite thro' all the disputations required by the constitutions of that university.*' Riolanus confirms this. The *Seur du Laurens*, says he (2), being a doctor of Avignon, was obliged to wait at Montpellier, and there read a lecture, and commenced doctor over again, at one but newly admitted.

(1) Paul. Freher, in Theatro, pag. 1323; from the second part of Jani Jacobi Boussin de Vit. Viator. doctorum.

(2) Riolan, *Recherch. des Échelles de Médecine*, pag. 8. See also, pag. 167.

Patin was undoubtedly not acquainted with this particular, which he would certainly otherwise have mentioned with the following remark. 'Du Laurens. . . . came to court with the counts of Tonnere, by recommendation he was made one of the king's four Physicians, and Regius professor at Montpellier, against the laws and statutes of that university, by an arrêt of privy-council, which he had much ado to get verified at Toulouse (3).' Note that he found-

(3) Patin, Letter XXXI, pag. m. 217, of the first Tome.

ed a physic garden near one of the gates of Montpellier, where he placed this inscription, *Argus est non Briareus. — Prefer the eyes of Argus to the arms of Briareus* (4). [B] He published several pieces which were much esteemed, particularly his *Anatomy*. It was re-printed at Paris in folio in 1600, and at Francfort also in folio, the same year. These two editions were followed by three others at Francfort, in 8vo, in 1602, 1615, and 1627. It is intitled, *Historia Anatomica humani Corporis & singularum ejus partium, multis controversiis & observationibus novis illustrata* (5). — *The Anatomical History of the Human Body, and all its parts, illustrated with many new controversies and observations.* The word *novis* shews that the Paris edition was not the first. It followed that of Lyons in 1593, in 8vo, which is not half so large. I have seen two French translations of the Paris edition: one by Francis Sizé and printed at Paris, in 1610, in 8vo: the other by Theophilus Gélée Physician at Dieppe, and printed at Paris in folio in 1613, together with several other pieces of du Laurens (6), translated by the same hand, or which had been before published in French by the author himself (7), or which had been collected from his lectures read publicly to the *Chirurgiens in the university of Montpellier, in the years 1587, 1588.* These last pieces are on the gout the leprosy, and the small pox. All the French pieces just mentioned have also appeared in Latin; they may

or which is more commonly the case, out of a capricious humour getting an ascendant over them.' I will not say, continues he, that Mr de Launoi was one of those adventurers, who go in quest of truth, as knights errants formerly did of noble exploits. But then it must be confessed that a great many very learned men did sometimes look upon him as a critic who overshot himself, and did not always discover the truth he was so fond of. This will readily appear by casting an eye on the learned, who have attacked him, or wrote severe replies to him. One might have seen him covered with the dust of his daily combats, and with the bruises that he had received in the fight (93). Nay, this author adds, that in Mr Arnould's opinion he was not always orthodox: he declared himself too freely for a Divine so much inferior to St Augustine, of which the Protestants of the Arminian party, pretended to take great advantage. This gives us to understand that he did not approve the hypothesis of St Augustine about Predestination; but his opinion concerning that doctrine will be much better understood from the preface of a treatise which is not yet published; Mr Simon has inserted it in one of his letters (94), and informs us that Dr de Launoi in that work condemns the opinion of St Augustine. This letter is not very advantageous to the doctor, and gives us a very mean notion of his learning. See the *Journal des Sçavans* of the fourteenth of November 1701, pag. 723, Dutch edit: and the *Journal de Trevoux*, of August 1703, pag. 1313, edit. of France. The *Journal de Trevoux* of January 1702, article I, speaks of a defence of St Augustine by Father Daniel against the dissertation ascribed to Mr de Launoi.

(b) Valefiana, pag. m. 36.

(i) Confer cum Sebastianus Korsholus memorat, pag. 9, *Dissertationis de puerilis Poëtiis*.

(k) See the remark [2].

(l) See the remark [8], towards the end.

(93) *Ibid.* pag. 259.

(94) It is the thirty first of Mr Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, printed at Trevoux in the year 1700.

(a) Patin, Letter XXXI, pag. m. 217, of the first Tome. See also the twenty seventh Letter, pag. 1174.

(4) Paul. Freher, in Theatro, pag. 1323.

(5) See Lindenius renovatus, pag. 47. The Lyon edit. 1623 is not there taken notice of.

(6) That of Cuius, divided into three books, with the general method relating to the Prognostic and Crises of Disorders, and that on the King's Evil, in two books, the first of which, treats of the admirable virtue of curing this distemper by touching conferred by the divine power on the kings of France 3 and the second explains the nature of the distemper, &c.

(7) That on the Preservation of the Sight; That on Melancholy; That on Catarrhs; And that on Old Age.

him to Henry IV, in 1599. It is a mistake to say he improved by his conversation with Aquapendente [C]. His country has not been rightly mentioned in *Lindenius renovatus* [D]. ANTONY DU LAURENS, his youngest brother, was an advocate in the king's council, and died in 1647, at eighty three years of age. He married Anne Robert, the daughter of Anne Robert the advocate, who was living in 1662

be seen in Tom. II, of Laurentius's works, published at Francfort in 1621, in folio, with the *Annotaciones in artem parvam Galeni, & Consilia Medica*. The piece on Crises had been printed separately in Latin at Francfort in 1596, and 1606, in 8vo (8). Lindenius renovatus takes no notice of the Latin edition of Laurentius's works published at Paris in two volumes in 4to, in 1627, by Guy Patin, author of the Latin translation of some pieces written by Laurentius in his mother tongue.

The French translation of the Anatomy, printed at Paris in 8vo in 1610, has no figures, but that of Gélée, in folio. The Printer gives this among other reasons, for his suppressing them, that Laurentius ordered them to 'be added only to oblige some particular readers, not that he judged them necessary, but rather conducting to divert than instruct. Besides, he himself declares, that he left the Printer of the Latin edition to take the figures from those to be met with among common Anatomists, such as those of Paré and Guillemeau, Chirurgeons to our Most Christian kings, or of Charles Stephens doctor of Physic in the same university, which are in every body's hands: so that if there be any faults in his figures, he desires they may be imputed to the Painter and Engraver, and says, he has explained himself sufficiently in his Anatomy, so as to need no assistance from figures; nothing further being required than a view of the annual dissections, without which it is impossible to become a perfect Anatomist (9). These particulars relating to the history of that work of du Laurens, I thought the reader would not be sorry to find here.

I must add, that altho' this Physician was an excellent Anatomist, yet he could not help leaving room for criticising. Read the following words: 'All that is contained in the questions of Laurentius relates only to that part of Anatomy, which is truly physiological. In his Anatomy he has committed great errors, not such as Collado and Laurembergius have taken notice of, which are in his questions, but in facts, and in the text of his Anatomical History; which is so plainly proved, that every one who is the least skilled in Anatomy must own he is not to be defended (10).'

This Collado, or rather Colladon, has carried his censure too far; for he pretends that there is nothing at all good in Laurentius's Anatomy. John Sperlingen professor of Physic at Wittemberg has animadverted on this excessive passion. 'Hæc & plura ejusmodi Collado, *says he*, quæ non hic saltem, sed ubique contra Laurentium magno ferebre scriptit. Ubi ita se gerit, ut oculati videant omnes, non tam amore veritatis quam antiquitatis cordato huic contraxisse viro. Sed non abjicienda nova omnia, aliàs & ipse hic Colladon liber è medio tollendus & è bibliothecis foret exterminandus. Quem tamen multa bona, multa acutè excogitata continere, non imus inficias. Interim etiam non omnia in Laurentio falsa, sed plurima vera, plurima non absque insigni legentium commodo scripta sunt. Fallit Collado, cum inquit: Laurentii Anatome tota mendis scatet, ut de eâ verè Prophetæ querimoniam possis queri, omnis princeps ægrotat, à vertice ad plantam pedis, & non est in corpore toto sanitas: adeo omnes libri partes inlucubilibus errorum maculis imbutæ sunt, ut nescio, quâ creta aut cimolia abstergi purgarique possint. Fallit & cum scribit: Docere vis, quæ non intelligis, quomodo id præstabis? Non per te sanè, non enim potes dare, quod non habes, sed *κατὰ συβιβανδον*, insular duræ & stupide cotis, acutum redere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi. Non facies sanè tuorum librorum lectores doctiores, imò si tibi fidant indoctiores: sed tum deprehenâ doctrinæ tuæ falsitate jussu perciti zelo, veræ & genuinæ medicinæ auxiliatrices manus afferent, præmium clarioris scientiæ eruncatis tuis ex suo aliorumque animis erroribus perniciosissimis metent. Ne quid nimis, Collado! Amicè tractandi publici boni causa qui laborant. Nævus si habent, & tegendi, & de- tegendi illi. Errare humanum sed errata stylo atro-

ci & lingua virulenta notare, ac è musca elephantem facere inhumanum (11). — These and a great many more of the same kind, which Colladon not only here, but every where else, objects against Laurentius with great heat. Discovering to all attentive readers by such behaviour, that he has contradicted this judicious author, more out of love to antiquity than truth. But all new things are not to be rejected, otherwise this very book of Colladon's must be self-condemned, and banished from all libraries, which yet, we do not deny, contains many good and shrewd observations. Nor at the same time is all that Laurentius has written false; there are a great many things true, a great many by which the reader may be very much improved. Colladon deceives us when he says: Laurentius's Anatomy abounds every where with errors, that we may apply to it the complaint of the prophet, every prince is sick, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, and there is no health in the whole body: all parts of his books are so full of spots of so deep a dye, that no Fullers-earth in nature can never take out. He also deceives us when he writes: you undertake to teach, what you yourself do not understand. But how is this to be done? Not by your own instruction, for you cannot give, what you have not, but by accident, like a hard and stupid whetstone, which can give an edge to steel, tho' it has none of it's own. Your books will never make the readers wiser, but on the contrary, if they credit you, more ignorant: till by discovering the falsity of your doctrine, they become influenced with a proper zeal to go over to the side of the true and genuine Physic, they obtain the prize of perfect science, by eradicating out of their own and others minds your most pernicious errors. You harp, Colladon, too much on this string! They who labour for the public good, ought to be kindly treated. If they have any faults, they ought to be corrected, but not exposed. To commit errors is natural, but to magnify them, and censure them, in a harsh style, and rude language, is unnatural.

[C] It is a mistake to say he improved by his conversation with Aquapendente. We shall clear up this from an extract of a letter of Guy Patin. Mr Hofman (12) . . . remarks somewhere that Laurentius has published a discovery in Anatomy, which he would never have thought of, if he had not learned it from Fabricius Aquapendente, at whose table he eat for some years. But this is very false; for Laurentius never studied any where but at Paris under Duretus seven years. . . . So that he never was at Padua, as I am very well assured by being Physician for these twenty three years last past, to the family of Messieurs du Laurence, who are both counsellors, and one of them master of Requests, whose father was the younger brother of Andrew Laurentius, and died not above ten years ago of a quartan ague, at eighty seven years of age, from whom I had the opportunity of meeting with all the information I could desire (13).

[D] His country has not been rightly mentioned in *Lindenius renovatus*. The words of the author of that book are *Natus in Academia Montpelienfi* (14), that is born in the university of Montpellier. This expression would be improper, even tho' the mother of Laurentius had been delivered of him in a college of Montpellier. But I am in doubt whether he was at all born in Montpellier. The author (15) quoted by Freherus affirms it. And it is no conclusive argument to the contrary, that he had a brother (16) born at Arles, for it is no extraordinary thing, that the children of the same father should be born in two different places. We must wait therefore for a clearer proof of this point, as also of these words in *Lindenius renovatus*, *obit in patria*, which mean that Laurentius ended his days at Montpellier; but in the mean time I have some suspicion that he was born at Arles, since Guy Patin has intitled him *Arletensis* in his edition published in 1627.

[E] *Anas*

(8) From *Lindenius renovatus*, pag. 47.

(9) Advertisement to the reader, before the Anatomy translated by Francis Sizer.

(10) Riolan. Recherches des Echoles de Medecine, pag. 214, 215.

(11) Joh. Sperlingen, de Formatione Hominis in utero, pag. 123, Edit. Witt. 1641. He quotes Collado in Obf. cap. xxxiv.

(12) That is to say, Caspar Hofman, professor of Physic at Altorf.

(13) Patin, Letter XXVII, pag. 117. Tom. I, It is dated September 6, 1649.

(14) Mercklin in *Lindenius renovatus*, pag. 47.

(15) Part II, Vitæ Virorum doctorem Jacobi Boissardi, apud Freherum in Theat. pag. 1323.

(16) Honoratus du Laurens, archbishop of Arles. See his article in *Notæ*.

(b) Taken from
Patin, Letter
CCLI, pag. 389,
and Letter
CCLXXXII,
pag. 508, of the
second Tome.

1662 [E]. Mr DU LAURENS, counsellor in the parliament of Paris, was their son (b). LOUISA DU LAURENS, wife of Balthazar, master of the requests, and intendant of justice in Languedoc, was their daughter (c). We see in the *Mercure Galant*, that PETER DU LAURENS, doctor of the Sorbonne, formerly grand prior and vicar-general of the order of Clugni, died bishop of Belle on the seven-teenth of January 1705, aged eighty nine, and that he was grandson of Andrew du Laurens, first Physician to king Henry IV (d).

(c) Patin, Letter
CCCLVI, pag.
59, of the third
Tome.

(d) Merc. Ga-
lant, February,
1705, pag. 162.

(17) The
CCLXXXII,
pag. 507, Tome
II.

[E] Anne Robert . . . who was living in 1662. Patin affirms in a letter dated December 26, 1662 (17); that he had on that very day ordered Extrem-unction, to be given to her, and that she was then eighty seven years old, but he had said elsewhere (18), that she was but eighty one in 1661.

(18) In the
CCLII Letter,
pag. 380, of the
same Tome.

LAURENTIO (NICHOLAS), commonly called *Cola di Rienzo*, was, in the XIVth century, one of those men whom the providence of God makes use of, from time to time, as a sort of theatre, whereon is exhibited to view a representation of the vicissitudes and uncertainties of human life [A]. He was the son of a mean Vintner, and a Laundress. His application to study in his youth, and the natural strength of his parts, made him very eminent. He became exceedingly eloquent, and had by heart all the fine passages of Cicero, Livy, Julius Cæsar, Valerius Maximus, and Seneca. He was extremely fond of antient inscriptions, and understood the reading of them perfectly well. He obtained a Notary's place, which was at that time so well esteemed, that gentlemen did not think it below them to execute it. The commissaries of the several districts of Rome having deputed him to Pope Clement VI, who resided at Avignon, he harangued him so eloquently that he gained the esteem and favour of that Pontif, and the admiration of his court. This encouraged him to declaim against the great lords of Rome, who oppressed the citizens. Cardinal John Colonna resented it; but having better considered the matter, he desisted from doing him ill offices with the Pope. Laurentio grew still hotter and hotter against those petty tyrants of Rome; and one day he harangued in the Capitol with so much freedom against them, that he received, as soon as he had done, two boxes on the ear. One was from a lord of the house of Colonna, who was then chamberlain of Rome, and the other from Thomas Fortificocca, secretary to the senate. He dissembled the matter, and continued still to harangue in the Capitol, and in several churches, and to devise emblems, all tending to shew the ill administration of justice. The persons concerned took this for sport, especially when they saw that his orations were mixed with jests, and that he threatened some of them with capital punishment. In all likelihood they thought that he could do them no prejudice by reason of his extravagances, but they were mistaken: for taking advantage of Stephen Colonna's absence, who was marched out of Rome with his soldiers, to bring in provisions, he assembled the people, harangued them, made laws, expelled all the grandees out of the city, assumed the power of judicature, and was declared tribune august, and deliverer of the people in 1346. The faction of the exiles was incapable of withstanding him, by reason of the little union there was among them; so that he disposed of all things at his pleasure, and saw himself at the head of a new Roman republic, in whose name he wrote to other states, to the emperor, and to the Pope himself. The better to confirm his authority, he condemned a great many people to death, and among others, he caused Martin de Porto, one of the petty tyrants of Rome, to be hanged. He received embassies from several princes and republics, and boldly summoned the Pope to come and reside at Rome, with the college of cardinals. He was so successful in the war he undertook against the faction of the nobles, that he surpressed it intirely. But then he became like most of those, who make insurrections under the fair pretence of liberty. It is not the tyranny they hate, but the tyrants; they cannot bear, that any should exercise the sovereign power but themselves. Laurentio had no sooner overthrown the tyranny of others, but he became a tyrant himself; upon which he was treated, as he treated others. He was forced to make his escape, and they hanged him in effigy at Rome as a traitor. After concealing himself for some time, he went to the emperor, who permitted him, but without advising him to it, to go and pay his duty to the Pope. He was at first ill received, but after some months imprisonment, he followed the Pope's legate to Rome. He there raised his party to such a height

[A] As a sort of theatre whereon is exhibited to view a representation of the vicissitudes . . . of humane life.] The heathens call this the sport of fortune, but they might have added, that this play generally ends like a tragedy.

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus †.

† Ovid. de Pontio,
lib. IV, Elog. III.

Our earth is but the jest of heaven.

That, which our Laurentio acted upon the great theatre of the world, had the same sort of catastrophe.

- Tollantur in altum
Ut lapsu graviore ruant (2).

(2) Claudian in
Rufina lib. I,
circa initium.

Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari (1).

Such as came fortune from the crowd,
Advances in a merry mood.

Di quasi pilas homines habent *.

The gods make men their tennis balls.

(1) Juven. Sat.
III, vers. 39.

* Plantus, in
Captiv. Prolog. v.
22.

[B] Some

a height as to be just ready to commence war again with the Colonna's: but his severity to the people, and his exactions, rendered him so odious, that they mutinied against him. He thought his eloquence would calm that tempest, as it had many others; but he was mistaken: for notwithstanding his shewing himself to the people, and haranguing them at his windows, they set fire to his palace. He attempted to escape in a beggar's habit, and was almost out of danger, when a certain little man discovered him. Another run him through the body with a sword. They gave him a thousand wounds; they dragged him through the streets, and hung him up by the feet (a). He was two days in that situation, after which the Jews burnt his corps in the fields (b). Some of his writings are still remaining [B].

[B] Some of his writing are still remaining. The letter he writ to those of Viterbo is to be found in a book intituled, *Prose antiche di Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio & altri nobili & virtuosi ingegni*. Which contains also the harangues, that Pandolfus Francus, and Francis Baroncelli, his envoys to the republic of Florence,

made to the Florentine senate. Some letters wrote by him to Charles king of the Romans, and to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria may be met with in the fourteenth Tome of Bzovius's Annals (3). Petrarch made a fine Italian poem in praise of Laurentio (4).

(a) Taken from Prof. Mando-
fi's Bibliotheca
Romana centu-
ria II, n. 55.

(b) This happened
the night of Sep-
tember 1353.

(3) Ad. ann.
1347.

(4) Ex Biblio-
theca Romana
Prof. Mando-
fi, Cent. II, n. 55.

(a) The author of
some pieces, and
particularly of a
volume di configli
criminali to which
he prefixed a
print of himself.
See page 204 of
the Cicceide.

(b) It is an ex-
pression of Bal-
zac's. See the
Chevrana, pag.
276 of the second
part. Holland
Edit.

LAZZARELLI (N.), a native of Gubio in Italy, was a very good poet. He was some time auditor, or judge in the Rota of Macerata, and afterwards dedicated himself to the church, and became a priest, and provost of Mirandola. He died in 1694, above eighty years of age. He published a book intituled *la Cicceide*, which has something in it very singular. It is a collection of sonnets, and of some other kinds of Poetry, in which he cruelly abuses one Arrighini (a), a native of Lucca, who had been his colleague in the Rota of Macerata. He treats him as a person *wholly composed of genitals* (b). His versification is wonderfully easy, natural, and fluent: his imagination furprizingly fruitful in fine and lively thoughts; but the subject is so obscene, and treated with so much malice, and sometimes prophaneness, as may justly give offence. The preface of his book contains some apologies which I shall mention [B].

[A] A book intituled *la Cicceide* hath something very curious in it. I have only seen the second edition of it (1), published in 1692. This is the whole title; *la Cicceide legitima: in questa seconda impressione ordinatamente disposta, notabilmente accresciuta, e fedelmente rincontrata con gli Originali dell' Autore*. It contains two parts: the first called *le Tespicolate*, the second *le Sghinazzate*. The person reflected upon in that work, is described by the name of Don Ciccio. Note, that Ciccio is a word the Neapolitans make use of, to signify Francesco. The Romans instead of Ciccio say Cecco. The chief design of the author is to prove, that Don Ciccio is a Coglione. All the 318 sonnets, which compose the first part of the Cicceide, terminate in that. It is the center of the sphere of it's activity; I believe the second part will make up the complement of the number 360, which is the common division of a circle. There is nothing wanting in that sphere of slander; it has all it's degrees, and they all terminate in the same point. Lazzarelli, with whatsoever he begins always ends with the Coglioneria of Don Ciccio. This is the burden of all his songs. This is going too far, even beyond what Voiture could do in complimenting the great prince, to whom he wrote, *You who are a true Caesar in wit and learning, a Caesar in diligence, vigilance, and courage, &c per omnes casus Caesar, you have deceived the opinion, &c* (2). Our poet turns his Ciccio on all sides, and shews him every way,

(1) Mr. Sylvestre,
d'Elor of Physics,
lent me a copy of
it at his return
from Italy in July
1700, and told
me the particulars
mentioned in this
article.

(2) Voiture,
Letter to the duke
of Enghien after
the battle of
Rocroy, in 1647.
It is the CXLIIth
Letter of Voiture.

(3) Virgil. *Æn.*
lib. i, ver. 204.

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum (3).

and makes a Coglione of him *per omnes casus*. He traces him from the moment of his conception to his death, and goes still farther; for he jests upon his coffin, his burial, his epitaph, &c. He pursues him as far as Charon's boat, and engages he will be ferried over gratis; and even that he may go over without being ferried. He supposes Charon speaking to him thus:

E' privilegio a pari tuoi concesso
Il poter senza imbarco, e pagamento
Havere a l'altro margine l'accesso;
Mentre un tondo C.... gonfio di vento
Galleggiando leggger, può da sè stesso
Andar di là dal fiume a salvamento (4).

(4) Cicceide,
pag. 290.

He left out of the second edition the sonnets which had been judged the most prophane, and had occasioned the putting his book into the Index. They concerned Ciccio's baptism, confirmation, extrem-

unction and some other ticklish subjects. I have a manuscript copy of them, and am advised to insert one here at least; that they who cannot see the Cicceide, a piece but little known on this side of the Alps, may form an idea of Lazzarelli's genius. I have pitched upon the sonnet concerning extrem-unction (5).

L'oglio santo.

Da la febre, da l'asma, e da l'uscita,
Don Ciccio ritrovavasi ammalato
E già ridotto in sì cattivo stato
Che l'ean vicino all' ultima partita.
Quando, tal nuova il poverello udita,
Dimandò l'oglio santo, e gli fu dato
Rimanendo così fortificato
Per suo franco passaggio a l'altra vita.
Ma fatta il Parochian la sua funzione
Per la mente uno scrupolo gli corse
D'aver fallato nell' operazione.
Però che in vece d'applicar l'unzione
Sù i cinque sentimenti egli s'accorse
Ch' applicata l'havea sopra un coglione.

(5) These are the
six last Verses of
the sonnet, where
in he desired
him to assist at
his last moments.
So
C'en prego, Don
Ciccio, instante-
mente
Che a me non
lice far queste
funzioni
Se tu medesimo
non vi sei pre-
sente,
Stante che le
Canoniche
Sansonie
Prohibiscono a
tutti espres-
samente
L'uso di celebrare
senza coglioni.

[B] The preface of his book contains some apologies, which I shall just mention. It seems to have been made by one of the author's friends, who protests, that he was very sorry for the first impression of this book, and that he had much ado to consent to the second, though it was in a better condition. His scruples were grounded upon some allusions to the ceremonies of the church, and upon the opposition, that might be found between the duties of charity, and a slandering book. He adds, that this book is only a heap of flashes of wit, and a poetical rapture, notwithstanding which the writer is really orthodox; that he submits all those compositions to the censure of his superiors, and that he detests whatever they shall judge blamable: that he hopes from the reader's equity, a just distinction between witty conceits, and an intention of offending; and lastly, that though he writes somewhat licentiously, his actions are unblameable. This is only an imperfect account of his apology, and therefore I shall set down his own words (6). 'E à dire il vero è l'uno, e l'altro degli accennati motivi son degni di un animo, che professa esattamente i dettami del Cristianesimo, nel quale si pregia l'Autore di vivere, protestando, che questi suoi componimenti sono un mero

(6) Preface to
the Cicceide.

* mero sfogo di Poetico capriccio affatto discordanti dalla pietà dell' animo suo, imbevuto de' Sagrosanti Dogmi della Cattolica verità, come sarà prontissimo sempre a testificare co sangue stesso, e che gli sottopone interamente alla Censura de' Superiori, detestando adesso per all' hora tutto quello, che dal giudizio loro infallibile sarà stimato per degno d'esser dannato. E riflettendo, che questi sono più tosto scherzi di una penna, per trastullarsi, che sentimenti d'un Cuore intento all' offesa d' altri, ti prego à

* credere, ch' egli non mi havrebbe permessa mai la libertà di rimandarlo alle stampe, se non si fidasse dell' ingenuità del tuo Cuore, che saprà trastullarsi coll' ingegno senza trascorrere colla volontà à denigrare nè pur col pensiero la fama incorrotta del suo decantato Protagonista. Vivi dunque felice, mentr'io lasciar non voglio di ricordarti in difesa dell' Amico, che se bene scrive con qualche licenza, può però dir di sè stesso: *Lasciva est nobis pagina, Vita proba est.*

LELAND (JOHN), a native of London, so industriously applied himself to the search of the English antiquities, and was thought so qualified to succeed in it, that king Henry VIII gave him a very good pension, and the title of his Antiquary. That employment began and ended with him. That he might well discharge the duties of it, he went through all the counties of England, he examined all the ruins of old monuments, he perused the manuscripts of convents and colleges; and having spent six years in his travels, and collected as many memoirs as was possible, he undertook several considerable works [A]: but he had not time to finish them, nor even to forward them. The court did not pay him the stipend that was due to him; and whether for this, or some other reasons, he fell into a deep melancholy, which distracted him [B]. He died in that sad condition. His manuscripts are in the Bodleian library. They are undigested materials [C], that shew however his great capacity. But it is more clearly known by a book to which he put his last hand [D], and which deserves to be printed (a). Camden has been accused of having made great use of Leland's manuscripts (b). Dr Smith has confuted that accusation.

I ought not to omit, that he studied at Paris under Sylvius; that he began in 1534 to travel in search of the British antiquities; that he abjured the church of Rome some time before his death, and that he died the eighteenth of April 1552 (c).

[A] He undertook several considerable works. A book *De Topographia Britanniae primae*, in quo vetustas etiam locorum quorum meminissent scriptores Romani, appellationes spissa caligine obsitas in lucem esset revocaturus. Fifty books *De antiquitate Britannicae*, sive de civilis historia juxta comitatum Angliæ & Walliæ, quæ tunc temporis obtinuerat, partitionem. Six books *De insulis Britannicæ adjacentibus*. Three books *De nobilitate Britannica*. This is what he promised in a petition he presented to king Henry VIII, in the 37th year of his reign. This petition, intituled *Strena*, was published by Bale (1).

[B] He fell into a deep melancholy, which distracted him. Let us make use of Dr Smith's nervous expressions. 'Proh tristes rerum humanarum vices! proh viri optimi deplorandam infelicitissimamque sortem! non enim multo postquam fidem quod suscepit præstandi quasi signatis tabellis obtrinxisset, sive operis promissi difficultatibus deterritus, sive immensis laboribus fatigatus fractusque, sive dolore nimio & malancholiâ, quod fructum industriæ justæque expectationi parem nondum percepisset, sorte oppressus, sive quacunque aliâ de causâ, abalienatæ mentis, nullis, è Religione & Philosophiâ, nullis è Medicinâ petitis remediis ad pristinum sanumque statum revocandæ, ægitudine perpestus est; vultu interim observationum, quas in Adversaria sine ordine & properante calamo, prout ipsi occurrissent, congesterat, mole relicta (2). — Sad vicissitude of human affairs! deplorable and wretched condition of the best of men! for, not long after he had obliged himself, as it were under his hand, to perform what he had undertaken, whether deterred by the difficulties of the promised work, or tired and broken with immense labours, whether perhaps oppressed with too much grief, and melancholy, because he had not found a reward equal to his industry and just expectation, or from what other cause soever, he suffered the loss of his senses, not to be restored by any remedies fetched from Religion, Philosophy, or Medicine; in the mean time, leaving behind him a vast heap of observations, which he had thrown together in his Adversaria, without order, and with a hasty pen, just as they occurred to him.'

[C] His manuscripts are undigested materials. This appears by the last words of the passage I have just now quoted, but more particularly from the sequel of it. 'Harum (observationum) quatuor libros, ut loquuntur, in folio, & septem minoris formæ, manu Lelandi præterquam ex parte descriptos, in perpetuum ipsius memoriam Bibliothecæ Bodl. Oxon. dono dedit V. Cl. Gulielmus Burtonus, famæ ob editam *Agri Leicestriensis descriptionem*, apud Antiquarios

* nostros notissimæ. Reperitur quoque aliud volumen 'Collectionum Lelandi' * in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ. * Non irritabo Lelandi manes, si dixerò, totum opus, 6. * quod sæpè tractavi, mirè confusum, distractum, nulloque ordine digestum, limam ubique desiderare, & tanquam corpus exsuccum, exsangue, animæque destitutum prostrare (3). — The learned William Burton, well known to our antiquaries by his Description of Leicestershire, gave to the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, four manuscript books of these observations in folio, and seven of a smaller form, written mostly by Leland himself. There is found likewise another volume of Leland's collections in the Cotton Library. I shall not affront Leland's ghost, if I say, the whole work, which I have often looked over, is strangely confused, incoherent, digested into no order; that it every where wants polishing, and is a meer bloodless, inanimate, body.' I here insert this author's judgment upon Leland's vast design. 'Vir minime vanus & omni procul ostentatione profectus, se multa & magna . . . quæ infinitam illius industriam, solertiamque, & excellæ mentis, ad maxima quæque aspirantis præclarissimas cogitationes conatulus abunde testantur, moliri (4). — This writer, without any (4) Ibid. pag. 291. * vanity and ostentation, professes, that he has in hand many and great undertakings . . . which abundantly prove his very great industry, and diligence, and the excellent thoughts and attempts of his lofty and aspiring mind.'

[D] A book to which he put his last hand. Dr Smith will tell us the subject and the merit of it. 'Quantus vero fuerit Lelandus, si non ex editis opusculis Collectione, saltem ex eximio opere (quod perfectum reliquit) de *Scriptoribus illustribus Britannicis*, quod in publicam lucem exeat, dignissimo, colligere licet (5). — How great a man Leland was, may be collected, if not from his miscellaneous works, which are published, at least from that excellent treatise, (which he left perfect) concerning the famous English authors; a treatise most worthy to see the light.' And that one may judge of the piece by the pattern, he gives us Leland's collections about Simon Stoch. Dr Smith transcribed this article to send it to the Jesuit Papebroch, the compiler of the *Acta Sanctorum*. The Catalogue of the Bodleian Library gives the titles of some of Leland's printed works. Mr Telfier (6) should have acquainted the public, that the book *De illustribus Britannicæ Scriptoribus; de Academicis Britannicis; de Typographia*, &c. Which he ascribes to John Leland, is not printed. I fear he has put *Typographia* instead of *Topographia*, which will occasion Leland's being placed among the authors, who have written concerning Printing.

(a) Taken from Camden's Life, written by Dr Thomas Smith, pag. 28, & seq.

(b) Ibidem.

(c) See, Pope Blount, Cent. Author. pag. 442.

* Sub Julio, comp. 6.

(3) Thomas Smith, ubi supra pag. 30.

(4) Ibid. pag. 291.

(5) Ibid. pag. 30.

(6) In Biblioth. Bibliothecar. pag. 187.

(1) Taken from Camden's Life, written by Dr Thomas Smith, pag. 29.

(2) Thomas Smith, ibid.

(a) See the epistle dedicatory of the book de oculis Naturæ Miraculis, of the second and following editions.

(1) That which I make use of is of Francfort, 1593, in 8vo, apud Joh. Wechelum. It is enlarged with some chapters, and to it is added the book de Vita cum Animi & Corporis incolumitate recte instituenda, which had never appeared before.

(a) Stephan. Byzant. voce Λήμνος.

LEMNIUS (LAEVINUS), a famous Physician, was born at Ziric-Zee in Zeland, the twentieth of May 1505. One of his principal works is that *de oculis Naturæ Miraculis* [A]. WILLIAM LEMNIUS, his son, practised Physic with such success, that Erric, king of Sweden, sent for him to his court, and made him his first Physician (a). He was so faithful to that prince, that he was imprisoned, and put to death, in 1568, when Erric was dethroned (b).

(b) Melch. Adam, in Vita Medicor. pag. 100.

[A] One of his principal works is that *de oculis Naturæ Miraculis*. It has been printed I know not how often. Several editions are mentioned in *Lexicon renovatus* (1); but nothing is there said of the first, which was that of Antwerp, apud Guilielmum Simonem, 1559, in 8vo. The work at that time consisted but of two books: it was dedicated by the

author to Matthias Gallomontanus ab Heeswijk, apud Metelliburgum Antistes. The second edition at Antwerp, for Plantin, 1564, in 8vo, contains four books, and was dedicated by the author to Erric, king of Sweden. The preface informs us, that Lemnius proposed to add two books more to these four.

LEMNOS, an isle in the Ægean sea near Thrace, and mount Athos [A], was famous upon several accounts. It was thus called from the great goddess, who was named Lemnos, and had maids sacrificed to her (a). The Sinti, a people of Thrace, were the first that inhabited it (b). It had but two cities, one of which was called Hephestia, and the other Myrina (c). Its labyrinth was one of the four buildings of that kind mentioned by the Antients [B]. The inhabitants of Lemnos were the first who forged

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Plinius, lib. iv, pag. m. 465.

[A] Near mount Athos. A great many authors have observed, that the shadow of this mountain extends as far as the isle of Lemnos. 'Lemnos' ab Atho LXXXVII mill. passuum. Circuitu patet CXII. M. D. pass. Oppida habet, Hephestiam & Myrinam, in ejus forum solstitio Athos ejaculatur umbram (1). — Lemnos is distant from Athos eighty seven miles: it is in circumference an hundred and twelve. Its towns are Hephestia and Myrina, into whose forum, at the Solistice, Athos throws its shadow. You see in these words of Pliny, that the distance from mount Athos, to the isle of Lemnos, was eighty seven thousand paces. Solinus takes but one thousand from it (2). This does not agree with the observations of Belon, an eye witness, and consequently more to be credited than Pliny. These are his words. 'The isle is more extended in length than in breadth, from east to west, so that when the sun is going to set, the shadow of mount Athos, which is more than eight leagues beyond it, falls upon the port, and over a point of the isle, on the left side of Lemnos: a thing which we observed the twelfth day of June. For mount Athos is so high, that though the sun was not very low, yet the shadow touched the left angle of the isle (3).' This testimony is sufficient to convince us, that the antients had reason to say, that the shadow of this mountain reached the isle of Lemnos; but that they did not well know the measure of that extent. It would be a distance of about thirty five French leagues (4), if we computed it by Pliny's eighty seven miles. What abatements must we make, since Belon says only something above eight leagues? The following passage shews, that Plutarch was in the same error with Pliny. 'I know well, that neither you nor I have ever been in Lemnos; yet we have often heard that Iambic verse, so frequent in every one's mouth,

(1) Plin. lib. iv, pag. m. 461, juxta Edit. Har. duini.

(2) Solin. cap. xi, pag. 31.

(3) Belon, Observat. de Plu. singularet, livr. i, cap. xxvi, pag. 58, 59.

(4) Our Geographers do usually assign a 100 paces to a common French league.

Ἀθὼς καλὴν ψαλὸν Ἀθηνῶν βοῶν:

Mount Athos shall on either side

The cow in Lemnos planted bide.

for the shadow of that mountain falls, it seems, on the image of a brazen heifer, which is in Lemnos, extending itself in length over the sea, not less than seven hundred stadia; not that the mountain, which makes the shadow, is of that height as to cause it: but because the distance of the light renders the shadows of bodies manifoldly greater than the bodies themselves (5). The seven hundred stadia of Plutarch, are 87500 paces: so that he made the distance still greater than Pliny and Solinus. Apollonius makes it equal to the space that a ship can sail from break of day till noon. Salmastius proves, that according to the common estimation of the ancient Geographers, this signifies 250 stadia (6), whence we may infer, that Apollonius lessens the distance above half, which the others reckon between mount Athos, and the isle of Lemnos, and yet that he sup-

(5) Plutarch of the face appearing in the orb of the moon, pag. 93, of Anstis translation.

(6) Salmast. in Solinum, pag. 124.

poses it much greater, than Belon found it: for eight French leagues makes only 160 stadia. Note, that Apollonius observes, that the shadow of mount Athos reached as far as the city of Myrina.

Ἡεὶ δὲ νισσομένοισιν Ἀθῶν ἀνέτελλε κορώνη
Θρηκίην, ἢ τῶσσον ἀπέπεσθε Λήμνον· ἔσαν,
Ὅσσον ἐς ἔνδιον κεν εὐσελῶς ὀκλᾷς ἀνύσσαι,
Ἀεζῶντι κορυφῇ σκιδεῖ, καὶ ἐσάχαι μυρίνης.

Cæterum dubia luce pergentibus aperiebatur Athonis umbo

Thracius, qui Lemnum, licet tantum distantem,
Quantum instructior oneraria conficiat in meridiem,
Extantissimo inumbrat fastigio, vel Myrinam usque (7).

(7) Apollon. Argon. lib. i, ver. 601, pag. m. 61.

At by the doubtful light they steer'd their course,
The Thracian Athos open'd to their view;
Whose lofty summit throws a distant shade
Far as Myrina, in sam'd Lemnos' isle,
Whose shores the speediest vessel since can reach,
Ere that the sun has finish'd half his race.

Salmastius (8) quotes Stephanus Byzantius (9), to shew, that, according to Pliny and Solinus, the shadow of mount Athos, could not have reached the isle of Lemnos: he objects against them, that, according to that writer, the shadow did not reach above 300 stadia; 'Athos' but he would have more solidly confuted them, and many others, by Peter Belon's testimony.

[B] Its labyrinth was one of the four buildings of that kind, mentioned by the antients. The three others were that of Egypt, that of the isle of Crete, and that which king Porlenna caused to be built in Tuscany. Here follows a passage out of Pliny (10). (10) Plin. lib. de Ægyptio & Cretico Labyrinthis, satis dictum est, xxxvi, cap. xlii, pag. m. 305. 'Lemnius similis illis, columnis tantum centum quinquaginta mirabilior fuit: quarum in officina turbines ita librati pependerunt, ut puero circumagente tornarentur. Architecti illum fecere Zmilas & Rhodus, & Theodorus indigena. Exstantque adhuc reliquæ ejus, cum Cretici Italique nulla vestigia existant.' That is to say, according to Du Pinet's version, 'so much for the labyrinths of Egypt and Candy. That of Stalimene was the same, except that it had an hundred and forty marble pillars more than the Lemnos; others, which were all turned with that ease, that one person could turn the lathe in which they were made, so finely polished were the irons and axes that sustained them. Moreover, it is said, that Zmilas, Rhodus, and Theodorus, which were of the said isle, made this labyrinth, of which there are some remains; and yet we cannot find the least footsteps of that of Candy or of Tuscany.' This translator supposes, that the three Architects of this labyrinth, were Lemnians; but the original affirms this only of Theodorus, who is, perhaps, the same who wrote a book concerning a temple of Juno (11).

[C] Valer.

(4) *Hellanicus*
apud Scholiast.
Apollon. in lib.
1, ver. 608, &
Scholiastes Ho-
meri in Iliad. lib.
5, ver. 594.

forged arms (d): which doubtless was one of the reasons why the Poets supposed that Vulcan being thrown down from Heaven, fell into that island, where he was kindly received, and set up a forge (e) [C]. The place where he fell, was remarkable for a kind of earth which had great virtues. It cured Philoctetes who was bit by a serpent [D]. His disagreeable stay in the isle of Lemnos, whilst the Grecians besieged Troy,

(e) See the re-
mark [F], at the
end.

(12) *Lucian. de*
Sericio. pag. 334.
Tom. 1.

(13) *Homer.*
Iliad lib. xviii,
ver. 590, 596,
ver. 594.

(14) *Id. ibid.*
lib. 1, ver. 591.

[C] *Vulcan fell into this island, where he set up a forge.* Some authors say, that Jupiter threw him head-long, and that if the Lemnians had not received him in their arms, he would have lost his life (12). But he himself says in Homer, that Juno threw him down, and that Eurynome and Thetis, the daughters of Oceanus, caught him, and prevented his being killed (13). He says in another place of the Iliad (14), that Jupiter took him by the foot, and threw him out of heaven, and that having been a whole day in coming down, he fell into the isle of Lemnos at sun-setting, that he was almost dead, and that the inhabitants took him up. Perhaps it will be said, that Homer should have been more careful not to contradict himself; but what he says implies no contradiction; he only relates two different adventures. Valerius Flaccus supposes, that Vulcan fell upon the shore of Lemnos, and that the inhabitants hearing his voice, ran to him, and gave him all manner of assistance, so that he had ever since a great affection for that island.

Simulabit se iterum in Lemnum pulchrè fabricatum oppidum,
Quod illi terrarum multò charissimum est omni-
um (16).

(16) *Homer.*
Odys. lib. viii,
ver. 283, pag.
m. 230.

Here follows a thing, which shews, that the most fabulous traditions will last a long time. Belon, who travelled in Turkey in the year 1548, informs us, that there is no inhabitant of the isle of Lemnos, but knows something of Vulcan's history; and as the little children of the isle of Corfula will tell you the history of the Dolphin, as if it was a new thing; so every body in the isle of Lemnos, relates the adventures of Vulcan, but in a different manner. For some say, that he and his horse broke their thighs by their fall, and that he was immediately cured by the virtue of the earth on which he fell (17).

[D] *The place where he fell was very remarkable for a kind of earth, which had great virtues. It cured Philoctetes who was bit by a serpent.* Philostratus mentions a particular very different from the common tradition. He says, that Philoctetes was not tormented in the isle of Lemnos, with the long pains that were so much talked of. 'That brave man, adds he (18), was immediately cured by the earth of Lemnos, which is taken from the very place on which Vulcan fell from heaven; for it has the virtue of curing all sorts of violent and furious distempers, and of stopping all bloody fluxes; but it cures not the biting of serpents, except that of the Hydra.' I shall set down some particulars taken from Peter Belon's observations, who travelled in that country towards the middle of the XVIIth century. 'The ancients, says he (19), had a kind of earth, which was accounted an excellent remedy for several distempers, and which at this day is as much used as ever. The Latins call it *Terra Lemnia*, or *Terra Sagillata*. It is such a rarity, that ambassadors, at their return from Turkey, do commonly take some along with them, to make a present of it to persons of quality. It is good, among other things, for the plague, and for all manner of defluxions. There is some to be had at the Druggists, that goes by the name of *Terra Sagillata*, but is generally sophisticated. The isle of Lemnos is the only country where it is to be found.' He gives (20) the figure of several seals that are made use of to mark that earth, and adds (21), that all the 'seamen of a bark that came from Lemnos to Constantinople, assured him, that it was impossible to get any, but from the under-basha of the island; and that if we had a mind to see it, such as it is naturally, the only way was to go thither; for the inhabitants are forbidden, upon pain of death, to export any. Moreover, they told me, that if any of the inhabitants should sell a small cake of it, or was discovered to have any in his house, without the governor's knowledge, he would be severely fined; for none is allowed to distribute it but the under-basha, who rents the island, and pays a tribute to the Turk.' He got some body to carry him to the place out of which the earth is taken, and saw nothing but a sloping hole (22), that was stopped, and he could never get it opened; for they never opened it but once a year, viz. on the sixth of August, which they do with great preparations and ceremonies. 'This earth (Belon goes on) (23) shews how much ceremonies enhance the value of things that are vile and inconsiderable in themselves; for though the earth I speak of, has a great virtue, yet if it was so common that any one might be allowed to go and fetch some, it would be slighted. So that if any other vein of earth, like that of Cochino, had been found in some other part of that island, I do not question but that the Greeks would scruple to use it, unless the Caloiers were present at the digging of it, and performed the usual ceremonies; and if they had some like that of Cochino, they would hardly use or distribute it to others, if it had not been dug on the sixth day of August; thinking that part of it's

(17) *Belon, Ob-*
servat. lib. 1,
cap. xxix, pag.
68.

(18) *Philostrat.*
in Heroicis.
I make use of Vi-
gner's transla-
tion, Tom. II,
pag. 233, of the
4to edition.

(19) *Belon,*
Observat. lib. 1,
cap. xxii, pag.
51.

(20) *Ibid.*

(21) *Ibid. cap.*
xxiii, pag. 54.

(22) *Ibid. cap.*
xxviii, pag. 65.

(23) *Ibid. cap.*
xxix, pag. 67.

(15) *Valer.*
Flaccus, Argon.
lib. ii, ver. 78,
pag. m. 91.

— jam summis Vulcania surgit
Lemnos aquis, tibi per varios deserta labores
Ignipotens; nec te Furis & crimine matrum
Terra, fugæ meritique piget meminisse prioris.
Tempore quo primum ferebitis infurgere opertos
Cælicolam, & regni fensit novitate tumentes
Jupiter; ætheriæ nec stare silentia pacis:
Junonem volucris primam suspendit Olympo,
Horrendum chaos ostendens, pœnamque baratri.
Mox etiam pavidae tentantem vincula matris
Solvare, prærupti Vulcanum vertice cœli
Devolvitur: ruit ille polo, noctemque diemque
Turbinis in morem; Lemni cum litore tandem
Insonuit: vox inde repens ut perculit urbem,
Acclivem scopulo inveniunt, miserentque soventem
Alternos ægro constantem poplite gressus.
Hinc reduci, superas postquam pater annuit arces,
Lemnos cara deo: nec fama notior Ætnæ
Aut Lipares domus (15).

Vulcanian Lemnos rises from the waves,
By thee, through numerous, varied, toils, bewail'd,
God of the fire: nor irks it thee, O land,
To keep in mind his flight, and former merit:
What time rebellion shook the throne of Jove,
And broke the peace of the ætherial court:
The fire of gods, first, from Olympus' height
Suspended Juno, to her frighted view
Disclosing chaos, and th' infernal pains.
Next Vulcan, who, with filial piety,
Strove to unloose his trembling mother's chains,
He seiz'd, and bur'd from heaven: in giddy whirls,
Both night and day, he fell, till Lemnos isle
Receiv'd the panting god; whom, when his voice
Had reach'd the neighbouring town, the Lemnians
found
Reclin'd against a rock: with pity struck,
They kind refreshment lend, to ease the god,
Lam'd by the rapid fall. The grateful deity,
Reform'd to heaven, and reconcil'd to Jove,
Favours the Lemnian isle, equal in fame
To Lipare, or Ætna's burning bill.

Homer says that Lemnos was the beloved country of Vulcan.

Εἶσατ' ἔμην ἐς Λῆμνον ἐκνήμιον ἀπολίσσων,
Ὡ οἱ γαῖαν πολὺ φιλάτη ἐνὶ ἀπασιών.

Troy, was mightily sung by the Poets [E]. Some other reasons occasioned the fiction I have mentioned concerning Vulcan; for it was said that in former times flames frequently broke out of the earth in the island of Lemnos [F], particularly on the top of mount

it's virtue proceeds from the ceremonies that are practised upon such an occasion: nay, they would be apt to believe it has no virtue, unless they themselves saw it dug up. Nothing can be more judicious than these observations of Belon; and he alleges the two following examples. The Iris grows very plentifully in the mountains of Macedonia, and was to be had at a cheap rate; yet it was thought, that no body should be allowed to gather it, but such as were chaste, and that the earth was to be watered three months before with holy water, in order to pacify it. Besides, several other superstitions were to be practised, which have been described by Theophrastus (24). He proceeds to the ancient ceremonies which concerned the earth of Lemnos. In the time of Dioscorides, who wrote before Galen, it was an usual thing to mix the blood of a he-goat with the earth, in order to make cakes of it. You must know, that some ceremonies were usually performed in the killing of goats consecrated to Venus, who, as the fables have it, produced an ill smell, like that of goats, in the women of Lemnos. Whereupon their husbands having expressed a dislike of them, all the women, with a common consent, killed all the men of the island. Which was the reason why the priestesses sealed those cakes with a seal on which was the figure of a goat, and therefore they were called *Sphragida ægos*, which signifies a goat's seal. . . . Galen being desirous to know the truth of what was said concerning that earth, as he came from Troy, (at that time called Alexandria, a Roman colony) in his way to Rome, passed by Lemnos, and inquired whether it was still an usual thing among the inhabitants to mix the blood of a goat with the earth before it was sealed. But being in the very place I am speaking of, he found that such a practice was grown out of use. He gives an account of what was performed, when he was there, and says, that a priestess threw here and there some wheat and barley upon the ground, and used some other ceremonies according to the custom of the country, and then filled a cart with earth, and had it carried with her into the town of Hephæstia. Galen says this and much more which we shall not recite for brevity sake (25). As for the modern ceremonies, he tells us what had been confirmed to him by above six hundred men, who had seen them celebrated all their life-time. 'The most eminent persons of the island, both Turks and Greeks, with their priests and calovers, meet together. The Greeks go to the little chapel called Sotira, and after the celebration of a mass, according to the way of the Greeks, attended with prayers, they and the Turks go up the hill, which is only two bow shot distant from the chapel; and get the earth dug up by fifty or three-score men, till they have discovered the vein, and when they come to it, the Greeks fill small sacks with it, and give them to the under-basha or vavode, and when they have taken out as much of it as there is occasion for, the same diggers immediately cover the earth. The under-basha sends the greatest part of that which has been dug out, to the Grand Seigneur at Constantinople, and sells the remaining part to the Merchants. . . . Those, who are present at the digging of it, may take a small quantity of it for their own use, but dare not sell it. The Turks are less scrupulous than the Greeks, and many other nations: they permit the Christian Greeks to say their prayers upon the earth sealed, in their presence, and they themselves join with them. And if what I have been told by the oldest inhabitants be true, this custom of pitching only upon one day in the year, was introduced amongst them, when the Venetians were masters of Lemnos, and of the isles of the Ægean sea (26). Stephen Albacarius, who was sent into the isle of Lemnos by Busbequius, on purpose to be informed of all these things, was more lucky than Belon; for he assisted at the ceremonies. See the relation he gave of it to that illustrious ambassador. See also *Ego rediitio, d. fia chorographia dell' Arcipelago di Francis Placentia*, professor of Geography at Modena (27). Pliny (28) is very particular in his account of the

Terra Sigillata of Lemnos; but he takes it to be a kind of vermillion, and confounds it with a red chalk which was dug up in the same island. See Salmafius (29). You will find several particulars in the third chapter of the third book of Lewis Gyon's second volume.

[E] *The disagreeable stay of Philoctetes in the isle of Lemnos . . . was sung by the Poets.* Some say that the Grecians sent him thither, because the priests of Vulcan were skilled in curing the bitings of serpents. 'Neque multo post Philocteta cum paucis ubi curatur in Lemnum insulam mittitur, namque in ea sacri Vulcani antistites inhabitare ab accolis dicebantur soliti mederi adversum venena hujusmodi' (30). He was left there till the siege of Troy was over, and he bore very impatiently the dismal condition he was in.

Non te, Pœcanti proles,
Expositum Lemnos nostro cum crimine haberet,
Qui nunc (ut memorant) sylvestribus additus antris,
Saxa movet gemitu, Lærtiadeque precaris
Quæ meruit: quæ (si dii sunt) non vana precaris.
Et nunc ille eadem nobis juratus in arma,
(Heu!) pars una ducum, quo succedere sagittæ
Herculis utuntur, fractus morboque fameque
Venaturque aliturque avibus, volucresque petendo
Debita Trojanis exercet spicula satis (31).

Nor thee, great chief, whom Pœas' consort bore,
Our guilt had left expos'd on Lemnos' shore:
Who now, in secret caverns hid, do'st groan,
Whilst pitying rocks re-echo to thy moan.
There do'st thou vent on curs'd Ulysses' head
Dire imprecations, which the gods succeed.
Behold the wretched Philoctetes there,
Leader with us, and partner of the war,
Whose hands Alcides' fatal arrows bear:
Worn with disease, on birds those shafts employ,
Which heav'n has destin'd for the fall of Troy.

The tragic Poets displayed all their eloquence upon this subject. Read these words of Cicero (32): 'Turpe putandum est non dico dolere (nam id quidem est in terdum necesse) sed faxum illud Lemnium clamore Philocteteo funestare.

Quod ejulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus
Resonando mutum flebiles voces refert.

— It should be thought scandalous, I do not say to grieve (for that is sometimes necessary) but to be always uttering complaints, like Philoctetes' Lemnian rock,

Which, echoing with complaints, with sighs, and groans,
Tho' mute itself, still utters mournful sounds.

See also Sophocles, in the tragedy intitled *Philoctetes*.

[F] *Flames frequently broke out of the earth in the isle of Lemnos.* Eustathius mentions this as the reason, why the antients feigned that Vulcan fell into that island. 'Οτι οὐκ ἐκείνῃ γῆνι ἀνέσθιδος ποταμός ἐκέρχεται. Quia olim ibi terra erumpebat spontaneus ignis (33). The Scholiast upon Lycophron, quoting Hellanicus's book concerning the foundation of Chios, tells us, that the first invention of fire and arms, was owing to a thunder-bolt that fell upon a tree in the isle of Lemnos. This he says, upon some words of Lycophron, in which fire is called Lemnian (34). What has been said of mount Molychus, is much the same with what has been reported of mount Ætna. See Hesychius and Nicander, and the Scholiast upon the latter, with the verses he quotes out of Antimachus (35); and do not forget these words of Seneca.

(29) Salmaf. in Solin. pag. 2157.

(30) Dictys Cretensis, lib. ii, pag. m. 171. See also Eustathius, in lib. ii, Iliados.

(31) Ovid. Metam. lib. xiii, ver. 45.

(32) Cicero, lib. ii, de fin. cap. xxx.

(33) Eustath. in lib. i, Iliad.

(34) Τεφρομένην γῆνι ἀνέσθιδος ποταμός ἐκέρχεται. Combustionis ardens ignis Lemnion. Lycophron. ver. 257.

(35) You may see them in Buchart, Geogr. Sacra, lib. i, cap. xii, pag. m. 412.

(24) Ibid. pag. 60.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ib. lib. i, cap. xxix, p. 67.

(27) That book is mentioned in the Acta Eruditior. for October 1683, pag. 521.

(28) Plin. lib. xxxv, cap. vi.

mount Mosychlus. Two massacres were committed in that island, which gave occasion to some proverbs (f). I have mentioned the first of these two massacres, in the article HYPsipyle; and that country had in time been wholly dispeopled by it, if the Argonauts had not prevented it. The women had killed all the men, and had no mind to receive the first comers; for hearing that a ship was about to land upon their coast, they took up arms, and ran to the shore, fully resolved to oppose the invasion (g); but when they came to know that these foreigners were not the Thracians their enemies, and that it was a ship of the Argonauts, they shewed them all manner of kindness, and declared to those brave men, that they might land in their country, provided they would take an oath to lie with them [G]. They accepted the condition, and were so

(f) See Erasmus, Chil. I. Cent. IX. n. 27, & Chil. II. Cent. X. n. 44.

(g) Apollon. Argon. lib. I. ver. 633.

(36) Seneca, in Hercule Oetæo, ver. 1360.

Quæ tanta nubes flamma Sicaniæ bibit?
Quæ Lemnos ardens? quæ plaga igniferi poli
Vetans flagrantem currere in zona diem (36)?

*What flame is this, that drinks Sicilian clouds?
What ardent Lemnos, this? What fiery climate
Of heav'n, permitting not the day to run
It's wonted course along the burning zone?*

At this rate they might well say, that Vulcan had his forges in the isle of Lemnos. Ἐν τῇ Λήμνῳ τὰ τῆς Ἡφαίστου ἐργαστήρια. In Lemno Vulcani fabriles Officinæ (37).

(37) Schol. Sophocles, in Philoct. ver. 1000.

[G] Provided they took an oath to lie with them.] This particular being contrary to the decorum, which the Poets usually observe, I ought to produce a proof for it in the very words of my author; and therefore I shall set down this Greek passage: Αἰσχρὸν ἐν ὑπὸ πύλῃ ἐν ὁπλοῖς φησὶν αὐτὰς ἐπελθούσας χερμαζομένους τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις, μέγας δ' ὄρκον ἔλαβον τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποδοῖσι μιγῆσθαι αὐταῖς. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Λημνιάδῃ καὶ μάχην ἰσχυρὰν αὐτὰς συνάγει φησὶν (38). The meaning of those words, is, that the women of Lemnos took up arms, and continued to threaten the Argonauts, distressed by a storm, till they swore that they would lie with them.

(38) Schol. Apollon. in lib. I. ver. 773. pag. m. 79.

Euripides says those women fought with a great deal of bravery. This story will hardly be credited by those, who do not well weigh the circumstances; but if we consider on the one hand, that these women had destroyed all the men of that island, and on the other, that they resolved upon such a massacre, because their husbands not being able to endure their ill smells, applied themselves to other women, whom they made their concubines (39), the thing will appear highly probable. Nor can it be a wonder, that these women should have been so forward in their advances, and that the Argonauts should have discovered so little tenderness and gallantry. The warlike equipage, and martial look of these women, were no inticing things. The cruel havoc they had made of their fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers, did certainly raise an abhorrence for them. Besides the consideration of the reason, why they had committed such a slaughter, must needs have been an obstacle to the love of the Argonauts; for they committed that horrid crime, because their husbands grew out of conceit with them by reason of their smell, which proceeded from their breath; but some say it proceeded from their arm-pits, which we call to smell rammiss. Lactantius, upon the fifth book of Statius's Thebaid, follows this opinion, for he calls this smell of the Lemniades, hircinum odorem. Dion Chrysostom says likewise to the same purpose in his thirty third oration. Λημνίαν ταῖς γυναῖξιν, τὴν Ἀρεσθίτην ὀργισθεῖσαν λέγεται διαρθεῖν τὰς μασχάδας. As it is said that Venus being exasperated against the women of Lemnos, infected their arm-pits (40). All things duly considered, one may easily perceive, that the ancients did not transgress the rules of probability, when they supposed, that the companions of Jason had much ado to promise on the shore of Lemnos, what they would have asked and offered in other places. The women who came to a parley with them, deserved to be told what was said by Catullus against one Rufus, who wondered that all the women he met with proved cruel.

(40) Membricus, upon Ovid's Epistles, pag. 557, 558.

Noli admirari, quare tibi femina nulla
Rufe, velit tenerum supposuisse femur.
Non illam raræ labefactis munere vellis,
Aut perulucidis delitiis lapidis.
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Lædit te quædam mala fabula, qua tibi fertur
Valle sub alarum trux habitare caper.
Hunc metuunt omnes; neque mirum, nam mala
valde est
Bestia, nec quicum bella puella cubet.
Quare aut crudelem nasorum interfice pestem:
Aut admirari define, quare fugiunt (41).

*Wonder not, Rufus, that thy fancied charms
Draw not a single woman to thy arms.
By dint of drest the bus'ness is not done:
A lady's favours are not that way won:
Nor, tho' the diamond sparkles in her eyes,
Will that secure the meditated prize.
Wicked report does thy success betray;
Beneath thy arm-pits lurks the goat, they say:
What woman, by a taste so wretched led,
Would take the stinking brute into her bed?
Or kill the stench, that greets their nostrils thence,
Or wonder not, the ladies take offence.*

(41) Catul. Epigr. lxx. pag. m. 157. Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. iii. ver. 1031, 1032. Quam sæpe ad-moniui ne trux caper iret in alas, Neve forest duris aspera crura pillis! How oft have I advis'd . . . To keep thy arm-pits sweet, and thy legs free from hair?

Horace alledged a like reason to a woman, who complained that he was unkind to her.

Quid tibi vis mulier nigris dignissima barris?
Munera cur mihi, quidve tabellas?
Mittis, nec firmo juveni, neque naris obest?
Namque sagacius unus odor,
Polyppus, an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alas,
Quam canis acer, ubi lateat fus.
Quis sudor victis, & quam malus undique membris
Crescit odor, cum &c (42).

*Woman, no more . . . worthy an Æthiop's bed
Presents, and letters, send no more,
I am not what I was before,
To a woman's arms by youthful vigour led.*

(42) Horat. Epod. Ode XII. ver. 1.

*My nose discovers latent stinks too well;
No dog finds more sagaciously
Where haunts the bristly boar, than I
A Polyppus, or staid arm-pits smell, &c.*

Some there are who attentively considering these circumstances, will judge perhaps, that the rules of probability had been better pursued, if the same conduct had been ascribed to the Argonauts, which Augustus observed, when Fulvia proposing to him peace or war (43), he chose the latter. But it is certain, that probability has been sufficiently guarded in the episode of Lemnos, the choice that the Argonauts made, being the more natural. Their ship lay in the road, and had been shattered by a tempest: they had occasion for a port in Lemnos, and there was a necessity of their landing. This they could not do without fighting; and they had already experienced the valour of these women; who had fought courageously, and had not been worsted. They must either renew the attack, or retreat, or take an oath that they would grant these women all they desired. The retreat was scandalous, whether before the decision of a second battle; or after a fresh attempt, as unsuccessful as the former. What can be hoped from the expedition to Colchos, might all Greece say, when our heroes are baffled at the isle of Lemnos, repulsed by silly women, and forced to fly? The tempest destroyed their hopes of any good success in case of a second battle. All then that remained,

(43) See, above the article of the first GLAPHYRA, remark [C]; and the article LYCO-RIS, remark [F].

so well pleased with the performance of it, that it seemed as if they had entirely forgot their expedition to Colchos: but Hercules, who kept on board the ship, upbraided them with their giving themselves over to their pleasures, and obliged them to re-embark [H]. Some pretend, that they passed two or three years a-shore with the women of Lemnos, and that the island was by this means re-peopled. The other massacre destroyed all the children begot by those of Lemnos, on their Athenian concubines [I].

I speak

mained, was to the submit to necessity of the oath demanded. And perhaps, they thought that the cause of the aversion of the Lemnians was over, or in a great measure abated; and whatever might happen, they could quickly free themselves from the ungrateful yoke, since nothing in particular was enjoined them as to time or any other circumstance. These might be the considerations that obliged them to swear, and we must not believe they went upon equivocations, or mental reservations, or upon the right which dispenses with an oath taken by force, & metu cadente in constantem virum. We shall see in the following remark, that they kept their promise very well.

[H] Hercules who kept aboard his ship, upbraided them . . . and obliged them to re-embark.] There is some room to wonder, that being so much given to the love of women as he was, he should not divert himself, as well as the rest, in the island of Lemnos; for though the Lemnian dames, for reasons already mentioned, were none of the most tempting; yet we see no reason why he should be nicer than the rest of his companions. The oath they exacted, say you, carried some suspicion with it, and since they could not think bare promises a sufficient tie, he concluded they had an extreme mistrust of their own charms, and that something was in the wind which he could not well guess at; in short that it was not worth while to go a-shore. But once more, why should he be so much more squeamish than the rest, he who had as amorous a constitution as the best of them? I own I am at a loss what to answer to this difficulty, and shall therefore take up with the bare matter of fact. Apollonius declares, that 'Hercules never would set foot in the island, but kept constantly aboard the ship Argos, that he might have a right to reprove his companions, who suffered themselves to be drawn away by the caresses of the Lemnian women, and never once thought of pursuing their enterprise; which he did with so much the more freedom, as he himself was not liable to the same imputation (44).' Valerius Flaccus represents these young heroes so intent upon solacing the widows of Lemnos, that they think no more of re-embarking. They quite forget themselves in the island; the game pleases them, and Hercules is forced to drag them thence by dint of reproach, and to speak very severely to Jason, chief of the enterprise.

Urbe sedent læti Minyæ, viduisque vacantes
Indulgent thalamis; nimboque educere luxu;
Nec jam velle vias: Zephyrosque audire vocantes
Diffimulant; donec residet Tyrinthius Heros
Non tulit; ipse rati invigilans atque integer; urbis
Invidisse deos tantum maris æquor adortis,
Desertaque domos, fraudataque tempore segni
Vota patrum; quid & ipse viris cunctantibus assit?
O mihi, &c. (45).

The joyfull Minyæ in the town remain,
Indulging in the Lemnian widows beds:
And now no more they think to quit the isle,
Nor bear the winds, that call them to embark.
Their amorous stay with grief the hero saw,
Himself unburt, and watching to depart:
Then strives their sleeping virtue to awake,
With thoughts of their own land, deserted,
And their fond parents vows for their return,
Cheated by their delay; then chides them thus,
O wretched men, &c.

(45) In the article I observed in another place (46) that the best prize had fallen to Jason's share; the queen of the island fell in love with him, and gave him the tenderest marks of her esteem. The remonstrance of Hercules awaked these heroes: they re-embarked without chewing any

regard to the tears of their Lemnian ladies (47). Ovid (48) supposes that they tarried two whole years with them, but Apollonius informs us that their stay was much shorter, and this indeed is more likely, for had they passed two whole years in these delights there had been no need of striking the lyre of Orpheus to draw them away, that powerful lyre, which the stones themselves obeyed (49). Now it was found necessary to have recourse to this machine, else they never had been able to tear themselves from their wives of Lemnos.

Ἄλλῃ δ' ἄλλος ἔμεκτο, καὶ ἐκλεῖθετο πο-
ρείης,

Εἰ μὴ ἀποτροπίοις ἐνοπαῖς θελξίφορον θυμῷ
Ἡμετέρῳ θελχθέντες ἔβαν ποτὶ νῆα μέλαι-
ναν,

Εἰρεσίην ποθόντες, ἐπέμνησαντο δὲ μύχον,

Aliaque alius commiscebatur, & oblitū fuisse itineris
fui,

Nisi quidem revocatoriis monitis, suavique cantu

Nostro persuasi, descendissent ad nāvem nigram,

Remigionem desiderantes, recordatique fuissent la-
boris (50).

Immer'd in pleasures, they had quite forgot

The intended expedition, had not I

By friendly admonition, and the sound

Of my harmonious lyre, persuaded them

Again to sail, and resume their toil.

Let us note an error of Barthius. He says, Ovid makes the Argonauts stay three years in this island, and thus he proves it (51): 'Sic enim ipsum penes Jasoni scribit bona nostra Hypsipyla.

Tertia messis erat, cum tu dare vela coactus,
Implesti lacrymis talia verba tuis

— For thus our Hypsipyle writes to Jason;

'Twas the third harvest, when compell'd to sail,
Weeping, you thus bespake me . . .

If he had taken notice of the foregoing verse (52), (53) He tibi bis he would have only said two years; and this shews que astas, bisque us how much it concerns writers not to run too cucurrit hieme- fast, but patiently examine what goes before, and what follows the places they design to allege. Three you summers, harvests do not signify three years: they lie almost and two winters within the compass of two, as three sundays within the compass of two weeks.

[I] The other massacre was that of all the children begot by those of Lemnos on their Athenian concubines.] To give a just comment on this article, I must take notice (53), that the Athenians having expelled the Pelasgi out of Attica, gave them the country which lies at the foot of the mountain Hymettus for a habitation (54). This was in recompence of the pains the Pelasgi had taken in building the walls of the citadel of Athens. They cultivated the country which had been assigned them with so much industry, that of the worst land thereabouts they soon made it the best. And this was the reason why the Athenians expelled them. The historian Hecateus assigns no other reason for it. But they themselves would never own this injustice; they pretended that their children of both sexes (55) going to fetch water from the nine fountains, had a horrible affront put upon them by the Pelasgi, who not content with that insult, had made preparations for an irruption, and were convicted of it. The Athenians maintained that they might justly have put them to death, and that they had shew-

(47) See Valerius Flaccus, lib. d. ver. 393. & seq.

(48) Ovid in Epist. Hypsipyle.

(49) Ovid Met. lib. xi, ver. 2, & 42.

(50) Orpheus, in Argonauticis, ver. 478, pag. m. 14.

(51) Barth. in Statium, Tom. III, pag. 225.

(45) Valer. Flaccus, lib. II, ver. 370, pag. m. 101.

(53) Herodot. lib. vi, cap. cxxxvii, & seq.

(54) Herodotus calls it so; others say Hypsipyle.

(55) Herodotus observes that neither the Athenians, nor any other of the Greeks had slaves in those days.

I speak of it in one of the remarks. This island was very much infested with grasshoppers, and for that reason each inhabitant was taxed to kill a certain number of them, and they worshipped the birds which destroyed them [K]. Great respect was paid here to Bacchus, and to Diana, but none to Venus [L], who, on her part, had never shewed any

ed a great deal of clemency in having only expelled them. The Pelasgi withdrew into several countries, and particularly into the island of Lemnos. They watched an opportunity to revenge themselves; and as they knew the time of the Athenian festivals, they laid an ambush for the women of Athens, who were celebrating the feast of Diana at Brauron, carried off a great number of them, and afterwards made them their concubines. They had a great many children by them whom they brought up in the language and manners of Athens. These children grew proud, and disdained to keep company with those that were born of Lemnian mothers; and if any of them happened to quarrel with another child who was a Pelasgian by father and mother, they went in a body to his assistance, and affected a superiority in every kind of respect. The Pelasgi observing this, concluded that such bastards who knew from the very cradle how to form leagues against the legitimate children, and pretended to master them, might prove very dangerous one day. They therefore slew them all; and some time after they slew their Athenian concubines too. This transaction was followed by a notable sterility, which extended equally to their wives, and to their fields, and to their flocks. They applied themselves for relief to the oracle: Apollo ordered them to make all the satisfaction to the Athenians that they should demand. They went to Athens and declared their readiness and good intention; but when a country was demanded of them resembling a table which was laid in the Prytaneum, and spread with all manner of good things they answered, *we will comply, when a ship shall sail in twenty four hours from your country to ours, by a north-wind.* They thought they had promised nothing considering the situation of Athens with respect to Lemnos. Miltiades several years after seized on the Thracian Chersonesus, from whence he set sail to Lemnos, and declared to the inhabitants that the condition of their promise was accomplished, and consequently they were obliged to leave the country. The Hephæstians obeyed, but the Myriniens resisted, alleging that the Chersonesus was not Attica. Miltiades besieged them, and forced them to surrender. This is the account of Herodotus (56). His narrative is not altogether like that of Cornelius Nepos, with respect to the conquest of the isle of Lemnos; for the latter (57) supposes that Miltiades before he subdued the Chersonesus, addressed himself to the Lemnians, summoning them to retreat voluntarily elsewhere, and that they made him the answer above mentioned; that having conquered the Chersonesus, he returned to Lemnos, and demanded the performance of the agreement, and that the Lemnians not daring to resist him, yielded up the island. Cornelius Nepos calls them Carians, and not Pelasgi. It appears from several places of Thucydides that the inhabitants of Lemnos, were on the Athenian side, in the Peloponnesian war. They had then the same language and the same laws as the Athenians (58).

Note, that Herodotus observes that a Lemnian action among the Greeks, imported a crying sin, on account of the massacre of the Athenian concubines, &c. and the barbarousness with which the Lemnian women dispatched their husbands, without sparing even king Thoas. This is the true sense of this historian's words, and it is without reason that a learned critic has found faults in them (59). *Verba Herodoti, ubi de Thoante sermo est, omnino mendosa sunt.* Εὐταῦθα ἔδ' ἔθ' ὅστις κτείνεν τὰς παῖδας τὰς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκων. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ ποτήρια τῶν τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες, τὰς αἰμα Θωάντι ἀνδρᾶς ποτήριος ἀποκτείναντες, νεβόμισαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλάδων τὰ σέβητα ἔργα, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς ἀφ' ἡμῶν καλεῖσθαι (60). Nemo enim de Thoante hoc tradidit. Igitur duæ voces, αἰμα Θωάντι, aut glossata sunt, aut corrupta est prior, & legendum, ἀπὸ Θωάντος. Barthius does not explain his thought clearly: for we know not what he means by these words, Nemo de Thoante hoc tradidit. Does he mean that no body has said that the Lemnian women, favoured or assisted by Thoas, rid themselves of their

husbands? But this is not Herodotus's meaning. Does he mean that all authors agree that Thoas was not killed, and that therefore there is a fault in this passage of Herodotus, if it is pretended that he is here included in the number of the Lemnians killed by the women? But in this case he is mistaken; since there are authors who say that the women understood that Hypsipyle had not killed her Father Thoas, they made so diligent search that they found him and killed him (61).

Erasmus has committed some faults in abridging Herodotus's narration: he says (62) in the first place, that the Lemnians carried off the Athenian women during the celebration of Minerva's feast at Brauron. He should have said Diana instead of Minerva. II He adds, that the Athenian concubines would not suffer their sons to marry the legitimate daughters of the Lemnians; Herodotus does not say so, but supposes these bastards were killed before they were marriageable. Erasmus's third fault is his affirming that after this massacre the Lemnians were afflicted with barrenness, pestilence, and many other evils. Herodotus mentions only the barrenness of the earth, and of the women (63). IV. Erasmus most falsely imputes to him the saying that these evils were partly the cause of the proverb *Lemnia Mala*. V. And that the other cause of it's origine, was, that the Lemnian women not able to bear the stench of their husbands, killed them all by the assistance of Thoas. It is true Herodotus occasionally touches as one of the reasons of the proverb, the slaughter these women made; but he does not say that their husbands stunk, and he affirms that Thoas was no more spared than the rest. Benedictus in his Paraphrase of Pindar, is grossly mistaken, for instead of saying that the Lemnians were disgusted at the ill smells of their wives, he affirms the women were incommoded with the ill smell of their husbands (64). This fault has not been corrected in the Oxford edition of Pindar 1698. The scholiast from whom Benedictus had taken a passage (65) not long before might have preserved him from falling into Erasmus's snare, Mr Moreri falls into it headlong, tho' he has not copied all the faults of this learned man. He has only caught at a very few facts which he met with in his Adages. *The Pelasgi, says he (66), forced away the women of Athens, and had children by them, whom they afterwards killed, observing they had inclinations contrary to theirs. And the women killed their husbands by the assistance of Thoas.* Every one sees that this is assigning the reason, in too indefinite and unlikely a manner, which induced the Lemnians to kill their bastards. And plainly telling us that the action of these women succeeded the massacre of these bastards; as extravagant a falsity as the pretended assistance of Thoas.

[K] They worshipped the birds which destroyed them. Here is a very curious passage (67). In Cyrenaica regione lex etiam est ter anno debellandi eas, primo ova obterendo, deinde sætum, postremo adultas: de fœtoris pœna in eum, qui cessaverit. Et in Lemno insula certa mensura præfinita est, quam singuli enecatatum ad magistratus referant. Graculos (68) quodque ob id colunt, adverso volatu occurrentes earum exitio. In the region of Cyrene, there is even a law for destroying them three times in a year, first by crushing their eggs, then their young, then the full-grown: he, who leaves off, is punished as a deserter. And in the island Lemnos, every one is obliged to kill a certain number, and bring them to the magistrate. They likewise worship Jackdaws: who fly before them, when they go to destroy them. Let us also hear Plutarch, tho' he differs from Pliny as to the kind of bird which the Lemnians adored. The Egyptians says he (69), worshipped the ox, the sheep, and the Ichneumon, on account of the service and benefit they received by them, as the inhabitants of Lemnos honoured the larks, because they found out the grasshoppers eggs and broke them.

[L] Great respect was paid here to Bacchus and Diana, but none to Venus. Thoas king of Lemnos was the son of Bacchus and Ariadne (70); no wonder then

(61) See Meziriac upon Ovid's Epistles, pag. 561. See also pag. 558.

(62) Erasmus Adag. Chil. I, Cent. IX, n. 27, pag. m. 302.

MISTAKES of Erasmus, &c.

(63) Πελήϊας οὐδ' ἀπαίδης. Porrect sine & liberorum orbitate vixit, Herod. ubi supra, cap. cxxxix.

(64) Quin etiam in Lemno veniunt (Argonute) . . . & cum Lemniadibus mulieribus quæ maritos omnium gravolentia offensæ, occiderant, rem habuerunt. Paraphr. Pindar. Ode IV, Pyth. pag. m. 371.

(65) Ad Stroth. γ. Ode IV, Pyth. pag. m. 330.

(66) Moreri under the word Lemnos.

(67) Plinius, lib. xi, cap. xxix, pag. m. 123.

(68) Father Harduin makes a good remark here: law for destroying them three times in a year, first by crushing their eggs, then their young, then the full-grown: he, who leaves off, is punished as a deserter. And in the island Lemnos, every one is obliged to kill a certain number, and bring them to the magistrate. They likewise worship Jackdaws: who fly before them, when they go to destroy them.

(69) Plut. de Iside & Osiride.

(70) Ovidius, Epist. Hypsipyl. Apollon lib. i, Argon. & multi alii apud Mezir. ubi supra, p. 532.

(66) Herod. ubi supra.

(57) Cornelius Nepos, in Vita Miltiadi.

(58) Thucydides, lib. vii, pag. m. 436.

(59) Barth, in Statium Theb. lib. vi, ver. 328, pag. 167, Tom. III.

(60) This is the Latin version of this Greek in the edition of Herodotus. Itaque placitum est ut eos filios et matribus Atticis succiperet necarent. . . . Ex hoc facinore, et illo superiore feminarum, que viros suos una cum Thoante interemerant, ut receptum est per Græciam ut tectum quæque facinora Lemnia appellarent. . . . Therefore they resolved to destroy their children, born of Athenian mothers. . . . from this action, and that former, of the women who killed their husbands, together with Thoas, it is become a custom in Greece to call all wicked actions Lemnian.

any kindness to this country: A very great affront had been put upon her in this island of Lemnos; for here it was that Vulcan exposed her linked with the god Mars (b); and here he gave all the gods the pleasure of seeing her surprized in the fact. Homer is of another opinion; he lays the scene of this adventure in heaven (i). The Persians conquered this island in the reign of Darius the son of Hytaspes, and placed a governor over it, who treated the people inhumanly (k). Miltiades subdued it a long time after (l). Herodotus tells a story on this occasion, which is not easily reconciled with that of Plutarch [M]. Ubbo Emmius assures us, that the Amazons reigned in that island before the descendants of the Argonauts inhabited it (m). I should be glad to know in what good author he had met with this. I find in Vitruvius, that the Romans bestowed the revenues of it on the Athenians (n). If what Strabo wrote concerning it, had been preferred to us, I do not doubt but we should have found in him several curious particulars; but that part of this excellent Geographer's book, is lost to us, and yet Mr Moreri (o) cites him as an author, who speaks of it in a particular manner. Lemnos is at this day called Stalimene. The Turks besieged it in the year 1475, and were obliged to raise the siege. It was on this occasion, that a maid, called Marulla, manifested

then that the worship of Bacchus should be well established in this island. It was in a temple of this god that Hyppolyte concealed her father in the night of the massacre (71). Strabo informs us that the mysteries of Samothrace, and those of Lemnos, had a pretty great conformity with the ceremonies the Bacchantes observed (72). For the rest, this island was so fruitful in wine, that this alone might make it considered as a country consecrated to that god. Quintus Calaber calls it *αμπεδογεναν*, vitibus abundantem (73). - - fruitful in vines. Our travellers, say it still deserves this epithet (74). As for the worship of Diana I shall content myself with pointing out the place where Plutarch tells us, that the Lemnians, being driven out of their island, carried about with them the image of Diana, which they had taken at Brauron (75). I shall observe also, that they stamped the figure of this goddess upon their *Terra sigillata*. See Salmastius, in his *exercitationes Plinianas in Solinum*, pag. 1156. All the authors who speak of the rage of the Lemnian women against their husbands, observe, that the bad smell, which rendered them so insufferable, was an effect of Venus's anger, who saw herself neglected and despised in this island. See Apollodorus (76). Hyginus (77), Apollonius's Scholiast (78), &c. We have still an answer to censure in Barthius. He believes, that, in after-times, the Lemnians consecrated an image of Venus, which was one of the most exquisite statues of antiquity. 'Venerem etiam Lemniam, says he (79), inter pulcherrima simulacra cultum postea discimus ex Luciani Imaginibus. Item Lemniam Minervam, à Lemniis, dedicatam, quod omnium fuerit Phidias opus elaboratissimum, Pausanias Atticus. — We learn from Lucian's Images, that the Lemnian Venus was afterwards worshipped among the most beautiful images: likewise from Pausanias's Atticus, that the Lemnians worshipped a Lemnian Minerva, the most elaborate of all Phidias's performances.' He has reason to say, that the Minerva which was Phidias's master-piece, was dedicated by the Lemnians. Pausanias says, that for that reason she had the surname Lemnian. See the 28th chapter of his first book; but Barthius is wrong, in distinguishing it from the image which Lucian mentions, and pretending that Lucian has spoken of a Lemnian Venus. He had indeed mentioned a Minerva so named. This cannot be disputed, if we observe the remark he has made, that this was the most excellent piece of Phidias, and that to which he put his name (80).

[M] Herodotus tells a story on this occasion, which is not easily reconciled with Plutarch. This last author says, that the Tyrrhenians, having seized the isles of Lemnos and Imbros, stole away the Athenian women from Brauron, and had children by them. This race was expelled these islands by the Athenians, who looked upon them as half barbarous. This race set sail towards Peloponnesus, and landing at Tenarus, did good services to the Lacedæmonians in the war with the Heilotes, and obtained in recompence the privileges of citizens, and the liberty of marrying into the families of Lacedæmon, but not the privilege of bearing public offices, or being admitted into councils. This exclusion made these people suspected of a design to embroil the state; and upon this their persons were secured, and they were kept in close confinement, till proofs were found out to convict them of the conspiracy. Their wives obtaining leave to visit them, changed habits with the men, by which means they got away, and left them in their stead. Having seized mount Taigetis, they joined with the Heilotes, and became so formidable to Lacedæmon, that it was thought proper to capitulate with them. Their wives were restored; and they had money and ships given them, and a promise of owning them as relations, and as a colony of Sparta, wherever they should settle themselves. They accepted the conditions, and some went and settled at Melos, others at Crete. The latter, after several battles, made themselves masters of Lycus, and some other towns, and hence the inhabitants of Lycus pretended, that by the mother's side they were related to the Athenians, and looked on themselves as a colony of Lacedæmon (81). This is Plutarch's account. Those whom he calls Tyrrhenians, and a little after Pelasgi, are the very same whom Herodotus calls Pelasgi. These two names belong to the same people (82), and it must not be imagined, that the authors who have said that the isle of Lemnos was inhabited by the Tyrrhenians (83), differ from those who say it was possessed by the Pelasgi; so far then there is no difference between Herodotus and Plutarch: but when the latter affirms, that the posterity of the Athenian women carried off from Brauron by the Tyrrhenians, who had settled in the isles of Lemnos and Imbros, were expelled those isles by the Athenians, he contradicts Herodotus, who pretends, that the Lemnians themselves destroyed all the children begot by them upon the Athenian women. These two historians differ widely in point of time. The one (84) will have Miltiades expel the Lemnians, the other makes that expulsion much more ancient, at least confounds what he ought to distinguish. The history of these women, who procured the liberty of their husbands, relates to a time, in Herodotus, much earlier than Miltiades, and has not the circumstances which are mentioned by Plutarch.

This is Herodotus's account (85). The inhabitants of Lemnos, who were descended from the Argonauts, were expelled this island by the Pelasgi, who forced away the Athenian women from Brauron. They retired to the country of the Lacedæmonians, and informed them, that they were the posterity of the Argonauts, and that being driven out of their country, they returned to their ancestors, and begged leave to live among them. The Lacedæmonians remembering that Castor and Pollux had been in Jason's expedition, gave these fugitives a kind reception, allowed them lands, and incorporated them into their tribes. These refugees contracted new marriages, having first parted with the wives they had brought from the isle of Lemnos, to some of their neighbours. It was not long before they grew proud, would domineer, and became guilty of every ill action. They were imprisoned, and their death resolved on, but the wives saved them by changing habits, as I mentioned before. The design was still continued, of putting them to death, but Theras, who was preparing to found a colony, interceded for them, and promised to take them away with him, and prevent any further danger. His request was granted. Most of them dispersed themselves, the rest followed Theras, who

(b) See the Scholiast of Statius, in Theb. lib. v. ver. 59.

(i) Homer. Odyss. lib. viii.

(k) Herodot. lib. v. cap. xxvi, xxvii.

(l) Idem, lib. vi. cap. cxi.

(m) Ubbo Emmius, lib. vii, de Veteri Græcia, pag. 147. Note, That if he goes upon what Strabo, lib. xi, pag. 348, relates, that the Amazons had built the city of Myrina, his foundation is bad; for there were several cities called Myrina.

(n) Vitruv. lib. vii, cap. vii.

(o) Under the word Lemnos.

(71) Valer. Flaccus, lib. ii, ver. 254.

(72) Strabo, lib. x, pag. 324.

(73) Quint. Calab. lib. ix, ver. 337.

(74) See Belon, ubi supra, lib. i, cap. xxv.

(75) Plutarch. de Virtutib. Mulier. pag. 247.

(76) Lib. i, pag. m. 55.

(77) Cap. v.

(78) In libr. i, ver. 209.

(79) Barth. in Statium, Tom. III, pag. 166, 167.

(80) Lucian. in Imagin. pag. v, Tom. II.

(81) Taken from Plutarch, de Virtut. Mulier. pag. 247.

(82) See Clave-rius in Italia antiqua lib. ii, cap. i, & Strabo, lib. v, pag. 153.

(83) Schol. Apollonius, in libr. i, ver. 608.

(84) That is to say, Herodotus.

(85) Herodot. lib. iv, cap. cxi, & seq.

(p) See Vianoli
del' Historia,
Veneta, Tom. I,
pag. 724.

(q) Under the
word *Stalment*.

manifested an extraordinary courage (p). Mr Moreri makes mention of it (q), but he falsely supposes, that she lived in the XIVth century. He adds (r), that Mahomet II wrested this island out of the hands of the Venetians. That is not exact, since he obtained it by a treaty of peace, in the year 1478 (s). The Venetians re-conquered it in the year 1656. The Turk recovered it the year following, after a long siege. I had like to have forgot the flower called *Lychnis*. See the margin (t):

(r) Under the
word *Lemnos*.

(s) Vianoli, *Ibid.*
pag. 133.

(t) The flower *Lychnis* grew no where in so much perfection as in the isle of Lemnos. It sprung from the water in which Venus had bathed herself after having lain with Vulcan. See *Athenaei*, lib. xv, pag. 631. Compare with this, remark [DD] of the article JUNO.

(86) The island
of Thera.

(87) Herodot.
lib. iv, cap.
cxviii.

who founded a colony in the island which bears his name (86). Note, that he had been tutor to Euristhenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus, one of the leaders of the Heraclidae, who returned into Peloponnesus (87), and from thence conclude, that he flourished six hundred years, or thereabouts, before Miltiades. Note also, that Pindar's Scholiast (88) relates the thing almost as Herodotus does, and that both observe, that Battus, descended from one of

the Lemnians of Theras's colony, founded the city of Cyrene.

If any one should say this is foreign to my subject, he would be to blame, and that for two reasons; first, because criticism requires, that I should shew the differences between Herodotus and Plutarch; and next, I am obliged, as an Historian, to collect the adventures of the inhabitants of the isle of Lemnos.

(88) Scholiastes Pindari, in Ode IV, Pyth. ver. 38, pag. 218, Edit. Oxon. 1693. He will have it, that the prisoners were delivered by their mothers.

LENTULUS (SCIPIO) was a Neapolitan who forsook the Romish church and embraced the Reformed religion in the XVIth century. He was minister of Chiavenne, in the country of the Grisons, and he employed his pen in the defence of an edict which the Grison leagues made in 1570, against the sectaries (a) [A]. They failed not to attack this edict, with the arguments for toleration, which the Reformed themselves alledged against the Roman Catholics, in the persecuting countries: But our Lentulus answered these reasons. He is the author of an Italian grammar, printed at Geneva in 1568 (b).

(a) Epitome
Biblioth. Gesner.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) Peter Gilles,
Hist. Eccles. des
Vallées de Piedm.
pag. 110.

(d) *Ibid.*, pag.
105.

I add, that he preached sometimes at Ferrara, before the dukes Renata of France (c); that he was afterward minister of the church of St John, in the vale of Luzerne (d); that he answered a book of the Jesuit Possévin, who had been sent to that place on the foot of a converter, in the year 1560 [B]; that he found himself greatly exposed to the caprice

[A] He employed his pen in defence of an edict against the sectaries.] The epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca mentions this work of Lentulus, as a piece that was never printed. *Ejusdem liber de jure Magistratum in puniendis hereticis, quo Sylvi cujusdam Epistolam hereticis patrocinantem refutat nundum editus*. This you will find in the 744th page of that epitome, Zurich edition, 1583. At last the book was printed at Geneva, by John le Preux, in 1592, in 8vo. This is the title: *Responsio oribodoxa pro edita Illustrissimorum D. D. trium federum Reblie, adversus hereticos, et alios Ecclesiarum Reticarum perturbatores promulgato; in qua de Magistratus autoritate et officio in coerendis hereticis, ex verbo Dei disputatur*. I know some persons, who, having read in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, that Lentulus's apology for the edict of the Grison leagues, was printed in 1502, over-strained their imagination, to find what sect this could be, which gave occasion to that edict among the Grisons, in the beginning of the XVIth Century. They turned over many books, and even consulted those who had libraries, and who exhausted themselves in conjectures. At last, the true date of the edition was discovered, and a new influence given of the confusions, into which the faults of the press cast authors, on thousands of occasions. Mr Voëtius observes, that the Sectaries proscribed by the edict of the Grison leagues, were Arians, or something worse; and that Lentulus gave the particulars of their blasphemies in his preface (1). He observes also (2), that Lentulus's orthodox answer, *pro edito*, &c. confuted the complaints published by an anonymous author, in 1570, against the edict of the Grisons, and that it came out in 1573. This is very different from what is found in Gesner's epitome.

[B] He answered a book of the Jesuit Possévin, who had been sent to that place on the foot of a converter, in the year 1560.] Possévin had entered himself in the society of the Jesuits but a few months before, being then twenty six years of age (3). Therefore I am not surprized, that the Historian, who furnishes me with what I am going to say, did not give him that title. The Pope having signified to the duke of Savoy, that it was necessary to use force, in order to convert the Heretics of the vallies of Piedmont, it was resolved in his highness's council, to comply with the Pope's desire: 'But that, to keep up some shew of proceeding regularly, some person, qualified to convince the accused of their errors, should be once more sent into the vallies, and according to the success of this, to take the necessary measures: and for this business they made choice of Anthony Possévin, commander of St Anthony de Fossano (4), a man of great reputation among them, but who made it appear by his actions, he was not the man they took him for. His highness gave him his letters-patents, of the seventh of July, which declared him sent to establish preachers of Christian doctrine in his dominions, and particularly in his vallies of Piedmont, with the necessary provisions for their maintenance. Commanding, for this end, all, in ecclesiastical, or secular, office, syndics, communities, and, in general, all his subjects, to afford him all the necessary assistance for the execution of his said commission (5). This man, leaving Nice, where his highness was, went directly to Cavour and having caused the people to be assembled in the principal church of the town, he mounted the pulpit, read for his text his letters of commission, explained them by enlarging and exaggerating what he pretended he was going to do in the neighbouring vallies, to convince and confound the ministers, to drive them away, to establish in their room those that should preach up the Pope, to prove that the mass was good, to make all the inhabitants of those vallies go to it, and to denounce extermination concluded against all those, who would not obey his orders (6). He went and did the same thing at Bubiano, in the valley of Luzerne, and at Luzerne, 'the capital of the valley' and ordered the leaders of the Reformed to attend him the twenty sixth of July. He came to the assembly, assisted by a great number of the nobility, magistrates, and other principal men of his religion, where he laid before them the reasons of his coming, and ordered the letters of his commission to be read: afterwards he ordered to be read the letters and petitions, which the Reformed had written to his highness and his council, which he had brought back with him, and demanded of them, 'Whether they owned the sending such writings, and whether they would observe what they had promised in them?' They answered, Yes (7). He alledged some reasons to prove the Mass: the ministers having proposed to him their difficulties, 'he fell into excla-

(4) Alegambe,
pag. 41, observed
that cardinal
Hercules de Con-
saga had given
Possévin the
commandery of
St Anthony de
Fossano, S. An-
tonii, apud Possa-
num Præceptoris
donatus.

(5) Peter Gilles,
Hist. Eccles. des
Églises Reformées
des Vallées de
Piedm. pag.
101. ad ann.
1560.

(6) Gilles, *Ibid.*
pag. 102.

(7) *Ibid.* pag.
103.

(1) Gilbert.
Voëtius, Polit.
Eccles. Tom. II,
pag. 539.

(2) *Ibid.* pag.
336.

(3) See Ale-
gambe, pag. 42.

V O L. III.

(*) Gilles, *ibid.*
p. 201.

caprice and persecution of Castrucaro, who commanded in the valleys of Piedmont; that this obliged him to look out for another residence in 1565, and that he retired to Chbiavenna, in the country of the Grisons, where he continued the exercise of his ministry to his death (e). His Apology for the Edict, which the Grisons had published against the Heretics, ought not to surprize any one, on pretence that he had been formerly persecuted himself; for nothing is more common than to see persons, who have fled for their religion, ringing the alarm against the sects.

(8) Idem, pag.
104.

'mations, and abusive language, with unbounded rage; at which those who attended him appeared very much grieved and ashamed, seeing that one of such great reputation among them, could not produce any one reason in defence of their religion, nor any thing to convince the other party of error, and besides had shewed himself so immoderate and abusive. As for him, coming a little to himself, he said, that he was not come to dispute with the ministers, but to drive them away, and establish other preachers in their room, according to his commission; and without hearing, or answering any thing else, he ordered M. Anthony Malingre, Notary of Bag-nol, to draw up, in form, his command to the syndics and communities, and in their persons to all the other inhabitants of the said places respectively, to drive all the Lutheran ministers away, who preached there, without any more hearing them in public, or private, and besides to receive and hear the preachers, whom he should settle among them, as soon as the ministers should be gone, and to provide them a fit habitation and maintenance, under the penalties contained in his highness's edicts, ordering them to report to him the result of their deliveration in three days (8). The syndics gave in their answer to him, to which he replied, 'the fifth of August, by a long letter, telling them, That his commission tacitly implied authority to drive away the pastors, because he was commanded to establish other preachers, which he could not do, whilst the ministers continued there, who would always be contradicting what his preachers said and did. His letter was enlarged with strong exhortations to the Reformed to return to the church of Rome, with many promises to those who did it voluntarily, and without staying till they were compelled to it. He joined to this letter another writing, by which he endeavoured partly to repair the breach he had made in his

reputation, in the assembly of the twenty sixth of July: for he had collected some few passages of holy scripture, and a few more of the doctors of the ancient church, in proof of some parts of the mass, and also of the practice of celibacy among the clergy: but Scipio Lentulus, a Neopolitan, pastor of the church of St John, wrote a learned answer to him, which was soon after printed: in which he shews Possévin's ignorance in the arguments he produced, and how widely the new Romish church, in such things, erred from the right way (9).

(9) *Ib.* pag. 105.

'The most reverend Possévin (the very greatest men of his party adorn him with this title) seeing that he could not repair the breaches made in his reputation, neither by his writings, nor his words, addressing himself to those, who knew how to answer him, he entirely left them, and went and discharged his indignation on the poor faithful, scattered and dispersed among the Papists at the very bottom of the valleys, and especially at Campillon and Fenil. He imprisoned their persons, and plundered the effects of the said Reformed. . . . The greatest part of them fled: but those, who suffered themselves to be taken, were ill used. Some were so weak as to abjure the Protestant religion in the church of Campillon, on the fifth of August, in presence of all the aforesaid, who caused acts to be drawn up of it with great solemnity: then they set them free, and restored to them their plundered effects, of whom the better part returned afterwards to the right way (10). . . . The month of August was almost wholly taken up in such extortions. . . . Possévin returned to the duke's court, the beginning of September, and, by his injurious and calumnious reports, caused a resolution to be taken, to proceed against the Reformed of the valleys, by force of arms (11).

(10) *Ibid.* pag.
106.

(11) *Ibid.* pag.
107.

A strange way this of converting Heretics!

LEO I, firnamed the Great, took possession of the papacy, the tenth of May, 440. He was a man of great abilities and courage, a great master of Eloquence, and well skilled in affairs. Nor did he want opportunities of discovering his great talents: he found exercise enough for them, from the Heresies he had to engage, and the ravages committed in the Roman empire. His zeal against the Manicheans, the Priscillianists, Pelagians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, was wonderfully seconded by the penal laws of the emperors, executed with great severity. He did not disapprove the extending them, even to the effusion of blood [A]. His deputation to Attila, produced very good effect [B]: But the miracle which is added to it, is a meer fable

[A] He did not disapprove the extending them even to the effusion of blood. You will quickly have the proof of this in a passage of Mr Maimbourg. It relates to the capital punishment inflicted on Priscillian, and several of his followers, and the exile to which many others were condemned, which Sulpitius Severus highly disapproved, as a thing of most pernicious example. Because he believed nothing like it had been seen before. As to the point of banishment, no body can deny but he is in the wrong. For all the world knows that Constantine banished the bishops who refused to subscribe the condemnation of Arius; that he punished also with exile, as did the other emperors after him. As to the penalty of death, it is true it had not hitherto been inflicted on Heretics; not but this severity may be very justly exercised against them, as in after-times it frequently has. And not to speak of those who have proved in their writings, that it was not only lawful, but very expedient, to treat Heretics against this manner, we need only see what St Leo has written upon it, when giving the necessary orders (as we shall cite him by and by) to act in Spain against the heresy of Priscillian, he praises Maximus for an action of this kind, and says *, That the rigour and severity of his justice against that

that Heresiarch, and his disciples, whom this prince put to death, was a great assistance to the clemency of the church. For though the church contents itself with that lenity of judgment, which the bishops exercise according to the canons, against obstinate Heretics, and admits of no bloody executions, it is however much aided and supported by the severe constitutions of the emperors, since the fear of so rigorous a punishment sometimes makes Heretics have recourse to the spiritual remedy, to cure the mortal disease of their heresy, by a sincere conversion (1).

[B] His deputation to Attila, produced a very good effect. As this is one of the finest passages in the life of this Pope, it deserves to be a little enlarged on in this place. Attila had made himself master of Aquileia, and almost reduced it to ashes: He had ravaged all upon his march from Aquileia to Pavia and Milan. He had made himself master of these two great cities, and had treated them as he had the rest, laying them both in rubbish. . . . (2). So many dismal messages arriving upon the back of one another at Rome, caused a great consternation there (3). The senate was assembled to deliberate whether the emperor should quit Italy, as Aëtius advised him: they could not resolve what course to take. To defend Rome, in the condition it was, against that innumerable multitude of Barbarians,

(1) Maimbourg's
History of the
Pontificate of
St Leo, lib. 1,
pag. cc, c6,
Deus Edit.

(2) Maimbourg,
ibid. lib. 11,
pag. 219, ad ann.
452.

(3) Idem, p. 220.

* Profluit dñi ista
distictio Eccle-
siasticæ lenitati,
que est sacerdoti
contenta judicio
cruentis refugit ultiones:
severis tamen
Christianorum
Principum constitu-
tionibus ad-
juvatur, dum ad
spiritale nonnum-
quam recurunt
remedium, qui
timent corporale
supplicium.
St. Leo, *Epist.*
XCV, ad Turib.

fable [C]. His eloquence had not the same success with king Giseric, nor yet was it

ans, seemed utterly impossible, to forsake it, and fly, and seek a sanctuary somewhere else, was the last disgrace to an emperor, who ought rather to die honourably, than live after so shameful a piece of cowardice. What then must be done? A medium was found between these two extremes, which was, to send an honourable embassy to Attila, to obtain peace of him, upon any tolerable conditions. This being resolved on, it was thought that no one could better acquit himself of that employment, than the holy Pope Leo, to whom the strength of his parts, his consummate prudence, his address, virtue, learning, and eloquence, joined with the dignity of sovereign Pontiff, which rendered him venerable to all the world, had acquired the reputation of being universally acknowledged the greatest man of his time. The emperor therefore conjured him to accept this employment, which he most willingly did to save the capital city of the empire, and the holy see, from the invasion of the Barbarians. To honour the embassy, and the Pope, at the head of it, he had for his assistants two of the greatest men of the empire, Avienus and Triguettus, one of which had been consul, and the other prefect of Rome. Some senators were added to them, among whom was the father of Cassiodorus, who, carried away by a filial affection in one of his epistles †, where he speaks like an Orator, in making the encomium of his father, ascribes to him 'all the honour, and effect of this important embassy. But in his chronicle, where he speaks like an Historian, he unsays it again, and gives the whole glory to St Leo, as all other authors before him do (4). Attila gave a favourable reception to this embassy (5), 'in the neighbourhood of Mantua, not far from the place where the river Mincio discharges itself into the Po (6): and as savage as this prince was, he paid all kind of honours to the Pope. He favourably heard his speech, which he ordered to be interpreted, and found it so fine and judicious, so forcible and moving; that this Attila, this scourge of God, this enemy of mankind, whose sight alone struck a terror into the most undaunted, and his very name made all the earth to tremble, was immediately softened; of a ravening wolf, as he was before, he became gentle as a lamb, and immediately granted him the peace he desired: and that without exacting any grievous conditions, promising invariably to observe it on his part; after which turning his course, he marched back beyond the Danube, from whence he returned no more (7).

[C] The miracle which is added to it, is a mere fable. If I alledged the authority of a Protestant writer, I should startle the tender minds of the Romish communion; wherefore I choose to cite a man who lived a long time among the Jesuits, and is inclined to nothing less than favouring the Non-Catholics. His words are these (8).

I know what is commonly said to make the thing more wonderful, that Attila's captains asking him the reason of his having honoured this Pope so far as to obey him in all his commands, this prince answered them trembling, that all the time Leo was speaking, he saw a venerable old man stand by his side, who holding a naked sword in his hand, threatened to kill him, unless he granted all that the Pope desired. But I am obliged to say that one may dispense with the believing any thing of it without being thought incredulous; indeed this vision is not to be found in the Breviary of Paris, since our learned archbishop Francis de Harlay has restored it to its genuine state; having taken great care to retrench all that was apocryphal, or very uncertain in it; and to insert for the lessons, the finest pieces of the fathers, such as are best suited to the subject, and to the feast which is celebrated. I shall boldly say then, that we may, without scruple, be of their opinion who do not give credit to this apparition: for ancient authors, as Jornandes, Theophanes, Suidas, count Marcellinus, Cassiodorus, Anastasius, and others who have written of this embassy of St Leo, do not mention St Prosper who was then at Rome, and has related all the circumstances of it, and St Leo himself who mentions it in one of his sermons ‡, say nothing of this vision, which they would not have suppressed if it had been true. Very far from it; instead of attributing this condescension of Attila

to the fear he had of this apparition, and this menacing sword, they unanimously agree that it was an effect of the majestic presence, and persuasive eloquence of St Leo, which softened and subdued the heart of this Barbarian; and the holy Pope, who was far from glorying in it, declares it ought to be ascribed, not to the influence of the stars, as some of the prophane would have it, but to the infinite mercy of God alone † who suffered himself to be intreated by the intercession of his saints, and thereupon vouchsafed to soften and change the hearts of the Barbarians. Here is nothing in all this that intimates this vision. That which has made it current of late, is it's being found in the history called Miscella, which is falsely ascribed to Paul the Deacon. But beside that the antient editions of this compiler have it not, which shews it was added at pleasure, without proof, or authority; beside that this history contains many other palpable falsities, the apparition is mentioned in it only upon an uncertain report, in these terms *Ferunt post discessum Pontificis interrogatum esse Attilam à suis, &c.* It is said that after the departure of the Pope, Attila being asked by his attendants, &c. I have reason therefore to say that we are at liberty to reject this vision, and that we ought not to seek a further miracle in it, than what St Leo himself performed, in softening and changing by his eloquence the heart of the most fierce and most formidable of all men; to such a degree, that he obtained from him, on the spot, and without any conditions, a peace, and a promise to depart out of Italy. What is most remarkable herein, is, that this great man, who turned the hearts of these barbarous Infidels, with so much ease, should be unable to do as much by his letters, with respect to Heretics. These last words afford the historian a happy transition.

[D] His eloquence had not the same success with king Giseric, nor yet was it wholly fruitless. The empress Eudoxia, Valentinian's widow, had been obliged to marry Maximus, who usurped the throne after having caused Valentinian to be assassinated. This Maximus had the impudence to tell Eudoxia, that the passion he had to enjoy her, was the only motive which induced him to destroy the emperor. Eudoxia, enraged at so villanous a declaration . . . sent secretly one of her chief confidants to Carthage, to Giseric king of the Vandals, who had made himself master of Africa, conjuring him by all the powerfull motives she could suggest, especially by the easiness of the enterprize, all being defenceless at Rome as in full peace, to come with all expedition, and revenge the death of Valentinian, his ally, and deliver her from her oppression under the tyranny of the most cruel, and villanous man alive (9). This Barbarian king, who had then in the port of Carthage a good naval force, failed not to lay hold of the opportunity; he embarked his forces, and landed in Italy without the least opposition; he advanced towards Rome, and had the pleasure, without ever drawing his sword, to see the city surrender at discretion, all the gates being thrown open to him (10).

Then it was that St Leo seeing his poor flock exposed to the fury of these wild beasts, like the good shepherd who lays down his life for his sheep, went forth and addressed himself to this Vandal and Arian king, whom he knew to be the mortal enemy of the Catholics, and especially of the bishops, on whom he had discharged all his fury in Africa, treating them with a barbarous cruelty, in a much more inhuman manner than any others. Nevertheless this cruel man, who was just ready to enter Rome, resolved to destroy all with fire and sword, stopped short, at the sight of this admirable Pontiff: and as if that august and saint-like majesty which shone in his face, had changed, all at once, the tyger's heart within him, into that of a reasonable man, he paid him all the honour that was owing to the head of the church. He patiently heard all he had to say; and if his eloquence did not then work the same miracle that it wrought before upon Attila, in causing him to return from whence he came, yet it performed three others of a very remarkable nature. For it was so persuasive as to obtain a promise, that neither the inhabitants should be put to the sword, their houses fired, nor the three principal churches profaned, to wit the Constantinian, that of St Peter

† Quorum precibus divina censure flexa sententia est. Non sicut opus impii stellarum affectibus, sed ineffabili Dei omnipotentis misericordie deputante, qui corda furentium Barbarorum mitigare dignatus est. Miscell. lib. xv.

(9) Maimbourg, ibid. lib. iv. pag. 246, ad ann. 455.

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 247.

† Variar. lib. i, Ep. 19.

(4) Maimbourg, ubi supra, pag. 221.

(5) Tota legatione dignanter accersa, ita summi Sacerdotis presentia Rex gavisus est, ut bello abstineri precipere. Prosper, in Chron. 2. Duchensis vulgata, apud Maimb. ibid. pag. 213.

(6) Maimbourg, ibid.

(7) Ib. pag. 224.

(8) Id. ibid.

‡ Serm. in Octa. Apollol.

(a) Printed at Paris in the year 1675. See the Journal des Scav. Febr. 17, 1676, and Du Pin's Bibliothec. Tom. III, Part. II, pag. 164. Holland Edit.

it wholly fruitless [D]. They who say he cut off his own hand [E], on having felt some irregular motions whilst a woman kissed it, and add that he recovered it by the ardency of his prayers, vent two fallacies. The best edition of his works is that of Father Quesnel (a). Some of the books ascribed to him in that edition, are attributed by other authors to St Prosper [F]. A learned dispute has been started upon this matter. A famous minister has a little embarrassed himself by placing the Epocha of Antichrist in the pontificate of St Leo [G]. This Pope died in 461.

in the Vatican, and that of St Paul without the walls. He kept his word: and having given Rome to be plundered by his soldiers for fourteen days together, he returned in his ships laden with spoils, and with rich prisoners, to be set to ransom; among whom was the empress Eudoxia, and the princesses Eudocia and Placidia, her two daughters, whom he treated perfectly like a generous man.

[E] Some say that he cut off his own hand. It is said that a devout and handsome woman, was, according to custom, admitted on Easter-day to kiss this Pope's hand: he perceived I know not what emotions which favoured too much of flesh and blood, and thought himself obliged to obey the precept of Jesus Christ in the rigor of the letter. If thy hand offend thee cut it off (11). But being by this mutilation, rendered incapable of saying mass any more, there arose a murmuring among the people, which made him earnestly beg of God the restitution of his hand; it was granted him; and from that time, say they, the custom of kissing the Pope's hand was changed into that of kissing his feet. Others say, that St Leo cut off his hand under the reproaches of his conscience, for having conferred holy orders on an undeserving person.

Cum autem sanctus Leo eam ob causam facrificare desisset, idque in populo Romano murmur non leve excitaret, impetravit à Deo ardentissimis precibus, ut manus abscissa sibi restitueretur. Ex eo tamen tempore, abolito usu manibus Pontificis oscula figendi, inductus est usus figendi osculum pedibus. Scribunt hæc de sancto Leone varii, ac nominatim Sabellicus, l. 5. Andreas Eboresensis, tit. de Castitate, ac Majolus, lib. i. de irregularitat. c. 14. n. 4. qui addit aliquos asserere, contigisse ut sanctus Leo manum sibi abscinderet, actus sancto erga se odio, ob male impostas alicui manus, & præcipitem indigni hominis imitationem (12). — But when St Leo ceased, upon that account, to perform sacred functions, and the people of Rome began to murmur greatly at it, he obtained of God by the most ardent prayers, that his hand, which had been cut off, might be restored. From that time, the custom of kissing the Pope's hands being abolished, the practice of kissing his feet was introduced. Several authors give this account of St Leo; particularly Sabellicus, in his fifth book; Andreas Eboresensis in his section of Chastity; and Majolus in his first book concerning Irregularity, ch. 14. n. 4. who adds, that some assert, St Leo cut off his own hand, through an holy detestation of himself, for having rashly conferred orders on an unworthy person. The author from whom I take these words banishes this story to the land of fables, and observes that the custom of kissing the Pope's hand on Easter-day, has not been interrupted to either sex: and as to the scruple about the ordination rashly conferred, he gives this account of the origin of it (13): 'Quod ad eos attingit qui hanc narrationem referunt ad manus indigno appositas, videntur adducti ad hanc fabellam de sancto Leone confingendam, ex lectione revelationis ex Moscho descriptæ capite 149 Prati spiritualis. Quod scilicet sancto Leone pro peccatis suis ferventer precato, apparuerit ei B. Petrus, dicens exortasse se ei omnium errorum veniam, salva discussione peccatorum, si quæ fuissent ab eo admilla ob indignorum ordinationem. At aliud est quod hac revelatione continetur, aliud quod habet fabulosa calumnia quam retulimus. — As for those, who refer this narrative to his conferring orders on an unworthy person, they seem to have been led to this fiction concerning St Leo, by reading the revelation described out of Moschus, in his Spiritual Meadow, ch. 149. To wit, that St Leo having prayed fervently for his sins, St Peter appeared to him, telling him, that he had obtained for him pardon of all errors, except that of ordaining unworthy persons. But the fabulous calumny, we have related, differs from what is contained in this revelation.'

Some say that the hand which Leo cut off, to extinguish a lascivious flame, ut libidinis ignem res-

gueret (14), was restored him by virtue of a picture of the holy virgin (15), and that this picture was of St Luke's painting. St Antonine and many others relate this, and yet Baronius can hardly believe it (16).

[F] Some of the books ascribed to him, are attributed by other authors to St Prosper. Father Quesnel pretends that the two books concerning the calling of the Gentiles; the letter to Demetriades, and the chapters concerning grace and free-will, are not St Prosper's, as is commonly believed, but St Leo's. See the book (17) intitled, De veris Operibus SS. Patrum Leonis Magni & Prosperi Aquitani, Dissertationes criticae, quibus Capitula de Gratia, &c. Epistolam ad Demetriadem, nec non duos de Vocatione omnium Gentium libros Leonis nuper adscriptos abjudicat, & Prosperi postliminio restituit Josephus Antelmi, Presbyter, & Canonice Ecclesie Forojulienfis. The abbot Antelmi has strongly opposed this pretension, and maintained that St Prosper is the true author of the sermons which go under St Leo's name. What is observable in this dispute, is, that both parties alledge the conformity of style: one to prove that these works are St Leo's, the other, that they are not his but St Prosper's (18). The pains the abbot Antelmi has been at, on this occasion, is very remarkable: he has made tables in two columns, in which he compares several passages of St Prosper, taken from the books which are confessedly his, with other passages out of those which are disputed, and shews a great conformity betwixt the respective places of one and the other. These parallels, with regard to St Leo's sermons, shew us a way of speaking so peculiar, expressions, and turns so studied and so composed, that it seems impossible they should be conceived but by one and the same person (19). All this hinders not Mr du Pin's saying that the abbot Antelmi's system upon the sermons which bear the name of St Leo, seems to him chimerical, and that the proofs he brings are extremely weak (20). Nay Mr du Pin denies the conformity of style, alledged by Mr Antelmi, and the consequence he would draw from it. 'If some person would be at the pains of comparing the passages alledged by him, he must find that there is no conformity of style betwixt the two authors, though we meet with the same words in both. And besides, though there should be some small resemblance of style between St Prosper's writings and those of St Leo, should not we have more reason to say that St Prosper had imitated his master, whom he often heard discourse, and preach, whose sermons he had read, and perhaps copied to preserve them in scriinio Romanæ Ecclesie, supposing he was notary of the church of Rome (21). Here is a fact which confirms some reflections in the dialogues on the chimerical cabal (22). See the article ERASMUS (23), and that of JULIUS II (24).

[G] A famous minister has a little embarrassed himself, by placing the epocha of Antichrist in the pontificate of St Leo. He is going to be driven much farther. According to him, idolatry in the days of mark [Y]. St Leo was great enough in the church to make it an Antichristian church, and Leo himself Antichrist, and yet the same minister had wrote the following words in his thirteenth letter of this year. 'Wiltst Antichrist was little, he did not destroy the essence of the church. Leo . . . and some of his successors were good men, as far as goodness and piety are consistent with an excessive ambition. It is certain also, that in his time the church was engaged VERY FAR IN THE IDOLATRY of creature worship, which is one of the characters of Antichristianism: and though these evils were not yet extreme, nor such as might have DAMNED the person of Leo, who had otherwise good qualities; yet they were enough to begin Antichristianism. You see then that a man is not damned though he be an idolater, and not only an idolater, but even engaged very far in the idolatry of creature-worship. If a man be not of the number of the saints, and tho' we must raise St Leo

(14) Paulus de Angelis, ubi infra.

(15) Paulus de Angelis, in Descript. Basilicæ S. Marie Majoræ de urbe apud Daniel. Papebroch. Reliq. ad exhib. Error. pag. 14.

(16) Papebroch. ibid.

(17) Printed at Paris, in 4to, in 1589.

(18) See the Journal des Scav, 1689, pag. 290, 294, 301, 321. Dutch Edit.

(19) Ibid. pag. 321.

(20) Du Pin, Biblioth. Tom. III, Part. II, pag. 157.

(21) Id. ibid. pag. 321.

(22) Id. ibid. pag. 158.

(23) Pag. 100, and the following.

(24) In the remark [Y].

(25) In the remark [N].

(11) Fuerunt qui scriberent cum pie mulieris specie præstantis, osculo manus Pontificis religiosè admoto perculsum, muliere neque particeps, neque conscia, cerni aliquid contraxisse. Theoph. Raynaud. Hist. Eccl. Sec. II, Serie III, cap. x, pag. m. 301. Cum ipso die Paschatis, pro more recento, mulierculam ad figendum manus sue osculum admittisset, humanum quippiam passus, manus illius abscissione se multavit: seculum illam Christi vocem. Si manus tua scandalizet te, abscinde eam. Id. ib. Serie III, cap. xx, pag. 409.

(12) Id. pag. 409.

(13) Ibid.

out of this catalogue, he may at least be of the number of good men; and the sin of idolatry is not so extreme as that he shall forfeit salvation by it. Let us urge this matter farther. We have proved in the book of Variations and elsewhere †, from the express words of St John †, that the beast and Antichrist have blasphemed and been idolatrous from their birth, and during the whole course of the 1260 days of their continuance. The minister would fain have dissembled this, that he might not be obliged to charge these crimes on the times and person of St Leo, St Simplicius, St Gelasius, and other holy Popes of the Vth century: but at last he is forced to speak it out †. It is certain, says he, that all the characters of the beast commenced from that time. The Gentiles or Pagans began in the days of Leo to trample the church of God under foot: for Paganism which is the worship of creatures entered into it. Then began the blasphemy against God and his saints; for to take from God his true worship, to give it to the creature, is blaspheming against God. Thus you see Antichristian blasphemy and idolatry established under St Leo; he himself could not be exempt from it since he was the very Antichrist; and indeed it is certain, that he honoured relics, and asked the assistance of the prayers of the saints no less than others. Here then we find not only an idolater, but the head of the Antichristian idolatry in the number of the elect, and that idolatry hinders not salvation (25). As this is a dispute between private persons, and not a controversy upon the general doctrines of two communions, I may be allowed to say that the perplexed author made the best choice he could in humane prudence; which was to be silent: he would not even seem to know that his confusion had been exposed to the eyes of the public.

(25) The bishop of Meaux's third Advice to the Protestants upon the Letters of the minister Jansen against the History of Variations, p. 56. Edit. Holland.

LEO X, elected Pope the eleventh of March 1513, was called John de Medicis. He had been honoured with a cardinal's hat at fourteen years of age by Pope Innocent VIII, and a long time after, with the dignity of legate by Pope Julius II. He discharged the functions of it in the army which was beaten by the French near Ravenna in the year 1512. Here he was taken prisoner; and during his confinement he made a wonderful experiment of the force of superstition, even over the minds of common soldiers [A]. It is thought that nothing contributed more to his elevation to the Popedom, than the wounds he had received in the combats of Venus [B]. His expences were excessive on the day of his coronation [C]; and he led a life little suitable

[A] He made a wonderful experiment of the force of superstition, even over the minds of soldiers. The soldiers who had vanquished him expressed so great a veneration for him, that they humbly begged pardon for their victory, beseeched him to give them absolution, and promised never to bear arms more against the Pope. This I learn from cardinal Palavicino after his having observed, that, in contempt of the royal authority, the Milanese looked upon the cardinals of the assembly of Pisa with aversion. In Milano con vilipensione dell' autorità Reale furon ricevuti non come Cardinali, Grado riveritissimo nella Cristianità, ma come uomini pestiferi e scelerati, e comete di sciagura ne paesi dove giugnessero. Anzi, non ostante che i Francesi riportassero la memorabil vittoria di Ravenna, e conducessero prigione a Milano il Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici Legato dell' Esercito pontificio, che poi assunto al Pontificato prese il nome di Leon Decimo non si tennero i soldati vincitori dall' andare con incredibile frequenza a venerar come Legato del Vicario di Christo il lor prigioniero; ricevendone l' assoluzione e baciava poscia di dar loro per haver combattuto contro alla Chiesa, con promessa d'astenersene per innanzi (1).

[B] Nothing contributed more to his elevation to the Popedom, than the wounds he had received in the combats of Venus. I have so often given the reason why I choose rather to cite Catholic than Protestant writers on such occasions, that without further preamble, I shall here produce the words of a French historian, and a bitter enemy to the Protestants (2). Three months had not passed since the return of cardinal de Medicis to Florence, when the death of Pope Julius II, obliged him to leave that town and go to Rome. He was carried in a horse litter by reason of an imposthume in those parts, which modesty will not allow us to name, and travelled so slowly, that the Pope's obsequies were over, and the conclave sitting, when he arrived there, . . . (3). The conclave had not ended so soon as it did, the young and old cardinals persisting in contrary opinions with equal obstinacy, if an odd accident had not brought them to agree. The cardinal de Medicis being extremely hurried by the number of visits he made every night to the cardinals of his faction, his ulcer broke and the matter which came from it, sent forth such a stench, that all the cells which were separated only by slight partitions, were perfectly poisoned by it. The old cardinals, whose constitutions were less capable of bearing the malignancy of a corrupted air, consulted the Physicians of the conclave, to know what they should do; these Physicians who had seen cardinal de Medicis, and judged of his state more by the ill humours which flowed from his body, than by that strength of nature which drove them

out, answered, being first gained by the promises of Bibiana, that cardinal de Medicis had not a month to live. Their passing upon this sentence of death upon him was the cause of his being chosen Pope, the old cardinals who thought to out-wit the young, agreeing to give them a satisfaction, which could not as they presumed, last very long. They waited upon them and let them know, that they at last yielded to their obliquity, on condition they would remember to do the like for them another time. Thus cardinal de Medicis was elected Pope, upon a false information, being not full thirty six years old; and as joy is one of the most sovereign remedies, he soon recovered to perfect a state of health, that the old cardinals had occasion to repent of their being over credulous. Not to conceal any thing, I am obliged to acquaint my reader, that Paul Jovius does not place this ulcer in the place where Varillas does; but in the fundament (4) which would not suppose a disgraceful cause: and with the same sincerity I add, that this Pope ascended the throne with a great reputation of chastity, if we believe Guicciardin (5), and was reckoned very continent from his youth, if we credit Paul Jovius. Constat tamen cum, quod à primâ adolescentia opinione omnium summam continentiae laudem fuisset adeptus, non importuna quædam pedicitie, callitatisque præsidia quaesivisse; quando nequaquam pristinae vitæ more tam multis delicatisque oblectamentis uteretur (6). — It is certain however, that having gained a great reputation for continency from his youth, he sought out no very troublesome guardians of his chastity and modesty; since he did not eat so luxuriously, as formerly. Whence we must conclude that the Papal dignity was that which ruined Leo the tenth's good morals: he grew vicious when he should have grown virtuous; and lastly, I observe, that the sense in which I alledge Varillas's words, and which Mr Seckendorf gives them (7) is gathered only from consequences, and such as do not necessarily follow from them.

[C] His expences were excessive on the day of his coronation. He would be crowned upon the same day on which he lost the battle of Ravenna, and his mark [O]. liberty, the year before, and rode the same Turkish horse which he rode on the day of that battle; he ranfomed him from the French; and as he loved him mightily, he had him very carefully kept and pampered to an extreme old age. Velut est etiam in pompa illa eodem equo Thraci in quo ad Ravennam captus fuerat, quem ab hostibus pecunia redemptum ita adamavit, ut postea usque ad extremam senectutem summa cum indulgentia alendum curavit (8). And as his head was filled with the magnificences of ancient Rome, and the triumphal days of the ancient consuls, he endeavoured to revive those fine shews, and was so

(1) Palavic. Historia del Conclito di Trento, lib. 1, cap. 1, n. 2, pag. m. 47. See also Paulus Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, lib. II, pag. m. 110.

(2) Varillas, Anecdotes of Florence, lib. vi, pag. 253.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 257.

(4) Id. ibid.

(4) Propter innatum ab ima fese abiectionem Ro. mani modici. tineribus ad comitis contendit. Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, lib. II, pag. 126. Fuere qui existimarent vel ob id seniores ad ferenda suffragia facilius accessisse, quod pridie disrupto eo abiectione qui sedem occuparat, tanto fortore exproluente. Idem totum conclave impleretur, ut tanquam à mortifera tace infectus, non observe, that the sense in which I alledge Varillas's words, and which Mr Seckendorf gives them (7) is gathered only from consequences, and such as do not necessarily follow from them. Ibid. pag. 128.

(6) Jovius, ibid. pag. 193.

(7) Ridor: Lutheri. lib. I, pag. 190, col. 1, n. 3, & col. 2, licta E.

(8) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 123.

table to a successor of the apostles, and perfectly voluptuous [D]. He took too much pleasure in hunting. It is said his eye at this sport, was surprizingly quick [E]. As he

well served in this design, that since the irruption of the Goths, there never was seen in Rome any thing more magnificent than his coronation. See the description of it in Paul Jovius (9). He agrees with Guicciardin (10), that the expence of it amounted to an hundred thousand ducats. Father Gretser censures Mr du Plessis for saying it cost a million, *nec mitius agit Plessæus cum Leone X. quem die coronationis suæ decies centena aureorum millia, hoc est ut vulgo loquimur millionem consumpsisse scribit* (11). This is found in the Latin edition which Father Gretser made use of. But in the French edition which I use, Mr du Plessis Mornai mentions only the hundred thousand ducats of Guicciardin.

[D] He led a life wholly voluptuous.] Paul Jovius cannot be accused of being too sparing of his incense to Leo X; but on the other hand, it must be owned, he explains himself clearly enough upon the vices of this Pope, not to leave an intelligent reader in suspense: The pleasures, says he, into which he too frequently plunged himself, and the leud actions objected to him, [tarnished the lustre of his virtues. He adds, that a temper more easy and complaisant, than vicious, cast him into this precipice, having about him such people, as instead of admonishing him of his duty, only talked to him of diversions. The original is more nervous than the abstract I give of it and therefore I shall deliver it in Paul Jovius's words. 'Has præclaras liberalis excelisque animi virtutes, cum nimia sæpe vita luxuria, tum objectæ libidinis obscurabant: ita tamen, ut jucunditate blandæ faciliq; naturæ potius, ac regia quadam licentia, quam certo depravati animi judicio in ea vitia prolabi videretur, quum frequenti blandientium turba cubile fore oblectæ paucos admitterent, qui alioqui docilis verecundique hominis solutos mores cohiberent, amicorum optimis ad ea conviventibus, ac libenter sese illecebrarum ministris immiscentibus, ne gratiam apud summos principes in lubrico positam in discrimen adducerent, si ingratis auribus potentium reprehensionis officium honestatis atque benevolentia specie susceperent. Verum hominem hilaritati humanique sensibus facile servientem mirum in modum incitabant plerique Cardinales opibus ætateque florentes, qui illustri loco nati, ac liberaliter educati, regio luxu vitam in venationibus, conviviis, atque spectaculis libentissimè tradebant (12). A little after he owns, that this Pope was charged with the crime of Sodomy (13): 'Non caruit etiam infamia quod parum honestè nonnullos è cubiculariis (erant enim è tota Italia nobilissimi) adamare, & cum his tenerius atque libere joculari videretur. Sed quis, vel optimus atque sanctissimus princeps in hac maledicentissima aula lividorum aculeos vitavit? & quis ex adverso tam malignè improbus ac invidiæ tabe consumptus, ut vera demum posset oblectare, nocturnum secreta scrutatus est? — He was reſtled upon likewise for shamefully intriguing, and using great freedoms with the pages of his bed-chamber, who were the flower of all Italy. But what prince, tho' the best and most holy, ever escaped the sting of envy in this censorious court? and who, on the other hand was so malicious, and envious, as to search out what passed in the night, that he might have foundation for censure? I omit what is told us of the luxury of his table, and the buffoonries acted at it. 'Mire quoque favit Pogio seni, Pogii historici filio itemque Moro nobili à gulæ intemperantia, articularibus doloribus distorto, & Brandino equiti, Marianoque fanioni cucullato facetissimis helluonibus, & in omni genere popinalium deliciarum eruditissimis Verum festivissimis eorum facietis, falsisque & perurbanis scommatibus magis quam ullis palati lenociniis oblectabatur (14). I have touched upon this in the article of HADRIAN VI (15), Leo the tenth's successor, and reformer of his luxury, as we are going to see. 'The other day the equerries, of the deceased Pope Leo, deputed one of their number, and sent him to the Pope to speak to him in behalf of them all: the Pope inquired how many they were in the retinue of Leo; he answered, an hundred. Adrian signing himself with the sign of the cross, as astonished at such a superfluity, said, that four were enough for him, but that he was

content that twelve should be placed upon the list, since so many were necessary to exceed the number of those which the cardinals kept. In short, it's the common opinion that this Pope will be a good husband, and cash-keeper for the church, which is in truth very necessary, considering the prodigality of his predecessor.' This is what we find in a letter of Jerome Negro written from Rome the first of September 1522, it is inserted in Ruscelli's collection, translated by Belleforest.

[E] It is said his eye at hunting was surprizingly quick.] This we shall speak of after having taken notice of Leo the tenth's violent passion for hunting. He was wonderfully pleased with it; he understood and observed the laws of it much better than those of the gospel, and he could not bear any one should disturb his sport; he had no mercy on those, who through imprudence, or otherwise, occasioned the escape of the game. He gave them all manner of ill language. He was so much out of humour when the chace did not succeed, that no body durst then ask him a favour; but transported with joy, if it ended luckily; and these were the favourable moments (16) for obtaining whatever was desired of him. Paul Jovius relates this very elegantly. 'Venationibus & aucupii nobilioribus adeo perditæ studebat, ut spurcissimas sæpe tempestates insubrequæ ventos, & frequentia mansionum ac itinerum incommoda oblatinè contemneret (17) In venando autem sicuti præcepta artis ad normam exactioris disciplinæ patientissimè observare erat solitus, ita severitatem asperè admodum vir aliqui lenissimus semper exercuit; in eos præsertim, qui petulanti discursu aut vocibus temerè editis improvisis feris effugia præbuisse: ita ut claros sæpe viros acerbissimis contumeliis oneraret. At si quando imperitia, vel fortuito errore hominum, aut feris subtiliore aliquo insperatæ fugæ compendio servatis, vel iis denso in nemore contumacibus latentibus infelicitèr venaretur, incredibile est quali vultus animique habitu dolorem iracundiamque præferret. Propterea amici familiares ea temporis momenta provocandæ liberalitati maxime adversa sedulo devitabant: quando aliàs secundum opimam venationem, ac præsertim vario ac insigni labore aliquo nobilem, maxima beneficia incredibili benignitate collocaret (18). — He was so fond of hunting and fowling, that he obstinately despised the foulest storms, unwholesome winds, and all the inconveniences of journeying But in hunting, as he was most exact in observing the rules of the art, so he exercised the greatest severity, tho' otherwise of the mildest disposition, especially towards those, who, by their rash noise and clamour, gave the game an opportunity to escape; insomuch that he often bitterly chid men of distinction. But if it happened, either thro' unskillfulness, or mistake, or that the game unexpectedly made it's escape, or could not be routed, that he was unsuccessful in hunting, it is incredible what grief and anger he discovered in his countenance and temper. Therefore his intimates never asked any favours of him at that unlucky time: whereas, when his hunting was successful, or remarkable for the variety and uncommonness of the toil, he bestowed the greatest favours with incredible liberality.'

As to his sight, here is a passage which I take from a book of the Sieur des Accords (19). 'Pope Leo having caused these numeral letters to be written, to signify the year of his Pontificate, they were thus interpreted, M CCCC LX. Multi Cardinales cæci creantur cæcum Leonem decimum. Now I must say, by the way, that I do not know why he should be called blind since by the help of glasses he could see hawks, vultures, and eagles, at the highest soar; but on the other hand, whenever he read, he clapped the paper to his nose, and even then could hardly distinguish a letter; as Lucius Gauricus informs us, in his *Schematibus Celestibus*. 'Which puts me in mind of a certain honest curate who cannot read the church books of the fairest character, without spectacles, and yet shall distinguish the smallest dice, and is never to be put upon.' Paul Jovius confirms this but in part; for he says, that Leo read the smallest print with great ease, when

(16) Molles aditus, & quæ molissima sandi Tempora. Virgil. Æn. lib. iv, vers. 423, & 293.

(17) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 196.

(18) Ibid. pag.

(19) Des Accords, Bigarrures, cap. xii, fol. m. 105, verso.

(9) Ubi supra.

(10) Guicciard. lib. xi, fol. m. 326, verso.

(11) Gretser. in Exam. Myster. Plessiani, pag. 561, citing page 618, of the Myser.

(12) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 188.

(13) Id. ibid. pag. 192.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 191.

(15) Citat. (68).

(a) Among others, Peter Aegineta, a Greek by birth, who explained Aristophanes at

he had been taught by preceptors (a), who instructed him thoroughly in the *Belles Lettres*; he loved and protected men of wit and learning. He favoured the poets in a particular manner, and that without preserving always the gravity which his character required [F]. This appeared on several occasions, and even in the privileges he granted

Bologna, and had taught him the Greek tongue. See the Letters of Langius, page m. 473.

he brought the paper near his eye. * Subtrahebant magna ex parte oris suavitatem, obefae malae & oculi extantes, convolutique & hebetes, verum si ad pupillam inspicienda propius admovent, supra fidem acutissimi: supplices enim libellos, vel minutissimis literis, & crebris syllabarum compendiis properanter exaratos celeritè & distinctissimè lectitabat: adnota autem cristallo concava, oculorum aciem in venationibus & aucupis adeo latè extendere erat solitus, ut non modo spaciis & finibus, sed ipsa etiam discernendi felicitate cunctos anteiret (20).

(20) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 218.

What took off greatly from the sweetness of his countenance, was, his puffed cheeks, and his eyes, which were prominent, swelling, and dim, but most sharp, when he brought any thing very near to the pupil: for he read very fast and distinctly petitions written in the smallest characters, and with frequent abbreviations: and, by the use of a concave glass, he so extended the sight of his eyes, in hunting, that he excelled every one, not only in space and bounds, but even in the happiness of discerning. I have just consulted Luke Gauric's book, that des Accords cites, and do not find he says, that Leo X. could not see when he clapt the paper close to his nose. Let us cite Gauric, and admire the impertinence of his attributing to the planets the different qualities of the right and left eye of this Pope. Sol cum stellis nebulosis, oculi dextri aciem penitus hebetavit cum multis lineis transversis. Luna in sexta cœli statione sub Geminorum asterismo ad Martis tetragonam radiationem defluens, oculi quoque sinistri lucem impediēbat, adeo quidem quod nec legere, neque aliquid intueri poterat absque conspicio magno crystallino, non autem illius aciem prorsus desiderabat, quoniam salutaris Stella Jovis, Lunam trigonica radiatione intuebatur, & ita literas lectitabat nâso proximiores & oculo, sed cum illo vitreo oculo suspiciebat Accipitres, Aquilas, Astures, alius volitantes, & longe melius quam alii venatores, ibatque sæpius ad venationes Leporum, Caprearum silvestrium, & Vulpium, illasque optime conspicebat, quæ à canibus leporariis & molossis capiebantur (21). — The sun, with nebulous stars, entirely dim'd the sight of his right eye, with many transverse lines. The moon, in the sixth house, in Gemini, applying to the quarter of Mars, impaired likewise, the sight of his left eye, inasmuch that he could read nothing without a large crystal glass; yet he did not wholly want the sight of it, because the salutary star Jupiter was in trine to the moon; and thus he read letters by bringing them near his nose and eyes; and, by the help of a crystal glass, he distinguished hawks and eagles, in their biggest flight, much better than other sportsmen; besides, he often hunted bares, goats, and foxes, and had a clear sight of them, when caught by the bounds or masses.

(21) Lucas Gauricus Geophonus, Episcopus Civitatis in urbane Astrologia in quo agitur de prædictis multorum hominum accidentibus per proprias eorum ge nitas ad unguem examinatis, fol. 23, verso Edit. Venetæ, apud Curium Trogium Novæ, 1552, in 4to.

[F] He favoured the poets . . . without preserving the gravity which his character required. The pleasures he allowed himself with them, sometimes degenerated into buffoonry. Quernus, who had been solemnly crowned, and promoted to the honour of Poet Laureat, was little better than a merry-andrew. He used to come to Leo the tenth's dinner, and eat at the window, the morsels which were conveyed to him from hand to hand. They gave him the Popes wine plentifully, but upon condition, that he would make extempore verses on the subjects that were given him. He was obliged at least to furnish a distich; and if he failed, or if his verses were good for nothing he was condemned to drink a great deal of water with his wine (22). Fuit diu inter instrumenta eruditæ voluptatis longe gratissimus, quum cœnante Leone porrectis de manu femeris obsoniis, stans in fenestra vesceretur, & de principis lagena perpotando, subitaria carmina faceret; ea demum lege, ut per scripto argumento bina saltem carmina ad mensam, tribut nomine solventer, & in penam sterili vel inepto longe dilutissime foret peribendum (23). Sometimes also the Pope made extempore verses with his arch-poet, which set all the company a laughing. What want of gravity was this! Ab hac

(22) Jovius, in Elog. cap. lxxxiii.

(23) Id. Ibid. pag. 191.

* autem opulentia hilarique sagina, vehementem incidit in podagram; sic ut bellissimè ad risum eveniret, quum de se canere jussus, in hunc hexametrum erupisset;

Archipoeta facit versus pro mille poetis,

* Et demum hæsitaret, inexpectatus Princeps hoc pentametro perargute responderit;

Et pro mille aliis Archipoeta bibit.

* Tum verò astantibus obortus est risus: & demum multo maximus, quum Quernus stupens & interritus, hoc tertium non inepte carmen induxisset:

Porridge, quod faciat mihi carmina docta Falernum.

Idque Leo repente mutuatus à Virgilio, subdidit,

Hoc etiam enervat, debilitatque pedes (24).

(24) Ibid.

— This high feeding brought on him a severe gout; during which he would be very merry with his Poet Laureat; who, being ordered to make verses on him, self, broke out into this line:

The Laureat for a thousand Poets writes;

* and stopping short, the Pope unexpectedly and wittily subjoined this line:

And for a thousand more the Laureat drinks.

* Upon which the company laughed, and afterwards excessively, when Quernus undauntedly, and aptly enough, repeated this third line:

Give me Falernian, to inspire my muse;

* To which Leo, borrowing from Virgil, immediately added:

This also weakens and unnerves the feet.

One day a Poet presented him with some Latin verses in rhyme: the Pope, to divert himself, gave him no other recompence than an extempore flight, containing an equal number of verses in the same rhymes. The Poet, vexed to see that Leo gave him nothing, returned the following distich:

Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dedisset,
Non esset capiti tanta corona tuo.

Had fortune thus thy verse with verse repaid,
The tripple crown had not adorn'd thy head.

Hereupon the Pope extended to him his usual liberality (25). By this we may see, that he turned every thing to his diversion. But here is a passage that clearly discovers the buffooning spirit, which then reigned in the Pope's palace. A man having something to ask of Leo X., and finding himself amused for several days with ungrateful delays, which made him despair of being introduced, bethought himself of this stratagem. He acquainted Leo's great chamberlain, that he had the admirablest verses to shew the Pope, that ever were made. The chamberlain, transported with joy, goes immediately to the Pope, and tells him, he had light on the very top of fools, and the fittest thing alive . . . to divert him. It was the way of Leo's courtiers, to find out such as were half crazy, and compleat the disorder of their brains, for the diversion of the head of the church (26). But they were the cullies of the pretended Poet I speak of. For when he was admitted to the Pope's presence, he let him know the true reason which induced him to counterfeit a crack-brained Poet, and declared his real business. They who understand Latin will read this with more satisfaction, in the words following *.

(25) See Paulus Jovius, in Vita Leonis X., lib. iv, pag. 189, 190, where he speaks of the Musican Tarsicon, and the Poet Baraballus. See below, citat. (26), and the words following *.

(b) See the remark [F], towards the end.

granted to Ariosto's poems (b). In a word, let us say, that scholars and buffoons, equally shared his friendship [G]. He had not the same relish for Theological studies [H]. I will not vouch the story which is told, viz. that he once ridiculed the whole Christian doctrine as a mere fable [I]. He had the industry to ruin the council

of Nicus Erythræus. 'Hoc hominum ridicule infan-
nientium, genere non minimum delectabatur Leo X.
' Pontifex Max. cujus Gnathones, quos circa se habe-
bat, dabant operam ut eos, quibus levis mens esset,
' ad infaniam adigerent, seque eos esse, qui non essent,
' arbitrantur. In quo mirabiliter lusus est à quo-
' dam, cui petenti aditum conveniendi non dabat: qui
' cum multos dies expectasset, atque omnes ad Ponti-
' ficem allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos in-
' terclusosque videret, seducto Pontificii cubiculi præ-
' festo in aurem dixit, se esse poetam, solum præter
' ceteros, qui sua vellet carmina Pontifici tradere, qui-
' bus lectis obstupesceret, horreret, ad incredibilem ad-
' mirationem efferretur. Quo ille audito, ventis atque
' que avibus occlusis volavit in Leonis cubiculum, at-
' que hilaritate lætitiæque redundans, invenimus, in-
' quit, perfectæ infaniam hominem, qui tibi voluptati
' maximæ erit. At ille sine mora intromissus, ex illis
' se integumentis simulationis evolvit, causam, cur in-
' faniam simulasset, aperuit, negotium, quod volebat,
' exposuit. Itaque ille deridiculo eos habuit, quibus
' ludendus tradebatur (27). Was it keeping the de-
corum of the Papacy to expedite a Bull so favourable
to the poems of Ariosto? cardinal Hippolyto d'Est,
to whom the Orlando Furioso of this Poet was dedi-
cated, judged very well of it, when he asked the
author, *Messer Lodovico dove Diavolo havete pigliato
tante coisnerie, — Where the devil could you find so many
fooleries?* Leo X. was infinitely more debonaire to this
author. 'Almost at the same time that he thundered
' his anathema's against Martin Luther, he was not
' ashamed to publish a Bull in favour of the prophane
' poems of Lewis Ariosto, threatening those with ex-
' communication who found fault with them, or hin-
' dred the profit of the Printer (28). We shall
see elsewhere (29) that he was a great admirer of bur-
lesque pieces.

[G] Scholars and buffoons equally shared his friend-
ship. The Historian, Peter Matthieu, having said, that
Leo X loved buffoons, as much as the learnedest men in
Italy, and changed his humour from one extreme to
another (30), alleges these words of Peter Aretin.
'E beato colui che e pazzo e ne la pazzia sua compiace
' ad altri e a se stesso. Certamente Leone hebbe una
' natura da' stremito a' estremo, e non faria op'ra da og-
nuno il giudicare chi piu gli dilettaffe, o la vertu
de i dott'i, o le ciancie de i buffoni, e di cio fa fede
il suo haver dato à l'una e à l'altra specie essaltando
tanto quetti quanto quegli. — He is happy who
' is a fool, and in his folly pleases both others and
' himself. Certainly Leo was, in extremes, and it
' would be a difficult matter to judge which pleased him
' best, the science of the learned, or the jests of the buf-
' foons, and this appears by his favour to these two
' sorts of men, praising the one as much as the other.'
Peter Matthieu, who so often cites the same Aretin,
took much more pains than Mr Menage (31).

[H] He had not the same relish for Theological studies.
Cardinal Palavicino could not deny it; he honestly
confesses, that Leo X valued those more, who under-
stood Mythology, the ancient Poets, and profane learn-
ing, than those who understood Divinity, and Ecclesi-
astical History. His words, which are more frank,
and have less of the bias than usual, are these. 'Gli
' oppone il Soave, ch'egli havesse maggior notizia di
' lettere profane che sacre ed appartenenti alla religio-
' ne: nel che io non gli contradico. Havendo Leone
' ricevuto da Dio un ingegno capacissimo e singolar-
' mente studioso; ed appena uscito dalla fanciullezza
' veggendosi posso nel supremo Senato della Chiesa;
' mancò al suo debito con trascurar nella letteratura
' una parte non solamente la più nobile, ma la più
' proporzionata al suo Grado. E s'accrebbe tal man-
camento quando in età di trentasett'anni costituito
Presidente e Maestro della religione, non solo conti-
nuò di donarsi tutto alle curiosità degli studii profa-
ni; ma nella Reggia della medesima religione con
magior cura chiamò coloro, à cui fosser note le fa-
vole della Grecia e le delizie de' Poeti, che l'istorie
della Chiesa, e la dottrina de' Padri. Non lasciò
ei veramente di rimunerar la Scholastica Theologia,
onorandola con la Porpora in Tommaso di Vio, in

Egidio da Viterbo, e in Adriano Florenzio suo
Successore, e coll' ufficio di Maestro del Sacro Pa-
lazzo in Silvestro da Prierio; le cui penne illustra-
rono immortalmemente quella sacra disciplina. Ma nè
co' Theologi usò di conversare come co' Poeti: nè
promosse l'erudizione sacra come la profana; lasciando
la Chiesa in quella scarsezza in cui la trovò di per-
sone che dopo l'infelice ignoranza di molti secoli
rauvivassero la prima, come si rauvivava già la se-
conda (32). — Father Paul objects, that he
' was better acquainted with prophane letters, than with
' sacred or religious learning; which I do not deny. 2, pag. 50.
' God had endowed Leo with a great genius, and a
' singular industry; and being yet but a youth, he saw
' himself placed in the supreme senate of the church,
' but he neglected that part of literature, not only the
' most noble, but most suitable, to his station; and
' this neglect increased, when, at the age of thirty
' seven years, being appointed head and master of re-
' ligion, he not only continued to give himself up to
' the curiosity of prophane studies; but for the regula-
' ting of the said religion, did rather call to him those
' who were acquainted with the fables of Greece, and
' the delights of the Poets, than those who knew the
' history of the church, and the doctrine of the Fathers.
' He nevertheless favoured scholastic Divinity, in bo-
' nouring with the purple Tommaso di Vio, Egidio da
' Viterbo, and Adriano Florenzio, his successor, and in
' appointing Silvester da Prierio, master of the sacred
' palace; who, by their writings, have acquired an
' immortal glory, in illustrating that sacred science.
' But he did not converse with the Divines, as he did
' with the Poets; nor encouraged the sacred erudition,
' as the prophane; leaving the church in the same
' want, he found her, of learned men, who, after the
' unhappy ignorance of many ages, should revive the
' former as they did the latter. It were to be
wished, that these two Historians always agreed so
well.

[I] He ridiculed the whole Christian doctrine, as a
meer fable (32). The tradition is, that secretary
Bembo alledging something from the gospel, he an-
swered him, it is well known of old, how profitable
this fable of Jesus Christ has been to us. *Quantum
nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit satis est
omnibus seculis notum.* This story is found in the
Mystery of Iniquity (33), and in abundance of other
books; but still without being supported by citations,
or having any other foundation than the authority
of Bale: so that three or four hundred authors, more
or less, who have said this, copying one another,
ought to be reduced to Bale's single testimony; a
testimony manifestly exceptionable, since he wrote in
open war against the Pope, and against the whole Ro-
mish church. No tribunal in the world would re-
ceive the depositions of such a witness, swearing that
he has seen or heard so and so, for when once the
person appears to be his enemy against whom he de-
poses, the challenges of the accused party are declared
valid. Since books of controversy then are pieces which
the parties produce in a suit pleaded before the public,
it is certain that the testimony of a Protestant disputant, up-
on a fact which reflects upon the Pope, or the testimony
of a Popish disputant, on a fact reflecting on the Refor-
mers, ought to be reckoned as nothing. The public,
which is judge of the process, ought to reject all these
testimonies, and have no more regard to them, than to
things which never happened. Private persons are per-
mitted, if once persuaded of the probity of Bale, to be-
lieve what he affirms; but they ought to keep their per-
suasion to themselves, and not produce it to public
view, as a juridical proof against their adversaries; which,
in my opinion, is a thing not sufficiently observed.

(32) It was under the pontificate of Leo X, that
Ulric de Hutten published his dialogue, intituled *Trias
Romana*. Now see how he speaks in that ingenious
satire against the court of Rome: 'Tria, VADISCUS
' ait, paucissimi Romæ credunt, animarum immortalita-
' tem, communionem Sanctorum, & infernorum por-
' nas. ERNN. Persuasit. Exilimo enim, si animam
' crederent immortalem, utique eam excoletet quisque
' ejusque commodis inservire, nunc corporis volup-

(32) Palavic. ubi
supra, cap. II, n.
2, pag. 50.

(33) Cardinal
Bembo, secretary
(these two quali-
ties do not well
agree, Bembo was
not a cardinal,
under Leo X),
quoting a passage
out of the Gos-
pel to him, upon
some occasion, he
was so presum-
ptuous as to tell
him, what a deal
of service has
this fable of
Christ done us,
and our whole
college. De
Pistis, *Myster
d'Iniquité*, pag.
584.

(27) Janus
Nicus Erythræus
Pinacoth. II,
cap. xxxiii, pag.
110.

(28) David Blon-
del's Examina-
tion of Pope In-
nocent the
tenth's Bull,
pag. 3.

(29) In the re-
mark [B], of
the article M A-
CHIAVEL.

(30) Matthieu's
History of Henry
IV, liv. vii, Tom.
II, pag. m. 716.

(31) See, above,
citat. (25), of
the article
ARETIN
(PETER).

council, which the emperor and the king of France had set up against Julius II, and he made the council of Lateran triumph; for he obtained of Lewis XII, all the submissions he could desire (c). He obtained of Francis I, a much more solid advantage by the concordat, concluded between them in the year 1515. This did not make him more favourable to France. He formed leagues against her, and took that affair

(c) See the article JULIUS II, remark [G].

fo

* Paquillor.
Tom. duo Elec-
therop. 1544.
Tom. II, pag.
258.

(34) Comment-
in cap. xix.
Geseus, vers.
13, fol. 123,
apud Seckendorf.
Hiflor. Lutherana.
lib. iii, pag. 676,
col. 1.

(35) Inutilis,
Recusatio Synodi
Tridentinae. See
the article TUP-
PIUS.

(36) Heidegger.
Hiflor. Papatus,
pag. 204, 205.
He may have
found this very
near word for
word in the
Tota Pici, of
Geseus, pag.
272, 273, Edit.
1624.

(37) And yet
what Mr Hei-
degger advances
is not mentioned
by the nephew
of John Pici, as
a thing which
they said a Pope
had confessed.
He does not say
that he had
heard it from the
Pope himself.

tatem in tantum seclantur, ut animam prement modis
omnibus. Illam vero beatorum communionem si
quid facerent, etiam ejus participes esse vellent.
Porro de penis Infernorum vel verbum dicere inter
præclaros hos Quirites pro anili est FABULA *.
This may be the original of that story. REM.
CRIT.]

They tell another story, which lies open to the same
battery as the former. It is said, that Leo hearing
two men dispute, one whereof denied, and the other
affirmed, the immortality of the soul, pronounced, that
the affirmative seemed true, but that the negative was
more proper to give a man a cheerful countenance.
Leonis X. Papæ dictum refert (Lutherus) qui audita
disputatione in qua unus immortalitatem animæ de-
fendebat, alter oppugnabat, dixerit, tu quidem vera
videris dicere, sed adversarii tui oratio facit bonum
vultum, id est lætiorem mentem (Ital. buona cera)
ex Epicuri scilicet sententia. Luther is the man
who says this (34). We may, if we please, believe
he spoke truth, but we ought not to alledge his tes-
timony; he is a person at war with the Pope; he is
an enemy persecuted and anathematized; the judi-
cial practice requires, that his testimony should be
rejected, and even his oath not admitted; he ought
either to prove what he says, or say nothing. A fa-
mous professor of Divinity at Zurich, relates this story,
upon the testimony of a book (35), as exceptionable as

Luther himself. Qualis fuerit Leo constabit
. si de ejus impietate & atheismo
nonnihil attexerimus. Ille scilicet Joannis XXIV. Joa-
nis XXIV. animam in corporis domicilio sic insinua-
tam statuentis, ut extra illum carcerem non du-
ret; jussit aliquando (uti Recusat. Synod. Trid. par. 2.
caus. 8. pag. 266. comprobatur videre et) persona-
tos Philosophos duos, ceu moriones ex adverso ad
mensam affluere; quos animi gratia de immortalitate
animæ disputantes audiret; alterum qui affirmaret, &
qui impugnaret, alterum. Cumque finita disputatione
judicium in arbitrium Pontificis hi rejicerent; ille
sic definita sententia controversiam diremit. Etsi tu,
inquit ad affirmantem, pulchras & bonas rationes ha-
beas; tamen ego sententiam hujus, negantis, probo, ceu
firmiorem, & quæ faciat bonum vultum (36). —

The character of Leo will appear, if I add something
concerning his impiety and atheism. This Pope, be-
ing of the same opinion with John XXIV, who laid
it down, that the soul could not exist separately from
the body, gave orders one day (as may be seen in
Recusat. Synod. Trid. par. 2. caus. 8. pag. 266.)
for two personated Philosophers to stand opposite to
each other, like buffoons, at a table, and to dispute
in his presence concerning the immortality of the soul,
the one to maintain it, the other to oppose it. The de-
cision of the dispute being referred to the Pope, he gave
this sentence, Though you, said he to the affirmer,
have fine and good reasons, yet I approve this man's
(the denger's) opinion, as the better grounded,
and more plausible. He afterwards relates the an-
swer, that it is pretended he made Bembo; and as
he well perceived that things of this nature want to
be proved by the testimony of Catholic authors, he
how he orders it; he alledges the nephew of the fa-
mous count of Mirandola. Et ne ab hæreticis hæ-

conficta clamant ei ex evantrias, ejus rei auctor-
tas & auctoritas (37) testem damus, qui & scire de-
bebat, & causam cui mentiretur non habebat, Johan-
nis Pici, Mirandulani Comitum nepotem ex fratre
minimè degenerem, qui in illo Pisani & Lateranen-
sis Consilii consilio, questionem tractans, utrum
Concilia vel Pontifices errare possint, inter alia de
Leone hoc loquens: Meminimus, inquit, Pontificem
credidit & adoratum, qui nullum Deum credens,
omne infidelitatis (atheismi) culmen excederet: pos-
simaque ejus opera in cœmendo Pontificatu, in omni-
genis sceleribus exercendis, id ipsum testatur: sed
& pessima quoque dicta confirmabant. Namque fas-
sum cum affirmabatur domesticis quibusdam, nullum
se Deum aliquando, etiam dum Pontificem Sedem te-
neret, credidisse, quæ ejus verba libro de fide & or-

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dine credendi, theore. 4. pag. 259, 260. legere
est (38). — And that the adversaries may not cry
out, that these things are the fiction of Heretics, I give
you an eye and ear-witness of the thing, who both
ought to know, and had no reason to tell a lie; I
mean the nephew of John Pici, count of Mirandola,
who, in that conflict of the council of Pisa and Late-
ran, treating of the question, whether councils or
Popes can err, and, among other things, speaking of
Leo, says as follows: I remember a Pope believed
and adored, who himself not believing a God, went
beyond the utmost pitch of Atheism: which not only
his vile actions, such as buying the Popedom, and
being guilty of all manner of wickedness, but his
very words, confirmed the truth of. For it was
affirmed, that he confessed to some of his domestic,
even while he sat in the Papal chair, that he dis-
believed the existence of God: which words of his
you may read in the book de fide & ordine credendi,
theore. 4. pag. 259, 260. It will, perhaps, not be
unacceptable to find here more at large, John Francis
Pici's account. Treating also the question, whether
councils or Popes may err, which, from his own no-
tion, may be easily decided, since he pre-supposes
that they may swerve from the holy scriptures, he
tells us that several councils have actually erred, fe-
veral Popes fallen into Heresy: it often happening,
that he who was looked on as supreme head of the
church, either did not rightfully preside, or was not
capable of so doing: for, says he, I. History informs
us, that a woman was made Pope; and I remember,
that in our age a learned man, approved in his
morals, and dignified with honours in his order,
pronounced, though not publicly, that he who was
reckoned Pope, was not such, because he had exer-
cised the Pope's office before he was elected by two
parts in three of the cardinals, against the laws of the
church, which decree, that such a man, not only is
not Pope, but is even absolutely unqualified, and in-
capacitated for the office, as being under an ana-
thema. II. We remember also another chosen and
adored as Pope, who yet, in the opinion of many
great men, neither was, nor could be so, because he
did not believe a God, and was arrived at the highest
degree of Infidelity, which he testified by his most
wicked actions, having bought the Popedom and
exercised in it all manner of iniquity, and even
confirmed it by his most detestable sayings; for it was
affirmed, that he confessed to some of his dome-
stics, that at the very time he possessed the ponti-
fical see, he did not believe a God. III. We have
heard of another, who declared to one of his friends,
when alive, that he did not believe the immortality
of the soul; but being dead, he appeared to him, as
he was awake, and declared, that he experienced an
immortality, being condemned to eternal fire by the
just judgment of God (39). Mr Du Plessis thought
that the first of these three things related to Julius II,
and the second to Leo X. Coiffeteau (40) only an-
swered, that Du Plessis entering into the conscience of
all mankind, had made this application without proof
or judgment; but Gretser answered better: he shewed
that none of these three things concerned Leo X.
Since John Francis Pici's book was printed in the
pontificate of Julius II (41). Mr Rivet acquiesced in
this censure: these are his words. As to the appli-
cation made by our author to Julius II, and Leo X,
of what he said of some Popes, that many great
men did not look upon them as such, for the reasons
he gives, it matters not at bottom, to whom the
packet is addressed, provided it is certain, that it
is to the Popes, of one of which he says, that it was
maintained, he believed no God, that he was at the
utmost degree of Infidelity, and even declared, that
he did not believe a God. If you will exempt Leo X
(of whom possibly he might not have spoke, because
he dedicated his books to Julius, unless he enlarged
them afterwards, as is usually done) yet it cannot
be denied as to Alexander VI. There was in him,

neither truth, nor faith, nor reli-
gion.

g H

(38) Heidegger.
ubi supra, pag.
205.

(39) Du Plessis
Mornai, Mystère
d'Iniquité, pag.
590.

(40) Réponse au
Mystère d'In-
iquité, pag. 1233.

(41) Intolerabili
porro & plane
diabolica calum-
nia est, cum
scribit Plessius,
ea quæ Theore-
mate quarto
Joannis Francis-
ci continetur, de
quodam Pontifice,
qui domesticis
confessus fuerit,
nullum se Deum
aliquando, etiam
cum cathedram
Pontificatus tene-
ret, credidisse, ad
Leonem X. perti-
nere; nam
Joannes Francis-
cus Picius edidit
Commentarum
de Fide & Ordine
credendi ante
Leonis Pontificatus
et inscriptum
enim Julio II.
Quomodo igitur
relacione illa seu
historie seu
fidei Leonem
X. denotare po-
tuit? Gretser, in
Examine Mystere
Plessii, pag. 573.

* Hist. of Italy,
book i.

(d) In the beginning of December 1521.

so much to heart, that having received the news of the misfortunes of the French, he died, it is said, of mere joy (d) [K]. Not but there are writers who affirm he was poisoned. He did not always behave in a manner agreeable to the emperor Maximilian [L]. The fordid traffic to which he reduced the distribution of indulgences [M], gave birth to Luther's Reformation, as every body knows. Some say, he spoke honourably of this reformer in the beginning [N]. I do not find, that Guicciardin

(42) Rivet, Remarques sur la Réponse au Mythe d'Iniquité, Part. II, pag. 646.

(43) See the remark [O].

(44) In the remarks [P] and [Q].

(45) Du Pleiss, Mythe d'Iniquité, pag. 590.

(46) John Crespin, Etat de l'Eglise, ad ann. 1521, pag. m. 516.

(47) Sacra sub extrema si forte requiritur hora Cur Leo non poterat fumere? vendiderat.

— If you ask, why Leo, at the hour of death, could not receive the sacraments? He had sold them.

(48) See Paulus Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 209.

(49) Proluf. Academic. II, lib. II, pag. m. 247, & seq.

(50) Homodey, translation of Guicciardin, lib. xiv, cap. xiv, fol. 143, ad ann. 1521.

(51) Mori di morte inspettata. — He died unexpectedly. Guicci. lib. xiv, fol. m. 415, verso.

(52) Ricevutone incredibile piacere; sopra preso la notte medesima di picciola febbre, e fattosi il giorno seguente portare a Roma, 1521. Id. ibid.

gion. This is what Mr Rivet says (42). Note, that Simony, or the purchasing the Popedom, is not imputable to Leo X, if we believe Guicciardin (43).

If Mr Heidegger, who had so good a memory, had remembered this, he would not have believed, that John Francis Picus was a witness of the impieties of Leo X. His mistake may and ought to serve for a lesson to many others. Let us conclude, that the duty of a good judge permits not to give sentence against this Pope, while we have no stronger depositions. We shall see in the other remarks (44), whether his apologists reason right.

[K] Having received the news of the misfortunes of the French, he died, it is said, of mere joy. Having rekindled the war between the emperor Charles and the king of France, in order to drive the French out of Italy, the news was brought him, at one of his country seats, called Maligno, of the taking of Milan, and Parma from them, which gave him such an excess of joy, that he was seized with a slight fever that very night, of which he died a few days after (45). These are Mr Du Pleiss's words. All Historians agree, that Leo X received this good news with a wonderful satisfaction, but I do not find many who say, that this pleasure caused his death; and though they should affirm it, I should not believe it; for they who die of joy, die suddenly, oppressed, according to all appearance, by too great an effusion of blood into the ventricles of the heart. If the first impressions of a violent joy be withstood, as was done by the Pope, a man is better afterwards, instead of being seized with a dangerous fever when other reasons do not occasion it. John Crespin's account seems much more probable, who supposes that Leo the tenth's death was sudden, but not of that sudden kind which is occasioned by an excess of joy. Hearing that the French were beaten at Milan by the emperor's forces, and driven out of Italy, which indeed was not done without his help: as he was drinking and making merry, and wonderfully rejoiced at the news, it is said that he suddenly gave up the Ghost, he who believed neither a heaven nor hell after this life (46). Sannazar's distich (47), alleged by this author, favours the supposition of sudden death; but yet it is certain, that the distemper Leo died of, lasted some days (48). Famién Strada has given two relations of this Pope's death (49), one in Livy's stile, the other after the way of Tacitus. They are fine and well wrought.

I must here observe a blunder of Guicciardin's translator. 'News came, says he, that Pope Leo died, the first day of December, a sudden death. For having received in his Villa of Magliano, where he often went to divert himself, the news of the taking of Milan, he fell into such an excessive joy, that that very night he was seized with a slight fever; and being carried to Rome the day after, though the Physicians at first made light of his distemper, he died within a few days, not without suspicion of being poisoned (as was said) by Barnabas Malepina, his chamberlain, who was appointed to give him his drink (50).' What an absurdity is it to say almost in the same period, that a man died a sudden death, and that he died of a small fever, slighted at first by the Physicians. Guicciardin was not capable of such a blunder, he did not say this death was sudden (51), nor has he connected the Pope's great joy with the fever (52), as the cause with its effect. This connexion is more than a poetical licence of the translator. Note, by the way, what close regard it is to be had to the words of the original, when we would faithfully translate.

[L] He did not always behave in a manner agreeable to the emperor Maximilian. He had conceived good hopes of Leo X, but when he was informed of this Pope's correspondence with the French, he said, 'If this Pope had not deceived me, he would have been

the only Pope, whose honesty I should have had reason to commend (53).'

[M] The fordid traffic to which he reduced the distribution of indulgences. They made of it a kind of monopoly, and indulgences were let out to farm; the commissioners appointed for the collection of the sums, bought their commissions of the Pope, after which they stuck at no kind of exaction, and observed decorum so little, that the powers for releasing souls out of Purgatory were played for in the taverns, as we are assured by Guicciardin, 'Haveva sparso per tutto il mondo, senza distinzione di tempi e di luoghi, indulgentie amplissime, non solo per poter giovare a quelli, che ancora sono nella vita presente, ma con facoltà di potere oltre questo liberare l'anime de' defunti dalle pene del Purgatorio: le quali, perche era notorio che si concedevano solamente per eborquere danari da gli huomini; & essendo essercitate imprudentemente da Commissarii deputati a questa elatione, la più parte de' quali comperava dalla Corte la facoltà di essercitare; haveva concitato in molti luoghi indignatione, e scandalo assai, e specialmente nella Germania, dove a molti de' ministri era veduto vendere per poco prezzo, o giocarsi su le taverne la facoltà del liberare l'anime de' morti dal Purgatorio (54). — He has dispersed all over the world, without any regard to time or place, indulgences, not only for this life, but to deliver the souls of the dead from the pains of Purgatory: which as it was notorious they were only granted to pick peoples pockets, and were levied by commissioners, who for the most part were appointed by the court of Rome, occasioned in several places, great indignation and scandal, especially in Germany, where they sold them for a trifle, and the power of delivering a soul from Purgatory was played for at hazard in taverns.' The discontent of the people grew greater, when it was known to what use these sums were designed: almost all the money that was raised by them in Germany, being converted to the use of the Pope's sister.

[N] Some say he spoke honourably of this great reformer in the beginning. This particular had hardly been known, if Colomies had not mentioned it: Mr de Seckendorf (55) learnt it from him, being told by a councillor of Spire, that it was to be found in Colomies's *Capsula*, the passage is this. 'Mr Vossius having told me that he remembered, he had read in Bandi's Tragical Histories, an elogy given to Luther by Pope Leo X; I went immediately into his library, where turning over the histories of this author, see what I found in the preface to the twenty fifth novel of the third part. Nel principio che la Setta Luterana comincio a germogliare, essendo diribrigata molti Gentilhuomini, ne l'ora del mezzogiorno, in casa del nostro virtuoso Signor L. Scipione Attellano, e di varie cose ragionandosi, furono alcuni che non poco biasimarono Leone X Pontefice, che ne i principii non si mettesse remedio, a l'ora che Frate Silvestro Prierio, Maestro del sacro Palazzo, gli mostrò alcuni puncti d'heresia che Fra Martino Lutero haveva sparso per l'opera, la quale de le Indulgentie haveva intitolata; percioche imprudentemente rispose, che Fra Martino haveva un bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie Fratesche. — When the Luteran sect began to appear, several gentlemen being in the house of our worthy Scipione Attellano, and discoursing about divers things, some of them very much blamed Pope Leo X, for not having taken timely care, when Silvester Prierio, master of the sacred palace, showed him some heretical doctrines which Frier Martin Luther had vented in his book concerning Indulgences; but indifferently answered that Frier Martin had a fine genius, and that these surmises were monkish jealousies. Words which Sleidan would not have failed placing in the front of his history, if he had known them (56).'

(53) Nisi me hic quoque Papa fecisset, ille unicuique esset cojus bonam fidem laudare possem. See Seckendorf, Hist. Lutherae. lib. I, pag. 43, col. 1. See also Heidegger, Hist. Papatus, pag. 201.

(54) Guicciardin, lib. XIII, fol. 190, verso. See Frapaulo, lib. I.

(55) Histor. Lutherae. lib. I, pag. 40, col. 2. littera b.

(56) Colomies, Recueil de Particulaires, pag. m. 161.

[O] I

ciardin abuses this Pope so much as Mr Varillas insinuates [O]; but Paul Jovius's apology to me seems very weak [P]: It has given room to question, whether he ought

[O] I do not find that Guicciardin abuses this Pope so much as Mr Varillas insinuates. This author wrote a great many books against the house of Austria, which would have been printed perhaps, if Mr Colbert had not represented, after the Pyrenean treaty, that it would look ill to disoblige the Spaniards by allowing the impression of so many injurious volumes. We have seen the plan of this great work, in a book called *La Politique de la Maison d'Autriche* (The Politics of the house of Austria). The author sets out by a kind of apology for the liberty he has taken in touching the vices of princes. 'I only, says he (57), imitate the style, and copy the reverse of the picture, which Livy has given of Hannibal †, and I have even come so much short of others in this point, that no person of what condition soever is found so ill treated in my book, as Pope Leo X is, in the elogy which Guicciardin has made of him †, and for which he has no where been censured as I can find †.' It is manifest this elogy of Leo X is here alledged as a very satirical piece, otherwise it would be absurd to propose this instance. Now it is certain there is nothing in Guicciardin that answers this idea. The twelfth book cited by Mr Varillas is less to his purpose than the two following. It is in the thirteenth book, that we find the description of the trade of indulgences, as we have seen above, and in the fourteenth the censure of this Pope's extravagant expences, and his inclination to the diversions of Music and Farces (58). 'Egli per natura dedito all'ocio, & a' piaceri, & hora per la troppa licenza, e grandezza a-

lieno sopra modo dalle facende, immerfo ad udire tutto'l giorno mufiche, facette, e buffoni*, inclinato ancora troppo più che l'honesta a piaceri; pareva dovessse essere totalmente alieno dalle guerre. — He naturally loved an idle and voluptuous life, and now being exalted to that high station he was averse to affairs, the whole day being spent in bearing Music, jests, and buffonries, and being excessively given to his pleasures; it was thought he would be intirely averse to the war.' Lastly, we find in the same book a general judgment on the conduct of this Pope; it is mixed with praises and censures, and can neither be reckoned satirical, nor even disrespectful. These are Guicciardin's words.

'Principe nel quale erano degne di laude, e di vizio perio molte cose, e che ingannò assai l'espertazione, che quando fu assunto al Ponteficato s'havva di lui; conciosia ch' eriuscisse di maggior prudenza, ma di molto minore bonta di quello ch'era giudicato da tutti (59). — A prince who was endowed with several good and bad qualities, and deceived the expectation they had of him when he was raised to the Papal chair; for he shewed more wisdom, but less goodness, than was expected by the world.' When this historian speaks of Leo the tenth's election, he does it in a manner very much to the glory of this Pope. He owns he was free from Simony, and all other evil suspicions, and that the reputation of the elected cardinal, stood very well in point of morality.

'Senti di questa elezione quasi tutta la Christianità, grandissimo piacere, persuadendosi universalmente gli huomini che haveffe a essere rarissimo Pontefice, per la chiara memoria del valore paterno, e per la fama che risonava per tutto della sua liberalità, e benignità, stimato casto e di perfetti costumi, e sperandosi che a essendio del padre haveffe a essere amatore de letterati, e di tutti gli ingegni illustri: laquale aspettazione accresceva l'essere stata fatta l'elezione candidamente senza simonia, o sospetto di macula alcuna (60). — This election was exceedingly acceptable to almost all Christendom, every body being persuaded that he would prove an excellent Pope, from the illustrious memory of his father's valour, from the general opinion the world had of his liberality, humanity, chastity, and good morals, and hoping that in imitation of his father he would be a lover of the literati, and of all illustrious men: which expectation was increased, because his election was made without Simony, or suspicion of any unfair dealing.'

See in the remark [R] the contradiction Varillas falls into.

[P] Paul Jovius's apology to me seems trifling. The methods this author takes to justify Leo X, may be reduced to four. I. He pretends that it was not from

a vicious nature, but a gentle, easy, and magnificent temper, that this Pope, beset by a voluptuous crew, engaged a little too far in pleasures (61). This is but a poor excuse: there are a great many prostitutes, who may be justified upon this principle. They are not naturally wicked, brutal, and cruel; a great flock of good-nature, easy temper, and complaisance, makes them fall into the snare of the tempter. I shall by the way, observe, that Politian has said wonders of Leo X. This he did in a letter he wrote to Pope Innocent VIII, when this youth was made a cardinal.

'Ita natus & factus, ita altus atque educatus, ita denique eruditus atque institutus hic est, ut nemini secundus ingenio, nec aequalibus industria, nec preceptoribus literatura, neque gravitate senibus concesserit. Nativa in eo probitas, & genuina: diligentia quoque parentis ita impense culta est, ut ex illius ore non modo non verbum dictu foedius, sed ne levius quidem unquam aut etiam licentius exciderit. Non actio, non gestus, non incessus in illo notatus: non aliud postremo quod in deteriore partem conspiceretur. Sic in viridi aetate cana maturitas, ut qui loquentem senes audiant, proaviam in eo, nos paternam certe indolem agnoscamus. Cultum pietatis & religionis pene etiam cum lacte nutricis exfuxit: etiam tum ab incunabilis sacra meditatus officia (62). — This young man is so formed by nature and education, that, being inferior to none in genius, he neither yields to his equals in industry, nor his teachers in learning, nor old men in gravity. He is naturally honest; and so strictly educated, that he never lets fall an immodest, or even a light, expression. He does not distinguish himself by his action, gesture, or gait, or by any thing else that may give an ill impression of him. Though a young man, his judgment is so mature, that even the old respect him as a father. He sucked in piety and religion even with his nurse's milk, preparing himself for the sacred office even from his cradle.' Paul Jovius says in the second place, that if Leo be compared with his predecessors, he will be found very chaste. 'Si aliqua ex parte eo nomine fuggillari inclyta virtus potuit, Leo certe cum superiorum principum fama comparatus aestimatione rectissima continentiae laudem feret (63).'

This excuse is no better than the former. III. He says, that this Pope having had a good reputation as to continence, cautioned himself afterwards against the attacks of impurity, by renouncing high food, and by regular fastings. 'Constat tamen eum, quod a prima adolescentia opinio omnium summam continentiae laudem fuisse adeptus, non importuna quadam pudicitiae castitatisque praesidia quaesivisse: quando nequaquam pristinae vitae more tam multis delicatissime obsoniis uteretur: Itemque animo verè pudico die Mercurij carnes non edere, die autem Veneris nihil gustare praeter legumen & olera, ac die demum Saturni cena penitus abstinere, incorrupta lege instituisse (64). — It is certain however, that, having gained a great reputation for continency from his youth, he sought out no very troublesome guardians of his chastity and modesty; since he did not eat so luxuriously as formerly: for on Wednesdays he eat no flesh, and on Fridays only pulse and herbs, and on Saturdays fasted all day; and this way of life he religiously observed.' This is better than all the rest.

IV. Lastly, he says, that we ought to make a great difference betwixt the vices, which belong to a sovereign as such, and those which belong to him as a man. And he alledges the emperor Trajan so beloved of the Roman people, that it was the height of their wishes that the succeeding emperors should reign as well as he; and yet no one was ignorant of the sodomy and drunkenness of Trajan. His meaning is, that Leo the tenth's vices were not repugnant to the qualities of a good sovereign, but to those of a good Christian only, and therefore the irregularities of his youth ought to be pardoned, since they did not hinder his being a good prince. 'Alia principis, alia hominis esse vitia quis nescit? hæc uni privata conditione quum noceant, etiam aliquibus fortasse profunt; illa verò ab dira potestate, & luctum & calamitatem universis mortalibus apportant: idque verissimum esse constat praclaro quondam populi Romani testimonio, qui neminem sibi principem Trajano meliorem exoptavit,

(61) See, above, the words of Paul Jovius, remark [D], citate (12).

(62) Politian, Epist. v, lib. viii.

(63) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 192.

(64) Ibid. pag. 193.

(57) Varillas, Politique de la Maison d'Autriche, chap. lxxiv. Hague Edit. 1683.

† Is his twenty first book.

† In the twelfth book of his History.

† Not even by Deny.

(58) Lib. xiv, fol. 398, verso.

* Otali forte di buffonerie, e di facette piacevoli a Papa Leone; si può raccogliere dal l. 4. della vita di lui del Giovio: dove pare, che furono recitate Comedie si fece professione di fare impazzire huomini e altre piacevolezze tali: onde il Tarascone si persuade d'essere gran Musico, il Baraballo fu laureato Poeta, e mandato fu l'Elefante, & i Parafiti furono sommarie favoriti.

... What sort of buffonries he pleased Pope Leo, may be inferred from the fourth book of his Life, written by Paul Jovius: who says, that they acted plays and farces, made it their business to humour some jest, conceived men, to the highest extravagance; and did such other pieces of pleastering; whereupon Tarascone fancied himself a great Musician, Baraballo was made Poet Laureat, and rode upon the elephant, and the Parafites were in very great favour.

(59) Guicciard. lib. fol. 416.

(60) Idem, lib. xi, fol. 326.

ought to be reckoned an Atheist (e). The other apologists have not succeeded much better [2]. There is no need of confuting Mr Varillas, but by himself. I shall produce

(e) Voëtius, *Disputat. Tom. I*, pag. 204.

(65) Jovius, *ibid.* pag. 192, 193.

exoptavit, quamquam eum illicitæ libidinis ac ebrietas censura notasset. Sed demus aliquid humanitati Leonis, uti in summa licentia fervidæ ætatis ac prosperæ valetudinis æstium ægerrimè sustinenti, postquam in magnis salutaribusque virtutibus optimi atque benefici cognomentum facile meruerit (65).

Generally speaking, this author's maxim is true: it is very possible for a prince to be an honest man, and at the same time but a poor king; that is, a king, who cannot maintain the vigour of the laws, nor remedy the disorders of the state. On the other hand, it is very possible for a prince to be an ill observer of those rules of morality, which prescribe the duties of private persons, and yet be a good king, that is, a king, who maintains order in his state, and wisely distributes punishments and rewards, without being burdensome to his people, by imposts, and pecuniary edicts. But it is very rare, that a voluptuous and prodigal prince, such as Leo X was, is a good prince; to supply his expences, he must be burdensome to his subjects, and commonly he distributes his favours, according to the humour of the ministers of his pleasures, and consequently to unworthy persons, whose evil administration he has not time to punish, being too much taken up with his pleasures, to allow the functions of royalty that application which they demand. It were easy to shew, that Leo the tenth's subjects were sufficiently loaded. Besides, it is not considered, that Leo's principal dignity was of a sacred and ecclesiastical nature. So that to know whether he discharged his duty, the great question is not, whether he has done what his temporal dignity demanded, it being impossible to justify him, without shewing, that he diligently acquitted the duties of his other dignity, that is, observed the precepts of the Gospel, and omitted nothing to recommend the practice of them to others. This was his principal function, and here his apologist is forced to forsake him. In his vero quæ rem divinam respicerent nequaquam secunda fama prægraviari est visus. Nam indulgentias vetera Pontificum ad parandam pecuniam instrumenta adeo plene atque affluenter provinciis dedit, ut fidem sacrosanctæ potestatis elevare videretur (66).

As to divine matters, his character has suffered not a little: for he was so lavish of indulgences (those old instruments, by which the Popes get money) that he seems to have lessened the credit of the holy authority.

(66) Jovius, *ibid.* pag. 193.

A REFLEXION on the uniting the spiritual and temporal authority in one person.

I must upon this occasion say, that this blending the temporal with the ecclesiastical authority, in the same person, is generally the ruin of the evangelical spirit. This combination had place among the Pagans, and was not unserviceable to the temporal good of religion.

(67) Virgil, *Æn.* lib. iii, ver. 80.

Rex Anius Rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos (67).

Anius, at once a king, and Phœbus' priest.

It has remarkably served the same ends in Christianity; but has produced an extreme corruption of manners. The ecclesiastical character ought to prevail, and be predominant, since the other dignity is only an accessory; and yet it is almost always swallowed up by it's colleague. The joining these two together, is like the joining a dead carcase to a living body; a fatal conjunction, where the dead communicates it's stench to the living body, and receives no vital influence from it.

(68) Id. lib. viii, ver. 485.

Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis. Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora, (Tormenti genus) & sanie, tabeque fluentes Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat (68).

The living to the dead the tyrant join'd,
With hands to hands, and mouth to mouth, confin'd,
There, smear'd with blood and putrid gore, to lie,
And in the dire embrace to groan, and die.

The world, the flesh, the weak part draws after it the resolutions, and the conclusions, just as in a syllogism,

the weakest of the premises, is the rule of the consequence (69). The author of the *Critique Générale* (70) mentioning the distinction, between a Pope speaking *ex Cathedra*, and the same Pope, speaking in another manner, has related the witty saying of a peasant in the electorate of Cologne. I had a long time thought, that this witty saying was preserved only by tradition, but I was mistaken. It has been printed in grave books for above an age. Duaren has inserted it in one of his books (71), and copied it from Fulgofius (72). Here is the whole story; it is true, that an elector of Cologne is not expressly named in it. There goes a pleasant story of a German husbandman, who being at work in his field, saw his bishop pass by, attended by a train more becoming a prince, than one who calls himself the successor or deputy of an apostle; being highly scandalized at it, he could not forbear laughing, and laughed so loud, that the reverend gentleman would needs know the reason of it. The husbandman answered in his natural way, that is, as a true and plain person; I laugh when I think of St Peter and St Paul, and see you in such an equipage. How is that, said the bishop? Do you ask how, says the clown? Why they were ill advised to walk alone on foot throughout the world, when they were the heads of the Christian church, and lieutenants of Jesus Christ, the king of kings, and thou, who art only our bishop, go so well mounted, and have such warlike attendance, that thou seemest more a prince, than a pastor of the church. To this his reverence replied, but my friend, thou dost not consider, that I am both a count and a baron, as well as thy bishop. At which the rustic laughed more than before; and the bishop asking him the reason of it, he answered, yea Sir, when the count and baron, which you say you are, shall be in hell, where will the bishop be? This confounded the right reverend, who proceeded on his journey without answering a word (73).

[2] The other apologists have not succeeded much better.] Let us say a word or two concerning the manner that some authors have endeavoured to justify Leo X, with respect to irreligion. Coëffeteau (74) only alleges these words of Onuphrius Panvinus (75): Erat rerum divinarum diligens observator. - - He was a diligent observer of religious ceremonies. Rivetus (76) replies, that there are many profane, and many Atheists, who exactly observe the ceremonies to conceal their impiety under these leaves, who amongst friends say, they do it *ad morem, non ad rem, legibus justis, non diis gratæ*. Sannazar, who makes him die without receiving the sacraments, because he had sold them before, does not represent him such as Onuphrius would paint him to us. Note that Sannazar does not pretend, that Leo refused the sacraments. If this Pope did not communicate, &c. on his death-bed, it was because of his delirium. James Gretser, besides Panvinus's words, alleges Leo the tenth's Bull, against Luther. Bulla qua Leo Lutheri errores damnat immanem hanc Pseudologiam perspicuè redarguit (77). - - The Bull, by which Leo condemns the errors of Luther, plainly confutes this falsehood. This is pitiful; for though this Pope had had no religion, he would however have followed the ordinary stile in his Bull, and have expressed great zeal against a Heretic, who disputed with him an authority on which all his temporal happiness depended. Palavicino (78), endeavouring to answer the reproach which Father Paul cast upon this Pope, of having no regard for religion (79), does three things; he alleges 1. Politian's testimony (80); 2. The facts of the Pope. 3. The majesty and good grace, with which Leo celebrated mass. The second of these three, if the fact be really so, as Paul Jovius has related it (81), is in my opinion, a good proof of religion, when we well consider the circumstances. The first signifies nothing, for children to a certain age, are firmly persuaded of the truth of the lessons of their catechist, and raise no objections against them. If they become irreligious, it is when they are their own masters, and corrupt themselves by a bad conversation, or by a wrong way of philosophy. The last thing is rather a talent of the body

(69) Conclusio sequitur debilitatem partem. - - The conclusion follows the weak part.

(70) Tom. II, pag. 161, of the third edition.

(71) De sacris Eccles. Minister. lib. i, cap. iv.

(72) Bapt. Fulgof. facier. & didior. memorab. lib. vi, cap. ii, fol. m. 198.

(73) Peter Val, a doctor of the Sorbonne, in his treatise of Simony, chap. vi.

(74) Réponse au Mythe d'Iniquité, pag. 1227.

(75) In Vita Leonis X.

(76) Remarques sur la Réponse au Mythe d'Iniquité, Part. II, pag. 640.

(77) In Examine Myt. Plesican, pag. 563.

(78) Istor. del Concilio, lib. i, cap. ii.

(79) Sarebbe stato un perfetto Pontefice, se con queste avesse cognizione delle cose della religione, & alquanto più d'inclinazione alla pietà dell'una & dell'altra delle quali non mostrava aver gran cura. Fra Paolo, Istor. del Concilio, lib. i, pag. 5.

(80) See the remark (P), citat. (62).

(81) See the remark (P), citat. (64).

produce a long passage from his Anecdotes, containing in short a pretty just character of Leo X [R], from whence I desire my reader to fill up what is wanting in the body of this article. Mr Varillas is also mistaken with respect to Paul Jovius [S].

Men of letters, of what religion or nation soever are bound to praise and bless the memory of this Pope, for the care he took to recover the manuscripts of the ancients; he spared neither pains nor cost in searching for them, and procuring very good editions. I have two anecdote letters, which are a proof of this [T], and which the reader

body, than a sign of the persuasion of the soul. Let us see what Paul Jovius says. 'Sacra confectis, singulaque ceremoniarum obivit munia singulari cum majestate, ut non falso nemo superiorum Pontificum eo augustius & decentius sacrificasse diceretur (82). He performed religious ceremonies with a majesty and decency beyond any of the Popes his predecessors.' It is very probable, that Onuphrius means no more when he says, he was rerum divinarum diligens observator, & sacris ceremoniis deditus. A proof of religion absolutely equivocal.

[R] I shall produce a long passage from his Anecdotes, containing in short a pretty just character of Leo X. We find it in the preface of this book, and is as follows.

'Guicciardin . . . represents* this Pope as an accomplished model of modern policy, and the greatest statesman of his age. He sets him above king Ferdinand the Catholic, and makes him triumph in his youth over all the artifices of this old usurper. It is to him he attributes the secret of getting all his designs seconded by the councils of Spain, whether they would or no. After having established these wonderful principles, there are no shining virtues, but what heighten the picture of Leo X. He forms at twelve years of age, when he was made cardinal, those vast projects, which he executed afterwards, when he was exalted to the chair of St Peter. He negotiates with the states of Venice to save the ruins of his house, which had not power to withstand the fortune of our Charles VIII. He changed not his resolution upon seeing his brother lost in the passing of a river. He had no other thoughts than the educating the only son which his brother had left in the cradle; upon which he returns to Rome, where his intrigues recommended him to the favour of Pope Julius II, and occasioned his being chosen legate in the army designed to drive the French out of Italy. He is taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, but makes his escape in an unlucky conjuncture for him, Julius happening just then to die: he enters into the conclave, where he takes such advantage of the caprice of the young cardinals, who were obstinately bent on making a Pope of their own age, that he procured their votes in favour of himself. He joins with the Spaniards, and manages their friendship, as long as it is useful towards re-establishing his family in the principal functions of the magistracy of Florence; but as soon as fortune turns her back upon them, and he finds they are not inclined to see him usurp the duchy of Urbino, and invest his nephew with it, he treats with the French upon that condition; he draws up the famous Concordat, in which he baffles the stratagems and long experience of the chancellor Du Prat; he caresses Francis I, as long as that king is in a condition of doing him service; but no sooner obtains of him all he desired, but he quits him to reconcile himself with Charles V. He projects a new league with him, to re-establish the Sforza's in the duchy of Milan. He succeeds in it better than he expected, and conceives a joy on the news of his success, which occasioned his death.'

[S] Mr Varillas is mistaken with respect to Paul Jovius. This historian, if we believe Mr Varillas, has not so much written a history as an invective with respect to Leo X. Paul Jovius, says he (83),

represents him as a violent man, who would carry every thing by main force. He ascribes to him the same warlike humour, as his predecessor Julius II had; he makes him even before his exaltation conceive a disdainful contempt for the rest of the sacred college, founded on an imaginary precedency of the house of Medici, before all the rest in Italy; he makes him carry on this contempt to all splendid actions, and even the most august ceremonies. He takes him to be the source and ground of the obstinate war against the duke of Urbino, and the other quarrels which happened through the whole course of his Pontificate. In a word, he will have vanity, but an haughty and shocking vanity to have been his strongest passion. If you desire to know how Paul Jovius came to penetrate so far into the soul of Pope Leo, as to be able to pronounce such a decisive judgment, he answers himself before-hand, that he had been the creature of this Pope; that it was he who made him quit the profession of Physic, and the pretensions to a chair at Padua, to engage in the ecclesiastical state; who made him bishop of Como, and chose him for his confident and assistant, in the councils wherein the most important and secret resolutions were taken; who engaged him to write the history of his time, who employed his good offices for him in France and Spain, that authentic pieces might be communicated to him, such as were necessary for the perfecting his work; and who discovered himself to him without reserve, in frequent and familiar conversations. Our preceding remarks shew, that Paul Jovius does not conceal the faults of Leo X, but it is certain, that the vice of which Mr Varillas speaks, is that of all others, which Paul Jovius the least imputes to him; it is even true that he attributes to him the contrary virtue. 'Pontifex, says he (84), cujus mite ingenium facilemque naturam in specimen ceterarum virtutum omnes illo tempore laudabant, clementius agendum sibi . . . exstimavit. — The Pope, whose mild temper and easy disposition were at that time universally extolled, as a specimen of his other virtues, thought he ought to shew a little clemency.' This author was never bishop of Como; nor did he obtain the episcopal dignity from Leo X, but Clement VII (85). This intimate confidence, and admission into the most secret councils, seems to me a romantic fiction, I have not found the least footsteps of it in the writings of Paul Jovius.

[T] I have two anecdote letters which are a proof of it. They were communicated to me by Mr de Seidel privy-counsellor to his Prussian majesty; he has inherited a very fine library of his father's, and hath considerably increased it, especially with scarce books, and manuscripts; he brought several from Greece, in a journey he made thither, and he very well deserves such a treasure; for he is a learned man, and takes a great deal of pleasure in favouring the sciences. The copy he was pleased to send me of these two letters of Leo X, is faithful and exact, he has the originals by him, written in Sadoleto's own hand. I shall observe, by the by, that they have printed in the *Nova literaria Maris Baltici & Septentrionis* (86), for the month of November 1699, a letter written on a subject of the same nature to his Danish majesty, by Leo X, the eighth of November 1517. Mine are as follow:

(82) Paul. Jov. in Vita Leonis X, lib. iv, pag. m. 212.

* In the twelve first articles of his history.

(84) Jovius, Historiar. lib. xi, sub fin. See him also, in Vita Leonis X, pag. m. 109.

(85) The thirteenth of January, 1523, according to Ughelli, Ital. Sacra, Tom. VII, pag. 744.

(86) Pag. 348.

reader will undoubtedly be glad to find here.

Venerabili Patri Alberto Moguntin. & Magde-
burgen. Archi-Episcopo, Administratori Hal-
berstaten. Principi Electori ac Germaniæ Pri-
mati.

To our Venerable Brother, Albert, archbishop of
Mentz and Magdeburg, administrator of Halber-
stadt, electoral prince and primate of Germany.

L E O PP. X.

L E O PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem & Apostolicam be-
nedictionem. Mittimus dilectum filium Joannem
Heytmers de Zonvelben, Clericum Leodiensis
dioceseos, nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis Commis-
sarium ad inclitas Nationes, Germaniæ, Daniæ,
Suetiæ, Norvegiæ & Gothiæ, pro inquirendis dig-
nis & antiquis libris qui temporum injuria peri-
erunt, in qua re nec sumptui nec impensæ alicui parci-
mus, solum ut sicut usque a nostri Pontificatus
initio proposuimus, quod altissimo tantum sit
honor & gloria viros quovis virtutum genere in-
signitos præsertim literatos, quantum cum Deo
possumus, foveamus, extollamus ac juvemus. Ac-
cepimus autem penes Fraternitatem Tuam, seu
in locis sub illius ditione positos esse ex dictis
antiquis libris, præsertim Romanarum Historia-
rum non paucos qui nobis cordi non parum fo-
rent. Quare cum in animo nobis sit tales li-
bros, quotquot ad manus venire poterint in lucem
redire curare pro communi omnium literatorum u-
tilitate, Fraternitatem Tuam ea demum qua pos-
sumus affectione hortamur, monemus & enixi-
us in Domino obtestamur, ut si rem gratam un-
quam facere animo proponit, vel eorundem libro-
rum omnium exempla fideliter, & accurate scrip-
ta, vel quod magis exoptamus ipsosmet libros an-
tiquos ad nos transmittere quanto citius curet,
illos statim receptura, cum exscripti hic fuerint
juxta obligationem per Camera nostram apostoli-
cam factam, seu quam dictus Joannes Commissa-
rius noster præsentium lator ad id mandatum
sufficiens habens nomine dictæ Cameræ denuo
duxerit faciendam. Et quia dictus Joannes promi-
sit nobis se brevi daturum trigessimum tertium
librum Titi Livij de bello Macedonico, illi com-
misimus ut eum ad manus Tuæ Fraternitatis da-
ret, ut ipse quam primum posset per fidum nun-
tium ad nos, vel dilecto Filio Philippo Beroaldo
Bibliothecario Palatii nostri Apostolici mittat.
Quoniam vero eidem Joanni certam summam
pecuniarum hic in urbe enumerari fecimus pro
expensis factis & faciendis, & certam quantitatem
debemus, volumus, & ita Fraternitati Tuæ com-
mittimus & mandamus, ut postquam acceperit
prædictum librum Titi Livii ipsi Joanni solvat
seu solvi faciat centum quadraginta septem du-
catos auri de Camera ex pecuniis indulgentiarum
concessarum per illius Provincias in favorem
fabricæ Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum de urbe;
quam quidem pecuniarum summam in computis
Tuæ Fraternitatis cum Camera Apostolica admit-
temus, prout in præsentia per præsentem admit-
timus & admitti mandamus. Juvet præterea
eundem Joannem salvis conductibus litteris &
auxiliis, & illi per Provincias suas assistat pro
libris extrahendis, & pro illo etiam fide jubeat,
si opus est, pro dictis libris intra certum tempus
a nobis restituendis & ad sua loca remittendis.
Quod si Fraternitas Tua fecerit, ut omnino no-
bis persuademus, & ingens nomen apud Viros li-
teratos consequetur, & nobis rem gratissimam fa-
ciet. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annu-
lo Piscatoris die XXVI. Novembris MDXVII.
Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

JA. SADOLETUS.

This is the first of the two letters; here is
the second. There is something in it, which
may incline us to think, that the entire history
of Livy was then in being. Mr de Seidel has

Venerable Brother, Health and Apostolical Be-
diction. We send our beloved son John Heytmers de
Zonvelben, ecclesiastic of the diocese of Liege, com-
missary of the Apostolical see to the illustrious na-
tions of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway,
and Gothland, to search for valuable and ancient
books that have been lost through the injury of time,
in which business we spare no expence, only that, as
we have determined from the very beginning of
our Pontificate, solely with a design to promote the
honour and glory of the most high, we may, by
God's assistance, cherish, promote, and serve famous
men of all sorts, especially the learned. We have
been informed, that, of the said ancient books, there
are not a few, in possession of your fraternity, or in
the places subject to your jurisdiction, especially relat-
ing to the Roman history. Wherefore, intending
to procure the publication of as many such books as
can come to our hands, for the common good of all
learned men, we affectionately exhort your fraternity
and earnestly entreat you in the Lord, that, if you
ever propose to do a grateful action, you would trans-
mit to us as soon as possible fair and correct copies
of all those books, or which we rather wish, the
books themselves, which shall be returned you, as soon
as transcribed here, according to an obligation drawn
up by our apostolical chamber, or such as the said
John our commissary, bearer of these presents, suf-
ficiently instructed for that purpose, shall think fit
to be drawn up in the name of the said chamber.
And because the said John has promised in a short
time to give us the thirty third book of Livy, of the
Macedonian war, we have commissioned him to
give it into your fraternity's hands, to be transmi-
ted as soon as possible by a faithful messenger, to
us, or our beloved son Philip Beroaldus, Librarian
of our apostolical palace. But because we have or-
dered to be paid, here in the city, to the said John,
a certain sum of money, and are indebted to him
a certain quantity, for expences already made and to
be made, we will, and authorize, and command
your fraternity, after he shall have received the said
book of Livy, to pay, or cause to be paid, to the
said John 147 gold ducats of the chamber, out of
the money arising from indulgences granted through-
those provinces, in favour of the royal Fabric of
the prince of the Apostles; which sum we will al-
low in the accounts between your fraternity and the
apostolical chamber, as at present we do allow,
and order to be allowed. You are likewise to assist
the said John with safe Conducts, Letters, and
Aids, and help him, thro' your provinces, in com-
ing at books, and, if occasion be, engage your word
for him, that the books shall be returned within a
certain time, and sent back to their places. Which
if your fraternity shall do, as we are fully per-
suaded you will, you will acquire a great reputa-
tion among learned men, and perform a thing the
most acceptable to us. Given at Rome, at St Pe-
ter's under the fisherman's ring, November 26.
1517. in the fifth year of our Pontificate.

JA SADOLET.

been credibly informed, that it is believed that
a canon of Magdeburg, who was one of the mi-
nisters of state to the marquis Joachim-Frederic,
administrator of that archbishopric, took an ad-
vantage

vantage of the confusion things were then in, and carried away several manuscripts out of the public library, particularly this Livy, to enrich his own. His heirs preserved it, but they con-

cealed the manuscripts, because they had come unjustly by them. At last the whole was destroyed, when the town was pillaged in the year 1631.

Venerabili Fratri nostro Alberto Archiepiscopo Moguntin. Principi Electori & Germaniæ Primati.

To our venerable brother, Albert, archbishop of Mentz, electoral prince and primate of Germany.

LEO PP. X.

LEO PP. X.

(87) Mr de Seidel believes, that this letter was writ to the canon of Magdebourg, since Albert of Brandenburg was archbishop of Mentz, as well as of Magdebourg.

Dilecti filii (87) Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Rettulit nobis dilectus filius Joannes Heytmers de Zonvelben Clericus Leodiensis diocesanos quem nuper pro inquirendis antiquis libris, qui desiderantur ad inclitas nationes Germaniæ, Dania, Norvegiæ, Suetiæ & Gothiæ nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis specialem nuncium & Commissarium destinavimus, a quodam, quem ipse ad id substituerat, accepisse literas, quibus ei significat in vestra Bibliotheca reperisse Codicem antiquum, in quo omnes Decades Titi Livii sunt descriptæ, impetrasseque a vobis illas posse exscribere cum originale codicem habere fas non fuerit. Laudamus profecto vestram humanitatem & erga sedem Apostolicam obedientiam. Verum, dilecti filii, fuit nobis ab ipso usque Pontificatus nostri initio animus, Viros quovis virtutis genere exornatos, præsertim literatos, quantum cum DEO possumus, extollere ac juvare. Ea de causa hujuscemodi antiquos & desideratos libros, quotquot recipere possumus, prius per viros doctissimos, quorum copia DEI munere in nostra hodie est curia, corrigi facimus, deinde nostra impensa ad communem eruditorum utilitatem diligentissime imprimi curamus. Sed si ipsos originales libros non habeamus, nostra intentio non plane adimpletur, quia hi libri, visis tantum exemplis, correcti in lucem exire non possunt. Mandavimus in Camera nostra Apostolica sufficientem præstare cautionem de restituendis hujuscemodi libris integris & illæsis eorum Dominis, quam primum hic erunt exscripti, & dictus Joannes, quem iterum ad præmissa Commissarium deputavimus, habet ad eandem Cameram sufficientem mandatum, illam obligandi ad restitutionem prædictam, modo & forma quibus ei videbitur. Tantum ad commodum & utilitatem Virorum eruditorum tendimus; De quo etiam dilecti filii Abbas & Conventus Monasterii Corvienfis Ordinis S. Benedicti Paderbornensis diocesanos nostri locupletissimi possunt esse testes, ex quorum Bibliotheca cum primi quinque libri Historiæ Augustæ Cornelii Taciti qui desiderabantur, furto subtrahi fuissent illique per multas manus ad nostras tandem pervenissent, nos recognitos prius eosdem quinque libros & correctos a Viris prædictis literatis in nostra Curia existentibus, cum aliis Cornelii, prædicti operibus, quæ extabant nostro sumptu imprimi fecimus. Deinde vero, re comperta, unum ex voluminibus dicti Cornelii, ut præmittitur, correctum & impressum, ac etiam non inordinate ligatum, ad dictos Abbatem & Conventum Monasterii Corvienfis remisimus, quod in eorum Bibliotheca loco subtrahendi reponere possent. Et ut cognoscerent ex ea subtractione potius eis commodum quam incommodum ortum, misimus eisdem pro Ecclesia Monasterii eorum indulgentiam perpetuam. Quocirca vos & vestrum quemlibet, ea demum qua possumus affectione in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ monemus, hortamur, & sincera in Domino caritate requirimus, ut si nobis rem gratam facere unquam animo proponitis, eundem Joannem in dictam vestram Bibliothecam intromittatis, & exinde tam dictum codicem Livii, quam alios qui ei videbuntur per eum ad nos transmitti permittatis, illos

Beloved Sons, Health and Apostolical Benediction. Our beloved son John Heytmers de Zonvelben, ecclesiastic of the diocese of Liege, whom we lately appointed special Nuncio and commissary from us, and the Apostolical See, to the illustrious nations of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Gotland, to search after ancient books, has informed us, that he has received letters from a certain person, whom he had appointed for that purpose, in which he acquaints him, that he had found in your library an ancient book, containing all the decads of Livy, and that he had obtained your leave to transcribe them, not being allowed to have the original book. We commend your humanity and obedience to the Apostolical See. But, my beloved sons we resolved, from the very beginning of our Pontificate, to promote and favour, with God's assistance, all men of merit, especially learned men. With this view, we procure these kind of ancient books, so much wanted, as many as can come to our hands, to be first corrected by very learned men, of which there are many, by the gift of God, in our court, and afterwards to be carefully printed, for the common benefit of the learned. But if we have not the original books themselves, our design will not be fully answered, because these books, the copies only being seen, cannot be published correctly. We have given orders in our apostolical chamber, that a sufficient security be given, that these books shall be restored whole and uninjured to their owners, as soon as they shall have been here transcribed, and the said John, whom we have again deputed as commissary for the aforesaid purpose, has a sufficient order to the same chamber, to oblige it to the said restitution, in the manner and form he shall think proper. We only aim at the benefit and advantage of learned men. Of which our beloved sons, the abbot and convent of the monastery of Corvey, of the order of St Benedict of Paderborn, are ample witnesses; out of whose library when the five first books of the Roman history of Cornelius Tacitus were stolen, and through many hands came at last into ours, we took care to have them first corrected by the aforesaid learned men residing in our court, and were at the expence of printing them with the rest of the works, which were extant, of the said Tacitus. Afterwards, the matter being discovered, we sent one of the volumes of the said Tacitus, corrected, printed, and handsomely bound, to the said abbot and monastery of Corvey, to be placed in their library in the room of that, which was stolen. And that they might know, that this theft turned rather to their advantage than disadvantage, we sent them a perpetual indulgence for the church of their monastery. Wherefore, with the utmost affection, and in virtue of holy obedience, we exhort, and, with sincere charity in the lord, require you and any of you, that if you ever intend to oblige us, ye would admit the said John into your library, and suffer him to transmit to us from thence both the said book of Livy and others, that he shall think proper, which shall be

illos eosdem omnino recepturi, reportaturique a Nobis præmia non vulgaria. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die prima Decembris MDXVII. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

J. A. SADOLETUS.

be returned you by us, together with no common reward. Given at Rome, at St Peter's under the Fisherman's ring, Dec. 1. 1517. in the fifth year of our pontificate.

J. A. SADOLET.

LEON (ALOISIO, or LEWIS DE) in Latin *Legionensis*, professor of Divinity in the university of Salamanca (a), son of a gentleman of Castile, entered into the order of the Hermits of St Augustin the twenty ninth of January 1549 (b). He understood Greek and Hebrew well, and discovered a great deal of dexterity in explaining the holy scripture in his lectures. In 1588, he drew up the rules of the barefooted monks, who began to appear under the name of Recollects. He was made vicar-general of the order, and provincial, the twenty second of August 1591, and he died the day after [A] at Madrid, at sixty four years of age. He had been engaged in a very troublesome affair before the tribunal of the Inquisition; but he had extricated himself with honour, after some years captivity (c) [B]. I doubt not that this occasioned an explanation that he made of a verse in Solomon's Song [C]. His Latin Commentary on that book of Scripture was printed at Salamanca in the year 1589 (d). He published it likewise in Spanish (e). There are some other books of his writing [D], which have made it wished that the rest of his works were published (f).

(a) Schottus, Biblioth. Hispan. pag. 266.

(b) Philippus Elsius, Encomiast. Augustin. pag. 443.

(c) Taken from Elsius, ubi supra.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Schottus, ubi supra, pag. 265.

(f) Ibid.

[A] He was made vicar-general and provincial the twenty second of August 1591, and died the next day. For all this they say, that he governed the province well, and that he gave rise to a more strict observance. Vicarii Generalis officio, & Provincialis munere 1591. 22. Augusti honoratus, Provinciam laudabiliter rexit, arctiorisque vitæ initium fuit Obiit altero ab electionis die in Provinciam (1). Who could imagine an author should be capable of such a narrative as this? I know not whether Elsius did not mean, that Lewis de Leon had been some years vicar general of the order, but that he was made provincial only the day before his death. By this we should easily understand, that this Augustin discharged his office very worthily: but Elsius's narrative will however be very defective.

(1) Philippus Elsius, in Encomiast. Augustin. pag. 443.

[B] He had been engaged in a very troublesome affair before the tribunal of the Inquisition; but he had extricated himself with honour after some years captivity. Let us quote an apologist of the archbishop of Sebaite (2). 'Father Aloysio de Leon an Augustin, . . . Professor of Scripture at Salamanca, was near five years a prisoner in the Inquisition of Spain. But having at last found an equitable judge, he came out innocent, was re-established in his office, and entered Salamanca in triumph, which covered his unjust censurers with confusion.' Elsius makes the imprisonment of this Salamanca professor last but two years, and he takes a pleasure in describing the circumstances of his glorious re-establishment. 'Edidit Herolum specimen præclaræ patientiæ, & magni animi indicium. Cum enim aliquorum invidia S. Inquisitioni delatus simulque contritus, ejusdem carceribus biennium integrum detentus fuisset, tandem infracli animi vir, publico triumpho, cum palma & laurea educitur, ac veste candida, in signum innocentie, amictus, præcone præeunte, deducitur, priusque honoribus, titulis, ac Professioni Theologicæ restituitur. Primam vero lectionem, post tenebras, ut auspicabatur, pleno concessu ad novitatem evocato, inquit: Dicebamus besterna die (3). — He gave an heroic instance of patience and fortitude. For being accused by some envious persons to be Inquisition, and imprisoned two whole years, this brave man was at last brought out in public triumph, dressed in white, as a symbol of his innocence, and preceded by an herald's and was restored to his former honours, titles, and Divinity-professorship. The first lecture he read after his imprisonment, before a numerous audience, he began thus: We said yesterday.'

(2) Sincere Advice to the Catholics of the United Provinces, on the decree of the Inquisition of Rome, against the archbishop of Sebaite, pag. 27, 23, Edit. 1704.

(3) Elsius, ubi supra.

[C] His imprisonment occasioned an explanation which he made of a verse of Solomon's Song. I speak of the

verse, in which the spouse says: The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the walls took away my veil from me. Aloysio de Leon pretends, that the spouse speaks thus in the person of good Christians persecuted by the ecclesiastical powers (4). He observes, that these kind of vexations are proofs the most hard and difficult to be supported, and which God often reserves for the most perfect. 'It may perhaps be thought strange, adds he, that the spouse always meets with the watchmen in her way, from whom she not only receives no assistance, but even receives injuries and bad treatment. Is it to be believed, that those who are appointed to preside over the faithful, and who govern the churches of God (for they are to watch the city and its walls) instead of affording them the least succour, often afflict and persecute good men, and those who love God most? Yet this is what all that follows in this divine song obliges me to believe. And certainly, as there is nothing better, nothing more useful to salvation, than good bishops, who faithfully discharge the duties of their sacred ministry, on the contrary unjust and wicked pastors, who make the authority, they have received, to govern the people of God, subservient to their designs and interests, are hurtful to all in general, and principally to the best men, and the greatest saints, and are good for nothing but to ruin them. There has always been a great number of these pastors in the church, and it is to them, that this verse of the Canticles, which I explain, is to be applied.' He says several other things in the same strain, and more home: they may be seen in French in the work that I quote (5). I would fain know whether any commentator, well satisfied with his bishop, and who has always been of the strongest party, has explained in the same manner these words of Solomon's Song. Persecution sharpens the wit, and makes a man wonderfully clear-sighted in discovering the mystic sense.

* Cant. v. 7.

(4) See the Sincere Advice, &c. pag. 6, 7.

[D] There are some other books of his writing. A treatise printed at Salamanca in 1590, de utriusque agni typici ac veri immolationis legitimo tempore, in which he maintains, that the Pascal lamb was slain the fourteenth of the moon (6), and that JESUS CHRIST, who conformed himself to this practice in celebrating the Passover, was crucified on that same day (7). A treatise de probæ matrisfamilias officio; another de divinis Nominibus (8). A commentary on the twenty sixth Psalm (9). Note, that this writer is one of those, who apply to Mahomet the predictions of the Apostles concerning Antichrist (10).

(5) Ib. pag. 8, 9.

(6) That is to say, the evening of the day which we should call the thirteenth.

(7) Schottus, Biblioth. Hispan. pag. 266.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Printed at Salamanca, in 1580, and 1585. Elsius, Encomiast. Aug. pag. 443.

(10) See Heidegger, in Myller. Bibliograph. pag. 709, Tom. I.

LEON (PETER CIEÇA DE), author of a History of Peru. He left Spain, his native country, at thirteen years of age, to go into America, where he sojourned seventeen years (a). He saw there so many curious things, that he resolved to give an account of them. I shall mention some of them if it be only to shew the injustice of those who pretend that the Christians first taught the people of America to be

(a) Cieça in Proemio.

be wicked [A]. This cannot be said without a great many restrictions, possibly in some countries of this new world, the stupid and simple inhabitants might honestly and frugally have followed the laws of nature, and learned deceitfulness and debauchery by their commerce with the Christians; but, generally speaking, the corruption of the Americans was so brutal and enormous, that we cannot sufficiently detest it. The design

[A] I shall mention some of them, if it be only to show the injustice of those who pretend, that it was the Christians first taught the people of America to be wicked.]

He says, that the grandes in the valley of Nora, endeavoured to take from their enemies, as many women as they could, that they lay with them, and fed the children they had by them, very delicately to the age of twelve or thirteen; when finding them well fat, they killed and eat them. This among them, was reckoned a most delicious banquet (1). Let us hear what treatment the inhabitants of this country gave their prisoners of war. They reduced them to the condition of slaves, they obliged them to marry, and eat all the children that were the fruit of those marriages, and afterwards eat the slaves themselves, when they were no longer able to beget children. 'Mangiavano i figliuoli de quei schiavi, & poi mangiavano gli stessi schiavi quando erano tanto vecchi, che non potevano generare (2)'. The first time the Spaniards entered this valley, a lord called Nabonuco, came in a friendly manner to see them, attended by some women; night being come, two of them did lie at full length, on a carpet, another laid herself across to serve as a pillow to Nabonuco, while the two others served him for a mattress. He laid himself along upon the two first, and taking another woman by the hand, who was very handsome, was asked what he designed to do with her; he answered, he designed to eat her, and also to feed upon a child which she had (3). The author observes, that in the country of Quito, the women tilled the ground, and took care of the harvests; and that the men employ themselves only in spinning, and house-keeping (4). They worshipped the sun in Peru, and one of the principal acts of adoration, was the offering him six teeth, which the votaries had pulled out of their heads (5). There were several provinces in that country, where the ideas of honour, as to chastity, were wholly extinguished. One of their diversions was singing the brave actions of their ancestors; this they did dancing to the sound of a drum, and drinking till they were drunk; then they took out the woman they liked best, and enjoyed her, and no body found any fault with it. 'Alcuni pigliano quelle donne, che gli piacciono, & condotte in certe case, Siuocano con quelle la lor lussuria, non se lo recando a biasmo, perche non conoscono qual dona si conserva con la verecondia, ne tengono conto di honore, e manco riguardano al mondo (6)'. Thus we see what we are to think of those who speak so much of the good morals of the Americans, and pretend, we have taught these nations to be wicked, since we carried the light of the gospel among them. The most debauched Spaniards had never seen in their own country, what they saw in the new-found-world, women running after them in furious transports of lust, and provided with some uncommon philtres to heighten the pleasure. Here follows some Italian lines upon it. 'Nell' Istorie del l'Indie narra Amerigo Vespucci d'esser capitato ad una certa costa, dove trovò femmine di tanta libidine, che come spiritate correvano dietro a' suoi marinari, perche usassero con esso loro; e dice, che havevano un fugo di non so che erba, col quale bagnando le parti genitali de gli huomini, non solo cagionano, ut citius, ac sapius erigerent, sed etiam quod eorum penis in insolitam excreveret magnitudinem: il che piaceva loro mirabilmente (7)'.

Here is something still worse. The author informs us, that in the province of Carthagen, the men look on the bride's having her maidenhead, as a fault, and refuse to consummate the marriage, till she has been well cleansed of that spot, by her relations, or by her friends. In some places they leave this good office to be performed by the mother; but for fear of deceit they will have the operation done in the presence of witnesses. 'In certe parti della provincia Cartagena, quando maritano le figliuole, & che la sposa deve andare a marito, la madre della giovane in presenza d'alcuni suoi parenti le toglie la virginità con le dita, si che riputavano, che fusse piu honore mandarla a marito così corrotta, che con la sua virginità'.

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'Ma tra questi costumi usati da loro, era miglior di alcune terre, che i parenti, o amici toglievano la virginità alla giovane & con questa conditione, la maritavano, & il marito la riceveva (8)'. Diodorus Siculus, ascribes the same humour to the isles which we at present call Majorca and Minorca (9). He affirms, that in the celebration of their marriages, the husband did not enjoy the bride till all the relations and friends, who were invited to the wedding-feast, had enjoyed her round, each according to the rank which his age gave him (10). It is very strange, that a nation so lascivious (11), should be so little jealous; for, generally speaking, the more people are inclined to this brutal pleasure, the more subject they are to jealousy. Witness the Turks and Moors. The latter are the farthest in the world from this humour of the Americans of the province of Carthagen: there is nothing they insist on in the bride so much, as that she should have her maidenhead, and if they are not well convinced the day after the marriage, that they have had it, they send her back to her parents. See Maro's Voyages, published by Mr de St Olon, in the year 1694. There lives a people on the borders of the Red-Sea, who are jealous, to a degree of frenzy, they are not satisfied, unless precautions are taken, from the very cradle, which oblige the bridegroom to begin by a kind of chirurgical operation. Cardinal Bembo's Latin will let us into the meaning of this. 'Aliis post hos relictis populis, mare rubrum ingressi, complures nigrorum item & bonorum hominum, ac bello sortium civitates adierunt: qui natis statim feminis naturam consuunt, quoad urinae exitus ne impediatur: easque cum adoleverint, sic confutas in matrimonium collocant; ut sponsi prima cura sit conglutinatas atque coalitas puellae oras ferro interscindere: tanto in honore apud homines barbaros est non ambigua ducendis uxoris virginitas (12)'. — Passing by other people after these, and entering the Red-Sea, they touched at several towns inhabited by blacks, but men of virtue, and brave in war: who, immediately upon the birth of a female child, sow up nature, so as only to leave a passage for the urine, and, when they grow up, give them thus sowed up in marriage; so that the husband's first care is to cut a passage with an instrument; so careful are these Barbarians to be sure of a maiden-head, when they marry. How can man be subject to follies so diametrically opposite!

Let us return to the Americans. The most part remove the grievances themselves, which their married state might be subject to, if the women contracted came maids to the nuptial bed. One would think they were resolved to trust only to themselves; they leave nothing to do for the relations or friends, I mean, that before ever they speak of contract, or marriage, they do all they have a mind to with those they afterwards marry. 'Si maritavano alla foggia de i lor vicini: & odo dire, che alcuni, o la maggior parte, prima che si maritino, togliono la virginità a quelle, che s'haviano da maritare, mescolandosi con quelle lussuriosamente (13)'. For the rest, this contempt of virginity is not the general taste of the Americans. There are several American nations, where the husbands require it; but the greatest part do not find it, they come too late. 'La maggior parte de gli Indiani si maritano con le figliuole & sorelle d'altri, senza ordine, & pochi trovano le mogli vergini (14)'. What the author observes concerning Sodomy, is horrid; it was openly and publicly practised. 'Non essant c'havessino molte donne bellissime, tuttavia (si come da loro intesi) usavano pubblicamente il tristo vicio della sodomia, & anco se ne vantavano alla scoperta (15)'. There were even temples in which it was committed as a pious action (16); an abomination unknown to the Paganism of antient Greece, though the prostitution of women, in honour of the gods, was very common. I have not observed in Ciega, that there were any nations in this new world, who did not cover their secret parts; but other relations positively affirm it, and with this very strange circumstance, that those of the female sex, who had their virginity,

(1) Pedro Ciega, Historia del Peru, cap. xii, fol. m. 23.

(2) Id. ibid. fol. 23, verso.

(3) Id. ibid. fol. 24.

(4) Id. ibid. cap. xi, fol. 78, verso.

(5) Id. cap. xlix, fol. 99.

(6) Id. cap. xli, fol. 82, verso.

(7) Alessandro Tassoni, Pensieri diversi, lib. v, cap. xxx, pag. 145.

(8) Ciega, esp. xlix, fol. 99.

(9) Their old name was Baleares.

(10) Diod. Sicul. lib. v, cap. xviii.

(11) The Balesares were so lascivious, that when a Corair brought women to be sold, they gave three or four males for one female. Id. ibid. cap. xviii.

(12) Petrus Bembo, Histor. Venet. lib. vi, fol. m. 130.

(13) Ciega, esp. xlix, fol. 99.

(14) Idem cap. xix, fol. 37, verso.

(15) Idem, cap. xlix, fol. 99, verso. See also, cap. lli, fol. 104, verso.

(16) Idem, cap. lxi, fol. 128.

(b) See Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Script. Hispan. Tom. II, pag. 246.

sign of our Cieça was to give an entire History of Peru, in four parts (b): we do not know whether he finished them all; but his first part was printed at Seville in the year 1553. He began it in 1541, and finished it in 1550 (c). He was at Lima, the capital of the kingdom of Peru, when he put the last hand to it, and was then thirty two years of age (d). This book has been translated into Italian [B].

(c) Cieça, in fine operis.

(d) Id. ibid.

virginity, concealed nothing, and only those who had lost it, covered their natural parts. Hispanis ultiora tentantibus, terra est objecta, continens paulo minus decies centena millia passuum ab Hispaniola protensa meridiem versus: atque in ea populi sub rege bellum cum finitimis gerente occurrerunt: quorum fœminæ virum passæ nullam partem corporis, præter muliebria, virgines ne illam quidem tegebant (17). This is very surprizing, since the laws of decency are every where more relax for married women than for maids.

(17) Petrus Bembo, ubi supra, fol. 127, verso.

Note, that this astonishing corruption, which had extinguished the laws of humanity and modesty, and had sunk these people into the cruelty and ferocity of cannibals, and the most monstrous lasciviousness, had not extinguished or stifled the ideas of religion. They believed the immortality of the soul: this appears by all their funeral ceremonies (18); they adored the sun (19), they believed a creator of all things (20), they offered sacrifices to their idols, and even spared not human blood in them (21). The author observes over and over, that they worship the devil; but it is under the notion of a being extremely powerful, and which, notwithstanding it's wickedness, has something in him of the divine nature. Indiani di Tacunga credono

(18) See Cieça, cap. viii, xlviii, li, & passim alibi.

(19) Idem, cap. xliii, fol. 87, & cap. xlix, fol. 99.

(20) Id. ibid.

(21) Idem, cap. iv, fol. 8, verso & cap. xx, fol. 39.

'l'immortalità dell' anima, quanto intendiamo da loro, & che vi sia un Creatore del tutto. Considerando la grandezza del cielo, il muovimento del Sole, della Luna, & altre cose maravigliose, quantunque acciati dal Demonio, credono, che esso habbia possanza

'in ogni cosa. Benche alcuni conoscendo le sue malvagità, & come è sempre bugiardo, & gli tratta pessimamente, lo hanno in odio, ma pur l'ubbidiscono per timore, credendo, che sia in lui qualche Deità (22). — The Indians of Tacunga believe the immortality of the soul, as they say, and that there is a creator of all things. Considering the vast extent of the heavens, the motion of the sun, the moon, and other wonderful things, though blinded by the devil, they believe that he has power over all things. Some, knowing his malice, and that he is always a liar, and uses them very ill, hate him; yet they obey him out of fear, believing that there is something divine in him.' He observes, that the priests live a holy life, and are much respected (23).

(23) Ibid.

[B] That book has been translated into Italian.] Nicolas Antonio (24) observes, that the Spanish edition of Seville, 1553, in folio, was followed the year after, by that of Antwerp, in 8vo, and by an Italian edition of Rome, 1555, in 8vo. He says, that Augustin de Gravaliz is the author of the Italian version. I add, that it was printed at Venice, *appresso Giordano Ziletti*, in the year 1557, in 8vo. This is the edition I make use of, and the name of the Printer in the title, but I find in the last page these words: *In Vinegia, appresso Domenico de Farri, ad instantia di M. Andrea Arriagabene MDLVI*. Nicolas Antonio did not know of this edition. He says, that the other parts of this history were impatiently expected (25).

(24) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Script. Hispan. Tom. II, pag. 146.

(25) Reliquæ valde ab omnibus desiderantur.

LEON (GONSALEZ PONTIUS DE), was of Seville, and lived in the XVIth century. He resided at Rome in the year 1585, and he there published, in Latin, an Answer (a) to a book, which a Protestant of Germany, named Leonhart Waramund, had written in defence of Gebhard Truchses, archbishop of Cologne. He was very warm in this Answer; and, according to the practice of those times, he loaded his adversary with a thousand reproaches. He does not write ill in Latin for a Spaniard [A], and he does not want learning.

(a) It is in 4to, of 185 pages.

[A] He does not write ill in Latin for a Spaniard.] I will not say, that there have been no Spaniards, who have understood the Latin language very well, and have used it with purity and eloquence. My meaning is that generally the writers of that nation, are too negligent in that respect. Some of them even disregard the Orthography, and put an *o* for a *u*, and a *y* for an *i*. I will give this instance of it. *Cujus (rei maritimæ) itidem polytica tractatio, dispositio,*

& Archigubernatio à Magno Philippo nostro Hispaniarum Rege . . . tuæ solitudinî & prudentiæ emandata prædicatur. These are the words of the licentiate John Baptist de Urquiola & Elorriaga, in a preliminary epistle of a treatise of Civil-law (1), printed in 1663 (2), and dedicated to Don Francisco Ramo del Manzano. He always writes *Lyffius* instead of *Lipfius*.

(1) *Intitul. d. Repetio solennis ad l. un. c. C. de Clauis. tit. xii, lib. xi.*

(2) At Salamanca, in 4to.

LEONCLAVIUS (JOHN), one of the most learned men of the XVIth century, was born in Westphalia, and was a gentleman. He spent near two years in the court of the duke of Savoy, on the affairs of Lazarus Suendius (a); and afterwards travelled a long time in the retinue of baron Zerotini. He lived also some years in the family of the baron of Kiltz. He had been invited to Heidelberg, to be Greek professor; but the death of prince Casimir made that invitation useless (b). During his stay in Turkey, he collected excellent materials for the composing the Ottoman History; and it is to him the public is indebted for the best accounts we have of that empire [A]. He had joined to the knowledge of the learned tongues, that of the Civil-Law,

(a) He was general of an army.

(b) Taken from Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Philosophorum*, pag. 379.

[A] The public is indebted to him for the best accounts we have of that empire.] Hear what Thuanus says of him. 'Juris Romani Græcique consularissimo, & rerum Turcicarum apprime perito; ad quas linguæ ipsius Byzantina peregrinatione comparatam cognitionem, exactam ultimæ historiæ Græcæ lectionem, & acce ac admirandum judicium attulit, quod non solum scriptis ab ipso dum viveret publicatis, sed in iis quæ post mortem ejus edita sunt, elucet. — He was thoroughly conversant in the Greek and Roman law, and particularly skilled in Turkish affairs, to the study of which he brought a knowledge of the language itself, acquired by travelling to Constantinople, an exact reading of the later Greek history, and an acute and wonderful judgment; which appears not only from the works he published in his life-time, but

also from those, which came out after his death.' (1) Thuan. lib. civ, sub fin. Leonclavius has written *Historiæ Muslimanica Turcarum libri 18. Apologetici duo, prior est libitarius index Osmanidarum; posterior continet epistolas de rebus Turcicis. Commonefactio de præsentis rerum Turcicarum statu. Annales Turcici cum supplemento, & pandectis historiæ Turcicæ* (1). This last work is properly the translation of a book written by the Turks themselves; I mean of the Turkish annals, which Jerome Beck of Leopoldsdorf, Ferdinand's ambassador, brought from Constantinople in 1551. Ferdinand caused them to be translated in High-Dutch, by John Spigelius Constantinopolis advectus, jussuque (2), and afterwards Leonclavius translated them into Latin (3).

Turcico J. Spiegel Germanicè translatos, Leonclavius Latine redditos illustravit & ad annum 1585, usque auxit. Melch. Adam, in *Vitis Philosopher*, pag. 380.

[B] The

LEONCLAVIUS. LEONICENUS.

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Law, which enabled him to make a good translation of the Basilica [B]. His other versions were esteemed, though the critics have pretended to find many faults in them [C]. What he published of Cæsius, put James de Billy into a violent passion [D]. He died at Vienna in Austria in June 1593 (e), near sixty years of age (d).

(c) Melch. Adam, ubi supra.

(d) Thuan. Hist. lib. civ. sub fin.

[B] The translation of the Basilica. I mean, the Abridgment of the Basilica: his work is intitled *Verfio & Notæ ad Synopfin LX Librorum Basilicon, seu universi Juris Romani, & ad Novellas Imperatorum*. It was printed at Basil in the year 1575. Melchior Adam speaks thus of it (4): 'Evulgavit cum annotationibus sexaginta librorum Basilicon, hoc est universi Juris Romani auctoritate principum Romanorum in Græcam linguam traducti, Eclogam five Synopfin ante non vifam: item Novellarum antea non publicatarum librum. — He published sixty books of Basilica, that is of the Universal Roman Law, translated, by the authority of the Roman emperors, into the Greek tongue; an Eclogue or Synopsis never before seen; likewise a book of Novels, never before published.' Mr Teiffier mult give me leave to observe, that his manner of reciting this title may mislead the reader: he has also published, says he (5), *sexaginta libros Basilicon, Eclogam five Synopfin, & Novellas cum notis*. This is mentioning the Basilica intire, and another book intitled *Ecloga five Synopfi*, and consequently multiplying and confounding things. The same author citing Melchior Adam affirms, that Scaliger calls Leonclavius the most learned Civilian of his time, and sets him even above the great Cujas (6). Melchior Adam says not a word of it; and besides what we find in Leonclavius's praise in the Scaligerana, is much beneath this character. 'Leonclavius has written the best concerning the Turks.' 'Leonclavius fuit Westphalus, sed non Barbarus: bene intellexit Græca Constantinopolitana & inferioris ævi, omnia ejus scripta sunt utilia, imo necessaria; Græca Jurisconsultorum intellexit, sed Autorum Veterum non intellexit, ut H. Stephanus, qui paulo ante obitum multa scripta ad me contra Leonclavii editionem Xenophontis. Leonclavius habebat sortita secum. Clusius eum novit familiarissimè (7). — Leonclavius was a Westphalian, but not a Barbarian: he well understood the Constantinopolitan Greek affairs, and those of the last age of the empire: all his works are useful, may necessary: he understood the Greek of the Civilians, but not of the ancient authors, as Henry Stephens, did, who, a little before his death, wrote many things to me against Leonclavius's edition of Xenophon. Leonclavius kept mistresses: Clusius was intimately acquainted with him.' Thus speaks the second Scaligerana. Leonclavius's learning is more praised in it than his morals, since we are here informed that he kept whores in his house. Let us not forget his *Jus Græce Romanum* (8) in two volumes in folio, and his *Notæ ad Paratitla seu ad Collectionem Constitutionum Ecclesiasticarum* (9) in 8vo.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Teiffier, ibid. pag. 186.

(6) Scaligerana, pag. m. 139.

(8) Græcæ & Latine, à Francofort. 1596.

(9) At Francofort, 1593.

[C] His other versions were esteemed, though the critics have pretended to find many faults in him. He is one of the most famous translators, that Germany ever produced. He has given us the version of Xenophon revised three times; that of Zosimus; of the annals of Constantine Manasses; of those of

Michael Glycas; of the abridgment of the sixty books of the Basilica; and of several works of St Gregory Nazianzen. . . . He has also corrected Xenander's Versions of Dion, and that of Chalcondyle by Clausar (10). Mr Baillet, whose words these are, informs us also of the praises, Mr Huet has given this translator. They are very advantageous. The notes on Zosimus, in the English edition, 1679, do not give such an idea of this man's capacity. Henry Stephens severely criticized his translation of Xenophon (11), and was exposed to several complaints of his adversary. Mr Baillet mentions this dispute; this is what Melchior Adam tells us of it. 'Litem tamen ei super ista interpretatione Xenophontea criticam Grammaticam movit Henricus Stephanus, vir & typographus clarissimus, edita in ejus errores insignes inquisitione autochædialica. Contra & Leonclavius de Stephano conqueritur, quod contra fidem datam, & præter officium viri boni, Xenophontis à se Latine reddit exemplar, sicut & Zosimi, detinuerit. Et falsus est Stephanus, accepisse se illam Xenophontis versionem ab annis circiter octodecim: post tredecim aut quatuordecim amplius annis sibi non vifam, sed cum è sua suppellectile libraria, militum incuria, belli tempore aliquot libri incendio perissent: nescivisse, an in illorum numero Xenophon à Leonclavio versus, fuisset. Tandem, interfecto anni amplius spacio, librum inventum fuisse, situ oblitum, & membrana crassa, qua involutus erat, conservatum (12). — Henry Stephens, a famous Printer, had a critical and grammatical controversy with him about that interpretation of Xenophon, and published extemporaneous remarks on his egregious blunders. Leonclavius, on the other side, complains of Stephens, for detaining, contrary to promise, and the duty of a good man, the copy of his translation of Xenophon, as also of Zosimus. And Stephens owned, that he had received that translation eighteen years before; that after thirteen, or fourteen, years at most, he saw it no more; but that, during the war, when some books of his library, through the carelessness of the soldiers, were burnt, Leonclavius's translation of Xenophon, for ought he knew, might be among them. That at last, in a little more than a year's time, the book was found, mouldy, and preserved by the thick parchment, in which it was bound.'

(10) Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, Tom. IV, n. 833, pag. 457.

(11) See, above, citation (7), the passage of the Scaligerana.

(12) Melchior Adam, ubi supra.

[D] What he published of Cæsius, put James de Billy into a violent passion. Leonclavius published four dialogues (13) of Cæsius, brother to St Gregory Nazianzen, which he had translated into Latin. It is disputed whether this work ought to be ascribed to Cæsius. Father Labbé has referred that inquiry to another time. 'Plura, says he (14), adversus Leonclavium primum eorum (dialogorum) editorem declamavit Jacobus Billius Prunæus prælatione in decimam orationem sancti Nazianzeni, quæ alias expendimus accuratius.' Lambecius (15) espouses Leonclavius, warmly against James de Billy's invectives.

(13) De Questionibus & Responsis Philoſophicis, præcipue vero Theologicis.

(14) De Scriptor. Ecclæ. Tom. I, pag. 217.

(15) Lambecius, Biblioth. Cæsar. lib. iv, pag. 31, & seq.

LEONICENUS (NICOLAS), was born at Vicenza, in Italy, in 1428. He taught Physic in the university of Ferrara for above sixty years (a). He was not only excellent in his profession; but also very well versed in the *Belles Lettres*. He was the first that translated Galen's works into Latin (b). As admirable as his learning was, his virtue was much more so. No body could be more disengaged from the pleasures of sense. Sobriety, chastity, and an aversion to avarice, were the distinguishing virtues of his life [A]; and it was to this great purity of manners, that he attributed the vigorous health he enjoyed [B] to an extreme old age; for he lived ninety six years [C]. His merit

(a) Mercklin. in Lindenio renovato, pag. 837. See also Kenig, Biblioth. pag. 468.

(b) Primum Græcæ Galeni volumina Latine interpretando Audaci periculis demonstravit. Jovius, Elog. cap. lxx.

[A] Sobriety, chastity, and an aversion to avarice, were the distinguishing virtues of his life. If he had not been of a gay humour, and smiling countenance, he might have passed for a true Stoic. He eat little, slept little, abstained from wine and women; all dishes were alike to him; he took without choice whatever food was set before him, and could hardly distinguish one piece of money from another: 'Cibi & vini maxime abstinent, fomique minimi, præsertim verò Veneris continentissimus, usque adeo mollioris vitæ voluptates abdicavit, ut pecunias, luxuriæ instrum-

menta, nec agnita quidem monetæ nota contemneret; oblatum, & nulla delectum cura cibum caperet; nec unquam de fortuna quereretur. . . . eum hercle perfectum Stoicum putasses, nisi honesto ori liberalis hilaritas affuisset (1).'

[B] It was to this great purity of manners that he attributed the vigorous health he enjoyed. This Paul Jovius tells us as from his own mouth. 'Quum ego aliquando comiter ab eo peterem, ut ingenue proferret, quonam arcano artis uteretur, ut tanto corporis atque animi vigore vitia senectutis eluderet: vividum, inquit, ingenium

(1) Jovius Elog. cap. lxx, pag. 162.

merit must needs have been illustrious, since the two Scaligers mention him with commendation [D]. I question whether we are to believe what one of them says, that Leoniceus being afflicted with the Falling-sickness in his youth, was so weary of his life, that he had like to have laid violent hands on himself [E]. This able Physician wrote several good books [F]; and was a very good Poet [G]. He died in 1524. He set up for a great critic on Pliny, which did not please his disciple Calcagninus, whose words

(2) Ibid. pag. 163.

(3) Pervenit ad nonagesimum annum integerrimis sensibus, vegetaque memoria, nec incurva quidem cervix, quam esset statura celsioris & sine scilicet venerabilis. Id. ibid.

(4) Melch. Adam, in Vitis Medicor. pag. 140, 141.

(5) Joannes Langius, Epist. Medicor. II. lib. II, pag. m. 472.

(6) Naudæus, in Pentade quest. Iatrophilolog. pag. m. 44.

(7) Scaligerana prima, pag. m. 97.

'ingenium perpetua, Jovi, vitæ innocentia, salubre verò corpus, hilari frugalitatis præsidio facile tuetur (2). — When I once courteously intreated him, ingeniously to tell me, by what secret art he preserved his health both of body and mind, and escaped the inconveniences of old age; Jovius, said he, we easily preserve the mind's health, by a perpetual innocence of life, and that of the body, by the cheerful defence of temperance.' He had been saying (3), that Leoniceus, at ninety years of age, had all his senses perfect, and a very strong memory; that he walked without a stick, and did not stoop, though very tall. Observe well, that a virtuous life has not always the effect, which Leoniceus ascribes to it. There are those, who might dispute the crown of chastity and sobriety with him, and whose conscience was as clear as his, whose days notwithstanding have been few and evil, they lived but a short while, and yet were often sick.

We will add to Paul Jovius another witness. I have read a passage in Melchior Adam, by which one might gather, that Leoniceus had told Paul Langius, his disciple, that he took the chastity of his youth to be the cause of his long life. 'Audivit in Italia (Joannes Langius). . . . Nicolaum Leoniceum, Dioscoridis illustratorem: qui annum ætatis attigit nonagesimum sextum, cum amplius sexaginta annos Ferrariæ docuisset. Hic dixit, se viridi vegetaque uti senectâ, quia castam juventutem virili ætati tradidisset: ediditque opusculum, in quo omnibus agri salutem & vitam restitui conciliarique posse docuit (4). — John Langius heard, in Italy, Nicolas Leoniceus, the interpreter of Dioscorides, who was ninety years old, having taught sixty years at Ferrara. This Physician said, that he enjoyed a strong and healthy old age, because he had lived chaste in his youth, and published a book, in which he taught, that health and life might be restored to all sorts of sick persons.' You see in this passage, that he was the author of a book wherein he maintained, that all kind of distempers were curable. Undoubtedly he excepted that of old age, at least acknowledged this disease incurable. He had the experience of it; for observe what Langius, an eye witness, says of him. 'Ferrariam igitur venimus, ubi Leoniceum, elegantioris medicinæ illustratorem, edentulum fere, & jam ex senio marasmo tabescentem, convenimus: quem senile ætatis ejus decus reveriti, perplexis de erroribus Plinii prolembatibus obtundere volebamus (5). — We arrived at Ferrara, where we met with Leoniceus, the improver of the more elegant practice of Physic, almost tottles, and wearing away with old age, whom, out of reverence for the dignity of his years, we would not disturb, by proposing difficult problems of Pliny to him.' The letter, in which Langius says this, is without date: and therefore we cannot judge by it, whether Paul Jovius is mistaken as to the vigour he ascribes to old Leoniceus.

[C] He lived ninety six years.] Naudæus is mistaken, when he makes him live above a century. I shall give his own words, because they contain some other very curious particulars. 'Hippocrates, Galenus, Avicenna, Leoniceus, cogitate vos quantum tempore, loco, vivendi ratione inter se discrepantes, hoc uno vitæ termino plane conveniunt, quem omnes ultra centesimum annum protraxere (6). — Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Leoniceus, though differing in time, place, and manner of living, yet agree in their term of life, which each protracted to above an hundred years.'

[D] The two Scaligers mention him with commendation.] See in what terms, (7) Leoniceus à patre semper imprimis commendatus, & Medicorum sui temporis facile princeps judicatus. — Leoniceus was particularly commended by Scaliger the father, and esteemed by him the greatest Physician of his time. Thus says the father: let us now hear the son. 'De eo viro non nisi honorifice prædicare debemus, vel

eo nomine quod primus Philosophiam & Medicinam ipsam cum humanioribus literis conjunxit. Primus enim ille nos docuit, homines qui sine bonis literis Medicinam tractant, esse similes iis qui in alieno foro litigant (8). — We ought never to speak of this man without respect, if it were but for this reason, that he was the first, who united Philosophy and Medicine with polite learning. For he first taught us, that men, who, without learning, apply themselves to medicine, are like those, who go to law at a strange bar.'

[E] . . . one of them says, that Leoniceus being afflicted with the Falling-sickness in his youth, was so weary of life, that he had like to have laid violent hands on himself.] Mirum præterea, continet be, 'accepi de viro. A pueritia, imò à cunabulis ipsis, ad 30 annum morbo comitali adeo tentabatur, ut cum ad se redierat, pertæsus vitæ pene sibi manus afferret. Sed post trigessimum annum plane eo malo defunctus, omnibus membrorum ac sensuum officiis integer, nulla morbi suspitione ad 94 annum pervenit. Et si bene memini, triduo antequam decederet à vita, operam dederat lectioni. — I have heard a strange particular of this man. He was so troubled from his youth, nay even from his cradle, to his thirtieth year, with the Falling-sickness, that, when he came to himself, he was so tired with life, as almost to lay violent hands on himself. But after his thirtieth year, being entirely free from that distemper, and having all his limbs and senses entire, he reached his ninety fourth year, without suspicion of any disease: and, if I remember right, he read lectures but three days before he died.' Here is a condition to be envied; not because Leoniceus lived ninety six years; that alone was a poor thing, and rather a curse than a blessing; but because he had preserved to this old age the use of his understanding, his memory and his senses, and that his last sickness was very short (9).

[F] Leoniceus wrote several good books.] The translation of several tracts of Galen, of Hippocrates's Aphorisms, and Aristotle's first book De partibus animalium. De Plinii & plurium aliorum Medicorum in medicina erroribus. De tribus doctrinis ordinatis secundum Galeni sententiam. De formativa virtute. De disparte & pluribus aliis serpentibus. Quædam de herbis & fructibus, animalibus, metallis. De morbo Gallico, sive Neapolitano. Contra suarum translationum obtrusores apologia. A book intitled Antisophista, which made Paulus Jovius say (10), that 'nemo error Sophistarum importuna garrulitate cuncta confutavit (11) (quàm Leoniceus). — No one has more eloquently and forcibly confuted the errors of the Sophists, who spoil every thing by their impertinent garrulity, than Leoniceus.' He translated into Italian, Dion's History, and Lucian's dialogues, to oblige Hercules, duke of Ferrara, who did not understand Latin (12). I forgot his treatise De vipera, against which Rhodiginus tells us, a learned man has written (13). 'Nec me fallit ex eruditioribus quemdam edito etiam libello Marsum à vipera disparasse, quo Nicolai Leonici viri undecunque scientissimi (14) placita uberius de hujus animalis natura convellat.'

[G] He was a very good Poet.] This Giraldis assures us. 'Erat & Leoniceus merito inter poetas collocandus, nam cum senex optimos versus faceret, & interdum à Græco in Latinum transferret, tum in juvenili sua ætate non modo meditato arguere, sed docile composuit, sed etiam ut sæpe mihi memorare solitus fuit, ex tempore & impræmeditata carmina cecinit (15). — Leoniceus might deservedly have been ranked among the Poets; for, both in his old age, he made excellent verses, and sometimes translated out of Greek into Latin, and also in his youth he not only composed ingeniously and learnedly, but even, as he often told me, repeated verses extempore.'

[H] He

(8) Joseph. Scaliger, Ep. xix, pag. 104.

(9) I speak thus, having a regard to the passage of Scaliger and not to that of Langius.

(10) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 162.

(11) He says also, that Imperitorum latratibus publicis summa eloquentia occurrat. Ibid.

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 163.

(13) Cælius Rhodigin. Antiq. Lect. lib. vi, cap. xvi, pag. m. 298.

(14) He calls in him nostris temporis plane optime, in book xxvi, chap. xxx.

(15) Lilius Gregor. Cynilios de Poëtis suorum Temporis Dial. II, pag. m. 564.

(c) Idem mihi
respondit Nicolaus
Leoniceus Fer-
rarius, deminuti-
us artem medi-
candi quam pro-
ficiebatur ipse non
exerceat, plus,
inquit, ago
docens omnes
medicos.
Erasm. Appo-
stol. l. b. iii, pag.
m. 165.

words I shall cite [H]. They are much to the honour of Leoniceus.

He did not apply himself to the practice of Physic; and being asked the reason, he answered, that he did more service to the public by teaching other Physicians, than if he himself made visits to the sick (c).

When I said that he was born at Vicenza, I followed the herd of writers; but I should have shewn their error. They have not understood the meaning of the epithet *Vicentinus* which he gives himself: it signifies only that he was born in the Vicentine. The place of his birth is called *Lunigo* in Italian (d) and *Leonicum* in Latin: this is the reason why he took the surname *Leoniceus*.

(d) Leonardo
Alberti, Descripti-
o di tutta Italia,
folio m. 476.

[H] He set up for a great critic on Pliny

I shall cite the words of Calpurnius.] They are found

in a letter he wrote to Erasmus, the sixth of July, 1525.

Leoniceus medicus, says he (16), jam menses ali-

quot hunc vitæ minimum absolvit, vir ad æternitatem

natus, quem ego ultimum heroum & aurei seculi

reliquias appellabam. Ex illa enim ætate quæ mag-

num habuit ingeniorum proventum, & Hermolaos,

Politianus, Pico, Merula, Domitius nobis tulit, hic

ultimus decessit jam propè centenarius, integris, quod

mirum videri possit, adhuc sensibus. Multa scripsit,

multa veritè & Græcis, multa in Sylva medica jam

conclamata nobis restituit. Adversus barbaros medi-

cos perpetuas inimicitias exercuit: quin & Plinium,

à quo propositio frustra hominem sæpe deterui, in-

clementer nimis semper insectatus est. Denique quod

paucis contigit, vivens posteritatem suam vidit: ejus

obitum acerbe tuli, tum privato nomine, fuerat enim

mihi præceptor, tum publico: videbam enim rem

Latinam ejus morte insignem plagam accepisse. —

Leoniceus, the Physician, has been some months

dead, a man of immortal reputation, whom I used

to call the last of heroes, and remains of the golden

age. For in that century, which produced so many

great men, the Hermolaus's, Politians, Pico's, Me-

rola's, and Domitius's, he died the last, at almost an

hundred years of age, and, which may seem strange,

with all his senses perfect. He wrote many things,

translated many things out of the Greek, and re-

vived many things in Physic, which had been lost.

He was perpetually at variance with barbarous Phy-

sicians: he also censured Pliny too severely, from which

undertaking I in vain dissuaded him. Lastly, what

happens to but a few, he lived to see his own poste-

riety: his death greatly afflicted me, upon a private,

as well as a public, account; for he had been my

tutor, and I foresaw the loss the Latin language,

and learning, would suffer by his death.

LEONIN (ELBERT or ENGELBERT), in Flemish *de Leew*, a native of the isle of Bommel in Guelderland, was one of the ablest Civilians of the XVIth century, and versed in state affairs. He studied first in his native country, then at Utrecht, afterwards at Emmeric, and lastly at Louvain. He did not confine himself to the study of the *Belles Lettres* in this last town, under the learned Peter Nannius, but also applied himself to the Civil-Law, and became a Licentiate in that faculty in 1547. He afterwards went to Arras to learn the French tongue, returned to Louvain at the year's end, and married a daughter of the first professor of the Civil-Law [A]. A professor's chair of the Canon-Law becoming vacant on the second day of his marriage, he was promoted to it. He discharged that office worthily, and grew famous as well by his lectures, as by his answers to several Law cases sent him from all parts of Europe. He succeeded Gabriel Mudæus first professor of Civil-Law in 1560, and from that time saw his reputation daily increase; inasmuch that the great lords and magistrates of the Low-Countries did consult and honour him. Even those who were at variance among themselves, agreed in intrusting him with their most secret affairs and differences, and refused not his arbitration, tho' the obstinacy of their hatred rendered ineffectual his endeavours to reconcile them. He had the honour to be intimately beloved by the prince of Orange; and this was one reason, why he would never re-engage in the party of the king of Spain, after he had once embraced that of the lords and provinces associated in defence of their liberty. I shall give his other reasons below [B]. He was chosen chancellor of Guelderland

[A] He married at Louvain, a daughter of the first

professor of the Civil-Law.] Her name was Barbara

de Haze (1). If her husband deserved the surname

Longolius on account of his tallness (2), she deserved

a particular surname on account of her long life. Va-

lerius Andreas tells us, she lived fifty two years with

her husband, and thirty six a widow (3). She was

twelve at least when she married. Add these num-

bers together, and they will make an entire century.

There will be no error in the calculation, though there

is in Valerius Andreas's way of reckoning: according

to him we must allow at least a year between the

licence and the marriage of Leonin: the licence was

taken out in 1547: Leonin must be married then in

the year 1548, now he died in 1598. How then can

it be said that he lived fifty two years with his wife?

all this I know appears from his epitaph (4); but we

ought to conclude from it, that he married Barbara de

Haze, in 1546, and Valerius Andreas is to be blamed

for not seeing his false computation.

[B] I shall give his other reasons below.] We find

in him a rare example of constancy, for being once

engaged with the States, he unalterably continued the

same course to his death, though a zeal for religi-

on did not tie him to them. It is no extraordinary

thing to see people die in the party they have espou-

sed at the beginning of a faction or revolution; but if

the train of such an enterprize has been long and per-

plexed, one while favourable, another disadvantageous,

VO L. III.

you commonly see the same persons quit and re-es-
pouse three or four times the same party, and it is a
meer chance if, sometimes, they end as they begin. Death
seizes them, when they are returned to their first
starting place: some years more would have caused
them to repair perhaps to the opposite standard. The
surest way of preventing change, is either to embrace,
out of an ardent zeal for religion, the revolting party,
or so to irritate one's prince, as to leave no room for
confiding in the amnesty promised: nothing of all
this was the cause of Leonin's constancy, which was
very long and without interruption. What then were his
motives? they were these. He enjoyed the intimacy and
particular friendship of the prince of Orange. This
made him suspected by the royalists and by the king
himself. They believed he was an accomplice in the
rebellion; this however, says he, was a falsehood (5).
but he did not think fit to trust those who falsely sus-
pected him. Besides he was a counsellor of state to the
new republic, he had been trusted in the greatest af-
fairs: he thought therefore it would be perfidious to
reveal them to the other party, as he must have done,
if he had changed sides (6). Besides he was of Solon's
opinion, that in civil wars, an honest man ought to
embrace the weakest side, and the most exposed to
danger. Sed & Solonis dictum, inquit, ac consilium
ob oculos habebam, quod bonus vir in civilibus dif-
fensionibus partem eligere debeat inferiorem, & magis
periculosam (7). A man must be a thorough Philo-
sopher

(5) Venisset in
suspicionem apud
Reges, atque
etiam regem
ipsum alioquin
mollitionis con-
trarius, & quod
deterius, seditionis
forum consilium
confertur dice-
retur, quod à se
scribit fuisse alie-
nissimum. Valer.
Andr. ibid. pag.
198.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(a) See an abstract of his speech in Strada, de Bello Belgic. Dec. II, lib. v, pag. m. 333, 334.

(b) His epitaph, in Swert. Athen. Belg. pag. 225, says that it was the sixth.

land after the departure of archduke Matthias in 1581. He was one of the ambassadors of the States to the king of France after the death of the prince of Orange in 1584, he made a speech at the audience they had of Henry III (a), and in the conferences concerning the offer of the sovereignty. He haranged at the Hague, in the name of the same States, the earl of Leicester, whom the queen of England had given them for governor. He insinuated himself into the good graces of this earl, and the other English lords, and advised them to exercise their authority with moderation; but contrary counsels prevailed. He died at Arnheim the fourth (b) of December 1598, in the seventy ninth year of his age (c). He never professed the Protestant religion, and behaved himself somewhat too freely on this head [C]. We have several books of his writing [D].

fopher, to give such advice, and much more so to follow it. But how comes it, that Solon did not advise to adhere to the reasonable side? I believe we may answer for him, that each of the contending parties, in a republic, pretend the public good, and that with such a train of objections, and answers, that private persons cannot easily distinguish the right from the wrong. What remains then, but to engage in the least powerful faction? It is not so hard to distinguish it. It ought to be preferred not only because it is generous to assist the weak against the strong, but because the temptation to commit acts of injustice is greater in the prevailing, than in the weaker faction. You will say that the latter would not be more moderate than the other, if it had equal power. I grant it; but as long as inability deprives it of occasions to tyrannize, you ought to balance and avoid being an abettor of violence. If it becomes uppermost, quit it, for fear it should draw you into oppressive methods in its turn. This, by the by, and on occasion of Solon's maxim, and with the corrective I have joined to it, viz. that at the bottom, you know not who is right and who is wrong.

[C] He behaved somewhat too freely on the subject of religion. He would have religion reduced to a great simplicity, and all left to the judgment of God and the angels, that exceeds the reach of human understanding. We ought, says he, to admire and adore the Deity rather than define it. Let us banish from the republic subtle disputations. 'Ego simplicem religionem amplectendam semper prædixi, & etiam nunc prædico, prorsus divina & humani ingenii caput excedentia, divinitati & secreto Dei atque Angelorum judicio relinquens: honorandam potius & admirandam divinitatem quam definiendam judicavi. Enixè laboravi, ut nimium subtiles disputationes à Republica ejicerentur, de quo memini in Oratione ad Ordines habita, quæ post primam Centuriam Consiliorum meorum impressa est (8). — I always declared for simplicity in religion, and now also declare for it, leaving divine things, and such as exceed human comprehension, to the Deity, and the secret judgment of God and angels: I have thought the Divinity ought to be honoured and admired, rather than defined. I have laboured hard to banish from the commonwealth subtle disputations; which I mention in an oration delivered before the States, and which is printed after the first century of my Consilia.' St Aldegonde found him amiable in all respects, except that he had too great an aversion to Theological subjects: you are shipwrecked, says he, writing to him, on those maxims, do no injury, live honestly, &c. To me this looks like making the labours of the prophets and apostles quite useless. 'Elbertus Leoninus, Haggeus Albada, alique inter proceres religioni reformatæ nunquam nomen dederant. Ille honestate civili contentus, religionem omnem siveque deque habebat: uti eum ipsi

graphice descripsit Phil. Marnixius in select. Epist. Belgarum centur. 2. ep. 44.' 'Nihil enim est in te quod non sit suavissimum, si hoc unum demas, quod nimium es atheologus. Dum enim tuis illis formulis, quid dico formulis? imo oraculis, Neminem lædere, honestè vivere, aliisque tanquam scopolis inhaerere, videris mihi Apostolorum omnium ac Prophetarum laborem omnem prætere inane ducere (9). — Elbert Leonin, Haggei Albada, and others among the nobles, never embraced the Reformed Religion. The former, satisfied with civil honesty, esteemed all religions alike; as Phil. Marnixius, in select. Epist. Belg. cent. 2. ep. 44, has described him to himself. 'There is nothing in you but what is most pleasing, except that you pay too little regard to Divinity: for whilst you adhere to those formularies, (why do I say, formularies?) those oracles, injure no one, live honestly, you seem to me to esteem the labour of all the apostles and prophets as vain and useless.' The place where Grotius speaks of three illustrious men, who died in the Low-Countries in 1598, deserves our notice. The two first (10) beginning with public affairs, grew old in a retreat. But the third called from the obscurity of his closet to the acquaintance of great men, spent the rest of his life in public employments. He speaks of our Leoninus, and says he was a man, who derived from nature, what the precepts of the old Philosophers aimed at; he was in a manner free from passion, he followed the republican party, not through interest or prejudice, but because he found himself engaged in it. 'Elbertus Leoninus in umbra studiorum quondam educatus, & ante pacem Gandavensem regiarum partium minister, tunc summus Geldriæ juridicus consiliis publicis immorabatur, homo natura consecutus, quo veterum magistrorum præcepta nituntur, ut affectu pene omnino vacaret, adeo quidem, ut partes quoque non studio ullo, sed quia sic invenerat, sequeretur (11).'

[D] We have several books of his writing. Most of them came out after his death: as we may know by the dates added to the following titles: *Centuria consiliorum* at Antwerp 1584 in folio. We see at the end of this work *Oratio habita in conventu Ordinum Generalium, Antverpiæ anno 1579, tempore Colloquii Coloniensis, de bello, religione, & pace per Belgium*. His seven books *Emendationum sive Observationum*, were printed at Arnheim in 1610, in 4to. *Prælectiones ad tit. Cod. de jure Emphyteutico*, at Francfort 1606. in 8vo. *ad lib. 9. Cod. in quo tituli & leges omnes ad instar processus criminalis explicantur*, at Cologne 1604, in 4to. *Commentarius ad tit. D. de usufructu*, Lichæ 1600. in 8vo. His dissertation, *de tropezitis Belgii vulgo Lombardis* was published by Boxhorn (12). I omit several books he designed for the press (13), which were left in the custody of Elbert Zofius, his grandson (14), advocate of Utrecht.

(c) Taken from Valerius Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 179, & seq.

(c) Voëtius, de Politia Eccles. Tom. II, pag. 458.

(10) The count de Culemborg, and St Aldegonde.

(11) Grotius, Histor. de reb. Belgicis, lib. vii, pag. 606. Edit. Amstel. 1658, in 4mo.

(12) Taken from Valerius Andreas, ubi supra, pag. 199.

(13) Valerius Andreas, ibid. gives the titles of them.

(14) E. filius nepos. Id. ibid.

(8) Valer. Andr. ubi supra, pag. 199.

(a) Taken from Athen. lib. xiii, pag. 283. I have quoted his own words in the article of EPICURUS, citat. (92).

(b) See Diogenes Laërtius, lib. x, m. 5.

LEONTIUM, an Athenian courtesan, made herself famous, first by her leudness, and next by her application to the study of Philosophy. The second of these would have repaired the disgrace of the first, if Leontium had renounced her amorous intrigues, when she betook herself to Philosophy; but it is said she abated nothing of her pleasures; and that becoming Epicurus's disciple, she prostituted herself to all the scholars of that Philosopher. It is said too that he himself came in for a share, and that he made no secret of it (a). They who pretend that the slanders raised on his morals, are a malicious imposture of his enemies, do not own there passed any thing dishonest betwixt him and Leontium; but they cannot deny that he has expressed a deal of friendship for her in his letters (b). This they can grant without leaving room for ill consequences. She was either the wife or the concubine of Metrodorus, and had a son by him, whom Epicurus in his last will recommended to his executors. This furnishes us with a proof against

against the letter, in which it is supposed she complains of the morose and disgusting humour of this old gallant (c). Some take her for the same Leontium, who was mistress to the Poet Hermesianax [A]. It is more certain that she applied herself in good earnest to Philosophy [B], and even became an author [C]. Note, that her Metrodorus was one of the chief disciples of Epicurus. She had a daughter, who carried herself very ill, and died a violent death, as we shall see below [D].

I know not from whence Ludovicus Vives borrowed the reason he gives why she wrote a book against Theophrastus. He pretends she did it because that Philosopher had published several good things relating to marriage [E].

[A] Some take her for the same Leontium, who was mistress to Hermesianax. Athenæus (1) speaks of this mistress, and even produces several verses, taken from the third book of the elegies, which Hermesianax had wrote in praise of Leontium. Mr Menage (2) is of opinion, that she is the same with Epicurus's good friend; and therefore censures Vossius for placing (3) Hermesianax in the number of the Poets, whose age is unknown. This Poet's verses, preserved by Athenæus, contain a long list of amorous persons, and it is probable the whole work turned on that subject; for Antoninus Liberalis (4) has taken from the second book of these elegies a love history. Parthenias has taken from the same Poet the fifth and twenty second of his stories. As to the twenty second, he cites Hermesianax in general, but as to the fifth, he cites him thus Ερμηςανᾶς Λεόντι. It is evident, that we must read Λεόντιον, and not Λεόντι (5). Mr Menage adds that Hermesianax writ an excellent poem upon his native city Colophon, mentioned by Pausanias (6). Doubtless Vossius mistook Mr Menage by these words; 'Hermesianax Colophonius, poeta Elegiacus de patria Colophone egregium carmen condidit, ut ex Pausania cognoscere est (7)'. Pausanias leaves no room for ascribing such a performance to him. He only says he does not believe Hermesianax was alive, when Lyfimachus destroyed the city of Colophon; for, adds he, Hermesianax would certainly have lamented the ruin of this city in some part of his poems. Ὅς Φοίνικα ἰαμβικὸν ποιεῖν Κολοφώνιον, θρηνησάτω τὴν πόλιν. Ἐρμηςανᾶς δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεία γραφὰς ἔχει (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) περὶ πάντα γὰρ οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν ἀλυσὶν Κολοφῶνιν ὠδύετο. Phanix Colophonius iamborum scriptor eam excisionem deploravit; nam Hermesianax qui elegos scripsit, ad illud usque tempus superstitem fuisse non crediderim, neque enim in aliqua carminum suorum parte excisam Colophonem non deisset (8). You see he had been speaking of the Poet Phanix, a native of Colophon, who had written lamenting verses on that subject. We may collect from this passage of Pausanias, that Hermesianax was cotemporary with Epicurus, and therefore Chronology may very well allow them both to have loved the same Leontium. Pausanias would not have expressed himself as he did, if this elegiac Poet had preceded Epicurus many years. Note, that this Lyfimachus, who destroyed Colophon, is one of those who shared the conquests of Alexander.

[B] She applied her self in earnest to Philosophy. Hence it was that the Painter Theodorus drew her in a meditating posture. Leontium Epicuri cogitantem (9). [C] She became an author. She wrote against Theophrastus, who was one of the strongest pillars of Aristotle's sect, and the ornament of his age. Cicero tells us, that this book was very politely written. 'Non modo Epicurus, says he (10), & Metrodorus, & Hermachius contra Pythagoram, Platonem, Empedoclemque dixerunt, sed meretricula etiam Leontium contra Theophrastum scribere ausa est, scito quidem illa fermone & Attico, sed tamen tantum Epicuri hortus habuerit licentiæ, & soletis queri.' These last words have exercised the critics; they construe them several ways, and I question whether any of them has hit on the right; however, we know the drift of the author. He would exaggerate the licentiousness of Epicurus's school; and the better to effect this, he alleges the boldness of Leontium, a lewd woman who durst write against Theophrastus. But Cicero, as great an Orator as he was, has not been so happy as Pliny, in giving a lively idea of the indignity he conceived in Leontium's enterprize. We learn from Pliny, that this woman's boldness occasioned a proverb, the meaning of which was, that there was no remedy but a rope, if men of the greatest parts were

insulted at this rate. 'Ceu vero nesciam adversus Theophrastum, hominem in eloquentia tantum ut nomen divinum inde invenerit; scripsisse etiam se minam & proverbium inde natum suspensio arborem eligendi (11)'. (11) Plin. in Prefat.

[D] She had a daughter, who... died a violent death as we shall see. She was called Danaë; in point of gallantry she followed her mother's steps, but I do not know whether ever she troubled her head with Philosophy. Athenæus says nothing of it, and he is the only author, from whom I learn any thing of her. He says (12) she took up the profession of a courtesan, and became concubine to Sophron, governor of Ephesus. She insinuated herself also into the favour of Laodice, even so far as to be her oracle and confident. Understanding that Laodice designed to put Sophron to death, she made a sign to him to retire. He understood the danger of which she gave him notice; and pretended to have forgotten something, without which he could not answer to the point, upon which he was examined. He obtained time to recollect himself, but he appeared no more, and escaped by night to Corinth. Laodice had no sooner discovered, that Danaë was the cause of his escape, but she condemned her to the precipice; Danaë knowing her death unavoidable, was haughty enough not to answer to Laodice's questions; but she was not silent, when she went to the place of execution; she dropt a most insolent murmur against providence. It is not without reason, said she, that several persons despise the gods; the only recompence they give me for saving the life of my husband, is a precipice: ωβίστι Laodice, who has murdered her's, enjoys great honours. Ἀπαγομένην δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κρημνὸν εἶπεν, ὅς δικαίος οἱ πολλοὶ καταφρονεῖσι τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι ἐγὼ τὴν γυναικὲν μοι ἀνδρὸς σώσασα, τοιαύτην χρεῖα παρὰ τῷ δαίμονι λαμβάνω. Laodice δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποκτείνασα, τυλικάντης τιμῆς ἀξιώται. Cum ad precipitium duceretur, dixisse, a multis non injuria Deos contemni. Nam quod, inquit, virum meum servavi, hanc mihi gratiam Diæ rependunt; quod autem Laodice maritum suum interfecerit, in maximo honore est (13).

[E] Vives pretends, that she wrote her book against Theophrastus, because that Philosopher had published several good things relating to marriage. It is probable such pieces would displease a woman, who was never married, and entertained gallants; but this probability would not excuse Ludovicus Vives, if, without having read the fact in any author worthy of credit, he gave it for certain. as he does in these words: 'Novum malis non est, odisse bene monentes: sed in hoc ipso materiæ genere Theophrastus, quum de concugio gravissime multa scripsisset, meretrices in se concitavit: & profluit Leontium, Metrodori Concubina, quæ adversus tantum & facundia & sapientia virum, librum sine mente, sine fronte evomeret (14)'. It is no new thing for the vicious to hate those who give good advice: hence Theophrastus, having wrote many excellent things concerning matrimony, brought the barlots upon him; one of whom, Leontium, the concubine of Metrodorus, wrote a foolish and impudent book against that eloquent and wise author. This particular is neither remarked by Cicero, nor by Pliny, when they speak of the book, which Leontium published against Theophrastus (15). For this reason it should not have been advanced without a good authority. This is infinitely less necessary with respect to facts, which we meet with every where. I will observe by the way, that the French translation of this work of Vives, by Anthony Tiron, and by order of Plantin, in 1579, does not contain this passage, nor several others. This surprizes me: for I suppose the occasion of these omissions was, that Plantin did not make use of the editions, which Vives had revised and enlarged.

(c) See the article of EPICURUS, remark [1].

(11) Plin. in Prefat.

(12) Athen. lib. xiii, pag. 593.

(13) Id. ibid. ex Phylarcho.

(14) Ludov. Vives, in prefat. Tract. de Femina Christiana, pag. m. 172.

(15) See the remark [C].

(1) Lib. xiii, pag. 597.

(2) Menagii, Hidor. Mulierum Philosopharum ad calcem Diogenis Laertii, pag. 498, n. 70.

(3) In Tractat. de Poet. Græcia.

(4) Metamorph. cap. xxxix.

(5) See Vossii, de Hist. Græc. pag. 374.

(6) Est autem Hermesianax ille, item qui de patria Colophonia egregium carmen condidit Pausanias memorat. Menagius, ubi supra.

(7) Vossius, de Poetis Græcis, pag. 90.

(8) Pausanias, lib. i, pag. 8.

(9) Plinius, lib. xxxv, cap. xi, pag. m. 236.

(10) De Natura Deorum, lib. i, cap. xxxiii.

LEONTIUS, an Athenian Philosopher towards the end of the IVth century, had a daughter whom he instructed in the sciences, and made her very learned. Perceiving also, that she no less distinguished herself by the advantages of the body, than by the talents of the mind, he believed her learning and her beauty might very well serve her for a fortune. For this reason he left her nothing in his will, dividing all he had between his two sons. This injustice of Leontius, was the occasion of her coming to the empire; for she it was, who under the name of Athenais, appeared so amiable to the emperor Theodosius, and the princeps Pulcheria, that Theodosius married her. The suit she commenced against her brothers, on account of her father's will, obliged her to implore Pulcheria's protection; and hence came her good fortune (a). Father Garasse has given a wrong account of this [A]. Consult the dissertation which I

(a) See in *Mémoires, Histoire* Mulierum Philosopharum in calce Diogenis Laërtii, pag. 490, the entire passages of the *Audon Chronici* Pacha-lis, of *Socrates*, of *Evagrius*, of *Nicéphorus*, concerning the consequences of the will of Leontius.

(b) Sebast. Kortholus de puellis Poëtiis, pag. 12, & seq.

[A] Father Garasse has given a wrong account of this. (1) Somme Theologique, liv. ii, pag. 132. 'God seems to act, says he (1), "as formerly did the Philosopher Leontius, who having three daughters, one of exquisite beauty, and the two others much deformed, left no fortune to the first, but only her beauty, saying, she was the best provided for, as in effect she was, for her beauty made her an empress, and gave all his estate to the other two, saying, that with all that, they would have

enough to do to find husbands; for as to lands which are of themselves beautiful, good and fruitful, God gives them no other dowry, &c." All the authors, who speak of Athenais, give her two brothers, and not two sisters, so that it is an insufferable licentiousness in a modern author, not only to change brothers into sisters, but to make them frightfully ugly, and put disobliging words into their father's mouth.

LEOVITIUS (CYPRIAN), a famous Astronomer, was born in Bohemia. He pretended to Astrological predictions, but had no success in them. Bodin has censured him severely [A]. Lewis Guyon, copying Bodin as a true plagiarist, knew not how to make use of what he stole [B]; but he tells a story pleasant enough about the fright Leovitus put people in by his false prediction of the end of the world [C]. This great Astrologer

[A] Bodin has censured severely. His words are these (1). 'Leovitus had foretold as a certainty, that the emperor Maximilian should be monarch of all Europe, to punish the tyranny of the other princes . . . which is not yet come to pass, and there is no great likelihood it ever will. But he did not foretell what happened a year after this prophecy, that Sultan Solymán should besiege and force the strongest place of the empire, nay of Europe (2), in the fight of the emperor and Imperial army, without the least opposition. . . . It is very strange, that Leovitus should see nothing of the great changes which have happened in his three neighbouring kingdoms; how could he foreknow the end of the world, which has not been revealed to the angels? The only reason he gives is this, that the religion of Jesus Christ, and the world, must end under the watery triplicity, since Jesus Christ was born under it; hereby supposing a second deluge; which is no less impious than ignorant, whether we follow the maxims of Astrologers, who agree, that no planet ever ruined it's own house: Now it is certain, that Jupiter is in Pisces in the great conjunction of the year MDLXXXIII, and LXXXIV, and that the conjunction of these two planets is always amicable: or whether we take the authority of Plato in Timæus, and that of the Hebrews, who say, that the dissolution of the world is caused successively, first by water, and afterwards by fire.' Add to this passage, that of the 354th page (3), where we see, that this Astrologer had precisely fixed the end of the world to the year 1584. 'Since he has so positively asserted it, that it cannot be any ways doubted, why would he calculate Ephemerides for thirty years after the end of the world?' This is a question which Bodin (4) asks with a great deal of reason. But this supposes, that Leovitus's Ephemerides extended to the year 1614. Yet Gesner's Epitome, Thuanus (5), and several others, affirm, that they reached only to the year 1606. They were printed at Augsburg in 1557. As to his *Prognosticon in viginti annos*, it was printed in 1564, and translated into French the year following. This is the book Bodin means, when he charges Leovitus with ignorance about the taking of Sigeth.

(1) That is to say, Sigeth. See Bodin, *ibid.*

(3) Cyprian Leovitus affirms in his writings, that the end of the world will happen in the year 1584. *Procul dubio, says he, alterum adventum filii Dei & hominis in majestate glorie lux præsumit. Bodin, ibid. pag. 554.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Thuanus, *lib. lix*, pag. 109.

(6) Guyon in the second volume of his *Diverses Leçons*, pag. 577, & seq.

(7) Thus he always calls him.

(8) Guyon, *ubi supra*, pag. 583.

lian the emperor should be universal monarch of Europe, to chastise the tyranny of other princes . . . which is not yet come to pass, and there is no great likelihood it ever will. These are Bodin's express words; they were good sense in the original; but they are absurd in the transcriber; for, when Guyon made use of them, Maximilian the emperor had been a long time dead (9). Was it not smartly said then, that there was no great likelihood he should ever be universal monarch of Europe? Bodin, who used these words in his French edition, because Maximilian was then alive, took care to leave them out in the Latin edition which he was preparing (10), after this emperor's death.

(9) Lewis Guyon dates the epistle dedicatory of the second volume of the *first of June* 1613, Maximilian died in 1550.

[C] Guyon tells a pleasant story about the fright Leovitus put people in by his prediction of the end of the world. Let us make use of Lewis Guyon's words. 'In the year 1584, a rumour was spread almost throughout Christendom, that the world should certainly be at an end that year: all the Astrological mathematicians had affirmed it in their Almanacks, and many curates and preachers told it to their congregations; which put the people into such a fear, that multitudes received the holy sacrament, having first fasted and confessed their sins. In some boroughs of this country, and of the Marche, which I forbear to name, the people even made their wills, and I, happening to be by, let them understand, that, if all perished, there would be none to inherit; and besides, that all their goods must perish too. Pantagruel made the same remonstrance to Panurge, who, being tossed at sea in a dreadful storm, and seeing the danger which he had not been used to, despaired of escaping, and instead of labouring like the rest, to cut down the masts, lower the sails, and throw the lading over-board, talked only of making his will, and roared and swore for pen, ink, and paper; but Pantagruel reproved him, telling him, either we shall all perish, or all be saved; if all perish, who shall carry your will to your relations? If all are saved, your will signifies nothing. At the same time, the poor ignorant people kept solemn fasts month after month, and gave great part of their goods to the priests, in order to prolong the time of the great and last judgment. This opinion proceeded from Cyprian Leovitus, a German (11). Here is an author, who insinuates, that the priests artfully kept up this terror, on purpose to procure to themselves gifts; they filled in troubled water; they know how to make their advantage of every thing. I like his observation on the contradiction the people fell into. They firmly believed the end of the world, and yet made their wills; what an absurdity is this? I wonder Mr Petit (12) could mention two or three predictions

(10) In the year 1583. See his Republic in Latin, *lib. iv*, pag. m. 625. Edit. 1601, in 8vo.

(11) Guyon, *ubi supra*, pag. 577.

(12) Petit, *Intendant of the fortifications*, Dissertation, for la Nature des Comètes, pag. 337.

Astrologer died at Lawingen in 1574 (a) [D]. His death saved him some shame.

(a) Bucholzer, in Ind. Chronol. pag. m. 639.

predictions of this nature, made by Stöffler and Regiomontanus, and forget this of our Leovitus.

A man of a great deal of wit and learning, and a professor in the Mathematics, has lately communicated to me an extract he has made of a book of this Astronomer. I make no alteration in his letter. 'I have met with a small book in 4to, of Leowicz's, *De conjunctionibus magnis inferioribus superiorum planetarum, &c. in quarta monarchia cum eorumdem effectuum historica expositione*. He observes the conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter from our Saviour's time, and a little before, to the year 1564, and adds some particulars from history, which he pretends had a relation to the circumstances of these great conjunctions. He afterwards makes his prognostics and predictions for the following years, to the year 1584. Here, and every where else in the book, he finds a thousand great events, with which he honours the eclipses, comets, and conjunctions; a notion unworthy a person of good sense. Lastly, he foretells the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pices, in May 1583, and the conjunction of almost all the planets in Aries, about the latter end of March, and the beginning of April 1584, attended with an eclipse of the Sun in the twentieth

degree of Taurus: he doubts not but all this will bring on a comet, and the comet produce the end of the world, at the end of the watery, and the beginning of the fiery Trigon. He gives an admirable reason for it, which has been contradicted by experience. The world, says he, began by the conjunction in the fiery Trigon, therefore it will end by the watery Trigon, I answer, 1. *Nego antecedens*. 2. *Nego consequentiam*. This is not all; the year 1584, or, at latest, the year 1588, is the end of the watery Trigon, therefore the world will end at that time; for it were not worth while to wait 800 years more for another watery Trigon, and the entire revolution; besides that the world at that rate would last near 6400 years, which is manifestly against the prophecy, *quod cum prophetia manifesta pugnat, &c.*

[D] He died at Lawingen. It is a town of Swabia upon the Danube. Leovitus made it his ordinary abode. Here Tycho Brahe made him a visit in 1569, and had much discourse with him at table about Astronomy (13). Thuanus is mistaken as to the town Leovicus died in: he says it was at Augsburg (14).

(13) Cassander, in Vita Tychoonis Brahe, lib. 1, pag. 391, Tom. V, Operum. He calls this town Lauginga.

(14) Ubi supra.

LERI (JOHN DE), a Protestant minister was of Burgundy (a). He was a student at Geneva, when he heard that Villegagnon desired some pastors might be sent him to Brasil. He made that voyage with the two ministers, which the church of Geneva sent thither in 1556. They arrived at the isle of Coligni under the tropic of Capricorn, in March 1557. Leri left that country, with some others, the fourth of January 1558, and arrived at the port of Blavet, in May the same year (b). He wrote a relation, or account of this voyage [A], which has been commended by Thuanus (c), and Lescarbot has inserted the abstract of it in his History of New France. He was admitted minister after his return from America. I cannot justly tell where he exercised his ministry, but I know he was at Sancerre, when that town was taken, in 1573. He published a relation of this siege, and the cruel famine the besieged underwent. The marshal de la Châtre gave him a pass to go where he pleased, even before the capitulation was signed (d). He went to Bern, and met with a good reception from Mounseur de Coligni, son to the admiral, for which he expressed his thanks, by dedicating to him the relation of his voyage to Brasil. I have not yet been able to discover the rest of his adventures. La Croix du Maine has committed three faults [B].

(a) A native of Mangel, in the duchy of Burgundy.

(b) Consult his relation.

(c) Thuan. lib. xvi, pag. m. 335. See also Parilly, Hist. de l'Hérésie, lib. xxi, pag. 18.

(d) Historia de Sancerri oblatione, pag. 47, 48. Edit. Heideel. 1576.

I have seen his memorable history of the town of Sancerre. It was printed in 8vo, in the year 1574, and contains 253 pages. The abridgment, which was published in Latin at Heidelberg, *apud Joannem Marefballum*, in 1576, contains but 50 pages in octavo.

[A] He wrote a relation of this voyage. The account he gave of this country, made his friends desire him to publish a book on this subject. He finished it in the year 1563, and gave his manuscript to a friend who sent it back to him by some persons from whom it was taken at one of the gates of Lyons. Not being able to recover it, and giving it for lost, he set about composing it anew, and lost it a second time; for, escaping from Charité, upon the Loire, and making the best of his way to get into Sancerre, at the time of the massacre of St Bartholomew, he left all his books and papers exposed to the pillage. Yet he recovered his first work at Lyons, in 1576, at a time when he least expected it, and published it the year following (1). There were several editions of it. I make use of the third, which is that of the year 1594, for the heirs of Eustachius Vignon. I have cited many things from it in this Dictionary (2). One observation, which this author makes, has been much taken notice of (3); viz, that, in regard of what is called religion among other nations, it may confidently be affirmed, that those poor savages have none, and not only so, but that, if there be a nation, which lives without God in the world, it is truly this (4). The minister Peter Richier confesses as much in a letter he wrote from this country. He expresses in it his concern to see no likelihood that these people will ever be converted to the gospel, since they are not

ly ignorant of the difference between vice and virtue, but even of the existence of a God. 'Bonum à malo non fecerunt; denique vitia quæ natura in cæteris gentibus naturaliter arguit, loco virtutis habent. Saltem vitiorum turpitudinem non agnoscunt, adeo ut hæc in re à brutis parum differant. Cæterum quod omnium perniciosissimum est latet eos an sit Deus, tantum abest ut legem ejus observent, vel potentiam & bonitatem ejus mirentur: quo fit ut profusus sit nobis adempta spes lucrificandi eos. Christo: quod ut omnium est gravissimum, ita inter cætera maxime ægri ferimus (5).' But, adds he, it will be objected, that they are a *Tabula rasa*, which will easily receive a tincture of the gospel, as having no contrary impressions. To this he gives no other answer, than that the difference of language is a great obstacle, and that the interpreters, they must employ, were Papists. 'Audio quidem qui mox objiciet eos tabulam rasam esse quæ facile suis possit depingi coloribus, quod nativo hujusmodi colorum splendore nihil habeat contrarium. Sed norit ille quantum impedit Idiomatum diversitas. Adde quod desunt nobis interpretes qui Domino sint fideles (6).'

[B] La Croix du Maine has committed three faults. I. He says (7), that John de Leri was minister at Geneva in 1558. II. That his book is the translation of the history of a voyage to Brasil. III. That this voyage was made in 1555.

(1) Richier, in a letter dated from Antwerp, France, March, 31, 1557. It is the extract among Calvin's Letters.

(2) Richier, lib. Compare with this the Thoughts on Comets, n. 219, &c.

(7) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franç. pag. 237.

(a) Plin. lib. xiv,
cap. vii & xv.
See *Cerda* on
Virgil's Georg.
lib. ii, ver. 90.
(b) Plin. lib.
xxxvi, cap. vi.
(c) See the re-
mark [B].
(d) Strabo, lib.
xiii, init. pag.
400.
(e) Id. ibid. pag.
428.
(f) Pausan. lib.
iii, cap. ii, pag.
m. 207.
(g) Plin. ubi
infra.
(h) Strabo, lib. i,
pag. 41.
(i) Plin. lib. v,
cap. xxxi, pag.
m. 621.
(k) Thucyd.
lib. iii.

(1) Taken from
Strabo, lib. xiii
pag. 424, 425.

(2) Eusebius, in
Chron.
(3) Bochart.
Geogr. Sac. lib.
i, cap. ix, pag.
m. 415, 416.

(5) Tretz. in
Lycophr. ver.
223.

(7) Erasmus on
the proverb
Λαβιάζεσθαι.
It is the seventieth
of the VIIth
century of the
IIIrd Cbilad, pag.
m. 795.

Utinam te, Pryli, Cadmus in insula
Ista non genuisset, hostium ducem,
Quantum ex Atlantis miseri semine,
Cognatorum tuorum everforem,
Vatem ad optima verissimum (4).

(4) Lycophr. ver.
219, pag. 30.
Edit. Oxon.
1607.

Edit. Oxon,
1697.

(9) Tanaquillus
Faber, in hae-
verba Aristophan-
is ἀββδα κατὰ
τὴν Ἀσβίης.
Epist. lib. 4, pag.
267, 268.

sent Mitylene; I shall speak of it under that word, and collect several things, which I omit here.

betur. Ego itaque reperio, spurcissimam quandam apud Phœnices libidinis speciem extitisse, qua viri *** lingebant, quæ interdum impurissimos homines Romanos usos esse memoriz mandatum est. Nam Seneca Hos cunnilingos frequentissime diffamatos, apud Martialem est reperire: qui fortasse phœnicillare dicebantur, quod labia sanguine, rubra seipsum gererent, unde Martialis Jam verò *λυσία*, quid esset, ab aliquibus explicatur, obscœnum fuisse turpitudinis genus, quo viri inguina puerorum, vel virorum ore & labiis tractabant, irrumationem aliis vocatam, & sicuti phœnicillantes labra rubicunda sibi reddebant, sic lesbiantes alba. Ob quod Catullus ad Gellium:

Nescio quid

Helychius tamen aliter videtur sensit, sed qua auctoritate aut ratione ductus, ignoro. I have suppressed some words and passages in this place of Mercurialis: not that I pretend this learned Physician had not a right to speak out as he has done; a commentator or interpreter, who only makes use of the authority of such a writer as Martial, known to all the Republic of Letters, is not to be blamed. Either we must banish the ancient authors, or, in the explication of a difficult passage, suffer their own words to be produced. However, I was loath to cite the passages from Mercurialis entire; we must some times submit to the scruples of the mode.

[D] Few people have mentioned the oracle of Lesbos. Philostratus, if I mistake not, is the only person, who gives us an account of it. He says (11), Philoctetes departed voluntarily from the island of Lem-

nus, after Diomedes and Neoptolemus, sons of Achilles, had required it of him, in the name of all the Grecian army, and declared the answer the oracle of Lesbos had given, concerning his arrows; for, adds Philostratus, the Greeks make use of their own country oracles, as that of Dodona, the Pythian, and all others, in vogue and reputation, where approved predictions are delivered, as those of Bœotia and Phocis: but as Lesbos was not far from Troy, the Greeks, at the siege, sent to the oracle, which was there dispensed by Orpheus. For, after the bloody murder committed on him by the Thracian women, his head, arriving at Lesbos, lighted on a rock there: from this rock the oracular answers were given, whither not only the Lesbians, but the other Æolians also, and the Ionians their near neighbours, and even those about Babylon, resorted for advice; for he foretold abundance of things to the kings of Persia, and to the elder Cyrus among the rest, to whom it is said he gave this answer, *What is mine, O Cyrus, is thine*, hereby intimating, that he should become considerable among the Odryians, and all over Europe. In reality, Orpheus heretofore obtained great consideration and credit by his mighty wisdom and knowledge, as well with the Odryians, as among all the other Greeks, who celebrated his mysteries. But by this answer, he farther intended to signify what should finally befall Cyrus: who venturing beyond the Danube, to subdue the Massagets, and Issedonians, nations of Scythia, died by the hands of a woman, who commanded them, and who cut off his head, as the Thracian women had formerly served Orpheus (12).*

(12) Here is an example of the ambiguous answers of the oracles of Paganism; for what can be more strained than the interpretation of the answer to Cyrus?

LESCARBOT (MARK), an advocate in the court of parliament, has written a History of New France [A]. He had lived for some time in that country. He afterwards attended Peter de Castille, ambassador from Lewis XIII to Swisserland. And as he took a delight in writing accounts of the countries, in which he travelled, he wrote a description of the thirteen cantons in heroic verse, and published it at Paris in 1618. He was born at Vervins (a).

[A] He wrote an history of New France. It contains an account of the navigation, discoveries, and settlements, made by the French in the West Indies, and New France, with the approbation and authority of our Most Christian Kings; and their different fortunes in the execution of these things, for an hundred years past, to this present time. Wherein is comprised the moral, natural, and geographical history of the said province; with maps and draughts of it. I use

the second edition, which is that of Paris, by John Millot, of 1611, in 8vo. This work is curious enough: the author intermixes with it many learned observations. He begins with the description of the voyage of John Verazzan, a Florentine, who was sent into America by Francis I, in 1524. This was the first voyage into that part of the world, under the protection of the crown of France.

(a) Lescarbot, Hist. de la Nouvelle France, lib. ii, chap. v, pag. 279.

LESLEY, an illustrious family of Scotland, descended from one of the chief gentlemen who came over from Hungary into England, and from thence into Scotland [A], with queen Margaret (a), about the year 1067 (b). His name was BARTHOLOMEW; he married one of this queen's maids of honour, and had a son by her called Malcolme. Some say that his wife was the queen's own sister. He got the esteem of the king of Scotland, and received distinguishing marks of it [B], for having,

(a) She has been canonized; it is that they call Saint Margaret. See the article DRUMMOND, in the text, at the beginning.

(b) Malcolme III reigned then in Scotland.

[A] An illustrious family of Scotland, descended from one of the chief gentlemen who passed from Hungary into Scotland. He is said to be descended from a most ancient Hungarian family, and particularly from one Lesley, who was son-in-law to an emperor. Originem suam duxisse asseritur ex pervertuto sanguine Hungarico, & specialiter à Lessao quodam, qui, ut antiquissima referunt Familiæ monumenta, perhibetur exilitisse magnus Imperatoris Locumtenens, cujus etiam filia ei in thori consortem est concessa. Ab hoc porro vetusto Lessaorum cognomine varia ad hæc usque tempora loca in Hungaria suum nomen derivarunt, quæ inter LESLINIA, LESSILIA, LELES ac alia temporum vicissitudine denominationem immutantia possunt recenferi (1). — It is affirmed, that he descended from a very ancient family of Hungary, and especially from one Lesley, who, as the most ancient monuments of the family relate, was the emperor's great lieutenant, and even married his daughter. From this ancient name of the Lesley's se-

veral places in Hungary, to this time, derive their names, among which may be reckoned LESLINIA, LESSILIA, LELES, and others, allowing for some alteration in the name through length of time.

[B] He received very distinguishing marks of it. The method king Malcome took to know the lands he should allot him, has something singular in it. He ordered our Bartholomew to ride a whole day towards the north, and bait his horse in every county, and he gave him all the lands for a mile round the place, where the horse baited (2). Here is the Latin account, in which we shall find this reward, and several others. Fuit Bartholomæus tantæ æstimationis apud Regem Malcolmum, præsertim ob arcem Edinburgensem valide à se munitam, & strenuè dein propugnatam; ut cum non solum Equitem Auratum crearet, & toto vitæ tempore dictæ arcis præfecerit; sed præterea in præliis obsequiorum mercedem ei concesserit; ut, ubi DUMFERMILINGO septentrionem

(2) Compare what has been said in the article HAY, remark [A].

(1) Laurus Lessa-ana, pag. 1. See the whole title of this work in the body of this article in the margin, citation (a).

having, among other actions, built, and bravely defended the fortrefs of Edinburgh. He died loaded with years, and covered with glory, in 1120. His successors in the right line lived in splendor, as well by the new benefits conferred on them by their princes, as by the marriages, which allied them to the noblest families, down to DAVID LESLEY, who was the eighth from Bartholomew. This David, after having bore arms in Palestine against the Saracens, for seven years, returned into Scotland, and, though he was eighty years old, married, and had a son, who was the first that had the title of baron of Lesley. His issue failed in the seventh generation, in the person of GEORGE, baron of LESLEY, who died very much in debt. His widow married John Forbes, who paying off the creditors, became possessed of the barony of Lesley (c). All the LESLEYS now in being, descend from two collateral branches; that of ROTHES and that of BALQUHANE. The branch of ROTHES began in NORMAND LESLEY, brother to David, and advanced itself wonderfully in riches and honours. GEORGE, great-grandson to Normand, was the first who had the title of earl of ROTHES (d). The right male line of his descendants became extinct, in 1681, by the death of JOHN ROTHES, whom king Charles II created duke, and raised to the greatest posts [C]. The collateral branches are very numerous [D], from one of which descended JAMES LESLEY, who signalized himself in the service of the Great Duke of Muscovy, where he was colonel. As for the branch of Balquhane, it began in the person of GEORGE, second son to ANDREW, which Andrew was the sixth lord Lesley from Bartholomew the founder of the family. GEORGE, first baron of Balquhane, obtained several lordships in grant from king David Bruce, and died in the year 1351. His posterity, subdivided into several branches [E], has produced a great many persons of distinguished merit. It reckoned three generals of armies at the same time; one in Scotland [F], one in Germany [G], one in Muscovy (e) [H]. I speak of them in the

remarks.

(c) It still belongs to the family of Forbes.

(d) His predecessors were only counts.

(e) Taken from a book printed at Gratz, in 1692, apud Hieredes Wildmanstadli, and intitled, Laurus Lesleana explicata, five clarior enumeratio personarum utriusque sexus cognominis Leslie, una cum affinitibus, titulis officiis, dominis, gestisque celeberrimis breviter indicatis, quibus à sexcentis & amplius annis prosapia illa floret, ex variis authoribus, manuscriptoribus, & testimonio fide dignis in unum collecta.

septentrionem versus super eodem equo una die iter ageret; intra quamcumque Provinciam ad pabulum semel descenderet; cum totum circumcirca agrum ad mille passus hereditario jure suum faceret. Primò itaque descendit ad FECHIL, nunc dictum LESLEY in Fife; alterà vice apud INNERLEPAD in Angusia; tertio apud FESKIE, seu ESKIE in Merina; quartò apud CUSHNIE in Marria; & ultimò demum ad locum dein LESLEY nuncupatum in Gariotha, ubi equus defecit: reducem cum Rex interrogaret ubi equum reliquisset, respondisse ei dicitur, At the Lesse Ley beside the mair: Latine: In campo minori prope majorem, tunc Rex advertens locum cognomini convenire: Lord LESLEY (b)alt thou be, and thy heirs after the. Latine: Dynastia de LESLEY eris tu, & heredes tui post te: simulque donationem omnium illarum possessionum illi confirmavit: quam & ratam habuit Alexander primus, ejus filius; uti hac super re adhuc tempore Joannis LESLEY Episcopi Rossensis extabat diploma Regium apud Baronem de LESLEY; multique ex his fundis etiamnum à Comite de ROTHES LESLEY, seu superiore suo dependent (3). —

(3) Bartholomew was in such esteem with king Malcolm, especially for building, and then strenuously defending, the fortress of Edinburgh; that he not only created him a knight, and made him governor, during life, of the said fortress, but granted him likewise, as a reward of his services, that, taking one day's journey from Dumferlin, northward, on the same horse, in whatever county he stopped to bait, he should possess for ever all the lands a mile round. First then he arrived at FECHIL, now called LESLEY, in Fife; next to INNERLEPAD, in Angus; thirdly to FESKIE, or ESKIE, in Merina; fourthly to CUSHNIE, in Mar; and lastly to a place called from that time LESLEY, in Garioth, where his horse failed: on his return, when the king asked him where he had left his horse, he is said to have answered, at the Lesse Ley beside the mair: then the king, taking notice that the place answered his name, said, Lord LESLEY shalt thou be, and thy heirs after thee; and at the same time confirmed to him the donation of all those possessions; which Alexander, his son, likewise ratified, as still appears by a royal diploma to the baron of Lesley, in the time of John Lesley, bishop of Ross; and many of these estates still hold of Lesley, earl of Rothes, as their lord.

[C] John Rothes, whom king Charles II created duke, and raised to the greatest posts. This John Rothes had married Ann Lindsay, daughter to the earl of Crawford: he had only two daughters by her; the

eldest was married to the earl of Haddington (4), and the youngest to the marquis of Montrose, and after wards to John Bruce, baron of Kinlesse. The son of the eldest took the name and arms of Lesley, and will be earl of Rothes after the death of his mother (5). The titles and places, with which king Charles II honoured John earl of Rothes, are these. — His Johannes post infelicem pugnam ad WORCESTER, diu in Anglia captivus detinebatur; Rege dein Carolo secundo ad Regna reverto, factus est primò Regiarum extrinsecarum Præfectus, mox thesaurarius, & omnium Scotticarum copiarum Generalis, paulo post supremus Commissarius, ac demum usque ad mortem magnus Regni Cancellarius: creatus fuit ab eodem Rege Dux de ROTHES, & Marchio de BAMBURGH, &c. quæ dignitas etiam ad mares posterorū devoluta fuisset, nisi eis caruisset. — This John, after the unfortunate battle of WORCESTER, was kept prisoner a long time in England; but, after the Restoration, king Charles made him colonel of the guards, then treasurer, and generalissimo of all the Scotch forces, afterwards head commissary, and at length great chancellor of the kingdom to his death: he was created by the same king duke of ROTHES, and marquis of BAMBURGH, &c. which dignity would have descended to his male posterity, if he had had any.

[D] The collateral branches are very numerous. That of the lords of Lindors; those of the lords of Newmarket; that of the barons of Newtown; those of the lairds of Finros, Burdubank, Aikenway, and of Pitnamon (6).

[E] The posterity of the baron of Balquhane, subdivided into several branches. Besides the direct line, there is the branch of the lairds of Kinragie; that of the barons of Wardes; that of the lairds of Bacharne; that of the lairds of Clifton; that of the lairds of Newleslie; that of the lairds of Kininvie; and that of the barons of Pitcaple; that of the lairds of Crichtie; and that of the earls of Ross (7).

[F] It reckoned three generals of armies at the same time; one in Scotland. He was of the branch of Kininvie, son to George, laird of Drumvir. He learned the art of war in Germany, and had very great employs in the armies of the king of Sweden. When he returned into his own country, he was appointed generalissimo of all the Scotch forces. He was created earl of Levin by king Charles I, and died in 1650, at seventy years of age. His grandson succeeded him, and left only daughters (8).

[G] one in Germany. His name was Walter, and son of John, the tenth baron of Balquhane. He went young into Germany, and entered himself

(4) He is of the family of Ha-

(5) Laurus Lesleana.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(3) Laurus Lesleana, fol. 4.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

remarks. The famous bishop of Rofs, in the reign of Mary Stuart, was of this family [1]. Moreri speaks of him under the word *Lesley*.

in the service of the emperor. The service he did his Imperial Majesty, when Walstein was killed, obtained him a regiment, and several other favours. Ferdinand III made him count of the empire, marshal de camp general, privy counsellor, and governor of a province (9). He was ambassador for his Imperial Majesty at Rome, and in other courts, and was sent to the Porte for the ratifications of the peace, concluded in 1664. He had been made knight of the golden fleece before. The Jesuit Paul Tafferner, his confessor, has published a relation of that embassy to Constantinople. Count Walter Lesley died at Vienna, the fourth of March, 1667, in the sixty first year of his age. He was married to Anne-Frances of Dietrichstein, daughter to prince Maximilian of Dietrichstein, high-steward of the emperor's court; but, having no child by her, he made his nephew James, son to Alexander, fourteenth baron of Balquhane, his heir. He had sent for him long before into Germany, and had been an excellent patron to him. This nephew rose from the lowest military degree, to the post of mareschal de camp general. He married Mary Therefe of Liechtenstein, daughter to prince Charles of Liechtenstein, duke of Troppau, by whom he had no children. He left all his estate to two nephews (10). These are the titles that are given him in an epistle dedicatory (11). ' Jacobo S. R. I. Comiti de Leslie, Libero Baroni de Balquhane, Domino Neostadii ad Mettovicium; Petrovii, Perneg, &c. S. C. M. Camerario, & Consiliario Actuali Intimo, Consilii aulæ Bellici Int. Aust. Præfidi, Generali Campi Marichallo, Pedestris Regiminis Colonello, &c.' The following eulogy is given him in the same epistle. ' Tu ex viginti, quibus per Germaniam, Hungariam, Belgium interfuisti præliis, nunquam victus, pierumque victor discessisti: Intra ultimum tantum biennium quo ante graviorem ægritudinem Tuam castra frequentare licuit, Viennam introducto opportune præsidio imminentem contra hostem providè munivisti, & allatis postmodum a Te ipso inter primos, suppetiis ejus eliberationem insigniter promovisti, Tartaros a superiore Austria non semel fortiter rejecisti; Virouitziam, Bresoviziam, Slatinam, aliaque propugnacula, barbaris caesis, & Cæsareis finibus longe lateque in Slavonia propagatis feliciter expugnasti; paucis Tuorum millia ad Ternaviziam contra Ottomanici exercitus robur rarè industriâ, & fortitudine servasti; ac demum ad Gloriam Tuam cumulum Pontes Effectianos, & civitatem inter hostes cum exigua militum manu plurimum dierum confecto itinere flammis injectis audacter incinerasti, festivisque quasi ignibus

' Tuos Triumphos adornasti: Quod si biennio solum tot, & tantas Laureas messuisti; quot hæcenus, & quantas messuisses, si infirma Tua valetudo permisisset? — In twenty battles, fought by you in Germany, Hungary, and Holland, you generally came off victorious, but never were vanquished. Within the last two years, before your want of health kept you from the field, you secured Vienna from an impending foe, by opportunely throwing in succours, and afterwards, at the head of a reinforcement, remarkably promoted it's deliverance: more than once you bravely drove the Tartars from the upper Austria: you successfully besieged Viravittza, Bresoviza, Slatina, and other fortresses, destroying the Barbarians, and extending the emperor's dominions in Slavonia: with uncommon industry and valour, you saved a few thousands of your own men, at Ternaviza, against the whole force of the Ottoman army; and, to crown your glory, with a handful of men, and after a march of many days, you boldly set fire to the bridge and town of Effect, in the very midst of the enemy, and adorned your own triumphs as it were with festal fires. If, in two years only, you reaped so many laurels, how many would you have gathered by this time had your health permitted?'

[H] One in Muscovy.] His name was Alexander; he was of the branch of Crichtie. He came to be general, after a long series of great services done the dukes of Muscovy in their armies, and was made governor of Smolensko. He died in the year 1661, at ninety five years of age. There were at that time in Muscovy seven colonels, several captains, and other inferior officers of the name of Lesley (12).

[I] The famous bishop of Rofs was of this family.] He was descended from Malcolm, son of Andrew, third baron of Balquhane. His father was a learned Civilian, who, after he had travelled into Italy, France, the Netherlands, and England, died the sixteenth of March 1554. The prelate we speak of had a great share in the esteem of queen Mary; she made him a counsellor in the supreme court of Scotland, afterwards a member of her privy council, and employed him in state affairs. He was appointed coadjutor of the abbey of Lindors, and at last bishop of Rofs. He did great services to this princess, and was imprisoned in England on her account, tho' an ambassador from the king her son. He negotiated her liberty at Rome, at Vienna, and at several other courts, and afterwards died at Brussels in 1595. He wrote several books, and, amongst others, a History of Scotland (13).

(12) Laurus Lesleana, ibid.

(13) Ibid. fol. T. It is cited under the name of Joannes Lesleus.

LESSEVILLE, (EUSTACHIUS LECLERC DE) bishop of Coutance, was son of NICOLAS LECLERC DE LESSEVILLE, lord of Thun, and Eucquemont, who died dean of the chamber of accounts; and of Katherine de Boulanger, sister to the president le Boulanger, who had been provost of the merchants, and died in the grand chamber as he was giving his opinion. As Nicolas Leclerc de Lesseville had several children, and that Eustachius was only the third, having before him, ANTONY, lord of Eucquemont, who died young, and CHARLES, who died dean of the Great Council, he resolved to be an ecclesiastic, and went to study in the Sorbonne, which was not usual at that time for persons of quality. He was not full twenty years of age, when he was nominated rector of the university; and it was he who first made the university to go in coaches, whereas before they always walked. Which made Henry IV say, that his eldest daughter, meaning the university, was a very dragletail. Eustachius had so strong a call to the church, that he was ordained priest before he had any title to a benefice. He was doctor of the house and society of Sorbonne, and quickly after Lewis XIII chose him one of his almoners in ordinary. He afterwards treated about a place of counsellor in parliament; and was preferred to the cure of St Gervais at Paris, in the times of the troubles, which saved him his life: for, being in the town-house with several deputies, both of the parliament and of other societies, and the people, as all the world knows, having rose up in arms, and murdered several deputies, and amongst others, the Sieur le Gras, master of requests, who had married his sister whom we speak of, some watermen and others of the rabble thought it their duty to rescue their pastor. Accordingly they forced their way through the rest of the mob, and carried him off out of the midst of the assembly, and conducted him to his house in safety. Some time after, he was preferred to the abbey of St Crespin near Soissons, and the barony of St Ange, and was made honorary canon of the chapter of Brioude, which gives the title of count. At last the

king gave him the bishopric of Coutance, vacant by the cession of Claude Auvri, treasurer to the holy chapel at Paris. Tho' he did not live long after, yet he failed not to gain the esteem and friendship of all his diocese, where his name is still in veneration. He was particularly distinguished by a great capacity, and a profound knowledge in Divinity and Law. As he was doctor of the Sorbonne, and had been fourteen years counsellor in parliament, he was equally versed in both these sciences, which made him arbiter of the most important affairs of the province. He died at Paris, the fourth of December 1665, during the assembly of the clergy, to which he was deputed, and was buried in Augustins, in the burying place of his ancestors. Leclerc de Lessville bears azure, three crescents, or, (a).

(a) A Memoir, published just as it was communicated.

(a) See the verses of Horace, which I quote in the remark [B] of the article LAMIA, a Roman family.

(b) Homer, Odys. lib. x, ver. 81.

(c) Eustath. in Homer. ibid.

(d) See Horace, Od. xvii, lib. iii, & Sil. Ital. pag. m. 368.

(e) Homer. Odys. lib. x, ver. 117.

(f) Ovid. Fast. lib. iv, ver. 69.

LESTRYGONS, or rather *Læstrygoni*, were a very brutal people, situated in Italy, near Cajeta. Their capital city bore the name of Formiæ (a) [A]. Homer calls it *Læstrygonia*, or the city of *Lamus* (b). It is because *Lamus* king of the *Lestrygons*, and son of Neptune, built it (c): his dominions were pretty large (d). *Antiphates*, who reigned there, when *Ulysses* landed there, was a cruel man, who would have eaten all *Ulysses's* deputies [B], if they had not escaped, after having seen the sad fate of one of them (e). It is certain the *Lestrygons* passed for man-eaters [C]. *Moreri*, instead of saying this, observes, that *they eat raw flesh*. It is not known whether they passed from Sicily into Italy, or from Italy into Sicily; but we cannot doubt of their settlement in Sicily, because the country round the city *Leontium* was called *Campi Læstrygonii* [D]. *Ovid* supposes they were originally Greeks (f). It is certain, that *Homer* compares them to giants; but this is no reason why *Bozcius* should say, that, according to the fabulous accounts, they made war upon the gods, that *Hercules* fought with them, that they were destroyed by thunder, that the plains, situated

[A] Their capital city was that which bore the name of *Formiæ*. Cicero puts it past doubt; for he applies to the city of *Formiæ*, the epithet which is given by *Homer*, to the city where *Lamus* and *Antiphates* reigned. Si in hanc *ἡλίουπυλον* veneris *Læstrygonium* (1) (*Formias dico*) qui *fremitus* *Hominum*? quam irati *Animi* (2)? — If you come to *Læstrygonia* with widely distant gates (by which I mean *Formiæ*) how tumultuous the inhabitants? what enraged minds? See also *Horace*, Ode XVII, of the third book, and add to it these words of the preceding ode.

(1) That is to say, *Longe-distantes habentem portas Læstrygonium*. These two Greek words are taken from *Homer*, Odys. lib. x, ver. 82.

(2) Cicero, ad Attic. Ep. xiii, lib. ii.

Nec *Læstrygonia* *Bacchus* in amphora *Languescit* mihi;

Nor does my wine grow old in *Lestrygonian* casks:

By which he means the *Formian* wine. *Pliny* is very positive: 'Oppidum *Formiæ*, *Hormiæ* prius olim dictum: exstimavere, antiqua *Læstrigonom* sedes (3). — The city of *Formiæ*, formerly called *Hormiæ*, and thought to be the antient seats of the *Lestrygons*.'

(3) *Plinius*, lib. iii, cap. v, pag. m. 325.

[B] *Antiphates* . . . would have eaten all *Ulysses's* deputies. I desire leave to give this name to the three men, whom he sent to view the country. You are going to see, that *Antiphates* eat one of them, and that he spent his fury on *Ulysses's* ships, so that but one of them escaped.

Inde *Lami* veterem *Læstrygonis*, inquit, in urbem *Venimus*: *Antiphates* terra regnabat in illa. *Misiss* ad hunc ego sum, numero comitante duorum: *Vixque* fuga quæsit salus, comitique, mihi que. *Tertius* è nobis *Læstrygonis* impia tinxit Ora cruore suo: fugientibus inquit, & agmen *Concitat* *Antiphates*, coeunt, & saxa trabesque *Conjiciunt*: merguntque viros, merguntque carinas. Una tamen, quæ nos ipsumque vehebat *Ulysses*, Effugit (4).

(4) *Ovid*, *Metam.* lib. xiv, ver. 233. This is taken from the tenth book of the *Odyssey*.

To *Lamus's* antient *Lestrygonian* town
We came: *Antiphates* then wore the crown.
To whose dire court, by great *Ulysses* sent,
Myself, with only two companions, went;
Whence two alone escaped by timely flight:
The third he seized, and mangled in our sight:
We saw him cruelly the limbs devour,
And swear his impious lips with human gore.

We fly; the horrid *Lestrygonian* crew,
With fell *Antiphates*, our steps pursue,
Quite to the strand; thence stones and timber throw,
And sink our men, and ships that rode below.
One only bark, which wise *Ulysses* bore,
Escap'd from the inhospitable shore.

Hence this barbarous *Lestrygon* has been alledged as an example of cruelty and inhospitality.

Quis non *Antiphaten* *Læstrygona* devovet?

Who curses not the *Lestrygon* *Antiphates*?

Says *Ovid* in the ninth elegy of the second book *de Ponto*. In another place he expresses himself thus:

Nec tu contuleris urbem *Læstrygonis* unquam
Gentibus, obliqua quas obit *Ister* aqua (5).

Nor set the *Lestrygonian* town 'gainst those,
'Round whose fair walls the winding *Ister* flows.

(5) *Ovid*, *Eleg.* X, lib. iv. *De Ponto*.

I omit several other passages, and content myself with these verses of *Sidonius Apollinaris*.

Bistonii stabulum regis, *Bufiridis* aras
Antiphatae mensas, & *Taurica* regna *Thoantis*
Atque *Ithaci* ingenio fraudatum luce *Cyclopem* (6).

(6) *Sidon*, *Apoll.* *Carm.* xxii, pag. m. 170.

The stable of the *Thracian* king; thy altars,
Bufiris; and, *Antiphates*, thy table;
The *Tauric* realms of *Thoas*; and the *Cyclops*
By crafty *Ithacus* deprived of sight.

[C] The *Lestrygons* have passed for man-eaters. Add to the proofs alledged in the foregoing remark these words of *Pliny*: 'Esse *Scytharum* genera, & quidem plura, quæ corporibus humanis vescerentur, indicavimus. Id ipsum incredibile fortasse, ni cogitemus in medio orbe terrarum, ac *Sicilia* & *Italia* fuisse gentes hujus monstri, *Cyclopes* & *Læstrygonas* (7). — That there are several *Scythian* nations, which feed on human flesh, I have shewn: which might seem incredible, did we not know, that in the middle of the world, even in *Sicily* and *Italy*, are to be found such monstrous people: I mean the *Cyclopes*, and *Lestrygons*.

(7) *Plinius*, lib. vii, cap. ii, pag. m. 6.

[D] The plains of the city *Leontium* are called *Campi Læstrygonii*. See *Pliny* (8), and his commentator *Fac-* (8) *Id*, lib. iii, ther *Hardouin*, who cites a passage of *Polybius*, where it is said, that those, who had possessed the territory

situated between Mount Vesuvius and Puteoli, were called *Phlegrai Campi* on that account, and that the flames of Mount Vesuvius proceed from the fire, which burns the Lestrygons in hell. He pretends, that Homer, Pindar, Polybius in his second book, and Strabo in his fifth book, affirm these things (g). He is mistaken; the Lestrygons did not cultivate land; but they had cattle (h). Homer shewed himself very ignorant of the globe, when he placed them in a climate, where the nights are very short (i). It is not true that Thucydides believed, that the Lestrygons were a fabulous people (k): he only says, that Historians tell us, that the most ancient inhabitants of Sicily were the Lestrygons, and the Cyclops; but that he has nothing to observe concerning their origin, and that he neither knows whence they came, nor what became of them (l).

(g) Homer *ibid.* vers. 86.

(h) Briennicus, in *Joven. Sat.* XIV, ver. 20. *affirmat ut nescitibus standum.*

(i) Thucyd. lib. vi, init. pag. m. 410.

of Leontium, were called Lestrygons. He cites also See the notes of Dausqueius on these words of the same poet,

Prima Leontinos vastarunt praelia campos
Regnatam duro quondam Læstrygone terram (g).

Post dirum Antiphatae sceptrum, & Cyclopea regna (10).

*The war laid waste Leontium's plains, where once
The barbarous Lestrygon his empire held.*

*After Antiphates's dreadful sway,
And the Cyclopean rule.*

LEUCAS was at first a peninsula, joining to the continent of Acarnania (a), but became an island by the industry of the Corinthians (b). They cut the isthmus, and built a city upon the canal, which they called Leucas, whether they transported the inhabitants of the town of Neritus. This undertaking did not much promote Navigation (c); and if we believe Pliny the Elder, the sands, driven in by the winds, restored the isthmus [A]. In the article of SANCTA-MAURA (d), we shall speak of its present state. As to its ancient state, if any circumstance of it deserves to be related, it is I think, the ceremony of the Leap [B]. There seems to have been a

[A] If we believe Pliny, the sands restored the isthmus. He seems to fall into a contradiction here for, in the nineteenth chapter of the second book, he reckons Leucas among the countries, which had been separated from the main land by the violence of the sea; in another place (1) he attributes it to the labour of the inhabitants. 'Leucadia ipsa peninsula quondam Neritis appellata, opere acolarum abscissa a continenti, ac redditā ventorum flatu congeriem arenæ accumulantiū. — The peninsula of Leucas, formerly called Neritis, cut off from the continent by the industry of the inhabitants, and reunited to it by the force of winds accumulating heaps of sand.' Strabo, in the two places I have quoted (2), favours him as to the last passage, but not as to the first. Ovid (3) seems more favourable to him in respect of the first, than the last, when we consider what he makes Pythagoras deliver concerning the changes of nature.

Leucada continuum veteres habuere coloni,
Nunc freta circumteunt. Zancle quoque juncta fuisse
Dicitur Italæ, donec confinia pontus
Abstulit, & media tellurem repulit unda.

*Leucas was part of the continent of old;
Now ocean round it's sea-girt coast is roimd:
So Zancle, torn from the Italian strand
By forceful waters, left it's parent land.*

After all, we cannot entirely excuse Pliny, not even by Father Hardouin's kind expedient, who would have it acknowledged, that Leucas had been twice rejoined to the continent, because, at the time of the Roman war with Philip king of Macedon, Leucas was a peninsula (4), and, in Livy's and Strabo's time, it was an island. By this rule Leucas must have been an island all the time betwixt this Roman war, and the reign of Augustus, and became a peninsula again, and continued so all the time betwixt Augustus and Pliny. If it had been made an island by the violence of a tempest, he should not have observed a counteraction betwixt the labour of the inhabitants and that of the winds (5). It must therefore be said, that the inhabitants made their country an island. But in this case, how shall we reconcile what Pliny had said in the nineteenth chapter of the second book *perrupit mare Leucada?* — the sea broke through Leucas. This event must doubtless have preceded

the war against king Philip; but in these former times, we find it was the Corinthians, and not the sea, which cut the isthmus of Leucas.

[B] The ceremony of the Leap. There stood upon the promontory of Leucas a temple of Apollo, and there was an ancient custom (6) that annually, on the festival of this god, a criminal should be thrown from the top of this promontory, in order to avert all impending evils. However they fastened a great many feathers and live birds to the criminal, whose flight, it was hoped, would break the violence of the wretch's fall. They endeavoured to catch him at the bottom in small barges lying round in a circle, and if he was saved, they only banished him. All this was enacted by public authority, and for the public good; but there were private persons, who voluntarily leaped from the precipice, to put an end to the pains they suffered from love. Whence this place was called the Lover's Leap (7). Strabo informs us, on Menander's authority, that Sappho, desperately in love with Phaon, who slighted her, was the first, who took the leap of Leucas: He cites Menander's verses; but probably he had not quoted the whole passage: for, by what he has quoted, it does not appear that Sappho was the first, who took this dangerous leap. Besides, Strabo does not come over to this poet's opinion: He says, that they, who have most exactly searched into antiquity, declare that Cephalus was the first, who made trial of that desperate remedy, when he was in love with Psithia. An author (8), whom Photius has given some extracts of, traces the origin of this practice. He says, that Venus, after the death of Adonis, sought him every where, and found him at last at Argos, in the isle of Cyprus, in the temple of Erithian Apollo. As she made no secret to this god of her passion for Adonis, he led her to the rock of Leucas, and bid her throw herself headlong from that precipice. She took his advice, and finding herself cured of her passion, she desired to know the reason of it. Apollo answered, that, by virtue of his gift of prophecy, he had discovered that Jupiter, finding himself smitten with the love of Juno, came constantly to sit upon this rock, and thus abated the violence of his flame. He adds that numbers of both sexes had been cured of their love by leaping from the top of this mountain. Photius gives us a long catalogue of persons, who had recourse to this remedy. Some found themselves cured, others lost their lives by it. I have not met with Calyce among them, and am the less surprized, because he omits the unfortunate Sappho.

(6) Strabo, lib. x, pag. 512.

(7) Propter hoc dictatur leucas, quia Sappho, desperanter in amore Phæonem, qui eam spernit, de Leuceæ scopulo se præcipitem dedit. Strabo, lib. x, pag. 512.

(8) Pulemy, son of Hephæstion, apud Phot. Bibl. n. 191, pag. 491.

set of people, who engaged themselves, as if they had been hired to it, to give this spectacle every year [C].

pho. She tells us in a letter that Ovid has written as her secretary, that Deucalion, in love with Pyrrha the coy, took the leap of Leucas, without hurting himself; upon which his passion wore off, and Pyrrha began to love him in her turn.

Hinc se Deucalion Pyrrhaë succensus amore
Misit, & illæso corpore pressit aquas.
Nec mora: versus amor tetigit lentissima Pyrrhaë
Pectora; Deucalion igne levatus erat (q).

(9) Ovid. Epist.
Sapph. ver. 167.

(10) Ampelius, in libro Memoriali, cap. viii. Athenæus, lib. xiv, cap. iii. Servius, in Eclog. viii, ver. 59, & in Æneid. lib. iii, ver. 274, & 279. Vid. Scaliger. & Vinet. in Aufon. Cupid. crucif.

(11) Stefichorus,
apud Athen. lib.
xiv, cap. iii, pag.
619.

*His breast from love's tyrannic pow'r to free,
Deucalion leap'd unhurt, into the sea:
The force of love a different way was turn'd;
Deucalion cool'd and thoughtless Pyrrha burn'd*

Several (10) have mentioned this strange remedy of love, and others have even said, that some took this leap for another thing, namely to learn news of their relations.

I have said, that Calyce is not to be found in the catalogue of the Leucas-leapers. She had fallen in love with a young man called Evathlus, and in vain solicited the goddess Venus to bring about their marriage. Evathlus perished in his obdurate coldness, and Calyce threw herself down the precipice of Leucas (11). I believe, if the account were faithfully cast up, we should find that more women than men had taken this desperate leap.

[C] *There seems to have been a set of people who engaged themselves every year . . . to give this [scape].* A passage of Servius has furnished Vinet with this conjecture (12). Servius's words are these: 'Fœminas in sui amorem trahēbat (Phœm) in quibus fuit una quæ de monte Leucate, cum potiri quæsi- re, nequiret, abijecisse se dicitur; unde nunc aucturæ se quætotannis solent qui de eo monte jaciunt in pe- lagus (13).' Vinet thinks this passage ought to be restored thus, *unde nunc aucturæ se quætotannis solent qui se de eo monte jaciunt in pelagus*; and that this may signify, that there were some, who ventured for a sum of money to take this leap, as others articulated at such a price to kill one another on the amphitheatre. The curious will do well to search to the bottom of this particular. It is certain they engaged themselves by a vow to take this leap; as appears by the answer of a Lacedæmonian, who was insulted for drawing back at the sight of the precipice. *I knew not, said he (14), that my vow would stand in need of another vow still greater.* Menander's verses, cited by Strabo (15), shew that Sappho made a vow to Apollo before she threw herself down, that was probably, the consecrated this action to the god. I forgot to say, that there were two verses of Anacreon concerning the Lover's-leap. Scaliger mentions them (16); but I think that they who say Hephæstion has preserved them (17), are mistaken.

(12) In Aufon.
Cupidin, crucif

(13) In *Æneid*.
lib. iii, ver. 279.

(14) Plutarch. in
Apophth. Lacop.

(15) Lib. x, pag.
311.

(16) In Ciria
Virg. pag. 69.

(17) Mr de Lengepierre's Life of Sappho.

LEUCIPPUS, a Greek Philosopher. The place of his birth is not agreed on; but almost all authors own him to have been the inventor of the Atomical system; so that we must not rely upon Posidonius's testimony [A]. It cannot be denied, that in some things, the cartesian system resembles that of Leucippus [B]; and Epicurus is to blame in not having acknowledged how much he was indebted to this Philosopher's

[A] We must not rely upon Posidonius's testimony.]

According to which, we must believe that a Phoenician Philosopher called Molchus, who lived before the siege of Troy, was the inventor of atoms; for see what Strabo tell us. Εἰ δὲ δαί Ποσειδώνιος πωλεῖται εὐσταί, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγμα παλαιότερον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς Σιδωνίου Μόχου περὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν χρόνων γεγραμμένον. Imo si Posidonius credimus, antiquae Trojani belli tempus vixit (1). Sextus Empiricus observes the same thing, and in the same manner as Strabo, that is to say, citing Posidonius, with I know not what signs of distrust, which does not appear in Strabo with respect to the other original doctrines of Phoenicia. Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἀτόμους (substant) ἔλεξαν εἶναι τὰ τῶν ὄντων κοίτηα, εἰ μὴ τὴ ἀρχαιότεραν ταύτην βεβῶτη τὴν δυνάμιν καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον ὁ Στωϊκὸς Ποσειδώνιος, ἀπὸ Μόχου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος καταγομνύν. Democritus vero & Epicurus atomos (dixerunt esse rerum omnium elementa) nisi si antiquiorem esse banc doctri- nam pat. si statuendum, est ut ait Stoicus, Posidonius

(1) Strabo, lib.
xvi, pag. 512.

(2) Sextus Empiricus adversus Mathematicos, pag. 367.

(3) Cicero had been the disciple of Posidonius.

(4) T. Burnetius,
Archæol. Philof.
lib. i, cap. vi,
pag. 314. Edit.
Amstel. 1694.

‘with respect to my master I speak it, seems to have
‘invented some things.’ Perhaps Pofidonius was a
little touched with the distemper, which reigns in all
ages. We take, as much as in us lies, the glory of
an invention from those who boast of it, or are not of
our party, and had rather find another inventor,
in the remotest times and places.

[B] *We cannot deny, that in certain respects, the Cartesian system resembles that of Leucippus.* The stemper, I have been mentioning, appears in our age, with respect to Mr Des Cartes. They endeavour to rob him of all the glory of the invention, and divide it among other Philosophers, ancient and modern. I enter not into that enquiry, but only say that, in some things, there is reason to believe he has only revived old notions. For example, is not the hypothesis of the Vortices Leucippian?

pus's? the learned Huetius most clearly proves
 ' In varios vortices, *says* be (5), five mundos pro-
 mam rerum materiam diffunderunt Leucippus, De-
 mocritus & Epicurus: unde exilissimum meritorum
 in vorticum horum inventionem tantum se jactat Car-
 tesianus Schola. Ac de his quidem manifesta res est
 apud Diogenem Laërtium & Helychium Illustrium
 Ajebant enim corpuscula ex infinitate simul col-
 lecta, *Διὸν ἀπὸ πρῶτης*; vorticem efficere;
κατὰ τὴν τὸ μὲν ἀντίρροτον ἀντιδύνασθαι
εἰσεῖσθαι, συσπρέσθαι, renitente mediis circumvo-
 luti: ex hac vertigine particularum fecessiones & con-
 junctiones oriri; ex conjunctionibus enasci globos
acerum, σφῆρα σφαίρεισθαι. — Leucippus
Democritus, & Epicurus, divided first matter into
various vortices, or worlds: whence we may judge, with
Cartesius, that the school of Des Cartes dejectedly pretends to
invention of these vortices. The matter is made plain
with respect to these, in Diogenes Laërtius, and
Helychius Illustrium. For they said, that Corpuscles,
collected from infinity, formed a vortex, and that from
this whirl of particles arose separations and conjunctions,
Atoms, and from conjunctions a spherical mass.
 find besides, in Leucippus's system, some hints of
 grand mechanical principle, which Mr Des Cartes
 effectually employs, namely, that bodies, in a circular
 motion, remove from the center as much as a pressure
 The antient Philosophy teaches, that the more fluid
 atoms shoot themselves as it were towards the cen-
 tre (6). Mr Des Cartes should have given his sys-

it. (c) Petrus Daniel
i- Huetius, *Censura*
e- *Philosophiæ Car-*
ne *tesianæ*, cap. viii,
pag. m. 213, 214.

* Laërt. & He-
fych. in Leucippo
Democrito, &
Epicuro.

He- (6) Τὰ μὲν
col- λατὰ χωρεῖ
rom- εἰς τὸ ἕν
jun- κενὸν ὡς περ
We- διαττομένα
that δὲ λατὰ συρ-
s fo μέναι· τὰ
ular quidam ad ex-
gble. rium vacuum
btile tendere velut
void substantia: et
btile consistere. L.
Lært. in L.
cippo, lib. 1.
n. 31.

(a) Far from acknowledging this, he denied there ever had been such a man

fopher's invention (a) [C]. They, who have so much ridiculed the invention of Atoms, have not distinguished with all the exactness that is necessary [D].

I have

as Leucippus. See Gassendi, in Vita Epicuri, lib. v, cap. 6.

(7) See the Journal of Leipsic, 1689, pag. 187, 188.

(8) In the article KEPLER, remark [D].

matter this quality, if he had kept to his own principle; but, by a consequence, which we cannot sufficiently wonder at, he forces to the center of the vortices this subtle matter, and to the circumference the more massy globules (7). I have spoken elsewhere (8) of those, who say, that, in respect of the vortices, and the causes of gravity, Des Cartes is only Kepler's transcriber. They ought to add, that Kepler is the transcriber of Leucippus.

[C] Epicurus is to blame in not acknowledging, that he was indebted to the inventions of Leucippus. It is the failing of most great wits; they will not easily acknowledge, that they are indebted for their notions to the lights of others; they would have it thought, that they have drawn all from their own stock, without any other matter than their own genius. Epicurus has been reproached with having only reformed in some respect the system of Democritus, of which Leucippus was the inventor. All this is testified by Cicero.

'Ista enim à vobis quasi dictata redduntur: quæ Epicurus, oscitans hallucinatus est, cum quidem gloriaretur, ut videmus in scriptis, se magistrum habuisse nullum: quod & non prædicanti, tamen facile crederem: sicut mali ædificii domino glorianti, se architectum non habuisse. . . . Xenocratem audire potuit: quem virum? dii immortales! & sunt qui putent audivisse, ipse non vult. Credo plus nemini. Pamphilum quendam, Platonis auditorem, ait à se Sami auditum. . . . Sed hunc Platonem mirifice contemnit Epicurus: ita metuit, ne quid unquam didicisse videatur. In Nausiphane Democriteo tenetur: quem cum à se non neget auditum, vexat tamen omnibus contumeliis. Atqui si hæc Democritea non audisset, quid audierat? Quid est in physicis Epicuri non à Democrito? Nam cum quædam commutavit, ut, quod paulo ante de inclinatione atomorum dixi: tamen pleraque dicit eadem: atomos, inane, imagines, infinitatem locorum, innumerabilitatemque mundorum, eorum ortus & interitus, omnia ferè, quibus naturæ ratio continetur (9). —

(9) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. i, cap. xxvi. Others reproach Epicurus with the same thing. See Gassendi, in ejus Vita, lib. i, cap. iv, & lib. v, cap. 3, & ii.

'These things are delivered by you as dictated; in which the negligent Epicurus was deceived, when he boasted, as we see in his writings, that he never had a master, which I should easily believe, if he had not said so, as I should the owner of a bad house, who should boast he had employed no architect. . . . He might have heard Xenocrates: Gods! how great a man! and some think he did hear him, though he himself denies it. I give more credit to no one. He pretends he heard one Pamphilus, a follower of Plato, at Samos. . . . But Epicurus wonderfully despises this Platonist: so afraid is he to seem to have ever learned any thing. When he cannot deny, that he heard Nausiphane the Democritean, he loads him with all kinds of abuse. But, if he was not brought up in Democritus' school, where had he his instruction? What is there in the Physics of Epicurus, which is not fetched from Democritus? For though he altered some things, as what I just now mentioned of the inclination of atoms, yet he advances many things the very same; atoms, a void, images, infinite space, and innumerable worlds, their birth and destruction, and almost every thing relating to the system of nature.'

Father Lescapier observes, that Heraclitus had also boasted, that he was indebted to no body for his knowledge, and thereby discovered, that he thought it no disgrace to have a spice of the sacred disease, that is, arrogance (10). A strange name for pride! One could forgive it in those, who knew the pride of ecclesiastics, under the Popes of Rome. If any sort of vanity deserves this name, it is surely that of certain persons, who boast, on some occasions, that they owe their knowledge neither to reading, nor to the lectures of professors. You set up then, we may tell them, for inspiration.

[D] They who have so much ridiculed the invention of atoms, have not distinguished with all the exactness that is necessary. Lactantius lays out all his strength in confuting Leucippus's hypotheses, as well with respect to the origin and direction of the atoms, as to their qualities. He has done very well on the first point, but wretchedly on the second. The epithets of madman, dreamer, visionary, are due to whoever imagines, that a fortuitous concourse of infinite corpuscles produced the world, and is the continual cause

of generation. But if we give the same names to those, who maintain, that all bodies are formed from a various combination of atoms, we manifestly discover, that we have no taste, nor idea of true natural Philosophy. We must own, then, that in the following words of Lactantius there are good and bad objections: which proceed from his confounding things, which he ought to have distinguished. 'Non est, inquit, providentiæ opus, sunt enim semina per inane volitantia, quibus inter se temerè conglobatis universa gignantur, atque concresecunt. Cur igitur illa non sentimus, aut cernimus? Quia nec colorem habent (inquit) nec calorem ullum, nec odorem: saporis quoque & humoris expertia sunt, & tam minuta, ut secari, ac dividi nequeant. Sic eum, quia in principio falsum susceperat, consequentium rerum necessitas ad deliramenta perduxit. Ubi enim sunt, aut unde ista corpuscula? Cur illa nemo præter unum Leucippum somniavit? A quo Democritus eruditus hæreditatem stultitiæ reliquit Epicuro. Quæ si sint corpuscula, & quidem solida, ut dicunt, sub oculis certe venire possunt (11). — It is not, says he, the work of providence; for there are seeds flying through the void, which, uniting at a venture, form all things. Why then do we not perceive them? Because, says he, they have neither colour, heat, nor smell; they are likewise void of taste and moisture, and so small that they cannot be cut or divided. Thus from false principles he is necessarily driven to absurd consequences. For where, or whence, are these corpuscles? Why did no one, but Leucippus, ever dream of them? By whom Democritus being instructed left the inheritance of folly to Epicurus. Which corpuscles, if they really existed, and were solid, as they pretend, would certainly be visible. He dilates upon these objections in another book. 'Primum minuta illa semina, quorum concursu fortuito totum coherescit mundum loquuntur, ubi, aut unde sint quæro. Quis illa vidit unquam? quis sensit? quis audivit? An solus Leucippus oculos habuit, solus mentem? qui profecto solus omnium cæcus, & excors fuit, qui ea loqueretur, quæ nec æger quicquam delirare, nec dormiens possit somnare. Quatuor elementis constare omnia Philosophi veteres distinebant. Ille noluit, ne alienis vestigiis videretur insistere; sed ipsorum elementorum alia voluit esse primordia, quæ nec videri possint, nec tangi, nec ulla corporis parte sentiri. Tam minuta sunt (inquit) ut nulla sit acies ferri tam subtilis, qua secari, ac dividi possint: unde illis nomen imposuit atomorum. Sed occurrebat ei, quod si una esset omnibus, eademque natura, non possent res efficere diversas, tanta varietate, quantum videmus inesse mundo. Dixit ergo levia esse, & aspera, & rotunda, & angulata, & hamata. Quanto melius fuerat tacere, quam in usus tam miserabiles, tam inanes, habere linguam. Et quidem vereor, ne non minus delirare videatur, qui hæc putet resellenda. Respondeamus tamen velut aliquid dicenti. Si levia sunt, & rotunda, utique non possunt invicem se apprehendere, ut aliquod corpus efficiant, ut si quis milium velit in unam coagulationem confingere, levitudo ipsa granorum in massam coire non sinat. Si aspera, & angulata sunt, & hamata, ut possint coherere, dividua ergo, & secabilia sunt: hamis enim necesse est, & angulis eminere, ut possint amputari. Itaque quod amputari, ac divelli potest, & videri poterit, & teneri (12). — In the first place I ask, where and whence are these seeds, by whose fortuitous concourse they pretend the whole world is formed? Who ever saw them? Who ever perceived or heard them? Had Leucippus alone eyes and understanding? rather be alone of all men was blind and stupid, who talked of things more vain and empty than a sick man's dreams. The ancient Philosophers taught, that all things were made out of four elements. Leucippus would not allow it, that he might not seem to tread in the steps of others; but of the elements themselves he pretended that some were primordial, which could neither be seen, touched, nor felt by any part of the body. They are so small, says he, that there is no edge fine enough to cut and divide them; whence he gave them the name of atoms. But there lay an objection against him, that, if they were all of one and the same nature,

(11) Lactantius, Divinar. Institut. lib. iii, cap. xviii, pag. m. 190.

(12) Id. lib. de Tr. Dei, cap. 2, p. 533.

I have often wondered, that Leucippus, and those who have trod in his steps, never thought of saying that each Atom had an inherent vital principle. This supposition would have delivered them from a great part of their perplexity [E], and there is as much

ture, they could not form different things, with so great a variety as we see in the world. He pretended therefore, they were smooth, rough, round, cornered, and hooked. How much better would it have been to have said nothing, than to talk so wretchedly and impertinently? And I fear it will be thought no less impertinent to undertake to refute this opinion. However let us reply as if he had really said something. If these atoms are smooth and round, they cannot unite into one body; just as if any one should endeavour to unite millet into one mass, the very smoothness of the grains would prevent a coalition. If they are rough, and cornered, and hooked, that they may be capable of sticking together, they must be likewise divisible and scissile: for they must have hooks and points, which may be cut off; what therefore may be cut off, and torn away, may be both seen and felt.

A man would be laughed at in our days, who should make such objections; for ever since the chimerical qualities invented by the schoolmen, have been rejected, the only remedy left is that of admitting insensible parts in matter, whose figure, angles, hooks, motion, and situation, constitute the particular essence of the bodies, which strike our senses. Cicero has introduced an interlocutor, who has shewed Lactantius the error of not using distinctions; for he ascribes the same qualities both to the figure of the atoms, and to their fortuitous concurrence (13). The moderns have distinguished better; they reject the eternity of atoms and their fortuitous motion; but, keeping, in all other points except this, to the hypothesis of Leucippus, they make an admirable system of it. This is what Gassendus has done, who differs not from Des Cartes, about the principles of bodies, only as he retains a vacuum. Lactantius's objections against the indivisibility of atoms are the weakest that can be made to the atomists; the followers of Aristotle and Mr Des Cartes propose much stronger; but, after all, they prove nothing more than the possible division of all sorts of extension; for as to the actual division, all sects are obliged to stop somewhere. It is plain there are necessarily innumerable corpuscles, which are never divided, and this alone is sufficient to invalidate Lactantius's objections by way of retortion. Would we make a sound judgment of Leucippus's system, we must follow that of Dr Thomas Burnet. Here is what he says of it (14): 'Ad hanc sectam Eleaticam aggregari solent Leucippus & Democritus, viri celebres & eximii, qui hypothesein Atomorum invexerunt: quæ licet, mea sententia, falsa sit & male fundata, dedit tamen occasionem philosophandi strictius & accuratius. Hi enim non querunt corporum principia, aut agendi vires inter numeros, proportionales, harmonias, ideas, qualitates, aut formas elementares, ut ab aliis factum est: sed ipsa adeunt corpora, eorumque conditiones Physicas & Mechanicas examinant, motum, figuram, partium situm, tenuitatem aut magnitudinem, & similia: & ex his ejusque virtutes æstimant, actiones definiunt, effecta explicant, idque recte solideque, ut mihi videtur, hucusque. Quod vero has minutias indivisibiles esse vellent, aut innatum impetum habere, aut inclinationes ad certa loca, aut denique inanibus spatiis disjungi, hæc & hujusmodi, non tantum gratis dicta sunt, sed etiam clarè rationali refragantur. Utcunque, cum viam aperuerint ad saniores differendi methodum circa res physicas, & in hac parte de republica literaria non male meruerint, illos laude sua ne fraudemus. — To this Eleatic sect Leucippus and Democritus are usually referred; famous men, who first invented the hypothesis of atoms: which, though in my opinion, it be false and ill-grounded, yet gave occasion to philosophize more strictly and accurately. For these men do not look for the principles of bodies, or their power of acting among numbers, proportions, harmonies, ideas, qualities, or elementary forms, as others have done; but they go to the bodies themselves, and examine their physical, and mechanical states, motion, figure, situation of parts, smallness, or magnitude, and the like: and from these they estimate the virtues of each, define their actions, explain their effects, and that rightly and solidly, I think, hitherto. But where as they will have these small parts to be indivisible, to

have an innate tendency to certain places, and lastly to be disunited in empty spaces, these and the like suppositions are not only without foundation, but even contrary to reason. However it be, since they opened a way to a more sound method of reasoning upon natural things, and in this respect deserved well of the learned world, let us not rob them of the praise that is due to them.

[E] This supposition would have delivered them from a great part of their perplexity.] They might then

have given some sort of answer to an objection, which they have never been able to solve; it is that, which Plutarch propo- Coloten, pag. 1112.

Plutarch propo- Coloten, pag. 1112.

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Plutarch propo- Coloten, pag. 1112.

(13) Ita enim flagitia Democriti, five etiam ante Leucippi, esse corpuscula quædam levia, alia aspera, rotunda alia, partim angulata, curvata quædam & quasi adunca: ex his effectum esse cælum aque terram, nulla cogente natura, sed concursu quodam fortuito. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. i, cap. xxvii.

(14) Archæolog. Philosoph. lib. i, cap. xlii, pag. m. 378.

(15) Plut. adv. Coloten, pag. 1112.

(16) Citat. (68), of the article EPICURUS.

FROM hence, that each atom is inanimate, it follows that no collection or combination of atoms can become a sensitive being.

(17) In remark of the article DEMOCRITUS.

(18) Plut. de plac. Philosoph. lib. iv, cap. iv, pag. 908, F.

(19) In remark of the article LUCRETIUS.

THAT which chins ought to be indivisible. The advantage, which the system of Leucippus would have had by assigning a soul to each atom.

much foundation for it as for the eternity, and inherent motion, which they attribute to their indivisible corpuscles. Let us observe, that there was a sect of Philosophers in the

capacity of knowing would be entirely useless; no one act of knowledge could result from that capacity: at least it's acts of knowledge would be very different from those which we experience; for these represent to us all the object at once, a whole tree, a whole horse, &c. An evident proof, that the subject, affected with the whole image of these objects, is not divisible into many parts, and consequently that man, as a thinking being, is not corporeal, or material, or divided, or compounded of many beings. If he were, he would be perfectly insensible of the stroke of a flick, since the pain would divide itself into as many particles as the member smitten consists of. But these members consist of infinite particles: so that the portion of pain, which belonged to each part would be too small to be perceived or felt. If you answer that each part of the soul communicates its passions to the rest, I am ready to make you two or three replies, which will throw you back again into the mire.

I would tell you, in the first place, that it appears no more possible for the parts of a globe to communicate their pain, than to communicate their motion. Now it is most certain, that each part preserves that quantity of motion, which falls to its share, and communicates nothing of it to others. Push a globe; the motion you communicate to it equally distributes it self to all the particles of this moveable, to each according to it's bulk; and from that time forward, till the globe leaves moving, there is no new division made of this motion among it's parts. Why then should you suppose any other law with respect to thought; for instance, with respect to the pain you might excite in this globe by a kick with the foot? Ought you not to say, that this pain distributes itself through the whole globe, and that each part of the globe partakes of it, in proportion to it's magnitude, and retains what falls to it's share? In the second place, I desire your answer to this short question. How does the part A of the soul communicate it's pain to the parts B and C. Does it transfer it by fairly divesting itself, in such a manner, that the same numerical pain, which was lately in the part A is now found in the part B? If so, it destroys a most certain and true maxim, *That accidents do not pass from one subject to another* (20). Besides, it destroys your own supposition. Your design is to shew, that the pain of a kick with the foot must be very smart, though divided into infinite portions, and you suppose that the portion, which falls to one part of the soul, quits that part, and fixes on another. But this way of communicating will not augment the sensation; for if, as fast as one part of the soul communicates it's pain, it loses it; an increase to that degree, which we call intensive (21), is infallibly prevented, and thus the difficulty subsists in it's full force. One cannot conceive why a pain, because divided into infinite parts, should be an insupportable sensation. You will say then, that one part of the soul communicates it's pain to the rest, and yet retains it, that is to say, produces in the neighbouring parts a sensation like it's own. But my objection reverts. This like sensation produced a new, is it not received into a subject divisible in infinitum? It will consequently then divide itself into infinite parts, after the manner of the first, and by this division each subject, or each part of the substance, will have only a degree of pain so small, so insignificant, as not to be felt. Now experience teaches us quite the contrary. My third reply shall be, that you introduce into the world an infinite number of needless things. You can never bring your notion to bear, but by supposing a thing inconceivable, to wit, that the image of a horse, or the idea of a square, being received into a soul composed of infinite parts, preserve themselves entire in every part. This is the absurdity of the intentional species, which the schoolmen dare hardly any longer advance. It is an absurdity greater than that of those doctors, who say the soul is all in all the body, and all in every part (22). But I let that pass, and only ask you, whether your supposition does not manifestly include this monstrous absurdity; that, in a famished dog, there are infinite substances, which feel the gnawings of hunger, and, in a man who reads there are infinite things, which read and know each what they

read. Nevertheless, we all know by experience, that there is only one thing in us, which knows that it reads, that it is hungry, that it feels pain or joy, &c. To what end then serves this infinite number of substances, which read in every reader, which hunger and thirst in every animal, &c. This consequence you cannot deny, since, to deliver yourself from the inconveniences, to which you are exposed by the division of thought into as many parts, as there are parts in the substance of a material soul, you are forced to answer, that the parts of the soul, by reciprocally communicating their modifications, preserve the sensation entire in every part. This puts me in mind of a very good argument, which a sect of Philosophers, whom I shall mention in the following remark, employed to maintain the spirituality of God. If God is a body, say they, the perfection of his being is found either in all the individual substances of his body, or in one alone. If in all, there are then many Gods; if only in one, the rest are superfluous. 'Si Deus est corpus, tum Divinitas & Veritas ejus perficitur vel in universalitate & complexu Substantiarum individuorum corporis illius, quod habet, vel in una tantum. Si perficitur in una, tum nulla est utilitas reliquarum, sed sunt superflua: nullaque est ratio essentie illius corporis, (quia una substantia indivisa non potest corpus constituere). Si in omnibus & singulis perficitur tum erunt Divinitates multe, non vero Deus unus. Atqui vero jam demonstrarunt, Deum esse unum. Ergo (23). You will tell me, perhaps, that the soul does not see all the parts of a horse at once, but one after another; that this succession is so quick, that it is imperceptible, and that the impression, received the first instant, lasts long enough to be united with the impression of the following instants; whence it happens, that the soul believes it sees the parts of an object, which really act no longer upon it. Thus the soul thinks she sees a circle of fire; when one turns round a flaming stick. She sees the parts of this circle successively, and yet she thinks she sees them all at once. Which proceeds from hence, that the impression, she has received, lasts longer than the action of the object. I answer, that this subterfuge will not bring you off. It signifies nothing against my last, nor even against some of my former objections; it can only serve to dazzle a little on account of the disproportion between the greatness of the object, and the smallness of the thinking substance. But after all, what could you reply, should I say, that, when a man attentively beholds an immoveable body, a wall for example, the same part of the object, which struck him the first of these imperceptible instants you mention, must strike him every following instant; for no reason can be assigned, why it should cease acting on the soul. It acts then at the same time with all the other parts; but tell me, if you can, how the image of a wall can be fitted all entire, and at the same instant, to a subject divisible in infinitum. This, and several other arguments, to be seen in the writings of some moderns, invincibly prove that thought is incompatible with a compound being (24).

I have enlarged on this matter, on purpose to confirm what I had before laid down, that Leucippus, Epicurus, and the other Atomists, might have guarded against several unanswerable objections, if they had thought themselves of giving a soul to every atom. They would thereby have united thought to an indivisible subject, and they had as good ground to suppose atoms animated, as to suppose them uncreated, and endued with a moving virtue. It is as difficult to conceive this virtue in an atom, as that of sensation. Extension and solidity constitute the whole essence of an atom in our idea. The power of moving is not included in it. It is as foreign and extrinsic to body and extension, as that of knowledge. Why then, since the Atomists supposed in their corpuscles a self-moving force, would they rob them of thought? I know they could not have avoided all difficulties, by ascribing it to them: they might still have been pressed with invincible objections (25). Yet there had been some glory in parrying a thrust here and there. Let us observe, that very great Philosophers have made the principal properties of the soul to consist in a self-moving power

(20) Accidents non migrant de subjecto in subjectum.

(21) The school Philosophers call intensive the propagation of a quality in different parts of the subject, an increase, the acquisition of new degrees of a quality in the same part of the subject.

(22) Toti in toto & toti in singulis partibus.

(23) Moses Malmonides in Doctore perplexorum, Part. I, cap. lxxvi, pag. m. 176.

Whether the perception of a body is formed successively in the soul.

(24) See, above, the article DILECARCHUS, citation (58). No one, in my opinion, has treated this important question about the immortality and indivisibility of what ever thinks, more solidly than Dom. Francis Lami, a Benedictine of the congregation of St. Maur, in his excellent work of the knowledge of one's self.

(25) See those, which St. Augustin proposes in his 6th Epistle, pag. m. 273, & seq. power

the East, who admitted the hypothesis of atoms, and a vacuum [F]; but they amended, it for they ascribed to God the creation of those atoms. Let us also observe that the vacuum, which Gassendus had restored, and Des Cartes overthrown, gains ground daily, and becomes the favourite doctrine [G] of the most famous Mathematicians.

(26) See Aristot. de Anima, lib. I, cap. II, & Plut. de placitis Philosoph. lib. IV, cap. II.

(27) See the marginal note of Buxtorf, at the beginning of the sixty ninth chapter of the first part of his translation of *More Neuchim*, five *Doctores perplexorum*, of Moses Maimonides.

(28) Maimonides, *ibid.* cap. lxxiii, pag. 148.

(29) *Ibid.* pag. 149.

(30) *Ibid.* pag. 150.

(31) *Ibid.* pag. 151.

(32) *Ibid.*

(33) *Ibid.* pag. 152, 153.

(34) I believe it ought to be read *Animate*, and so the opinion of these Philosophers would be, that each part of the soul is animated.

(35) Plut. de placitis Philosoph. lib. I, cap. xviii, pag. 884.

(36) Aristot. de Celo, lib. I, cap. ix, pag. m. 248.

power (26). It is by this attribute they have characterized and defined it. Would any one then have thought it strange, that they, who gave to atoms the principle of motion, should give them a soul too?

[F] There was a sect of Philosophers in the east, who admitted the hypothesis of atoms, and a vacuum.

The famous Rabbi Maimonides, speaks at large of this sect of Philosophers. They are called *The Speakers* (27). They principally exercised themselves on these four points (28). I. That the world is not eternal. II. That it was created. III. That its creator is one. IV. That he is incorporeal. This Rabbi mentions the twelve principles they laid down for their foundation. The second of which was, that there is a vacuum, and the third, that time is made up of indivisible instants. It does not appear, that their atoms were like those of Leucippus; for they gave them no magnitude, and made them all exactly alike (29). Maimonides presses them hard (30) on their being forced to deny, that one moveable went faster than another, and that the diagonal of a square was longer than one of its sides. These difficulties obliged them to say that the senses deceive us, and that we must trust to reason alone (31). Some even went so far, as to deny the existence of a square figure (32). Let us say, by the by, that they might have retorted these difficulties upon their adversaries, and let us challenge all the patrons of divisibility in infinitum, to answer the arguments, which prove that the diagonal of a square is not longer than one of the sides. For the rest, these Arabian Philosophers supposed in part, what I have said Leucippus ought to have done; they taught, that every atom of animate bodies was animated, and every atom of sensitive bodies sensitive, and that the understanding resided in an atom. There was no dispute among them on this point; but as to the soul, they divided into two opinions about it; some said, she was lodged in one of the atoms, of which man, for example, is composed. Others compounded her of many very subtle substances. They were divided much the same as to knowledge. Some placed it in a single atom, others in each of the atoms, which constitute the knowing person. (33) *Vita*, ex iporum sententia, existit in unaquaque particula corporis viventis. Ita dicunt, quavis particulari Animantis sensu præditi, sensibilem quoque esse. Nam *Vita*, *Sensus*, *Intellectus*, & *Sapientia ipsæ sunt Accidentia*, non minus quam *Nigredo* & *Albedo*. *De Anima dissentiant*. Quidam statuunt, Animam esse accidentem existens in uno aliquo atomorum illorum, & quibus homo verbi gratia compositus est; totum autem compositum vocari Animam, quia substantia illa individua vel atomum illud in eo continetur. Alii dicunt, Animam esse compositam ex multis subtilissimis substantiis accidentem quoddam habentibus, quoniam uniantur & conjunguntur, & animata (34) fiunt, substantiasque illas cum substantiis corporis commisceri. Ex quibus vides, illos Animam quoque inter Accidentia referre. Intellectum quod attinet, unanimi sententia affirmant, quod sit accidentem in substantia quadam individua totius Intelligentis. *De Scientia hærent*, an sit accidentem existens in unaquaque substantia individua scientis, an in una tantum?

[G] The vacuum became the favourite doctrine of the most famous Mathematicians.] Plutarch affirms (35). I. That a vacuum was rejected down from Thales to Plato. II. That Leucippus, Democritus, Demetrius, Metrodorus, and Epicurus, admitted an infinite vacuum. III. That the Stoics taught, that all was a plenum in the world, and beyond it an infinite vacuum. IV. That Aristotle acknowledged, beyond the world, only so much vacuum, as was sufficient for the heavens to breathe in; adding, that the heaven is fire. I do not know where Aristotle has taught this doctrine; but I know where he has denied, that there are bodies beyond the heaven (36), which supposes his admitting an infinite vacuum beyond the world; for nothing could be more absurd, than to suppose, above the highest heaven, a void and finite space. Note, that he teaches in the same place, that there is neither place, nor vacuum, nor time, above the highest heaven; however, it is a meer question about a word; for he rejects the

vacuum, only as defined to be a space, which contains no matter, but which may contain it. He maintained, that it was not possible, there should be bodies above the world; therefore he could not admit a vacuum according to that definition; but he had doted, if, taking the void, simply and generally, for whatever contains or incloses no body, he had said, that, beyond the last celestial sphere, there was no void. Christian Philosophers, professing his doctrine, have taught, what Plutarch attributes to the Stoics, that all is full in the world, and that beyond it there is an infinite void. This they call the imaginary space, and do not believe it to be a vacuum properly so called, though it includes no body; for by a vacuum, or void, they understand the space, which containing no body, is yet surrounded by bodies on all parts. It is manifest, that this definition belongs not to the imaginary space. As to the plenitude of the world, they have admitted it as a fundamental point, dear and precious to nature; since they have said, that it has such a horror for a vacuum, that it will rather violate its own laws, than suffer it to insinuate itself any where. It makes light bodies descend, and heavy bodies ascend, as often as a vacuum threatens it, say they, these motions are contrary to her own laws, and do violence to the elements: but what shall we do in this case? is it not lawful and just, of two evils, to chuse the least? the modern Philosophers have sufficiently ridiculed these visions. Galileus, and his successor Torricelli, revived the doctrine of a vacuum; Gassendus, the great restorer of Leucippus's system, brought it into fashion, and pretended to have proved it demonstratively. Mr Des Cartes declared for a plenum, and carried the thing much farther than Aristotle's followers had done; for he not only maintained, there was no vacuum, but also, that it was absolutely impossible there should be any; he went upon this, that the vacuum, having all the properties, and all the essence of body, that is, the three dimensions, it were a contradiction in terms to pretend, that the vacuum is a space without body. The identity he established between space and body, was thought by most people a great paradox; they cried out, that he detracted from the divine omnipotence, as teaching, that God himself could not by a miracle effect, that a vessel, remaining a vessel, should not be filled with some matter. This is doubtless a consequence of his doctrine, but which does not strike at the omnipotence of God; the question is not concerning his omnipotence, but only whether whatever has three dimensions be body. Many have thought Mr Des Cartes's arguments very solid, and believed that, by the help of his subtle matter, motion and plenitude might be easily reconciled, and they have found a parallogism in the pretended demonstrations of Mr Gassendus (37). Thus the reign of the plenum seemed to be better established than ever, when, to our great surprize, we

have seen some great Mathematicians of the contrary opinion. Mr Huygens has declared for a vacuum (38): Part III, chap. xlviii, n. 4. pag. m. 328, & seq. and note, that Aristotle, *lib. iv, Phys. cap. vii*, and I have heard him say, that the existence of a vacuum is not a problem, but a thing certain, and the answers, which mathematically demonstrated. He added, that the void space is incomparably greater than the full. This Royal make to new sect, patronizing a vacuum, conceives the universe as an infinite space, in which are scattered some bodies, which, in comparison of that space, are no more than as some ships dispersed here and there on the ocean. So that they, whose sight should be good enough to distinguish what is full from what is void or empty, would cry out,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto (40).

Free, scatter'd, floating on the vast abyss.

TRAPP.

What perplexes the new patrons of a vacuum, is, that they find the Cartesian arguments against the nothingness of space so very strong, that they dare not maintain, as the school Philosophers do, that space is

(37) See the Art. opinion. Mr Huygens has declared for a vacuum (38): Part III, chap. xlviii, n. 4. pag. m. 328, & seq. and note, that Aristotle, *lib. iv, Phys. cap. vii*, and I have heard him say, that the existence of a vacuum is not a problem, but a thing certain, and the answers, which mathematically demonstrated. He added, that the void space is incomparably greater than the full. This Royal make to new sect, patronizing a vacuum, conceives the universe as an infinite space, in which are scattered some bodies, which, in comparison of that space, are no more than as some ships dispersed here and there on the ocean. So that they, whose sight should be good enough to distinguish what is full from what is void or empty, would cry out,

* Sir Isaac Newton.

(39) Newton. *Philos. Natur. Princ. Mathem.* pag. 411.

(40) Virgil. *Æn. lib. i, v. 118.*

is a pure privation. When therefore they are asked, what these spaces are, which have really three dimensions, are distinct from body, and suffer themselves to be penetrated by bodies, without making any opposition, they know not what to answer, and are almost induced to adopt the chimera of some Peripatetics, who had the boldness to say, that space is nothing but the immensity of God (41). This would be a very absurd doctrine, as Mr Arnauld has shewn in the books (42), wherein he pretends, that Father Mallebranche seems to attribute to God a formal extension. Note, that Mr Hartsoecker, a good Natural Philosopher and Mathematician, has taken the middle way between Des Cartes, and the new followers of a vacuum; for if, on one hand, he pretends, that motion is impossible in the Cartesian system, on the other side he will have the fluid expanse, in which bodies float, and scud at their ease, not to be pure space, or penetrable extension (43).

From this we may collect two things. One is, that these great Mathematicians, who demonstrate a vacuum, give the Sceptics greater pleasure, than they imagine. Observe how. The mind of man has no ideas more clear and distinct than those of the nature and attributes of extension. This is the foundation of Mathematics. Now these ideas manifestly shew, that extension is a being, which has *partes extra partes*, and which consequently is divisible and impenetrable. We know by experience the impenetrability of bodies; and, if we seek the origin and reason of it *a priori*, we find it with the utmost perspicuity in the idea of extension, and of the distinction of the parts of extended being, and cannot possibly conceive any other foundation of it. We conceive extension, not as a genus, which contains under it two species, but as a species, which has under it only individuals (44). Whence we conclude, that the attributes, found in any one extension, are found also in every other. In the mean time, here are Mathematicians, who demonstrate a vacuum, that is an indivisible and pene-

trable extension, so that a globe of four feet diameter, and the space it fills, which is also of four feet, are no more than four feet of extension. There is therefore no trusting to any clear and distinct ideas, upon which our minds can rest, since that of extension is found to have miserably deceived us. This idea had induced us to believe, that whatever is extended has impenetrable parts; but here is now a space mathematically demonstrated, a space, I say, with three dimensions, which is immoveable, and which suffers other dimensions to pass and repass, without moving itself, or opening for them. The second thing I have to say, is, that Spinoza's system is but ill adapted to this two-fold extension in the universe, one penetrable, continued, and immoveable, the other impenetrable, and separated into parcels, which are sometimes distant a hundred leagues from one another. I believe the Spinozists would find themselves strangely puzzled, if they were forced to admit Mr Newton's demonstrations.

I mentioned, above (45), an observation of the Philosophers of the sect of the Speakers. The Rabbi Maimonides confutes it after this manner (46): "Hanc rationem si consideraveris, invenies illam superfluum. Nam esse propositioni ipsorum primæ & quintæ, ac proinde nullius esse ponderis. Potest enim illis dici, Corpus Dei non est, ut dicitis vos, compositum ex conjunctione particularum ejusmodi individuarum, quales ipse creavit; sed est corpus unum continuum, nullam nisi in Cogitatione admittens divisionem. — If you consider this reason, you will find that it is built upon their first and fifth propositions, and therefore is of no weight. For they may be told 'The body of God is not, as you say, composed of a conjunction of such individual particles as he himself created; but is one continued body, admitting of no division but in idea.' The answer, this Rabbi supposes might be made, is not very wide of their position, who admit a positive space, which is the Deity itself.

LEUWENTZ, a town of Hungary, I mention it only to correct two gross faults in the Supplement to Moreri [A].

[A] I mention it only to correct two gross faults in the supplement to Moreri. I To affirm, that this town depends on the archduke of Austria, is to deceive the reader; for it is supposing, either that this town is annexed to the archduchy of Austria, or that it belongs to a prince distinct from his Imperial Majesty, and yet known by the title of archduke of Austria. Both of which are false. Nothing was easier than understanding this phrase of Mr Baudrand, which has been mis-understood, *sub domino Austriacorum etiamnum*. Mr Baudrand had wrote his Dictionary (1) before the losses, which the Turks had suffered in Hungary, and whilst they were in possession of their last conquests, and particularly of Neuhaufel, of which he had been speaking. For which reason he thought himself obliged to observe, that the house of Austria

was still in possession of Leuwentz; for, having said before, that this town depended on the government of Neuhaufel, he led his readers to believe, that this place belonged to the Turks, since the cession of Neuhaufel, by the treaty of 1664. The second fault is most absurd. Mr de Souches, who beat the Turks at Leuwentz, in 1664, was not General of the French, though he was a Frenchman. He should here have distinguished these two things the more carefully, because the French had extremely magnified the part they had in the defeat of the Turks at the passage of Raab, in 1664. Mr Baudrand is secure from this criticism, though his phrase, *Grandi clade affecti fuisse à Soucho Duce Gallo*, is a little too equivocal.

LEWIS VII, king of France, was crowned at Rheims the twenty fifth of October 1131 (a), and reigned with his father till the first of August 1137, and afterwards alone till the month of September 1180. He married Eleanor daughter and heiress to William, the IXth of that name, duke of Guienne, in the year 1137 (b). This princess was a great match, both on account of her beauty and of the fine provinces her father had left her; but it is pretended she was very leud, and that her husband had very good reasons to dissolve the marriage, if human prudence could have suffered him to renounce the possession of Eleanor's great estates by this divorce. All Historians blame him for being more jealous than politic; for at last not being able to bear the weight of his jealousy, and the dishonour he pretended his wife's irregular life brought upon him, he earnestly sued for a divorce, and obtained it by the sentence of the prelates of the kingdom, assembled at Baugency, in the year 1152 (c). He did what Marcus Aurelius would have done in the like case; but he had acted a wiser part if he had imitated that emperor [A], and in consideration of the dowry, stifled all thoughts

[A] He had acted a wiser part, if he had imitated Marcus Aurelius. When it was represented to this emperor, that since he would not put his wife to death, whose debaucheries were arrived to the utmost pitch of infamy, he ought to divorce her: he answered, but if I do that, I must restore her portion, that is, I must divest myself of the empire.

VOL. III.

Fausinam satis constat apud Cajetam condiciones sibi & nauticas & gladiatorias elegisse: de qua quum diceretur Antonino Marco, ut repudiaret, si non occideret, dixisse fertur, Si uxorem dimittimus, reddamus & dotem. Dos autem quid erat, nisi imperium quod ille ab suo, volente Adriano adoptatus, acceperat (1) P This answer very well became an emperor who was a Philosopher,

(41) See de Reason, in the sixth chapter of his Physics abridged, pag. m. 35.

(42) Amongst other writings of his, see his Defence, printed in 1684.

(43) Hartsoecker, Principles of Physics, chap. I.

(44) See the Defence of Mr Arnauld, Part. V, pag. 351, and the following.

(1) It was printed at Paris, 1682.

(45) Citat (23).
(46) Moses Maimonides, ubi supra, pag. 176.

(a) Mezerau Abregé Chronol. Tom II, pag. m. 554.

(b) Id. ibid. pag. 557.

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 570.

(1) Capitolinus, in Marco Aurel. cap. xix, pag. m. 362, Tom. I.

(d) This was Henry II. He was not king at yet.

(e) De Larrey, *Heritiere de Guenne*, pag. 61.

thoughts of a separation. He restored to the divorced princess all that belonged to her; and thereby put his most dangerous neighbour in a capacity of oppressing France; for the king of England (d) preferring the interests of his grandeur before the shame of marrying a divorced and disgraced princess [B], went as we may say post to Bourdeaux (e), when she was offered to him after the separation, and presently concluded the marriage. He sacrificed without any difficulty, and even with a great deal of pleasure, the nicety of a point of honour to ambition. The king of France had taken Eleanor along with him into Asia, where, as if Europe were not a large field enough for her gallantries, it is said, she completed the ruin of her reputation [C], being little affected with the sanctity of the places she went to see, with the princes of the crusade,

philosopher. We here see that Marcus Aurelius knew how to reconcile these two characters. If he had kept the empire after the divorce, he had done an unjust action, and had but ill maintained the character of a Philosopher. If he had chose to be reduced to a private condition, rather than be a cuckold, he had shewn a contempt of greatness and authority, and so would have ill maintained his character of emperor. The justice of his maxim was not unknown to Burrhus, Nero's governor; for when this prince would have divorced Octavia, the emperor Claudius's daughter, Burrhus endeavoured to dissuade him from it, by telling him, that if he divorced her, he must restore her the empire (2). We have here a king of France, who practised this principle so conscientiously, that we may say he was scrupulous not only beyond what a prince ought to be, but beyond what any private person would have been. To prove this, I shall set down the words of a modern Historian, a great favourer of Eleanor.

(2) Καὶ τοὶ τὸ Βούλην ἡντινυσμένον αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν αὐτῶν ἀποπείσαντες, καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἡγεμονίων ἀπὸ δόξ. Burrhus illi quidem restitente, & prohibente illam repudiari, & illi dicente: dotem igitur ei, hoc est, principatum restitit. *Herit. in Nerone.*

(3) Mr de Larrey, in his *Heritiere de Guenne*, pag. 60, ad ann. 1154.

She retired, says he (3), immediately to her dominions of Guienne, from which the king withdrew his garrisons, without retaining any one place; though having two daughters by that marriage, which he kept with him, it seems he might, under pretence of securing their pretensions to the succession, have seized on the fortresses of the duchy. Possibly he might have acted this out of policy, to prevent the revolt of Guienne, where the people, turbulent and jealous of their rights, would never have suffered him to make himself master to the prejudice of their lawful sovereign; so that he judged it prudentest to wait till the death of this princess, should put her daughters in possession. Perhaps too it was a pure nicety of conscience; not believing he could justly retain the estate of a princess he had divorced. Besides, he had lately lost two of the ablest men of his kingdom; the abbot Suger, and the count de Vermandois, who died in the same year; and as they had the whole management of the kingdom, whilst he never concerned himself with it, he was in as great a perplexity at their death, as a man whom his guides forsake in the midst of a forest. So much it imports a sovereign to be timely instructed in the interests of his states, and to govern by his own understanding, and not by that of his ministers. However, queen Eleanor was very happy, that Lewis VII, being more a monk than a king, listened to the scruples of his conscience, rather than the motives of ambition. I have retrenched nothing from this passage; there is a justness of thought runs through the whole, proper to instruct the reader. Another modern writer reasons upon the motives of Lewis VII, without mentioning any scruples of conscience. Here is what he says: 'Lewis being returned from the Holy-Land, had disannulled his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitain, under pretence that they were near relations, but indeed to punish this queen, for a suspected gallantry of her's in the east, with a Turk named Saladin, and for other debaucheries, too public to be kept secret. Pure discontent put him upon this divorce, with so little precaution, that against all the rules of policy, he sent back Eleanor into her own country, which he restored to her; not thinking, perhaps, that either there was any man so venturous as to marry a princess he had divorced, or any prince so little nice, as to take a disgraced woman, by whom he had had two daughters. The event shewed he was mistaken. Henry, then duke of Normandy, overlooked this scruple, to vex Lewis, and add Guienne to so many other fine territories which he possessed in France; by which he saw himself in a fair way to be one day as

'powerful as the king (4)'. Add to this a passage of Mezerai, which I cite in the following remark.

For the rest, I pretend not to draw a parallel between Faustina and queen Eleanor; the greatest detractor cannot say that of the latter, which history says of Faustina. She went herself to chase her gallants on the sea-shore, among watermen and mariners, and that because they commonly went naked (5). My meaning is easily understood.

[B] The king of England preferred the interests of his grandeur, before the shame of marrying a divorced and disgraced princess. A passage of Mezerai will inform us of two things which will amaze good men, and men of honour; the one will be surprized, that the king of France should pay so much deference to the severe laws of the Gospel: and others, that a presumptive heir of England, should not pay enough to the laws of worldly honour: 'Lewis VII, being returned from the Holy-Land, was willing to get rid of his wicked wife, though he had had two daughters by her, Mary and Alix. To this end having declared to the Pope, that she was related to him in a prohibited degree, he assembled a council at Baugency, where the bishops being secretly acquainted with the true cause of this divorce, pronounced the marriage null: Eleanor having as passionately desired it as he, because, as she said, he was more a Monk than a king. And truly it was well for her that he was; for if he had not been somewhat monkish, he would have treated her in another manner, and not have been so conscientious, as to restore her Guienne and Poitou; but have confiscated them for her crime, and for the rest have favoured her with her life, if he had thought fit. But we need not wonder that he committed such a gross fault in point of policy, in which he had little experience, having always trusted the administration, in a word, all the government and management of affairs, to his minister, the abbot Suger, who died the year before, had left him as much bewildered, as a man who loses his guide in a desert and unknown country. Most honest men will think this scrupulous restitution strange, and men of honour will also wonder to see that Henry, to whom Stephen, having no children, had bequeathed the kingdom of England, should marry this princess, whose debauchery was so public, that the king could not think any private gentleman would have had the meanness to dishonour his family with her (6)'. [C] He carried his wife into Asia, where it is said she completed the ruin of her reputation. Father d'Orleans had been telling us, that she was suspected of a gallantry with a Turk, named Saladin. This wants a farther explanation, such as an Historian, this queen's apologist, has given. During Lewis VII's abode at Antioch, the queen wrote to Saladin for the liberty of one of her relations, whom she loved much, and backed her letter with a considerable sum for his ranfome (7). He granted the queen the liberty of her relation, without taking the ranfome, and made a very ingenious and civil answer to her letter (8). The prisoner was the bearer of it, and delivered it to the queen, without saying any thing to the king. He often talked of Saladin's generosity to the queen, and every where praised his gentle carriage, and great merit, with such exaggerations as are natural to those who speak of a benefactor. The king was advertised of it, and was willing to know the circumstances of that adventure. The secret the queen had made of her negotiation with Saladin, appeared suspicious to him, and the proceeding of the Sultan seemed so extraordinary for a Turk, that he could not believe his genero-

(4) Father d'Orleans, *History of the Revolution of England*, Tom. I, pag. 153; 154.

(5) Cuius (M. Aurelii Antonini) divina omni domi militieque facula consilium: quae improbitate regendae conjugis attemperavit: quae in tantum petulantie prorupit, ut in Campania federa amona littorum obideret ad legendum ex nauticis quia plerumque nudae agant, aplores. *Aurel. Victor. in Caesaribus*, p. 2. m. 13.

(6) Mezerai, *Hist. of France*, Vol. II, pag. 103.

(7) De Larrey, ubi supra, pag. 45.

(8) Ibid. pag. 46.

crusade. I shall recite what Brantome says of it [D]. The discontents she gave her husband

city was disinterested. He thought an adventurer, such as Saladin was, and head of the robbers, such as the Turks then were, incapable of so generous an action, had he not designed to make himself amends by something more advantageous than the ransom he had refused. He made no long enquiry into what might be his design. What was told him of the gentleness and bravery of Saladin, of the letter the queen had written to him, and of the answer he had given her, made him look upon the queen as a woman who had betrayed him, and who held a criminal correspondence with Saladin. He made no reflexion upon the distance of places, nor the quality of the persons which rendered this commerce impossible, but fancied that this Sultan might come disguised to Antioch, and that the queen saw him at her uncle's. Add to this, that this prince, provoked by his suspicions, took no care to cure him of them; but pushed on by her uncle, who was resolved to revenge a repulse the king had given him, instead of a meek behaviour and complaisance, expressed a great contempt for him, and proposed the dissolving their marriage, which the relation, she said, between them made unlawful. Then it was, that the king feared; she would quit him the first opportunity, to follow her gallant, and it was the fear he had of this, that made him send her away in a hurry from Antioch, not doubting, after such a proposition, but she had formed the design. This is what History informs us concerning this adventure, which might give occasion to the jealousies of so weak and suspicious a prince as Lewis VII, but which cannot justify the calumnies, with which some Historians have blackened this queen's innocence.

(9) That is to say, the conqueror Saladin.

(10) Mezerai, Abr. Chronolog. Tom. II, pag. m. 566.

(11) Ibid. pag. 571.

(12) Heritiere de Guienne, pag. 59.

(13) Supposing that at this time he wore Sultan, or at the head of a great army, which I confute below.

(14) Saladin was general of the Turks, and not of the Saracens.

(15) Annales Galantes, Part. I, pag. 31, Edit. Holland, 1677.

(16) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 102.

(17) Compare what is above, remark [A] of the article EPI. CURUS.

I grant, with Mr de Larrey, that the calumnies founded on this adventure, as if Saladin (9) had actually lain with queen Eleanor, are frivolous; but I do not think with him, that Lewis VII betrayed any symptoms of a weak and suspicious prince in being persuaded there was a mystery of iniquity in the case; the most resolute and the greatest prince would have had a just occasion to be alarmed. The most reserved Historians acknowledge, that this princess was a coquette (10), and burned with lust and ambition. Some months after her divorce, she married Henry duke of Normandy, and presumptive heir of England, a prince young, ardent, red-haired, and very capable to satisfy all her desires (11). She was in love with him before she was divorced, and it was that passion that prompted her to press the dissolution of her marriage, as Mr de Larrey confesses (12). From a like motive she was likely enough to run after Saladin (13). I have read in a book of the lady de Villedeu, a passage that I think remarkable, and which I shall set down without warranting the truth of it. 'History has so celebrated this princess's beauty, that it would be a vain attempt to describe it. She it was that charmed the fierceness of the brave Saladin, general of the Saracen army (14), and who having given him to understand, that she believed no protestations of love, but in her own tongue, forced this great captain to that surprizing effect of love, as to learn the French tongue in a fortnight (15).'

Mr de Larrey doubtless will not take it ill, after I have owned with him, that there is no likelihood Eleanor had to do with the great Saladin, if I advertise my reader, that good Historians, who speak of this queen's disorders, do not suppose her lover was the same Saladin, who made himself so famous by his conquests. They say then, that the person she had an affair with in Antioch was one Saladin, a baptized Turk (16). Others, without mentioning the conversion of this person, simply say, that he was a Turk named Saladin. And there are some who speak as if he had never been baptized, and they describe her running after a Turkish soldier, whom she had made the object of her passion, in contempt of her religion and dignity. It is Mr Larrey himself, who speaks thus in his advertisement to the reader. All this manifestly insinuates, that the great Saladin is not the person in question, for a good Historian could not, in speaking of so great a man, make use of the phrase one Saladin; a Turk named Saladin (17). For the rest, when this queen carried herself to ill in Antioch, Saladin was not Sultan of Iconium, as Mr de

Larrey supposes (18), nor do I think that country was ever one of his conquests. He married one of his 45 daughters a long time after to Melich, the Sultan of Iconium's son (19). This does some prejudice to Eleanor's apology.

John Boucher, in his annals of Aquitaine, affirms, that Lewis VII suspected his wife desired to marry the Sultan Saladin, and that that reason was alledged by the king when they treated of the divorce. 'Some

have written, that if the said king Lewis had not brought away his wife Eleanor, she had formed a design, by the advice of her uncle duke Haymond, to quit the king, and marry the Sultan Saladin; by which means the said duke Haymond would have recovered all his lands: he did this out of revenge, because the said king Lewis had refused to assist him to recover them; but he said nothing to Eleanor of it, till he was in France, as we shall see afterwards (20).'

Let us see what is contained in the place he refers to (21): 'The council being assembled, the matter was put in debate by the archbishop (22) of Langres, who was also summoned thither, speaking thus; you know, gentlemen, what our Saviour Jesus Christ formerly said, that man cannot separate those, whom God has joined in marriage; however, he excepts one case, which is when one or the other commits adultery; for if that happens they may be dissolved and separated. Now gentlemen, it is true, as the king commands me to say, that in a voyage beyond the seas (from which, thanks to God, he is returned) through the great love he had to Madam Eleanor his wife, he took her along with him, as well to visit the sacred places of Jerusalem, as to see Haymond, the duke of Antioch, her uncle, by whose means the king expected to have succours and assistance in the said country, to perfect his enterprise; nevertheless, the said lady, without occasion, cause, or reason, and from meer levity, designed to desert the king, her husband, and give herself up to Sultan Saladin, whose picture she had seen, and thus betray the king and his whole army, and all this by the counsel of the said Haymond her uncle. Which wicked and damned enterprise was not executed, as God would have it, by the great diligence the king made to retire from that danger, which he never declared to the said lady. However, he has always laid this fact to heart, and can in no wise trust in her, and would willingly be divorced, if he saw the thing were reasonable, and that God would not be offended by it. For, as he says, he can never be assured of the children that may proceed from her.' The author adds, that the archbishop of Bourdeaux, desiring that her divorce might be grounded on some other reason, besides the petulancy and ill intentions, the said lady Eleanor was charged with, proposed another more honourable medium, which was, that the king and she were relations, and that in the degree prohibited. This overture was accepted, and the dissolution of the marriage founded upon it. The queen informed of what had passed, fainted away from the chair she sat in, and was speechless above two hours; nor could she cry, nor open her teeth. And when she was a little come to herself, she began with her clear and beautiful eyes to look upon those who had told her the first sad news, and said to them, &c. (23).'

[D] I shall set down what Brantome says of it.]

He speaks ill of Eleanor; he blames Edward III for having confined his mother in a castle for her love-intrigues. 'A slight offence, says he (24), since it is natural; and having conversed with military men, and used herself so much to ramp with them among arms, tents, and pavilions, it was hardly possible for her to contain, from playing the same pranks within the curtains, as this often happens; I refer myself to our queen Eleanor, duchess of Guienne, who attended the king her husband beyond sea, and to the holy-war, and who, by frequent conversing among arms and the soldiery, gave herself such a loose as at last to have to do with the Saracens; for which the king divorced her, which cost us dear. Consider, that she had a mind to try whether these warlike men were as brave champions in a chamber, as in the field of battle, and that possibly it was her humour to love valiant men, for one valour attracts another, like virtue; nor did he say

(19) See *Ma'mour*, Hist. des Croisades, livr. 7, Tom. II, pag. 177. Edit. de Holl. ad ann. 1190.

(20) Boucher, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, fol. 78. Edit. de Poitiers, 1557, in fol.

(21) Id. *ibid.* fol. 79. ad ann. 1152.

(22) He should have said bishop.

(23) Boucher, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, fol. 80.

(24) Brantome, *Memoires des Dames Galantes*, Tom. II, pag. 311, 312.

(f) See the remark [E], towards the end.

(g) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 583.

(25) This queen Eleanor was not the only one who accompanied in that holy war the king, her husband, but before her, with her, and afterwards, several great princesses and ladies, with their husbands, did croyle themselves; but did not croyle their legs, which they opened and stretched in good earnest. So that some layed there, and others returned very expert. And under the cover of visiting the holy sepulchre, among so many arms made love in good earnest: and indeed, as I have said, arms and love agree very well together, so strong and well cemented is the sympathy.

(26) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 584, ad ann. 1146.

(27) Id. ibid. pag. 585.

(28) Ibid. pag. 586.

(29) Ibid. pag. 587.

(30) Id. ibid. ad ann. 1149.

(31) See the article BERNARD, remark [F].

(32) Mezerai, Abr. Chronolog. Tom. II, pag. 588.

band in that crusade, were not the least disgraces that expedition exposed him to. St Bernard had not promised these ill events [E]; on the contrary, he had fed him with hopes of great victories; and was so little concerned at the murmurs raised against him, that had it not been for persons less zealous, and consequently more capable of reasoning aright upon the consequences, he had engaged in a second expedition (f). Lewis had reason to repent all his life, of the fault he had committed, in suffering the inheritance of the duke of Guienne, to come into the hands of the English. To oppose the king of England, he was forced to take a conduct most unjust in itself, and of ill example to all kings; which was to excite this prince's sons to rebel against their father, and to protect them in their rebellion. But this he did so faintly, and with so little success, that he contributed more to the glory of his enemy, than he injured him. Eleanor was very much dissatisfied at her second marriage. She was at least as jealous of the second husband [F], as the first had been of her. But the second was much harsher than the first; he put her in prison, and kept her closely confined all his life, as the reader will see in our remarks, with the sequel of this queen's history [G]. Lewis died on the eighteenth or twentieth of September 1180 (g). Two years

'amiss, who said, that virtue resembled lightening, which penetrates every thing.' See the sequel of that passage in the margin (25).

[F] St Bernard had not promised these ill events.] Being ordered to preach up the crusade throughout all Christendom, he began in France. 'He assembled a national council at Chartres, in which he was chosen Generalissimo of that expedition; but he refused that office, contenting himself to be the trumpet of it; he published it every where with that vehemence and assurance of success, and, as was believed, with the working so many miracles, that the cities and towns were deserted, and all people lifted themselves for this war (26).' The emperor Conrad set out with an army of sixty thousand horse, and arrived at Constantinople towards the end of March 1147 (27). Lewis began his march the second week after Whitsuntide the same year, and arrived in Syria, in Lent 1148. Emanuel the emperor of Constantinople, caused plaster and lime to be mingled with the flour which he furnished to Conrad, and gave him guides, who after having led the army by long circuits, in which it consumed all its provisions, delivered it half dead and languishing, into the hands of the Turks, who cut it all to pieces, inasmuch that the tenth part did not survive (28). Lewis ran the same risk as Conrad; however, he escaped more by good fortune than prudence. 'He gained a battle in passing the river Meander; but he reaped no advantage by it; for after this, not standing upon his guard, he received a notable check at the desile of a mountain. At last he came to Antioch, whereof Raymond, the queen's uncle by the father's side, then held the principality.' Here it was that he discovered his wife's commerce with Saladin, and was tempted to dissolve his marriage. 'He found no other remedy to avoid this scandal, but to take his wife by night from Antioch, and send her away before him to Jerusalem.' He and Conrad besieged Damascus, and succeeded in this enterprize as ill as in all the rest, 'thru' the prodigious treachery of the very Christians of the country. Therefore these two princes detesting their villany . . . thought only of returning (29). Lewis being on board his vessels, met on the road the naval force of these traitors, who laid in wait to take him. As they were engaged, or even, according to some authors, as they led him prisoner, it happened by good fortune, that the army of Roger, king of Sicily, their capital enemy, conducted by his lieutenant, arrived, who quickly caused them to release their prisoner, having burnt taken, and sunk abundance of their vessels (30). The ill success of this crusade, which made so many widows and orphans, ruined so many families, and dispeopled so many countries, raised murmurs and reproaches against St Bernard's reputation (31), who seemed to have promised a quite different event. So that when the Pope, two years after would have had him preach up another crusade, and oblige him to go in person to the Holy Land, in order to draw a greater number after him; the Cistercian monks broke all his measures for fear of a second misfortune, which might have been greater than the first (32).

[F] Eleanor was . . . jealous of the second husband.] Let us use the expressions of a modern Historian already cited (33). 'Queen Eleanor, the wo-

man of all the world, whom it least became to be jealous of her husband, was extravagantly so, and had reason for it. Henry was a man of ill fame, with respect to women, and the monument we have remaining of the famous Rosamond, is a testimony to posterity, of this prince's leudness. She who, at the time I speak of, inflamed this queen's jealousy, was Alix of France, betrothed to prince Richard, and given as her sister Margaret, to be educated by her father-in-law, who was fallen in love with her. Exasperated at this passion, and at the same time, by the fear, that if the son was vanquished, the father being enraged, might come to some extremity against him, Eleanor knew so well how to persuade Richard and Jeoffry, that it was their interest not to quarrel with their elder brother, that she engaged them to enter into the confederacy of the malecontents.' That all my readers may understand this, I ought to observe, that the king of England's eldest son, by queen Eleanor, was in rebellion against him. He had stolen the princess Margaret of France, daughter to Lewis VII, who was to be his wife, and whom the king of England educated in his own court. According to some historians (34), it was she, that raised Eleanor's jealousy (35), and it was Eleanor (35), who excited her eldest son to this rebellion, as afterwards she engaged her two younger sons to join with their elder brother. This plot was hatched, whilst the king was in Ireland. As soon as he returned into England, the first thing he did was to shut up Eleanor in a close prison, where she remained all the time her husband lived, and very dearly paid for the satisfaction she had sought in a revenge, which neither did justice to the rights of the throne, nor those of the conjugal engagement (36).

[G] He kept her prisoner all his life as the reader will see . . . with the sequel of this queen's history.] Eleanor was a prisoner till the death of the king her husband. This prince died in 1188. Richard, his third son, succeeded him. He was then in France, where he had been engaged in a furious war against his father. The first thing he did after his return into England, was to deliver queen Eleanor, his mother, who had been a prisoner sixteen years (37). He made her regent of the kingdom (38) whilst he went into the Holy Land. The jealousy which still cankered in her soul, induced her to make a voyage to Navarre to seek a wife for the king her son. To understand this, we must know 'that it was told this queen, in prison, that Henry designed to divorce her . . . in order to marry the princess Alix (39). The fear of this made her hate this princess mortally; and when she was in a way to revenge her self, she carried things to an extremity. As she had a great ascendancy over Richard, she endeavoured to put him out of conceit with this match, by giving him suspicions of his father's conduct with this young princess, and seeing that her suspicions were not sufficient, she added, that Henry had debauched her, and had had a son by her. At last, fearing that the charms of so fine a princess would be more prevalent in Richard's heart than her words, she made all the haste she could to marry him to another. For this reason she went to the court of the king of Navarre, designing to match Richard with the princess Berengaria

(33) *Father d'Orléans, Révolutions of England*, Tom. I, pag. 186, ad ann. 1172.

(34) De Larrey, ubi supra, pag. 80.

(35) Idem, pag. 87.

(36) Id. ibid. pag. 90, ad ann. 1173.

(37) Idem, pag. 117, ad ann. 1189.

(38) Idem, pag. 141, ad ann. 1189.

(39) Daughter to Lewis VII, who not being at age, was affianced to Richard, and put into the hands of Henry, till she should be marriageable.

years after he had made a pilgrimage into England. He had made such another to St James of Galicia, not in 1152, as Mezeraï affirms, but in 1155 [H]. He caused his

Berengaria, having obtained permission to negotiate this treaty before she left England. It was not difficult for her to accomplish it, having so much address as she had, and the match besides appearing to the king of Navarre so advantageous, as it really was (40).⁽⁴⁰⁾ Afterwards she conducted the prince of Navarre into Sicily to her son, who consummated the match before he set sail to the Holy-Land. Eleanor returned into England, from whence she went over into Germany in 1194, to deliver Richard, who was made a prisoner by the duke of Austria (41). Richard dying in 1199, she formed cabals for devolving the crown upon her son John, earl of Mortain, to the exclusion of Arthur her grandson, tho' she had more affection for Arthur than for John, and tho' she was persuaded, that John's pretensions were unjust (42). But her ambition was the only rule of her conduct. She apprehended that if Arthur should come to reign, he would suffer himself to be governed by the duchess Constance, his mother, a woman of solid sense, and excellent courage, who would not give her any share in the authority. Thus she preferred the earl of Mortain before him, a prince without faith or honour, because she believed, that having need of her support, he would let her reign in conjunction with him (43).⁽⁴³⁾ This earl is the same who was called *John sans terre* (*John without land*). By the peace he made with Philip Augustus, king of France, in 1201, it was laid that the Infanta of Castile his niece, should marry Lewis, Philip's only son. Queen Eleanor, notwithstanding her great age, went in quest of this Infanta, her granddaughter, to the court of Toledo, and brought her into Normandy (44).⁽⁴⁴⁾ She was besieged in Mirebeau, by prince Arthur her grandson, in the year 1202. But John without Land succoured her, and took this prince prisoner, and murdered him some time after. He durst not do it, they say, whilst Eleanor lived. This queen died, laden with years and sins. Let us use Mezeraï's expressions. 'This woman, consummate in all sorts of wickedness, lived above eighty years, kept up a war for above sixty years, and settled a hatred betwixt France and England, that has continued above three ages; so that with reason we may say of her what the Greek Poet said of Menelaus's wife, *that we have suffered not a 10, but a 400 years fire and sword by means of this woman*' (45).⁽⁴⁵⁾ Her fruitfulness deserves but part of the epithets which are given to the fecundity of Julia, Augustus's daughter (46), for Eleanor's sons had a great complaisance for their mother's passions, they revolted against their father at her desire; and they who reigned suffered her to enjoy the regency; but otherwise they brought a thousand miseries upon their country. They had hearts like lions; but then it was not so much a true courage, as a hardness determined to despise the maledictions of fame, and behold with an unconcerned eye, the most atrocious crimes. In a word, they neither did honour to France, from whence they descended originally, both by father and mother, nor to England, the inheritance of their father. Eleanor's death is placed on the thirty first of March 1204 by Moreri, who adds, that coming out of prison in 1194. *She retired into a monastery, and died in that of Fontevraud*. He is mistaken five years, as to the time she came out of prison, and much more as to the retirement he attributes to her; for after her liberty, she shewed her ambition as much as ever, her intriguing spirit, her jealousy and vindictive humour. But it is true, that she desired to be buried at Fontevraud, and took the veil of the order (47). She was a great benefactress to that house (48), for which reason she is represented in the obituary of Fontevraud, as one of the most virtuous princesses in the world. So certain it is, that in order to obtain of these honest monks testimonials of a good life, in the midst of a conduct so scandalous, that the most flattering history dares not conceal it, it is enough to enrich them. See the remark [I] of the article of St GREGORY. *Migravit à seculo domina Alienoris Regina Francie & Anglie, Ducissa Aquitanie, quæ nitore Regiæ sobolis suæ mundum illustravit. Nobilitatem generis, vitæ decoravit honestate, morum ditavit gratia, virtutum floribus picturavit, et incom-*

parabilis probitatis honore, serè cunctis præstitit Reginis mundanis (49). — Eleanor, queen of France and England, and duchess of Aquitaine, departed this life, who by the splendor of her royal race, was an ornament to the world; she graced her high birth by the regularity of her life, enriched it by the gracefulness of her manners, embellished it by the flowers of her virtue, and by the honour of an incomparable probity excelled all worldly queens. I am sorry Father de la Mainferme has not marked the day and year of Eleanor's death; for if it be the thirty first of March, 1204, as Moreri affirms, it follows that Mezeraï and Larrey are mistaken, in saying that John without Land durst not kill his nephew Arthur in his mother's life-time, Mr Pinson des Riolles, whom I desired to consult Father de la Mainferme, informed me that this monk was dead, and that Father Labbe in his Genealogical Tables (50), and Father Anselme in his History of the Royal Family of France (51), mark the time of Eleanor's death, as Moreri does.

It must not be forgotten that this princess has been put in the catalogue of learned women. *Anno 1130cciiii, obiit Eleonora Regina . . . Ab eruditione ac prudentia multum celebrata est. Scriptit epistolas ad Cælestinum Papam, Henricum Cæsarrem, Richardum & Joannem filios. Vide plura apud Matthæum Parisium, nec non Balæum. — In the Monum. Røiale, year 1203 died queen Eleanor . . . celebrated for her learning and wisdom. She wrote letters to Pope Celestin, the emperor Henry, Richard and John her sons. See more in Matthew Paris, and also in Bale.* Thus Vollius speaks at the eighty second page of his treatise *de Philologia*, in the Amsterdam edition, 1650. It is among the additions to his book. He did not know this particular, when he wrote the second chapter, where he gives a long catalogue of learned women.

[H] He made a pilgrimage into England . . . and another to St James of Galicia . . . in 1155.] Let us make use of Mezeraï's words. 'As the devotion to the relics of St Thomas à Becket, increased by the example even of king Henry himself, who of his persecutor was become his votary; king Lewis went over into England, paid his devotions at his tomb, and left magnificent marks of his piety (52).'⁽⁵²⁾ That prince had made a pilgrimage before. Let us hear Tom. II, pag. m. what Mezeraï says (53). 'It was not lawful for the kings of France, as Yves de Chartres says, to marry bastards. Now it was reported, that Constance (54) was one. For this reason Lewis, two years after his marriage, desired to enquire into it, and under pretence of going in pilgrimage to St James's in Galicia, he passed through the court of his father-in-law, the most magnificent prince of his time, who received him, and treated him royally at Burgos, and removed the scruple he had in his mind.' This shews that devotion was one of the principal qualities of Lewis VII. He was unfortunate in his greatest enterprises, says Mezeraï (55), and too slack in affairs that demanded vigour; but as pious, charitable, good, equitable, liberal, and valiant, as any prince of his age; yet two faults may be laid to his charge, 583: one against prudence, in having divorced his wife; the other against the laws of nature, in having supported the rebellion of king Henry's children against their father. Devotion and piety are undoubtedly the greatest of all virtues. A prince can no more dispense with them than a private person, and if he chuses to fulfil the duties they enjoin rather than preserve his dominions, he is, in the sight of God, one of the greatest men on earth; but it is certain, that, according to the course of human affairs, nothing is more likely to ruin a nation, than the scrupulous conscience of the ruler. If his neighbours acted like him, we might expect from his piety, the greatest happiness that a people can enjoy; but if whilst they practise all the tricks of state policy, he pre-emptorily refuses to take the least step beyond the severe rules of the gospel morality, both he and his subjects will infallibly be a prey to other nations, and all the world will say, he was fitter for a monastic life, than to wear a crown, and that he would do well to yield his place to a less scrupulous prince. *Exeat aula Qui vult esse pius* (56):

(40) Ex Necrologio Fontis, Ebraidi, apud la Mainferme, ibid. pag. 158.

(40) I have found this to be true. See the Genealogical Tables of this Jesuit, pag. 49, Edit. of Paris, 1664.

(41) I have found this to be true. See the *Florie de la France de la*

(52) Mezeraï, Abregé Chronol. Tom. II, pag. m. 1178.

(53) Ibid. pag. 571. add. ann. 1178. but he should have marked the year 1155.

(54) Daughter of Alfonso VII king of Castile, married to Lewis in 1154.

(55) Mezeraï, ubi supra, pag. 583.

A REFLECTION on scrupulous princes.

(56) Lucan. lib. viii, ver. 493.

his son Philip to be crowned at Rheims, the first of November, 1179. He had him by Alix of Champagne, his third wife. I have not given a chronological account of his actions, because it may be found in Moreri.

(57) This restriction was necessary; for sometimes this piety brings great prejudice to the most powerful princes: the house of Austria has felt it, France feels it.

(58) See Maimbourg's *Histoire des Croisades*, livr. iii, pag. m. 337, & seq. where he shews, that the scruples of this monarch were the cause of the ruin of all his affairs in the expedition to the Holy Land.

This maxim especially regards the head of a court. I speak not of the piety, which consists in building magnificent churches, in extending the limits of his religion by force of arms, and extirpating sects. This kind of piety is sometimes (57) subservient to the temporal good of a prince, to his greatness and conquests. I speak of a piety, that will not make use of the oblique ways of policy; I speak of a conscience that always prefers the honest before the profitable, and that rejects all the maxims of the art of reigning, which are contrary to exact probity. This virtue is doublets prejudicial to a temporal interest, because it allows not the resisting the attacks and cabals of the enemy. Lewis VII is an instance of it (58), tho' it must be owned that his scruples were of a very particular nature; for they hindered not his encouraging children to revolt against their fathers, and protecting them in that rebellion; but they would not suffer him to marry a bastard; they forced him to make a voyage, to know whether his wife was the lawful daughter of king Alphonso. He was afraid of offending against the laws of the kingdom. Why did he not fear to offend against the law of God, which commands children to honour their fathers?

I conclude with a passage of Mr Amelot de la Houff-

saye, in which he cites Machiavel. 'The man, says he, in the fifteenth chapter of his Prince, who professes himself a perfectly honest man, amongst such numbers as are otherwise, will be sure to be ruined. There is therefore a necessity that the prince, who would stand his ground, should learn the faculty of not being good, when he ought not to be so. And in his eighteenth chapter, after having said that the prince ought not to keep his word, when it is against his interest, he frankly confesses that this precept should not be given, if all men were good; but there being so many wicked and deceitful, it is for a prince's security to know how to be so too. Without which he might lose his dominions, and consequently his reputation; it being impossible that a prince, who has lost the one, should preserve the other (59).' Some pages after he speaks thus: 'Some Maxims of state are to be more equitably interpreted than is usually done, the practice whereof is become almost absolutely necessary, thro' the wickedness and perfidiousness of men. Add to this, that princes are of such refined policy, that he who at present would act like a downright honest man with his neighbours, would quickly be their dupe.'

* Plutarch says, that if to reign well one must absolutely discharge all the duties, and observe all the rules of justice, Jupiter himself would not be able to do it.

(59) Amelot, in face to his translation of Machiavel's Prince, pag. 3.

LEWIS XI, king of France, was born at Bourges, in 1423. He succeeded Charles VII, his father, in the year 1461. He was a prince well versed in the art of reigning. He was consummate in the intrigues of policy, which he very happily employed to deliver himself out of a thousand perplexities; but they sometimes confounded him (a), which is the less to be wondered at, when we consider that he was not uniform in his conduct, but ran from one extrem to another [A], being referred to excess, for the most part, and too open on some occasions. It was justly said of him, that he made himself as considerable by his vices, as by his virtues, being apt in the one as well as the other, to run into extremes (b). He was neither a good son, nor a good father, nor a good brother, nor a good husband. At sixteen years of age he set himself at the head of a party, and being forced to return to his duty, he watched for other occasions of revolt, and persisted in these courses till the death of his father [B], and even afterwards discovered his unnatural temper in a scandalous manner [C]. He took no care

(a) See Varillas, Hist. de Louis XI, livr. x, pag. m. 333, 334.

(b) Pasquier, Lettr. livr. iii, pag. m. 154.

[A] He ran from one extrem to another.] Here follows what an historian says of him. 'He was the ablest prince in the world, to bring men over to his opinion, to discover the secrets of his enemies, to perplex them with distrusts, and divide the most united; but in his mirth, was incapable of keeping in his secrets; every thing slipped from him, and he was more subject to commit faults, than able to repair them, which he did by all manner of ways, and more frequently by bad than good means (1).'

[B] He set himself at the head of a party . . . and watched for other occasions of a revolt, and persisted in these courses till the death of his father.] Charles VII made a regulation, which neither pleased the great men, nor the officers who were fattened by the misery of the people: they interrupted it by a dangerous commotion, which was called *la Praguerie*. The dukes of Alençon, Bourbon and Vendôme, the bastard of Orleans, and several others, were concerned in it, they complained that the king put the government in the hands of two or three private persons; and hereupon made a league against his ministers. La Trimouille himself, who was disgraced, joined with them, resolving to return to court at any rate (2). To add more weight to this conspiracy, the faction set the Dauphin at the head of them, giving out, that they only designed the reformation of abuses, and to order it so, that all things for the future should be managed by this prince's authority, regulated by the advice of the princes of the blood (3). They wrote letters in his name to the towns of Auvergne, and other provinces where they thought these designs might be approved. . . . But all the towns abominated this revolt (4); and as the king was vigilant, and attacked the conspirators, where-ever they appeared, they were forced to have recourse to his clemency, and deliver up the Dauphin. This commotion was quelled in less than nine months (5). This shews their comparison to be just, who liken the people to coquets. There are

some days in which they are not to be moved with sighs or presents; the next day they come to hand without any trouble. We may also say, that there are conjunctures in which the most plausible manifesto's of those who take arms against their sovereign, shake not the fidelity of the people: at other times half these pretences would be sufficient for an entire revolution.

The king having pardoned his son, kept him near his own person, and watched him narrowly. He took him with him on some expeditions, and sent him upon others, and gave him opportunities of obtaining a great reputation, especially by the defeat of four or five thousand Swissers near Basil (6), who defended themselves very bravely. He distrusted his son's natural temper, and kept him somewhat short; but the young prince too haughtily took head; and it is said, that he gave a box of the ear to the beautiful Agnes, the king's mistress (7). This joined with other things, obliged his father to send him into Dauphiné for four months (8). The Dauphin went thither in a menacing manner: he carried himself with a great deal of haughtiness, and committed intolerable extortions (9). He had intrigues with the neighbouring princes, and thought of returning no more to court; and knowing that Charles VII was taking measures to secure him, he elcaped to the duke of Burgundy's court, and thereby made himself so much dreaded, that his father hastened his own death, by too great an abstinence, upon the bare apprehensions of poison (10). Mezeral justly says, that Charles VII might have been called happy, if he had had any other father, or any other son (11).

[C] He discovered his unnatural temper, in a scandalous manner, after the death of his father.] This death gave him too great a joy to be kept within his own breast, and he gave such marks of it, as could not but make the government of so unnatural a son to be feared. He rewarded him that brought

(6) In the year 1444.

(7) Mathieu, ubi supra, chap. 20, pag. xlviii. He cites Robert Guaguin.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 59.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 52.

(10) Varillas, Hist. de Louis XI, livr. xi, pag. 360.

(11) Mezeral, ubi supra, pag. 284, ad ann. 1461.

(1) Mezerai, Abrégé Chron. Tom. III, ad ann 1472, pag. m. 322.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 258, 259, ad ann. 1440.

(3) Mathieu, Histoire de Louis XI, livr. i, chap. vi, pag. m. 28, 29.

(4) Id. ibid. chap. vii, pag. 20.

(5) Id. ibid. chap. xi, pag. 28, ad ann. 1440.

of the education of his son, and married his daughters in such a manner, as shewed he had no concern for their welfare [D]. It is pretended that he put his brother to death [E], and it is certain he had mistresses and bastards [F]. The peace he made with

brought him the first news of it, beyond his expectation. He wore mourning but one morning, and appeared in cloaths of a white and carnation colour after dinner the same day. He even forced the courtiers, who hastened to join him at Guenap, to follow his example, since he would not suffer them to come into his presence, with cloaths of a different colour from his own (12). Another Historian says, that from this king's, *first behaviour* it was concluded, 'that he would embellish the beginning of his reign with other trophies, than clemency; he discarded almost all the officers and servants of king Charles his father; being wonderfully pleased to undo what he had done, to pull down what he had built, and to build what he had pulled down (13).' It is observed (14), 'that he punished his father's Physician, because, following the rules of his art, he had obliged the sick king to eat.' He who informs me of this, adds, 'That the pretence of Lewis XI pleaded of rendering hereby the authority of the sovereign inviolable to the last, is not allowable. He is in the right; but if he fancied that it was the true motive of this prince; if he believed, I say, that he was willing to take example by Domitian's temper, he is mistaken. Ut domesticis persuaderet ne bono quidem exemplo audendam esse patroni necem, Epaphroditum à libellis, Capitali pœna condemnavit (Domitianus) quod post delititionem Nero in adipsa morte manu ejus adjutus existimabatur (15). — To persuade his domestics that men ought never to attempt upon the life of their patron, tho' instances were produced that the same had been justly done, Domitian condemned Epaphroditus his secretary to die, because it was thought he had assisted Nero when he killed himself.' The Physician was punished only because Lewis XI had an aversion for a person, who had endeavoured to save Charles the seventh's life.

[D] He took no care of the education of his son, and he married his daughters in such a manner as shewed he had no concern for their welfare.] He was an ill father, and tho' he had had his only son so late, who was afterwards Charles VIII., that there was no probability this young prince should ever give him the same disturbances, that he remembered he had formerly given Charles VII., nevertheless he looked upon him as a formidable person. He took no care of his education; he placed none but mean persons about him; he had him bred up in sloth and pleasures; and the only maxim he taught him, was, that a man was incapable of ruling, that did not know how to dissemble. Anne of France, his eldest daughter, was perfectly beautiful, but she had abundantly more wit than he was willing she should have had; and it was to humble her, that he married her to a younger brother of the house of Bourbon, of a genius so mean, that his majesty had no reason to fear, he should enter into any intrigues against his service. Jane of France, his second daughter, was so deformed, that the Physicians affirmed, she would never have children; nevertheless he constrained the duke of Orleans, the first prince of his blood, to marry her, tho' he had reason to foresee she would be unhappy with him (16). He had obliged himself to give the duke of Calabria a force sufficient to recover the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, together with his eldest daughter in marriage; but of the temper he was of, he was far from chusing so worthy a man for a son-in-law. He performed neither of these promises. . . . The count de Beaujeu was preferred before this duke, for no other reason, but because he was beneath him in merit and valour; but the fortune of this younger brother of the family of Bourbon, was not bettered by marrying Anne of France. A contract of marriage was presented him to sign, which would have made over all the estates of this house to his wife, had not he been advised to evade it by some words which were not taken notice of; and as long as the king his father-in-law lived, he employed him only in affairs that were odious. . . . And after all, never did him any good (17). Peter Matthieu (18), observes, that

Lewis XI, hated his daughter Jane, because she was black, little, and crooked. The lord Lesquiere, her governor, frequently hid her under his long robe, when the king met her, that he might not be assisted at the sight of her.

[E] It is pretended that he put his brother to death.] Let us again comment on this in Varillas's words. 'Tho' Lewis by the advice of Francis Sforza had invested his brother with the duchy of Normandy, yet he took it away from him a little after the league for the public good was broken, and gave no other reason for it, but that this province was then one third of the revenue of France, and that his younger brother would be too rich, should he enjoy it. He chose rather to give him Guienne; but he so repented it afterwards, that the author, of the History of Aquitaine, and the abbot of Brantome, pretend, he got his brother poisoned by the abbot of St John d'Angeli (19). I have elsewhere cited (20) Brantome's words, and will not repeat them here. See also Peter Matthieu, in the History of Lewis XI (21).

[F] He had mistresses and bastards.] I observe this as the proof of the character I have given him of an ill husband. He was twice married; the first time to Margaret Stuart, daughter to James I, king of Scotland, in 1436. She died at Chalons upon the Marne the twenty sixth of August, 1446 in the twenty sixth year of her age (22). Hall and Grafton, two English historians, affirm, that she disguised her husband by her stinking breath (23). Buchanan is very angry with them, and confutes them, in the first place, by Montfretet, who says she was handsome and virtuous; in the second place, by a Scotch author, who went into France with her, and never forsook her as long as she lived. He has left it in writing, that she was beloved by her father-in-law, her mother-in-law, and her husband, and was highly extolled in a piece of poetry made upon her death. Montfretet's testimony does not confute the English historians: a woman that is handsome and virtuous, may however be disgusting in that respect which they alledge. The testimony of the Scotch author is suspicious; a domestic does not think himself obliged to publish, that his mistress was hated in the family of her husband, and makes no scruple to say the contrary: it is a common-place of praise. Funeral encomiums are no argument against the ill humour of a husband. It might be proved by modern examples, that princesses much dissatisfied with their husbands and father's-in-law, have been praised after their deaths, in the most magnificent strains by Poets and Preachers. However let us see Buchanan's words: 'Quantum illam existimabimus vel mentendi licentiam, vel maledicendi libidinem, qua, in ejusdem Regis filiam, utuntur: quam, ob oris graveolentiam (nihil enim in mores, homines alioqui tam impudentes, audebant confingere) marito scribunt fuisse ingratum? At Montfretetus illorum temporum scriptor æqualis, & probam fuisse, & formosam, memoriam prodidit; & qui librum Plascartensem scripsit, eique Reginæ, & naviganti & morienti, fuit comes, scriptum reliquit, eam, dum vixit, egregie caram focero, socru, & marito fuisse, epitaphiumque carmen, omni laude plenum, Gallicis versibus, Catalauni ad Matronam (quo in oppido decessit) fuisse publicatum, quod in Scoticum Sermonem versum, plerique nostrorum adhuc habent (24). — How great must we think that liberty of falsifying or desire of slandering to be, which they use against the daughter of the aforesaid king! For whereas such men, otherwise impudent enough, had nothing to alledge against her morals, they write that she was unacceptable to her husband, because of her stinking breath, whereas Montfretet, a cotemporary writer, doth affirm that she was virtuous and beautiful. And he who wrote the Plascartine book, and who waited on that queen, both at sea and at her death, has asserted, that as long as she lived she was very dear to her father and mother-in-law, and to her husband; and that her epitaph full of her praises, in French verse, was published at Chalons on the Marne, where she died, and being afterwards translated into Scotch verse, most of our country-men have it by them to this day.'

(12) Varillas, ubi supra, livr. x, pag. 344, 345.

(13) Matthieu, ubi supra, livr. ii, chap. iv, pag. 86.

(14) La Mothe le Vayer, *l'Instruction du Dauphin*, pag. 43, 44. Tom. I.

(15) Sueton. in Domit. cap. xiv.

(16) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 361. He particularizes in his epistle dedicatory, the ill education of Charles VIII.

(17) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 366. See also pag. 355.

(18) Matthieu, ubi supra, livr. x, chap. xl, p. 606.

(19) Varillas, ibid. pag. 364.

(20) In the Penes diverses fuz les Cometes, pag. 462.

(21) Matthieu, ubi supra, livr. x, chap. xvii, pag. 256.

(22) Anselme, Hist. Genealog. de la Maison de France, pag. 125.

(23) See Buchanan, in Hist. Scotie, lib. x, pag. m. 356.

(24) Buchanan, ibid. pag. 357.

with England in 1475, was more useful than glorious; he was jested on for it, but at bottom was excusable [G]; for considering the great number of potent enemies he had to fear, it was better to be submissive than to be haughty in that juncture. Of two evils the least is to be chosen; it was an act of prudence; and a man ought not to pretend to a Roman courage out of season. Lewis XI raised a great deal of money in his kingdom, and trampled much more on his subjects than his predecessors had done, and yet his personal expences were so small, that he cannot be acquitted of fordidness [H]. Those

(25) Mezerai, Tom. III, pag. 350.

(26) Anselme, ubi supra.

(27) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 363, 364.

(28) Matthieu, ubi supra, livr. i, c. xxv, p. 59, 60.

(29) In the remark [K].

(30) Matri ne credito, cum enim Sabaudensis fit Burgundis favere mihi semper vis est: alioquin bonam & pudicam illam sum arbitratus. Gaguin. Hist. of France, lib. x, fol. 218.

(31) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 350.

(32) Ibid. pag. 343, ad ann. 1481.

(33) Comines, livr. vi, chap. xiii, pag. 406.

(34) Honorat de Meynier, Rec. pomes libres aux Demandes curieuses, pag. 590.

(35) Ibid. pag. 591, 592.

'day.' Mezerai affirms that Louis XI could never love his first wife, because of some secret imperfection and so had no children by her (25). His second wife was Charlotte of Savoy. This second marriage 'was consummated at Namure in the year 1457. She was very ill treated by her husband for many years together, and died at Amboise the first of December 1483, being thirty eight years of age (26). I know not therefore for what reasons Mr Varillas had recourse to the silence of the Historians of Savoy. Lewis says he (27), was liable to a sickleness in love We have read in the king's library three contracts of marriage, which he signed in favour of so many of his natural daughters but bating that, the Historians of Savoy, do not charge him with having used queen Charlotte his wife unkindly.' The following passage of Peter Matthieu will shew, she was not very happy. 'In the first year of his abode there, Charlotte of Savoy was brought to Namure, to consummate the marriage that had been treated five years before. A marriage which being made with reluctance, was consequently without love. When the duke of Burgundy gave the Dauphin his pension of twelve thousand crowns, Oliver de la March writes, that it was upon condition he should marry her, which shews he had no great inclination to it. She brought him a son whom he called Joachim The child died immediately after, which gave the father extream sorrow, who not being yet possessed with the jealousies which age brought upon him, desired to see him a man, knowing that children, who are born late, are orphans betimes. The loss of this child, who was the first that made him a father touched him so sensibly, that he made a vow, as Philip de Comines says, never to know any other woman but his own wife, and yet in several places of his chronicle, we find him amongst the women, some of which were prostitutes, and others married, and that to husbands of mean fortune raised to employments, with abundance of other instances of this kind, which do not bespeak a continence equal to that of Alexander (28). We shall see, below (29), the particulars of his galantries; but that which is sufficient to convince us, that Charlotte of Savoy was not very happy, is, that her husband, at his death, admonished his son not to trust her; for, says he, I have always found that she favours the Burgundians (30); judge whether he could love her, though he believed her otherwise good and virtuous. Mezerai, having said of this king's first wife, what we have seen above, adds, *he would very seldom have visited the second, only in hopes of having an heir* (31). Observe well what follows: 'Every thing gave king Lewis apprehensions; he always kept his wife at a distance, and in his last years banished her into Savoy (32). Philip de Comines observes, that this queen was none of those in whom her husband could take great pleasure, but however was a very good lady (33).

[G] *The peace he made with England was more useful than glorious; he was jested upon for it, but at bottom was excusable.* I am going to cite an author who is none of the most celebrated; but what then? It suffices that he speaks good sense. We find, says he (34), that Lewis XI, king of France, having too many affairs upon his hands, demanded peace of Edward IV, king of England, as soon as he understood he was entered into Picardy, and bought it very dear, little minding that the count de Lude, and others of his favourites, called him the cowardly king, as the politician Angevin has written, because he only made that peace to disunite and weaken his enemies, whilst he might fortify himself to defeat them one after another afterwards, and master them, as he did for the most part . . . (35). The Romans would rather have lost their dominions, than have had such a thought: for it never appears during the space of 700 years, in which they made war with all na-

tions, that they ever sued for peace, except to the Gauls, who besieged them in the Capitol, after having burnt their city, for which they revenged themselves quickly after, and to Coriolanus. On the contrary being overpowered by king Perseus, they would not grant the conqueror a peace, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to their mercy, altho' he offered to pay them tribute. And when king Pyrrhus, after having obtained some victories, and received some loss, sent his ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace, according to the custom of great princes who are in a foreign country; answer was made that he must first depart Italy, otherwise there could be no mention of peace, which was the answer of a unanimous people, who perceived themselves able to make head against the enemy: a thing which would ill become a weak prince who ought, as a wise pilot, to lower his sails, and obey the tempest he cannot avoid, that he may get safely into harbour, and not make necessity minister to ambition; like the Vaivod of Transylvania, who confidently and openly said, that he would chuse to be a slave to the Turk, rather than an ally to Ferdinand, which happened to be his fate.' Peter Matthieu relates, 'That Edward had taken twelve members of the house of commons along with him, who by this time were weary of the war, and of lying in the field like the soldiers; these approved the proposals of peace, and said that if it was just and reasonable, it would be imprudent to refuse it, and that they ought to be satisfied with having reduced the king of France, to sue for peace of the king of England, so far as a great king cannot be more humbled, nor descend lower, than to sue for peace of his enemy (36).' This was doubtless a very great mortification to France; but the circumstance of the time would allow no other methods without exposing the state to greater evils. Read these words of Philip de Comines: 'I believe a great many may think that the king debased himself too much: but wise men may judge by what I have said, that this kingdom was in great danger, if God had not interposed his hand; who disposed the mind of our king to make so wise a choice (and much confounded that of the duke of Burgundy, who committed so many errors as you have seen) in this matter, after having so much desired what he lost by his own fault. We had at that time a great many secret heart-burnings amongst us; from which great mischiefs would have ensued to this kingdom, and that quickly too, if this resolution had not been taken, and that without delay, both with regard to Britany and other parts (37).

[H] *He cannot be acquitted of fordidness.* This is what we find in a book of La Mothe le Vayer: 'Scandalous parsimony the opposite to prodigality, is perhaps equally blameable. Lewis XI made himself contemptible by his vile habit, and his greasy hairs, which history upbraids him with: and we cannot read without indignation in the registers of the chamber of accounts, an article of twenty pence for two new sleeves, to mend one of his doublets, with another of fifteen farthings to grease his boots (38). Here a passage of Mezerai will very conveniently come in. 'The decisive sentence of Lewis XI did as little satisfy either party (39) as his interview with Henry king of Castile satisfied either French or Spaniards. The latter laughed at the penuriousness and at the low and silly mien of king Lewis, whose coat was of coarse cloth, short and straight; and wore a leaden image of the Virgin Mary, on his bonnet; the former were shocked at the Castilian arrogance, and at the pride of the count de Lodofme, Henry's favourite (40). La Mothe le Vayer and Mezerai borrow these particulars from John Bodin; for thus he speaks: 'There may be parsimony without lessening the majesty of a king, or the dignity of his household, or debasing his greatness, which

(36) Father Matthieu, Hist. de Louis XI, livr. vi, chap. xix, pag. 317.

(37) Philippe de Comines, livr. iv, chap. vii, pag. 225, ad ann. 1475.

(38) La Mothe le Vayer, opusc. les. Part. I, pag. 83, of the English Tome of his works.

(39) That is to say, John king of Arragon, and Henry king of Castile.

† Short habits were ridiculous for people of quality.

(40) Mezerai, Abr. Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 290, ad ann. 1462.

Those of his household were as poor in proportion. The same may be said of his embassies [I]; but in other respects he was prodigal (c), and retained pensioners in most foreign courts which cost him dear. He spent a great deal in spies, upon hunting, and upon the ladies [K], and rewarded those liberally, who were the first messengers of great news. He gave four hundred marks in silver to Philip de Comines, and to the Seigneur de Bouthage, who brought him the first news of the battle of Morat (d). He said, *I will give as much to any one, who will bring me such a piece of news* (e). He often used to discourse of the issue of affairs before he had any account of it (f). This is a sign of his impatience, and we need not wonder, after this, that he was the first king who settled the posts (g). He made his soldiers pay their quarters punctually, and severely forbid them to do any injury, and punished the disobedient with the utmost rigour. This was the reason why his kingdom, tho' very much loaded with taxes, did, notwithstanding, grow rich [L]. The enacting that law, which makes Misprision of treason

which sometimes is the cause of the contempt of strangers, and rebellion of subjects; as it happened to king Lewis XI, who having almost expelled the gentlemen of his family, employed his Taylor for his herald at arms, his Barber for ambassador, and his Physician for chancellor, (as one Antiochus, king of Syria, made Apollonophanes, his Physician, president of his council †) and to mock other kings, he wore a greasy hat, and the coarsest cloth; and even in his chamber of accounts was found, &c. . . . Nevertheless he heightened the taxes three millions a year, beyond his predecessor, and alienated a great part of the crown lands (41). Here is what he had said in another place of the same book (42): 'The king of Egypt having seen Agesilaus rolling in a meadow, clad in a plain cloak of poor cloth, and lean, little, and lame, made no more account of him, than was made of king Lewis XI, who being chosen arbiter of a difference between the kings of Navarre and Castile, the Spaniards at the meeting ridiculed the French and their king, who looked like some pilgrim of St James of Compostella, with his greasy hat edged with images, and his jacket of a tan colour cloth, and who had no majesty in his face, no more than in his manners; and his train accoutred like himself, for he could not endure to see any body finely dressed; whereas the king of Castile, and his retinue, came richly habited, and their horses bravely caparisoned, shewing a certain Spanish grandeur, which made the Frenchmen look like their valets.' We shall see below (43) that we may trace this to an author who lived before Bodin, and whom Varillas did not understand.

(41) In the remark [X].

(42) That is to say, of Lewis XI.

1 King Lewis XI leaving added 300 livres to the salary of Martin Berthelot, master of the chamber of the king's revenues; the chamber of accounts would not allow it without an express order of the king, which was given at Paris in May, and the 16th of April 1481.

(43) Matthieu, ubi supra, lib. xi, pag. 647.

We have already seen that this prince employed his Barber on embassies. He made him a nobleman by patent in 1474, investing him with the county of Meulant, and changed his name from *Oliver the Devil* into that of *Oliver le Daim* (the Deer) (46). He sent him on an embassy to the heirs of Burgundy, who laughed at him: what, said she, have I to do with a Physician, I am very well (47). Mr de Wicquefort has mentioned this deputation of *Oliver le Daim* (48).

[K] He spent a great deal . . . upon hunting, and upon the ladies. Lewis's two predominant passions were for hunting and the ladies (§ a); and it is observed that his liberality ran into an inconceivable excess, as often as he had a mind to gratify either of these two passions. As for the first, he kept a prodigious number of huntmen, falcons, hawks, and hounds, and was so solicitous of hindring those who had the right of hunting, from exercising it under any pretence whatever, that it was more dangerous to kill a stag than a man . . . When he parted from Lyons, after he had received certain advice of the defeat of the duke of Burgundy at Morat, he took with him, to the great scandal of good people, from this city, to that of Paris, two mistresses, one called la Gironne, a widow, and the other la Passiflon, a Merchant's wife. Immediately after the prince of Orange had made him master of the duchy of Burgundy, he sent for a young lady, a perfect beauty, called Hugete de Jaquelin who was at Dijon. But before all this we find in the king's library three contracts of marriage, which are so many testimonies of his incontinence, since he there appears in quality of a father of three natural daughters, and matches them without disguising the matter (49). Peter Matthieu tells us that this prince was at great expenses for his amours, even when he was reduced to the necessity of borrowing. 'I have seen in the accounts of the chamber of the revenues, that being on a progress to Arras, he borrowed of one of his servants, called James Hamelin, the sum of three hundred and twenty livres, sixteen sols, and eight deniers, to employ in his pleasures and delights, and sending for a gentlewoman of Dijon, called Huquette Jaquelin, widow to the deceased Philip Chamargis, in August 1479, one of his Carvers, who went to fetch her, advanced the charges both of her journey and of the stay that she made at Tours (50). Note, that at that time twenty sols went farther than two pilsols at present.

[§ a] In the library of St Elizabeth at Breslau there is a manuscript history of king Charles VII, and Lewis XI, from the year 1410 to 1483. The author, who has not put his name to it, but in his preface, boasts to have had in his youth several conversations with king Charles VII, ends his work with the epitaph of Lewis XI;

Perfidia insignis, hinc usque ad Tartara notus;
Formosi oppressor pecoris, nequissimus ipse.

REM. CRIT.

[L] This was the reason that his kingdom . . . did notwithstanding grow rich.] Thus you see how the ill qualities of a monarch are sometimes compensated with others, which, all things considered, make the people as happy as under a good and well-natured sovereign (51). What Tacitus says, that the disorders of government are interrupted by good princes who succeed bad ones; and that this makes a compensation,

(c) See Matthieu, in his Life, lib. xi, pag. 699, 700.

(d) Ibid. p. 700.

(e) Id. ibid. He cites Philip de Comines.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) Id. ibid. pag. 696.

(46) La Roque Traité de la Noblesse, chap. xvi, pag. 338.

(47) Oliverius Dandus Legatus Ludovici XI. ad Mariam Burgundiam ab ea ludibrio habitus: ipsa enim quæsit quid sibi opus medico cum optime valeret quærat tonfor seu chirurgus. Id. ib. He relates this as from Gaguin, but I do not find it in the *Annales* of that authors.

(48) Wicquefort, de l'Ambassadeur, liv. i, chap. vii, pag. 160, & liv. ii, chap. ii, pag. 264.

* In the manuscripts of Mess. du Puy.

(49) Varillas, ubi supra, lib. x, pag. 334.

** This expense from the first of August to the eleventh of December, amounts to 298 livres.

(50) Matthieu, ubi supra, lib. xi, pag. 707.

(51) See, above, remark [B] of the article Henry II.

treason a capital crime, is ascribed to him [M]. He was subject to some caprices and humours

(52) Tacit. Hist. lib. iv, cap. lxxiv.

(53) Bouchet, Annales d'Aquitaine, fol. m. 264, verso.

(54) See the remark [R].

SOME particulars relating to the trial of Thuanus.

[* Francis August Thuanus, son to the great Thuanus. He was beheaded in 1641, for not discovering Mr de Cinq Mars's treasonable designs.

REM. CRIT.]

(55) Réponse aux Mémoires de Mr le Comte de la Chastre, pag. m. 20, & seq.

is a good thought. *Vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu pensantur* (52). But we may go farther, and say, that in the same person the good and the bad qualities sometimes so counterpoize one another, that more public advantages result from it, than from a certain uniform goodness. Lewis XI levied too much money upon his subjects, but he made that money circulate; for his troops were obliged to pay exactly for whatever was necessary for them, and he never suffered them to steal or pilfer. Let us use the plain and antique style of John Bouchet (53). *He would have justice administered, the church revered and not pillaged; and he delighted in adorning images and churches; and he ordered his soldiers exactly to be paid their wages, which his treasurers could not fail in without peril of the halter. He had a long time in his pay above four thousand men of arms, and a great number of foot, called Frank archers, with whom the earth was quite covered, from Bourdeaux to Picardy. Amongst whom there was so good order and military discipline, that no violence was known to be done to the poor people, except in one place, where they stole some bees, and in another, where they fished a couple of pullets, for which the malefactors were immediately hanged, though they were men of arms. For this reason, tho' the people were burdened with great taxes and subsidies, and the king levied upon them four millions, seven hundred thousand livres in taxes and subsidies yet the kingdom of France was rich, because the money which the people gave, paid the soldiery, and the soldiery afterwards gave part of what they had received back, for what they had, and so a farting did not go out of the kingdom. For this wise king never endeavoured to have two crowns, nor an imperial scepter. Here you may observe a for well placed; nothing exhausts a kingdom more than the desire princes have of making creatures in foreign countries, either for conquest by election, or any other conquest. Note that in all this John Bouchet contradicts the other Historians, who affirm, that Lewis XI much impoverished his subjects (54), and employed a great deal of money in maintaining pensioners and intelligencers in foreign countries.*

[M] *The law that makes misprison of treason a capital crime, is ascribed to him.* This text is not unworthy the readers curiosity, but the comment much more deserves it, as containing very particular circumstances of Thuanus's trial *. I shall only be the count de Brienne's transcriber, who was minister and secretary of state. The true occasion of my intimacy with the chancellor, says he (55), was the promise he made to me, and which he faithfully kept, of contributing all he could to the deliverance of Thuanus; and indeed he acted with so much zeal in it, that though there was a law made in Lewis the eleventh's time, declaring, that whoever should have notice of a conspiracy formed against the king's person, or estate, and did not come and reveal it, should be punished as the author of the crime, and incur the same penalties of loss of life and estate; though I say a magistrate as well versed as the chancellor, in the knowledge of our king's ordinances, could not be ignorant of one of this importance, yet he dissembled the knowledge of it, and carried himself on this occasion, as if he made no account of that law; for after having often advised Thuanus, when he was examined and gave way to his lively and brisk temper, to give himself time to hear what was asked him, and to consider what he ought to answer, he did not stick to declare even to cardinal de Richelieu (to prepare him for Thuanus's acquittal), that he found no law which condemned to death a person who had knowledge of a conspiracy formed against the state, unless he was an accomplice in it; that as to the accused, it appeared indeed that Fontailles, at his return from Spain, had given him some intelligence, but that he disapproved the design, and blamed this gentleman for having served as an instrument to engage Monsieur in so odious a business. Cardinal Richelieu, surprized at this discourse, consulted with some of the commissioners of the chamber, one of which having quoted the ordinance I have mentioned, he caused it to be transcribed from the body of the law, and shewed it to the

chancellor himself; but though he was pressed so by this minister (whose way of acting on such occasions is but too well known) yet he could not be brought off from the resolution he had taken of discharging the accused; but went on to invalidate that ordinance, saying, that it was not in use in the parliament of Paris, where he had been bred. I cannot disown but when the votes were taken, he was of the side of the ordinance; but as his vote could not absolve Thuanus, so it was not that which caused his condemnation, and every one who knows the duty of a president will acknowledge, that he cannot depart from a law, which all the judges declare valid, much less from a majority of opinions when given in form; it is also a great error, and which I am, with all the Lawyers, very far from entertaining, that it is in a judge's power, as a pacific arbitrator, to pronounce according to equity, and not according to the rigour of the law; for besides that his oath obliges him to do justice, the character of a judge does not appoint him master, but only preserver and minister of the laws and ordinances.

This being not only an historical but a critical Dictionary, I may be allowed to make some reflexions on this narrative of the count de Brienne. I say then, that there are some passages in it, which methinks make not much for the honour of the chancellor. That which is alledged in his excuse, of being for the ordinance, has a great deal of weight; but on the other hand, it may be employed as a conviction against him; for if he ought to be the minister of the laws and ordinances, he ought not to have attempted to have brought off Thuanus, that is, to invalidate the ordinance of Lewis XI. He should either have refused the function of judge, or have divested himself of all friendship, as well as hatred for the accused person; and have had no other view than the discovery of the fact, and giving his suffrage according to the ordinance. Instead of this, we are told here, that he seemed to be ignorant, that there was any law which affected the criminal; and being advertized that there was, he answered, *that it was not in use*. Why then did he conform to it, in giving his vote? For what end was he the preserver and minister of the laws? He could not be excused, either of oppressing innocence, or of prevarication; for if the law of Lewis XI was obsolete and out of use, Thuanus could not be reckoned an infringer of the laws, but must be declared innocent. But if in pronouncing him guilty, nothing was done but according to law, it follows, that the ordinance of Lewis XI had preserved its force, and consequently, that the chancellor discharged the duties of his place very ill, in endeavouring to make it believed, that there was no law of this nature in France, and when he could not deny it, then alledging, that it was not observed in the parliament of Paris. There is reason to suspect, that this was a subterfuge, and that he only spoke thus, that he might not be reckoned ignorant of an ordinance of Lewis XI; for how is it probable, that the parliament of Paris should dispense the subjects from the obligation of revealing treason? This obligation seems inseparable from the oath of allegiance to the sovereign. Mr du Maurier (56) relates, that one of Barnevelt's sons was beheaded at the Hague, for being privy to the conspiracy his brother had formed against prince Maurice, and not revealing of it; having not been accused by any of the conspirators who were executed in great numbers in all the towns of Holland . . .

(57). *He had the same fate as Francis Thuanus, who died for not revealing the design that Mr de Cinq Mars, great master of the borse of France, had communicated to him. Du Puy's noble relations, caused a discourse to be printed on this subject, wherein, to prove the iniquity of the sentence, amongst other passages, they made use of this of Gigas, a Milanese Lawyer. Qui consilium adversus Majestatem Principis inintum cognoverunt, nec probare possunt, non tenentur revelare: & qui tales condemnant, non sunt Judices, sed carnifices. They who know a conspiracy against a sovereign, and cannot prove it, are not obliged to reveal it; and they who condemn such, are not judges, but murderers. By this Milanese Lawyer's favour, Thuanus's judges did their duty (58), but the court did not; for never any fault of that kind was more worthy of pardon than*

(56) Du Maurier, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande, page 373.

(57) Id. Ibid. page 374.

(58) See the article NERO.

humours, which were very singular, and these were sometimes the rule of his favours [N]. As he was infinitely desirous of prolonging his life, no person experienced his liberality more than his Physician. He gave him an absolute authority over him [O]. He was very

than Thuanus's (§ a). I am not ignorant of the fine distich which Mr Menage falsely ascribes to Grotius (59). Mr Zuylichem is the author of it; it is the end of an epigram of eight verses intitled *Epitaphium Fr. Augusti Thuanus*. See page 180 of his *Momenta desultoria*, in the Leyden edition, of 1644, 8vo.

(§ a) Peter de Puy (Puteanus) has written a vindication of Francis August Thuanus, wherein he proves that the sentence against the said Thuanus was not only contrary to all Civil laws, but even to the laws made in France; and that the judges were influenced and corrupted by cardinal Richelieu, who had a personal hatred against him. Mr Buckley has inserted this valuable piece, in the seventh volume of his excellent edition of Thuanus's history of his own times. REM. CRIT.]

[N] He was subject to some caprices and humours, which were very singular, and these were sometimes the rule of his favours. He once commanded 'the abbot of Baigone, a man of great wit, and who had the art of inventing new musical instruments, and always attended the king, and was in his service, to get him a consort of swines voices, thinking it impossible. The abbot was not surprized, but asked money for the performance; which was immediately delivered him, and he wrought a thing as singular as ever was seen. For out of a great number of hogs, of several ages, which he got together, and placed under a tent or pavilion, covered with velvet, before which he had a table of wood, all painted, with a certain number of keys, he made an organical instrument, and as he plaid upon the said keys with little spikes, which pricked the hogs, he made them cry in such order and consonance, as highly delighted the king and all his company (60). Bouchet adds to this the story of a Scullion. The king, dressed in a very plain woollen gown went one day into the kitchen, and asked a boy that turned the spit some questions, who not knowing him, answered; 'I am a native of Berry, such a one's son, and my name is Stephen; I serve the king here in mean quality, and yet I get as much as he. The king asked him what the king got? His expences (said the boy), and by my faith, I will have my expences of him, as he has of God, and he will carry away no more than I. The king (who sometimes raised people in a frolic) was pleased with the answer, and Stephen made his fortune by it; for the king made him his Valet de Chambre, and he grew very rich. Some say this was Stephen the Usher, who was so loved by the king, that when at any time he gave him a box on the ear in anger, he pretended to be sick, and a dying, and immediately the king gave him a thousand, or two thousand crowns. This king was very familiar with those he loved; and despised royal pomp and costly cloaths; he eat and drank always in the hall, with all his lords and gentlemen, and they who drank best, and they who had any lascivious jest upon women, were very welcome (61). One day, as he entered into a church, whilst the great bell went, he saw a poor priest sleeping before the door, and enquiring if any body was dead, he was told that a canon was dead, whose benefice was in his majesty's nomination, he ordered the priest to succeed him, to verify the proverb, that he who is happy his good fortune comes when he is asleep (62). Let us add to all this, a passage of Stephen Patquier. Now, though Lewis XI pretended to great zeal for religion and piety, yet he used them sometimes according to the convenience of his affairs, sometimes out of a wonderful superstition; thinking all things were lawful to him, when he had performed some pilgrimage. In short, a man of arbitrary humours, by means of which, right or wrong, he put in, and out, what officers he pleased, and upon the same foot, sometimes ran into fooleries and impertinencies, in which he would not be contradicted. As when he ordered all the birds of Paris that could speak, to be brought into his chamber to divert himself with their gibberish (63).

The Jesuit Garasse has censured these words of Patquier, and made himself ridiculous. For a subject, says he (64), to take the boldness of thinking, speaking, and writing, that his king was a fool, or subject to fool-

ries and impertinencies, is such an extravagance and insolence, as deserves chastisement. . . . (65). I remember this device of some old slanderers, who to stain the honour of a brave emperor, said of his religion, that aliam sibi aliam servabat imperio, that he had two religions in his sleeve, one for Jews, and another for conscience, one for the closet, another for the ball, one for himself, and another for his subjects. . . . (66). That a subject should describe his king as a libertine, who plays with God and religion, and makes Tiberian's buskins of both, and takes pilgrimages to canonize his impieties: I question whether the ministers have written so much of Charles IX. . . . (67). This is a symptom of ill-nature, and a very wild disposition. The answer that was made to this invective of Garasse, could not but confound him; he was shewed what was the duty of an historian (68), and it was maintained against him, that the first scandal proceeds from him who commits the evil, not from him who relates it, and that Patquier said nothing but what he had found in the histories of Lewis XI. They did not forget the words of Tacitus (69), which teach us, that the chief design of an historian ought to be the preserving the memory of good actions, and making posterity dread the infamy of bad ones.

I omit the four stories related in Erasmus's Colloquies; for though they denote a very singular and unequal method of rewarding, they are rather good proofs of the dexterity at distinguishing the artifices of a flatterer, or true merit, than signs of an odd and whimsical humour. Let us only give the substance of one of these four stories (70). A countryman, at whose house Lewis XI, in the time of his disgrace, had sometimes eaten turnips, was very well recompensed for the present he made him of a large turnip, after he was upon the throne. This made a lord of the court believe, that if he gave the king a fine horse, he should receive a magnificent reward, but the king only ordered him the countryman's turnip.

[O] As he was infinitely desirous of prolonging his life. . . . he gave his Physician an absolute authority over him. Concerning this passage, see the *Miscellaneous Thoughts upon Comets* (71), and add to them this reflexion. It is believed, that his devotion for St Servatius, was founded upon this saint's long life. The legends say, that he lived three ages, others are content to give him a bishopric, which he enjoyed above sixty years. 'Infusa, Belgarum maxime populi opinione, affinem illum Christi, ejusque superem temporibus extitisse atque inde tertiam explevisse hominum ætatem; five ita fuerit, neque enim desunt, affirmare hoc ausi, seu potius ex longissima Episcopatus sui præfectura, nam ultra septuaginta annos illam extendit; prodigialiter annosum ac triseiscentum planè crediderint. Ut hinc suspicari forte quis possit Ludovicum Undecimum Gallie Regem ideo sibi ornandum delegisse Servatii templum, ut ab eo inter Divos maxime longævo, longam ipse vitam, cujus erat producendæ cupientissimus, impetraret (72). The people, especially in Flanders, believe that St Servatius was Christ's kinsman, and his cotemporary; and that he lived thrice the age of a man; whether this be really true, as some dare to affirm, or rather that it was said so on account of the long duration of his episcopacy, which lasted more than seventy years. And this may be the reason, why Lewis XI king of France, took such particular care to adorn the church of that saint; that by his intercession, he might obtain the prolongation of his life, which he earnestly desired. Let us not forget this. Lewis XI had often said in his life-time, that in whatever extremity he should be, they should never pronounce on him the word of death, thinking it too harsh for the ear of a king. . . . They who had the charge of his conscience, expected, that he finding himself dying, should acknowledge it. A Divine, his Physician, and Mr Olivier, took a resolution to signify his condition to him. They went to him boldly, and with little respect, as people who had added impudence to the meanness of their condition; and their speech was in these words: Sir, we are obliged to discharge our consciences, confide no longer in this body man, nor in any thing else; for assuredly

(59) These two words of Grotius on the death of Thuanus, are excellent, O legum fabulæ nefas, quibus inter amicos Nolle fidem frustra prodere, proditio, etc. O wretched falsity of the laws, which declare it treason to refuse betraying a friend. Menagiana, pag. m. 315, 314. Note, that Grotius, Epist. 627, Part. I, pag. 945, mentions that he had been informed of the opinion of Grotius, &c.

(60) Bouchet Annales d'Aquitaine, fol. 164.

(61) Id. ibid. v. 164.

(62) Pierre Matthieu, Hist. de Louis XI, liv. XI, pag. m. 720, says, that Cornutus relates this story. Du Verdier Vau-Privas, page 959 of his Bibliothèque Française, attributes this to Francis I, but since he says, he was informed, that this passed in the church of Notre Dame de Cléry, we ought to believe, that they gave him quid pro quo; for Lewis XI frequented this church.

(63) Patquier, Lettr. liv. III, Tom. I, pag. 154, 155.

(64) Garasse, Recherche des Recherches, pag. 79.

(55) Id. ibid. pag. 83.

(66) Id. ibid. pag. 83.

(67) Id. ibid.

(68) See la De-fense pour Etienne Patquier, liv. II, sect. vi, pag. 181, & seq.

(69) Precipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fiantur, utque pravus d'ctis fastidiret posteritate & infamia metus sit. Tacit. Annal. lib. III, cap. lxxv.

(70) Erasm. in Collegio cultitatus Con-tinuum fabulolum, pag. m. 345.

(72) Famianus Strada de Bello Belg. Decad. II, lib. II, init. pag. m. 69.

very credulous as to Astrology; but I know not what to think of a story related by certain authors, that at last he preferred an ass to his Astrologers [P], and swore that animal should ever after be his oracle, before the best of the tribe of Astrologers. I shall not repeat what I have said in another place (b), concerning the hypocrisy of his devotion. Pasquier has made a right judgment on it, and could not in justice be censured for what he had said upon that point, and some others (i). There never was a king in France, whose cruel conduct and extortions came so near to tyranny, as those of Lewis XI [Q]. We shall see in another place of this Dictionary (k); what an abso-

(b) In the Penitence diverses sur les Comètes, n. 152, 154. See also Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 330.

(i) See the remark [N], towards the end.

(k) In the article VAQUERIE, remark [A].

(73) Matthieu, ubi supra, lib. x, pag. 598, 599.

(74) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 348, ad ann. 1483.

† Alexander, tyrant of Pharo, lived in such fears, that the chamber where he lay, was guarded by two terrible mastiffs, and there was no coming to it but by a ladder.

‡ Maximin ordered his Physicians to be put to death, because they could not cure him.

(75) Matthieu, ubi supra, pag. 503. See also Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 347, where he says, that James Collier snubbed him like a foot-boy, and got out of him 55000 crowns, and a great many other favours in five months time.

(76) Murel in the second book de la Sage folie, chap. vii, pag. m. 107, & seq.

(77) In the article CATTHO.

(78) See above the remark [A], of the article CATTHO.

‘surely you are no man for this world, take care of your conscience, for there is no remedy. Each of them spoke some such short sentence, to let him know, that they were all of the same opinion concerning his death. He answered, I hope God will assist me, I am not perhaps so ill as you imagine (73).’ What shall we say of the careles he made to Francis de Paul? He flattered him, supplicated him, threw himself on his knees before him, built two convents of his order, the first in the park du Pleffis les Tours, the second at the foot of the castle of Amboise, that he might prolong his days for him (74).’

As to the authority of his Physician, read these words. Lewis XI ‘changed his servants every day, and was subject to the roughness of John Cottier, his Physician, to whom he gave 10,000 crowns a month, durst refuse him nothing, and promised him all he could desire, provided he would drive away the terrible phantom of death †, at the mention whereof he would cover his face in bed. This Physician sometimes told him in a bravado, I know well enough, that some morning or other you will send me packing as well as the rest, but I swear by God, that you shall not live eight days after. This poor prince, instead of treating him as Maximin did his ‡, gave him all he desired, bishoprics, benefices, and offices (75).’

[P] They say be at last preferred an ass to his Astrologers.] The story is this, which I relate word for word, as I find it in a book printed at Lyons, in the year 1650 (76). ‘Lewis XI, having a most famous Astrologer in his court, and intending one day to go a hunting, asked him, whether it would be fair weather, or whether he did not suspect it would rain, who, having consulted his astrolobe, answered, that the day would be fair and serene; the king determined therefore to pursue his design; but having rode out of Paris, and coming near the forest, he met a Collier driving his ass, laden with coals, who said, that the king would do well to go back, because in a few hours there would be a great storm; but as what such people say is but little regarded, the king made no account of it, but rode into the forest, and was no sooner there but the day grew dark, thunder and lightning came on, and the rain fell in such abundance, that every one endeavouring to save himself, the king was left alone, who had no recourse but to his horse’s swiftness, to escape this misfortune. Next day the king having sent for the Collier, asked him where he had learned Astrology, and how he could so exactly foretel what weather should happen; the Collier answered, Sir, I was never at school, and indeed I can neither read nor write; nevertheless, I keep a good Astrologer in my house, who never deceives me; the king being amazed, asked him what was his Astrologer’s name, upon which the poor man, quite abashed, answered, Sir, it is the ass which your majesty yesterday saw me driving, loaden with coals; as soon as bad weather is coming, he hangs down his ears forward, and walks more slowly than usual, and rubs himself against the walls; by these signs (Sir) I certainly foresee rain, which is the reason that yesterday I advised your majesty to return home: the king hearing this, cashiered his Astrologer, and gave a small salary to the Collier, that he might make much of his ass, saying: Vivit enim Dominus, quia deinceps alio non utar Astrologo, quam carbonarii asino. — For the future, said he, with an oath, the Collier’s ass shall be my Astrologer. Alas, poor Astrologers, what will become of you, if an ass knows more than you?’ I have said elsewhere (77) that Angelo Catho, who had been this king’s Astrologer and Physician (78), arrived to great honours. You will find in Peter Matthieu, the names

of this king’s other Astrologers. It is said, that one of them prophesied, that a lady whom the king loved would die in a week’s time. The thing happening, Lewis XI sent for him, and commanded the people about him not to fail, at a signal he should give them, to take the Astrologer and throw him out at the window. As soon as the king saw him: you that pretend, says he, to be such a wise man, and know so perfectly the fate of others, inform me a little what will be your own, and how long you have to live? whether the Astrologer was secretly advised of the king’s design, or whether he knew it by his science: Sir, answered he, without expressing any fear, I shall die three days before your majesty. The king was so far from having him thrown out at the window after this answer, that, on the contrary, he took particular care not to suffer him to want for any thing, and did all that he could to retard the death of a man, which his own was so closely followed (79). This Astrologer was no less ingenious than he who delivered himself from a like danger in Tiberius’s time. Who being asked what the stars predicted to him that day; answered, after some artificial preambles, that he found himself threatened with an extreme danger. This answer was the reason, not only of his not being thrown from the top of the house, as it had been resolved, in case his science should be found fallacious, but also of Tiberius’s honouring him with his confidence (80).

[Q] There never was a king in France, whose cruel conduct and extortions came so near to tyranny.] Had Comines designed to give the portraiture of a cruel prince, he could have employed no stronger colours than those which describe his rigorous prisons, his iron cages, and nets †. He says, they were made of wood, covered with plates of iron: that he had got some Germans to make very weighty and terrible irons to put on the feet, and in which there was a ring to put one foot in, very hard to be opened, like an iron collar, with a thick and heavy chain, and a great iron ball at the end, very heavy, and these were called the king’s nets. The reign of this prince was terribly tempestuous; it cannot be said of it as of incident in foam that of Antoninus, that it was not stained with blood ‡. Trifstan, his grand provost, who as justly deserved by his barbarous and severe conduct, the name of Trifstan, as Maximin did, was so ready to execute his rigorous commands, that he sometimes destroyed the innocent with the guilty, and always disposed his prince rather to use the sword to punish offences, than the bridle to restrain men from offending. Claude de Seyssel could say nothing more severe on the memory of this prince, than what he writes, that about the places where he was, were seen a great number of people hanging on trees, and the prisons, and other neighbouring houses, full of prisoners, which were often heard, both by day and by night, to cry out for the torments they endured, besides those who were secretly cast into the rivers (81). The same Historian observes (82), that Lewis XI carried his absolute power to excess. His provost went and took the prisoners who were in the palace goal, and caused them to be drowned near the Grange aux Merciers. (83) Besides the examples of the contempt of justice, which are often seen in several parts of the history of Lewis XI, in which we find trials begin by execution, and executions without example; it says, that in many processes, he would have justice done according to his own humour, and would not trust to those, who had the dispensing of it. A place also is still shewn at Pleffis les Tours, where he concealed himself to watch his provost, when he examined the prisoners. (84) There were represented to the states which were held after his death, several sorts of injustices, which, during his reign, had afflicted the people, every one complaining that he had not taken care to maintain the rules of justice.

(79) Bourbault, Nouv. Lettres, pag. m. 394.

(80) See Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, cap. xxi.

† The cardinal de la Balze, who invented the iron cages, was the first who was shut up in them, and lived in them fourteen years. Lacum fudit & aperuit eum, & incidit in foam quam fecit.

• The reign of Antoninus was so mild, that Herodian calls it, ἀναιμαρτον, that is to say, unbloody.

(81) Matthieu, ubi supra, lib. xi, chap. vi, pag. 654, & seq.

(82) Ibid. pag. 672.

(83) Ibid. pag. 678.

• Strange stories are told of his executions. The chronicle says, that on Thursday, the eighth of October, Trifstan the Hermit, caused a man to be drowned in the Seine, called Sylvester the Monk, a native of Auxerre.

(84) Matthieu, ubi supra, pag. 679, 680.

lute submission he required of the parliament of Paris. For the rest, he had eminent qualities, and such as were absolutely necessary to him; for without these he never could have maintained the monarchy against domestic and foreign enemies, against so many factions of his own subjects, and the rude attacks of the duke of Burgundy, seconded by England. He not only preserved his dominions in the midst of so many attempts, but also enlarged them; for he re-united Anjou, Maine, and the duchy of Burgundy to the crown, and acquired Provence (1). It was in his power to have added to it all the estates of the house of Burgundy, by matching the heiress with the Dauphin [R]; but a surprising

(1) Matthieu, Hist. de Louis XI, lib. x, pag. 601.

justice. It was said in that assembly, that the king had raised to offices of judicature, men without ability and experience, and that blank commissions were ready drawn to insert the names of those who bid most, which were given to soldiers, huntsmen, foreigners, and illiterate people; that they might exercise them by others, and reap the profit of them; that the secretaries of the chancery exacted excessive fees at their discretion, and that for the seal to confirm a privilege to a city, they had exacted four hundred golden crowns. Then letters of appeal to the chancery and parliament, were denied to those who had recourse to the supreme justice of the king, against the injustices and oppressions of inferior judges; that they who administered justice in the parliaments, exacted great and excessive fees to reimburse themselves for the offices they had bought; that several had been accused of crimes of which they were innocent, and the accusers rewarded with the confiscation of their estates, and sometimes commissioned to try them, or to name what commissioners they thought fit; that the number of sergeants was multiplied in such a manner, that in the Bailliwicks and Seneschalries, in which there were wont to be only twenty or thirty, there were in his reign an hundred, or double the number. Many lords and others addressed themselves to this assembly for the restitution of their goods, lands, and offices, of which they had been deprived. It was represented to the same estates, that men, women, and children, were in several places forced, for want of beasts, to labour with the plough to their necks, and that by night, for fear the day might expose them to the commissioners of the taxes (85).

(85) Matthieu, ibid. pag. 711.

We will finish this remark with a passage of Mezerai. Comines, says he (86), describes him to us very prudent in adversity, admirably skilled at penetrating the interests and designs of men, and at drawing and turning them to his own ends, furiously suspicious and jealous of his power, most absolute in his will, who never pardoned, and who terribly trampled his subjects under foot, and yet with all this, the best prince of his time. He had put to death above four thousand persons by different punishments, which he sometimes delighted to see. Most of them had been executed without form of law, several drowned with a stone tied to their necks, others precipitated going over a swale, from whence they fell upon wheels armed with spikes and cutting instruments; others were strangled in dungeons; Trislan, his companion, and provost of his palace, being judge, witness, and executioner.

(86) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 348, 349.

[R] It was in his power to have added to his crown, all the estates of the house of Burgundy, by matching the heiress with the Dauphin. The princess Mary, heiress of all these estates, had a desire to be married to the Dauphin, and negotiated this affair by her principal counsellors. They removed all the difficulties that Lewis XI proposed to them: his son, he said, was not yet nine years old; he was extraordinary little for his age; his constitution could not either be more weak or more tender than it then was. Nothing was more dangerous for him than an early marriage (87). They replied, that the affairs of that prince would not admit any delay of her marriage; but that when it should be accomplished with the Dauphin, there might be ways found to retard the consummation, as long as it might be judged prejudicial to either of the parties. That Mary of Burgundy had declared, she would willingly wait as long as they thought convenient; but that her subjects had at present occasion for a master. The king replied, that the means they spoke of were not infallible; and that in the mean time, the health of his only son was so precious to him, that he could not expose it to a danger so great for a young prince, as that of a present marriage to a young lady, who was but too capable of consummating it. The Flemings in vain endeavoured to convince Lewis, that his fear was imaginary, and not

(87) Varillas, ubi supra, lib. viii, pag. 167.

being able to effect it, they made him a second proposition, which was no better received than the first (88). This was the marriage of the princess to Charles count of Angouleme (89). The king was so blind as to slip this the most glorious and advantageous opportunity that heaven could have offered him. His hatred for the duke of Burgundy was extreme, and capricious in its excess. It did not stop at his person, but extended to that of his daughter, for this only reason, that the duke was her father. This daughter had never done Lewis any injury, and yet he was so little equitable on her account, as to chafe, that the estates she inherited should be possessed by strangers, rather than secure them in a lawful way, such as by marriage (90). This shews, that the passions of monarchs do not always turn with the wind of their interest. They are accused of this fault, and supposed to divest themselves of friendship and hatred, with the greatest ease, when their grandeur requires it; this may be true, generally speaking, but they all have, like other persons, some secret passions, or certain antipathies, which, on some occasions, do not permit them to govern themselves otherwise than according to this disposition; to which they sacrifice their glory, their prudence, and most valuable interests. Philip de Comines ascends to a higher cause, and deserves to be heard.

(88) Id. ibid. pag. 108.

(89) Who was the father of Francis I, so that by this marriage the two countries would have been soon united to the crown of France. See Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 312, but as Lewis XI could not foresee this, there is no ground to blame him on this account, for he had solid reasons against aggrandizing the prince of the blood. See the art. de BURGUNDY (M A R Y), remark [B].

(90) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 172.

Notwithstanding that Lewis XI was thus free from all apprehensions, God permitted him not to take this matter, which was so great, by the most useful handle; and God seems to have shown him, as he has done since, that he would rigorously persecute this house of Burgundy, both in the person of the lord of it, and of the subjects having their estates in it. For all the wars which they have had since, would not have happened, if the king our master had taken things by the end he should have done, to compleat their happiness, and unite to his crown all these great lordships, to which he had no right. Which he ought to have done by some treaty of marriage, or have attracted them to him by good and true friendship; which he easily might have done, considering the great despair, poverty, and weakness, in which these lordships were. By doing which, he had retrieved them from great troubles, and at the same time had strengthened his own kingdom, and secured it by a lasting peace (91). When the duke of Burgundy was yet alive, the king often talked to me of what he would do, if the duke should die, and he spoke very rationally at that time, saying, that he would endeavour to marry his son (who is our king at present) to the duke's daughter, (who since has been duchess of Austria) and if she would not bearken to it, because the Dauphin was much younger than she, he would endeavour to marry her to some young lord of his kingdom, to keep her and her subjects in friendship, and to recover without contention, what he pretended a title to; and the king was still in this mind, till a week before he heard of the death of the duke. But this wise resolution, I speak of, began to change a little, the day that he knew of the death of the said duke of Burgundy (92). He expresses himself still more fully

(91) Philippe de Comines, lib. v, cap. xii, pag. m. 300, ad ann. 1476.

in the following chapter, for he expressly says, that God blinded this prince, in order to punish those who did not deserve to be happy. 'Our king's understanding was so great, that neither I nor any one else in the company could see so clearly into his affairs as he himself; for, doubtless, he was one of the wisest and most subtle princes of his time. But in these great affairs, God disposes the hearts of kings and great princes, (which he holds in his hand) to pursue methods subservient to the works which he designs to bring about in due time. For, without doubt, if it had been his will, that our king should continue the resolution which he himself had taken before the duke of Burgundy's death, the wars which since have followed, and those which are waged at this day, would all have been prevented.

(92) Id. ibid. in the following chapter, for he expressly says, that pag. 301.

surprising fatality so infatuated him in this point, that he could not sacrifice a personal passion to the most solid advantage he ever could have procured France, for the present and the future. He was blamed for suffering his enemies to make conquests in Germany, and for prolonging a truce, which gave them opportunities further to aggrandize themselves. This censure was ill-grounded [8]. He died the thirtieth of August 1483, after such tedious and severe distempers of body and mind [7], that there is hardly a human

ed; but we were not yet worthy on either side to obtain that long peace which was prepared for us; and hence proceeds the error our king committed, and not from any defect in his understanding; for, as I have said before, he was a very great man (93). Nothing can be more judicious than this discourse. We must say of this false step of Lewis XI, what the Physicians say of some distempers, that there is something supernatural in them, *Δείον γάρ*. Herodotus would speak out more frankly than any other; he who conceived the Deity as a jealous and malignant nature (94); for the event has shewn, that it was for the punishment of the people, that God permitted not the marriage of Mary of Burgundy and the Dauphin to take effect. They have suffered for the foolish politics of Lewis XI. It could never be said more truly,

Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi (95).

The people suffer when the prince offends.

The marriage of this prince with Maximilian of Austria, was the original of a war, which has lasted above two hundred years, and which in all probability will last much longer. It has been sometimes interrupted by the low condition of the combatants, only to return like intermitting fevers, when the dissipated humours have had time to recruit. Hence we may derive those rivers of blood, those repeated burnings, ravagings, and desolations. There is reason to wonder how a country of so little extent has been able to furnish for two ages an ample theatre of war (§ 2) to so many nations (96): France and the house of Austria, the principal parties, who have disputed this piece of ground, have engaged most of the Christian princes in their quarrel; for whenever the balance of power has been on the side of the latter, the former has been seconded in its attacks; and when the former has been but too likely to conquer, the other has been vigorously assisted. The Eastern nations, who know not the nature of the country, nor the concurrence of obstacles, laugh, that so many battles gained, and so many towns taken, should not decide this quarrel. The conquest of three or four provinces, is, with them, the business of a very few years; their historians, spend but three or four pages in relating it. What would they say, should they know that two camels could not carry all the histories, that have been written upon the wars of the Low-Countries? The historians of the troubles which occasioned the erection of the republic of the United Provinces are so numerous, that when Mr Varillas came to Paris, no body but Mr Naudé was capable of giving a catalogue of them (97). And yet these are but a very small part of the wars of the Netherlands, since Charles VIII. It is said that a Turkish emperor desiring to see, in a map, the little territory that maintained so long a war against so potent a monarch (98), said, that if it were his business, he would send a good number of pioneers, and make them shovel that little point of land into the sea (99). These people doubtless pity both those who have lost something, and those who have not taken all in so long a series of wars. They do not think it glorious to fight so often for the same towns; they take and restore them two or three times in the same reign, and so they are always to begin again. But what would they say, had they genius enough to reflect upon the consequence of these losses? The house of Austria would not by this time have had a foot of ground in this country, if it had not lost half of it in the sixteenth century. It has experienced the truth of this maxim of the ancients, that half is better than the whole (100). What it lost then has served, and will always serve, to save the rest; without this, it would at this time neither have what it has preserved, nor what it could not recover. The poor Flemings, as Comines very well said, are always the sufferers;

whereas by the marriage of their prince with the Dauphin, they had probably only seen war at a distance: it would have been kept out of their frontiers, which is an inestimable advantage. As long as there is an inch of ground to be gained, they will always be the suffering party; this will be a constant and infallible ferment of new wars.

[(§ 2) The same has been said of Italy long ago, 'Et Galli & Helvetii, & Hispani & Teutonici, omnes eorum pugnas veniunt committere in Italiam, cum maximo Italorum discrimine. — The French, and the Swiss, the Spaniards, and the Germans, they all come to fight their battles in Italy to the great danger of the Italians.' Says John Nevizanus in his *Sylva Nuptialis*, Lib. IV, num. 136. REM. CRIT.]

[8] *This censure was ill grounded.* It was indeed specious; for, generally speaking, it is true policy to oppose the conquests of an ambitious and well armed neighbour. But there is no rule without an exception, and there are circumstances in which instead of crossing an enemy in his enterprise, we ought not to hinder him from engaging in it: as for example, when we foresee that such a one will be hampered, and that the consequences of this may be of advantage to us. This was the duke of Burgundy's case, when having conquered the duchy of Guelderland, he formed new projects against the empire. Let us hear a man that undertook this matter admirably. 'The said duke prolonged his truce with the king, and some of the king's servants thought, that he ought not to have prolonged it, nor have given so great advantage to the duke. This seemed rational enough, but they did not understand this matter, for want of experience, and duly weighing circumstances. There were others who saw farther into it than they, and who had more experience, as having been upon the places, who told the king, that that truce was wisely made, and that he ought to suffer the said duke to dash himself against the Germans (an enterprise so great and daring, that it was almost incredible) saying, that when he had taken one place, or ended one quarrel, he would soon engage himself in another, and that he was not a man, ever to be contented with the success of any undertaking (in which he was opposite to the king; for the more he was embroiled, the more he would embroil himself) and that there was no better way of being revenged on him, than letting him go on his own way, and even giving him some small aid, without giving him suspicion of any design of breaking this truce: for considering the greatness and power of Germany, it was not possible but he must soon be utterly ruined. For the princes of the empire, though the emperor was a man of little virtue, would see it done; and so it happened in the issue to the said duke (101).

[T] He died . . . after tedious and severe distempers of body and mind. He who supplies me with the proofs of this, is so valuable a witness, that it is not possible to have a better; for it is Philip de Comines. He tells us that the king, his master fell sick at Forges near Chinon, in March 1480 (102). He intirely lost his speech, his senses, and his memory . . . Two or three days after he began to recover his speech, and his senses . . . As he found himself somewhat better he began to enquire, who they were that had hindered him by force from going to the window? They told him the truth, and he immediately expelled them his family; some he turned out of their places, and never would see them more. Others . . . he only dismissed (103). The reason of all this was, that there was nothing he so much dreaded as the losing his authority. What torment, what punishment was this? This distemper held him about fifteen days, and he recovered perfectly as to his sense and speech; but continued very weak, and in great apprehensions of a relapse (104). He accordingly relapsed the year following, and lost his speech a second time, and was thought

(101) Philippe de Comines, liv. iv, chap. 1, pag. 195, 196, ad ann. 1474.

(102) Ibid. liv. vi, chap. vii, pag. m. 377.

(103) Ibid. pag. 378.

(104) Ibid. pag. 379.

(93) Id. ibid. cap. xlii, pag. 323.

(94) See the article PERICLES, remark [1].

(95) Horat. Epist. ii, lib. i, ver. 14.

(96) See Strada, in the beginning of his History of the wars of the Low-Countries: he says, among other things, that Mars makes visits to other countries, but keeps his ordinary residence here: Plane ut in alias terras peregrinari Mars ac circumferre bellum, hic armorum sedem fixisse videatur.

(97) Varillas, preface to the fifth Tome of the History of Henry.

(98) Viz. Holland against the king of Spain.

(99) Remarks on a discourse of the Sieur de Gremouville, pag. 68. The author of the Religio Medici had said the same thing before, lib. i, sect. xvi, pag. m. 96. De qua (Holland) superbe satis tyrannus Turcius, quantum Hispano molestus negotioque ab illa ortum esset, sibi obstitisset, missum se fuisse dixit qui ligonibus furellisque in mare conjiceretur.

(100) Πάσις γινώσκοντες πάντας. Οὐδὲν μὲν πλεονέκτημα. See Erasmus, Chil. i, Centur. IX, n. 115, pag. m. 518, 519.

* Understand this of the duke.

a human creature so barbarous as to wish his bitterest enemy the like. He may well be reckoned in the the number of the princes, whose bad fortune much exceed their good

to be dead for two hours . . . They devoted him to St Claude . . . immediately his speech returned and he walked about the house in a very weak condition (105). He made a journey to St Claude, and returned to Tours, and shut himself up, so that few could see him, and grew wonderful suspicious of every body, and jealous, lest they should take away or diminish his authority (106) . . . He did a great many strange things, for which they that saw them, thought him bereft of his senses; but they did not know him . . . he knew that he was not beloved by the great persons of the kingdom, nor by many of the meaner sort, and he had so taxed the people, as never king did (107) . . . so that it is no wonder if he had distracted thoughts and imaginations, and fancied he was not wished well, and had great fears on that account . . . In the first place hardly any one came to Plessis du Parc, (which was the place where he resided) except his domestics and his archers, which were four hundred, a good number of them being always upon the guard, and walking before the palace, and guarding the gate: No lord or great person lodged within the court, and but few of the great lords were ever admitted: Nobody came near him but Monsieur de Beaujeu, the present duke of Bourbon, his son-in-law; he encompassed the castle of Plessis, with an iron palisade, and fortified the entrance into the ditches of Plessis with forked iron turn-pikes; he also caused four pieces of ordnance to be made, all of massy iron, and port-holes to shoot through, and it was a majestic piece of work, and cost above twenty thousand livres: and lastly, he placed there forty cross-bow men, who day and night were in these ditches, and had orders to shoot at any man who approached them, till the gate was open in the morning: he fancied moreover that his subjects were somewhat forward to assume his authority when they saw an opportunity (108). Comines having amply spoken of Francis de Paula goes on (109), 'Our king was in Plessis, attended by very few, except archers, and under the suspicions before mentioned; but he had taken all imaginable precaution; for he left no man either in the neighbourhood or town, of whom he had a suspicion, but sent them all away, under a guard of archers. Nobody spoke to him of business, but such as concerned him most: he looked more like a dead than living man. He was grown so lean that no body could have believed it; he clothed himself richly, more than ever he used to do wearing only robes of crimson satin, furred with fine fables, and gave some to whom he thought fit, without their asking: for no body durst ask any thing, or speak to him: he ordered severe punishments, to render himself dreaded, and for fear his subjects obedience should slacken; for so he told me himself. He dismissed officers, and disbanded soldiers, lessened some pensions, and took away others; and he told me a few days before his death, that he spent his time in placing and displacing people, and got himself more talked of in the kingdom than any king ever was, and this he did for fear they should think him dead; for as I have said, few saw him: but when his actions were talked of, every one was in suspense and could scarce believe he was sick; he caused all sorts of beasts to be brought him from foreign countries, and gave a prodigious price for them; and all this to amuse the people that they should not think he was sick (110). The historian compares (111) the evils and pains king Lewis suffered to those he had made others suffer; because, says he, I hope that the miseries he suffered before his death . . . will prepare his way to heaven, and be part of his purgatory. He reckons amongst those evils, the indiscretion of those who pronounced him a dead man. What a thunderstroke was it to him to hear this news, and this sentence? for never man feared death more, or endeavoured more to find a remedy for it; and he had all his life-time said to his servants, and to me among others, and prayed, that if ever we saw him in extremity, we should say nothing to him, except, speak little; and that we should only bring him to confess, without pronouncing that cruel word death: for he did not seem to have courage to bear so cruel a sentence (112) . . . you see then how indiscret-

ly his death was signified to him. Which I was willing to relate . . . in order to shew, that the miseries he endured were very great, considering his temper, who exacted more obedience than any one else in his time, and who had had more paid him. So that the least word of an answer, contrary to his inclination, had been a great punishment for him to endure: some five or six months before his death, he was suspicious of all men, and especially of all who were worthy of authority: he was afraid of his son, and caused him to be strictly guarded. No body either saw or spoke to him, except by his command; he was, suspicious at last of his daughter, and son-in-law the present duke of Bourbon, and would know what people entered Plessis with them; at last he broke off a council, which the duke of Bourbon, his son-in-law, held there by his command. When his son-in-law and the count de Dunois came back from reconducting the embassy, which was come to the wedding of the king, his son, and of the queen, at Amboise, and entered Plessis, and much people along with them, the king, who caused the gates to be well-guarded, being in the gallery, which looks into the court of Plessis, ordered one of the captains of his guards to be called to him, and commanded him to go and examine the attendants of the said lords, whether they had not coats of mail under their cloaths; and that he should do it, as by discoursing with them, without making too much shew of it. Judge then, whether he who had made so many people live in suspicion and fear of him, was not well recompensed; and who were those that he could trust, since he was jealous of his son, his daughter, and his son-in-law. I speak not this on his account only. But for all other princes who desire to be feared, they never meet with the requital of it till old age: for penance they fear every body: and what torment was it for this king to be troubled with this fear, and these passions (113)? Afterwards the author mentions (114) the slavery in which the Physician kept this prince, and having described (115), the precautions the king took to secure himself in a house surrounded with great iron grates, &c. &c. He goes on (116), 'Is it possible to keep a king in safer custody, or (117) Ibid. pag. 402. in a stricter prison, than he kept himself? The cages, in which he kept others, were about eight foot square, and he that was so great a king, had (118) Ibid. pag. 404. only the small court of a castle to walk in, though he seldom came there, but kept in his gallery without going from thence, except through the chambers; and went to mass without passing through the aforesaid court. Would not one say, that this king suffered as well as others? who thus shut up himself, and had guards about him, who was thus in fear of his children, and of all about him, and of his relations, and who changed continually his servants which he had brought up, and who had all their dependance upon him, so as to confide in none of them, but thus condemn himself to such strange confinements, and enclosures?' What he says in the thirteenth chapter is wonderful. 'The poor and the vulgar ought to place but little hope in any thing in this world, since so great a king has suffered and laboured so much, and at last left all, unable to keep off death one hour, with all the diligence he employed to do it. I have known him, and have been his servant in the flower of his age, and in his greatest prosperities; but I never saw him without trouble and care. Above all pleasures, he loved hunting and hawking in it's season, but he took not so much pleasure in this, as in dogs (117). . . . (119) Ibid. pag. 405. And even in hunting he had almost as much trouble as pleasure; for he took great pains at it, he kept up with the hags, and rose very early, and rode sometimes a long chace, and would not leave the sport whatever weather it might be; and thus he sometimes returned very weary, and almost always in a fret with some body or other . . . He was continually at this sport, and lodged in the villages till some news came of a war; for most commonly every summer, there was something to do betwixt the duke of Burgundy and him, and in the winter they made a truce (118) . . . Thus the pleasures he took were but (120) Ibid. pag. 405. for a short season of the year, and were very laborious to his person, as I have said; at the time that he repined

(105) Ibid. pag. 380.

(106) Ibid. pag. 381.

(107) Ibid. pag. 382.

(108) Ibid. pag. 383.

(109) Ibid. chap. viii, pag. 386.

(110) Ibid.

(111) In the twelfth chapter of the sixth book, pag. 397, & seq.

(112) Ibid. pag. 399.

(113) Ibid. pag. 402.

(114) Ibid. pag. 401.

(115) Ibid. pag. 403.

(116) Ibid. pag. 404.

(117) Ibid. chap. xiii, pag. 405.

(118) Ibid.

(119) Ibid. pag. 405.

(m) See, below, *etat*, (121), the words of Comines.

good fortune (m). He performed an act of religion, upon which a modern author has had some thoughts, which deserve to be examined [U]. They who say he was an illiterate

(119) Ibid. pag. 407.

(120) Ibid. pag. 407, 408.

(121) Ibid. pag. 408.

(122) Charles duke of Burgundy, Edward IV. king of England, Matthias king of Hungary, and Mahomet II, emperor of the Turks.

(123) Comines near the end of the sixth book.

(124) See the treatise of the Use of History by the Abbé de St Real, printed at Paris in 1671, pag. 23, 236.

(125) Ibid. pag. 233, 234.

(126) Ibid. pag. 235.

(127) Ibid. pag. 237.

(128) Ibid. pag. 238.

(129) Ibid. pag. 240.

‘reposed himself, his understanding was at work; for he had business in a great many places: and as willingly concerned himself in the affairs of his neighbours as in his own. When he was in war, he longed for a peace or a truce; when he had made a truce, he could hardly endure it: he concerned himself with many little things in his kingdom, which he needed not to have done; but such was his temper, and so he lived (119).’ The life of this prince, before he was king, was not very happy. Comines shows it (120), after which he makes this conclusion: ‘Now in what time of his life could it be said he enjoyed any pleasure, considering all the things above-mentioned? I believe that from his infancy to his grave, he had nothing but anguish and fatigues; and that, if all the good days of his life, in which he had more joy and pleasure than labour and trouble, were reckoned up, they would be found but very few; and that there would be twenty of pain and labour, for one of ease and pleasure (121).’

There is no reader so stupid as to want a comment upon what I have been relating; every one is able to imagine that there is no condition more miserable than that of a sick prince, who dares not own he is so, who suspects every thing, and is forced to use a thousand stratagems, to persuade people he is not dead. Note, that Philip de Comines shews, by the example of four great princes (122), who died in his time, that man is but an inconsiderable thing, that this life is short and miserable, and that grandeur is nothing (123).

[U] He performed an act of religion, upon which a modern author has had some thoughts which deserve to be examined.] Lewis XI made a contract, which was called the donation of Lewis XI, to the Virgin Mary of Boulogne, of the right and title to the fief and homage for the county of Boulogne, on which the county of St Paul depends, to be paid before the image of the said lady by his successors, in 1478 (124). The abbot of St Real pretends, that ‘all antiquity, whether Greek or Roman, never saw any man pretend to honour himself before the people, by bestowing bounties on the gods . . . and that this refined devotion was reserved for Lewis XI (125).’ He maintains (126), that an excess of this nature in such a one as he was, ought rather to be reputed an artifice, than an extravagance.

. . . (127) That this action, however bold it appears, ought to be looked upon by us as the fruit of a consummate wisdom, and a long experience of the judgments of men: that there is nothing extraordinary in a prince’s consecrating . . . the revenue of lands to the service of God and his saints, to the use of his ministers, to the ornament of their temples and their altars, nor even in putting his estates under their particular protection . . . (128). That all this is agreeable to reason; but not so as to make choice of celestial powers for the objects of our liberality: that instead of asking any thing of them, or pretending to have received from them, one should take upon him to be their benefactor; as if they had need of our benefactions, as much as we have need of theirs; and could actually enjoy them as we can theirs, their light and intelligence, when they please to communicate some rays of them. That however this has had a good effect; for (129) though Lewis XI made open profession of insincerity, as we see by his motto, yet it does not appear that at that time any one suspected the least artifice in so extraordinary a devotion. So true it is . . . that the bare shadow of an imaginary interest, that heaven has in such sort of actions, and the sanctity of names, that are mingled with them, may so blind the world, as to hinder it from perceiving the extravagance and mockery. This is wonderful; but it serves the better to discover the nature of the human mind by its weak and whimsical side, that no one should at that time reflect on the extravagance of a man’s contracting with the holy Virgin, just as one man does with another, and making her at least, in fiction, accept of a present which he remained as much possessor of after this pretended liberality as before. For, after all, were the Bailiffs, Provosts, and other officers of the county of Boulogne, tho’ they had been called the Virgin’s Bailiffs, Provosts, and officers, less obliged to obey the king? Did the church of Boulogne enjoy

the revenue of the land, so that she was better served than before? Was the king ever the less count of it, for having given this county to the Virgin? Not at all? Did not the people at that time see this as we see it? they might if they had pleased; but Lewis XI saw all these things much better than they or we. In the mean time, this prince, so dextrous in the use of all the instruments of policy, who had so profoundly studied that of religion in particular, and plaid this engine in all the known methods, thought he might safely try it this one way more, when once he had invented it, and carry it so far without danger; he judged in short that his people were capable of bearing with it. He must have been well acquainted with their nature, to venture so far. I do not copy any of the rest of this long passage, though it be very solid.

I find in some respects a great deal of solidity in these reflexions; but considering the practice that has prevailed in all times, and which the abbot of St Real has commended, I do not find any thing wonderful in this conduct of Lewis XI, nor any reason to suspect more artifice in it, than in the rest of his devotions. The Heathens made donations to their gods, not only of precious stones, and of vessels of gold and silver, but also of lands (130). The Catholics daily give the holy Virgin, some a pearl-necklace, others a crown, or a robe beset with diamonds, &c. They disseize themselves of the property of these goods, and convey them to the mother of the son of God. Why will not you allow then, that a man may as well convey the title of sovereign of a certain fief to her? Is it strange that Lewis XI should declare himself her vassal, her liege-man in respect of a county whereof he was sovereign? What mighty wonder is it, that he should from henceforth command homage to be paid this saint? I own he reserves to himself the profitable demesnes, and all the other advantages of possession; but this hinders not his granting away an honourable right; and the conveyance he makes of it comes under the same species of liberality, as the gift of a heart of silver, or a crown glittering with precious stones. The instrument of this conveyance, hung up in a church in letters of gold, would be as glorious an ornament as a statue of silver. Wherein then lies the extraordinary whimsicalness of Lewis the eleventh’s devotion? and why must it be said, that he would not have had the boldness thus to impose upon the public, if he had not profoundly known the folly and weakness of the people. If he had consecrated to the holy Virgin the revenue of this fief, to be employed to the use of ecclesiastics, and the adorning of altars, he had practised a sort of devotion, which the abbot of St Real had judged very solid (131). This therefore is a laudable way to abuse the celestial powers for the objects of our liberality; it ought therefore to be permitted, to offer them the sovereignty of an estate, and to convey it to them, in order to hold it from them, back again, by fealty and homage; for this right is what a man may as well divest himself of, in honour of them, as of the revenues of that estate. Remember that the victims sacrificed to the gods, and all the other offerings of devotion, were always considered as a present, and that the priests employed them neither for food, nor any other use, otherwise than in quality of the ministers of those celestial powers. They were not the proprietors, they were only the usufructuaries, and that by a kind of secondary conveyance. The first consisted in this, that the man who offered a victim, or any thing else, gave up to the gods all the right he had in it. The second in this, that the gods transferred to their ministers the administration and use of these offerings. So that at bottom, the conduct of Lewis XI had nothing extraordinary in it, as not being a liberality of a new invention, and we need not wonder that his subjects were not offended at it. It is true, he might have been censured, because his donation alienated nothing from him; for he still remained master of the land, he reserved the real profits, &c. wholly to himself. But they would be to blame, in imagining that he sought only to deceive; this act of religion might in him be as sincere as any other. It is very probable he believed he had made a donation

(130) As to Bellona round the temple of Comana, and to Venus round the temple of Eryx, &c.

(131) Read page 238 of this book. I have quoted his words above, citat. (128).

terate man, and no way countenanced learning, have been sufficiently confuted by Gabriel Naudé (n). I do not give a chronological series of his principal actions; this you will find in Moreri, copied almost word for word from Father Anselm (o); this ought also to be understood of the other French monarchs. Mr Varillas is mistaken as to the cause he alledges of the antipathy between the French and Spaniards [X]. He has succeeded pretty well in discovering the machinations of the war against Lewis XI, and the arts by which they were defeated, and that terrible conspiracy was destroyed (p). That subject was suitable to his genius, and the turn he had given to his studies: but there is a little book, where we see more distinctly the plan of this enterprize, and the means used by that prince to defeat it [Z].

The reflexions of Mr Joly (q), on the life of this king, are very judicious. I shall recite a passage of it, which will give me occasion to rectify a remark concerning the *Rozier des Guerres*, the *rose-tree of the wars* [Z].

donation which would highly please the holy Virgin, dispose her to protect him, and be liberal of her favours towards him; his principles and acts of piety might all be wrong, and yet attended with a sincere persuasion of mind; one proof of this is, that he never durst swear falsely upon the cross of St Laud (132), being struck with a vulgar tradition, that they who swore upon this cross, and were perjured, died a miserable death before the year's end (133). The confessor of St Pol prayed him to swear upon that cross, that he would neither do, nor suffer any other to do him any harm (134). The king answered, that he had sworn he never would take that oath, for any man alive; but that there were no other oaths; but he would willingly take to satisfy him (135).

I wish this reflexion may serve as a warning to all my readers, that there are no thoughts so much to be suspected, as those which are put off in an assuming manner, and with a majestic tone. The foregoing reflexions of the abbot of St Real are, of this kind, the fittest in the world to dazzle; but divest them of their ornaments, and take a near view of them, and you will find nothing solid in them.

[X] Mr Varillas is mistaken, as to the cause of the antipathy between the French and Spaniards. Most of the accounts both French and Spanish, that were published upon occasion of the interview of Lewis with Henry IV, king of Castile, assign for a reason of the strange change that happened there, Lewis's extreme negligence in dress, unbecoming the dignity of a prince of his rank; and to say the truth, before that interview, the French and Castilians practised, towards each other, all the duties of good neighbourhood. They mutually succoured each other, and performed all the good offices that decency and charity required (136). Mr Varillas gives several instances of it, after which he goes on in this manner, 'but when the court of Henry IV, king of Castile, which appeared in so magnificent an equipage, that the like was never seen, nor any thing near it, for three or four hundred years before, saw Lewis dressed in a drab de Berry, that was not new, and his head covered with an old hat, which had nothing remarkable in it but a leaden image of the Virgin, that was sewed to it; the Castilians conceived such a contempt for the French, on account of their king, that they took the first opportunity of breaking with them; and the antipathy betwixt the two nations, may be dated from that time, which has since become immortal (137).'

I doubt not but Mr Varillas would have been hard put to it, to shew us any accounts of this interview, which say, that the hatred that has lasted so long between the French and Spaniards, is derived from thence. I am certain Philip de Comines is the first who has made reflexions thereupon, and that almost all other writers are his transcribers in this particular; but he is far from giving any ground for the pretended discovery of Mr Varillas. He has made a digression (138) tending to shew that the interview of princes is more prejudicial than profitable. He gives several instances of it, the first whereof is the interview of Lewis XI, and the king of Castile: 'Thus these two nations, says he (139), which had been so strictly allied, ridiculed each other. The king of Castile was ill-favoured, and his dress displeasing to the French, who laughed at it. Our king was dressed in a short jerkin, and so mean that nothing could be more so; and sometimes he wore very sorry cloth, and a sorry hat, different from the rest, with a leaden image tacked to it. The Castilians laughed at it,

and said it was out of singinefs. Thus, in effect, that interview broke up, with scoffing and satire on both sides, and those two kings afterwards never loved one another.' What he has said of the interview of the emperor and Charles duke of Burgundy, is equally strong (140). Should we hence conclude, that the Germans and Burgundians have hated one another ever since? Would not this be false? Were not they good friends, after the death of the duke of Burgundy? Did not they act in concert against France? We should have seen the same betwixt the French and Castilians, had not stronger reasons intervened than the discontent at this interview. Castile, Arragon, and several other estates of Spain were re-united: and hence proceeded the hatred of the French and Spaniards; for ever since that re-union, France has been obliged to act either upon the offensive or defensive against Spain.

[Y] There is a little book where we see more distinctly the plan of this enterprize, and the means used by that prince to defeat it. It was printed in the year 1694, under the title of *Miroir historique de la Ligue de l'an 1464*, où peut se reconnoître la Ligue de l'an 1694, pour y decouvrir ce qu'elle a à craindre des propositions de paix que la France lui fait. Par l'Auteur du *Salut de l'Europe*. — *An historical Mirrour of the League in the year 1464, where the League of the year 1694 may view itself, in order to discover what it has to fear from the propositions of peace which France has made to it. By the author of the Safety of Europe*. You see that he who published this book, describes himself not by his name, but by a preceding piece, intituled *Le Salut de l'Europe* considéré dans un état de crise, avec un Avertissement aux Alliez sur les conditions de paix que la France propose aujourd'hui, par l'Auteur de la Réponse au Discours de Mr de Rebenac. — *The Safety of Europe considered in a state of Crisis, with an advice to the allies on the conditions of peace which France now proposes, by the author of the answer to the discourse of Mr Rebenac*. This answer (141), which contains 117 pages in 8vo, was published in the year 1692, and was very much relished by the enemies of France: which doubtless is the reason that the author made it his distinguishing title and character at the head of his second performance, which he intituled *Le Salut de l'Europe*, &c. Since that second piece, he no longer described himself by his first title, but by that which he founded on his *Salut de l'Europe*. I do not know whether he is the author of two pieces which appeared in the year 1694, one under the title of *Avis d'un Amy à l'Auteur du Miroir historique de la Ligue de l'an 1464*. — *Advice from a friend to the author of the Historical Mirrour of the League of the year 1464*; and the other under the title of *Pensées sur l'Avis d'un Amy à l'Auteur du Miroir historique de la Ligue de l'an 1464*. — *Some Thoughts on the advice from a friend to the author of the Historical Mirrour of the League of the year 1464*. I only know that he continued to describe himself by his second quality, in a piece which came out in the year 1695, intituled, *Lettre au Gazetteur de Paris sur le Siege de Namur, par l'Auteur du Salut de l'Europe*. He seems to know pretty well the character of Lewis XI.

[Z] I shall recite a passage of it, which will give me occasion to rectify a remark concerning the *Rozier des Guerres*. We desire to have a prince who is addicted to the Catholic truth, but of whom it cannot be said what the holy bishop of Geneva said of some body resembling Lewis XI, that he was a good Catholic, but a very bad Christian. We must however say this of Lewis XI, which, in my opinion, is the

(n) See his book, intituled, *Additions à la Histoire de Louis XI*.

(o) Intituled, *Histoire de la Mission Royale de France*.

(p) See his *History of Lewis XI*, book iii, and iv.

(q) See the preface of his *Codécille d'Or*, pag. 26. & seq. Edit. 1666.

(132) It is at Angers.

(133) Matthieu, ubi supra, lib. vi, cap. xvi, pag. 100. See also Varillas, in the preface to his *History of Lewis XI*.

(134) Idem, Matthieu, ibid.

(135) Ibid.

(136) Varillas, ubi supra, lib. x, pag. 323.

(137) Id. ibid. pag. 314.

(138) It is the eighth chapter of his second book.

(139) Comines, ibid. pag. 105.

(141) I have cited it in the remark [I], of the article FRANCIS I.

'finest and most royal action of his life, that he seriously acknowledged his faults before he died, as we are assured by Comines. And to hinder his son, who was afterwards Charles VIII *, from falling into the same faults, he left him an instruction, under the name of *Rozier des Guerres*, which having been found in the castle of Nerac, has been published by Mr d'Espagnet, president of the parliament of Bourdeaux, in 1616, where he particularly recommends to him to make himself more loved than feared, considering that he had chiefly erred in that important point (142).'

You see that Mr Joly does not positively say, that Lewis XI composed that instruction himself, and yet insinuates that he did so. The title of the book in the edition of the president d'Espagnet (143) is still more fallacious. I said in the preceding editions of this Dictionary (144), that Mr d'Espagnet believed that Lewis XI was the author of this book; but I have blotted it out. I should have expressed myself with some restriction, since he only believed that this prince had *some hand in it* (145).

* In 1484.

(142) Joly, preface to the *Codex d'Or*, pag. 3.

(143) Le Rozier, des Guerres, COMPTON par le feu Roi Louis XI de ce nom pour Monseigneur le Dauphin, Charles son fils. . . The *Rozier des Guerres*, composed by the late king Lewis XI for his Royal Highness's prince Charles, his son. (144) In the remark [B] of the article ESPAGNET. (145) See the preface of Mr d'Espagnet.

LEWIS XII, king of France, great-grandson to Charles V [A], succeeded Charles VIII, on the seventh of April 1498. He had the title of duke of Orleans, and had gone through many disgraces in the reign of his predecessor. Nor paid he all the submission due to his sovereign: for he had taken up arms against him, and was taken prisoner in a battle gained against those of Brittany, by the army of Charles VIII (a). He was in love with the heiress of Brittany, and hoped to marry her; but he had not that satisfaction till after the king his predecessor's death, and it obliged him to an action altogether odious and unjust, to wit, the dissolving his marriage with the princess Jane of France [B]. His reign was remarkable for great events, some prosperous, and others unfortunate [C]; but take him all together, he was one of the greatest men that had been

(a) This was the battle of St Aubin du Cormier, gained on the twenty eighth of July, 1488.

(1) F. Anselme, *Histoire Genealogique*, pag. 178.

(2) Id. *ibid.* pag. 229.

(3) Brantome, *Memoires des Dames illustres*, pag. m. 277.

(4) Id. *ibid.* pag. 288.

* In the manuscript volume in the king's library, which contains the process concerning the dissolution of the marriage of Lewis XII with Jane of France.

** Caesar Borgi.

(5) Varillas, *Hist. de Francois I*, livr. 1, pag. 8. Hague Edit. 1690.

[A] He was great-grandson to Charles V. He was son to Charles duke of Orleans, who was son to Lewis of France, duke of Orleans, assassinated in Paris by his uncle the duke of Burgundy, the twenty third of November, 1407 (1). This Lewis, son of Charles V, had married Valentina of Milan; so that Lewis XII, grandson to Valentina, had the justest pretensions in the world to the duchy of Milan, and yet he could never maintain himself in that country.

[B] He was obliged to dissolve his marriage with the princess Jane of France. She was daughter to Lewis XI, and sister to Charles VIII. She was married at twenty two years of age, to our Lewis, in 1476. She behaved herself very well with respect to him whilst he was in disgrace, and it was she, who, by her entreaties, brought him out of prison, in 1491 (2); but that was not sufficient to balance, in her husband's heart, the violent inclination he had for Charles the eighth's widow: this was Anne of Brittany. He had loved her, and was beloved by her, before she married Charles; therefore, to gratify his passion for her, he caused his marriage to be annulled, and promised such rewards to Pope Alexander VI, that he obtained of him all he had a mind to. There are few but believe he was perjured, in maintaining he had not known her. 'He protested he had married her by force, fearing the indignation of Lewis XI, her father, who was a man of an absolute will, but that he had never known nor touched her (3)'. This Brantome says, but he adds, 'I believe her husband, as I have heard say, had known her very well, and sensibly touched her, though she was somewhat deformed in her body; for he was not so chaste as to abstain, having her so near him, and so close to his side, considering his temper, which was a little lustful, and very prone to the pleasures of Venus, as his predecessor had been; but he was minded to recover his first love, which was queen Anne, and that fine duchy, which threw great temptations into his soul, and therefore he divorced that princess, and his oath was believed and received by the Pope, who gave him a dispensation, which was received by the Sorbonne, and by the court of parliament of Paris (4)'. Mr Varillas will give us the particulars of the injustices which were committed in this affair. 'Lewis XII had solicited the dissolution of his marriage with Jane of France, daughter and sister to the two last kings, though he was obliged to her for his liberty and life; he had sworn before the commissioners of the holy see, that the marriage had not been consummated, though this princess had sworn the contrary; and the miracles she afterwards wrought, seem to confirm the truth of what she had said; he had maintained, in writing, other facts upon this subject, which were not more probable: he had corrupted, by his money, the secretary of the legate **, and understanding, from him, that the permission to marry again was expedited, he married the queen, without waiting till this permission came to his hands, which was the cause of the legate's poisoning his secretary (5)'. Even

those who will not allow that this princess wrought miracles, will be obliged to acknowledge, that she lived an exemplary life after her divorce, and that her moderation under so sensible an injury was wonderful; for which reason her word is more to be depended on than the oaths of her husband. For it is certain that she declared to the commissioners, with all that modesty which her virtue and her sex required, that the marriage had been consummated. Jane of France being interrogated in her turn upon the same articles, answered. . . . That modesty would not permit her to explain herself clearly upon the third article (6), and nevertheless that her conscience did not suffer her to assent to it (7). If it were true, as a Jesuit affirms, that great prodigies were observed upon the dissolution of the marriage, no one could doubt of the injustice and perjury of Lewis XII. The declaration of this divorce 'was followed, or at least attended, with terrible prodigies, as earthquakes, storms, tempests, thunder, and, above all, with so great a darkness, that, in the day time, says this author (8), they were obliged to make use of torches, to be able to read the sentence of separation and nullity of the marriage (9). These are surprising events, of which the cotemporary writers ought not to have been silent; their general silence would have been a stranger prodigy than the rest. However, it is plain they have said nothing of them; for if they had, the knowledge of a thing of this nature would not have been so ill preserved, as that almost every one should look upon it as a new discovery in the Jesuit's book. We shall here mention a reflexion of a modern author: 'How is it possible, says he (10), that an event of this nature should be unknown to Brantome, or Mr Varillas, who have known or read so many secret memoirs? we may observe this small difference between the two, that the latter says expressly, queen Jane wrought miracles; whereas the first only says, she was reckoned a saint, and almost a worker of miracles. In matters of this kind, the farther we are removed from the fountain-head, the more we know.' Note, that 'the people of Paris murmured openly, at the king's divorcing the daughter of Lewis XI, and that there were scrupulous doctors, who blamed him in the pulpits (11)'. Judge then whether the prodigies would have passed in silence. It might be said that since Brantome's death, several miracles were wrought at the queen's tomb (12), and therefore Mr Varillas might be more positive than he. Be it how it will, the sentence that declares the marriage null, being pronounced the twenty second of December, 1498 (13), the king married Anne of Brittany the eighth (14) of January following.

[C] His reign was remarkable for great events. . . unfortunate.] Among Lewis the twelfth's greatest misfortunes, must be reckoned the loss of the kingdom of Naples, and that of the Milanese. He was the dupe of the king of Arragon, as to the first of these losses; but it could not be wholly attributed to the frauds of the court of Spain. The French were beaten in several engagements,

(6) Which was that Lewis XII obtained from consummating the marriage Varillas, *ibid.* Lewis XII, *ibid.*, pag. 21.

(7) *ibid.*

(8) Louis de Bony.

(9) Journal des Savants, August 7, 1684, in the *Extraits de la Vie de Louis XII*, *ibid.*, pag. 21.

(10) Nouvelle des Repub. de l'Europe, Sept. 1684, pag. 755.

(11) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 418.

(12) Histoire de Coite, *Extraits de Dames illustres*, Tom. II, pag. 20, says, that Lewis XIII, having heard that God works continual miracles at the tomb of queen Jane, wrote several times to the Pope desiring that he would declare her blessed, and that the Pope named commissioners to take information of the miracles.

(13) Anselme, *ubi supra*, pag. 326.

(14) Id. *ibid.*, pag. 328. Mezerai, *ubi supra*, says the eighteenth

been seen for some ages. The republic of Venice being grown very powerful, and the haughtiness great power is attended with, having appeared too much in her conduct, several states confederated to bring her to reason [D]. Lewis XII, who came into this league, had almost the sole glory of humbling this State [E], which was grown formidable and odious to all its neighbours. After so noble a success, a league was formed against this monarch, by the intrigues of a Pope (b), who was not only a great warrior, but also a refined Politician. Lewis so confounded this confederacy, that if the duke de Nemours had not been killed in the battle of Ravenna, this haughty and warlike

Pope

(b) Julius II. See his article.

engagements, so that it may be said the court of France suffered itself to be wretchedly imposed upon by that of Spain, and that the French soldiers suffered themselves to be beaten by the Spanish soldiers. The bad conduct of Lewis the twelfth's generals, the manifest cause of these disgraces, is no ground of comfort or apology, but rather another mortification for this prince, as shewing that he made an ill choice of those he employed. The other loss, to wit, that of the Milanese, plainly manifested the same defect: he gave the government of it to a man very much

(15) To Trivulzio.

(16) Mezera, ubi supra, pag. 47, ad ann. 1500.

(17) They betrayed Lewis Sforza into the hands of the French, though they were in his pay. See Mezera, ibid. pag. 421, ad ann. 1500.

(18) Mezera, ibid. pag. 439, ad ann. 1504.

(19) Ibid. ad ann. 1507.

(20) Ibid. ad ann. 1507.

(21) Ibid. ad ann. 1508.

(22) Ibid. pag. 447.

(23) Louis Helian.

(24) See the preface to this oration, in the French translation published in 1679, and joined to the French translation of Squintini della Guerra Veneta.

All this was reprinted in Holland, together with the History of the Government of Venice, written by Mr. Amelot de la Houffaye.

(25) He specifies a good number of them.

[state.] 'The Venetians saw him beyond the Alps, with forty thousand men, beginning the war with them, and the Pope at the same time thundering against them his excommunications, which make great impression upon people, when seconded by the terror of arms. The king, having passed the river Adda, pursued their army so closely, as to fight it the fourteenth day of May, and gained that memorable battle of Giera-d'Adda, near the village of Aignadel, four miles from Caravaz. Their infantry were all cut to pieces, and their general, Alviana, having lost an eye, was taken prisoner. In a fortnight's time, the king, almost without striking a stroke, reduced all the places they kept from him. He might also have taken Vicenza, Padua, Verona, Trevis, and all the places that belonged to the empire, or the house of Austria, if his justice had not exceeded his ambition. He sent back the deputies of all these towns, who brought him the keys, to the emperor, who received them under his obedience, and put garrisons in them. The Pope had sent an army of ten or twelve thousand men, into Romagna (26). King Ferdinand had only a small naval force in the gulph, and hoped to make his advantage, as he did, of the labour, and at the expence of the French. Now the loss of the single battle of Aignadel, put the state of Venice into such a consternation, that despairing to keep any thing on the Terra Firma, they resolved to shut themselves up in the islands of their gulph, and in this despair commanded all the governors of the places that had belonged to the Pope, or Ferdinand, to open their gates to them, and recalled their magistrates from Verona, Padua, Vicenza, and other places, to which the emperor had pretensions. Thus you see how these three potentates, by the valour of the French, rather than by their own forces, recovered all that had been taken from them: and how the ambition of the Venetians, by keeping no bounds, saw those of their dominions in a small time reduced to the very brink of their canal (27). You will tell me, it is a

(26) Mezera, ubi supra, ad ann. 1509.

(27) Ibid. pag. 448.

French Historian that says this, who may be suspected to flatter Lewis, in attributing to him all the effects of the league of Cambray. Let us therefore cite Paul Jovius, who acknowledges that the emperor had sent little more than envoys, when the French army had already confined all the Venetian forces within their canals. This Historian, to excuse the Pope for abandoning the league, and re-uniting with the Venetians, represents his action as the only means of preserving Italy. He does not say, that there was any thing to be apprehended from the emperor, or the king of Spain, but only speaks of Lewis XII. His expressions are very strong. 'In præaltis animi recessibus graves vires causæ pontificem cunctis sensibus peracrem, strenuum, indomitum, vehementer excitabant, ut falluti Italiæ maturè prospiceret, diligentissimeque caveret, ne deletis Venetis, impotenti demum barbaro foret serviendum. Namque Ludovicus ubi uno secundo prælio Venetas opes contrivit, ac ademptis tot urbibus continentis, gentem adverso rerum successu contreritam intra paludes, ipsaque Venetias circumflui maris beneficio permunitas compulsi, cunctis formidandis evaserat: præsertim quum ad id bellum Maximilianus Cæsar nihil ferè præter legatos & Augusti nomen attulisset. Noverat Julius Galli regis ingenium proferendi imperit maximè avidum: noverat inexhaustas Gallorum opes: videbat florentissimum Mediolanensium imperium exactis Sfortianis Galliæ attributum; Ligures verò suos, armis planè domitos, ac arce cervicibus imposita in servitum redactos. Porro Venetos, quorum toto orbe terrarum paulò antè summa & inveterata fuisset auctoritas, unius horæ momento, copiis, imperio, ac dignitate penitus esse spoliatos. Quibus rebus adductus (uti pium æquissimumque & verè Italum pontificem

[E] He had almost the sole glory of humbling this

Pope had been forced to seek a sanctuary out of Rome [F]. France would even have caused him to be deposed, notwithstanding the death of the duke de Nemours, if almost all Europe had not conspired against her. Never was seen against a single kingdom, such a multitude of enemies [G]; so that it must be confessed, France saw itself reduced to great extremities (c). But besides that it was very glorious for Lewis XII, to have been so much the terror of his neighbours, as that they should believe it impossible, without an unanimous opposition, to stop his career; he had also the glory of dissolving this formidable league by his negotiations [H]. The peace he made with the English,

(c) See the remark [H].

(28) Paul. Jov. in Vita Leonis X. lib. ii. pag. m. 73. 74.

'pontificem decebat Venetos, ne se tantis fluctibus obrutos, planè demersos, ac penitus extinctos vellet, suppliciter deprecantes, sublevandos censuit (28). Some important reasons induced the Pope, an active, stout, and resolute man, to provide betimes for the safety of Italy, and use his utmost diligence, lest when the Venetians were ruined, Italy should be subjected to a fierce barbarian. For Lewis having in a battle overthrown the forces of the Venetians, and taken many towns on the continent, they being affrighted by their misfortunes, had resolved to retire to the islands of their gulph; so formidable was this prince become to every body: especially seeing that the emperor Maximilian, had contributed nothing to this war, but ambassadors and the Imperial name. Julius knew how desirous the French king was to extend his dominions, he knew the inexhaustible riches of France, he saw that the flourishing state of Milan, by the expulsion of the Sforza's, was fallen into the hands of the French; that the Genoese had been subdued, and were bridled by some fortresses; moreover, that the Venetians, who some time before had a vast power all over the world, had, in one hour's time, been stripped of their troops, dominions, and authority. By which things being moved (as became a most equitable and truly Italian Pontiff) he thought fit to assist the Venetians, who humbly intreated him not to suffer them, after having endured so many calamities, to be utterly ruined.

[F] If the duke of Nemours had not been killed . . . the Pope would have been forced to seek a sanctuary out of Rome. Even before Gaston de Foix (29), that thunderbolt of war, who probably would have excelled the two Scipio's, if he had lived as long as they; before, I say, he had gotten the victory of Ravenna, Julius II was upon the point of leaving Rome, that he might not fall into the hands of the French; and he had abandoned it, if Lewis XII had not suffered himself to be enchanted by the charms of superstition. This we learn from Mezeraï. In this conformation, seeing no security for him in Rome, if the victorious army of the king advanced, he had thoughts of proposing an accommodation, but when he found that the king, tired with troublesome scruples of his wife, had given orders to Trivulzio, to make an attempt upon the lands of the church, he showed himself more intractable and implacable than ever (30). The victory of Ravenna cast Rome into a like conformation, though the commander, who was most to be feared, had lost his life in the battle. And the Pope was intreated to embark as soon as he could, and betake himself to flight (31). The charms of the same superstition, gave him new confidence once more, and delivered him. The astonishment was so great in Rome, that the cardinals in a body came and desired the Pope to make peace with the king. Ferdinand and the Venetians having given him some courage, he had recourse to his ordinary artifices, which were to amuse the king, by propositions of accommodation, and to employ the queen, who, by motives of conscience, caresses, intrigues, and importunities, frequently disarmed him, and cooled his courage (32). Who would not pity the fate of Lewis XII, who had so dangerous a domestic enemy, in the person that was most dear to him? this is a strong confirmation of what I have said above (33), concerning the scruples of Lewis VII. Nothing is so capable of stopping an arm ready to lay an enemy under foot, or reaching to gather the fruits of an important victory, as the artifices or bigotry of a confessor. It is said indeed, that Lewis XII once imposed silence on his wife, who continually importuned him; What, Madam, said he, do you think that you are wiser than so many famous universities, who have approved the council of Pisa? do not your confessors tell you, that women are to be silent in the church (34)? but what

could it signify to say this once? a woman so tenderly beloved by her husband, as Anne of Bretagne was, is not discouraged at three or four refusals. She still returns to the charge, till her demands are granted. These are birds of the bed, or the night, whose warbling is much to be feared, it persuades sooner or later. The historian whom I have cited, observes, that some monks, who governed this queen's conscience, so filled her soul with scruples, that she never ceased to importune her husband (35). Had Juvenal known such things, he would have bid people beware more of the superstitions, than of the pedantry of a wife.

Non habeat matrona tibi quæ juncta recumbit,
Dicendi genus; aut curtum sermone rotato

Torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciat omnes (36).

O what a midnight curse has he, whose side
Is pester'd with a mood and figure-bride!
Let mine, ye gods! (if such must be my fate)
No logic learn, nor history translate.

The queen we speak of, so obstinately maintained her point, that her husband was forced to grant her all she desired, that is, to submit meekly to the court of Rome. Here is another passage of Mezeraï (37). The spirit of the king bore up against all these adversities, but he had one domestic trouble, which was greater than what all his enemies gave him. This was his own wife, who touched with scruples common to her sex, could not suffer him to be at variance with the Pope, or to support a council against him. As she continually teased him upon these two points, he was frequently forced for peace sake, to stop the progress of his arms, when his affairs went best, and he was upon the point of bringing Julius to reason. At last, being totally vanquished by her importunities, and by the remonstrances of his subjects, whom she excited on all sides, he renounced his council of Pisa, and adhered to that of Lateran, by his proxies, who caused his mandate to be read the eighth session, the fourteenth of December, the Pope presiding in it (38).

[G] Never was seen against a single kingdom, such a multitude of enemies. Lewis had at the same time a war to maintain, against the Pope, the republic of Venice, Spain, and England; or against the Pope, England, the emperor, and the Swiss; and for an over-charge, he was to support a miserable dethroned king (39), who brought him no other assistance but the justice of his cause, which signified nothing: this is a common case enough.

[H] . . . he had the glory of dissolving this formidable league by his negotiations. (40) France was then in greater danger than it had been of a long time before. For, on one hand, the Swiss, extremely flushed with the victory of Novara, entered it by the dutchy of Burgundy, and he (41) with the English, attacked it on the side of Picardy. The Swissers besieged Dijon with twenty five thousand men, to which the emperor had joined the nobility of Franche-Comté, and some German cavalry, commanded by Ulric duke of Wirtemberg. La Tremouille having defended it six weeks, thought it more advisable to divert the course of this torrent, which after the taking of the place would have overflowed all to the gates of Paris, than render it more violent by opposition. He entered into a negotiation with them, and managed it so well, as to send them back into their own countries, undertaking that the king should pay six hundred thousand crowns, and renounce the council of Pisa, and the duchy of Milan. He had no express orders to grant them

(29) He is the same with the duke de Nemours.

(30) Mezeraï, ubi supra, pag. 457, ad ann. 1510.

(31) Erant plerique adeo mente confecti, ut Julio veluti despectis rebus ab Offia trirremibus fugiendum esse trepide fuaderent. Jovius, in Vita Leonis X. lib. ii. pag. 107.

(32) Mezeraï, ubi supra, pag. 460.

(33) In the remark [H] of the article Lewis VII.

(34) Mezeraï, Hist. da France, Tom. II. pag. 890, 891.

(35) Ibid, pag. 891.

(36) Juvenal. Sat. VI, vers. 445.

(37) Mezeraï, ubi supra, pag. 469, ad ann. 1513.

(38) See the article JULIUS II, remark [G].

(39) John d'Alberty, king of Navarre.

(40) Mezeraï, ubi supra, pag. 467, ad ann. 1513.

(41) That is to say, the emperor.

English was a decisive stroke. It is true, that by accident it became fatal to him, having engaged him in a marriage, which did him more prejudice, than an army of an hundred thousand men could have done: for this prince having married Henry the eighth's sister, a very lovely princess, gave himself up too much to the pleasures of matrimony [I]. He did not proportion his conjugal benevolence, either to his own strength or age, but to the youth of his wife. Having only daughters, he earnestly desired that she might give him a successor. He quickly wore out, in that exercise, his weak constitution. He consummated the marriage the tenth of October, 1514 (d), and died of a looseness the first of January 1515 (e), in the fifty third year of his age (f), without being able, by so many efforts so prejudicial to his life, to get the queen with child. This was very happy for France; for if the queen had brought him a son, instead of Francis I. they would have had an infant-king, who would have been a weakly prince all his life [K]. Lewis XII was so inclined to ease his subjects, that he deserved the surname of *Father of the People*, an eulogy a thousand times more glorious than that of *Great, August, Magnificent, Hardy, &c.* He bore satires against his own person with patience, but not against the queen [L]. He passionately loved this princess, and had such

(d) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. m. 470.

(e) Beginning the year from the first of January.

(f) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 471.

(g) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 468.

(h) Ibid. pag. 470.

(i) Paul. Jov. in Vita Leonis X. lib. iii, pag. 245. In the fourteenth book of his History speaks thus: Sed Rex etate provecta . . . quum intemperantius poculis indulgeret, in febrem incidit, nec multo post invalescente etiam profusio ventris extinguit eum.

(j) Guicciard, lib. xii, fol. 35, verso.

(k) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 872.

(l) Varillas, Hist. de Louis XII, liv. xi, pag. m. 387.

* Book viii, chap. xiii.

‘them these conditions; but he thought he ought to do it to save France, and gave them six hostages, two lords, and four citizens (42). . . . At the same time, towards the middle of July, the emperor and the king of England had besieged Terouenne with above 50000 men. The French army successfully enough, threw a convoy of provision and ammunition into the ditches; but upon their return, not being sufficiently upon their guard, they were charged and routed. The battle was fought the eighteenth of August, near Guinegatte. It was called the *battle of the spurs*; because, on that occasion, the French made more use of their spurs than of their swords.’ Terouenne capitulated fifteen days after (43). Tourmay quickly surrendered. The peace therefore came very seasonably: it was concluded at London the second of August 1514 (44).

[I] He gave himself up too much to the pleasures of matrimony. Guicciardin and Paul Jovius make this observation. ‘Coelib Ludovico, says the latter (45), supra solenne pacis ac amicitiae foedus, Maria Henrici regis soror eximie venustatis virgo despondetur. Qua in Galliam perducta, Ludovicus incredibili sumptu & mira adorum varietate nuptias celebravit. Sed dum ætatis & valetudinis quæ ei tum erat tenuissima, pendè oblitus, intemperantius (ut ferunt) procreandis liberis operam daret, concepta edaci febricula non multis post dies interiit. — The peace being made, Lewis who was a widower married Mary, sister to Henry, a young princess of an exquisite beauty; as soon as she arrived in France, Lewis celebrated his nuptials with incredible expence, and an admirable variety of entertainments. But not considering his age, and his constitution, which was then but weak, he indulged too much, as they say, his desire of begetting children; and falling sick of a fever, died a few days after.’ These are Guicciardin’s words: ‘Il re di Franchia, mentre che dando cupidamente opera alla bellezza eccellente & alla età della nuova moglie, giovane di diciotto anni, non si ricorda dell’età sua, e debilità della complessione, oppresso da febbre, e sopravvenendogli accidenti di flusso, partì quasi repentinamente della vita presente, havendo fatto memorabile il primo giorno dell’ Anno MDXV con la sua morte (46). — While the king of France was woefully taken up, with the charms and youth of the new queen, who was but eighteen years old, without regarding his age, or his weak constitution, he fell sick of a fever, attended by a flux; which very soon put an end to his life, and rendered memorable, the first day of the year 1515 by his death.’ Mezerai agrees with these two Italians. ‘Many believed, says he (47), that his too much caressing the young queen, was the cause of his death.’ Mr Varillas observes, ‘that the Physicians and courtiers, who saw him marry again, unanimously foretold, that he would not long survive this second marriage (48).’

[K] If the queen had brought him a son . . . they would have had an infant-king, who would have been a weakly prince all his life. We do not lay down this as certain, but only as probable, grounding on the reason assigned by good authors, of the infirmities of Charles VIII. ‘There is no reason to doubt, but Charles VIII was of as weak a constitution, as we have said, since Comines assures us*,

‘that this prince was always *infirm in body and mind*, and Gaguin † has gone farther than he, in saying, *teneris atque imbecillibus membris adeo Carolus fuit, ut sedulo duci illum & gestari molliter priusquam solide incedere oportuerit. — Charles was of so weak and crazy a constitution, that they were obliged to lead or carry him, with a particular care, before he was able to walk steadily.* Which we may reasonably believe, proceeded from the great age of his father, since, according to Dominicus Mennius’s observation,

Pronus ‡ in canos Ludovicus annos
Cum daret vires animo senectus
Corpori auferret, meruit decoram
Gignere prolem:

† Initio, lib. xi.

‡ In Carmine de prima ætate Caroli VIII.

He was old and infirm when he had children.

‘Now among the infirmities of old age, this has been always reckoned one of the principal,

‡ Coitus jam longa oblivio, vel si
Coneris, jacet exiguus cum ramice nervus.

† Juvenalis, Sat. X, ver. 204.

His taste not only pall’d to wine and meat,
But to the relish of a nobler treat;
The limber nerve in vain provok’d to rise,
Inglorious from the field of battle flies.

‘Inasmuch that after the use of medicines called by the Physicians *Entatica*, and a thousand amorous caresses,

- - - Incendi jam frigidus ævo
Laomedontiades, vel Nestoris hernia posuit,

Which might old Priam or Nestor revive:

‘a good off-spring cannot be expected from this conjunction, because, as Galen affirms*: Quæ florentem ætatem vel præcedunt ætates vel sequuntur, aut plane semen non effundunt, aut certe infecundum, aut male fecundum emittunt. — The time which precedes or follows the vigour of man, is not proper to beget sound and healthy children.’ Which in effect was found true in Charles VIII, who had all the infirmities abovementioned from the old age of his father (49).

[L] He patiently suffered the satires against his own person, but not against the queen. For this we will cite Brantome’s memoirs: ‘The king, says he (50), had that consideration for Anne of Brittany, his wife, that being one day told how the clerks of the Baloché du Palais, and the scholars had acted plays, into which they brought the king and his court, and all the grandes, he made no more of it, than to say that they must have their pastime, and that he allowed them to speak of him and his court, but however not disrespectfully; and above all, that they should not speak of the queen, his wife, in any manner whatever; otherwise he would have them all hanged.’ Thus you see what honour he paid her. I add to this passage these

(49) Naudé, Additions à l’Histoire de Louis XI, pag. 41.

(50) Brantome, Mémoires des Dames Illustres, pag. 11.

(g) See the remark [F].

such regard for her, as was prejudicial to his kingdom. She filled him with scruples which had ill effects (g), and which strengthened Julius II, the most mortal enemy that ever France had in Italy: excepting this, she was a great queen, and of rare chastity [M]. They recite several witty sayings of Lewis XII (b). I shall only mention one of them [N]. I shall also give the description of his person [O], as we find it in a book

(b) See *Mézerai*, *Histoire de France*, Tom. II, pag. 873, 874, and *Varillas*, *Histoire de Louis XII*, liv. xi, pag. 395, & seq.

these words of Costar. 'Our Lewis XII, who deserved the title of *Father of his people*, was not he brought upon the stage in his good city of Paris, and represented as an insatiable miser, who drank in a great gold goblet, without being able to quench his unreasonable thirst? He praised the invention, and made himself merry with it, and perhaps was glad that his love of riches, which had never given the least of his subjects occasion to weep, furnished them with a matter of laughter and agreeable diversion (51).' In general this monarch was of so sweet and debonaire a temper, that the rigour he exercised against the duke of Milan, was thought to be a divine judgment. 'He caused him to be removed from Lyons to Loches, where he was shut up for ten years together to his death, with a rigour so contrary to the mercy of this good prince, that it was believed to be a visible chastisement of God (52).' This miserable duke of Milan was shut up in an iron cage, where he had not so much as the comfort of being able to read or write. This one severe action made many conclude, that Lewis XII was of a cruel temper. 'Eum tamen pervicacis obstinatæque naturæ, & proinde sævum & inexorabilem plerique existimarunt, vel ob id præcipue, quod Lodovicum Sfortiam erepto omni scribendi, & quæ cuperet legendi solatio, ferrata in cavea omnium miserrimum mori cogeret (53).'

[M] *His wife . . . was a great queen, and of rare chastity.* You may see her elogium in Brantome (54), and in Hilarion de Coste (55); I only point out these authors; but I shall do more as to Peter de St Julian, I shall copy him concerning a very curious fact: 'Queen Anne, says he (56), duchess of Brittany, and Madam Anne of France, duchess of Bourbonnois, (the former twice queen of France, and the latter daughter to king Lewis XI, and regent in France, during the minority of king Charles VIII her brother) so virtuously banished immodesty, and planted honour in the hearts of the ladies and gentlewomen, citizens wives, and all other sorts of French women, that they who were known to have blemished their honour, were so disgraced and discarded, that the virtuous women would have thought they injured their reputation, should they suffer them in their company.' I do not think there is a surer way to make modesty flourish than this. If once it were the fashion for all women of good reputation to refuse the company of those who were suspected of gallantries, would any of our ladies venture to discredit themselves? It would be very easy, in my opinion, for queens to place their sex upon a good foot; they need only banish the ladies their preference, who were accused upon good grounds; in a word, they need only imitate Anne of Brittany. A modern author (57) points out the most fruitful source of the corruption of our age, when he says, that whereas heretofore a woman who was jealous of her reputation, would have scrupled the company of another, whose virtue was suspected, at present the same respect is shewn to those of an irregular conduct, as to those of a regular. It is discouraging virtue, to rob it of its temporal recompence (58), which is done by paying the same respects and civilities to a woman of a tattered reputation, as to another of virtue and honour: but, this is almost the pass that things are come to. 'In effect, what can we instance that is easier obtained by those who are continually on their guard, than by others who are under some disgrace? Do the former go more confidently than others to great feasts, or ceremonial meetings, or do they receive greater civilities at them? Is it any obstacle to a great marriage settlement, that one has been the discourse of a whole nation? Is one less praised in an epistle dedicatory, or a funeral sermon? By no means; and we may say with Solomon upon all this, that the same thing happens to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not (59). See

the remark [C] of the article GONZAGUE (ELEONORA DE).

But to return to queen Anne of Brittany: her chastity was not unserviceable to the supporting her haughty humour. These are the words of one of her panegyrist (60). 'I am not ignorant that some have written, that this good king finding his princess was very fond of ruling, let her quietly govern her duchy of Brittany; and understanding that she was carrying on some intrigues against his inclination and service, he would not however resent it, saying, to those that pressed him to it: 'Some allowance is to be made to a chaste woman.' There are those who had rather their wives were given to gallantry, provided they were submissive, than have them chaste, and imperious with all (61). Lewis XII was not of this humour. See the tenth satire of Boileau, in the place, where he speaks of the price, at which a virtuous wife knows how to rate her modesty.

[N] *I shall only mention one of his witty sayings.* 'After the league of Cambray, the Venetians made a deputation to him to endeavour to bring him off. The senator, who was the chief of the embassy, made him a speech full of the wisdom of their republic; and Lewis, who would neither contradict, nor grant what he asked, answered pleasantly, I will play such a number of fools against your wife men, that all their wisdom shall not be able to resist them; for our fools are a sort of people that strike on all sides, without minding where, or hearkening to any reason for it (62).' He might well say that he would oppose fools to the Venetians: for all that the French did in Italy under Charles VIII, and Lewis XII, was an effect of that martial fury, which foreigners themselves own to be the temper of the French soldiers at the first onset. That ardor and briskness did produce very good successes; but as their generals were not men of judgment, and very little conduct was then observed in the affairs of France, their conquests were as soon lost as gained. There was not much prudence at that time, either in the head or members of the council. This it was that saved Italy, as has been lately acknowledged by a famous professor of Friesland. 'Si Carolus VIII & Gallum temporis ita fuissent animati, sicut est Ludovicus XIV & ejus consilium, cujus instituta rationesque fere sunt mathematicæ, actum fuisset de Italia, cujus nulla amplius erat vis militaris. Sed ut Galli hanc expeditionem impetu magis quam consilio, facti non prudentiæ docti susceperant & executi erant, ita mirum non est, idem fatum, deficiente constantia, illos destituisse (63). — If Charles VIII and the French at that time, had been as active as Lewis XIV, and his council, whose designs and measures are almost mathematical; Italy had been lost, it having no longer any military forces: but as the French had undertaken the expedition out of impetuosity, rather than deliberation, and left the conduct of it to fate, rather than prudence, it is no wonder if the same fate, when they had no steadiness, did forsake them.'

[O] *I shall also give the description of his person.* Naudé has inserted it in his additions to the history of Lewis XI (64), and observes, that he found it in a very scarce book, which was printed 120 years ago (65). We shall see the title of it in the margin (66). 'Caput non magnum, acutum, frons angusta, oculi grossi eminentes, facies macra, capilli curti nares amplæ & elevatæ, labra grossa, & mentum acutum, collum curtum & subtile, humeri angusti, manus & brachia subtilia & longa, epiglottis eminentes, furcula pectoris stricta, pectus angustum, statura potius curva quam erecta, corpus colericum, & motus oculorum velox & sursum revolventes sc, & crura subtilia. — His head was little and long, his forehead narrow, his eyes large and prominent, his face lean, his hair short, his nostrils large and elevated, his lips were thick, his chin was sharp, his neck short and small, his shoulders were narrow, with long and small arms and

(60) Hilar. de Coste, ubi supra, Tom. I, pag. 6.

(61) A. Ferrou, and other historians.

(62) Malo Venetianum quam te Cornelia, mater Græchorum, si cum magnis virtutibus affertur Grande speculum. *Juv. Sat. VI, vers. 166.*

(63) Varillas, *Hist. de Louis XII*, liv. xi, pag. 397. See, above, citation (45), of the article HOSPI-TAL (MICHAEL DE L.).

(64) Ulrich Huber, *Histoire Civile*, Tom. II, pag. 112, 113. Edit. Franck. 1692.

(65) Pag. 44.

(66) This book of Naudé was printed in 1652.

(66) Bartholomæus Coccius, lib. ii, *Physiogn. quæst.* xv.

(51) Costar, *Lettres*, Tom. I, pag. 728.

(52) Mézerai, ubi supra, pag. 421, ad ann. 1500.

(53) Paul. Jov. *Histor. lib. xiv*, sub fin.

(54) Ubi supra, à pag. 1, usque ad 31.

(55) Vies des Dames Illustres, Tom. I, at the beginning.

(56) Peter de St Julian, *Antiquitez de Malcon*, apud Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, pag. 54, 55.

(57) La Chetardie, *Introduction for a young Prince*. See the *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, Oébre, 1685, Art. I, pag. 1075.

(58) *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, ibid. pag. 1076.

(59) Ibid.

of Bartholomew Cocles.

'and hands, his epiglottis prominent, his breast narrow,] 'leric, the motion of his eye quick and rolling upwards,
'his body rather stooping than straight, his complexion cho-] 'and his legs small.'

LEWIS XIII, king of France, son and successor to Henry the Great, was born at Fontainebleau, the seventeenth of September, 1601, and began his reign the fourteenth of May, 1610. If the ten first years of his reign were disturbed by several factions, which sometimes degenerated into Civil-wars [A], the twenty three others were no less agitated by religious or foreign wars: so that what Job says in general, of all men, is applicable in a more particular manner to this prince (a). His reign, which was so much disturbed by wars, was extremely glorious; nor had France for a long time gained so many signal victories. And yet in the midst of all these triumphs and glories, this monarch was very unhappy [B]: for his own family occasioned him perpetual vexations.

(a) See Job, chap. vii, ver. 1.

[A] His reign . . . was disturbed by various factions which sometimes degenerated into Civil-wars. When a man examines the history of Lewis the thirteenth's reign, from the beginning to the end, he is a thousand times tempted to ask himself these questions: But is it true, that I am reading the transactions in France? Have I not before me a book, wherein the writer, from a romantic fancy, has thought fit to characterize a mutinous people, a nobility inclined to rebellion, and to publish these characters under the name of France, to conceal that of some other nation? A man is the more tempted to ask these questions, who suffers himself to be prejudiced, either by the raileries of strangers, who represent the French as the idolaters of monarchy and of their monarchs, or by the eulogies which several French authors bestow upon their own nation, as if naturally dutiful to their kings, with an unparalleled zeal and loyalty. Nothing is saller than these raileries of foreigners, and encomiums of French pens. The author of Mr de Louvois's Political Testament, knew the genius of the nation much better; he lays it down, that the only and true way for France to avoid Civil-wars, is the absolute power of the sovereign vigorously supported, and armed with all the necessary force to make it feared. 'As for turbulent and rebellious people, says he (1), it is certain

(1) Testament Politique de Mr de Louvois, pag. 388.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 343.

'there have been as many seen in France, in the preceding reigns, and in the beginning of your majesty's, as in any other country.' He establishes the same maxim, when he makes this observation concerning the English (2): 'It is well known what disposition they are of at bottom, they are as inconstant and unruly as other nations; but when all is said, they are not more so: it is the occasions and the form of their government, the impunity and the means that are left in their hands, which make them turbulent. We should see, in other states, subjects who are the most submissive, grow mutinous and factious, if the prudence, the authority, and vigour of their sovereigns, did not keep them under, and cut off all opportunities.' Consider how he reasons upon the difference there is in France, betwixt this and the preceding reigns. 'What is become at present of those multitudes of turbulent and seditious spirits? Have they not all the pretences they ever had? Do not the wars and other expences, with which your majesty is obliged to maintain the lustre of your glory, oblige you to impose upon the people more excessive taxes, than ever were raised by Lewis XI. Have not the Protestants been more provoked than under Charles IX, and Lewis XIII? Is not the nobility heavier laden than ever? Does not the clergy contribute to the necessities of the state more than ever they have done, either in this age or in all ages passed? And has not your majesty as many controversies with the see of Rome as any of your predecessors ever had? and yet all is quiet and submissive; there is no revolt or treason heard of. War and confusions are kept off at a distance; whereas heretofore they were at home and in our bowels. . . . (3). Whence proceeds this difference? . . . Whence comes this change? From the difference wherewith your majesty manages the royal authority; from your prudence to make a right use of it, from your skill in riding that brute beast the people, which being unbridled, would run at random every way, whither it's instinct drove it; but which is infensibly accustomed to be governed by bit and bridle, and moves surer where it feels an even and strait rein.

(3) Ibid. pag. 338, 339.

'It is absolute power that is the true and only curb to check the intemperate heat of a blind and capricious multitude (4).' He says in another place (5), 'that the limited authority of a king, and of republics, has more inconveniences, and is subject to more ill consequences to the state and people than arbitrary power. Factions, seditions, tumults, civil-wars, frequently do more mischief in one year, than all the excesses of an absolute monarch can cause in a whole life.' He may be mistaken with respect to some countries; but there is no probability that he is mistaken as to his own nation, which is of such a genius, that the worst state that can befall it, is to live under an effeminate and weak government; in that case every gentleman is the tyrant of his village; every great lord is the tyrant of his lordship, and nothing but seditions and insurrections are to be heard of (6). Read the History of France, and especially observe the minorities, and you will be convinced of what I have been saying; you will find that the character of this nation is the very same that Mr de la Bruyere gives of children. See the margin (7).

[B] In the midst of so much . . . glory, this monarch was very unhappy.] A modern author, designing to shew the vanity of human prosperities, makes use of two great examples; he runs over the life of Augustus, and then proceeds in this manner (8): 'Let us come to the second instance, and behold the most glorious potentate of this age, with such a series of the blessings of heaven, as all the earth has reason to be astonished at. One may easily judge that I mean Lewis XIII, whose prosperities doubtless will be admired by those who come after us, if they judge of them by the lustre of his heroic actions, by the number of his trophies, by the extent of his conquests, and by the greatness of his triumphs. In effect, whether you consider the monsters he has subdued at home, or cast your eyes on the advantages he has every where reaped abroad, you will be forced to confess, that France never had a more fortunate king than he. There is not a frontier but he has far advanced into his enemies country. France has subdued the pride of those who envied her, and confounded their designs. And if you observe what has passed on the ocean, as well as the Mediterranean, you will conclude, that all the elements fought for us, under the command of this prince. Now the instances of his good fortune were no less conspicuous in his domestic affairs; and here doubtless he had great advantages above Augustus on that account. God gave him for a companion of his bed, a princess, whose singular goodness, together with many other extraordinary and truly heroic virtues, might have made her beloved, though she had not been in other respects one of the most perfect and most agreeable persons of her time. He saw himself the father of two sons, most worthy of his affection; as being so beautiful and well formed by nature, that he could not wish them more accomplished; besides the season in which he had them, ought to have rendered them still more dear to him. He was respected by all the world; and on what side soever he turned himself in his Louvre, he saw nothing but testimonies of love and reverence. Could any thing then be wanting to his felicity, to make it more entire, if we judge by appearances? And yet with all this, what should we say, if by his own confession, he never spent one day without some mortification, nor ever tasted in his life a joy that was

(7) The only case of children is to find out their master's biletafide, and that of the persons they are subject to: as soon as they have made this discovery they get the better of them, and usurp an ascendancy over them, which they never part with, for what did first deprive us of our superiority over them is what always hinders us from recovering it. La Bruyere, Caracteres de ce Siecle, pag. 438, 439. Paris Edit. 1694.

(8) La Mothe le Vayer, Discours de la Proserite, Tom. VIII, of his Works, pag. 328, & seq. Paris Edit. 1681, in 12mo.

vexations. He could not confide either in his mother, wife, or brother [C]; three persons who suffered themselves to be governed by turbulent, factious, and ill-designing men. His very sisters were against him, especially she whom he had married to the king of England: for she received with open arms all the malecontents, and cherished her

was not dashed with the bitterness of discontent? I shall here take care, not to commit the fault of him, whom the Athenians treated so ill for having obliged them to deplore a second time the misfortunes of their allies, by representing them on the stage. And indeed, my imprudence would be greater than his, if I should at present enlarge on so ungrateful a subject, as would be that of the sorrows, and continual inquietudes of this monarch. But however, since his last words at the point of death, which the Catholics call sacred, and which are reckoned oracles in mouths less sincere than his, have assured us, that his satisfactions were never pure, nor his pleasures exempt from sadness and affliction, may we not well conclude, that all his happiness, as well as that of Augustus, had nothing real in it, and was only of the nature of those things, which subsist no where but in opinion? I make no reflexions on this long passage, though it were easy perhaps to find in it some subject of criticism; I shall content myself with observing, that we here see the most convincing proof imaginable of my text. Lewis XIII confesses he was unhappy; no body could know this so well as himself, and he had no reason to dissemble, in the condition he was in. See in the remark [E], my citation from Mr le Laboureur.

La Mothe le Vayer says one thing, which obliges me to give a short supplement. 'Augustus, says he (9), had the mortification to leave for his heir to the greatest part of his estate, and successor to the empire, the son of his mortal enemy' This is false (10); but it is very true, that Lewis XIII, left the regency of his kingdom to a person he heartily hated, and consequently his mortification was greater than that of Augustus. It is easily guessed why this author did not carry on the parallel between the misfortunes of the Roman emperor, and those of the king of France on this head. The following remark will acquaint us with the little affection Lewis XIII had for his wife, whom yet he declared regent.

[C] He could not confide either in his mother, his wife, or his brother.] Here is matter enough for dividing this remark into three parts.

I. Lewis XIII, for the good of his kingdom, that is, to deprive factious spirits, of the means of forming dangerous cabals, was forced to give order for his mother to depart France; nor did he come to these extremities, till after he had gone thro' a long course of disturbances, in which the royal authority was very ill used. It was necessary more than once to subdue by force of arms, the partisans of Mary de Medicis.

II. As to his wife, I refer you to the memoirs of the duke de la Rochefoucauld. 'I have been assured by Mr Chavigny himself, says this duke (11), that waiting upon the king, from the queen, to beg pardon for whatever she had done; and even for what had displeased him in her conduct, beseeching him particularly not to believe, that she had any hand in the affair of Chalais, or had ever listened to any propositions of marrying Monsieur, after Chalais should have made away with the king; his majesty answered Monsieur de Chavigny, without any emotion, in the condition I am in, I must pardon her, but I must not believe her.' Note, that the king was at the point of death when he spoke these words. It is a time, in which men generally speak what they think, especially in matters where a lie is of no use to them. We must conclude then, he died fully persuaded, that his wife was an accomplice in a most horrid conspiracy, in which it was resolved to take him off, and to marry her to the duke of Orleans his successor. Now as the affair of Chalais happened in the year 1626, judge whether this prince lived a few years in distrusts, with respect to this queen, and in the anguish of a melancholy resentment. Nor ought it any longer to be thought strange, that she continued barren for so many years. Could the most incontinent husbands resolve to approach their wives, if they believed them guilty of so black a treason? It would require a great deal of time for a prince to digest this thought: his

confessor must return again and again to the charge (12), even though a long course of years should have allayed the wound. Whether Lewis XIII was in the right or no, it was the same thing. His heart equally suffered. The duke de la Rochefoucauld says (13), that the king, when he gave this answer to Mr de Chavigny, believed, that the queen was still in a correspondence with the Spaniards, by means of *Madam de Chevreuse, who was then at Brussels*. He observes also, that they were obliged to play an hundred engines, in order to procure the regency for the queen. She believed the king very far from such a thought, considering the little inclination he had ever shewn for her (14). . . . She and Monsieur, who had had but too many proofs of the king's aversion, and who de la Rochef. almost equally suspected, that he designed to exclude them from the management of affairs, fought all possible ways to obtain it (15). She never would have obtained the regency, if the king must have left her in full authority; but in hopes of leaving her only the shadow of it, he passed the declaration (16). 'He could not consent to declare her regent, nor could he resolve to divide the authority betwixt her and his brother. The correspondence of which he suspected her, and the pardon he had lately granted Monsieur for the treaty of Spain, held him under an irresolution, which perhaps he could not have overcome, if the conditions in the declaration which cardinal Mazarine and Monsieur de Chavigny proposed, had not furnished him with the expedient, he sought to lessen the power of the queen, and to make her in some measure dependant upon the council he designed to establish (17).'

III. As to his brother, all the world knows his falls and relapses; he was engaged in all sorts of conspiracies, whole provinces made insurrections in his favour; he corresponded with Spain. In a word, since the king believed him an accomplice in the affair of Chalais, he could not chuse but look upon him with an evil eye: this object brought to his remembrance, that a design had once been formed to take away his life, and marry his widow to the duke of Orleans, who was to have succeeded him. I do not know whether jealousy, mixed with all the other discontents of Lewis XIII, but it is positively said, that the queen was highly civil to the duke of Orleans. Let us hear what some memoirs, published in 1685, inform the world (18). 'Monsieur made his court daily to the queens, who resided at Paris during the siege of Rochel, carrying himself with a great deal of freedom, even to the reigning queen with whom he had always been in a good understanding, and never observed much ceremony. When he came into France, she called him, Monsieur, both speaking to him, and of him, and always continued that stile, with which some found fault, for in writing to him, she only called him her brother. During the short journey that the king made to Paris, Monsieur having met the queen one time as she was coming from a nine days devotion to obtain children, told her, by way of raillery, *Madam, you have been soliciting your judges against me, I consent you should carry your cause, if the king has interest enough*.' As he is represented in these memoirs, he had some need of the advice that was given the duke of Valois (19). The same book acquaints us, that the king was at least as much displeased at his brother's having children, as at the barrenness of the queen. Here what alarms were given him upon the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the heiress of Montpensier. 'Tronfon, secretary of the cabinet, and some other particular servants of the king, who only considered the interest of his royal person, and not that of the state, having represented to the king of what dangerous consequence it was to him to marry Monsieur his brother to a rich heiress, allied as she was to the house of Guise, which had heretofore aspired to the crown, and with so large a revenue as was settled upon him; by which means, his majesty, having no issue, would only be considered as a languishing king, and the court, which is wholly conducted by

(12) See the article CAUSSIN, remark [E].

(13) In his Memoirs, pag. 3.

(14) Memoirs of the king de la Rochef. ibid.

(15) Ibid. pag. 4. & 5.

(16) Ibid. pag. 4.

(17) See, on all this the remark [B].

(18) Memoirs of the late duke of Orleans, containing all that has passed in France, from the year 1683, to 1695. At Amsterdam, by Peter Mortier. 1685, in 12mo.

(19) See the article of FRANCIS I, remark [B].

(9) lb. pag. 329.

(10) Tiberius, successor of Augustus, was the son of a person, who, indeed, declared against Augustus, during the war of Perugia, and afterwards endeavoured to form a party in favour of Pompey's son, and last of all, joined with Marc Antony; but soon after made his peace with Augustus, and even yielded his wife to him. Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. iv.

(11) Memoirs of Mr de la Rochefoucauld, pag. 5.

her husband's inclination for the interests of Spain. Lewis XIII, having not a head strong enough to reign by himself, and suffering himself to be always led by favourites, furnished but too many pretences to restless spirits; and if in the necessity he found himself of depending on his ministers, he had not at last fallen into the hands of the Great Cardinal Richelieu, he had run the risk at least of his crown [D]; but this able minister being obliged by his own interest to support the authority of his master, applied himself with so much vigilance to dissipate the conspiracies, that he soon made them all vanish into smoke. Some great men were beheaded; but this severity was absolutely necessary at that time [E]. Clemency, so useful on many other occasions, had been very

interest, would abandon him, to go over to Monsieur, as a vigorous prince, who quickly promised issue, upon which every one would found his hopes, and form designs, which must needs be to the prejudice of his royal person. His majesty was hereby so affected with jealousy, that father Souffran, his confessor, coming to wait on him one morning in his closet, his majesty just rising out of his bed, threw himself on his neck all in tears, telling him, that he knew, to his cost, that the queen his mother would remember all her life, what passed at the death of marshal d'Ancre, and that the advantages she procured to Monsieur, permitted him not to doubt, but that she loved him much more than himself. The Father being much surprized at this discourse, endeavoured gently to remove this diffidence in the king's mind, and assured him to the contrary, &c. (20). He was pacified, and the marriage was concluded (21); from which quickly proceeded a daughter: all this vexed the king, and it was a happiness to him, that his sister-in-law died a little after her lying-in: however, he appeared to be much afflicted by it. See the margin (22). He was afterwards very far from consenting to a second marriage of his brother (23).

(18) Memoires du Duc d'Orleans, pag. 41.

(19) In the year 1626.

(20) Though the king found his account in that loss, and that he was probably less sorry by reason of the jealousy he had entertained of that marriage, which the pregnancy of madam had afterwards much increased, being free from all his fears, his majesty nevertheless expressed a great concern, for he had always had a particular esteem for the virtue of that prince, but he was not sorry that she had only left a daughter. Memoirs du Duc d'Orleans, pag. 59.

(21) If he had not fell into the hands of Richelieu, he had run the risk at least of his crown.] They who beset the two queens and monsieur, had no expectations under the ministry of cardinal de Richelieu, but hoped for every thing, if his royal highness should ascend the throne. There were two ways of placing the crown upon his head; one by making away with the king, and the other by treating him like Don Alphonso, king of Portugal. The second could not easily be executed, in a nation so jealous of its fundamental laws (24), and under so vigilant and able a minister as cardinal de Richelieu. Therefore the other expedient was agreed on, if it be true, that Chalais had the design above-mentioned (25), in the passage of the duke de la Rochefoucauld. It was impossible to convince a great many people, but there was a most horrible mystery of iniquity in agitation, to give at once the crown and the queen to the duke of Orleans. I know not what to think of it. See the Life of cardinal Richelieu, printed at Amsterdam, in 1694, Tom. I. pag. 304.

[E] He was forced to behead some great men; but this severity was necessary at that time.] Of all those that were beheaded for rebellion in the reign of Lewis XIII, none was so much lamented as the duke of Montmorenci (26). And truly he was a lord of great merit, adored in Languedoc, his government, and admired by all France, as appeared by the zeal with which they solicited his pardon. But this was the very thing, which, in good politics, ought to induce the king, not to pardon his treason. It was dangerous to let a person live who was so generally admired, and who might so easily draw all Languedoc into a second rebellion. Had he done it at the time that the Spaniards besieged Leucate (27), what would have become of France? do not tell me that gratitude would have fixed him to this prince's service, or the weakness he had discovered in the duke of Orleans have cured his fondness of revolting in favour of him. These are poor reasons. The duke of Montmorenci, received into favour, would never have been able to bear the power of the cardinal, and would have taken his measures a second time to destroy him. He would have taken advantage of the testimonies, the grandees and provinces had given him of their extraordinary esteem, during his imprisonment, &c. There was a necessity of using great severities, under a reign in which the French nobility were so familiarized to this sort of conspiracies, insurrections, and correspondencies

(22) Citat. (11).

(23) He was beheaded at Toulouse in 1623. See his eulogy, and lamentation on his death, in the Memoires du Sieur de Pontis, Tom. II, pag. 44, & seq. Edit. Amst. 1694.

(24) In the year 1627.

(25) He was forced to behead some great men; but this severity was necessary at that time.] Of all those that were beheaded for rebellion in the reign of Lewis XIII, none was so much lamented as the duke of Montmorenci (26). And truly he was a lord of great merit, adored in Languedoc, his government, and admired by all France, as appeared by the zeal with which they solicited his pardon. But this was the very thing, which, in good politics, ought to induce the king, not to pardon his treason. It was dangerous to let a person live who was so generally admired, and who might so easily draw all Languedoc into a second rebellion. Had he done it at the time that the Spaniards besieged Leucate (27), what would have become of France? do not tell me that gratitude would have fixed him to this prince's service, or the weakness he had discovered in the duke of Orleans have cured his fondness of revolting in favour of him. These are poor reasons. The duke of Montmorenci, received into favour, would never have been able to bear the power of the cardinal, and would have taken his measures a second time to destroy him. He would have taken advantage of the testimonies, the grandees and provinces had given him of their extraordinary esteem, during his imprisonment, &c. There was a necessity of using great severities, under a reign in which the French nobility were so familiarized to this sort of conspiracies, insurrections, and correspondencies

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with Spain, that one would think that the idea of infamy, or even of a fault, did not enter into this sort of crimes. It would be in effect turning a monarchical government into anarchy, to let such abuses go unpunished. Mr le Laboureur relates a thing which is very curious; to wit, that the king consented to the duke of Montmorenci's death, only from a spirit of servitude. I will give the whole passage; because it serves to shew, that Lewis XIII, with a sceptre in his hand, and the crown on his head, was under greater constraints, and more unhappy, than if he had had irons on his feet. This reflexion ought eternally to renew the tears of France, upon the fate of Henry duke of Montmorenci, and Damville, admiral and marshal of France, only son to this constable, who fell rather by misfortune than inclination, into a small fault, and who was overwhelmed with all the rigour of the laws; though it had no ill consequences, and there was no danger of any ill effect from it: I say farther, though the king was to lose by it the ornament and glory of his court, the honour of his nobility, and delight of his kingdom, and what still ought to be more dear to a great prince, the most august and worthy subject of clemency that will ever be seen. I have it from the mouth of the late prince of Condé, that Lewis XIII, expressed to him his sorrow on his death bed, not with tears, but with sobs, and conjured him to believe, that violence had been done him in that unhappy journey to Toulouse, which he made against his will, and where against his resolution, he was overpowered by a multitude of pretences, or rather delusions of state, which disappeared after that fatal tragedy, and left him under a most stinging uneasiness, which he had ever since concealed in his bosom. Ah! my cousin, said he to him afterwards, this is not to reign, but rather to be the slave of tyranny, at least to feel all the pains of it in a lawful royalty, to hear only sinister reports, and to be always in distrust of those who are nearest to us, of our principal officers, and of those on whom we place our affections; and to submit and regulate our conduct, by the phantoms of politics, which are frequently only another's private interest (28).

There are, I question not, many truths in this discourse. I am persuaded that cardinal Richelieu, more than once, represented to the king, his master, the designs of his rebellious subjects, greatly heightened and exaggerated; for in the numerous conspiracies that were formed in this reign, there were many that designed only the ruin of the cardinal, and meant no harm either to the person or authority of the prince; and yet his eminence had the policy to insinuate (29), and even to persuade him, that they were contriving to take the crown from him, and give it to the duke of Orleans. Hence it was that this prince was brought to consent to the taking off so many heads. He afterwards found he had been imposed upon, and secretly lamented it. He was to be pitied; but it is very probable, that he was sensible he could not deliver himself from one slavery, without submitting to another yoke, still more inconvenient; and this was the reason that hindered his displacing the cardinal, though he really hated him. The removing of this minister would have delivered the king bound hand and foot, into the power of the duke of Orleans. They might perhaps have left him the title of king; they might have governed in his name; but all affairs would have been managed according to the caprice of this duke's favourites. It would have been a strange government. The two queens and their creatures, the duke of Orleans and his, would have perplexed and confounded every thing, and no great design could have been formed for the glory of the monarchy, and against the interests

(28) Le Laboureur, Addit aux Memoires de Castelnau, Tom. II, pag. 152.

(29) The constable de Luynes had made use of the same stratagem before he had put it into the king's head, that Mary de Medicis would use him as Catherine de Medicis had treated Charles IX. See the History of the Edit of Nantes, Tom. II, book vi, pag. 238.

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very pernicious in this. We must not believe those who dare affirm, that people were put to death, whose only fault consisted in their having had the misfortune to displease the prime minister [F]. They would perhaps speak more reasonably, and the charge would

rests of Spain; and if any glorious events had happened, the king would have seen the duke, his brother, carry away all the honour of them; a cruel subject of jealousy, and a thousand times harder to bear, than the ascendant of the cardinal. We are not ignorant how often jealousy of authority, made Lewis XIII uneasy. He fell sick, when he was told, that the English had landed in the isle of Rhe; and could not go in person to the coast of Poitou. He was advised to send Monsieur thither as his lieutenant-general (30). Monsieur's first enterprise having not succeeded well, the king wrote to him 'a letter full of resentment,

(30) Memoires du Duc d'Orleans, printed in 1685, pag. 81.

'for having so lightly exposed the troops, without any occasion, and against the express orders of his majesty, which were only to keep things at a stand, and to hazard nothing till his arrival. Perhaps, if Monsieur had succeeded in his first enterprise, he would have given greater discontent; and it is believed that that fear made the king anticipate the time of his perfect recovery, that he might appear in

(31) Ib. pag. 83.

his camp as soon as possible (31). Here follows a still greater effect of the same jealousy. 'The king having declared the duke of Orleans general of the army in Italy †, at the solicitation of the queen, his mother, afterwards repented his having given him this command, from an apprehension, that his brother might reap a great deal of glory in Italy, which would eclipse his own. This thought ran in

† Bassomp. Mem. Tom. II, pag. 521.

↓ The third of January.

his head to such a degree, that it even broke his sleep. Coming to Chaliot †, where the cardinal was, he told him he could not suffer his brother to be generalissimo of the army in Italy, and that a way should be found to remove him from that post. The cardinal answered, that he knew but one way

(32) History of cardinal de Richelieu, printed at Amsterdam, 1694, Tom. I, pag. 436, ad ann. 1629.

(33) Memoires, Tom. IV, pag. m. 3. In the elegy of Charles IX.

(34) See in the remark [T] the words of Coëtar.

(35) Memoires de Mr d'Artagnan, pag. 160.

(36) Citat. (8) of the article LOUDUN.

(37) Memoires de Mr d'Artagnan, pag. 161.

(38) See the History of Cardinal Richelieu, printed at Amsterdam, 1694, Tom. II, pag. 49.

of getting this command out of the duke of Orleans's hand, which was, that the king should go himself into Italy; but if he took that resolution, it was necessary to depart in eight days at farthest. The king said he would do it, and immediately prepared for his expedition (32). A man must know but little of princes, to deny that the jealousy they conceive against their sons or brothers, and in general against their successors, is not a more afflictive evil, than the chagrin of depending too much on the first minister. See in Brantome (33), the furious jealousy of Charles IX, against his brother the duke of Anjou, general of the troops, that beat the Protestants at Jarnac, and at Montcontour. There is no doubt but it was a less evil for Lewis XIII to be governed by cardinal Richelieu, than it would have been to see his brother, his mother, or his wife, in too great credit at court. The creatures of these three persons were only capable of forming little court intrigues, which would have ruined the general affairs. So that the good of the kingdom required, that severity should be used against the heads of the rebels, who would put the government into hands which were too much in the interest of the Spaniards (34).

[F] We must not believe those who dare affirm, that people were put to death, whose only fault consisted in their misfortune to displease the prime minister. The author of the memoirs of Mr d'Artagnan affirms, that the marshal de Marillac, and several others, were judged and condemned by commissioners, though no other crime could be imputed to them, but their having presumed to displease the cardinal (35). He afterwards relates, what we have seen above (36), concerning the priest Grandier, and then adds, *St Preuil's case exactly resembled that of this unfortunate priest; a thousand and a thousand witnesses were produced against him, both from the government of Dourlens, which he had enjoyed before that of Arras, and from several other places. Le Meunier was often confronted with him, but though all his crime, as well as Grandier's, consisted only in displeasing the higher powers, he nevertheless lost his head (37).* Observe here three great falsehoods: for if we examine, without prejudice, all the parts of marshal de Marillac's trial, we shall easily see, that he was guilty of infinite extortions and depredations, and within the ordinance, which condemns those guilty of speculation, to the confiscation of body and goods (38). It is true, that interpreting this law in the most mild and favourable sense, by the

confiscation of body, might be understood the loss of liberty, and not of life, but from the judges not taking it in the milder sense, but following the most severe interpretation, it does not follow, that the marshal was innocent, and that all his crime consisted in having rendered himself disagreeable to cardinal Richelieu. Many irregularities are alleged in his trial (39), and all to prove that the commissioners were bribed, and that the innocence of the accused was oppressed; but we must know also, that other authors affirm the trial was agreeable to the exactest forms of law (40). Consider well Mr du Chastelet's observations upon the life and condemnation of marshal de Marillac; it is an answer to a libel which the cardinal's enemies had published. We should be too rash, either to believe without examination what they maintained, or the narratives of his friends in favour of him; the satires on one side are as much to be suspected, as the flatteries on the other. Let us mistrust both, and determine nothing till after a thorough discussion of the facts; let us also distrust that natural bias we all have to presume in favour of those, who incur the disgrace of a too potent minister.

It is a fault too common in those who are not called to the helm, to endeavour to cross the steersman; and as if the confidence of the prince, and the favour of the people could not be united in the same subjects, we see not a man in place, or who has the least share in the conduct of affairs, whose person and actions are approved till after his death or disgrace. The various accidents of the marshal de Marillac's life, and the different affections towards him according to his fortune, furnish our age with a certain proof of this ancient maxim. All France found fault with the choice the king made of him, spoke publicly of his depredations, blamed his promotion to honours, said he wanted courage, and could observe no merit nor quality in him worthy so high an advancement. As soon as his majesty was resolved to punish him, and for weighty reasons withdrew his protection, his former accusers supported him against justice, affirmed he was innocent, worthy of his employments, and so well stored with valour and piety, that he deserved every thing except his fall (41). Thus Mr du Chastelet speaks, at the beginning of a book I have cited above. It is said that cardinal Richelieu understanding that the commissioners had passed the sentence of death upon him cried out: 'It must be owned that God grants an understanding heart to judges, which he does not give to other men, since they who have tried the marshal de Marillac, have discovered actions in him worthy of death; I did not believe there was enough against him to whip a page for (42). If I had heard the cardinal say this, I should believe he spoke it. Many people believe that he very well knew that in a conference, wherein it was debated what course should be taken with the cardinal, this marshal had given his vote for killing him; it is even said, that he offered his hand for such an exploit (43). Such a man as this would have been actually punishable, and would have appeared to especially to the cardinal.

As to what concerns St Preuil, the memoirs I have cited are much more unreasonable: he was a gentleman of Angoumois, who had raised himself by an extraordinary bravery; as nice on the point of honour, and the reputation of a good duellist and bold cavalier, as he was little conscientious in point of debauchery and extortion. It is confessed in Mr d'Artagnan's memoirs, that he had run away with a married woman. Who after this will venture to say, that his crime only consisted in having displeased the higher powers? Is not a rape punishable with death by the laws of the kingdom? Are not they who steal a woman, though with her own consent, reputed, in France, worthy of death? St Preuil, with much more reason, had incurred the same punishment, having carried off a woman whose husband was still alive. I pass over his extortions and violences, of which he was convicted, and which were so much the more odious as he commanded in a place but lately reduced under the French power, and which was to be reconciled to their new dominion, by a moderate administration.

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(39) Ibid. pag. 49, 50.

(40) See the Ministry of Cardinal Richelieu, Tom. II, pag. 302, & seq. Duch Edit.

(41) Du Chastelet, Observat. sur la Vie & la Condemnation du Marshal de Marillac, init.

(42) See the abbot de Marillac, in his Abrégement of the History of France. See also the History of Cardinal Richelieu, ubi supra, pag. 52.

(43) See the Memoires of du Maurier, pag. 259.

would be severe enough, should they say, there were some beheaded, whose crimes had all gone unpunished, if they would have adhered to his interest. They who spake equitably, were content to complain in behalf of some of these unhappy persons, that the court had subjected them to the most severe interpretations of the law, and had not pardoned them. They who listened only to their passion, extended their complaints and revenge even to the judges themselves, which could not be just with regard to him; who presided in the trial of the duke of Montmorenci [G]. Notwithstanding the domestic conspiracies the cardinal had to struggle with, he omitted not applying himself usefully to foreign affairs. He procured the king, his master, the glory of humbling the house of Austria, which was the terror of all Europe. To induce him to make war with Spain, he removed the scruples of conscience which had restrained him before [H]; for as Lewis XIII hated the Protestants, he could not easily bring himself to disturb the house of Austria, which was then struggling with them. The cardinal turned him

The truth of this maxim of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, was never more manifest than in the reign of Lewis XIII. *In causis majestatis hæc natura est, ut videantur vim pati etiam quibus probatur.* It is usual on all trials for crimes against the state, that even they who are duly convicted, are thought to have been oppressed (44). Most people are so indolent as not to give themselves the trouble of examining who is in the right, or who is wrong, however they will be judging of things, and in order to do it the cheapest way, they take up with probability, and think it very likely that they who have the greatest power are the unjust side. Dion Chrysostome has made this observation: Οὐ γὰρ ἀποῦσιν ἐνίοι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τίνας ὄντες εἰς τὴν ἀδικίαντας, ἢ βιαζομένους ἐβέλυσιν ἐξετάζειν πολλὰκις, ἀλλ' ἐς εἰκὸς βιάζεσθαι τῷ δυνάσθαι πλέον. *Quidam enim non considerant quæ faciunt, sed qui sint; neque injuriam facientes, neque violentiam passus volunt examinare plerumque, sed quibus verisimile sit injuriam fieri ab iis qui plus valent* (45). A compassion for the miserable, and the envy men bear to men in power, are a source of deception. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δυσυχύσασιν ἐλαφύ, τοῖς δὲ κρατύνουσιν φθόνος παρορμητικὴ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡττηθῆναι, τοῖς τοιαύτοις ἀδικεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ νικῆσαι, ἀδικεῖν δοκεῖ. *Quippe infelices misericordia, potentes invidia sequitur: ac vidus accepisse, victor attulisse injuriam videtur* (46). But that which gives occasion to this, is the too frequent experience that they who are in authority, are apt to abuse it, to revenge themselves on their enemies by oppressing them with false accusations.

[G] . . . this could not be just with regard to him, who presided in the trial of the duke of Montmorenci.] It was Mr de Chateaufeuf keeper of the seals. He was in disgrace, when Lewis XIII died, and great endeavours were used to recal him after the prince's death; but cardinal Mazarin opposed it to the utmost, in which he was wonderfully assisted by Madam the princess, who upon an additional pride occasioned by the victory of Rocroy, thought every thing due to her, and preposterously published that all their family would retire from court, if the queen restored a man to the council, who had presided at the condemnation of the duke of Montmorenci her brother (47). Could any thing be more unjust than this princely's pretension? Did Mr de Chateaufeuf deserve to be exposed to the least resentment of the duke of Montmorenci's sister and relations? Could he possibly avoid presiding at this trial? Did not his place require him to accept of this commission from the king? And could he be of a different opinion from that of all the judges, who, notwithstanding the vehement desire they had to save the duke of Montmorenci's life, gave all their votes for the sentence of death. The prince of Condé, his brother-in-law, and the princely of Condé, his sister, had they been his judges, could not have given their opinion otherwise than Mr de Chateaufeuf did. Nothing is more evident, than that a governor of a province, who rebels against his king, and gives battle to the king's troops, and is taken prisoner in such a battle, deserves death. It was evidently true, that Mr de Montmorenci's case was this: the proofs were as clear as the day, besides his own confession. There remained therefore no shadow of uncertainty, either upon the question of right, or that of fact, and therefore there could be no difference in opinion; the princely therefore had no reason to complain of Mr de Chateaufeuf, and yet she expressed her resentment openly, as if it had been a reasonable thing; so true it is, that the great suffer themselves to be blinded by their haugh-

ty passions, so far as to glory in that which is really a vice, and a lamentable weakness.

[H] The cardinal Richelieu removed from the king those scruples of conscience which had restrained him before from attacking Spain.] Mr Silhon informs us of this: 'How just soever, says he (48), was the ground of this rupture (49), they had hesitated upon it, but for the violent instances of the Dutch, and the zealous offices of some friends they had near the king and cardinal Richelieu, the king was averse to it upon religious scruples, which were removed by an assembly of doctors, summoned upon this occasion.' This prince's dispositions in his alliances with Protestants will be better known, if we consult the *Museum Italicum* of two famous Benedictines. 'They had the sight of a letter of the late king Lewis XIII, in cardinal Francis Barberini's library. Pope Urban VIII, had complained to his majesty of his alliance with the Swedes, whose victorious arms at that time ravaged Germany. The king secretly answered the Pope with his own hand, and offered to break off his alliance with the Swedes, provided the Catholic king would cease to protect the duke of Orleans, who was then retired to Brussels, and would join his forces with those of France, to turn them against the Protestants of Germany and the French Huguenots. His holiness communicated the king's letter to the Spanish ambassador, who wrote about it to Madrid, and received no answer. Had it not been for this original letter the public would have been unacquainted with this curious piece of our history (50).' This passage is taken from Mr Cousin's

journal. Add to this what we find in one of Mr Gallois's journals, which will inform us, that if Lewis XIII had followed his own inclination, he would have suffered the Protestant religion to be destroyed by the emperor in Germany, since before the ministry of cardinal Richelieu, he did great services to the Catholic cause in the empire. Here follow the words of Mr Gallois in the abstract he gives of the embassy of the duke of Angoulême, the count of Bethune and Chateaufeuf, sent by Lewis XIII into Germany, in 1620. 'The motive of this embassy was as glorious to France, as the success of it was advantageous to the house of Austria. Ferdinand II succeeding to the empire, saw himself dispossessed of the crown of Bohemia by the prince Palatine, and of that of Hungary by Bethlen Gabor. He saw at the same time the upper Austria revolted, and most of the Protestant princes in arms against him. The king might have peaceably waited the ruin of a prince, whose designs could not but be suspected to him; but because the Catholic religion might have suffered some diminution in Germany by the loss of this prince, he chose rather to support him in his fall, than to suffer religion to fall along with him. He offered him a powerful assistance, and at the same time to succour him with his counsels, and the authority of his name; he sent the duke of Angoulême, and Messieurs de Bethune and Chateaufeuf, ambassadors into Germany. Upon their arrival they made the treaty of Ulm, by which a cessation of arms was concluded betwixt the Catholics and the Protestants; which was the cause of gaining the battle of Prague, and afterwards of the re-establishment of the emperor's affairs (51).' Do not imagine that this language is an artifice of the journalist; for the Protestants acknowledge (52): that this embassy was very serviceable to the emperor, and prejudicial to the princes, who were confederated against the house of Austria.

(44) Volatien Callicanus, in Avidio Cassio, pag. m. 445. Tom. I, Histor. Augustæ Script.

(45) Dio Chrysostom. Orat. 34.

(46) Herodian. lib. iv, cap. v, pag. m. 187. On the passage of Sallust, cited in the Critique Generale du Calvinisme de Maimbourg, pag. 299. Edit. 3.

(47) Memoirs de M^{re} de la Châtre, pag. m. 333.

(48) Silhon, Eclaircissement de quelques difficultez touchant l'Administration du Cardinal Mazarin, lib. I, pag. 127. Edit. de Holl. in 12mo.

(49) That is to say, the declaration of war against Spain in 1635.

(50) Journal des Savans, Jan. 26, 1688, pag. 240, 250. Dutch Edit.

(51) Ibid. March 2, 1667, pag. m. 95.

(52) See Wicquefort, Traité de l'Ambassadeur, lib. i, pag. 448, & lib. ii, pag. 426.

him from these views of religion, and engaged him in a league with Holland. This was concluded in the year 1635, and at the same time war was declared against Spain. People will not allow that the preffing sollicitations of the United Provinces, was that which overcame the repugnancy of the French to this league. On the contrary, it is pretended, that it was the French who expressed the greatest earnestness for it [I]: Some say that the cardinal drove on this affair too fast (b), and ground themselves on the perplexity he was in the very second campaign; but they do not consider, that the bluntest human understanding could never have foreseen, that the first campaign would have gone as it did: it began with a compleat victory over the Spanish army, and according to all appearance must have disabled them for several years: and yet in the issue was the pitifulest campaign that ever was [K]. The French have long since imputed the

[1] *It is pretended it was the French expressed the greatest earnestness for it.*] Mr Huber, who has been

(53) I write this
the seventh of
December, 1695.

(54) Quamquam
Gallis erat fixum
animo, rebus
Hispanorum labefactis spe certa
manuorum prope
gressum, in
bellum adeo se
illis erumpere,
tam callide ta-
men hoc con-
filium diffinila-
runt, ut à Fæde-
ratis, quos in-
terim modicis
vebant subsidii,
per integram an-
num sequentem le-
rari & obser-
vari fuistiuerint.
Præquam animo
et arma
detererent, factio
opus esse iudica-
runt, ut Regis
fratrem cum
matre, cum Gallis
ad se, sibi
conciliarent,
cumque in Gallia
complecterentur.
Ulcis, Huber,
H. J. Cuvill,
Tom. III, pag.
180.

(55) Ulric.
Huber, *ibid.* pag.
182.

(56) In the remark [H],
citat. (48).

(57) Silhon, ubi
supra, pag. 127,
128.

(c8) Baptiste
Nani, Histoire
de la Republique
de Venise, Tom.
IV, livr. x, pag.
7, Holland Edit.
1682.

(59) He should
have said Avein

(60) Tillemont.

(61) Plander,
murder, the ra-
vishing of women,
and even of nuns,
and the profana-
tion of holy things,
were dreadful.
De Pontis attri-
butes all this to
the Dutch troops.
The Spanish
writers declaim
very much upon
it, to make the
French odious.
See the discourse
written Don Fran-
cisco de Quevedo
addressed to the
king of France.

[1] It is pretended it was the French expressed the greatest earnestness for it. Mr Huber, who has been some time dead (53), professor of Law in the university of Friesland, pretends (54) that the court of France, fully resolved upon the war, politically concealed that design as long as the duke of Orleans was at Brussels. She made herself be courted by Holland, and this game lasted above a year; but after the return of the duke, and the defeat of the Swedes at Nortlingen, cardinal Richelieu expressed an earnest desire to enter into league with Holland. 'Neque tam aliter se com-
'miscere, quam ubi præter Sacras, etiam Belgas federa-
'tes stabili & fidenti federe sibi conjunxissent, à quo
'multi in Hollandia imprimis, adhuc erant alieni.
'Mirum est, quanto studio & fervore Richelius extre-
'mo tempore, cum prius se rogari passus esset, in
'hoc federe fabricando versatus sit, quod tandem con-
'secutum die 8. Februar. MDCXXXV (55).' If you believe the French, the cardinal was not drawn out of his irresolution but by the meer force of the engines the Hollanders played. We have already heard Mr Silhon (56) upon this; the following passage will tell us much more of it. 'That which drew us out of
'that state of uncertainty, and turned the scale against
'several considerations which were of weight in the
'king's and cardinal's mind, was the truce the Holland-
'ers gave clearly to understand they would make, un-
'less we resolved on a war. The consequences of this
'truce (if it had been made) were doubtless to be feared
'by us and our allies, but not so much as was then
'apprehended at court, and as father Joseph and Char-
'naisé, who laboured mightily at this wheel, endea-
'voured to represent it. . . . The presents which
'were not spared on the part of the States, during
'this pursuit, and afterwards, removed all the obstacles
'that stood in the way. Besides this, as the fear of the
'inconveniences, with which the truce threatened
'us, had been the most powerful motive to make us
'hearken to the war, the hopes of the fruits we
'might reap by it, was no small charm to draw us in.
'Almost one half of what Spain possesses in the Ne-
'therlands, was to have accrued to us by the articles
'of the treaty, and the division between the Holland-
'ers and us, was drawn up so nicely, that each had
'what lay most convenient for him in this imaginary
'spoil. With these engines they worked just as they
'pleased, and the zeal we manifested to follow all their
'motions was so great, that whereas they would have
'given us money to oblige us to break, if we had
'kept up the market, they obtained a great sum from
'us, and would not receive it except in fifteen penny
'pieces and by weight, that they might more advanta-
'geously convert it into their own country coins. The
'best of all was our consenting that the prince of O-
'range should have the whole management of the war,
'and that our generals should be only his subalterns,
'and receive their commands from him (57).'

[K] *It was the pitifullest campaign that ever war[.]* Let us hear an historian who is neither a Frenchman nor a Hollander, nor Spaniard: 'As the French, *saye* he (58), marched towards Maelfricht with above thirty thousand men, and forty pieces of canon, prince Thomas with some troops which were not very strong, attempted to dispute their passage at Avelines (59), where he was beaten, and lost a great many men. Afterwards the victors advancing without opposition, joined the prince of Orange, who expected them with twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and eighty pieces of canon. This army appeared terrible, both for it's numbers and valour, and the world was already in expectation of successes answerable to the greatness of it's forces.' But what were it's exploits? It forced a little pitiful town (60), where horrid barbarities were committed (61). 'It pretended to

' march to Brussels; but the prince of Orange having retarded the march, gave the Spaniards time to come up with their army to it (62). It befieged Louvain with the following success (63): ' The boldness of the assailants having been at first a little checked, the French army began to disperse; for the Hollanders ordering provisions to be punctually brought from the neighbouring places for their own troops, did not leave enough for the French, who tho' by their bravery and strength they might have surmounted all other perils, yet experienced that hunger was an invincible enemy. A great part died for want of bread, a greater part deserted, who were afterwards killed by the peasants; so that their forces being extremely weakened, and provisions failing, the generals agreed upon the necessity of raising the siege, and permitting of all to escape the best they could. The commanders and the remnant of the French army were reduced to come and take shipping in Holland, where the people laughed at them, seeing no more remain of a great army, which expected important conquests, than a handful of dispirited people all in confusion, and forced to take sanctuary among their allies . . . (64). (64) The French army was no sooner dispersed, but the terror, which before seized the provinces depending on Spain, seized the Hollanders in their turn, and pierced them to the heart. The count of Embden surprized the fort of Schenk . . . which opens a passage into the heart of Holland. The prince of Orange, without losing time, went to lay siege to it.' Mr Nani commits a gross fault here, he supposes, on one hand, that the Spaniards did not take the fort of Schenk till after the dispersion of the French troops; and on the other that the French had no share in the re-taking of this fort. These are all falsehoods (65); Silhon speaks of them in a quite different manner: ' But farther, says he (66), having first related the inferiority of which he accuses the Hollanders, as if fortune had meant to put an opportunity into our hands of revenging our selves generously on the Hollanders, and returning good, for the ill which they had done us; the Spaniards permitted the Spaniards to surprize the fort of Schenk in the Betau, that is to give them entrance into the very bowels of Holland, . . . (67). In these hard and melancholy circumstances France was not wanting to them; and without remembering the treatment our army had met with from them, sent orders to marshal de Breze, who was the only commander left, not to separate from the prince of Orange till the reduction of the fort of Schenk, which was done several months after it's attack.' (65) Relation des Points, and figures, which the French army, says he, were employed in the siege of Schenk. (66) Silhon, in supra, pag. 134. (67) Ibid pag. 134, 135.

But here follow more mysterious reflexions. I have read in a book printed in 1664 (68), that the French complained that the Hollanders had suffered the fort of Schenk to be taken, in order to have a pretence of separating the armies, whose conjunction gave them umbrage. Here follows the words of this book (69): 'If you will believe the French they will give another account of it; for they say that this loss was suffered by the consent of the states who being jealous to see the forces of so potent a king come too near their frontiers, let this fort be lost on purpose, that they might have a pretence of separating from the French army, to re-take the key of their country; and in maintenance of their position they alleged two reasons, the first is, that no considerable garrison was left in it, and that two men of war had retired the very day it was taken. The second, that they designedly starved their army; so that of forty thousand men, there returned not above five thousand into France; which words are not to be taken for an article of faith.'

[L] The

fault to the prince of Orange [L], generalissimo of the army, and have also said, that cardinal Richelieu, with all his great genius, was deceived by the Hollanders [M]. The famous cavalier Nani has given too far into these French notions, as a Friesland Civilian has shewn [N]. Lewis XIII died the fourteenth of May 1643, after a tedious

[L] the French have imputed the whole blame to the prince of Orange.] I do not cite the authors that have written since the year 1672; neither de Pontis (70) who represents this prince extremely vexed at the victory of Avein; nor abbot Bizot (71), who accuses Holland of having acted a treacherous part at the siege of Louvain, and on some other occasions. I shall cite a book printed in 1651, which speaks after this manner (72): 'The Hollanders did not wait long to make us feel the effects of this jealousy. The gaining the battle of Avein which attended the first motion of our arms, contrary to the expectation of all the world, no less alarmed them, than the Spaniards, who lost it; and for fear this advantage should draw others after it, as is usual, and that our generals, marshal Chastillon and marshal Brezé, should push the victory farther, the prince of Orange sent them orders to come and join him. However, if Chastillon, who acted honestly in the things he was concerned in, had been hearkened to, they had gone and besieged Namur, and there made a good establishment, notwithstanding the orders of the prince of Orange. But Brezé, who was in the confidence of the cabinet, and in the secret of affairs, opposed him, and made his colleague resolve to obey their generalissimo according to the intention of the court. This was the first seed of division, which afterwards flourished between these two generals, that they came at last to draw their swords one against the other. . . . (73). The prince of Orange marched our army so long about, without any other action except the siege of Tirlémont, and left it so destitute of subsistence, tho' he was obliged to furnish it (74), that it mouldered away of itself; or rather we may say, that for want of succouring it the Hollanders destroyed it without fighting, and had the spoils of it, which was very great and rich, almost for nothing. Besides this, the conduct of the prince of Orange, and the tedious round-about marches of his army and ours, without any meaning or design gave the Spaniards leisure to recover from the consternation the battle of Avein had cast them into, and to call a potent assistance from Germany, which put us almost upon the defensive.'

(70) De Pontis, *Mémoires*, Tom. II, pag. 76, 77.

(71) Hollande Metallique. See the *Journal des Savans*, January 10, 1688, pag. 237. Edit. Holl.

(72) Silhon, ubi supra, pag. 131.

(73) Ibid. pag. 133.

(74) Mr. Huber denies this. See the remark [N], citat. (80).

(75) *Mémoires de la Duke of Orleans*, pag. 271, 272.

which promised to leave the Catholic religion, in possession of the places where it was established. It was agreed also to make neither peace nor truce, but with joint consent, and to enter into no accommodation nor treaty, till the Spaniards were entirely driven out of the Low-Countries. They were to besiege the places alternately, first one of those that was designed for France, and then one of those assigned to Holland; and to leave the generals of the army the choice of attacking, which they thought fit. They were besides this to maintain jointly a naval force at sea. France was to declare war with the emperor, or any other prince, who upon this occasion should attempt to disturb the States of the United Provinces (76). This occasions a dilemma: either cardinal Richelieu was persuaded that the Hollanders would observe this treaty, or he was not. If he was persuaded of it, where was his understanding? Does not the least common sense dictate, that it was incomparably more the interest of Holland, that Spain should preserve a part of the Low-Countries, than that they should be entirely divided betwixt France and the United Provinces? If cardinal Richelieu did not think that Holland was simple enough to consent, that Spain should lose all this country, he was very simple himself to make a treaty, which he knew Holland would never execute, and which the public good, the sovereign law of states, could never permit them to execute. I confess, that it is hard to draw the cardinal out of this labyrinth, and not to see, that he committed a gross blunder, unless we say, that the poor condition the Swedes were reduced to, and the barbarous affront France had received, by the detention of the archbishop of Treves, would not suffer this crown to leave Spain at rest, but engaged it in a league with Holland upon conditions, which it knew would never be entirely executed. The present evil required, that France should be satisfied with the execution of one part, and let time work out the rest. Here follows Mr Silhon's reflexions (77).

(76) Nani, ubi supra, pag. 5.

(77) Silhon, ubi supra, pag. 130, 131.

(78) That is to say, by the treaty concluded with France.

Let us copy here a passage from a work I have often cited: 'much about the same time came the news of the defeat of Prince Thomas at Aveins, which caused a great consternation in all the country; the French army afterwards advancing to the very gates of Brussels, never was such a terror known among these people. The cardinal infant had already caused the most precious furniture of the palace to be removed to Antwerp, and ordered all his army to line the canal, being resolved to abandon Brussels himself, if hunger and Piccolomini, who arrived with the German succours, had not forced our army to retire. It was also said, that the prince of Orange was not overjoyed to see them so far advanced into the country. The queen-mother and Madam, were already fled to Antwerp, where their officers were forced to conceal themselves a good while, to avoid the fury of the people, who detested the French nation since the lack of Tirlémont (75). What might not a general have done, who had known how to make use of this strange consternation, which had seized the court of Brussels? A Roman consul in the like case would have given a good account of a whole province, before the end of the year.

[M] Cardinal Richelieu was deceived by the Hollanders.] They were to attack the Spanish provinces with fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse . . . they had divided the conquests after this manner: Luxembourg, Namur, Hainault, Artois, and Cambresis were to be the portion of France, with a part of Flanders on this side the line that was to be drawn from Blachembert, betwixt Bruges and Dam, including in it Ruremond. The rest was to fall to the States of Holland,

The Hollanders by this means (78) compassed two points, which were very much to their advantage; one was the embarking us in the same war they were engaged in, which it was in all appearance impossible for them ever to get out of but by a peace, which would make them be acknowledged for sovereigns, by those who looked on them as subjects; which was what was proposed in their treaty with us. The other, that though the division agreed on, if it came to be accomplished, must be an eternal principle of jealousy; and they must believe, that the having us for their neighbours, instead of the Spaniards, was only changing their fears, and perhaps making their condition worse; yet they thought it more eligible to expose themselves to a certain evil, against which there were many remedies, to obtain a present and very important good, namely, that of making us partners in their fortune; that is to say, of giving themselves by this alliance, a more firm and solid basis than they had before. It is true, they would have allowed us to make our selves masters of the maritime towns, which were so fatal to their commerce in the hands of the Spaniards, or even of some other places which were frontiers to ours. But for us to establish ourselves in the heart of Flanders, and in the places which were near them, was that which made them uneasy, and which they hoped the course of the war would hinder of itself, or that they themselves should find means to divert it, either by ceasing to act against the Spaniards, and employing, as they always did, a great part of their forces; or taking an opportunity of reconciling themselves to them, under any plausible pretence, which the state of affairs might offer.

[N] A Friesland Civilian has shewn it to the cavalier Nani.] This cavalier imagined, that prince Frederic Henry suffered the French army to perish, to revenge himself of an injury he had received from cardinal Richelieu; and that he sought an occasion of making

vered a great delicacy of wit [2]. I shall transcribe the character given him in the History of the Edict of Nantes [R]. The same reason which, in several other articles, hinders my relating a series of actions, according to the order of time, has hindered my doing so here; which is, that I would not repeat what is to be found in Moreri. I am surprized, that he should forget the solemn act, by which Lewis XIII put his person and kingdom under the protection of the holy Virgin (*). Mr Godeau exercised his muse on this subject, with little judgment. A learned critic attacked him upon it with great force [3].

I forgot

curian life and death of Vauquelin des Yvetaux, first preceptor to Lewis XIII, is a certain proof, that Henry IV, who had made choice of him, was not a good judge of men of merit (93). He adds, that a year after the death of Henry IV Vauquelin lost this employment, through the jealousy of some people, and that Nicolas le Fevre succeeded him, a man distinguished for his learning and piety, and died a year after, and that Fleurance Rivaut, an able Mathematician, say they, ascended from the post of sub-preceptor, to that of preceptor in chief. A young man, continues he, who passes through so many different bands, seldom makes any great proficiency.

It is certain, that Nicolas Vauquelin, Sieur des Yvetaux, had wit and learning. He was son to Mr de la Frenaisie, president to the Bailliwick, and presidiai seat of Caen, in the year 1605, of whom a great collection of verses had been printed at Caen (94). Nicolas le Fevre was of Paris, a man of great merit, and of an exact, profound, and extensive knowledge, great probity, and incomparable modesty. Moreri's article of him is good. See also the elogies, which Casaubon hath given him (95). He was chosen by Henry IV to instruct the prince of Condé (96), but not to be preceptor to the Dauphin, as le Grain affirms (97). He was raised to this preferment, under the regency of Mary de Medicis (98). He died the third of November, 1612, aged sixty eight years and some months. But let us suppose, as much as you please, that both he and des Yvetaux were men of great merit, and that the quality of a good preceptor, a quality more rare than that of preceptor is common, was united in them to that of being learned: we could not thence conclude, that Lewis XIII had been well educated; for they were but a very small time directors of his studies. We should know how they acquitted their charge, who came after le Fevre. We cannot be over-prejudiced in their favour, when we consider, that they persisted in making him read Fauchet's works, which disgusted him. This was not the way to form his taste, but discourage him. It is said however, that he grew very nice upon the point of eloquence, and that the harangues of that time infinitely displeased him, though his own encomiums were the subject matter. Here is my witness (99): *Always to praise, always to admire, and to this purpose to make use of periods a mile long, and exclamations that reach the skies, vexes even those whom we praise and admire. The victorious complain of it in the midst of their triumphs. And I know from good hands, that the late king beholding himself one day in a glass, and wondering at the great number of his grey hairs, charged them upon the complainers of his kingdom, and their long periods. He said to the person from whom I have it, these remarkable words, I fancy, it is the harangues that have been made me since my coming to the crown, and particularly those of Monsieur le *** that have made me grey so soon.*

[2] On many occasions he discovered great fine-ness of parts. If what Balzac has been telling us, does not seem a good commentary upon this text, what will you say after reading these words of the chevalier de Mercé? *How comes it then that this court is so different from what it was heretofore? Henry the Great, who judged well of every thing, though he had hardly studied any thing but military affairs, and the late king, in my opinion, have not a little contributed to it. This prince, whom we have seen, had a delicate wit, and said excellent things. Can any thing be more agreeable than this saying: put on your hat, Brion; my brother gives you leave. And so many others which I could cite. As he loved good railery, he very much disliked that which was bad; and the C. D. R. bad like to have been disgraced, for having written to M. D. E. in a kind of railery, though all the guilt of it consisted in its being dull (100). A great many readers will better understand the meaning of, Put on your hat, Brion, &c. if*

I tell the story a little at large, as Mr Bourfault has related it. 'The late duke of Orleans, Gaston of France, was so jealous of the rights belonging to his quality, that upon this head, he never excused any body. To have the pleasure of seeing the princes of the blood uncovered before him whenever he found an opportunity of speaking to them, he kept them as long as possibly he could, and never uncovered himself one single moment, for fear of forgetting his own quality. Lewis XIII going one day from Paris to St Germain, in the extensive heat, in company of the duke of Orleans, the lords, who were bare-headed at the sides of the coach, were hardly able to bear the violence of the sun. The king perceiving how they suffered, had the good nature to say to them; *Cover yourselves, gentlemen, cover yourselves, my brother gives you leave (101).*'

[R] I shall transcribe the character that is given him in the History of the Edict of Nantes. 'He was jealous of his power even to excess, though he could neither understand nor enjoy it. He could never, in the whole course of his life, either exercise it himself, or suffer it in the hands of another. It was equally impossible for him not to raise his favourites to an exceeding power, and to bear with them in the grandeur, to which he himself had raised them. By enriching them, he made them disagreeable to him. The excess of his complaisance to them, was the first degree of his hatred; and I do not know, whether we can find in his history, the example of a favourite, whose death or fall he lamented. But he always concealed his sentiments; and because he communicated them to few people, they who will have the conduct of princes to be always mysterious, accuse him of a black and profound dissimulation. To say the real truth, the reason of his silence was, that he neither trusted himself, nor any body else; and was very timorous and weak. Almost all that have spoken of him, acknowledge he had courage; that in danger he lost not his judgment; that he loved and understood war; that he was master of much fine knowledge; but that he had not the art of reigning (102). This picture seems pretty well drawn to the life.

[S] A learned critic attacked Mr Godeau with great force. The king's declaration concerning this act of devotion to the holy Virgin, is dated the tenth of February, 1638. You will find it entire in the French Mercury (103); I will only take this part of it: **FOR THESE CAUSES** we have declared, and do declare, that taking the most holy and glorious Virgin, for the special protectress of our kingdom, we particularly consecrate to her our person, our state, our crown, and our subjects, beseeching her to inspire us with a holy conduct, and to defend this kingdom so carefully against the efforts of all its enemies, that whether it suffers the scourge of war, or enjoys the calms of peace, which we beg of God with all our heart, it may never depart out of the ways of grace, which lead to those of glory. And that posterity may never fail to pursue our desires upon this subject, for the immortal remembrance, and in testimony of the present consecration, which we make, we will cause the great altar of the cathedral church of Paris to be built anew, with an image of the Virgin embracing her precious son in her arms, descended from the cross; we will be represented at the feet of the son and of the mother, offering them our crown and scepter. We admonish the archbishop of Paris, and enjoin him, that he annually, on the day and feast of the Assumption, make a commemoration of our present declaration, in the high mass, which shall be said in his cathedral church, and after the vespers of the same day, that a procession be made in the said church, at which all the sovereign companies shall assist, and the body of the city, with equal ceremony, as is observed at the most solemn general processions.

(93) Le Vailor, ubi supra, pag. 608.

(94) The Abbé de Mireville, in his list of authors, who had presented him with their books.

(95) Casaub. Exercit. xvi, in Baron. cap. lxxx, pag. m. 551.

(96) Continuat. Thuan. pag. 318.

(97) Le Grain, Décade de Louis XIII, pag. 2.

(98) Contin. Thuan. ibid.

(99) Balzac, Avant-propos du Scourge Chrestien, fol. ciii.

(100) Chevalier de Mercé, Traité de l'Esprit, pag. 27. Edit. de Hollande.

(*) See the remark [S].

(101) Bourfault, Lettres Nouvelles, pag. 381. Edit. de Holl.

(102) Histoire de l'Edit. de Nantes, Tom. II, lib. v, pag. 220.

(103) Tom. XXII, pag. 284, & seq. See the Histoire de l'Edit. de Nantes, Tom. II, pag. 578.

I forgot to say, that the royal authority was more powerfully exerted under the reign of Lewis XIII, than it had ever been in France [T]; and I do not believe the parliament of Paris

fions. Which we will also have done in all churches, both parochial and monastical of the said city and suburbs; and in all towns, boroughs, and villages, of the said diocese of Paris. We in like manner exhort all archbishops and bishops of our kingdom, and at the same time enjoin them, to cause the same solemnity to be celebrated in the episcopal churches, and other churches of their dioceses.

Mr Godeau made a hymn upon this occasion, in which the king, speaking to the Holy Virgin, sets off the extraordinary merit of cardinal Richelieu, and acknowledges him not only as his colleague, but as a colleague who watched in order to let his associate sleep. The Jesuit (104) who censured Mr Godeau, exceeded the bounds of modesty and moderation; but at the bottom he had reason for censuring this conduct. I will give you his censure somewhat at large, and do not fear being blamed for it, as I may possibly be for several other citations out of books, which are very common; for this Jesuit's book is scarce known, and hardly to be met with. We will therefore boldly cite a large piece of it, which will inform us, that Lewis XIII did not love to have his first minister praised at his own cost. He was sensible of his dependance, but he did not care that any body should know it, and it is even certain, that the cardinal dextrously managed his master's delicacy, both in his words, and his external conduct. So that Mr Godeau made use of flatteries, which were neither agreeable to decorum, nor to prudence (105). 'Cum Ludovicum XIII offerentem se ac regnum Mariæ Virgini, induceret, huic de isto sermone affinxit, qui totus abhorreat à regis sensu & consuetudine, Cardinalis prudentia, ac voluntate, rei natura. Quid attinuit à rege, sanctis ac religiosis suis ad Dei matrem precibus, cuiusquam mortalis laudes admisceri? quid necesse fuit, minutè atque enucleatè exaggerari? quid convenit tam multis in tam exiguo carmine? . . . Verùm remitto pessimi poetæ errata, atque condono. Quis hoc, Antoni, tibi ignoscatur, vel civis bonus, vel vir non excoars, quod regi socium & consortem regni invidiosissimè addidisti?

(104) Francis Vavasour disguised under the name of Candidus Helychius.

(105) Anton. Godelius, Episcopus Grassensis, utrum Poeta, pag. 82, & seq.

• Pag. 136.

Tandis * qu'un si sage Ministre
Avec moy tiendra le timon.

Quid ais, perduellis? Tenir le timon avec le Roy, tenere clavum & principatum cum rege pariter? neque est enim istuc pro regem agere, sed unà cum rege regem esse. Quod si de filio regis unico, herede proximo & vero, patre vivo, dicas, crimen imminentæ majestatis incurras: Cum de alieno, de cive, de administro, de eo, qui hoc sine scelere cogitare non auit, dixeris; omni culpa, reprehensione, pœna liber sis? Nescis quàm retinens Ludovicus auctoritatis? quàm nihil hujus perferens, unde peti vel tantulum majestas videretur? quàm gnarus istorum cardinalis, neque quidquam tam verens, quàm ne quis istiusmodi parum consideratus sermo & improbus ac seditiosus ad aures regis accederet, aut in vulgus ferperet? ut mirum sit, nì apud utrumque, si modo legere scriptunculam istam tuam curavit, graviter offenderis. Præsertim cum nihil excusare posses, neque hoc tibi imprudenti excidisse, neque ullis versus angustis, ac necessitate coactum fecisse; cui tam facile fuerit tam apertum nefas advertere, & invidiam verbis atque asperitatem vel tollere omnino, vel sic mitigare: Tandis qu'un si sage Ministre Dessous moy tiendra le timon . . . Quod sequitur, satis ridiculum, eundem Cardipalem unum opponi inferis ac demonibus cunctis: * Les enfers n'ont point de demon, dont je craigne rien de sinistre. Et hoc arrogans ac propè impium. † C'est par luy que tout m'est possible. Nempe si Cardinalis affuisset, non esset rex mortuus. Vitandum sane fuit, ut ne id usurpares, in quo aperta assentatio minimum est, quod reprehendatur, illum ipsum regem futurum fuisse, nisi regi adjutor & comes adjunctus esset. ‡ Et vous en eussiez fait un Roy, &c. Non possum verò tibi, Godelle, non succensere, quod in tam effusis administri regii laudibus, regem deprimis, & nobis exhibes somniculosum, ac nihil agentem, qui hoc etiam confiteatur de se:

** Pag. 136.

† Pag. 137.

‡ Ibid.

Je † gousse en repos le sommeil, &c. Ibid.

Quem porro regem? vigilantissimum, laboriosissimum, patientia injuriarum cœli ac terræ insignem, qui multiplices & diversa in ultimis regni oras expeditione, valetudinem & corpus amissit, neque vitam longius, quàm in quartum & quadragesimum annum produxit (106). — When he introduces Lewis XIII, offering himself and his kingdom to the Virgin Mary, he speaks in such a manner as is absolutely repugnant to the king's design, and constant manner of behaviour, to the prudence and intention of the cardinal, and even to the nature of the thing. For what grounds did his majesty give him to mix with his most religious and pious prayers to the mother of GOD the praises of any mortal? What necessity was there for exaggerating, or distinctly, and minutely dwelling upon them? Why this waste of panegyric in so short a poem . . . But these errors of that wretched Poet, I forgive and pass by. But who, Mr Godeau being either a good subject, or a man of any spirit, will not observe that you have most invidiously given the king a partner and associate in power.

While this statesman grave and great
Guides with me the helm of state.

What say'st thou, traitor? Hold the helm with the king, to possess equal power and authority with his prince? For this is not to act as a viceroy, but to be a king as well as his master. If you had said this of the king's only son, the next and indubitable heir of the crown, in the life-time of his father, you had certainly trespassed upon majesty; but when you say this of another, of a subject, a servant of the crown, one who cannot entertain a thought of this sort without guilt, do you either think yourself innocent, or that you shall escape without reproof? Are you ignorant that Lewis still retains his authority? That he is extremely nice in these things, and will not bear the least encroachment on his power, that the cardinal, well versed in such things, fears nothing more than that such wicked and inconsiderate speeches, should either come to the king's ear, or be diffused among the people, so that it is to be wondered, if either of them thought your poem worth reading, you did not grievously offend both, especially when you have no excuse left, and cannot palliate your imprudence, by pretending that this dropped from you unawares, or that your verse required it, and that you were under a necessity of writing in that manner, since it was so easy, so natural to observe the rancour and mischief of these words, and to have taken the roughness away, or to have softened them in this manner: While to wife a minister under me holds the helm. . . . What follows is ridiculous enough, the cardinal alone is made a match for hell, and all the powers of darkness. I fear not what hell or the devil can do against me. And again, what is not only arrogant, but impious. Thro' him every thing is to me possible. So then if the cardinal had been present the king had not died. It was fit to omit a passage, in which open flattery is the least thing which deserves reprehension, and wherein it is said, that he would have been a king if he had not been an assistant and coadjutor to the king. And you yourself had been a king, &c. Neither can I avoid being angry with you, Godeau, because in such a torrent of praises as you have bestowed upon the royal servant, you at the same time depress the king, and represent him to us a drowsy indolent prince, nay make him confess this of himself:

In peace I sleep my time away.

But what king was this? One the most vigilant, the most indefatigable, the most patient under the injuries of the weather, and who, by frequent journeys into the most distant parts of his dominions, impaired his health, and wasted his body, nor could produce his thread of life, to a greater length than forty four years.

[T] The royal authority was more powerfully exerted . . . than it had ever been in France. A remarkable thing! The royal power was more strongly established

Paris ever suffered a more shameful mortification, than what it was forced to submit to in 1631 [U]. It is true, this illustrious body seemed a little to have forgot its duty, and had the misfortune to suffer it self to be carried away by the artifices of some factious spirits. I shall examine perhaps in another place (f), the Horoscope, that is found in Sully's Memoirs.

It is very probable that Lewis XIII was not sorry for the death of cardinal Richelieu; for he was a man he feared but loved not; and whom he would have been gladly rid of, if powerful reasons had not prevailed. He imagined, amongst other things, that his troops being

established under a prince who neither enjoyed authority nor absolute liberty himself, than it had been under monarchs least depending on their ministers, and the best skilled in the art of Governing. It is properly under Lewis XIII, and not in the reign of Lewis XI, that the kings of France had their manumission. This must be ascribed to cardinal Richelieu; it is he that began the work of arbitrary power, and carried it on pretty near to perfection; but not so near, as was then complained of; the succeeding time has shewn, that several things were wanting to this work, which have been since added, or are adding at present. The people and magistrates were sensible of this innovation, and murmured at it (107); it was the subject of a thousand discourses. Costar argued once against a

(107) See the Memoires Marolles, pag. 143.

(108) Manilius.

(109) Costar, Entretiens avec Voiture, pag. 563.

(110) Conser quæ supra, remark [41] of the article GUISE (Lewis).

(111) See, above, citat. (75) of the article EDWARD IV.

(112) Costar, ubi supra, pag. 565.

(113) See the Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, Tom. I, pag. 207.

(114) To Benzoni.

(115) Ministère de Richelieu, Tom. I, pag. 215.

(116) Aubert, Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, liv. iv, chap. xvii, pag. 303, 304.

with them, register them, and cause them to be observed by the people, and that the declaration in question ought to have been published with so much the less difficulty, as there is a great difference betwixt a commission which is delivered for the trial of any person; and a declaration which is published by his majesty, to let his subjects know who they are he complains of, the reasons he has for so doing, and for which they are guilty of high treason; considering moreover that in a declaration of this kind, his majesty allows them a certain time, during which they may obtain the favour of his clemency, if they have recourse to it, and even after that all the formalities necessary in criminal causes are observed, before condemnation. This was done in the Louvre, the king sitting in his council, and the parliament in a body, kneeling in his presence; and after the keeper of the seals had given them to understand from his majesty, that they had no authority to judge of the declarations of state that were sent to them, he tore with his own hands the decree of division which had been entered in the registers, and commanded to substitute in its place that of his council, by which he annulled it, with prohibition to deliberate for the future upon such like declarations; and finally to expiate the fault of this body upon some particulars; the presidents Gayan and Barillon, and the Sieur Lesne, counsellor, were commanded by the king's order to remove for some time from Paris, and were suspended from the exercise of their employments, for having spoken of his actions, and the conduct of the state with too little respect (117).

In foreign countries a great many people, imagine that the excluding the parliaments of France from a share in the sovereignty is a new thing; there are many Frenchmen under a like mistake. It will not be amiss therefore to shew here by certain and indisputable facts, that the parliament of Paris has for a long time had the bounds of its jurisdiction declared, and that upon the foot of an antient custom. The parliament being in the Louvre, in 1631, in the posture above-mentioned (118), the keeper of the seals, de Châteauneuf highly blamed the proceedings of the parliament of Paris, and proved to them, by many reasons, AND BY DIVERSE EXAMPLES, that the parliament neither can nor ought to take cognizance of any but private affairs, and differences betwixt man and man, and not meddle with the affairs of state, of which the sovereign reserves the sole cognizance to himself. That even in the business of trials of princes, dukes, and other officers of the crown, for their male-administration in the direction of the finances, and the management of the state, to the end that the parliaments may take cognizance of them, it is necessary the king should send them an express commission, which in that case extends their ordinary jurisdiction; or else that his majesty assist in person, and authorize by his presence the institution of these extraordinary proceedings. That moreover, there being a great difference between a commission to make out a trial, and a declaration, only mentioning those the king complains of, it was never doubted, but the parliaments ought to take cognizance of the cause, before they judge upon a commission; and that on the contrary, they are obliged, without any delay or deliberation, to record a declaration, which always leaves criminals a certain time, in which they may return to their duty, and thereby stop the proceeding any further in their prosecution. The remonstrance of the keeper being at an end, the king ordered the register of the court to be brought him, and the leaf shewn him, wherein was the decree of division, which he himself tore out, and instead of it, caused the decree of the council to be inserted the same day, the twelfth of May; by which most express prohibitions were made to the said court of parliament, ever after to deliberate upon such like declarations,

(f) See the article RIVIERE.

(117) Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, ubi supra, pag. 218, 219.

(118) Aubert, ubi supra, pag. 304.

being commanded by the creatures of his eminence, he could not dispose of them as he pleased [X] if he broke intirely with him. He was often solicited either to give orders, or give leave, to kill that cardinal [Z], but could never be brought to it. Nor would he even

clarations, concerning affairs of state, its administration and government, at the peril of losing their places, and greater if necessary; and for the fault committed in this instance by the said court, it was ordered, that the said letters of declaration should be withdrawn from it, with most expresse inhibitions, to take any jurisdiction or cognizance of their contents. No body was ever better acquainted with the laws of the kingdom, than chancellor de l'Hospital; and yet observe how he makes Charles IX speak (119). Bodin will tell you, that this prince made a decree the twenty fourth of September, 1563, forbidding the parliament of Paris to put it to the question, whether they should or should not record the edicts his majesty sent them (120). Francis I. made a like ordinance in the year 1528 (121).

[X] He imagined that his troops being commanded by the creatures of the cardinal, he could not dispose of them as he pleased. Mr d'Artagnan's memoirs inform us that Cinq Mars, the king's favourite, conceived a great aversion for cardinal Richelieu, after he had observed that his eminence prevented his marrying a princess. He endeavoured to induce the king to dismiss this minister, and he thought he had observed that if his majesty did it not, it was not so much for want of good will, as because he was afraid of him. His majesty had answered, when he spoke to him of it, that what he proposed was very difficult, that he did not consider that this minister was master of all the places of his kingdom, and of all his forces both by sea and land; that they were his relations and friends who commanded them, whom he could cause to revolt against him, both as often and as long as he pleased (122). Let us add here a reflexion: the favourites of princes, or those who have the greatest share in the government, labour commonly with an incredible diligence to procure to themselves, or their relations the most profitable and honourable employments. One would say, that they look upon themselves as the heirs of mankind: there is no place vacant, but they beg it for themselves or for some of their creatures. Some there are who attribute this only to an insatiable avarice, and an unbounded ambition; but it is certain, that if in the beginning these are the only motives of this conduct, prudence obliges them to continue it after; for the envious and the enemies of a prime minister daily increase in proportion to his authority; he has therefore new and hourly occasions to make himself supports and ramparts; for which reason he incessantly turns out of places persons who are suspected, and advances such as devote themselves to his fortune. Cardinal Richelieu maintained himself this way, and so strengthened his power, that it lasted longer than his life. You have seen in the passage of Mr d'Artagnan's memoirs, that this hindered the king from gratifying his own desire of ruining him. Observe now from these words of the duke de la Rochefoucaud, in what condition affairs were, after the death of his eminence (123): I came to court, which I found as submissive to his will (124), after his death, as in his life-time. His relations and creatures had the same advantages that he had procured them; and by an effect of his fortune, of which few examples are to be seen, the king who had hated him, and wished his destruction, was obliged not only to dissemble his sentiments, but also to authorize the disposal the cardinal had made in his will, of the principal employments, and of the most important places of his kingdom. He farther chose cardinal Mazarine to succeed him in the government of affairs, and thus he was assured of reigning more absolutely after his death, than the king his master had been able to do for the thirty three years that he wore the crown. But to omit nothing, it must be observed, that it was for the king's interest at that time, that the armies and fortified towns should not be under the direction of the cardinal's enemies. This minister's abilities could not have been sufficient to support him, had it not been for the good successes which attended the king's arms; he must necessarily have fallen if Lewis the thirteenth's wars had been unsuccessful. It was therefore the interest of his enemies, that the Spaniards should triumph, and put the kingdom in continual frights. What had not France to fear, if the French generals had wished

the ruin of the cardinal, and if their particular fate had not depended upon that of the minister? They who wished his ruin, were wonderfully pleased with the successes of the Spaniards in 1636. And the count de Soissons, a prince of the blood, performed his duty very ill, when it was necessary to oppose their progress; for he would not have been sorry if they had succeeded so far as to force the king to sacrifice the cardinal to the public indignation. *We could never have believed, these are the words of the king's declaration (125), that after we had pardoned the count de Soissons, our cousin, the ill behaviour he had been guilty of towards us, in the year 1636, when we trusted our arms in his hands; that he would have embarked himself again, &c.* See what has been said above (126), concerning the raising the siege of Fontarabia.

We have seen in the beginning of this remark, that cardinal Richelieu proved Cinqmars, by opposing his marriage with a princess. Not to engage the reader in the trouble of consulting another book, we will say here that this princess was the same Mary de Gonzaga, who married the king of Poland some time after. She had been courted by the duke of Orleans, his majesty's only brother; but the queen-mother, to prevent the match, caused her to be sent to the Bois de Vincennes (127). This detention ended a little after by the king's order, who promised his brother, in 1631, that he should have leave to marry her (128). The duke of Orleans made no advantage of this consent; he meditated a rebellion, which was quashed in its birth, and he retired into foreign countries, and engaged himself to a sister of the duke of Lorraine. One of the fix things which gave Cinqmars an implacable aversion to cardinal Richelieu, was, that in speaking of the princess Mary de Gonzaga, he added, that his mother had a mind to marry him to her. *Your mother, answered his eminence, is mad, and if the princess Mary has such a thought, she is madder than your mother; when she has been proposed as a wife for Monsieur, would you have the vanity and presumption to pretend to her? It is a ridiculous thing (129).* Note, that the author of the Galantries of the kings of France, has vented a thing devilish satirical concerning the amours of Cinqmars.

[Y] He was often solicited to give orders or give leave to kill the cardinal. I have mentioned in the preceding remark, Lewis the thirteenth's answer to the proposition of dismissing the cardinal. This answer made his young favourite conclude (130), that when he should have killed the cardinal, the king, instead of revenging him, would be the first that would be pleased at the deliverance. Thus continually fortifying his resolution of sacrificing this first minister, he endeavoured to engage Treville in the execution: (131) but Treville, who was wise and prudent, answered him when he spoke to him of it, that he had never been concerned in any assassination, and that it was as much as he could do if his majesty should declare to him, that the good of the state depended on it. Cinqmars replied, that if nothing was wanting but that, the thing should be quickly done, even before he was two days older, and only desired his promise on that condition. Treville gave him his promise without making much reflexion on what he did; in the mean time, whether he only did it because he believed the king would never consent to such a thing, he who was daily shewing how much disturbed he was for having caused the marshal d'Ancre to be taken off as he had done, or whether he gave too much way to his resentment, Cinqmars had no sooner his word for it, but he founded the king upon the matter. The king, who was plain and sincere, acknowledged that he should not be very sorry to be rid of his eminence, not thinking on what design he made that proposition. He thought that what he said to him was only a thing at random, as when one is asked whether he would be glad or sorry that this or that should happen. However, Cinqmars taking advantage of this answer, went back to Treville, . . . and desired him to found the king . . . Treville spoke to his majesty upon this subject that very day. He answered

(119) See, above, remark [K] of the article HOSPITAL (MICHAEL DE L').

(120) Bodin, de Republ. lib. iii, cap. i, pag. 389. Edit. Latine 1640.

(121) Id. ibid.

(122) Memoires d'Artagnan, pag. 130.

(123) Memoires de Mr de la Rochefoucaud, pag. 2. See the remark [Z].

(124) That is to say, cardinal Richelieu.

(125) Dated June 8, 1641. See the Memoires of Montreuil, pag. m. 367, 368.

(126) In the remark [D] of the article FONTARABIA.

(127) Aubert, Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, livr. iv, chap. vi, pag. m. 209, & 270, Tom. I.

(128) Id. ibid. cap. xvi, pag. 298.

(129) See Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu, pag. 208, Edit. 1645, in 12mo.

(130) Memoires d'Artagnan, pag. 131.

(131) Ibid.

even after the death of this minister, suffer his family to lose any of its lustre; and it was believed, he designed by this, to persuade the world that he had not raised it out of a slavish condescension [Z]. The same reason should have induced him to leave in prison, or banishment, the persons which the cardinal had put out of his majesty's favour; yet perceiving himself near his end, he consented to the liberty or return of most of them. It is said some economical motives mingled in this affair [AA]. The short time that he survived

answered nothing but what was agreeable enough to what Cinquars had endeavoured to persuade him . . . (132) Cinquars who had the art of deceiving, and putting off a look or a wink for an assertion, thought that instead of making Treville repeat what he had promised, it was enough to make the king declare to him the same thing he had said. Treville who had heard the king say as much, not once, but an hundred times before, was not so thoroughly satisfied as he imagined; he desired that his majesty would explain himself more positively upon it; and the thing being spun out till his departure, it was resolved to execute their design at Nemours. The one engaged only upon the other's promise, which he constantly made of the king's declaring himself; and the other made him this promise only, because he thought to amuse and insensibly oblige him to do the thing, without making much reflexion on it. When the court was come to Melun (133), Treville challenging Cinquars with his promise, he refers him to Fontainebleau, where the king was to stay a day. He actually spoke of it to his majesty, and pressed him to consent to it; but the king, detesting the proposition, answered, that he wondered he should offer to speak to him of it; Cinquars concealed this from Treville, telling him that his majesty's answer was, that hints were sufficient, without obliging a king to give a positive command: That so did the marshal de Vitry, when he took off the marshal d'Ancre . . . (134) Treville was not at all satisfied with this answer; and though all the measures were taken for this assassination, he broke it off, as soon as he saw the king would not consent to it. After this the author relates, that Cinquars had a dagger made to kill the cardinal, himself: that he banged it to the hilt of his sword, as was the fashion of that time; that the cardinal having notice of the design stood upon this guard; that thence, however, ordered it so that he was twice side by side with Cinquars on the road; but whatever resolution this favourite had taken, he was so confounded when he was to strike the blow, that he had not the power to lay his hand to the poinard, which yet was made on purpose to take away his life.

I do not pretend that every thing in Mr d'Artagnan's memoirs is to pass for truth, but it is certain his eminence was persuaded that Cinquars had resolved to execute this assassination at Lyons. See the letter he wrote to his majesty the seventh of July, 1642 (135). And it is plain from the king's letter, that Cinquars made no scruple to make an attempt upon the life of the cardinal; and that he not only proposed it to the king, as a thing necessary, but also offered to execute it himself; at which his majesty was astonished, and condemned so wicked a thought (136).

(135) It is among the Memoirs of Montreux, pag. 203. See also pag. 190.

(136) Aubert, ubi supra, livr. vi, chap. lxxxiii, pag. 321.

A COMPUTATION of what Patin has said of the cause of the death of Thuanus, son of the Historian.

(137) Patin, Lettr. ccxiv, p. 486, Tom. I.

(138) Idem, Lettr. ccxcviii, pag. 432, Tom. III.

chellieu, that it cost the author's eldest son his life, who was a very worthy man, and this on account of a passage concerning Antony du Pleffis de Richellieu, in the first tome under Francis II, in the year 1560. . . . This passage begins thus. Antonius Richellius vulgo dictus Monachus, &c. The facility with which so many people believe Guy Patin's assertion in these two passages, may convince us, that on some occasions it is enough to make a thing be believed if it contains an excess of extravagance and crimes: it becomes credible on this very account, that it shocks good sense and probability. But omitting that, let us reason a little upon it. It is certain, that Cinquars had undertaken to destroy cardinal Richellieu; his eminence was convinced, that he intended to do it even by assassination. It is certain, that Thuanus was Cinquars's intimate friend, at least, that he was privy to the design of this favourite, as to the point of destroying the cardinal (139). Is not this searching for mid-day at twelve a clock (if we may use this proverbial phrase), to go so far as the expressions of Thuanus the historian, in quest of the cause of Thuanus's death, the confidant of Cinquars. Could the prime minister, as vindictive as he was, found his resentment upon a phrase of the father, when he knew his mortal enemy, had so much intimacy with the son. Must not the spirit of revenge have arisen from that intimacy? Patin talks like a man who should affirm, that Mævius having been cudgelled by Titius, chastised him only because Titius's father had not saluted a relation of Mævius with respect enough (§ a).

[§ a] See Mr Buckley's edition of Thuanus's history of his own time, Vol. VII. §. X. pag. 97, 98. REM. CRIT.]

[Z] Nor would he suffer the family of the cardinal to lose any of its lustre . . . to persuade the world that he had not raised it out of a slavish condescension. It was believed, as soon as he was dead, that as the king had hardly ever loved him, his family would not long shine with that lustre he had given it. But his majesty, who foresaw, that if he did such a thing, it would be showing too openly, as it had been often said in the world, that this minister had always kept him as it were in tutelage, from which nothing but his death had freed him, he not only supported that cardinal's family, but gave it additional honours. He caused the Marechal de Brezé's son to be received as duke and peer into the parliament (140). We have seen above (141), the duke de la Rochefoucauld's observation concerning the power the cardinal's creatures were in, when he passed returned to court after his eminence's death. Mr de la Chastre has spoken of it in the same strain (142).

[AA] He consented to the liberty or return of most of them . . . It is said some economical motives mingled in this affair. The king, whose displeasure increased every day, being desirous to give, at the end of his life, some marks of his clemency, whether out of devotion, or to show that cardinal Richellieu had had a greater share than he, in all the viglences which had been committed since the disgrace of the queen-mother, consented to the return of the most considerable of those who had been persecuted; and he was the more willingly induced to it, as the ministers, foreseeing some disorders, endeavoured to oblige persons of condition, to secure themselves against all that might happen in a revolution like that which threatened them. Almost all who had been banished, returned (143). The author I have this from, is very considerable, being a great lord, who was then upon the place, and who was as much distinguished by his parts as by his birth. Another person of quality, and much concerned in the intrigues, will help to confirm our text: here follow his words which contain a satirical stroke upon the king (144): Some time before, cardinal Mazarin and Monsieur de Chavigni, had induced the king to set at liberty the marshals de Vitry and Bassompierre, and the count de Cramail.

(139) This appears by the pieces of the process.

(140) Memoirs d'Artagnan, pag. 198.

(141) In the remark [X], citat. (123).

(142) La Chastre, Memoires, pag. m. 286.

(143) Memoires de la Rochefoucauld, pag. 7, & 8.

(144) Memoires de la Chastre, pag. 296, 297.

vived the cardinal, was perhaps the most uncomfortable of his whole life; for besides his bodily infirmities, he had a great many troubles of mind. And as it is very probable, he was not ignorant of the queen's intrigues [BB], we may reasonably believe that his mind was

The means they made use of on this occasion, deserve to be mentioned, being pleasant enough; for finding that his majesty had not much inclination to it, they attacked him on his weak side, representing, that these three prisoners were a great expence to him in the Bastille; and that not being in a capacity of cabaling in the kingdom, they might as well live in their houses, where they would cost him nothing. This took; the king being possessed with so extravagant an avarice, that all who had a demand of money upon him, were a burden to him; inasmuch, that after the return of Treville, Beaupuy, and others whom the late cardinal's resentments on his death-bed had forced him to abandon, he sought an occasion of snubbing each of them, to deprive them of all hopes of being rewarded for what they had suffered for him. The liberty of the prisoners was followed by the recalling the exiles (145). Facts of this kind are such, as many think most deserving the readers curiosity. Wherefore I imagine the putting them in my Dictionary will be approved.

(145) See, at the 306th page of the same Memoires de la Chastre, the recalling of other exiles.

(146) See the Memoires of de la Rochefoucauld, those of Mr de la Chastre, and the Answer of the Comte de Brienne to the Memoires of Mr de la Chastre.

[BB] It is very probable he was not ignorant of the queen's intrigues. Her conduct, from the death of cardinal Richelieu, to that of the king (146), shows that she was very ambitious, and that it was not without reason, that the cardinal herein conforming to the sense of his master, kept her short; for had she been suffered to meddle in public affairs, she would have had her dependants and confederates, the ready way to multiply factions, which were already but too troublesome. Let us shew in general, what she did to obtain the whole regency, notwithstanding the desire and intention of the king her husband. The cardinal had remonstrated to this prince, that considering the last conspiracy against the state, in which Cinqmars had employed the name and authority of his royal highness, to give greater weight and credit to his faction . . . it would not be proper, in case of his majesty's decease, to suffer the duke of Orleans, his brother, to assume the regency and government of the kingdom, much less the tutelage and education of the sons of France (147). The king very much approved this advice of the cardinal; and understanding on the first or second of December, 1642, that the recovery of this first minister was despaired of, he made haste to act according to this advice; so that on Wednesday the third day of the month, he sent for the presidents of the parliament of Paris, and the attorney and solicitor general, and told them, 'that he had caused a declaration to be drawn up, (in case God should dispose of him) to exclude the duke of Orleans, his brother, from the regency, whom he had already pardoned, even to the sixth time, and to whom he did not think he ought, after this, to intrust what was most dear to him, his kingdom and his two sons: that the parliament must register, as soon as possible, this declaration so important and necessary to the public tranquillity (148). It was registered the fifth day of the same month to be fully and entirely executed (149). The king's health declined every day, and no body judged he could live long: hereupon the court was filled with cabals and intrigues; some were very forward in offering their services to the queen, others were contriving to restore the duke of Orleans to favour. Father Sirmond, the king's confessor 'was induced to propose to him his brother's co-regency with the queen . . . but this proposition so violently displeased the king, that after having sharply rejected it, and said something of it to the queen, he would hear his confessor no more, and dismissing him, under another pretence, took father Dinet in his place (150). At last the king was reconciled both to the queen and the duke of Orleans. He made a declaration, in which 'he appointed (God calling him to himself) the queen, his wife, to be regent, to have the education of their children, with the administration of the kingdom; and the duke of Orleans, his brother, to be lieutenant-general of the minor king, in all the provinces, under the authority of the queen. He orders that the queen-regent, and the lieutenant-general, shall determine nothing, without the advice

(148) Id. ibid. pag. 125.

(149) Id. ibid. pag. 127.

(150) Memoires de la Chastre, pag. 295.

and sovereign council of the regency, composed of his cousins, the prince of Condé, and the cardinal Mazarin, and the Sieurs, Seguire, chancellor of France, Bouthillier, superintendant of the finances, and de Chavigni, secretary of state, all styled ministers of state; and that the prince and the cardinal be the chiefs in the order as they are named, in the absence of his royal highness. It is his pleasure also, that every thing be deliberated and resolved in his council, by the plurality of voices; and that by the same plurality, provision be made both for the most important employments, and principal offices of the crown, and also for the places of superintendant of the finances, first president, and attorney-general in the parliament of Paris, and secretary of state (151). This declaration being read aloud in his majesty's chamber, in presence of the princes, and the dukes, and peers, &c. the nineteenth of April, 1643. The king signed it, and addressed the following postscript: This above is my most express and last will, which I will have to be executed. The queen and the duke of Orleans signed it likewise, after having promised and sworn to each other, not to infringe it. Which was not done with respect to the queen, without a flood of tears, the testimonies of her grief and affliction . . . This being done, the deputies of the parliament were introduced. The king, sick as he was, declared to them himself, that he had caused letters for the regency to be drawn, which he desired might be speedily registered, to which purpose he would send the next morning Monsieur, his brother, and the prince of Condé, and the chancellor, the grand chamber. In effect, they were read and published the same morning, in a full house (152). The king's letter, which accompanied the declaration, enjoined the parliament to register it without any delay or difficulty . . . Afterwards to take from the registers, the declaration against Monsieur the king's only brother, immediately to put it into the hands of the chancellor, to be cancelled or torn (153). The queen, very much displeased with the limitations made to her regency, thought of nothing but how to get the declaration annulled, and the king had scarce closed his eyes, but she was pompously conveyed to the parliament of Paris, to obtain a full and entire regency. It was the ancient custom, that the widows of the kings of France should keep for forty days together in their chamber, without seeing sun or moon till their husbands were buried (154). Anne of Austria, Lewis the thirteenth's widow, did not shut herself up in that manner; but went to Paris the next day after the death of the king her husband (155), and three days after appeared at the most pompous and splendid ceremony that could be seen at the parliament of Paris, and by the intrigues she had formed before, caused the last will of the king to be annulled, that very declaration of the foregoing month of April, which she had sworn to observe, and which had cost so much labour and pains (156), and was undoubtedly the work of the chancellor Seguire . . . and the first president Molié (157).

(151) Aubert, Hist. du Cardinal Mazarin, livr. I, pag. 128.

(152) Id. ibid. pag. 130.

(153) Id. ibid. pag. 127.

(154) See, above, rem. (O) of the article LORRAIN, at the beginning.

(155) The king died at St Germain.

(156) Aubert, ibi supra, livr. II, pag. 149.

(157) Mr. Aubert, ibid. 157, that Mr. de Puy had furnished the memoirs, precedents, and authorities.

It is observable, that one of the means which the queen's servants used to arrive at their ends, was to induce her to employ the creatures of cardinal Richelieu, and like a good Christian to forget the injuries she had received from them. Montaigu, a de-votee by profession, mixing God and the world together, and joining to the reasons of devotion, the necessity of having a minister instructed in the affairs of state, added farther, (in my opinion) another consideration, which absolutely gained her, which was to represent to her, that cardinal Mazarin was the best qualified of any one to negotiate a peace, and that being born a subject to the king, her brother, he would make it advantageous for her house, which she ought to endeavour to maintain in power; in order to make it a support against any faction which might arise in France in the time of her regency (158). No prophet could have spoke truer than Montaigu; for it fell out, that de la Chastre, at sixteen years end, cardinal Mazarine concluded the peace with Spain, so advantageous to that crown, and disadvantageous to France, that the most intelligent have thought, that that conduct of his

(158) Memoirs de la Chastre, pag. 317.

was

was tossed with a thousand disturbances. The Dauphin himself vexed him without the least design [CC]. We have not as yet seen a good history of his reign, which makes us impatiently wait for that, which Mr le Vassor has undertaken; the first volume of it (g), which reaches to the time of this prince's coming to age in 1614, has been well received by the publick.

The first addition I shall make to his article in this third edition relates to what I have said concerning the little advantage which was got by the victory of Avein [DD].

was owing to the entreaties or commands of the queen-mother, in whom the king, her husband, had always observed a Spanish heart; the reason, in part, why he was willing that her regency should depend on the council he joined with her (159). 'Lewis the Jult did not so much insist upon precedents, as upon reason. He knew that the queen, his wife, understood nothing of affairs, and that she could not have any experience in them, having never had any share in the government. As the regency, said he, is a thing of great weight, and the queen has not the ability that is necessary for the resolution of difficulties, inseparable from government; we have thought fit to conjoin with her, and under her authority, a council that may determine. Besides, that which was particular on this occasion was, that there being a rupture between the two crowns, the queen would be obliged to make war against her own brother, the Catholic king. Lewis XIII had heretofore upbraided her, that she could not forget her country, and that she interested herself too much in the news and affairs of Spain (160).'

[CC] There was no body, even to the Dauphin, but vexed him without the least ill meaning or design. Mr Bourfaut having said, that kings are so nice, that the least thing wounds them, and that they who are most dear to them, are sometimes those who vex them most, gives this instance of it. 'One day, as I was with the president Perrault, in his fine gallery, Monsieur de la Villiere, secretary of state, came to see him, and from him I have the following story. The king, who was then but Dauphin, was baptized at St Germain, the twenty first of April, 1643, being four years of age, seven months, and some days. Lewis XIII, could not assist at that ceremony; he was sick, and died three and twenty days after. The Dauphin, as he came from baptism, was brought to the king, to whom he said, that he had been just baptized. I am glad of it, my son, said the king, but what is your name? My name, replied the young prince, is Lewis the fourteenth, without thinking on what he said, and perhaps even not knowing the consequence of it. And yet this answer afflicted the king: in the condition he was, he took it for an ill omen, and turning

to the other side: Not yet, said he, not yet. Some flatterer (for princes have the misfortune to have such before they can speak) had already possessed this royal infant with the great name he was soon to bear; which was the cause of this little mortification he innocently gave the king his father (161).'

[DD] What I have said concerning the little advantage they got by the victory of Avein (162). I cited Mr Silhon, who assures us, that the artifices of the prince of Orange, had hindered the French from making an advantage of that victory, and I have observed, that this author said this in the year 1651, and that I would not cite those who have written after the year 1672: I still follow the same method, and this is the reason why I shall not at present alledge Mr de la Neuville, who said (163), among other things, that the prince of Orange had found means, without appearing to do so, to sacrifice to his jealousy the finest army that had been seen in that age (164). But I may alledge the testimony of an Italian, whose book was printed the year 1640: It is count Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, a well known Historian; he relates (165), that the French generals were of opinion, that instead of besieging Louvain, they should march directly to Brussels. That advice was followed, but the prince of Orange having found the execution difficult, retook the rout to Louvain, and shewed that the taking of that place would be very important. The Historian adds, that some people discovered an artifice in that proceeding, since it was believed, that the Dutch had rather have the Spaniards for their neighbours, than the French. *Que sia benche buona opinione, e uscita di bocca d'un Capitano tanto prudente, nondimeno non trascurarono alcuni di dividerla per artificiosa; conciosia che gli Hollandesi credevano, che amassero bene la corrispondenza colli Francesi per cavarne aiuti, ma non già la vicinanza, e maggior loro grandezza, perche stando quelle Provincie sotto all' obediienza d'una Corona, la cui potenza era lontana, e disunita, essi erano stolti, e tuttavia vedevano bastanti a difender la loro liberta: il che più difficile sarebbe riuscito loro, quando avessero dovuto da fare con un Potentato di forze, e di Stato unito, e loro confinante (166).*

(g) Printed at Amsterdam twice in 1700. The *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* have told us, that there have been two translations of it into English.

(161) Bourfaut, *Lettres Nouv.* pag. 384, 385. Dutch Edit.

(162) See the remark [L].

(163) In his *Histoire de Hollande depuis la Trêve de 1609 jusqu'à la Paix de Nimègue en 1678*. That work in four Tomes in 8vo, was printed at Paris in the year 1693, and reprinted at Brussels in the year 1701. [Mr Baillet is the author of it, under the disguised name of la Neuville.]

(164) Neuville, *Hist. de Holl.* Tom. II. pag. 244, at the year 1635. Paris Edit. 1693.

(165) Pistorio, *Historia delle Guerre di Ferdinando II.* lib. x, at the year 1615, c. 2. 347. Edit. V. neri. 1742, in 4to.

(166) Ibid pag. 343.

LICINIA, a vestal, punished for her leudness, about the 640th year of Rome. There were three vestals all at the same time, who behaved themselves ill. Lucius Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus, not having punished this disorder so rigorously as he should have done, was prosecuted for his remissness on an impeachment of Sextus Peduceus, tribune of the people. The high priest condemned only one (a) of the three vestals, and acquitted the other two (b). Licinia was one of the latter, tho' no less guilty than she that was condemned. They were both mightily exclaimed against for the numbers of their galants, and they accused one another. At first, they had to do with but a few of their best friends, and that in great secrecy, declaring to each, that he was the only person, who had received the favour: afterwards, the number of sharers increased, at a strange rate; for the longer they lived in this disorder, the easier it was to convict them of it. They had then reason to fear informers; and could think of no better way of obliging all to silence, than granting to all the last favour. This did not please the first galants: However, they durst not make a noise; too loud complaints would only have betrayed them. The evil took such a head, that the two vestals made no longer any difficulty of giving themselves up to several galants, and that in the knowledge of each other (c); and I believe that for some time they lived together in a good understanding, and that then Emilia introduced her brother to Licinia, and the latter introduced her brother to Emilia. However it be, it is certain, that each had the other's brother for galant (d); a great many of both sexes, freemen and slaves, were privy to the intrigues of these vestals; nevertheless, their crime remained a secret for a long time, as to what we call the public. At last, one Manius, who had been the first instrument or pimp to the amour, turned informer. He had not been made free, nor recompensed according to his expectation; and besides, was a man, who delighted in mischief (e). I have already said, that the high Pontif, the proper judge of offences of this kind, had not used the necessary severity. The discontents, which his remissness had occasioned, was

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10 A

the

(a) She was called Emilia.

(b) Alconius Peducius, in Orat. pro Milone.

(c) See the *Excerpta of Dion.* translated by Henry Valerius, pag. 627, 628.

(d) Dio, *ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

the reason of giving Lucius Cassius a commission, to re-examine the process [A]. He was a rigorous, inflexible judge, as I have shewn in speaking of him. Licinia could not escape him: For how could she hope to escape the sentence of death, when Martia, her companion, who had but to do with only one Roman knight [B], could not escape? Cassius's severe methods for the discovering and convicting the accomplices, were so extraordinary, that they were thought to have exceeded the just bounds (f).

(f) See, in the remark [A] the words of Alconius Pedianus.

[A] Lucius Cassius was commissioned to re-examine the process (1).] Alconius Pedianus gives us this account of it: 'Ob quam severitatem quo tempore Sextus Peduceus Tribunus plebis criminatus est L. Metellum Pontif. Max. totumque collegium Pontificum male judicasse de incestu Virginum Vestalium, quod unam modo Æmiliam damnaverant, abfolverat autem duas, Martiam & Liciniam, populus hunc Cassium creavit qui de eisdem virginibus quaereret, sique & utraque eas & præterea complures alias nimia etiam, ut existimatio est, asperitate usum damnavit. — On account of which severity, when Sextus Peduceus, tribune of the people, accused L. Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus, and the whole pontifical college, of judging ill in relation to the leud actions of the Vestals, in that they had condemned only Æmilias, but had acquitted two, Martia and Licinia, the people commissioned Cassius to inquire into the matter, who not only condemned those two, but many others likewise, using, as it is thought, too great severity.' Instead of alias, I should read alios; for the number of the Vestals was too small, to say, after the condemnation of two, that many others were condemned. We must say then, that these many others of Alconius were the galants, the bawds, &c. of the Vestals. Dion observes, that the criminal Vestals involved abundance of people in their misfortune: Αἱ ἑρπείαι τὸ πλείον αὐταὶ τὰ τε ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς ἀσχύνης ὄφρον, συχνοὶς δὲ διὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτίαι ἐγένοντο. ἢ τε πόλιν ἅπασα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαρῆν. Virgines Vestales ipsæ quidem maximam mali ac dedecoris partem tulere, sed tamen alios quoque plurimos in gravissima mala conjecere, & universam civitatem suo scelere perturbavere (2).

(2) Excerpta ex Dione, pag. 626.

[B] Martia, her companion, who had to do only with one Roman knight.] If her companions had been as

cautious as she, it is probable, they might have violated their rule with impunity. Possibly even Martia would neither have lost her reputation nor her life, if, to redress the remissness of the former judges, the too rigid Lucius Cassius had not been commissioned. Marcia μὲν τῇ τε καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ πρὸς ἑνα τινὰ ἰππία ἡσχύνθη: καὶν δὲ λαβὼν εἰ μὴ περ ἡ ζήτησις ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ πλείον ἀρθεῖσα καὶ ἐκείνην περσκάτελαθεν. . . . διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ τὰς κολασεις ἢ μόνων τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων μίσει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν αἰτιαθέντων μίσει τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἐποίησαντο. Marcia quidem seorsim cum uno equite Rom. rem habuerat, ac fortassis latere potuisset, nisi latius porrecta questio eam quoque involvisset. . . . Itaque odio admitti tanti sceleris non modo de convictis, sed de omnibus qui delati erant supplicium sumptum (3). — Marcia had to do with but one Roman knight, and perhaps might have escaped, had not the enquiry, being carried farther, involved her likewise. . . . Therefore, in detestation of the crime committed, not only those convicted, but all those informed against, were punished. It is a remarkable thing, and which shews very well the power of constitution, that the Vestals fell into incontinence, in spite of the dreadful punishment, and prodigious infamy, they were exposed to (4), and in spite of the actual punishment of their companions. Minutius Felix has touched upon this. 'Cum pæne in pluribus virginibus & quæ inconscienti se viris miscuissent, Vestæ sane nesciente, sit incestum vindicatum; in reclusis impunitatem secerint, non castitas tutor, sed impudicitia felicior (5). — When incest was punished in many Vestals, who had indiscreetly prostituted themselves, the rest escaped, not because they were chaster, but more fortunate in their amours.'

(3) Dio, ibid.

(4) See the Penitences diverses sur les Comètes, pag. 508.

(5) Minut. Felix, pag. m. 236.

LIEBAUT (JOHN) a native of Dijon, practised Physic at Paris in the XVIth century, with some success. He there married Nicole Stephens, a learned woman, and daughter to Charles Stephens [A]. He published several books [B], some of which were translated into several languages, and often re-printed. He quitted Paris, I know not why, and returned into his native country [C], where he died I know not when.

[A] He married Nicole Stephens, a learned woman, and daughter to Charles Stephens.] La Croix du Maine (1) makes mention of three books she had written, but were not printed. I. An Answer to the Stanzas on Marriage, written by Pb. des P. (2). II. The Contempt of Love. III. An Apology for Women, against those who undervalue them. James Grevin (3) was in love with her, and courted her; and as he was a Poet, he writ verses in abundance upon his amours, and in praise of his Nicole, whom he called Olympia. The volume of his love-verses was for this reason called Olympia. This we learn from la Croix du Maine (4). Another ran away with the prey; for she was married to our John Liebaut.

(1) Bibliothèque Franç. pag. 338.

(2) Probably Philippe des Portes.

(3) Physician to the duchess of Ferrara.

(4) Ubi supra, pag. 187.

[B] He published several books.] The Bibliothèque de Physicians, enlarged by Mercklinus, makes mention but of three books of John Liebaut. *Theſaurus sanitatis parata facilis*, at Paris by James du Puy 1577. *De præcavendis curandisque venenis Commentarius*. *Schoolia in Jacobi Hollerii commentaria in lib. vii. apothecarum Hippocratis*. The most curious of his books have been forgotten, which are those, that treat of the distempers of women, and of their ornaments and beauties. He wrote them in Latin. They were afterwards translated into French; but the translator found himself sometimes obliged to omit some passages of the original (5), to avoid describing things offensive to modesty. We shall see below, that Liebaut cannot be

(5) For example, in the eleventh chapter of the second book, pag. m. 243, he prescribes some rules to husbands that they may beget children.

(6) This work of Wolfius is in Latin. See la Croix du Maine, pag. 237.

(7) That, which I make use of, is of Ron, by David Berthelemy, in 1666, in 4to.

considerably. It was translated into English, Flemish, and High-Dutch (8). Note, that the French translation of the two books above-mentioned, has been several times printed. I make use of the first edition, which is that of Paris, 1582, in 8vo, and I have an edition in twelves of the three books of the *Embellishment and Ornaments of the human body*. It is of Lyons, 1594. There are abundance of particulars in this work, whether relating to the characters of the beauty of each part of the body, or to the means of rectifying disagreeable accidents. You there find a chapter (9) concerning the stink of excrements, and first of ordures. The author maintains, that this is a matter of importance; therefore, adds he, *to render a damsel amiable, and in all respects agreeable, and to crown her beauty with all the perfections that can be desired in a handsome body, we shall enquire into the means of correcting the stink of her excrements, if excessive*. It were ridiculous to complain, that delicate ears are offended at such discourses: but Physicians would be still more ridiculous, if they had regard to such complaints. They are obliged to write in this manner; it is their profession; Father Coton's reserves (10) are no rule to them.

(8) See the advertisement to the reader. F. Anst. Langier, prebend of Riez, is the author of it.

(9) It is the forty fourth of the third book.

(10) He has been commended for using very decent finished words to express the ordure of sleep. See the Apology of Caraffa, pag. 101.

[C] He returned into his native country.] Here is a passage of Patin. 'As for John Liebaut, he was a Burgundian Physician, who never made his fortune here. He was son-in-law to Charles Stephens, who died in the Chatelet greatly in debt. After his death, Liebaut went to Dijon to lay his bones in his native country. His wife was called Nicole Stephens, she was niece to the great Robert Stephens, who left Paris after the death of Francis I, finding himself deprived of his good master, and persecuted by the Sorbonnists, and retired to Geneva. Liebaut's book of the *Distempers of Women* is only a translation of Marinello, who had written it in Italian, under

the

(11) Patin, Lettr. critiq., pag. 572, Tom. II.

(12) This is the second edition: the first is of the year 1563, and is intitled, in the Oxford Catalogue, *Trattato di tutte l'infirmità delle donne, come curarsi debbono per mali che possono scorgere il legione del matrimonio*.

the title of the *Comara* (11). I know not, how to reconcile this with la Croix du Maine's words. *Liebaud flourishes at Paris this year 1584*; for if he lived then at Paris, he did not quit it a little after Charles Stephen's death, which yet Guy Patin's words seem to import. Note, that Charles Stephens died in 1566. It is not true that Liebaud's book upon the *Dissemers of Women* is only a translation of *Marinello*. I have not the first edition of this Italian's book, but only that of Venice, *apresso Giovanni Valgriso*, 1574, in 8vo. It is an edition, augmented and corrected (12), though not intitled *la Comara*, but *le Med-*

cine partenti alle infirmità delle donne. I have compared it with John Liebaud's book, and found it very different. It is true, the French author says several things, that were said by the Italian: but after all, he cannot be reputed a meer translator (13). Marinello had not the same scruples, as he who translated John Liebaud's book: he explained a hundred things in the vulgar tongue, which he had better have suppressed or have written in Latin (14). Mercklinus did not know this work of John Marinello, nor that *de gli ornamenti delle donne*, published a second time, by the same author, in 1574.

(13) See the article *MARINELLO*.

(14) See, for example, the 79th folio, where he gives some advice to a husband who has no children, but would fain have some.

LIGARIUS (QUINTUS) lieutenant to Caius Confidius, who commanded in Africa in quality of proconsul, acquitted himself so well in this post, that the people passionately desired to have him for their governor when Confidius was recalled. They obtained their desire, and continued very well satisfied with the conduct of Ligarius. They would have made him their commander in chief, when they took arms at the beginning of the civil-war betwixt Cæsar and Pompey; but as he had a mind to return to Rome, he refused engaging in public affairs. He rested for a while, after Publius Accius Varus had accepted that command (a). This is what Cicero lets forth in his oration for Ligarius. He passes over other things in silence, and only confesses in general, that his party had embraced the interests of Pompey. It is probable that Ligarius had shewed himself very averse to Julius Cæsar's designs, who nevertheless gave him his life (b), after the defeat of Scipio, and the other generals, who had renewed the war in Africa, in favour of that cause, which Pompey had defended. This favour did not prevent Ligarius's living concealed out of Italy. His brother and friends, and particularly Cicero (c), omitted nothing to obtain Cæsar's leave for his return to Rome; and they had hopes of accomplishing it, when Tubero, in the midst of these transactions, formally declared himself Ligarius's accuser. Then it was that Cicero made that admirable oration for the accused, which in a very singular manner changed the intentions of Cæsar (A). Ligarius

(a) Taken from Cicero, in Orat. pro Q. Ligario.

(b) Hirtius de Bello Africano, pag. m. 497.

(c) Cicero, Epist. xiv. lib. vi. ad familiar.

[A] Cicero pronounced for Ligarius that admirable oration . . . which changed the intentions of Cæsar. . . . Nothing can be finer than this oration. Pomponius Atticus was charmed with it (1): Cornelius Balbus and Oppius admired it, and sent a copy of it to Julius Cæsar (2). We cannot easily comprehend why the Civilian Pomponius should praise it so coldly;

(1) Cicero, Epist. xii. ad Attic. lib. xiii.

(2) Id. Epist. xiv. ejusdem libri.

(3) Pomponius, de Orig. Juris, lib. iii. cap. xii, pag. m. 421.

(4) See the notes of Rupert, in Pompon. *ibid*.

(5) Pompon. *ibid* supra.

(6) At the 77th page, Part. I. of the Holland Edit. but note, that this story is told there with some small alterations.

† Plutarch, in Cicero.

‡ Nihil foles obliuisci, nisi injuria. pro Lig.

Extat Ciceronis oratio, *says he* (3), satis pulcherrima, que inscribitur pro Q. Ligario. — There is extant a good pretty oration enough of Cicero's for Q. Ligarius. Beudeus thinks the word *satis*, ill placed before a superlative. It is answered (4) that the positive is often put instead of the superlative on such occasions. Very well, Pomponius's meaning then will be, that Cicero's oration for Ligarius is well enough. But this is a disproportionate encomium, and too dry. Cicero out-did himself both in the composition and in the action, and perhaps the success of his orations was never more remarkable. Cæsar did not deign to acquit Ligarius, and yet he did it, unable to withstand the emotions and workings in his soul, whilst Cicero was speaking. The accuser was vexed at the issue of his cause, that he renounced the bar (5), and betook himself to the profession of the Civil-law. Let us examine a passage in the work of a Jesuit upon the comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero. Consult also the Chevreauana (6).

Cicero . . . undertook the defence of Q. Ligarius, his friend, accused of having born arms against Cæsar, tho' he was obliged upon several accounts to continue in his interests. Cæsar, who had already condemned him in his heart, having however a curiosity to hear Cicero, whom he had not heard of a long time, by reason of his presence in the war, which he had now finished, said to one of his friends, who would have dissuaded him, *What signifies it? Let us even hear him; my resolution is taken, and nothing that can be said for him shall alter it one way or other* †. But this Orator spoke with so much force in his friend's defence, that he moved Cæsar's heart in spite of all the opposition and the resolutions he had taken not to suffer himself to be persuaded: and Cicero saying something of what passed at the battle of Pharsalia, in Cæsar's praise, this prince felt an extraordinary emotion throughout his whole frame; and, as if he had been perfectly enchanted by Cicero's discourse, he let fall the paper he had in his hands. In fine, he was not able to resist so many charms, nor that fine and delicate manner, in which he commended him ‡; and whatever resolution he had taken to

withstand the Rhetoric of so powerful an Orator, he was forced to pardon Ligarius. I say nothing of a like favour, which Cicero obtained for king Dejotarus, and for his friend, Marcellus from this same emperor, who was such a master of his resolutions, and so hard to be persuaded (7).

Father Rapin is here by no means guilty of the fault so incident to the Sieur Varillas, an Historian, who never related an adventure, as he found it in his authors, but flourished and embroidered it after his own way: it is certain Plutarch expressed himself no less strongly than this Jesuit, as we may judge from the following words (8): 'It is reported, that, when Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for having born arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken his defence, Cæsar said to his friends, what hinders, but *that after so long a time* (9), we should hear Cicero speak? It being long since concluded, that Ligarius is an ill man, and our enemy. But when Cicero began to speak, he wonderfully moved him, and proceeded in his speech with such a vehemence, and admirable grace, that Cæsar's countenance often changed; and it was very evident, that all the passions of his soul were in commotion. At length, the Orator touching upon the battle of Pharsalia, he was so transported, and agitated, that some of the papers he held fell out of his hands; and thus, being overpowered, he acquitted Ligarius.' Let us note two mistakes of father Rapin. He supposes that Cæsar had not heard Cicero of a long time: he is mistaken; for a few months before, Cicero had spoken the oration *pro Marcello* before him. Here is the proof of it: 'Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo & clarissimo, M. Marcello fecisti. NUPER in curia, nunc idem in foro de optimis, & huic omni frequentie probatissimis fratribus. Ut concessisti illum Senatui, sic da hunc populo' (10). — As you lately pardoned M. Marcellus, at the request of the senate; so now pardon this man, at the request of the people. It would be some excuse to this Jesuit, if we could say that he followed Plutarch's narration; but after all, it is no entire justification, since he has followed him in a false fact. I add, that it is not certain, that this Greek author imputes to Cæsar, what the Latin and other translators pretend he does: the Latin version, printed with Plutarch's original, runs thus: *Quid obstat quin Ciceroem tanto intervallo audiamus dicentem?* This Latin answering to this Greek: *Τί καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκούειν δὲ Χρῆνον Κικέρωνος ἀκούσαι λέγοντος*. The question is, whether *δὲ Χρῆνον* in this place signifies, after a long time,

(7) Rapin, Compar. de Demosthène & de Cicéron, chap. xvi, page 63, Edit. Holl.

(8) Plutarch, in the Life of Cicero, pag. 280.

(9) This possibly is not Plutarch's meaning. See, below, citat. (21)

(10) Cicero, pro Ligario, cap. xii, pag. 321. Edit. Græc. 1698.

(11) Cicero, pro Ligario, cap. xii, pag. 321. Edit. Græc. 1698.

(d) See the remark [A], towards the end.

was absolutely acquitted. He was no slave to notions of gratitude, for he became one of the accomplices of Brutus and Cassius [B]. I shall have two faults to charge upon father Rapin (d).

(11) Fr. Fabricius, in *Peroratione Orationis pro Q. Ligario*, pag. 233. Edit. Grev.

or whether it would not be better rendered a little time, as the learned Fabricius has done: *Quid est causæ, he translates it (11), cur Ciceronem orationem aliquamdiu non audiamus?* It may be objected perhaps, that this sense is somewhat absurd, since Cæsar did not mean to hear a part of Cicero's oration, and go out of the assembly before he had made an end. I answer that *ἡδὲ χρόνος* might, be a way of speaking amongst the Greeks, much like our English expression a little. Now when one says, *Let us go a little to see such a thing; Let us go hear this preacher a little; what hinders, but we may go and hear such a one's funeral sermon a little?* he does not mean to see or hear by halves, nor has he any design to go out of the church before the end of the sermon. This methinks is the most natural idea we can fix to Cæsar's words. The other error of Father Rapin is his supposing, that Cicero obtained the same favour for king Dejotarus, and Marcellus, as for Ligarius. Nothing is more untrue; for, in the first place, he did not procure Dejotarus's discharge (12); and, in the second place, it was not he, but the senate, that obtained Marcellus's pardon. The oration for Mar-

cellus was only to give thanks for a favour, which Cæsar had granted at the request of the whole assembly. See what Cicero himself relates in a letter to Sulpicius (13).

[B] He was one of the accomplices of Brutus and Cassius. Plutarch will not permit us to doubt of this. Among Pompey's friends, there was one Caius Ligarius, whom Cæsar had pardoned, tho' accused for having been in arms against him. This man not being so thankful for having been forgiven, as is censured at that power, which made him need a pardon, hated Cæsar, and was one of Brutus's most intimate friends. Him Brutus visited, and finding him sick, O Ligarius, says he, what a time have you found to be sick in? At which words Ligarius raising himself, and leaning on his elbow, took Brutus by the hand, and said, But, O Brutus, if you are on any design worthy of your self, I am well (14). Appian (15) reckons Quintus Ligarius amongst those, whom Brutus and Cassius engaged in their conspiracy, and relates (16), in the manner how the two brothers, both called Ligarius, perished under the proscription of the Tri-

(13) It is the fourth of the fourth book, ad familiarem.

(14) Plutarch in Bruto, pag. c. 88. Plutarch's giving him the name of Caius, is only a said. But, O Brutus, if you are on any design worthy of your self, I am well (14). Appian (15) reckons Quintus Ligarius amongst those, whom Brutus and Cassius engaged in their conspiracy, and relates (16), in the manner how the two brothers, both called Ligarius, perished under the proscription of the Tri-

(15) Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. iv, pag. 345, 346.

(12) See the remark [D] and [E] of the article DE JOTARUS.

(a) Varillas Histoire de Charles IX, livr. v, pag. 60. Paris Edit. in 2mo. 1684.

(b) Pag. 323. Dutch Edit.

LIMEUIL (ISABELLA DE LA TOUR DE TURENNE (a), DEMOISELLE DE) maid of honour to Catherine de Medicis, verified by her conduct a witty saying in the Menagiana (b), viz. that the function of maid of honour to a queen is a very difficult part. She sunk under the weight of it, in the face of the whole court; for she lay-in at the queen's palace without having been married. The Prince of Condé was the father of this child. A chronological dispute arose hereupon [A]. And besides, writers are divided

(1) Critique Générale, Lettr. III, pag. 45, of the third edition.

† Mezerai's Abrég. Chron. an. ann. 1661. Thuan. lib. xxxv

(2) Critique Générale, libid.

† Mezerai, ubi supra.

[A] A chronological dispute arose hereupon. This doubtless the too lovers never expected; they little imagined, that their carelessness should afford matter of dispute between authors a hundred years after; the fact is this. We will begin with these words of the General Criticism on the History of Calvinism (1). 'The prince of Condé, falling in love with one of the queen's maids, called Mademoiselle de Limeuil, said so many moving things to her, that they soon came to what we call the conclusion of the romance. She had a son by him, of whom she lay-in, in the reign of Charles IX, the twenty fifth of May, 1561, in the very palace of the Louvre: but the queen, who at that time had occasion for the prince to balance the overgrown power of the house of Guise, had compassion on humane frailty. Thus one of our wits speaks of this adventure in a kind of romance, intitled, *The Prince of Condé*, where we find several other very curious strokes of history, and very faithfully related. Another of the queen's maids had just such another disaster about two or three years after. Catherine de Medicis, perceiving that the prince loved this young lady, resolved to lay hold of this occasion for penetrating into his designs; and therefore advised her, who probably had no need of incitements, not to overact the part of a prude. Mezerai will tell you this story much better than I †. *The queen endeavoured to captivate the prince of Condé by the charms of pleasure, and by the lure of one of her maids of honour, who, sparing nothing to serve her mistress, found herself indisposed for nine months, and was for some time the whole discourse of the court, where such sort of accidents give more diversion than scandal.* The prince had another intrigue of note with the widow of the marshal of St André, and had married her, if the admiral had not ward-off the blow by proposing another match. . . (2) He made him such remonstrances † as obliged him to break off, by the conjugal bond, all his pernicious engagements with the marshal's widow, who, endeavouring to enamour the prince, fell so in love with him, as to purchase her satisfaction at the price of her estate of Valery, which she made him a present of.'

Several persons have found two remarkable falsities in this account; for it is not true, that Mademoiselle de Limeuil lay-in in the year 1561, and that

another of the queen's maids of honour made the same slip with the prince of Condé some years after. Yet some opinators maintain, that the date in the romance, cited by Mr Maimbourg's critic, is just; and consequently, that the prince of Condé debauched two of Catherine de Medicis's maids of honour, one after another, in a short time. This consequence is most certain, if the author of the romance be not mistaken; for it cannot be denied, that one of this queen's maids of honour lay-in in 1564, after her familiarity with the prince; but once more, the author of the romance tells an untruth. It is neither a fault of the press, nor a poetical fiction, but an historical falsity. The whole series of the book manifestly shews that the author speaks of an intrigue, which preceded the imprisonment of the prince, and the sentence of death passed upon him in November 1560. The author therefore alone is answerable for the number 1561 and not the Printer. It cannot be said, that he antedated it designedly, from a liberty allowed in an epic poem, or in a romance; for, as his book has every where as exact dates, as those of Mezerai, whether concerning the death of Francis II, and of the king of Navarre, or concerning the prince's pardon, &c. we must suppose, that he designed to give the true date of the young lady's lying-in. The circumstances of the day, and month, and place, which he has carefully collected, confirm this opinion, since they signify nothing to the æconomy of the piece: he only touches upon them by the by, to quicken the attention of his reader, by a particularity seldom found in such sort of books. To what end should he antedate her pregnancy two years? The romance gains nothing by it: the intrigue might have been carried on as well by laying the scene of it two years after. The tenor of the book manifestly shews this. Our author therefore must have been deceived by his memoirs, in which 1561 had been put instead of 1564. I know those, who, after some reflexions on this matter, have imagined, that the Demoiselle de Limeuil was twice got with child by the prince, and that the author of the romance speaks of the first pregnancy, and Mr Mezerai of the second. I cannot think them in the right: for though the court of France was at that time very dissolute, it cannot be conceived, that a maid of honour should lie-in at the Louvre in 1561 and make the same false step three years after in the quality of maid of honour. Some measures were

divided about the consequences of this adventure [B]. Some pretend, that the young lady was expelled the court [C], and others, that she lost not the queen's good graces

were still observed, and some regard had to the public. Brantome, who speaks of this court, from his own certain knowledge, expressly affirms it (3). The most natural signification of his words is, that the maids of Catherine de Medicis had never a better time than while they lived with her, because they had full liberty either to taste of all the joys of marriage, or abstain, provided they had the art and industry to prevent pregnancy. There was therefore some disgrace to be feared, when they wanted this point of skill; for that queen acted almost like the Lacedæmonians, who did not punish the theft, but the want of cunning to conceal it. We shall presently see, that Mrs Limeuil was disgraced. They, who require proofs of it, form a horrible idea of Catherine de Medicis.

[B] Writers are divided about the consequences of this adventure. The best historians agree, that the queen-mother lent an hand to the amours of the prince, and of Mrs Limeuil. See, in the preceding remark (4), a passage of Mezerai: It is taken from his chronological Abridgment: here is another from his great history (5). 'The queen, having gained nothing by this method (6) . . . bethought her of another more subtle, which was to gain the prince by the lure of love and pleasures, by which the haughtiest souls are captivated without a struggle. She treated him with all the demonstrations of a cordial friendship, and entire confidence; she gave him the government of Picardy, the first subject of his discontent, and had all the respects paid him that are due to the first prince of the blood. Besides this, she had people suborned to amuse him with all kind of diversions; and the charms of the fair Limeuil, one of her maids, were so serviceable to her designs, that for some time he had laid aside all thoughts of any thing but her; which his wife Eleanor de Roye, a woman of severe chastity, discovering, died of grief; an accident that gave the queen a deal of joy, because this lady being of an imperious temper, and very zealous for the Huguenot religion, was the sharpest spur to quicken the courage of the prince. But, on the other hand, the royal palace, and her self, suffered great scandal from these love-intrigues; for Mrs Limeuil giving too much way to the prince's passion, was so imprudent, and so ill concerted her measures, as to lye-in in her wardrobe, in the face of all the world; for which reason she discharged her with disgrace, though she could not hinder her speaking somewhat too plainly of the occasion of her misfortune.' Mr Varillas has not forgot this intrigue. Let us see what he says of it.

(7) Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX, liv. v, pag. 346. Edit. Holl. ad ann. 1563.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 343, 349.

'Love entred into the cause, and seconded the artifices of the queen. Mademoiselle de la Limeuil was the handsomest of her maids of honour, and the prince grew so fond of her, that the prince's his wife, perceiving it, died of jealousy. The queen, attentive to the least occasions of strengthening her power looked upon this conjuncture as the most favourable that could ever present itself. She fancied that, as the Chatillons had engaged the prince in heresy, by marrying him to their niece, so she might reduce him to the communion of the church, by giving him a young lady to wife, who had the honour to be her relation, whose charms might fix his inconstancy, and get out of him all the secret designs of Calvinism. In this thought, she ordered the young lady to omit nothing that might contribute to captivate the prince. But it was exposing a moderate virtue to too great a risque, to make it grapple with a lover, who took the least advantages in love, as well as in war, to push things to an extremity. The lady, feigning a kindness for the prince, became in love with him in good earnest, and, to her sorrow, was not the only person at court, whose heart was insensibly engaged (7). He afterwards relates the amours of the marechal de St André's widow, with this prince, and her extraordinary liberality to him, and then adds (8): 'Mademoiselle de Limeuil made reflexions, very wide of the truth on so uncommon an adventure; she supposed the prince less amorous, or more interested, than he really was, and imagined that, since he had accepted the estate of St Valeri, he designed, in good

earnest, to marry the marechal's widow, her jealousy increased, to such degree, that, not having fortune enough to equal the liberality of her rival, she resolved to out-do her in granting the prince what was dearest to her in the world: the pregnancy, which soon followed, made her shame public, and she was ignominiously discarded the court.'

[C] Some pretend, that the young lady was expelled the court. Mezerai and Varillas affirm it, and there is no room to doubt the truth of it. A satirical author is of the same opinion, in a writing that is very injurious to the queen-mother: he owns, that the young lady was sent to a convent (9). Mr le Laboureur cites a fragment of this satire, which will stand properly enough in this place. I shall add to it Mr le Laboureur's preamble, because it assigns another cause of this prince's amour, and fixes the time when the lady was brought to bed (10). 'Amongst the other news, there was a talk of the fair de L . . . 's lying-in, one of the maids of honour; upon which occasion it may not be amiss to observe, that, after the peace of Orleans, the prince of Condé, continuing at court, thought he could not better remove all suspicions, than by plunging himself into the pleasures of the times, and getting a mistress. The queen, who thought it the surest chain to bind him, was not displeased that this maid, of one of the first families of the kingdom, hearkened to his vows and offers of service, not thinking perhaps, that this friendship would ever pass the bounds of gallantry. But, whether the maid could not resist his quality, and reasons of state conspired together, or rather the esteem of the prince; or that he hoped one day to marry him, as it is said he had promised her, in case Eleanor de Roy his wife, whose life was despaired of should die, as it happened the same year, she could not long hold out against ambition and love, and all was revealed by the birth of this son, during the progress to Lyons.' Thus speaks this libel (11).

(9) The marginal notes of Varillas's History of Charles IX, in the Paris edit. in 12mo, 1684, book v, pag. 403, import, that the queen had her conducted by one of her Valentin Clambrey, called Gémil, to the convent of the Franciscan nuns, in the town of Aulnoye. I believe Mr D'Holier made those notes.

(10) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. II, pag. 371.

(11) They were news in prose rhyme, addressed under the name of John Philolotus, doctor of the Sorbonne, to master Pandolphus Veruculius, bachelor, July 9, 1564. Le Laboureur, ibid. pag. 369.

Puella illa nobilis
Quæ erat tam amabilis,
Commisit adulterium
Et nuper fecit filium.
Sed dicunt matrem Reginam
Illi fuisse
Et quod hoc patiebatur
Ut Principem lucraretur.
At multi dicunt quod pater
Non est Princeps, sed est alter,
Qui Regi est à Secretis
Omnibus est notus satis.

Contra hanc tamen Regina
Se ostendit tantum plena
Cholera, ac si nescisset
Hoc quod Puella fecisset,
Et dedit illi custodes
Superbos nimis & rudes,
Mittens in Monasterium
Quærere refrigerium.
Sed certe pro tam levi re
Sic non debebat trahere,
At excusare modicum,
Tempus, personam & locum.
Aliis non fit taliter
Quæ faciunt similiter.

Pridie venit nuncium
Puellam esse mortuum,
Et fuit magna iactura
De tam pulchra creatura,
Quæ nunc est cum cœliis
Rogans Deum pro patribus,
Et ut Patri fit melius.

(c) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 337, compared with Tom. II, pag. 371.

graces [D]. In a word, there are great variations on this head [E]. Be that how it will, she was daughter to Giles de la Tour, lord of Limeuil (c); and was afterwards married to Scipio Sardini, baron of Chaumont upon the Loire, &c. a noble Lucchese (d) [F]. She one day rebuffed the constable of Montmorency, the most terrible man in the world [G]. I shall

(d) Id. Tom. I, pag. 327. See also Varillas, ubi supra, lib. v, pag. 612.

*That noble maid, so sweet and mild,
Late play'd the whore, and had a child.
Some say, to gain the prince, the queen
Herself contriv'd the amorous scene.
But others from this story vary,
And lay it to the secretary.*

*Howe'er it be, the queen did rate her,
As she had nothing known o' th' matter,
And to cloyster sent the fair,
To taste of discipline severe:
But sure the penance was too great
For such a light offence as that.
What nymph has virtue at command
Such strong temptation to withstand?*

*She's dead; the lovely creature's ta'en,
To mix with the celestial train;
Where now she prays that heaven's high pow'r
Would blessings on her father show'r.*

'The queen was the more offended at this disorder happening in her family, as it was too public to be concealed; but time wore it off, and the lady was married some time after.' The court came to Lyons, towards the middle of June, 1564. So that, since the lady lay-in, during the time of this progress, it may reasonably be supposed, that her child was born the twenty fifth of May the same year. Therefore the author of the romance has guessed right at the day, though not at the year.

[D] . . . and others, that she lost not the queen's good graces.] This is the opinion of the author of the forementioned romance. The queen, says he (12), who at that time stood in need of the prince of Condé, to balance the over-grown power of the house of Guise, had compassion on human frailty. He supposes, that the lady continued maid of honour to the queen, and that she tried to dissuade the prince from taking arms. 'Mademoiselle de Limeuil, says he (13), companion of Mademoiselle du Rouet (14), and maid of honour, as well as she, with whom the prince of Condé had formerly lived, even to a familiarity, which for some time incommode her, did all that was possible to change his passion for war, into a passion of another kind, in which the combat, to her knowledge, had something much more agreeable. She knew his inclination, and, valiant as he was, she doubted not but he was as sensible to love as glory. She wrote to him, and desired him to consider, that he was going to make war with a person, with whom he had some time been upon better terms, since her religion placed her in the number of his enemies.' This author is mistaken; for it is certain, the queen put her in a convent, and ordered her to be close confined (15). This ought not to be suppressed in the *Discours merveilleux de la vie de Catherine de Medicis*. Let us see what the author of this *saître* observes concerning la Limeuil. He says (16), that the prince of Condé began to be in love with her during his confinement, and that this young lady 'was one of the maids the queen-mother had set on to debauch him, every thing being lawful to ambition, provided it can compass its designs.' Having mentioned the peace concluded the eighteenth of March, 1563, he says (17), that the queen, 'to destroy the prince of Condé's reputation with his party, constantly treated him at the expence of the honour of Limeuil, who grew big with child. And the queen, to put the best face upon it that she could, pretending to storm at Limeuil, this young lady had the boldness to tell her, that she only followed the example of her mistress, and observed her commands.' This is all he says: sincerity required that he should have owned, that Limeuil was banished and cloystered.

[E] There are great variations on this head.] In the *Discours Merveilleux*, it is said, that the prince loved the lady Limeuil, from the time of his imprisonment, after the battle of Dreux: but Mr Mezerai, and Mr Varillas affirm, that his love commenced not till after

the first peace. Varillas says, that the queen proposed to marry her to the prince, and that the young lady flattering herself with the hopes of this honour, stuck at no means for attaining it; but the other Historian attributes the hopes of marrying the prince to the wife of the marshal of St André alone. Varillas says, that the prince was loved by both these ladies at the same time, and that they rivalled each other, the one bestowing on him her estate, the other her maidenhead. Mezerai says nothing of this contest; he supposes (18), that the prince was a widower, when the queen projected a match between him and the marshal's widow: if so, what becomes of the rivalry mentioned by Varillas; that rivalry which made these two ladies strive which should be the most prodigal of her favours to the prince? This is only a chimera, according to Mezerai's opinion; for Eleanor de Roye was still alive (19), when Limeuil lay-in: and thus, before the prince was a widower, this lady had left the court in disgrace, and retired to a monastery. She did not therefore dispute the point with the marshal's widow, nor oppose the present of her maidenhead to the grant of the estate of Valeri Gatinos.

[F] She afterwards married Scipio Sardini, baron of Chaumont on the Loire, &c. a noble Lucchese.] I trust much more to the authors I have cited, than to the publisher of the *Galanties* of the kings of France.

Mademoiselle de Limeuil, says he (20), having lain-in, endeavoured to comfort herself for the loss of the great hopes she had conceived, by marrying Jeoffrey de Causac, lord of Fremon, who had loved her a long time, and whom she had neglected, ever since her intrigue with the prince of Condé. For the rest, Scipio Sardini had been one of the Italian farmers of the revenues, who made their fortunes in France, under Catherine de Medicis. I have read a contract (21) passed between the clergy of France and him, the fourth of March, 1588, for the offices of alternate receivers, and two comptrollers of the hereditary tenths in each diocese of this kingdom, and of other subsidies and duties. He is there called the noble Scipio Sardini, a Lucchese gentleman, living in the city of Paris, in the parish of St Severinus. It is doubtless the same Scipio Sardini, who took Badius into his house, and allowed him a pension (22); the same also, whom Bassompierre sometimes mentions in his memoirs, of whom I find this particular at the twenty first page of the *Thusa*. 'The life of Castruccio Castracani de gli Interminelli, written by Aldo Manucci, is very fine, and quite different from that written by Machiavel. . . . This life is very well worth the looking after: I never saw but one copy of it, and that was in the hands of the lord Scipio Sardini: he had it from one Interminelli, the same who had prevailed on Manucci to write this life.' I believe it is printed at Lucca, in 4to, in Italian. It is a fine piece.

[G] She rebuffed the constable of Montmorency.] I will tell the story just as I find it in Brantome. 'One day at the siege of Roan (23), as the queen went to the fort of St Catherine of Rouën, attended with her maids of honour, the constable having said something to her, and taking his leave of her, met Mademoiselle de Limeuil, one of the handfomest maids of the court, and who had wit at will, and he came on horseback to salute her, intending to have some discourse with her, and always called her his mistress, and would ride close by her side; for the good man was no enemy to beauty or love, either in words or deeds; for he had played some pranks in his youth, which I will not mention. Mademoiselle de Limeuil, who was not in her best humour that day, took little notice of him, for she could be proud enough when she pleased, and began to huff him strangely, and bid him be gone about his business, who said to her, Truly, my mistress, I am going; you rebuff me severely: it is but fit, answered she, that you should meet with somebody to rebuff you; since you make it your business to rebuff all mankind. Adieu then, said he, my mistress, I will leave you; for you have given me my own (24).'

[H] I will

(12) Pag. 70, Edit. Holl. 1681.

(13) Pag. 132.

(14) *Mistress* to the king of Navarre.

(15) See the Latin rhymes of the preceding remark.

(16) *Discours merveilleux de la vie de Catherine de Medicis*, pag. m. 42.

(17) Ib. pag. 46.

(18) Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 133.

(19) She died the twenty third of July, 1564. Madam Limeuil lay-in during the progress to Lyons. The court arrived at Lyons about the middle of June, 1564.

(20) *Galant des Rois de France*, Tom. I, pag. m. 255.

(21) It is inserted the second book of the Collections of Edicts, Orders, Agreements, and other matters relating to the clergy of France, fol. 120, c. 19. Edit. 1615, in 8vo.

(22) See the article BAUDIUS, citat. (8).

(23) Roan was besieged in Autumn, 1562.

(24) Brantome in the *Elogy* of this Constable, Tom. II, of his Memoirs, pag. m. 71, 72.

shall set down a passage of Brantome, which is curious enough [H]. Her eldest sister, maid of honour to Catherine de Medicis, died at court. Brantome speaks of her [I].

[H] I will produce a passage of Brantome concerning her, which is curious enough. I do not fear that the judicious will declare against my conjecture, when they have well examined the circumstances of the following story. It is difficult not to find in it Mademoiselle de la Limeuil, and the prince of Condé.

(21) Brantome, *Memoires des Dames Galantes*, Tom. II, pag. 332.

(25) He had been just speaking of the adventure of a certain very great foreign prince.

(27) I can scarce believe, that Mr. Limeuil continued her intrigue with the prince, after he was a widower; for he became so when she was in a monastery.

(25) I have known another prince, but not so great (26), who, during his first marriage, and his widowhood (27), fell in love with a very handsome young lady, to whom he made, during his amours and caresses, noble presents of carcanets, rings, jewels, and abundance of other fine things, and amongst them, a very fine and rich looking-glass, in which was his picture. Now the prince happened to marry a very handsome and virtuous princess, who made him disrelish his first love, though they were equally beautiful. This princess intreated and teased her husband to that degree, that he sent to demand of his first mistress, all the fine presents he had made her. This was a heart-breaking to the lady; however, she had a soul so great and noble, though she was not a princess, but of one of the best families in France, that she sent him back all his presents, and, amongst the rest, the looking-glass with his picture; but first, to grace it the more, she took a pen and ink, and fixed a pair of horns to the temples of his forehead, and delivering all to the gentleman, said to him; Here, friend, carry this to your master, which I send him just as I received it, having, for my part, neither added nor diminished, though something has grown to it since of its own accord; and tell that fine princess, his wife, who has so much importuned him to demand what he had given me, that, if a certain lord in the world (naming him, as I could do, if I pleased) had served her mother so, and re-demanded and resumed what he had given her for lying with her, she would be as poor in trinkets and jewels, as any lady at court; and her head, which is so loaded with them at the cost of such a lord, and heretofore of her mother, would be only decked with flowers out of the garden, instead of these jewels: but let her make her best use of them, I scorn to keep them. They, who knew this lady, would easily judge she gave this answer; and she told it me herself, for she was very free of discourse; however, she had like to have come by the worst, as well from the husband as the wife, who were equally affronted; but they ought to blame themselves; for why would they thus pro-

voke and enrage this poor lady, who, it was said, had earned these presents dearly enough with the sweat of her brow. This young lady being one of the finest and most agreeable persons of her time, notwithstanding the use this prince had made of her body, met with a very rich match, though not of an equal family; so that happening to upbraid one another with the honour which each had done the other, she, who was so great, in marrying him; he answered her, I have done more for you, than you for me; for I have dishonoured myself to retrieve your honour, meaning, that, as she had lost it when a maid, he had repaired it, by making her his wife.

[I] Her eldest sister . . . Brantome speaks of her.]

In these words (28); *The elder Limeuil, at her first coming to court, happened to make a lampoon, (for she spoke and wrote well) upon all the court; which however was rather diverting than scandalous; but assure yourself, she (29) had her soundly jerked, with two of her companions, who were privy to it; and, but that she had the honour to be related to her by the house of Touraine, allied to that of Bologna, she had been ignominiously chastized, by the express command of the king (30), who detested such writings.* In his elogy (30) of Catherine de Medicis, he observes that this young lady died at court. He tells us, in another place, a remarkable thing of her. 'During her sickness, says (31) Brantome, she (31) of which she died, she never left off discouraging; for she was a great talker, and of a satirical wit, which she exercised very seasonably and well, and was very handsome withal: when she came to her dying hour, she called her valet (for each of the maids of honour had one) whose name was Julian, and who play'd very well on the violin. Julian, said she, take the violin and play, till you see me dead (for I am going) The Defeat of the Swisse, the best you can. And when you come to the word *all's lost*, play it four or five times over in the dolefullest note you can; which he did, and she assisted him with her voice, and when they came to *all's lost*, she repeated it twice, then turning herself to the other side of the bed, she said to her companions, all's lost this instant in good earnest, and so expired. Here is a merry pleasant death; I have this story from two of her companions, who are worthy of credit, and who saw the scene.' They, who would give a catalogue of persons, who have died jesting, must not forget this young lady.

(28) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, Tom. II, pag. 366.

(29) That is to say, Catherine de Medicis.

(30) That is to say, of Henry II.

(31) Brantome, *ubi supra*, pag. 341.

LINACER (THOMAS) an English Physician, and one of the learnedest persons of the XVth century [A], studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondylus and Politian, and so remarkably distinguished himself by his modesty and genteel behaviour, that Lorenzo de Medicis made him the companion of his childrens studies. He lived afterwards at Rome, and was in great esteem with Hermolaus Barbarus. Being returned to England, he was appointed preceptor to prince Arthur, eldest Son to Henry VII, and dedicated to him the Latin Version of Proclus's Sphere [B]. He was pitched upon with two other Englishmen (a) for the translating of Aristotle: but this design was abandoned by his companions. He translated some tracts of Galen into Latin, and published a learned work *de emendata Latini sermonis structura* (C). He was Physician to the king of

(1) Pag. 84, & 85, & 371.

(2) Jovius, in *Elog. Doct. Viror.* pag. m. 246.

(3) Georg. Lilius, in *Elog. quondam Anglor.* pag. 93.

(4) He was an Augustin Monk, a native of Toulouse, and whom he ought therefore to have called *Tolosanus*. He is called *Bernardus Andreas*, in the *Abridgment of Gesner*, pag. m. 116; and in the *Encyclopaedia Augustiniana* of Philip Elms, pag. 124.

[A] One of the learnedest persons of the XVth century. Consult Baillet and Pope Blount, who have collected the praises that had been given him, the former in the IVth Tome (1) of the *Judgments of the Learned*; the latter at the three hundred and seventy sixth, and three hundred and seventy seventh pages of his *Censura celebriorum auctorum*.

[B] He dedicated to prince Arthur, the Latin version of Proclus's sphere. Paul Jovius (2), and George Lilius (3), affirm it; and yet Erasmus tells us, this book was dedicated to Henry VII, who made no account of it, because an envious person had told him that it was not the first translation of Proclus. Thomas Linacero pessime cessit quod Proclum à se de novo versum Regi hujus patri dicat. Andreas quidam Tolosates (4) preceptor Arturi principis & in regnum paternum successuri, nisi mors anteverit, cecus adulator, nec adulator tantum, sed & delator

pessimus, Regem admonuit hoc libelli jam olim fuisse versum à neicio quo; & erat, sed misere. Hanc ob causam Rex & munus aspernatus est, & in Linacrum velat in impostorem inexpiabile concepit odium (5). — Linacer succeeded very ill in dedicating his new translation of Proclus to the king, this prince's father. One Andrew of Toulouse, tutor to prince Arthur, who would have succeeded his father, if he had lived, a blind flatterer, and not only a flatterer, but a scandalous informer, told the king, that this book had been translated before; and it is true, it had been; but wretchedly. For this reason the king not only rejected the present, but conceived an inveterate hatred to Linacer as an impostor. Erasmus tells us on this occasion, a mad freak of Henry VII.

[C] He published a learned work *de emendata Latini sermonis structura*. It was often printed. I have only the Venice edition, apud Aldum, 1557, in 8vo. The preface

(a) Latimer & Crockinus.

(5) Eras. Epist. xiv, lib. xxvi, pag. 1424.

of England, and the princefs Mary, and bequeathed a houfe to the college of Physicians [D]. He died at the age of 64 [E], and was buried at London in St Paul's church (b). He had a benefice given him (c) in 1515, and went into prieft's orders (d). Erasmus commends him highly, but makes him guilty of the fame fault as Paulus Æmilius [F]; that

(b) Taken from Paul Jovius, in Elog. Viror. Doctior. cap. lxiii. See alfo Lilius ad calcem Jovii Britannia Defcript. pag. 92, & feq.
(c) Linacer facerdotio aſtus eſt pro quo omnes Muſas Fortunæ gratias egiffe arbitror. — Linacer was made prieſt, for which all the Muſes, I believe, gave Fortune thanks. Epit. xxxix, lib. viii, inter Eraſmianas.
(d) Pope Blount, Cenſ. Author. pag. 377.

preface is wanting. It had been dedicated to the princefs Mary, as we are affured in the following words (6): 'Sed & de emendata Latini ſermonis ſtrutura, ex præſtantiffimorum aucthorum obſervatione compoſitum volumen paulo antea, quam vita excederet, publicavit, adſcripta præfatiuncula Mariæ Henrici Octavi ex Catharina Hiſpana conjuge filia, laudiffimæ indolis & admirabili virtutum omnium contenta ad omnem gratiam promerendam natæ Principi, cui renovato prudentiffimi patris exemplo Henricus Rex Linacrum à tuenda ſanitate præſectum adhibuit. — Beſides, a little before his death, he publiſhed a book, De Emendata, &c. from what the beſt authors had obſerved, with a ſhort preface to Mary, daughter of Henry VIII, a princeſs of great abilities and virtues, to whom king Henry, after the example of his moſt prudent father, aſſigned Linacer as her Phyſician.' Mr Baillet (7), citing the page, from whence I take this Latin, ſays, that the author relates, that Erasmus and Budeus praïſed Linacer for having written this treatiſe. I do not find this in my edition.

[D] He bequeathed a houſe to the college of Phyſicians.] Theſe words are a tranſlation of thoſe of Georgius Lilius: Londini obiit, beneſta domo in ea urbe Medicorum Collegio ex teſtamento reliſta (8). Paul Jovius expreſſes himſelf thus: Honeſtam domum Londini Medicorum Collegio dedicavit (9). Neither of them have been exact; for it ſhould have been ſaid, that Linacer built the College of Phyſicians at London, and was firſt preſident of it. This is what is affirmed in his epitaph (10). It is ſaid alſo, that he founded three public lectures in Phyſic, two at Oxford, and one at Cambridge.

[E] He died at the age of ſixty four.] I ſhould have ſaid that he died in February 1525, had I followed the account of an Engliſh author, which has been priated with Paul Jovius; for theſe are his words, 'Londini obiit . . . ſepultus eſt in divi Pauli templo maximo, ad Septentrionalis portæ ingreſſum, eo ſere tempore, quo Franciſcus Gallorum Rex ad Ticinum in Ciſalpinis pugnans, à Cæſareanis ducibus capſus eſt (11). — He died at London . . . was buried in St Paul's church, at the entrance of the north gate, about the time when Francis, king of France, was taken by the Imperialiſts, at the battle of Pavia.' But it is better to ſay, with Mr Moreri, that Thomas Linacer died the twentieth of October 1524. Pope Blunt ſays ſo too (12); and yet he mentions this Phyſician's epitaph, in which the day of his death is fixed to the ſeventh of October 1524.

[F] Erasmus bigbly commends him, but makes him guilty of the ſame fault as Paulus Æmilius.] I paſs over the encomiums he has given him. They are to be found in his Ciceronianus, and in ſeveral places of his letters. I ſhall confine myſelf to his blaming him for having too nice a taſte. Nec multum abſuit ab hoc viro, ſays he (13), after the words you have ſeen above (14), where he deſcribes the humour of the hiſtorian Paulus Æmilius, Thomas Linacrus Anglus, vir undequaque doctiſſimus. He wrote a letter to him in 1521, in which he intreats him not to make the public languish, and deprive it ſo long of the works which were impatiently expected from his pen. He tells him, that it is to be feared his conduct will be rather thought a cruelty, than a modeſt precaution. 'At tu, ſi mihi permittis, ut libere tecum agam, ſine ſine premis tuas omnium erudiſſimas lucubrations, ut periculum ſit, ne pro cauto modeſtoque crudelis habearis, qui ſtudia hujus ſeculi tam lentâ torqueas expectatione tuorum laborum, ac tam diu fraudes deſideratiſſimo fructu tuorum voluminum. Fortaſſe terret te noſtrum exemplum, ſed etiam atque etiam vide, dum ſtudioſius vitas noſtram culpam, in diverſum deſectas (15). — But, to be free with you, by ſuppreſſing your learned writings, you run the riſque of being thought cruel, inſtead of cautious and modeſt, in that you keep us ſo long in expectation of your works.'

'Perhaps my example deters you; but take care, leſt, by carefully avoiding my fault, you run not into the contrary.' The fault our Linacer is blamed for is not very common with authors; and yet in ſome reſpects it may be thought too frequent; in general, it is not the bad or middling authors that are guilty of it, but the moſt excellent pens. It were to be wiſhed, that they, who publiſh ſo many bad pieces, and ill digeſted works, which are hardly of any uſe to the Republic of Letters, would overſtrain the maxim, That one ought to let a writing lie by in his cloſet for nine years (16). It were well if ſuch would run into an exceſs of delicacy, and never think they had finiſhed a compoſition. It rarely happens that they have a thought of this kind, though, if they frequently had, no one would be ſorry for it. But it is a miſfortune that a moſt ingenious man ſhould be like that famous Painter, who never knew when his pictures were finiſhed, and whoſe ſailing Apelles knew ſo well: 'Cum Protopogenis opus imenſi laboris ac curæ ſupra modum anxie miraretur (Apelles) dixit . . . omnia ſibi cum illo paria eſſe aut illi meliora: ſed uno ſe præſtare, quod manum ille de tabula non ſciſet tollere: memorabili præcepto, nocere ſæpe nimiam diligentiam (17). — Apelles, admiring the too laboured and over-finiſhed work of Protopogenis, ſaid . . . that himſelf either equalled, or was excelled by Protopogenis; but that in one particular he exceeded Protopogenis, in that the latter never knew when to have done: a remarkable precept, that too much diligence is hurtful.' Theſe words of Pliny are excellent; they contain a proverb, which Erasmus applies to the learned, of Linacer's taſte, and teach us, that a too forced and obſtinate exactneſs often marſ the whole work. I will give you Erasmus's application of it. 'Peculiariter autem conveniet (proverbium, manum de tabula) in quodam ſcriptores plus ſatis accuratos, & moroſe cujuſdam diligentia, qui ſine fine premunt ſuas lucubrations, ſemper aliquid addentes, adimentes, immutantes, & hoc ipſo maxime peccantes, quia nihil peccare conantur (18). — The proverb (manum de tabula) is very applicable to certain writers, more accurate than enough, and auſterely careful, who are for ever altering their works, and offending in the very endeavour not to offend.' But what comes of this over ſcrupulous exactneſs? why, much loſs to the public, and much prejudice to the authors who aim at it. The public is too long deprived of the good it might reap from the compoſitions of great authors, even tho' they ſhould fill ſhort of the perfection which they might have given them; nay, it is often deprived of them for ever; becauſe they die, before they have diſpoſed of them in a method, from whence their friends, or executors, might draw any advantage. They, who compoſe with too difficult a judgment, and correct their productions with extreme ſeverity, are at laſt diſcouraged by the labour, and afraid of touching their own work. They look on it as a rack, and painful buſineſs, and delay as much as poſſible the ſetting their hand to it; the remembrance of the fatigue they have been at in altering one page, makes them dread the event; ſo they ſuffer whole months to paſs without returning to the painful task; and thus, while we imagine that their book is far advanced, becauſe we know it has been in hand for ten or twelve years, nothing is found except perhaps ſome rough draughts, and diſjointed pieces; and it often happens, that they die before the work has received it's form. Hereby they deprive themſelves of the glory they might aſpire to. Some are more happy: they are indefatigable, and by aſſiduous filing and poliſhing their compoſitions, without any intermiſſion, they at laſt find them worthy of public notice; but the pains they are at to pleaſe themſelves very often marſ all; for there is a certain degree of correctneſs, beyond which nothing can be done, but what, inſtead of perfecting the work, and giving it more nerves and ſtrength, weakens and diſpirits it. 'Perfectum opus abſolutum, que eſt, nec jam ſplendescit limâ, ſed atteritur (19).

REFLEXIONS
on authors who
over correct their
works.

(16) Nonumque
premiatur in an-
no. Hic. in
Arte Poet. ver.
338.

(17) Plinius, lib.
xxxv, cap. xiii.

(18) Erasmus,
Chil. I, Cent.
III, n. 19, pag.
m. 105.

(19) Plin. Epit.
xi, lib. v.

(6) Georgius
Lilius, ubi ſupra,
pag. 93.

(7) Baillet,
Jugem. des
Scavans, Tom.
IV, pag. 85.

(8) Georg.
Lilius, ubi ſupra,
pag. 94.

(9) Jovius, ubi
ſupra, pag. 146.

(10) Apud Pope
Blount, Cenſura
Celeb. Author.
pag. 377.

(11) Georgius
Lilius, in Elogiis
quorundam
Anglorum, pag.
94.

(12) Pope
Blount, ubi
ſupra, pag. 377.

(13) Erasmus,
Apophtheg. lib.
vi, pag. m.
524.

(14) Citat. (2),
of the article
EMILIUS,
(PAULUS).

(15) Idem,
Erasm. Epit. iii,
lib. xiv, pag.
655.

is, of being not easily satisfied with his own works, and revising and touching them over too often.

— *It is a perfect and finished work; but the file, instead of brightening, has worn it away.* Pliny the younger, who uses these words in one of his letters, makes use of the same thought in another place, to shew his friend the mischief of an over-correctness. *Diligentiam tuam in retractandis operibus valde probat. Est tamen aliquis modus, primum, quod nimia cura deterit magis, quam emendat; deinde, quod nos à recentioribus revocat, simulque nec absolvit priora, & inchoata posteriora non patitur.* Vale (20).

(20) Id. ibid. Epist. xxxv. lib. ix.

I very much approve your diligence in revising your works. Yet is there some measure to be observed; first, because too much care rather spoils, than amends; in the next place, because it neither suffers you to finish one piece, nor begin another. Quintilian, another great master, lays down the same principle, and explains it admirably, and declares, that a writing, by continual mending and new molding, loses its natural force. The sound parts, says he, are cut off, the blood drained, and it looks like a body covered with scars: how fine is his expression! *Et ipsa emendatio finem habet. Sunt enim qui ad omnia scripta tanquam vitiosa redeant; & quasi nihil fas sit rectum esse quod primum est, melius existiment quicquid est aliud, idque faciant quoties librum in manus resumpserint, similes medicis etiam integra secantibus. Accidit itaque ut cicatricosa sint, & exanguia, & cura peiora. Sit igitur aliquando quod placeat, aut certe quod sufficiat; ut opus poliat lima, non exeret (21).* The Orator Calvus was an instance of this. He set up too severe a court of Inquisition against his own writings, and by disciplining them over rigorously, and to a degree of superstition, broke the constitution, and even the heart of them. *Accuratus quoddam dicendi & exquisitus afferebat genus: quod quamquam scienter elegantissime tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in se, atque ipse sese observans, metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio, nimia religione attenuata, &c.*

(21) Quintil. lib. x. cap. iv. pag. m. 433.

(22) Cicero, in Bruto, l. cxxxii.

(23) Ioveni qui Ciceroi credentem eum (Calvum) nimiam contra se exhumis verum sanguinem necesse dicit. Quintil. lib. x. cap. i. pag. 475.

(24) Cassio, Apolog. pag. 313.

(25) Baillet, Jugum. sur les Poètes, Tom. II, pag. 142.

He set the example of a more accurate and correct style; in which though he excelled, yet, by too severely criticising himself, and studying, to avoid faults, he lost real beauties. Thence his style was weakened thro' too much niceness. Quintilian calls it self-calamny (23). Here is a metaphor, which a modern author has made use of on this occasion. *There are some barren wits, says he, who, having made an effort once in their life, never leave combing it, till they have plucked the very hairs off, and after all it proves an abortion (24).* We may reckon Sannazar in the number of the moderns, who have been troubled with Calvus the Orator's distemper. *We cannot forbear blaming this Poet's making his poem groan and cry under the file for so long together, and his having too much worn and weakened it, under pretence of polishing it more and more (25).*

The remarks I have made on this occasion, will not be thought foreign by those who consider what I

had to prove. I was to shew, that the pains Linacer took to satisfy himself in his compositions was a fault. This seeming a paradox, it was necessary to reason upon it, and to produce authorities. But I desire it may be remembered, that this does not universally respect all those, who vigorously apply themselves to refine and reform their writings. They do well, and are very commendable, provided they run not into excess (26). The only thing that can with any colour of reason be blamed, is the intemperance in this point. *Nem amo nimium diligenter*, said a noble person among the ancient Romans (27). I have two things to say before I conclude. There are some authors, who are a hundred times harder to be pleased in the beginning, than in the sequel of their work. Rasures, blots, alterations, and other symptoms of a dissatisfied judgment, appear chiefly in the first lines of the original. This has been observed in the manuscript of a tract of Plato (28), and of that of Petrarch. Here is a passage of Muretus, in which Ariosto is taxed with the same nicety. *Audi vi à maximis viris, quique id facillime nosse poterant: Ludovicum Ariostum, nobilissimum nobilissime domus præconem, in duobus primis grandioribus illius poematis sui versibus plus quam credi potest laborasse, neque sibi prius animum explere potuisse, quam cum illos in omnem partem diu multumque versasset. Idem accidit & nobilissimo Etruscorum poetarum Francisco Petrarchæ: cujus ex autographo, quod habuit vir præstantissimus Petrus Bembus, facile cernitur, eum in limando secundo item poematum suorum versu sæpe sudasse (29).* *I have been told by very great men, and such as could very easily know it, that Lewis Ariosto took incredible pains about the two first verses of that greater poem of his, nor was satisfied till he had turned them every way. The same happened to the famous Tuscan Poet Francis Petrarch: from whose own manuscript, in the hands of Peter Bembus, it is easily seen, that he took repeated pains in polishing the second verse of his poem.* Mr de Vigneul Marville says, 'there are writers, who are infinitely at a loss how to begin, but run apace, when once the way is opened. The first lines of Thuanus's history cost him more pains than all the rest; but, when once he had conquered that difficulty, he made great speed.' The other thing I have to say, is, that there are authors, who, revising a work they desire to reprint, are at greater pains, than at the first composition. They apply themselves with more pleasure and scrupulousness to correct a printed copy, than a manuscript. But for the most part it is lost labour; for there are few, who compare editions, and, unless they be patiently and skillfully compared, the importance of the corrections is not perceived. Such a place of a second edition, which contains no more lines than the first, or even not so many, is changed from lead to gold (30); but where are those, who perceive this? I have spoke elsewhere (31) of those, who write with difficulty, or without it, and I shall speak of them again elsewhere (32).

(26) See Vigneul Marville, at the 224th page of his Mélanges, Edit. Rouen, 1699.

(27) Scipio Africanus. See Cicero, de Oratore, lib. ii, fol. m. 84. A.

(28) That de Republica. See Dionysius Halicarnassensis de Collocat. Verborum, cap. xcii, pag. m. 69.

(29) Mureti. Variar. Lection. lib. xviii, cap. viii, pag. m. 1207.

(30) Confer quæ supra, remark [F] of the article BALZAC.

(31) In the remark [G] of the article GUARINI.

(32) In the remark [G] of the article MALHERBE.

LINGELSHEIM (GEORGE MICHAEL) Preceptor, and afterwards counsellor to the elector Palatine (a), flourished in the beginning of the XVIIth century. He was born at Straßburg (b). He has been reckoned the author of a book, intituled, *Idolum Hallense*, in which Lipsius is severely handled [A]. He held a correspondence by letters

[A] He has been reckoned the author of a book . . . in which Lipsius is severely handled.] He sent copies of it to his friends (1), and demanded their opinion of it with an eagerness, as if he had been the author. It was therefore excusable to judge him the author of the *Idolum Hallense*. Scaliger, that great critic, went upon other reasons; he thought he discovered Lingelsheim's genius in this work. *Autor de Idolo Hallensi est Lingelsheim*, said he (2). *He it was that sent me a copy . . . I discover in the Idolum Hallense the turns of Lingelsheim's wit; I know him very well; he sent me the book, and desired me to write him my judgment on it.* This was what he said in conversation; he confirmed it in a letter he wrote to Lingelsheim, concerning the *Idolum Hallense* (3), in which he ascribed this work to him, and commended him much for it; but he was afterwards informed, that Denaisius was the author of it. *Lingelsheim*, said he (4), *wrote to me, that*

(1) See Scaligerana, voce Lingelsheim, and the Letters of Lingelsheim, pag. 194.

(2) Scaligerana, ibid.

(3) See his Letters, lib. iv. Epist. cccxxv.

(4) Scaligerana, voce Denaisius.

Denaisius, assessor of the Imperial chamber, is the author of the Idolum Hallense; and, because he lives among the Jesuits, he desires not to be named. Mr Placcius has very well observed, that the judgment of this top-critic was not always to be relied upon. *Hæc sane vice erravit, & infeliciter crisin suam, quam ipse semet tantopere prædicare solebat, exercuit Heros ille Criticorum Hypercriticus (5).* *For this time at least he was mistaken; and this hypercritical hero of critics employed his judgment, which he so cried up, unsuccessfully.* He cites Melchior Adam (6), who has ascribed this work to its true author Peter Denaisius: he observes, that Colomies was ignorant of the truth of this affair, having said, in two places (7), that Lingelsheim was the author of this book. Baudius conjectured like Scaliger, affirming, that the public voice was agreeable to his conjecture; so true it is, that the skillfullest are subject to err, in conjectures

(5) Placcius, de Anonymis, n. 57, pag. 23.

(6) In Vitæ Jurisconsulti, pag. 447.

(7) In the key to the Letters, pag. 153, & 154, Opusculorum, edit. Ultrap. 1669.

(c) In the article CAMDEN, remark [H].

ters with Bongars; but it is a mistake to say, that he was his secretary, and that he published the letters they wrote to one another [B]. I have elsewhere (c) said that he was the depositary of Thuanus's manuscript.

(8) Baudius, epist. x, Cent. II, pag. m. 167.

(9) Addit aux Elog. Tom. II, pag. 383.

(10) It is in the collection of Letters, written to Goldast, printed in 1688, pag. 167.

(11) Lingelsheim, epist. lvi, ad Bongarsium.

(12) He was called Anastasius Cocleatus. His book is intitled, Palæstra honoris D. Virginis Hallensis pro Justo Lipsio, contra Dissertationem mentis Idoli Hallensis, 1607.

(13) Lingelsheim, epist. lxxvi, ad Bongarsium, pag. 223.

(a) Ea nominis celebritate per Galliam annis 35, ut qui cum illo in munere fuerant inventos sit nostra ætate nescio, & vix ullus qui æquaverit. Natan. Sævel, Biblioth. Script. Societat. pag. 153.

of this kind. 'Viro gravi & sapienti Johanni Lingelsheimio officiosam salutem nunciari cupio. Conscientia fama est eum esse auctorem libelli de Idolo Hallensi adversus Lipsium, & id ipse conjeceram cum primum in manus meas venit. Non est quod patrem pudeat suæ prolis, cum non puduerit tantum virum tales nugæ effutire in dedecus antepartæ famæ (8).

— I desire you would complement the learned Lingelsheim in my name. It is generally reported, that he is the author of the book intitled, The Idol of Hall, against Lipsius, and I guessed so when it first came into my hands. A father need never be ashamed of his offspring, since so great a man was not ashamed to publish such trifles to the disgrace of the character he formerly obtained. Mr Teissier (9) has followed the crowd. In all appearance, Lingelsheim told Bongars, that Denaisius was the author of this Idol of Hall; see his 157th letter. For the rest, this book was printed in 1605, in 4to, with this title, *Dissertatio de Idolo Hallensi Justo Lipsii mangonio & phaleris exornato atque producta*. I have read in a letter of Lingelsheim (10), that Goldast was thought the author of this book, and that the *Amphitheatrum honoris* ascribes it to Scaliger. Another letter of Lingelsheim informs us, that Goldast had the care of the impression, and that this created him many enemies; for this book exasperated the Jesuits beyond measure. 'Quam gaudeo probari tibi scriptum de Idolo, certe omnium bonorum cum magno applausu acceptus est; sed faciet illæ scholasticæ commoverunt nostros Academicos, adeo ut Rector distractionem libelli edicto inhibuerit, & jam vindictam spirant magistri, eo quod nimis contumeliosus sit interpres in totum ordinem, & quia Goldastum editorem hujus ludi ex typographo cognoverunt, & filius & telis in illum insurgunt, atque etiam aulicos in partes trahunt, quos nimis rusticatim ille tetigerit (11).

— I am pleased that you approve the book of the Idol; it meets with a general applause; but our Academicians are so offended at these scholastic jests, that the rector has prohibited the sale of the book, and the masters now breathe revenge, because the commentator is too severe upon the whole order, and they know that Goldast published it; and they even draw the courtiers to their side, whom he has too bluntly attacked. In another letter he observes, that the Carmelite (12), who answered for Justus Lipsius, cast a thousand reproaches upon Bongars, and looked on him as author of the Idol. Lingelsheim would have had Bongars demand justice against him from the French ambassador: 'Indignatus sum quum reperi anagramma sus obnigra, ubi monastico acumine suspicionem suam prodit quasi tu autor esses. Cogitavi, an per Oratorem Regium qui Bruxellæ est, si est tibi amicus, negotium bestia illi creari posset ob atroces injurias quas in te effundit, cum tamen author libri non sis, & quam voluptatem in maledicendo cepit, eandem in lite molesta & infamia quæ condemnatos injuriarum manet, perdat (13).

— It moved my indignation, when I met with the anagram sus obnigra, in which, with a monkish sharpness, he betrays his suspicion as if you were the author. I considered, whether you might not harass him by means of the king's ambassador at Brussels, if he is your friend, in revenge for the reproaches he throws upon you, though you be not the author of the book, and rob him of the pleasure he has taken in calumniating by the disgrace attending those who are convicted of calumny. Lipsius answered nothing: it was the best thing he could do; his friends turn this silence

to his honour; they said he generously despised his adversary, and, like a mastiff who keeps on his way, without turning aside to worry a little cur that barks at him he would not lessen himself by a contest with this anonymous author. This is the general way of speaking, when people know not what to answer. Exinde maledicta acerbiora nescio quis terræ filius, Idoli Hallensis (6) Lucianeam blasphemiam igne Tartareo expiandam! titulo ementito, sparsit in vulgus. Sed prudentioribus amicis suadentibus, Lipsius filuit, & judicio contempsit, atque adeo contemptu solo novum istum Porphyrium vincendum esse censuit. Sic fere generosior molossus importunum catulum flolide adlatrantem præterit, nec dente aut pugna dignatur (14).

[B] It is a mistake to affirm, that he was Bongars's secretary, and that he published the letters, which passed between them. I say this against the learned Mr Morhof, whose words are these (15): 'Bongarsii & Lingelsheimii (16) epistolæ, editæ sunt Argentor. ann. 1660. in 12 (17). Erat Bongarsius vir suo tempore magni nominis sub Henrico IV, negotiis publicis sæpe admotus. . . . Lingelsheimius iidem vir in publica dignitate constitutus, & ad Helvetios legatus, olim Bongarsio ab epistolis literas Bongarsianas una cum suis publicavit; fuit enim inter illos commercium literarum mutuum. — The letters of Bongars and Lingelsheim were published at Strasburg in 1660, in 12mo. Bongars was a man of a great reputation in the reign of Henry IV, being often employed in public affairs. . . . Lingelsheim likewise bore a public character, being sent ambassador to the Swiss: he likewise published the epistolary correspondence between himself and Bongars. Compare this with the Bookeller's preface, and you will wonder how ingenious men should be imposed upon in so egregious a manner. The fate of authors is deplorable; for even when they fancy they apply their strongest attention, they mistake the sense of a most easy passage: I much fear, this has often been my own misfortune. Here is what the Bookeller of Strasburg declares before his edition. 'Leges hic Bongarsii & Lingelsheimii Epistolas multa eruditione & variis prudentiæ documentis plenas, beneficio Nobilissimi Amplissimiæque dignitatis viri qui Inclytæ Reip. ad Helvetios legatus à clarissimo viro Dn. Francisco Veyrazio eas ut lucem viderent, accepit. Has venerandus hic senex qui in contubernio illustri Bongarsii duodecim annos, eadem ab epistolis vixerat, descripsit integras. — You will here read the learned and judicious letters of Bongars and Lingelsheim; for which we are indebted to a very great man, who, being ambassador to the Swiss, received them from the learned Francis Veyraz, in order to publish them. This venerable old man, who lived twelve years with the illustrious Bongars, and wrote his letters for him, transcribed them entire. The Bookeller speaks here of two persons; of the first without naming him, and of the second under the name of Francis Veyraz. The latter gave the letters to the other, who had been sent on a deputation from the town of Strasburg to the Swiss cantons. It is doubtless of Veyraz, that we must understand what the Bookeller declares in the last part of the passage before-mentioned: it is he who was secretary to Bongars twelve years; it is he who copied the letters, which this Bookeller published. Lingelsheim had been long dead, when they saw the light. Thus Mr Morhof is mistaken several ways (18).

(14) Auber. Mireus, in Vita Lipsii, ad ann. 1605, pag. m. 24.

(15) Morhofius, Polyhist. lib. I, cap. xxiv, p. 8. 36.

(16) He should have said Lingelsheimii.

(17) See the article BONGARS, remark [H].

(18) See the article BONGARS, remark [H].

LINGENDES (CLAUDIUS DE) one of the most famous preachers of the XVIIth century, was born at Moulins in 1591, and became a Jesuit at Lyons in 1607. He taught Rhetoric and the *Belles Lettres* for some time; but, as he had a wonderful talent for the pulpit, he applied himself mostly to preaching, and got such a reputation, that few preachers were thought to equal, but none to excel him (a). He was rector of the college of Moulins for eleven years, and afterwards provincial of the province of France. He was thrice deputed to Rome, to the general assemblies of the society, and died at Paris, superior of the professed house, the 12th of April 1660 (b), not in the year 1666, as Moreri assures us. His sermons were published after his death. I shall say something of them

(b) Taken from Na Daniel Samwell, ibid.

them that is very remarkable [A]. He published but two books [B].

[A] *I shall say something of his sermons that is remarkable.* I shall only set down what Mr Gallois has said, speaking of the sermons upon all the Lent gospels, by the reverend Father de Lingendes, printed at Paris in two volumes in Octavo, in 1666. It is very surprizing that Father de Lingendes, whose eloquence all France admired, should never study his expressions, but was so unconcerned in this point, that he composed in Latin, the sermons he was to preach in French: the truth is, this great man considered only the force of reasoning, the vehemency of the passions and the nobleness of his figures; he was of the opinion of that antient, who looked upon a discourse as finished, when he had nothing to provide, but the words. After the death of this father, several of his sermons were published, which were found written with his own hand, and there are already two editions of them (1). But that language not being understood by every body, a great many wished they might see them in French. The thing seemed to be the easier, as there would not be so much as the trouble of translating them. For his sermons, having been copied by several transcribers, as he preached them, it was thought there was no more to do, but to collect and publish them just as they found them. Nevertheless, the diversity, which appeared between the different

copies of the same sermons, shewed that they were not faithfully taken; it was therefore thought proper to translate these sermons from the original Latin, yet without neglecting these French manuscripts, the expressions whereof have been retained as near as possible. The transitions have also been added, the polishing, and some few ornaments, with which the heat of discourse furnished him, and which are found in all the manuscripts of the writers, though not in the Latin text: so that the French edition is not a bare translation of the Latin. But the difference between them is, that the Latin gives these sermons just as the author wrote them; the French as they were delivered from the pulpit: the first shews the analysis of the discourse, the second the parts joined together; the one is more useful to those who would make sermons, the other proper for those who would only read them. The Latin edition is also much larger than the French. For of all the sermons in the former, only the most excellent have been culled out, and just as many as are to make a course for Lent (2).

[B] *He published but two books.* One in Latin, and the other in French. *Votivum monumentum ab urbe Molinensi Delphino oblatum anno, 1639, in 4to.* Counsels for the conduct of life.

(2) Journal des Savans, April 4, 1667, pag. m. 154.

LINGENDES (JOHN DE) native of Moulins, and cousin to the former, was a celebrated preacher, and by that means rose to the bishopric of Sarlat, and afterwards to that of Mâcon. He made the funeral oration of Lewis XIII at St Denis. It was printed a little after (a). He was preceptor to the count de Moret [A], natural son to Henry IV in 1619. The poet de LINGENDES was his cousin [B]. This family is still in being [C].

[A] *He was appointed preceptor to the count de Moret.* He did not stay long with him the first time; for by I know not what underhand management, against the intention even of Madam the countess of Moret, and her brothers the chevalier de Buell, and de la Perrière, Croisilles was substituted in his place, who had formerly been the most agreeable person in the world to them. The count suffered this change, though he loved de Lingendes; but he did not hate Croisilles, and thought it best to obey the king cheerfully. . . . Afterwards de Lingendes was restored (1).

[B] *The poet de LINGENDES was his cousin.* Here is what the same abbot de Marolles says of him (2). He wrote with reputation in 1607, and 1610; and we have a poem of his upon the birth of the duke of Retelois, and that other so famous upon the ba-

nishment of Ovid, which is prefixed to Nicolas Renouard's translation of the Metamorphosis. By striving to imitate Politian, if we believe Colletet (3), he became at last more polite in some of his pieces, than Politian himself.

[C] *This family is still in being.* NICOLAS DE LINGENDES, brother to the bishop of Sarlat, was steward of the king's household. He was sent into Spain to negotiate the marriage of Lewis XIII with Anne of Austria. His first wife was Mary d'Abra de Raconis, aunt to Charles de Raconis, bishop of Lavaur, and he had by her CHARLES DE LINGENDES, steward to the king, sub-dean of the knights of St Michael, and father to JOHN AUGUSTINE DE LINGENDES, captain of horse (4).

(a) See the abbot de Marolles, in the catalogue of the authors who had presented him with their books.

(3) Art. Poët. Discours de l'Eloquence, pag. 33, apud Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poëtes, n. 1448, pag. 154.

(4) Taken from the Mercure Galant for the month of June, 1689.

LIPPOMAN (ALOISIO) a native of Venice [A], was one of the learned prelates of the XVIth century. He discharged several nunciatures with the reputation of an able minister. The first was, as I take it, that of Portugal. He was bishop of Modon, and coadjutor of Verona, when he was sent from Bologna to Rome, together with some other prelates (a), to plead in the cause about translating the council in 1548 [B]. He gave his opinion peremptorily in this assembly against the plurality of benefices, as Father Paul observes (b), who, besides, gives him the commendation of having lived exemplarily (c). After the interruption of the councils (d), he was sent nuncio into Germany in 1548, from whence Pope Julius III recall'd him two years after (e). The year following, he made him one of the three presidents of the council (f). Paul IV sent him into Poland in 1556, to stop the progress of the protestants (g). He preferred him to the bishopric of Bergamo in 1558, and made him his secretary (h). Lippoman died the 15th of August 1559 (i). He published several books [C]. It is said, that he exer-

(d) Palavic. ubi supra, lib. xi, cap. ii, n. 6.

(e) Id. ibid. cap. viii, n. 6.

(f) Id. ibid. cap. xiii, n. 1.

(g) Id. ibid. lib. xiii, cap. xiii, n. 2.

(h) Id. lib. xiv, cap. vii, n. 4.

(i) Id. ibid. cap. ix, n. 4.

(a) Palavic. Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. 2, cap. xv, n. 2.

(b) Fra Paolo. Hist. du Concile de Trente, liv. ii, pag. m. 234, ad ann. 1547.

(c) Id. lib. iii, sub fin. pag. 237, ad ann. 1551.

(1) Hic sane il. Iustri profapia orus, Patricius erat Venetus. Sauffraus, in Continuat. Bel larm. de Scripior. Eccles. n. 47.

(2) Palav. Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. x, cap. xv.

[C] *He published several books.* The most considerable, if I mistake not, are *Catena Sanctorum Patrum in Genesim & in Exodus*. The *Catena in Genesim*, was printed at Paris, in folio (3), 'by Charlotte Guillard, in the year 1546. It is a very good impression. He came himself to Paris to speak with the widow, and prevailed with her to postpone a great work (4), which the university impatiently expected, to go on with the impression of the second volume, *Catena in Exodus*, which was finished in 1555. It is printed in the same form, and with the same beauty, as the former. These editions are intermixed with Greek, Hebrew, and all sorts of good characters.

(3) Chevallier, Orig. de l'Imprimerie de Paris, pag. 149, 150.

(4) The Greek Lexicon of James Tejusani.

cised great cruelty against the sectaries, during his nunciature in Poland [D].

'characters.' I know not how to reconcile this with several good catalogues, which say, that the *Catena in Exodus* was printed at Paris, in the year 1550. Lippoman's other works are, *Catena in aliquot Psalmos*. A compilation of lives of the saints, in eight volumes. *Confessione di tutti gli dogmi Catholici, con la subversione di tutti i fondamenti de' moderni heretici*, at Venice, 1553. *Espostioni volgari sopra il simbolo apostolico, il pater noster, &c.*

[D] It is said, that he exercised great cruelty against the sectaries in Poland.] According to the author, whom I am about to cite, Lippoman was the first apostolic nuncio, that was seen in this country. He put to death some Jews, to terrify the Heretics. He suborned and bribed certain accusers, who made oath, that a woman had sold an host to some Jews, and that these miscreants had, with the prickings of needles, drawn a vial of blood from it, to heal the wound of circumcision. The king's order was (unreputiously obtained for burning them. They insisted on their innocence at the stake. The king, being informed how the matter was carried, conceived a great indignation against Lippoman. Nevertheless, a narrative of the whole affair was drawn up in the king's name, and sent to Rome, to swell the catalogue of miracles in the archives. I shall set down the words of a Polish writer, who tells us this. He begins by reproaching Lippoman with his mean extraction (5). 'Primus id officii apud nos gessit Aloysius Lippomanus Venetus, homo, ut facta testantur, perversax & crudelis. Quod tanto minus mirandum, quando Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum. Dicebatur enim cum incerto parte fuisse natus. Hunc quamprimum Nuncios Terrarum in Comitio viderent, extemplo eum compellunt: *Salve progenies viperarum*. Talem se reipsum fuisse Lippomanus probavit. Videns enim dogma eorum de Sanctissimo, ut vocant, Sacramento in magno verari discrimine, coacto Loviciano Pontificum omnis generis conventu, e re sua iudicantur exemplum severitatis, vel potius feritatis, ad incutendum populo sibi parenti metum, & dissentientibus horrorem in aliquo ex infima vulgi fece ideoque impuniis statui. Hinc impetu in Judæos quam odio publico laborantes, tam innocentis præditi defectos, factos, tres de grege eorum & feminam quandam Dorotheam Laziciam in vincula coniecerunt. Capita accusationis hæc fuerunt: Laziciam cum de more solenni ante Paschatos festum ad Sacram communionem accederet, occulatam in ore hostiam Judæis vendidisse: hos acubus eam confixisse: inde ampullam sanguinis, quo ad sanandum infantium circumfisorum vulnus opus habeant, collegisse. (6). Mandata nomine Regio ad Borcum (7) per dispositos equites misere, ut Judæos ex mente Legati Apotolici & Spiritus S. (scilicet) concilium Lovicensis regentis ad rogum damnetur. Lata in Judæos sententia. "Hi ad rogum deducti palam liberè dicere: Nunquam nos hostiam emimus vel acubus confiximus: Nos enim nequaquam credimus hostiæ ineffe Deo corpus: Imò scimus Deo nullum corpus, sanguinemve esse: et more Majorum credimus, Messiam non futurum fuisse ipsum Deum, sed ejus unctum & Legatum: Comptum quoque habemus farinæ nihil ineffe sanguinis. Testamur ad ultimum nos nullo sanguine opus habere." His auditis crudelitatis Lippomanianæ & Pontificiæ administri picem ardentem ori miserosum infuderunt. Tam horrendum omni ex parte facinus monumentis Romanis infernum & pro miraculo vulgatum, Regis nomine, ad conciliandum rei fidem, adpositio. Id scripti a Myscovo traditum

‘ Regi, indignationem & iram ejus excitavit, animum-
que a Lippomano avertit. Huic rex in os dicere non
erubuit, se facinus illud imane detestari; & nequa-
quam adeo mente captum esse, ut hostie illi lan-
guinem ineffe credat. ——— *Alfio Lippoman was*
the first, who bore this office among us; a man, as
his actions testify, of prudence and cruelty. Which
is the less to be wondered at, as nothing is so in-
solent as a mean man exalted to a high station. For
it was said, that it was not known who was his
father. No sooner did he appear in the assembly,
but he was saluted, by the nuncios of the Palatin-
nates, with, Hall offspring of vipers! And indeed
Lippoman proved himself such. For seeing their
doctrine concerning the most holy sacrament, as they
call it, to be in danger, they, in a general assembly
of the Roman Catholic priests at Lowitz, resolved to
make a severe example of some one among the vul-
gar, in order to terrify the rest; which they thought
they might the more safely do Hence taking
occasion to attack the Jews, who were not only publi-
cly hated, but destitute of the defence of innocence,
they imprisoned three of them, together with a wo-
man named Dorothea Lazinski. The heads of their
accusation were, that Lazinski, coming to the sacra-
ment before Easter, had sold the host, which she kept
concealed in her mouth, to the Jews; that the latter
had pricked it with needles; and thence had collected
a vessel full of blood, which they wanted to cure the
wounds occasioned by circumcision in infants
They sent the king’s mandate by horse-men to Bor-
cus, the governor, ordering him, in obedience to the
decree of the apostolic nuncio, and the Holy Ghost
(an’s please you) presiding in the council of Lowitz,
to condemn the Jews to be burnt. Sentence was
accordingly passed upon the Jews. When they were
brought to the stake, they made this free and open
declaration: “ We never bought the host, nor pricked
it with needles; for we by no means believe the
body of God to be in the host; nay, we know, that
God has no body, nor blood; and, after the opinion
of our forefathers, we believe, that the Messiah
will not be God himself, but his anointed, and mes-
senger: we likewise know full well, that there is
no blood in bread-corn: and we affirm to the last,
that we have no need of blood.” When they had said
this, the ministers of Lippoman’s and the Papist’s
cruelty, poured burning pitch down these poor wretch-
es’ throats: and this horrid act was inserted in the Ro-
man archives, and published as a miracle, the king’s
name being put to it, to gain belief to a fiction. The
king being informed of the matter, by letters from
Miscowski, was enraged, and conceived great indigna-
tion against Lippoman. He even told him to his face,
that he detested that abominable action, and that he
never was so senseless, as to believe there was any
blood in that host.” Du Saussai takes notice, that
Lippoman was so hated by the sectaries, that he had
like to have lost his life several times by assassinations (8).
Spondanus (9) pretends, that the miracle, manifested
at that time on the host in the hands of these wretched
Jews, was founded on three reasons: the last was,
that the nuncio Lippoman, vilified by the libels of
the Heretics, and running the risk of his life, stood
in need of such a providence, to procure him a greater
authority. Stanislaus Hosius, bishop of Warmia, ex-
pressed great indignation at Peter Paul Vergier, who
dedicating a book to the king of Poland, had challenged
Lippoman the apostolic nuncio to a public dispute,
whereof the king was to be judge (10).

(8) Tantum in odium sectariorum incurrit, ut ab eis de vita sit periclitatus frequenter, sed Deo protegente incolumis reversus. *Saussaius, ubi supra.*

f (9) Ad ann.
1566, n. 7, pag.
m. 564

(10) See the
epistle dedicatory
of H. fiut's work
against the Prole-
gomena of Bren-
tius.

(a) Mr Teiffier,
Addit. aux Elog.
de Mr de Thou,
Tom. II, pag.
381, & 432.
Bullart, Acad.
des Sciences,
Tom. II, pag.
193.

LIPSIUS (JUSTUS) was one of the learnedest critics that flourished in the XVIth century. I could relate a great many curious things concerning him; but as others (*a*) have already collected them, and have not even forgot what relates to his education, and early attainments (*b*), I think my self obliged to speak only of their omissions. One of the greatest faults Lipsius is reproached with, is his inconstancy in point of religion [*41*]

f (b) Baillet, En-
fans celebres,
pag. 184.

They

[A] *One of his greatest faults is his inconstancy in point of religion.*] Dr Schlusselfburg's account will not stand amiss in this page, which teaches us, that Lipsius reckoned it the same thing to be Lutheran, Calvinist, or Papist. 'Talis ambiguae Pe-
lagicæ fidei erat Luciani similis, cothurno versati-

lior & Epicureus Philofophus, *Iustus Lipsius*, olim
 Collega meus & Profeflor Oratoriæ facultatis in Uni-
 verſitate Jenenſi, in Thuringia, ubi magnum ama-
 torem Lutheranæ religionis agebat, & jurjurando
 confirmabat, ſe doctrinam Lutheri ut unam, æternam
 & divinam veritatem agnoſcere, Romanicæ antichriſti-
 anæ idolatriæ

They ground that reproach on this, that being born a Catholic, he embraced Lutheranism, whilst he was professor at Tēna (c). Afterwards, being returned into Brabant, he lived there as a Catholic, and then having accepted a professorship in the university of Leyden, made profession of what they call Calvinism. At last he quitted Leyden, and returned into the Spanish Netherlands, where he not only lived in the Roman communion, but even fell into an effeminate bigotry; which he discovered in his printed books [B.] The

strangest

idololatram & blasphemiam damnare. At Lugdunum Batav. veniens, fiebat Apostata, ut Pelargus, abnegabatque agnitam & adprobata veritatem; quamvis hoc diffiteretur, dicens se Christianum esse, nec Christum deseruisse, nec abnegasse. Id de hoc viro verè dicere & testari possum. Nam cum ad ipsum anno Christi M.D.LXXXII. æstivo tempore in reditu meo ex Antverpia, in Academia Leideni, ubi Professor erat, inviserem, ut veterem amicum, & ex illo quærerem, qui rationem reddere posset, defectionis suæ à vera Religione, quam Jenæ anno M.D.LXXXII. confessus esset, à Christo, quem abnegasset & deseruisset; respondebat mihi in domo sua & in præsentia M. Henrici Latomi Ecclesiastæ olim Antverpiensis: Mihi Schlussemburgi, vetus amice & Collega; Ego Christum non abnegavi, nec deserui, licet hic Lutheranam doctrinam non profitear, & cum Calvinianis converter. Nam omnis Religio & nulla Religio sunt mihi unum & idem. Et apud me Lutheranæ & Calvinistarum doctrina pari passu ambulant. Cohorrens ad hæc, dicebam: mi Lipsi, si ea in opinione maneris, malè tecum ageatur, facileque credo, cum hæc Religio æquè tibi probetur ac illa, te tandem Pontificum futurum, qualis initio fuisti. Ad quæ respondebat, sibi perinde esse. Sicuti & evenit, teste illius libro de invocanda Hallensi Maria (1). —

Of this unsettled Pelargic way of thinking in religion was that other Lucian, the subtle Epicurean Philosopher, Justus Lipsius, formerly my colleague, and professor of Rhetoric in the university of Tēna, in Thuringia, where he pretended to be very fond of the Lutheran religion, and swore that he looked upon the doctrine of Luther to be the one, eternal and, divine truth, and condemned the idolatry and blasphemy of the Romish Antichrist. But, coming to Leyden, he apostatized, like Pelargus, and denied the truth he had acknowledged and approved; tho' this he disowned, saying that he was a Christian, and had neither forsaken, nor denied Christ. This I can with truth say and affirm of this man. For, when, in the year 1582, in the summer season, upon my return from Antwerp, I paid him a visit in the university of Leyden, where he was professor, and asked him what account he could give of his apostasy from the true religion, which he had confessed at Tēna, in 1572, and from Christ, whom he had denied and forsaken; he answered me in his own house, and in the presence of Henry Latomus, formerly preacher at Antwerp; my friend Schlussemburgi, once my colleague, I have not denied nor forsaken Christ, tho' here I do not profess the Lutheran doctrine, but follow the Calvinists. For all religion and no religion are alike to me: and with me the Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines walk an equal pace. Being shocked at this declaration. I said: my friend Lipsius, if you continue in this opinion, it will go ill with you; and I easily believe, since you are indifferent to both religions, that you will at last be a Papist, as you was at first. To which he replied, it was equal to him. And so it happened; witness his book concerning the invocation of the Virgin Mary of Hall. Observe, by the way, in these words, the extravagant zeal of a rigid Lutheran. Schlussemburgi calls the change from a Lutheran to a Calvinist, apostasy, and the denying of Jesus Christ. I might cite a great many writers, who, upon the chapter of religion, look upon Lipsius as a weather-cock; but let it suffice to produce here the judgment of Boeclerus, and the advice he gives young students. Non fuerit operæ pretium, jays he (2), singula examinare, cum potius univerfum monendi sint Juvenes studiosi, ne tales quæstiones Lipsio velint magistro discere, qui ubique sibi similis est, id est, in Re Theologica aut quocunque modo ad Religionem pertinetem lubricus, anceps, vagus, in omnes formas mutabilis: qui modo aliquid largiri, modo adimere rursus cupiat, id quod necesse est accidere homini vera religione serio nunquam imbuto, Sacrarumque litterarum penitus experti. — It would

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not be worth while to examine particulars, when young students are rather to be admonished in the general, not to study such questions under the instruction of Lipsius, who is every where consistent with himself, that is, in matters of Divinity, or any way relating to religion doubtful, wandering, and ready to take any shape: who now consents, now retreats; which must necessarily be the case of a man who never thought seriously about the true religion, and quite ignorant of the holy writings.

[B] He discovered his bigotry in his printed books. One of these books is intitled, *Justi Lipsii Diva Virgo Hallensis: beneficia ejus & miracula fide atque ordine descripta* (3). Another is intitled, *Justi Lipsii Diva Siebemiensis sive Apriollis: nova ejus beneficia & admiranda* (4). He adopts the most trifling stories, and the most uncertain traditions that can possibly be found upon this subject. Some of his friends dissuaded him from this attempt, alledging the uncertainty of these traditions, and the injury he would do himself; but all their counsels could not divert him from his enterprize: 'At mali aut morosi quidam & pravè sapientes non occultè deterrent aut improbant, tanquam à narrationibus parum certis, ut a-junt, & opinione sæpe nixis. Non debere talibus obsolescenti auctoritatem nostratam si quam habemus, dissentio (5).' The verses he made, when he consecrated his silver pen to our Lady of Hall, are strangely singular, as well on account of the praises he gives himself, as the excessive homage he pays to the holy Virgin. Ipse pennam argenteam (nec potuit pretiosius quidpiam) in templo ante aram Virginis suspendit, & pios hosce versus subscripsit:

Hanc, DIVA, PENNAM interpretem mentis meæ,
Per alta spatia quæ volavit ætheris,
Per ima quæ volavit & terræ, & maris:
Scientiæ, Prudentiæ, Sapientiæ
Operata semper, ausa quæ CONSTANTIAM
Describere, & vulgare; quæ CIVILIA:
Quæ MILITARIA, atque POLIORCETICA:
Quæ, ROMA, MAGNITUDINEM adfluxit tuam:
Variæque luce scripta præci sæculi
Affectit, & perfudit: hanc PENNAM tibi
Nunc DIVA, merito consecravi LIPSIVS.
Nam numine istæ in choata sunt tuo.
Et numine istæ absoluta sunt tuo.
Porro ô benignitatis aura perpetim
Hæc spiret! & famæ fugacis in vicem,
Quam PENNA peperit, tu perenne gaudium
Vitamque DIVA, LIPSIO pares tuo (6).

He hung up with his own hands a silver pen (the most valuable gift he had) in the church, before the altar of the Virgin, and wrote under these pious verses:

GODDESS, this PEN, my mind's interpreter,
Which bent it's flight o'er earth, and seas, and skies,
Ever employ'd on science, prudence, wisdom,
Which dar'd describe, and publish CONSTANCY:
Which treated both the arts of WAR and PEACE;
Which aggrandiz'd thy GREATNESS, ROME; and
spread
A various light o'er works of ages past:
This PEN, I, LIPSIVS, consecrate to thee,
And justly, since thy influence first inspired,
And to perfection brought, thy Poet's works.
O! ever smile propitious on the same,
This PEN produc'd, and on thy LIPSIVS, GODDESS,
Bestow long life, and never-ceasing joy.

10 D

He

(c) This professorship lasted a little more than a year. Lipsius, Epist. lxxvii. Cent. lli. Miscell. pag. m. 313. He quitted Tēna the first of March, 1584. Id. Epist. lxxviii. Centor. al German & Gallos, pag. 702.

(3) He composed it in 1603.

(4) He composed it in 1604.

(5) Lipsius, Epist. lix. Cent. V. Miscellan.

(6) Aubert. Miræus, in Vita Lipsii, pag. m. 23.

(1) Conradus Schlussemb. In responsione ad calumnias form scriptum Christ. Pelargi, apud Crenium, Antimæd. Philol. Histor. Part. VII, pag. 54, 55.

(2) Boeclerus, Dissertat. de Politicis Lipsii, cap. v. pag. 54, 55.

strangest thing of all in his conduct, and which has not been pardoned him, is, that living at Leyden in the external profession of the Reformed Religion, he publicly approved the principles of persecution, at that time exercised all over Europe against this very religion. He was strangely confounded, when he was shewn the consequences of his doctrine [C]; and

(7) *Cui Virgini Hallensi moriens lacernam suam pelliceam testamenti legavit: in quo, non potuit quin haereticorum hominum ubiunitatem incurreret; qui quidem ridiculi, sed non admodum religiose, ideo lacernam pelliceam Virgini illi relictam aiebant, quod ejus miracula, quae tantopere in eorum laudibus efferebant, frigerent ad populum.* Nicius Erythraeus, *Pincetob. III.* pag. 6.

(8) *Mr Teiffer, Elog. Tom. II.* pag. 383, calls him *Lingelmus*; he should have said *Lingelshelmus*, who yet is not the author. See the article *LINGEL-SHEIM*, remark [A].

(9) *Mr Teiffer, Elog. Tom. II.* pag. 383, calls him *Tomafon*.

(10) *Miraeus, ubi supra, pag. 24, 25.*

(11) See *Grenius*, ubi supra, pag. 66, who does not forget the passage of *Scalger*, part of which is seen in the following citation. See also *Patin's twenty seventh Letter*.

(12) *Scalger, Epist. civi. lib. ii.*

(13) *Horat de Arte Poet. ver. 431.*

(14) *Comment. Philos. Part. II.* pag. 285, & seq.

* *Civil. Doctr. lib. iv. cap. liii.*

He left by his will his furred gown to the same, our Lady; which gave occasion to say, that he made her this present, because the miracles he had so much celebrated, were ready to die of cold (7). Some Protestants writ with great force against him; he let them talk on, and only answered one of them in a few words: See his *Rejeksiuncula*, at the end of his *Virgo Aspricellii*. He was desired to defend himself against the author of the treatise *De Idolo Hallensi* (8), and against Thomson (9), who confuted him among other things about the *Virgo Sicbemiensis*: but he refused to engage in these disputes (10), and acted wisely. See, in the remark [E], what Baudius said of the books of devotion of this critic. See also remark [N].

It must not be forgot, that Lipsius was said to have composed such books only to convince the world, that he was not lukewarm and indifferent in religion, as many suspected he was (11). It was also believed, that these works were pure injunctions, and that the Jesuits extorted them from him. 'Κέρπες *Lojolitæ* precibus, quæ vim imperii apud Lipsium habent, hanc operam ab eo vel extorserunt, vel eblanditi sunt; vel utrumque. Nam ut ipsi hominem totum possident, ita ipse illis εὐχαριστίας nihil negare potest (12). — *The artful Loyolites* (Jesuits) either extorted this work from Lipsius, by intreaties, which with him carry the force of a command, or wheedled him into it; or perhaps both; for as he is entirely devoted to them, he can decently deny them nothing.' If this was his case, he might be compared, to hired mourners, who cried more bitterly than the relations of the dead. The Poet Lucilius takes notice of these.

Mercede quæ
Conductæ flent alieno in funere præfixæ
Multo & capillis scindunt, & clamant magis.

As women, who for hire
Mourn at the funeral of one unknown,
And greater marks of grief in public shew.

And, Horace says little less:

Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt
Et faciunt propè plura dolentibus ex animo: sic
Derisor vero plus laudatore movetur (13).

As hired mourners, at a funeral, speak,
And as, with more extravagance of grief,
Than those, whose hearts a real sorrow know,
So flatter'ing hypocrites more zeal betray,
Than real friends.

[C] He was strangely confounded, when he was shewn the consequences of his doctrine of persecution.] See what is found hereupon in the Philosophical Commentary upon, *compell them to come in* (14). 'I have seen another perplexity, which has relation to these matters, in a treatise of Justus Lipsius. This man, having been ruined by the wars of the Netherlands, found a very honourable retreat at Leyden, where he was appointed professor; making no scruple of outwardly abjuring his Popish religion. During that time, he printed some books of Politics, wherein he advanced, among other maxims, that only one religion ought to be suffered in a state, and no clemency used towards those, who disturbed religion, but that they should be prosecuted with fire and sword, that one member may perish, rather than the whole body. Clementine non hic locus. *Ure, seca, ut membrorum potius aliquod quam totum corpus intereat.*' This was base, for a man entertained, as he was, by a Protestant republic, which had newly reformed its religion; for this was openly approving all the rigours of Philip II,

and the duke D'Alva. It was besides a horrible impudence, and execrable impiety, since, on one hand, it might be concluded from his book, that only the Protestant religion was to be suffered in Holland, and, on the other, that the Heathens were to be commended for hanging the preachers of the Gospel. He was taken up upon this head by Theodore Cornheit (15), and pushed to great straits; for he was obliged to answer by tacking about, and declaring, that these words, *Ure, seca*, were only a phrase borrowed from Phisic, to signify, not literally fire and sword, but a very strong remedy. All these tergiversations are to be seen in his tract *De una Religione*. It is the most paltry book he ever writ, except the impertinent histories and silly poems, he made in his old age, upon some chapels of the Virgin, his wit beginning to be moped like that of Pericles, when he suffered his neck and arms to be tricked out with amulets, and womens nostrums; being wholly infatuated by the Jesuits, into whose arms he threw himself, when he saw, that this little paltry book was looked upon with an ill eye in Holland; this made him escape by stealth from Leyden. To return to this little book; it is a wretched rhapsody of passages, which authorise all the heathen impieties, on which was founded the horrible persecution of the first Christians, and of other passages, which say the quite contrary. And as the author durst not avow the force of these two words, *Ure, seca*, he used some pitiful distinctions, which came to this, that Heretics ought to be put to death, but rarely and secretly; but as for fines, banishments, marks of infamy, and degradations, they ought not to be spared. All this falls to the ground, by the reflexions already made hereupon. By way of addition to this remark [C], we shall relate, more at large, what concerns the dispute between Koornhert and Justus Lipsius.

Koornhert is not the only person, who treated him roughly on this subject. For the Jesuit Petra Sancta, having made complaints against the author of the *Striaturæ* (16) *Politica* (17), the answer returned him was this (18): 'Conqueris de autore notarum five *Striaturarum* in proditoriam Justii Lipsii epistolam quæ quum in Belgio foederato vixisset, & Illustrissimorum Ordinum stipendiarius fuisset, postquam infalutatis hospitibus bene meritis abiisset, Asylum in eos convertit, & adversus Rempublicam eorum, consilia subministravit. Quis fuerit autor *Striaturarum* illarum, seu notarum fateor me ignorare: sed quisquis ille fuerit, patriæ fuit amantissimus, & Lipsii fraudium callentissimus. . . . Nescio an cui Lipsiana tantopere placent, & qui versibus delectari videris, libenter lecturus sis eos quos anno 1579 præfixit ad Zelandos libro adversus tenebrionem quandam. Editi fuerunt tum Leydæ apud Andream Schoutenum, & quo animo fuerit, aut esse sinxerit, indicant. Audi illum,

Duplicia Hesperii rupibus vincla tyranni,
Mattiaci: atque armis asseritis patriam:
Asseritque fidem, patriam sed turbat Iberus.
Ecce iterum, ecce fidem turbat hic ardelio.
Verum alii patriam: sed tu Fugræ, tueri
Perge fidem, & fidei qui faciunt tenebras,
Scriptis illucere tuis: sunt vera Ministri
Hæc munia, ingenio digna tuo & genio.

Vides quo loco tum fuerit apud Lipsium Hispaniæ rex, quo Romana fides & religio: qui postea factus est Religionis transfuga, infide & constantiam ἀλλοτρίως, ut loquitur Montanus (19). — You complain of the author of the notes or strictures on the Montecuti com decessful letter of Justus Lipsius, who, after having resided in Holland, and been a pensioner of the States, and having left his benefactors without taking leave, turned his pen against them, and underhand gave advice against the interest of their republic. Who was the author of those strictures or notes, I confess I am ignorant; but, whoever he was, he was a great

(15) See the remark [C] of the article KOORNHERT.

(16) See, concerning these strictures, the remark [E] of the article P. U. TEANUS.

(17) Prodit etiam recensitum dum hæc scribo columna eadem de Societate nostra in libello quem Audet in scribit, *Striaturæ politicae*, & in quo imprimis scribitur invehitur in Justum Lipsium. Petra Sancta, Not. in Epist. Molinæ ad Balzæcum pag. 96. Petra Sancta's book was printed in the year 1634.

(18) Rivet. Castigat. notarum in Epist. ad Balzæcum, cap. xii. n. 14. Operum, Tom. III, pag. 535.

(19) Rivetus, a little before, had said, Vide si placet Explicat. Montecuti com decessful letter of Justus Lipsius, who, after having resided in Holland, and been a pensioner of the States, and having left his benefactors without taking leave, turned his pen against them, and underhand gave advice against the interest of their republic. Who was the author of those strictures or notes, I confess I am ignorant; but, whoever he was, he was a great

and this was doubtless one of the reasons, which obliged him to quit Holland. He was offered a professorship at Pisa, with the promise of enjoying his liberty of conscience [D]; but

a great patriot, and saw thro' Lipsius's frauds. I know not whether you, who are so fond of Lipsius's works, and seem to take a pleasure in Poetry, will be willing to read those verses, which, in the year 1579, he prefixed to a book against a certain obscure person. They were then published at Leyden for Andrew Schouten, and shew what disposition he either was or pretended to be of. Hear him:

*The western Tyrant's double chains are broke:
By arms your country bravely ye assert;
Religion too with vigour ye defend:
But the fierce Spaniard breaks your land's repose;
And lo! this wretch religion would disturb.
Let other arms your country's battles fight;
This thine, Feugæus, to defend the faith,
And by your pen detect it's latent foes;
This task thy office, and thy genius suits.*

You see what Lipsius then thought of the king of Spain, of the Romish faith, and of religion: who afterwards became a deserter of religion, faithlessly, and thro' a wavering, uncertain, disposition, as Montaigne expresses it. These verses of Lipsius dishonour his memory, when we compare them with his own confession, that he was only a Protestant in appearance at Leyden, and that his heart was Catholic. These are his words: 'Sed altera æmnia, in religione mutavi. Nego, in sede veluti, non in sensu fui, & ut in peregrinatione corporis non animi requiem illic elegi. In tempore, ut meum ingenium est, vestro modestoque me habui: an in sacra aut ritus vetuste transivi? nec impudentia hoc dicet

(20) Lipsius, in Rejectionis, ad calorem Virginis Africollis.

*(20). — Another calumny is, that I have changed my religion: I deny it; I sat with you, but did not think with you; and, as being upon a journey, I sought the repose of my body, not of my mind. I befooled myself, as I always do, quietly and modestly. Did I go over to your religious rites? Impudence itself will not say this.' Let him have done and said what he pleased; he and all his apologists were unable to elude the proofs alledged, to shew that this still answered his external profession, as long as he passed for a Protestant. The author of the *Idolum Hallense* proves, that Lipsius, having protested, at Iena before Tilemannus Helmshius, who was then (21), rector of the university, that he sincerely embraced the Lutheran religion, communicated publicly (22), and in a funeral oration of his, which had been printed, declared, that God had given to his church the house of Saxony, to ruin the pest of the Papacy. 'De bello Smalcaldico locutus cause bonitatem à Saxone, fortunam & martem ab Imperatore stetit dicit & . . . Saxoniam generosam stirpem ad Dei hostes extirpandos, errores eventendos PESTEM PONTIFICIAM excindendam donatam divinitus & concessam ECCLESIAE esse (23). It is owned, that he never communicated while he was at Leyden; but it is proved (24), by several extracts of his letters, that, whilst he lived there, he looked on the cause of the Spaniards as unjust, and wished the ruin of it, and that many expressions fell from him, which bespoke him a Protestant (25).*

(21) That is, about Michaelmas, 1572.

(22) Eamque professionem sacre coram ibidem usque & communicatione publice obsequavit. Dissert. de Idol. Hallense, pag. 17.

(23) Ib. pag. 16.

(24) Ib. pag. 22, & seq.

(25) Ib. pag. 17, 18.

Here are some farther circumstances of his controversy with Theodore Koornhert. When his treatise of politics, wherein he approved persecution on the account of religion, came out in 1589, Koornhert, a great stickler for toleration, writ him his opinion of this book; and replied to the answers he received, and at last published a book, with the title of *Processus contra hereticum & coalitionem conscientiarum*. He dedicated it to the magistrates of Leyden, sent copies of it to the magistrates of other towns, and exhorted them to take great care of this writer's opinions. The publishing of this book vexed Lipsius; but, as he was a great ornament to the university of Leyden, he obtained of the magistrates an act of complaisance, which might have comforted him. They published at the town-house, that they did not accept of Koornhert's epistle dedicatory, and that this author, by dedicating his book to them, did them neither service, nor honour, nor

friendship; that they did not however prohibit his book, but permitted the inhabitants to read it, and at the same time advised them to read Lipsius's excellent answer. They declared, they had a very particular esteem for this professor. This act did not fully satisfy him, nor was he at all pleased at hearing, that Koornhert, being recovered from a long indisposition, was preparing a reply. It is said too, that by the favour of some towns, he endeavoured to get the States of Holland to forbid the answering his political writings; but that Gerhard de Lange, Burgo-master of Tergou, opposed it with this reason. 'If what Lipsius has written be true, he can be but weakly answered, and we shall be confirmed in the truth, by the very weakness of the writings that are published against him; but if any one discovers in them, what we do not now perceive, any falsity prejudicial to the country, what harm can there be to correct them?' Lipsius quitted Holland soon after, under pretence of taking a turn to the Spaw-waters, for the sake of his health. Nor did he ever come back thither more, but returned to Popery, and protested in a letter, which he writ from Mayence (26), that he had always been of the ancient religion, though he had professed another, when he was in places, where the ancient was not received. This made many believe him a hypocrite. Some were of opinion, that the discontent which Koornhert gave him, and the apprehension he had, that the Hollanders, might be worsted in the war against Spain (27), made him change sides. How- ever it be, Koornhert, detained in his bed, and seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died, failed not to go on with his reply, and to finish it. His executors got it translated out of Flemish into Latin, and published it (28).

(26) He shewed before the Jesuits of Mayence. He desired his observation might be consulted for a while. See Miræus, in Vita Lipsii, pag. m. 17.

(27) See Grotius, Histor. lib. v, pag. m. 378.

(28) Taken from some Latin Extracts communicated to me from the Flemish History of the Reformation written by Gerard Brandt, pag. 765, & seq. ad ann. 1590.

(29) Boecerus, de Polit. Lipsii, pag. 55, 56.

It must be observed, that Lipsius had let fall some words against the Spanish inquisition in the first editions, but struck them out of the following. Boecerus had told him his own upon this, in the chapter *De novis Lipsiani operis*, which is the fifth of his treatise *De Politicis Jussi Lipsii*. Read these words (29): 'Illud non omittendum est, quæ seipsum prodic damnatque Lipsius; æterno cum dedecore famæ, quam unam videtur in omni vita quæsitisse. Cum enim in prioribus Politicorum suorum editionibus, lib. iv, cap. iv. pro libertate religionis, adversus Pontificiam crudelitatem & Hispanicam inquisitionem (quam nemo bonus unquam probavit) quadam scripserat: in posterioribus editionibus, tanquam non à religione modo sed à sana simul mente defecisset, partim omisit ea (scilicet quæ in Freinsheimiana editione reponuntur, n. 7, 9, 12.) partim simpliciter & ingenuè dicta mutavit. — That must not be omitted, in which Lipsius betrays and condemns himself, to the eternal disgrace of his fame, which seems to have been the sole pursuit of his life. For, whereas, in the former editions of his Politics, book iv, chap. iv. he had written in defence of liberty of conscience, against the Popish cruelty and the Spanish Inquisition; (which no good man ever approved of) in the later editions, as if he had not only abused religion, but even his senses, he partly left out what he had written on that subject (to wit, what is replaced in Freinsheimius's edition) and partly altered what he had plainly and ingenuously said.' Boecerus mentions some other alterations in this man's expressions.

[D] He was offered a professorship at Pisa, with a promise of enjoying his liberty of conscience. Acidalius relates (30), that Mercurialis, the negotiator of this affair, told him, that the Great Duke had offered Lipsius a professor's chair in the university of Pisa, with the privilege of believing what he pleased in matters of religion; and that this prince had obtained for him a toleration at Rome. At the same time Acidalius adds, that a report was spread, that this professor had embraced the Romish faith in Germany; and affirms, that Lipsius alledged no other reason for refusing the chair at Pisa, than the infirmity of his health, and the distance of the place, *via longinquitatem, & valetudinis imbecillitatem*. He was far from alledging his being a Protestant; for he was readily enough disposed to the public profession of the Romish religion. Yet

(30) In his second Letter, written from Bologna, in January, 1592.

but he refused that employment. He settled at Louvain, where he taught the *Belles Lettres* in a way that was much to his reputation; and he died there, the 23d of March, 1606, in his fifty ninth year. There were those among the Protestants, who never would second the passion of some of their brethren, in defaming this learned man [E]. He married a widow at Cologne about the year 1574, but had no children by her. Some say, she was a very

Yet by this we see that he was looked on in Italy as a very good Calvinist, since his liberty of conscience was negotiated at Rome. There are two letters of Lipsius (31), from which we may infer, that Acidalius was well informed of what he said; but they do not mention the offer of a liberty of conscience.

[E] *There were some Protestants, who never would second the passion of some of their brethren, in defaming this learned man*. One Lydius, a minister, designing to publish the letters which his father had received from Justus Lipsius, was earnestly entreated by Baudius not to do it; by Baudius, I say, who understanding, that Lydius persisted in his design, prepared to write against him, in favour of Lipsius. 'Perfrat

' in incepto, ut sermonem tuum audio. Sed quia sibi sumit eam licentiam ut faciat quæ sunt contra morem bonorum, contra fas gentium, contra jus humanitatis: saxo dicat se nactum, qui hac in parte causam amici & quondam doctoris indefensam esse non patitur (32). — *He persists in his design, as you inform me: but since he takes a liberty contrary to the behaviour of good men, contrary to the law of nations, and the rights of humanity, I will make him even be met with one, who will avenge the cause of his friend, and (formerly) teacher.*

Not that Baudius approved Lipsius's two books upon the miracles of the holy Virgin; on the contrary, he spoke of them with the utmost contempt; but, he thought that letters between friends ought to be an inviolable secret (33). 'Non quod ejus Divas ullo colore defendi posse censeam, sed interim non est tolenda ÷ vita vitæ societas, quod faciunt qui literas, hoc est amicorum colloquia absentium, foras eliminant . . . (34) Deest scilicet hostis, & seges ac maties metendæ gloriæ non suppetit, nisi ex labe & ruina celebratissimi in literis viri, & honorifice à bonis nominandi, tametsi famam suam misere decoxerit duplici illa publicatione Virginum, quibus sæpe incolumi auctore lumbisfragium exoptavi (35). —

Not that I think his goddesses can upon any pretence be defended; but in the mean time, society is not to be broke in upon; which they do, who publish the private correspondence of absent friends . . . There is no enemy, and please ye, nor any opportunity of earning fame, but by the disgrace and ruin of the most learned of men, and of whom good men ought to make honourable mention; tho' he miserably injured his character by that double publication of Virgins, towards whom I often declared my ill wishes during the life of the author.' Tho' Lydius was a great preacher, Baudius hoped to come off cheaply enough with him. 'Etiam si multum in concionibus valeas, vereor tamen ut hic stare possit. Fervida ingenia plerumque violentiam naturæ & profundam ambitionem velare solent præclaro schemate zeli, quod est evitriculum & mantile multarum fraudum. Sed non desunt nobis rationes quibus saculo planum & perspicuum fiet, Quid solidum crepet & pictæ testoria linguæ (36). — Though he be a great preacher, I fear he will not maintain his ground on this occasion. Men of passion often cover the violence and ambition of their nature under the fine pretence of zeal, that cloak of many impostures. But I can convince the world of the difference between sincerity and hypocrisy.' In the same letter he informs us, that Scaliger took it very ill, that Thompson should write so violent a book against Lipsius. 'Opus est sane non ineruditum, & quod arguat scriptorem multæ lectionis: nisi quod supra modum modestiæ effervescit, quo nomine etiam serio reprehensus est ab herodæ Scaligero (37). — It is certainly no unlearned work, and argues a writer of great reading; except that he flies out beyond the bounds of modesty: for which fault he is seriously reprehended by the hero Scaliger.' He says also, that he is a stranger to the laws of humanity, and the rights of literature, who fancies that the learned ought to espouse state wars, and differences in religion, one against another, and that, for his part, he shall never follow such maxims, as long

as he has a grain of good sense left. 'Non dissimulo, nec unquam dissimulabo, intercedere mihi cum Lipsio, extra causam religionis & libertatis, ob quam publice bello decertamus, omnia jura summæ necessitudinis, quæ cum ullo mortali esse possunt. Nunquam litantur Gratiis, & ignorant quid humaniores literæ, quid humanitas ipsa flagitet, qui ob eam rem tellas inimicitias promiscue omnibus indicendas esse arbitrantur. In eo censu non erit Baudius, quamdiu sanam animi mentem obtinebit (38). — I

confess, nor will I ever deny, that, setting aside the cause of religion and liberty, for which we publicly fight, there is the strictest friendship imaginable between Lipsius and myself. They, who think that a sufficient reason for quarrelling with all the world, never sacrificed to the graces, nor know what polite learning and humanity require. Baudius will never think in that manner, as long as he shall enjoy a sound mind. Gruterus, who had some of Lipsius's letters, would never communicate them to those, who desired them, with a design to make them public. He would not furnish arms against the honour of this learned man.

Lipsius epistolæ amici multi à me petierunt, quibus semper negavi, quod nollem quidquam ex iis depromi unde ei aliquid inureretur infamæ (39). — *Several of my friends have asked me for Lipsius's letters, whom I always refused, because I was unwilling any thing should be taken out of them, which might be made use of to injure his reputation.* But Lingelheim (40) was not so nice, since, after he had made use of some of Lipsius's letters, which he had written to Camerarius from Iëna, he offered them to Goldast, to be printed (41). Goldast had already played Lipsius a trick, which I have mentioned in another place (42).

It must be owned, as Baudius says, that the laws of generosity do not permit us to take advantage of what a man may have written as a secret to those he corresponded with; the Heathens themselves were not ignorant of this truth; for observe how Marc Antony was censured for reading before the senate some letters he had received from Cicero. 'At etiam literas, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit: homo & humanitatis expers, & vitæ communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam qui paulum modo bonorum confectum diem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit, palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere vitæ vitæ societatem, quam tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa joca solent esse in Epistolis, quæ prolata si sint incepta videantur? quam multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda (43)? — He even repeated letters, which he said I sent him, being a man void of humanity, and ignorant of common life. For who is there so little conversant with good men, as, upon a quarrel, publicly to produce and read the letters of a friend? What is it but to destroy society, and put a stop to the correspondence of absent friends? How many jests are there in letters, which, when made public, will be thought insipid? How many serious things are there, yet by no means fit to be divulged?' Several think that this excellent law may be dispensed with in favour of religion; that is, when it is in our power to decry a man who has written against our religion, or who by his revolt may shake the faith of the weak; and thus they make no scruple of publishing his very billets or notes, if copies of them fall into their hands. They would perhaps be more scrupulous, if they were themselves the persons, who had received them; for it is not so contrary to the law we speak of, to publish a letter another has received, as one that is written to one's self. See the advertisement to *The General Considerations upon Mr Bruy's book*, printed at Rotterdam in 1684. There is a secret divulged in it, which Mr Bruy had written to a friend. See also the News from the Republic of Letters (44), in the extract of the dialogues of Photinus and Irenæus, wherein a letter of Mr Ranchin is inserted. The Civilian Baudouin reproaches Calvin with

(38) Ibid.

(39) Gruter. apud Quirinum Reuterum, Epist. cccxciii, inter eas quæ ad Goldastum scriptæ prodierunt, anno 1688.

(40) See the Collection of Letters, written to Goldast, published in 1688, pag. 391.

(41) Goldast published some new Letters of Lipsius, under the title of Lipsii & Jæna.

(42) At the article GOLDAST, remark [I].

(43) Cicero, Philipp. II, cap. iv.

(44) Month of December, 1687, pag. 1357.

(31) The first of the century ad Italos & Hispanos, and the third of the third century ad Belgas. In this last, he says, that the Pope exhorted him to come to Rome. Ipse Pontifex caput nostrum recentem nunc me Romam invitavit.

(32) Baudius, Epist. lvi, Cent. II, pag. m. 241.

(33) Id. Ibid.

(34) Id. Ibid. pag. 242.

(35) See Patin, the twenty seventh Letter, pag. 114, of the first volume, where he cites du Moulin and Kackrman.

(36) Baudius, ubi supra, pag. 241.

(37) Id. Ibid. pag. 242.

very ill woman [F]; but he affirms, he lived quietly with her. I know not whether I ought to take notice, that he wrote a very bad hand [G]; and that his conversation and aspect answered not the idea, the world had conceived of him [H]. His friends did not abandon him, after his death, to the censures of his adversaries [I]: but it was difficult thought himself obliged to censure (d). Lipsius found himself accused more than once of (d) See the remark [I].

(43) Balduino Respon. II, ad Jo. Calvin, pag. 56.
having printed several letters he had written to him (45). See Father Quesnel against the sentence of the archbishop of Malines, founded partly on his papers, which had been seized. He cites Nicol. de Clemangis, Epist. XLIII.

[F] Some say, she was a very ill woman.] 'The good man Lipsius, who had a naughty wife, has said somewhere in his Epistles, that there is a fatality in marriage (46). Here is the passage which Patin refers to: 'Uxorem duxi, says Lipsius (47), mei magis animi quam amicorum impulsu. Sed, ut ille ait (48), τοῦ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνην ἔσθ' αὐτοῖς, ἀδύνατον, fructus tamen matrimonii, id est liberorum, exsortes. — I married more to please myself than at the instigation of my friends: but, as he says, it was so decreed: and indeed we live in concord, tho' without the fruit of matrimony, children.' It was believed by some, that Lipsius changed his religion purely from a principle of ambition, and the importunity of his wife, who was strangely superstitious. Mr Teissier (49) asserts this upon Scaliger's credit, citing his 120th letter of the second book. I my self have conversed with those, who have told odd stories of the cross-grained humour of this woman. They had them from old men, who had seen Lipsius.

Some Merchants of the Low-Countries told Florimond de Remond, in 1600, that Lipsius was married. He wished him joy of it; but Lipsius answered him, that the thoughts of being congratulated at this time of day made him laugh, and that he had been a long time in the noose. 'At de conjugio, quod tu à Mercurialibus nostris audieras, quàm risum mihi movit? Ego, vir optime, non recens in eam nassam veni, sed annos jam vigintifex custodia hæc me habet. Liberos tamen nullos genui, nec hunc conjugii fructum aut lenimentum Deus dedit (50). — As to my marriage, which it seems you have heard of, how does it make me laugh? My good friend, I am not a bridegroom, but have been married twenty-six years. Yet I have got no children, nor has God given me this fruit and consolation of wedlock.'

[G] He wrote a very bad hand.] He confesses it himself, and thereby confutes those, who pretended to have printed from the original the oration of duplici concordia; from the original, I say, very fairly written. 'Ego belle & mundule scribo? says he (51), Vellem, fed totam Europam testem καλῶς γραφῆς hujus habeo, & querelas quod autographa mea ægre vel non legant. — I write a fair and neat hand! I wish I did; but appeal to all Europe for the beauty of my hand writing, and to the complaints that my manuscripts are scarce, if at all, legible.' This is confirmed by a passage of Gabriel Naudé (52). 'This worthy scholar of our Muretus M. Antonius Bonciarius of Perugia once complained, that he could read but two or three of the first lines of the letters Lipsius wrote to him; all the rest was so horribly scrawled. Nancelius said as much of Ramus's writing.'

[H] His conversation and aspect answered not the idea, the world had conceived of him.] Here is Aubertus Miræus's testimony in this point (53). 'In gestu, cultu, sermone modicus fuit: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, viso aspectoque Lipsio quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur. Constat certe exterius, quos ab ultimâ etiam Sarmatia, ejus videndi audiendique gratiâ (ut olim magni illius Livii) frequenter venisse scimus, cum Lipsium viderent, eundem sæpe requisivisse. — His behaviour, dress, and conversation were mean: inasmuch that many who are wont to estimate great men by the standard of ambition, when they saw Lipsius, were disappointed in their expectations: few formed a just idea of him. It is certain, that foreigners, who came, we know, from farthest Sarmatia, for the sake of seeing and hearing him (as formerly happened to the great Livy) found their ideas of him not answered.'

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(44) Patin, Lettr. cxciv, pag. 565, Tom. II.
(45) Epist. lxxvii, Cent. III, Miscell. pag. m. 313.
(46) Here is what Aubert Miræus says, in the Life of Lipsius, pag. 22. Sed ut ille ait, sic erat in fati & fatali viro faminaque tarum esse Euripides olim monuit. Lipsius usu didicit. — But, as he said, Fate would have it so; and that marriages are governed by destiny Euripides long enough ago affirmed, and Lipsius experienced.
(47) Addit. aux Eluges, Tom. II, pag. 383.
(48) Lipsius, Epist. lxxii, Cent. ad Germanos & Gallos, pag. m. 705.
(49) Lipsius, Epist. lxxvii, Cent. ad Germanos & Gallos, pag. m. 701.
(50) Dialog. de Malsurati, pag. 363.
(51) In Vita Lipsii, pag. 32.
(52) Tacit. in Vita Agricola.

[I] His friends did not abandon him . . . to the censures of his adversaries.] The Jesuit Scribanus, as Lipsius always expected, appeared in his defence. (54) Miræus, in 'Heus importune qui jam abeuntem & majora magis Vita Lipsii, pag. 25. & usui fuerit non deerit amica aliqua manus (& Cærolum Scribanum . . . designabat) quæ Lipsium non patietur inultum (54). — Let me tell you (you, who vainly attack him, departing, and meditating greater and more serious things) if occasion shall be, there will not be wanting some friendly hand (be pointed at Charles Scribanus) which will not suffer Lipsius to go unrevenge'd.' See his Oribodoxæ fidelis controversiæ, his Defensio Lipsii postuma, &c. Claudius Danqueus, a canon of Tournay, published, in 1616, a book intituled, D. MARIE ASPRICOLLIS ΘΑΤΜΑΤΟΤΡΟΨ Scutum . . . alterum item 7. Lipsii Scutum: utrumque adversus Agricola Tibracii satyricas petitiones. He means, that he answered a book, which George Thomson, a Scotchman, published at London in 1606, with this title, Vindex veritatis adversus Justum Lipsium libri duo. Prior infamam ejus religionem politicam, satvam nefariamque de Fato, sceleratissimam de fraude doctrinam refellit. Posterior Levodraphe Sibemientis, id est Ioli Aspricollis, &c. Dea lignæ miracula convellit. Uterque Lipsium ab orco Gentilissimum revocasse docet. See the remark [A] of the article LINGELSHEIM, citation (12). I speak not of those, who have attacked or defended him upon the subject of learning. Vincent Contarini, successor to Sigonius in the chair of Padua, criticized him (55) learnedly enough in 1609, 'circa frumentarium Romanorum largitionem & militare Romanorum stipendium. — In relation to the largesse of corn among the Romans, and their military pay.'

Garasse, who gave him two bites, was sturdily repulsed. He pretended (56), that Lipsius's doctrine about fate is a mere chimera without the least foundation, and blamed him (57) for having erected Mausolean monuments to his three little dogs, the first whereof was called Mopsus, the second Sapphirus, the third Mopsulus, as is seen in the book intituled, Deliciae Christiani orbis. I cannot, continues he, approve all these ridiculous and prophane inventions, forasmuch as this is plainly to declare, though the intention of authors may be very different, Unus interitus est hominis & jumentorum, & æqua est utriusque conditio. — Men and beasts die alike, and the condition of both is the same. The censurer of this Jesuit's Doctrine Curieuse strenuously maintains (58), that the destiny, taught by Lipsius, is conformable to Thomas Aquinas's notion. He says (59), that 'Aubertus Miræus . . . did not forget the love that Lipsius had for dogs, and even the names of the three, which he cherished above the rest . . . He had caused them to be painted in a piece, with the names, age, colour, and flag, of each, with some verses underneath, wherein he had no less ingeniously, than pleasantly, hit upon verses and inscriptions mentioned in the book called Selectæ Christiani orbis deliciae. This is what Garasse takes for a mausoleum and an epitaph; so that whoever has his parrot painted, his dog, his cat, his wife, &c. with an inscription or verse, erects an epitaph, a mausoleum to them. . . . As for the epitaph of Sapphirus alone, which is found in the said book, Selectæ deliciae, &c. It is a supposititious piece, which even the compiler, F. Swertius, durst not place with the three inscriptions, which are found under the title Lovanensia, and which doubtless some one might easily have composed by Lipsius's inscription on his dog Sapphirus, to exercise his wit, as plainly appears from the bare reading.' The censurer adds, that the pretended prophaneity, which Garasse finds in it, is a chimera: he is pretty large upon this, and shews the impertinence of the reason, founded on the unus est interitus, &c. Mr des Marets (60), who thought this criticiser of Garasse to be an anonymous doctor of the Sorbonne, is mistaken: he

(54) Miræus, in Vita Lipsii, pag. 25.

(55) His book was reprinted at Wesel, in 1669, in 12mo.

(56) Garasse, Doctr. Curieuse, pag. 343.

(57) Id. ibid. pag. 504.

(58) Censure de la Doctrine Curieuse, p. m. 159.

(59) Ib. pag. 162.

(60) Samuel Maréus, in Salote Reformat. ad. ferat, pag. 56.

(e) Lipsius, after having lived to his forty-fifth year in the Protestant religion, embraced the Catholic. *Teiffier, Addit. aux Elég.* Tom. II. pag. 385. Edit.

plagiarism, but never would acknowledge, that he was justly accused [K]. A fit of sickness he got at a feast, has been reckoned one of the greatest dangers, he was ever exposed to [L]. It is strange, that a Latin style, so bad as his, should found a new sect in the republic of letters [M]. See in the margin a fault of Mr Teiffier (e).

I have already spoken (f) of the contempt he drew upon himself by his histories of the miracles of the Holy Virgin; but I knew not at that time what Joseph Hall had published upon that subject. It deserves to be related [N].

he should have given him the name of Charles Ogier (§ a), and spared the title of *Sorbonista*.

[§ a] He should have said, Francis Ogier, brother of Charles. REM. CRIT.]

[K] He was accused . . . of plagiarism, but never would acknowledge the justice of the accusation. Muretus and Peter Faber were his principal accusers. The parts of this process have been diligently collected by Mr Thomafius, in his treatise *de Plagio literario*; and by Mr Crenius in the seventh part of his *Animadversiones Philologicae & Historicae*.

(61) Pincoth. III, pag. 6.

[L] A fit of sickness he got at a feast. Here is what Niclus Erythraeus says (61): 'Sæpius in vita manifestum vitæ discrimen adiit; ter in puerili ætate . . . deinde lethali morbo pene sublatu est Dolæ, quæ Sequanorum est Academia, ubi quum luculenta oratione Victoris Giselini, inter medicos allectum, laudasset, ac statim deinde, opiparo convivio exceptus esset, in quo, ut mos est illarum regionum, convivæ invitare se pluculum solent, & in sese largius merum invigere, repente, insolito horrore correptus, cum febri domum rediit. — He had often been in danger of his life; thrice whilst a boy . . . afterwards he was very near being taken off by a mortal disemper, at Dole, which is an university of the Francie Comte, where, having made a fine oration in praise of Victor Giselinus, on his being admitted a Physician, and being afterwards splendidly entertained at dinner, on which occasion the guests are apt to encourage one another in eating and drinking a little too much, he was on a sudden taken with a shivering, and returned home with a fever.' Lipsius, having made an oration at the promotion of this Physician, was doubtless considered as one of the principal heroes of the feast: they made him drink the harder, and had like to have killed him. The matter would not have been so strange, had he been an Italian or Spaniard; for it is certain, that an academical banquet, or treat, upon taking a degree, in the northern universities, might be as dangerous to men of those countries, as a set battle to a colonel, unless they are excused from pledging every health. But Lipsius was a Fleming: no matter for that: he was worried; he was conquered in a tournament of Bacchus by those of the Franche Comté. It had like to have cost him his life. The most general rules have their exceptions.

[M] It is strange that a Latin style, so bad as his, should found a new sect in the Republic of Letters.]

(62) Scaligerana, voce Lipsius, pag. m. 143.

Lipsius has put Cicero out of fashion. When he was in request, there were greater masters in eloquence, than there are at present (62). Scaliger says this: an evident proof, that the sect of the Lipsians was very much increased. But here we ought to cry out;

O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi sæpe Bilem, sæpe jocum vestri movere tumultus (63).

(63) Horat. Epist. xix, lib. i, ver. 19.

Ye imitators, slavish herd, how oft
The stir ye make excites my spleen! how oft
Provokes my laughter!

People must dote upon ill models, when they can prefer Lipsius's style before that of Paul Manutius, or Muretus; a style, which proceeds by starts and bounces, and is full of points and ellipses, before a style smooth and flowing, and which unfolds every thought. Lipsius is the less excusable, because he changed from a good taste to an ill one. He wrote well in his youth; as appears by a book he dedicated to cardinal de Granvelle (64), and by the funeral oration of the duke of Saxony. He degenerated as he grew old. 'His third century of Epistles, said Scaliger (65), is good for nothing; he has forgot to speak; I know not what Latin it is.' A learned humanist thought he did his father, who was a famous divine, some honour, by shewing he expressed a contempt for the style, which Lipsius had brought into fashion. 'Imprimis vero fastidiebat scribendi illam novam formam, quam magnus cæteroguin vir Justus Lipsius

(64) His Varie Lectiones, anno 1566.

(65) In Scaligerana, ubi supra.

seculo nostro obstruit, quemque servum pecus imitatores plurimi arripuerunt, quamvis impari felicitate (66). — But he was particularly disgusted at that new way of writing, which Justus Lipsius, otherwise a great man, forced upon our age, and which many have servilely imitated, but not with the same success. He relates the judgment, which James Pontanus, and Marc Velferus made of the same style. Nos Justus Lipsii excellens ingenium, summamque doctrinam suspicimus, & prædicamus, nec de studiis nostris quemquam melius meritum statuimus. Ab ejus autem idiotismo, & excogitata hæresi in scribendo, pluribus, & opinor iustis de causis refugimus, & horremus. Marcum Velferum ipsi Lipsio amicissimum profitemem meis auribus audivi: malle se in scribendo Muretum, quam Lipsium posse exprimere. Adeo, cujus probabat ingenium, & scientiam summopere, ejus novitiam, & plus æquo exquisitam & affectatam dictionem non probabat (67). — I applaud the great wit and learning of Justus Lipsius, and think no man deserved better of the learned. But I scorn and abhor, for many, and I think just, reasons, his peculiarity of style, and new manner of writing. I have myself heard Marcus Velferus, a great friend of Justus Lipsius, declare, that he had rather imitate Muretus, than Lipsius; blaming his novel and affected style, at the same time that he highly applauded his wit and learning. He afterwards shews how Scaliger, being ready to give up the ghost, declared his abhorrence of that affectedness in style. He must needs take it much to heart, since in that condition, in which his attention ought to have been fixed on objects infinitely more important, he would let the company know how much it troubled him. 'Jam in agone mortis constitutus (ut refert Clarissimus Daniel Heynſius, in Epistola ad Isaacum Casaubonum) hoc xaxxvñs novi stili admodum execratus est. Sic enim de eo scribit Heynſius: Justus Lipsii affectationem in stilo vehementer fastidire solebat: in iis præsertim, quæ senex scripsisset, & nonnunquam literas ejus cum indignatione legebat; eodem modo te quoque judicare, certo scio (68). — Upon his death-bed (as Daniel Heynſius informs us, in a letter to Isaac Casaubon) he expressed his abhorrence of that itchy writing in a new style: for thus Heynſius writes concerning him: He greatly disliked Justus Lipsius's affected style; in those pieces especially, which he wrote in his old age; and he sometimes read his letters with indignation: I know you judge of him in the same manner.' Henry Stephens published a book of five hundred and sixty pages against Lipsius's Latin (69); but this book is so full of digressions, that the author seldom comes to his point. However he gives us to understand, that he extremely disapproved Lipsius's style. See, in a book of Balzac (70), the *Viri magni judicium de imitatione Lipsianæ latinitatis*: see also the words of Grotius. 'Sua quadam eloquentia ple-

d'Utrecht, 1696. He was twenty five years old when he turned Protestant the first time.

(f) In the remark [B].

(66) Philip. Pareus, in Vita Davidis Parci, pag. m. 18.

(67) Jacob. Pontanus & Soc. Jela Variarum Rerum, Quest. xxxi, apud Philippum Pareum, ibid. pag. 19.

(68) Philip. Pareus, ibid.

(69) De Lipsii latinitate (ut insinuat Antiquarum Antiquarium Lipsii stylum indignant) palæstra prima.

(70) At the end of his Socrate Christian, pag. m. 228.

(71) Grot. Hist. lib. v, pag. m. 378.

(72) His style was laconic, sententious, and unconnected.

rosque alliciens (Lipsius); nam cum floridum ipsi & profluens natura haud abnegaret, alterum maluit dicendi genus, concisum quidem nec sine festivitate, sed vere novum obtentu antiqui: quod cum imitarentur quibus ingenii judicii non idem fuit, ad corruptissimam quæque deventum est (71). — Lipsius allured many by his eloquence; for nature having formed him for a florid, copious, style, he chose another way of writing, viz. the concise, yet not without wit, but quite new; which when writers of inferior wit and judgment imitated, they fell into every thing vitious in writing. There is no fear, that such an affectation in French would ever make a sect, though the president de Novion (72) should return into the world.

[N] What Joseph Hall published concerning his Histories of the Miracles of the Holy Virgin, deserves to be related. Having given an account of a prodigy, which served for the punishment of a provost, who had caused the tongue of a Protestant martyr to be cut out, he thus exclaims: 'Come now, Lipsius; go and write the new miracles of the goddess, and confirm

confirm the superstition by strange events. All you, who have seen it, judge, whether ever the chapels of Hall and of Zichem, have produced so remarkable a thing. We every where meet with pilgrims going to pay their devotions towards these ladies: I know not whether I ought to call them two ladies, or rather one in two shrines. If they are two, why do they adore but one of them? if they are but one, why does she perform the cure at Zichem, which she cannot at Hall? what great pity it is, that a genius so lofty and elevated to the last act of his life, should be subject to raving. We have cherished and admired, if need were, all the good fruits, and manly offspring of this brain: but who can bear these foolish virgins, the weak and abortive productions of doating old age? one of his greatest favourites told me, having heard it from his own mouth, that

the elder of these two virgins was begotten, conceived, brought into the world, and baptized, by him, in the space of ten days: I believe it, and was not at all surprized at it. These acts of superstition have an invisible father and midwife; besides, that it is not fitting that an elephant should be three years begetting a mouse. It was told me in the shop of his Moret, not without some indignation, that our king (73) having well considered the book, and read some passages of it, threw it upon the ground, with this curse, *Damnation to him who made it, and him who believes it.* I do not concern myself whether it be a true piece of history, or one of their fables: but I am certain, that this sentence did not cause them so much discontent, as me joy (74).

(73) James I, king of Great Britain.

(74) Joseph Hall, Miscellaneous Letters, Decad. 1, pag. 77, &c.

L I S M A N I N (FRANCIS) a native of Corfica, doctor of Divinity, and a famous Franciscan (a), entered into the Protestant church, but did not stop where he ought to have done; for he drove on to Arianism. This was done by degrees. He was confessor to Bonna Sforza, queen of Poland, and her preacher in the Italian tongue, &c. (b), [A], when John Triceffius, a man of learning and quality, clandestinely sowed the seeds of the reformation at Cracow (c). Lismanin, much shaken by the reading of a book, the queen had given him (d), was confirmed in the ill opinion he had conceived of the church of Rome by some conferences with John Triceffius (e), who besides lent him the reformers books (f). He soon became suspected of Heresy, but managed it so artfully, that the bishop of Cracow could never convict him of having Luther's and Calvin's books. He avoided the snares, which this prelate laid for him at Rome. Lismanin went thither in 1550 to congratulate the new Pope Julius III, in the name of queen Bonna (g). The bishop wrote to Rome that he was a secret Heretic, and that he ought to be cast into prison, and hindered from ever returning into Poland. This advice came a little too late; Lismanin was already returned to the queen his mistress. When he was arrived at Warsaw, where she resided, he received letters from Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, her son, charging him to endeavour to pacify her; for she was much provoked at this prince's marrying Barbara Radzivil [B]. He made three journeys to bring about a peace between the two queens [C]. The king was so satisfied with him, that he promised him the

(a) Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum, pag. 34.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Historia Reformationis Polonicæ, pag. 18.

(d) Ib. pag. 23.

(e) Ex lectione concionum Baronsini Ochini Itali. . . à Regina Bonna sibi oblatum, totam religionem Romanam in suspicionem traxerat. Ibid.

(f) Ibid. pag. 22.

(g) Ib. pag. 24.

[A] He was confessor to the queen of Poland, and her preacher in the Italian tongue, &c. To explain this etcetera, I shall set down the list of all Lismanin's titles: *Theologiae Doctor, Monachus Franciscanus. Circiter anno 1546 jam erat Bonæ Reginae (matris Sigismundi Augusti Regis) a concionibus Italianis & confessionibus factis: nec non Franciscanorum seu Minoritarum in Polonia Provincialis, & omnium cenobiorum monialium regulæ Claræ Epborus, qui vulgo Commissarius dicitur: atque Parochus Cboienfis* (1).

[B] . . . that queen . . . was provoked at this prince's marrying Barbara Radzivil. The author I cite, observes, that they who began the great work of the reformation in Poland, made a strange false step; they opposed this marriage of Sigismund, whilst the bishops, their greatest persecutors, gave their consent to it. By opposing the prince's inclinations, and his darling passion, they gave him a dislike to the reformation, while they, who applauded his marriage won his heart, and qualified themselves for obtaining of him an absolute liberty of persecuting the Lutherans. Impedebat veritatis in Regio corde progressum industria & vigilantia astutiaque Pontificum Romanorum, latera Regia semper claudendum, aures ejus occupantium, insignia Regni & cor Regis, custodiam legum tenentium, oracula Regia edentium . . . & quod tum ferè maxime tempori & rebus eorum accommodum erat, matrimonium Regium cum Barbara Radzivilia, Stanislai Gafoldi Palatini Trocensis relicta vidua, femina ad invidiam pulcherrimam initum, approbantium & defendentium. Nam cum multi etiam ex illis qui veritati & reformationi favere ceperant, concubium illud, utpote cum privata & privatim, inconsulto Senatu, contractum destruerent, contra Maciejovius ille, tum Andreas Lebridovius . . . Episcopi, alique Primores Pontificii illud adstruerent, factum est, ut Rex aversum ab illis animum ac favorem in hos converterit . . . Itaque boni illi Viri, Veritatis fautores graviter in eo, quod in hoc negotio Regi tanto conatu se opposuerint, erraverant: olores verò ejus & adversarii eorum contrariæ patri se applicantes Regis gratiam in se derivarunt. Ad eò & hic verum apparuit illud Christi oraculum: *filios tenebrarum prudentiores esse in generatione sua quam filios lucis* (2). — What hindered

the progress of the truth in the king's heart, was the industry, assiduity, and artifice, of the Roman Catholics, who were always about the king, engrossed his ear, had the king's regalia and heart, had the custody of the laws, and gave out his edicts . . . and what greatly forwarded their interest at that time, was their approving and defending the king's marriage with Barbara Radzivil, relicta of Stanislai Gafoldi, palatine of Treckie, a most beautiful lady. For, when many, even of those, who began to favour truth and the reformation, were for dissolving that marriage, as having been contracted with a private person, privately, and without consulting the senate, and, on the other hand, Maciejovius and Andreas Lebridovius . . . bishops, and other Popish lords, were for confirming it, the king turned his favour and affection from the former to the latter . . . Those good men therefore, favourers of truth, were greatly mistaken in so strenuously opposing the king in this affair; but it's haters, and their adversaries, taking the contrary part, insinuated themselves into the king's favour: so that in this case likewise appeared the truth of that oracle of Jesus Christ: the children of darkness are wiser in their generation, than the children of light. If it was not so advantageous, it was at least more glorious to the reformers of Poland, to have been so impolitic.

[C] He made three journeys to bring about a peace between the two queens. His negotiation was more honourable than successful; for if it pleased the king, it highly displeased the queen mother, who was nothing less than what her name signified (3). Quo officio postquam susceptis anno 1551. m. Januarius Febr. & Martio Cracoviam tribus itineribus majori cum Regis quam Reginae Bonæ gratia (publicè enim in templo arcis, & in magna Aula frequentia, impudens tamen, Rege scilicet procurante, Legationem conciliationis Reginarum focus & nurus peregit) perfunctus est, Rex ab eo tempore cum carum sibi habuit (4). — After he had acquitted himself of this commission (for which purpose he had undertaken three journeys to Cracow, in the year 1551, in the months of January, February, and March, more to the satisfaction of the king, than of queen Bona; for he had publicly, in the great church, and in a full court, negotiated

(3) Literas à Rege . . . accepit, quibus ei mandavit ut Reginae conforti sue conciliaret favorem matris sue Reginae Bonæ, cui cum primis nuptiæ illæ filii Regis erant ingratae, & animum exasperant fati naturæ malignum. Nam non temere in eam quilibet lausit.

Rex tibi cunctis Bonæ facit dum cingris unda. Impedit nomen, omnibus imposuit. — He received Letters from the king, in which he commanded him to reconcile the queen his wife to queen Bonna his mother, who was particularly displeased at the king's marriage, and, being naturally full of resentment, was the more incensed for she was not to be played upon with impunity: Whoever, at thy baptism, imposed on thee (or gave thee) the name of Bona (or Good) imposed on (or deceived) every body. Id. Ibid. pag. 36.

(4) Id. Ibid.

(1) Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum, pag. 34.

(2) Stanislai Lubieniecensis, Historia Reformationis Polonicæ, pag. 21.

(1) Historia
Reformat. Polo-
nicæ, pag. 40.

(e) Ibid. pag. 41.

the first bishopric that should be vacant. During these transactions, Lelius Socinus, who came into Poland in 1551 (b), advised Lismanin to throw off his monk's habit, and retire into the reformed countries, and particularly into Swisserland. Lismanin would have followed this advice, but that he found in the king's mind a strong disposition to a reformation. He cultivated these dispositions, and received a commission from him to travel, in order to acquire all the necessary knowledge for establishing a better ecclesiastical government (i) [D]. He saw Italy, Switzerland, Geneva, Paris, and faithfully discharged his commission; but being returned to Geneva, he there married a wife, by the advice of John Calvin and Socinus, and in spite of the most judicious remonstrances of Budzinius, his secretary [E]. The king of Poland was so angry at this action of his, that he gave

over

(c) Hist. de
Coste, Eloges des
Dames Illustres,
Tom. 1, pag.
201.

(6) Id. ibid. pag.
204.
See the words of
Toussaint, above,
citat (18) of the
article ARRA-
GON (L'ARRE-
LA OF).

(7) Libros justis
& impensis regie
coemta, biennio
postquam duxerat
uxorem ad eum
subinde misit.
Lubienicus, ubi
supra, pag. 43.
44.

(8) Id. ibid. pag.
41.

(9) Ibid. pag. 42.

(10) Nec non
litteras quas cele-
berrimi in Hel-
vetia viri ad eum
scripsere: quarum
autographa 30
annis à morte
Regis in manus
Budzinii perve-
nerant, ita ut
ejus industria
conservationem
illorum debeamus.
Horum
autographa hic
omitto cum hæc
jam dudum
lucem viderint.
Idem, ibid. pag.
44.

(11) Ib. pag. 35.

his Polish majesty answered the letters of, the three doctors I have named. 'Literæ illæ (12) ad Lismaninum per Budzinium Ministrum ejus missæ fuerunt, qui & litteras Regias quibus Gesnero, Calvinus & Bullingeri respondit, ad eos pertulit (13).' My author complains of the person, who published John Calvin's letters. He accuses him of having suppressed the praises, which Calvin gave Lismanin in his letters to the king of Poland. 'Moneo amantes veri ex officio viri Christiani & fidelis scriptoris, ut qua ratione in legendis celeberrimorum Auctorum scriptis, circumspiciat eos esse oporteat, videant non bona fide in edendis illis Epistolarum gravium apographis ab infestis veritati hominibus actum esse. Nam ne quid dissimulem; Epistola, quam ad Regem Augustum Calvinus Nonis Decembr. 1554 dederat, satis cordate contra Pontificiam arrogantiam scripta, extat quidem inter Epistolas Calvinæ, pag. 139, sed Lismanini nomen initio Epistolæ parum candidè agens editor ejus omisit (14). — I think it my duty, as a Christian and a faithful writer, to admonish lovers of truth to be cautious in reading the works of celebrated authors, since certain enemies to truth have acted unfairly in the publication of those letters, for, to conceal nothing, the letter, which Calvin wrote to king Augustus, the fifth of December 1554, full of warmth against the arrogance of the Roman Catholics, is extant indeed among Calvin's letters, page 139; but the editor has unfairly suppressed the name of Lismanin in the beginning of the letter.' He produces a letter of Calvin according to the tenor of the original: If you compare it with that which was printed, you will find many omissions in the latter; wherein this whole passage is left out (15): 'Euidem optimo viro & fideli servo Christi Franc. Lismanino, quum à me consilium peteret, auctor esse non dubitavi, ut isthuc statim concederet, si quis forte opera ejus usus fuerit, saltem pio ejus desiderio libenter subscripsi: nec veritus sum ne ejus profectio quasi intemptiva Majestati Vestræ displiceat, ejus præsentiam multis modis utilem experientia ipsa ostendet. Quod si palam à Rege ipsum profiteri mox à primo ingressu nondum commodum videbatur, mihi tamen per sacrum Christi nomen rogan- da suppliciter & obtestanda est V.M. ut recte currenti saltem aliunde patefactam viam curet (16). — For my own part, when Francis Lismanin, that very honest man and faithful servant of Christ, consulted Calvin in dated me, I made no scruple to advise him, immediately to repair thither, if perhaps his assistance might be wanted; at least I readily came into his pious desire nor did I fear lest his going thither a little unseasonably should displease your majesty, experience having showed that his presence is many ways useful. But if it shall not yet be thought proper, that he should, upon his first entrance, appear openly as commissioned by the king, yet I humbly implore your majesty, by the sacred name of Christ, to countenance his right undertaking some other way.' This is a convincing proof of the mission of Lismanin, or rather of the commission, which the king his master gave him to get intelligence among the reformers, and instruct himself in the best means for reforming Poland. At the same time, here is a deplorable instance of the frauds made use of in the printing of posthumous books. Whatever displeases is retrenched. And who can assure us there are no additions and alterations made to them?

[E] He married. . . . In spite of the most judicious remonstrances of his secretary (17). I grant that our gentleman was strongly persuaded of the nullity of his vows, and that his spirit, no less than his flesh, felt a repugnance to the law of celibacy. Yet it was but fit, he should put off his marriage, till

(12) That is to say, those which the friend of Plescow writ to Lismanin.

(13) Lubienicus, Hist. Reform. Polon. pag. 38.

(14) Ib. pag. 44.

(15) Impression exemplar cuncta ista que videbatur de Lismanino omiserat.

(16) Ib. pag. 45.
This letter of Calvin is dated the twenty fourth of December 1555.

(17) This title is given to Budzinius in the Bibl. Antiquit.

over his project of reformation, tho' Lismanin had sent him the letters of several ministers upon this affair (k). The first synod, which was held in Poland (l) by the reformed, writ Lismanin, who was then in Switzerland (m), a very obliging letter, desiring him to return. He left Switzerland in 1556, and came back to Poland, where he concealed himself some time; for he was not ignorant, that there was a sentence of proscription against him (n). Several great lords interceded for him, so that he was suffered to shew himself. He did not at first declare for either of the two innovators, one of which (o) maintained, that Jesus Christ was not mediator, according to the divine nature; the other (p) maintained the pre-eminence of God the Father. But after some conferences with Blandrata in 1558 [F], he began to doubt of the mystery of the Trinity; and became so suspected of Arianism, that he was accused in the consistory of Cracow (q). He defended himself but ill, and as Blandrata had his favourers, and other disputes had already divided mens minds, nothing but confusion ensued in the synods. Lismanin offered a medium for reconciling the parties; which was, that they should stick to the authority of four fathers of the church (r), and for this end collected several passages from these fathers, which might serve for a sanctuary to various interpretations. This project was rejected; whereupon Lismanin retired to Königsberg in Prussia, where he died miserably about the year 1563 (s) [G]. Most of those, who speak of him, do not know his name [H]. He

he had given an account of his commission to the king of Poland. All that is lawful is not expedient: the great matter is to time a thing well. Budzinus represented this maxim to his master, with great judgment, but found him inflexible, and could not prevail with him to defer his marriage. The Socinian, I am going to cite, judiciously censures this precipitation, and takes it ill, that Calvin and Socinus's counsels got the better of those of Budzinus. 'Quod tamen (mandatum regis) paulo post neglexit, postquam Genevam reversus, ne cum horrido cucullo in Polonia rediret, uxorem duxisset, auctore Calvino & Lælio Socino (qui paulo postquam Cracoviam sementem veritatis jecisset, Genevam eodem anno redierat, quâ tamen mox, Calvini ingenium vel non ferens vel metuens, relicti, Tiguri sedem fixerat) sed contradicente Budzinio, ministro suo, & ob oculos ponente Regis indignationem, qui cum sumtibus suis in exteras regiones ad omnia perulanda & exploranda ablegavit, & tantorum conatum alium eventum quam Ablegati sui, ejusque Monachi, nuptias expectet, fide etiam promissi sibi data, tum & successum ejusmodi matrimonii, quod magis ædificata subruere, quam aliquid ædificare possit, insaufum; quod etiam reipsa evenisse suo loco videbimus. Sed furdo cecinit. Namque Monachus celibatum, & spiritu & carne merito illum damnante, perulosus, & ad cassas, interpestivas tamen, nuptias properans, quod instituit, effectum dedit, & accepta uxore, Genevæ manfit. Quod ejus factum Rex moleste ferens ab incepto de exploranda religione resiliuit (18). Which command of the king he soon after neglected, having, upon his return to Geneva, married a wife, that he might not go back a monk, into Poland: this he did by the advice of Calvin and Lælius Socinus (who, soon after he had planted the truth at Cracow, returned the same year to Geneva; from whence departing, either because he could not bear, or stood in fear of, Calvin's disposition, he fixed his residence at Zurich): but his secretary Budzinus remonstrated against it, and set before him the king's resentment, who had sent him at his own expence into foreign countries, to examine and search into every thing, and expected other consequences of such great undertakings, than the marriage of his agent, and him a monk: he put him in mind likewise of his promise, and represented to him the event of such a marriage, which rather tended to pull down, than to build up; which really came to pass, as we shall see in its proper place. But Lismanin turned a deaf ear to this remonstrance. For, tho' a monk, bating religio, both flesh and spirit deservedly condemning it, and baseness to a chaste, tho' unseasonable marriage, he effected what he had designed, and, having taken a wife, continued at Geneva. Which action of his the king resenting, laid aside all farther searches about religion.' Correct a fault that is found in John Lælius's Universal History. He says, that Lismanin left the cloister of Cracow, with some other monks, to turn Protestant (19). Who would not think, on reading this, that this man, and, after him, some others of his fraternity, abjured their religion in Poland? whereas the thing was otherwise: the Franciscans of Cracow, who

turned Protestants, preceded Lismanin (20). The latter dissembled, and threw not off the mask, till he was at Geneva, in his travels, under pretence of purchasing books for his majesty's library. His marriage occasioned Florimond de Remond to say, 'That Francis Lismanin, an apostate monk, who afterwards came near to the Alcoran, favoured these novelties more from a love for a woman he doted on, than for the sake of the gospel (21).' [F] He had some conferences with Blandrata in 1558. I know not whether Lismanin had been a patron of this Blandrata, before his travels above mentioned, and had introduced him to the queen of Poland as a good Physician; but this is certain, that he introduced him to a great prince after his return. It is forsooth Blandrata, qui Medicinam diu in Polonia primum, deinde in Transylvania apud Reginas fecerat cō reverteretur: ubi nimium facile illi aditus ad nostros patuit, quantumvis à D. Joanne Calvino diligenter præmonitis: illum præsertim in illustri. & præstantiss. aliqui Principis ejusmodi gratiam insinuante Lismanino quodam Corycensi, magnæ tum apud Polonicas omnes Ecclesias auctoritatis viro (22). — It so happened, that Blandrata, who had been Physician to queens, first in Poland, then in Transylvania, returned thither; where he had too easy access to those of our party, tho' diligently cautioned by John Calvin; one Lismanin, a Corsican, a man of great authority at that time with all the Polish churches, recommending him to the favour of an otherwise most illustrious and most excellent prince. I here observe a chronological error of Father Maimbourg. He says, that 'Gentilis, being gone to Poland, whither Blandrata had sent for him, Lælius Socini, a Sieneze, and Matthew Gribaldus, went to join him, and that Peter Stator . . . Lismaninus . . . Gomefius (23). . . . and Okinus met them, openly to oppose the Divinity of Jesus Christ (24). He puts in the margin the year 1561; but it is certain, that Lismanin returned into Poland five years before Gentilis was sent for. It is farther certain, that this was not with design to attack the Divinity of Jesus Christ; for he did not appear to espouse Arianism till after he had seen the disputes of Stancar, and conferred with Blandrata, who returned into Poland two years after him. As for Paul Gomefius, he did not go to join Gentilis; for he had been in Poland from the year 1556 (25). [G] He died miserably at Königsberg, about the year 1563. He was seized with a frenzy, and threw himself into a well, where he was drowned. Some say, that his wife, shrewdly suspected of giving him horns, was the occasion of this fatal accident. 'Regiomonti ubi apud Duem Borussie debebat in phrenesin lapsus, (cui à juventute obnoxius erat) in puteum decidit, atque ita submersus est, circa annum ut colligo, 1563. Budzinus cap. 29. hunc casum narrans, dicit, cum ea de re ferretur, retulit sibi esse, uxorem ejus (quæ jam antea adulterio suspecta erat) hujus interitus causam fuisse (26). [H] Most of those, who speak of him, know not his name. We have cited one, who calls him Lisman. Others call him Lismanus (27), or Lismanius (28). 10 F

(18) Lubieniec, ubi supra, pag. 42, 43.

(19) Quibus adjunxit se Franciscus Lismaninus Corycensis qui paulo ante relicto Cracovie, educis secum aliquot Monachos in societatem Evangelii transtulit. Jo. Lælius, Compend. Histor. Universalis, pag. m. 390.

(k) Ibid. pag. 43.

(l) At Pincov, in 1555. Id. Hist. Reform. Polon. pag. 36.

(m) Ibid. pag. 57.

(n) Ibid. pag. 65.

(o) He was called Francis Stancar.

(p) He was called Paul Gomefius.

(q) Hist. Reform. Polon. pag. 118.

(r) St Ambrose, St Jerome, St Augustin, St Chrysostom. Ibid. pag. 168. See the remark [I].

(s) Hist. Reform. Polon. pag. 170.

(20) Lubieniec, ubi supra, pag. 23.

(21) Florim. de Remond, Hist. 1558. I know not whether Lismanin had been a patron of this Blandrata, before his travels above mentioned, and had introduced him to the queen of Poland as a good Physician; but this is certain, that he introduced him to a great prince after his return.

(22) Ita fors tulit ut Blandrata, qui Medicinam diu in Polonia primum, deinde in Transylvania apud Reginas fecerat cō reverteretur: ubi nimium facile illi aditus ad nostros patuit, quantumvis à D. Joanne Calvino diligenter præmonitis: illum præsertim in illustri. & præstantiss. aliqui Principis ejusmodi gratiam insinuante Lismanino quodam Corycensi, magnæ tum apud Polonicas omnes Ecclesias auctoritatis viro (22). —

(23) He should have said Gomefius, not Okinus. (24) He puts in the margin the year 1561; but it is certain, that Lismanin returned into Poland five years before Gentilis was sent for. It is farther certain, that this was not with design to attack the Divinity of Jesus Christ; for he did not appear to espouse Arianism till after he had seen the disputes of Stancar, and conferred with Blandrata, who returned into Poland two years after him. As for Paul Gomefius, he did not go to join Gentilis; for he had been in Poland from the year 1556 (25).

(26) Bibl. Antiquit. pag. 35.

(27) Hoornebeck, Appar. pag. 31.

(28) Spondanus, ad. ann. 1561, n. 33.

He writ scarce any thing [I].

(20) Bibl. Antitritinit. pag. 35. See Beza's eighty first Letter, pag. m. 297.

(30) This Letter is printed in the Historia Reformationis Polonicae, pag. 119, & seq.

[I] He writ scarce any thing.] Here is what we find, on this head, in the Bibliothéque of the Antitritinitarian writers (29). 'Literæ ad generosum Dominum Stanislaus Ivanum Karninskium (30), datæ Pinczovæ die 10 Septembris an. 1561. M. S. in quibus sententiam Stancari oppugnat, ac multis testimoniis Patrum, probat, Patrem esse causam ac originem Filii, eoque majorem: porro se ipsum ab Arianismo sibi objecto purgat: Stancaro autem Sabellianismum imputat. Ab hoc tempore ansa ex hac Epistola arrepta, cepit Gregorius Pauli, in Ecclesia Cracoviensi, fortius urgere eminentiam Dei Patris: prout refert Budzinius, qui dictam Epistolam operis sui historici cap. 20. inseruit. Brevis explicatio Doctrinæ de sanctissima Trinitate, quam Stancaro & aliis quibusdam opposuit, præmissa ad Regem Sigismundum Augustum Epistola apologetica Kal. Junii 1563. Cracoviæ scripta. Subscripserunt ei cum ipso, Felix Cruciger Superintendens Ecclesiarum in minori Polonia, alique circiter triginta Seniores & Ministri: inter quos erat, Gregorius Pauli Senior in ditione Cracoviensi. Apologia hæc excusa est typis, anno 1565. — Manuscript letters to Stanislaus Ivan Karninski, dated at Pinczow, the tenth of September 1561, in which he opposes the opinion of Stancarus, and, by many testimonies of the Fathers, proves, that the Father is the cause and origin of the Son, and therefore greater: moreover he clears himself from the charge of Arianism; and accuses Stancarus of Sabellianism. From this time, taking a handle from this letter, Gregory Paul began more strongly to urge the supremacy of God the Father, in the church of Cracow; as Budzi-

nus relates, who inserted the said epistle in the twentieth chapter of his Historical Work, a short explanation of the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity, written against Stancarus, and some others; to which is prefixed an apologetical epistle to king Sigismund Augustus, June 1. 1563; written at Cracow. It was subscribed likewise by Felix Cruciger, superintendant of the churches of Lesser Poland, and about thirty other elders and ministers; among whom was Gregory Paul, elder in the district of Cracow. This apology was printed in the year 1565. The collection of passages, mentioned in the body of this article, was printed; but Lubieniec had not seen it. I shall, for the singularity of the matter, recite the words, which shew Lismanin's design of terminating the differences of the ministers by the authority of the Fathers. 'Lismaninus tamen studia redintegrandæ concordiae vel stabilienæs rei refutem: media ad hanc rem obtinendam idonea quærere: ad ultimum quatuor illorum Ecclesiæ quarti Seculi Doctorum, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Augustini, & Chrysostomi auctoritatem quasi partibus dissidentibus conciliandis commodum medium proponere: hinc centonem ex illis consuere. Id scripti, licet lucem viderit, videre mihi non contigit (31). — But Lismanin resumed his design of restoring peace and unity; considered of methods for bringing it about; and at last proposed the authority of these four doctors of the church, in the fourth century, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, and Chrysostom, as a proper means to reconcile the disagreeing parties; then made a collection out of those writers. This piece, the publisher, never came to my hands.'

(31) Lubieniec, ubi supra, pag. 163.

LISOLA (FRANCIS DE) became famous by his embassies to several courts of Europe. He was a native of Bezançon, and entered into the emperor's service about the year 1639 (a). From that time to his death, he most zealously stuck to the interests of the Imperial court, and employed all the talents of his pen, and all the vigilance of an able statesman, to the advantage of the house of Austria. He was not above thirty years old, when he was resident in England from the emperor Ferdinand III (b). He discharged this employment so well, that he was continued in it above four years. He was envoy-extraordinary at the court of Spain, at the time of Philip IVth's death in 1665 [A]. The book, which he intituled *Bouclier d'Etat & de Justice*, — *The Buckler of State and Justice*, is a very good one [B]. Here he solidly answers what France had published about the rights of the queen to several states of the Spanish monarchy in the year 1667. I do not doubt but he is the author of several pamphlets against France, which are commonly ascribed to him; but I believe too, that several others are fathered on him, in which he was not concerned; the common artifice of Booksellers to give a run to a pitiful piece. He made himself odious to France by this way of writing; and some Frenchmen have abused him in their pamphlets. They complain of his passionate satirical humour, which spared not the person of the Most Christian king. He defended himself very seriously upon this head [C]. I do

(a) In the preface to the *Denouement des Intrigues du tems*, printed in 1672. It is said, that he had served for thirty three years, without reproach, under two emperors.

(b) Richard, Description de la Franche Comté, in the Atlas of Blaeuw.

(1) Mémoires du Comté de Chavagnac, pag. 246. Edit. Holland.

(2) Ibid. pag. 251.

(3) Ibid. pag. 255.

(4) Ibid. pag. 247.

[A] He was ambassador-extraordinary at the court of Spain, at the time of Philip the fourth's death in 1665.] The count de Chavagnac observes (1) that the baron de Lisola had put a stop to the conclusion of the marriage of the Infanta with the emperor, and had obliged the king, before his death, by an express article, to keep up an army in the hereditary countries, to succour Flanders, the Milanese, and the emperor: count Marlin was to be general of it. The count de Chavagnac was to command under Marlin: he adds, that the baron received orders to go over into England (2), and went on board a pink at Barcelona, in order to go to Final; that he crossed Piedmont, and came to Franche Comté with his wife and daughter (3), who is one of the worst persons in the world (4). [B] The book, he intituled, *the Buckler of State and Justice*, is a very good one.] Here is what Mr de Lyonne writ about it to the king, his master; 'I had forgotten to say, concerning a book the Spaniards have published, intituled, *the Buckler of State and Justice*, (which must be of Lisola's composition) in answer to the tract concerning the right of the queen, that it is Van Beuningen's opinion, that this book has fully and convincingly destroyed all the king's pretensions to the Franche Comté, Namur, Limbourg, Haynault, Artois, &c. so as no good reply can be made on our part; in so much

that the king, as he says, has only remaining, his pretension to Brabant, by right of devolution; from whence he concludes, that he ought only to demand a satisfaction answerable to that pretension, and that, having promised it should be moderated, he now draws this consequence, that Franche Comté, and some other places, ought to satisfy his majesty (5). The postscript Mr le Tellier underwrit to this place Mr de Lyonne's of Mr de Lyonne's dispatch, by the king's order, has these words. *There is ground to hope, that Van Beuningen's opinion concerning this book will not be followed.*

[C] He defended himself very seriously upon this head.] His words are these; speaking of himself in the third person. 'He discovers in all his actions a very particular esteem for the French nation; he acknowledges it to be one of the nurses of arts and sciences, polite in its discourse and writings, agreeable in conversation, fruitful of great men, abounding in good soldiers, industrious, brave, and laborious. His sentiments of his most Christian majesty proceed even to admiration; he speaks of him on all occasions, with as much respect as his own subjects can do; he praises with all possible commendation the glorious regulations he has made in his kingdom, and if he could see him apply his great genius and power to less dangerous and more distant conquests, his most ardent wishes should attend his design (6). Let us

(5) Mémoires of Mr de Lyonne, intercepted by the king's order, the garrison of Lille, the Sieur Beuningen's opinion concerning this book will not be followed. of the cabinet, carrying them from the army to Paris, in 1667, pag. 18, Dutch Edit. 1668. Patin, Letter ecclesiast. p. 357. Tom. III, speaks of this intercept.

(6) Denouement des Intrigues du tems, pag. 16. see

do not think any one has written against him in a more ingenious and smart manner than Mr Verjus (c) [D]: it was to retort gross injuries. Let us not forget, that Mr de Lifola was honoured with the title of baron. He died before the opening of the conferences of Nimeguen. He would doubtless have been plenipotentiary of his Imperial majesty, and possibly would have been more successful than his successors, in retarding the treaty of peace. It is said he was fitter to continue a war than to conclude it [E]; and he had such a faculty of alarming mens minds, that he animated to a confederacy even those, who had the greatest inclination to stand neuter. I am far from affirming, what many have said, that he made no scruple of dispersing in several courts, as from intercepted letters, I know not how many schemes, and projects of alliances, and instructions to ambassadors, which shewed, that France designed to swallow up all Europe; which pieces, as they say, were forged in his own study. I would require strong proofs of this, before I gave credit to it. Besides, though these frauds pass well enough upon the people, *ad populum phaleras*; would pacific

(c) At present he is called Count de Crecy, and was one of the plenipotentiaries of France, at the treaty of Ryfwie, in 1697.

(7) lb. pag. 12.

see how he justifies himself upon the subject of libels (7). 'This writer accuses him of an unreasonable affectation to appear in public by his writings, and I can say, with all those who know him, that it is one of his greatest aversions: tho' in the whole course of his life, he has employed his leisure hours in composing many works, from which he might have expected as great approbation, as from those he was obliged to make public; yet the solicitations of his friends could never conquer the reluctance he ever had to the appearing in print, and, except the *Book-ler of State*, which he was obliged to publish, with a dispatch, which did not permit him to polish it as he could wish, no other piece of his writing has come out with his privacy and consent. It is true, the avarice of the Booksellers has put them on collecting some indigested fragments of two or three other of his works, which they sent to the prefs with so many faults, that the author himself can hardly know them; but he has reason to complain, that the malice of some, and the ignorance of others, frequently father on him off-springs, which he never produced (8), and which have characters so contrary to his, that if the world would do him justice, they would readily own, that they are supposititious.'

(8) Compare with this those words of the 23rd page. He shews that he is but a bad judge of style, when he attributes the letter of the States-General to the baron de Lifola. Good judges will not agree with him, and I shall not wonder hereafter, if the ignorant ascribe so many false pieces to him, as they have hitherto done.

(9) Ibid. pag. 9.

LISOLA justified from avarice and violence.

That I may not resume this another time, let me here recite his answer to the reproaches of avarice and violence. He attacks him in his greatest strength, when he charges him, in covert expressions, with being gained by the States, and acting through a principle of interest and ambition; this is misunderstanding both his genius, and that of the United Provinces. He is as little of a humour to receive, as they are to give; it is not the way of popular republics to be so profuse . . . (9). Indeed, every one knows the baron de Lifola's little application to his fortune, and that he is daily subject to the reproaches of his most intimate friends, for the extreme negligence he shews in his own concerns. The present condition he is in, after the fair opportunities he has had to enrich himself, evidently proves, that he has hitherto laboured more for the public than for himself. Some ministers of France could give an authentic testimony of his way of receiving offers of that nature; all the Imperial court will testify in his behalf, that for above three years he has been ardently following his master to grant him a little retreat, as the price of all his services, in which he might spend the rest of his days at ease, free from the hurry of affairs. If the offices of his enemies could procure him that happiness with his master, to which he only aspires, they might rid themselves of him more handsomely, and with a better conscience, than by that cowardly and unworthy way of abuses and calumnies: I know, he would think himself obliged to their hatred, and would heartily say, *Salutem ex inimicis* (10). This is what concerns the accusation of avarice; let us proceed to the second head. 'As to his conduct in public affairs, all the ministers of the emperor can bear him faithful testimony, that he never proposed any thing violent or unjust, and always promoted union and moderation, while France went upon the ancient maxim, *Divide & Impera*. In all the controversies that have come before him, he has employed his utmost pains and study in seeking ways of accommodation; he has reconciled the elector of Brandenburg and the king of Poland, and found no obstacle to his negotiation, but what the ministers of France were the authors of. All the world knows how much he facilitated the treaty of Oliva, with

'what earnestness he laboured for those of Portugal, and Aix la Chapelle, and the pains he took to strengthen them, by a solid guaranty. He has frequently solicited defensive leagues, which are the foundations of the peace and security of states: he has always dissuaded the offensive, as much as possible, which may raise jealousies, and create new troubles; nay, he grants, that he wishes the preservation and welfare of the United Provinces, because he looks upon them as the bulwark of the empire, the strongest support of the Netherlands, and the mediators and guarantees of peace (11).'

(11) lb. pag. 14.

[D] No one wrote against him in a more ingenious . . . manner, than Mr Verjus. They ascribe to the baron de Lifola a little book intitled, *la Sauce au Verjus* (12), a piece extremely severe against the person, whose name is alluded to. This allusion, and the whole title of this libel, have highly displeased Father Bouhours: I shall relate somewhat at large what he has said upon it; in which we shall find the proof of what I advance, that this writing was fathered on Mr de Lifola. 'A punster will not scruple to play upon a name in abusive writings. He will intitle a libel, *la Sauce au Verjus*, and afterwards say, that grapes, which can never ripen, are good to make verjuice. France approves these designs by her minister at the court of Brandenburg, and the sauce is like to be none of the best, since they have put in it too much verjuice. A man must have a very bad taste, to be pleased with such kitchen-wit. Nothing disgusts more, than these insipid allusions, which have neither wit nor beauty in them; and I do not know, whether I should not relish the impertinence of that famous preacher, altogether as well, who preaching before a great prince, and taking for his text, *Omniis caro fœnum*, began thus, Monsieur, *foin de vous, foin de moi, foin de tous les hommes, omniis caro fœnum*.' But to speak seriously, the foolery of the minister of Vienna, and the preacher of Paris, are much alike: the one offends the majesty of the empire, by a foolish and ridiculous pun, while he pretends to support it; the other dishonours the sacred word of God, by a vile and buffoon expression. Both affront the dignity of our language, which will not suffer absurd and gross jesting (13).'

(12) Printed in 1674.

* It is a French pun, which can hardly be expressed in English.

(13) Bouhours, Remarques sur la Langue Française, pag. m. 428.

[E] They say, he was fitter to continue a war, than to conclude it. It was therefore a most disagreeable employment, which the emperor put him upon, during the war of Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, against Poland; for here is what Mr de Wicquefort tells us. 'In the year 1655, during the rupture betwixt the crowns of Poland and Sweden, the emperor sent to offer his mediation to the latter, by count de Pottingen, vice-chancellor of Bohemia. They had already begun to treat without a mediator: the Swedes were persuaded, that the emperor's intention was rather to aggravate things, than reconcile them. They knew, that, if the negotiation must be carried on by mediators, those could not be declined, who had already been employed at Lubec; that the emperor had endeavoured to oblige the Muscovites to declare war against Sweden, and that Lessinski, whom the king of Poland had sent to Vienna, had obtained some assurance of succours. The count arrived at Thorn in September; but the king being in perpetual motion, he could not speak with him till the fifth of April the year following, and saw him no more after that time; and, coming with Lifola into the army of Poland, he himself renounced the title of mediator (14).'

(14) Wicquefort, Traité de l'Ambassadeur, Tom. II, pag. 239.

[F] He

pacific princes suffer themselves to be caught by them? He had the misfortune to disgust the king of Poland [F], as I shall say below, citing Mr de Wicquefort: He was believed to be the author, and principal director of the design, which was executed in Cologne on the person of prince William of Furstenberg [G], during the conferences of the peace the fourteenth of February 1674.

[F] He had the misfortune to disgust the king of Poland. Mr de Wicquefort tells us this, in a way which gives us some touches of our baron's character. 'I will add to the example of Appelboom (15), that of Francis Baron de Lisola, the emperor's ambassador at Warsaw. This minister, who was a man of parts, had made himself at first very acceptable to the king and queen of Poland, and had done them important services, till, seeing, in the year 1661, that the queen took upon her to elect a successor in the king's life-time, and laboured to get a French prince elected, he openly enough opposed the intrigues that were carrying on, in order to it, amongst the senators. The queen, who could not be ignorant of it, and who was at least as fit to reign as the king, caused the bishop of Warmia, and the palatine of Pomerania, to tell Lisola, that the cabals he made in the kingdom, hindered their majesties from admitting him any more to audience. Lisola, to found their intention, and to know whether there was any thing in it more than personal, and whether the prohibition extended to the negotiation he was employed in by the emperor, his master, demanded to see the king, who ordered him to be answered, that, if he had any proposition to make, he might do it in writing. Lisola refused it, and gave advice of the whole matter to the court of Vienna, from whence an answer was returned, that the emperor was astonished at the proceeding of the king of Poland, and that, before he had taken a method so

(15) Wicquefort, ubi supra, Tom. I, pag. 301, 302.

(16) Printed in 1676.

(17) Traité Curieux, pag. 13.

(18) The author speaks as if he was a Frenchman.

(19) That is to say, of ambassadors punished.

(20) He speaks of Mr d'Ambrun, bishop of Metz, who published a book concerning the right the king had to the succession of Spain, in 1674. The words cited by him are in the preface. He looked on Lisola as the author of a pamphlet, printed at Liege, in 1672, intitled L'Orateur François. It was a relation of the baroque, which this prelate had made to the king at Metz, the thirtieth of July 1673.

(a) Ex Val. Andrea Dessel. Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 527, 528. See also David Lindanus, lib. iii, de Tenebris mundi, pag. 244.

(b) Sweet, Athen. Belg. pag. 444.

derstanding, dexterously assaulted, or defended himself, was a master of politics, acquainted with all its springs, a man of zeal, wrote excellently and easily and short, published curious pieces, when no body believed he had so much as begun them . . . (22) but with these essential qualities, Lisola was unfortunate, and died perpetually thwarted, when the emperor, moved by his services, and to make him a just recompence, recalled him to Vienna, feeding him with many fair hopes. He shone, being near his end, like the glare of a star that vanishes away, after having enlightened all the earth.

[G] He was believed to be the author of a design, which was executed . . . on the person of prince William of Furstenberg. The French always supposed, as an unquestioned fact, that the baron de Lisola was the promoter of this design. He is thought to be the true author of a book, which justifies that action. Deckerhus thus speaks of it. 'Gulielmi Principis Furstenbergii detentio, ad Cæsaris auctoritatem, tranquillitatem Imperii, Pacis promotionem, justa, perutilis, necessaria: auctore Christophoro WOLFFANGO, Anno MDCLXXIV publicata, illustri stylo, experientia profunda, consummata eruditione profus excellens, ab orbe erudito adscribi meruit Præ Illustri Antonio PERIANDRO, Rhetor; qui susceptam modestam nominis detentionem gratiose interpretari non dedignabitur: Causa enim ibi pro honore Imperatoris & Salute Imperii magnifice defensa; neque styli Mais Venusque PORTNERUM serio dissimulare visi; quamvis hodie Illustrem Dom. Franciscum Baronem DE ISOLA, negotiatoribus irritæ pacis immixtum, auctorem videre & eligere, maluerint (23). — The detention of William prince of Furstenberg, just, useful, and necessary, to the authority of the emperor, the tranquillity of the empire, and the promoting of peace: being published by Christopher WOLFFANGUS in the year 1674; and in beauty of style, profound experience, and consummate learning, altogether excellent, it deserved to be ascribed by the learned world to the most illustrious Anthony PERIANDER, a Griefon; who will not disdain to interpret favourably the modest detention undertaken of the name: for the honour of the emperor; and safety of the empire, are therein pompously defended; and the strength and beauty of the style seemed to claim PORTNER as it's author; tho' at present, they chuse to ascribe it to Francis baron D'ISOLA, one of the ministers for negotiating a peace. I shall occasionally say, that he ascribes to the same author an anonymous book against France, printed about the year 1673. His words are these: 'Eodem tempore prodit Consilium status secretius Regis Galliarum, Gallicæ & Germanicæ manifestatum: die Französische Rathstube; non sine veri conjectura, suæque rei, inde spe, hinc metu, à Germanis arreptum, à Gallis cum indignatione rejectum: ut ex libello nuper in contrarium edito Dominum Franciscum Baronem de ISOLA auctorem inculcans, curioso nostræ Reipublice Vindicti patefuit (24). — At the same time was published, in French and German, the Consilium Status, &c. die Französische Rathstube; not without a conjecture of the truth; and greedily seized by the Germans, thro' alternate hope and fear, but rejected with indignation by the French: as appears to the curious defender of our republic, by a book lately published on the other side, accusing the author Francis baron de ISOLA.'

(22) Traité Curieux, pag. 16.

(23) Deckerhus de Scriptis selectis, pag. 160. Edit. 1686.

(24) Id. ibid. pag. 134.

LIVINEIUS, or LIVINEUS (JOHN) was born at Dendermonde; but because in the first part of his life, he was brought up at Ghent, whence he originally sprung, he gave himself the surname of Gandensis. His mother was sister of the learned Levinus Torrentius, bishop of Antwerp. He studied the *Belles Lettres* at Cologne, and Divinity at Louvain. He afterwards took a journey to Rome, and frequented the libraries, and principally that of the Vatican (a). He applied himself to the Greek language, which procured him the friendship of cardinal William Sirlet, and cardinal Antony Caraffa (b). He translated into Latin some works of the Greek fathers, and if he had lived longer, he would

would have published a great many books [A]. He died at Antwerp the 13th of January 1599, at the age of fifty-two years, and was buried in the church of our Lady, where he had been chanter and canon (c). The Jesuits bought his library very cheap.

(c) David Lindanus, ubi supra.

- [A] He translated into Latin, some works of the Greek fathers, and, if he had lived longer, he would have published a great many books. His Latin version of the treatises of Gregory of Nissa, and of St John Chrysostom, *de Virginitate*, was printed at Antwerp, for Plantin, in the year 1579, in 4to. (1). That of the Catechesis of Theodorus Studita, accompanied with Scholia, was printed after his death, by the care of Aubert Miraeus, at Antwerp, in 1602, in 8vo (2). That of the disputation of the emperor Andronicus, against the Jews, was printed at Ingolstadt, by the care of Peter Stewart, in the year 1616, in 4to (3). He made corrections and notes on the twelve ancient Panegyrist, and this edition is of Antwerp, typis Plantinianis, 1599, in 8vo (4). He left among his papers a Latin translation of the epistles of St Chrysostom, that of Euripides, and of Athenæus, &c. (5).

(1) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 528.

(2) Labbé, Dissert. de Script. Eccles. Tom. II, pag. 403.

(3) Valer. Andr. ubi supra.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) David Lindanus, lib. iii, de Tenementis, pag. 244.

(6) This work was printed at Ingolstadt, in the year 1616.

We shall have no good opinion, either of his capacity, or his latinity, if we consult the three first chapters of the first book *Variarum Lectionum ex adversariis Jacobi Gretseri a Georgio Stengelio Selebarum* (6), or if we observe what the journalists of Treux have informed the public of. They say, that Mr Tollius had reason to treat as unfaithful and childish Theodorus Studita's Latin version of the Testament, which he inserted with the Greek in his *Insignia Itineris Italici*, in 1696. They add, 'that the translator seems to have taken less pains to explain the Greek, than to render his own Latin

inexplicable: he applied himself more to search after uncommon Latin words, than to acquaint himself with the sense of the Greek words: but they are greatly surprized, that Mr Tollius should mistake a translation in such a stile as this, for a work of Father Sirmond, many of whose pieces he confesses he had read. How came he not to perceive the difference between this obscure, affected, latinity, and Father Sirmond's stile, which is always perspicuous, nobly simple, and elegant without affectation? They observe, that 'the real version which this Father made of Theodorus Studita's Testament, was printed in the year 1696, in the edition of the works of Father Sirmond, in five volumes in folio: but that it had already appeared in the ninth volume of Baronius's Annals, at the year 826, number 50. That which Mr Tollius ascribes to Father Sirmond, had been published ever since the year 1602, under the name of its true author John Livineius.' They conclude, that it did not become Mr Tollius to exclaim, 'that he had discovered too late, that the learned Jesuit understood neither Greek, nor Latin, and that the esteem he is in, is owing only to prejudice (7).'

In truth, it is a gross mistake, and which would give Mr Tollius great uneasiness, if he were alive. We may see by this, how dangerous a work criticism is; for if we are unacquainted with certain particular facts, all other points of knowledge will not prevent our judging wrong of things.

(7) Taken from the Journal of Trevoux, for July, 1703, art. CXX, par. 1, 2, &c. Edit. of France.

LIZET (PETER) first president in the parliament of Paris. I mention him, only to illustrate some things which Mr Moreri has not sufficiently enlarged upon. They relate to Peter Lizet's disgrace [A], and to his books of controversy [B]. He died the seventh

- [A] Peter Lizet's disgrace. It is spoken of in Moreri's Dictionary, in such a manner, as to make some think, that the dukes de Valentinois, and the cardinal de Lorraine, were the promoters of it, as two different causes. This is misleading the reader: for the cardinal and dukes ought to be considered, in this point, but as one sole cause. The cardinal interested the ambition and avarice of this lady, in the design he had formed of discharging those from places, who did not please him: and afterwards he picked a sham quarrel with Peter Lizet, the consequences of which were, that this first president quitted his place (1). The Guises were angry with him, because he opposed the giving them the title of prince, in parliament (2); and besides, the cardinal of Lorraine would have a man in that post, who should refuse him nothing. The quarrel he picked with Lizet was this: he accused him of having spoken insolently in his majesty's council. The foundation of the accusation was, that Lizet would not give his vote standing, and uncovered, in a council, where the cardinal presided. He boldly declared, that he saw no person present, who deserved such a submission from him. But he did not maintain the first resolution; he quitted his post, like a coward, and even went and threw himself at the cardinal's feet, setting forth his poverty, and supplicating his compassion (3). That poverty was to his glory, and, if he had not tarnished it by so mean a submission, he might be looked on as one of those noble patriots, who appeared at the head of the first parliament of France. He was not master of a foot of land, after he had been twenty years first president: the very house where he lived was not his own. The compassion they had for his poverty procured him the abbey of St Victor, by the cession of Lewis de Lorraine, cardinal de Guise (4). Father du Breul, citing Thuanus, relates the thing, as if all this were transacted the same day, and at the same sitting: but Thuanus says no such thing, but insinuates the contrary. However let us set down Father de Breul's words. 'The president Thuanus . . . elegantly describes the cause of this judge's quitting his place of first president, and accepting the abbey of St Victor, whether he asked it, or whether it was offered him; (for he could not be displaced, except for a crime punishable with death). Being called, says he, to the privy-council (where the cardinal de Lorraine presided

(1) Thuan. Hist. lib. vi, pag. 122, ad ann. 1550.

(2) See the article GUISE (CLAUDE), citat. (16) and (17).

(3) Lizetus qui se initio virom praesentem, in constantia minime pervererat, verum se ad Lotharingi pedes humiliter abiecit, & ignavo metu peculios turpiter magistratu cessit. Thuan. ubi supra.

(4) Du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, pag. 323, Edit. 1639, in 4to.

with an authority equal to that of a vice roy) and being required to speak his opinion frankly, answered, 'I see no body in this place, before whom I ought to give my opinion standing, and uncovered. At which the said cardinal, finding himself touched, proceeded to ill language, calling him arrogant, and threatening him with the king's displeasure. Which so shook this good old man of sixty eight years of age, and too timorous, that he did not persevere in his resolute answer, but, on the contrary, threw himself at the cardinal's feet, and begged his pardon, *Ex viro congesta primo, mulier posteriore factus*. He did not however fail to assert his integrity and innocence, and to protest, that, in the three years he had been counsellor in parliament, twelve years advocate to the king, and twenty years first president, he had not acquired as much land as his feet stood upon: a d that he rented his very house of the abbot of St John des Vignes de Soissons, situate at Paris, in St James's Street, near St Yves's church. Which house retained the name of the said abbey, till the time of the alienations of the estates of the church, when Monsieur James Legier, treasurer to cardinal Charles de Bourbon the elder, purchased it (5). Here are several things, which are not to be found in Thuanus, some of which are undoubtedly true: for it is certain, that Lizet was counsellor in the parliament of Paris three years, &c. His epitaph declares it. 'Qui olim ob heroicis animi sui dotes, vir singulari memoria, & summa juris prudentia in supremum Parisiensis centuriae Senatui à Rege Lodoico XII. aditus, Senatoris munere triennio functus est. Deinde Triumviratus Regii Advocati munus XII. annis Duce Francisco I. feliciter obivit. Ac demum ob suae vitae integritatem, in summum Curiae Magistratum evectus, Justitiae haecenas XX. annorum curriculo ita moderatus est, ut qui Religioe domus Abbas, volente Henrico secundo, fieret, dignus omnium calculo videretur (6). — Wds, on (6) Id. ibid. account of his heroic qualities, being a man of a singular memory, and great skill in the law, was raised by Lewis XII to a seat in the parliament of Paris, which he held three years. Afterwards, he practised for twelve years with success, as king's advocate, under Francis I. And lastly, being made first president, on account of his honesty, he held the reins of justice with such moderation, during a course of twenty

(5) Id. ibid. pag. 322.

(a) Du Breul, *Antiq. de Paris*, pag. m. 322.

(b) In the edition of *Antwerp*, 1568.

seventh of June 1554, at seventy-two years of age. Consult his epitaph at the 322d page of the Antiquities of Paris. He took priest's orders in the year 1553 (a). I have spoken of him in the remark [E] of the article BEDA, on occasion of the divorce of the queen of England. Consult the notes upon Sanci's Catholic Confession, at the 424th page of the edition of 1699, and the 185th and 507th pages of Henry Stephens's Apology for Herodotus (b), where he speaks very ill of this president's morals.

'twenty years, that, in the opinion of every one, he was deservedly raised, by Henry II. to be abbot of a religious house.' By this epitaph Mr Moreri is convicted of two falsehoods, contained in these words. He was made one of the king's council in 1515 (7), and two years after was honoured with the post of the king's attorney-general.

(c) Lewis XII died the first of January 1515, computing the years from the month of January.

[B] His books of controversy. Mr Moreri's indulgence could not stand it out here against the decisive sentence of Thuanus; he has acknowledged, that these books were unworthy of Peter Lizet's reputation. Let us see what Thuanus says of them; 'In quo (Sancti) Floriani carobio) reliquum ætatis exegit extrema clausula minime priori vitæ & famæ respondente, dum litterarum sacrarum homo rudis, Theologicis libris in illo otio scriptis se deridendum propinavit; quibus contrario scripto artificioso ridiculo sub Benedicti Passavantii nomine à Theodoro Beza, ut creditur, responsum est (8).'

(8) Thuanus, ubi supra.

(9) Du Breul, ubi supra, pag. 323.

(10) He should have said, præceptionibus.

(11) You find in the Bibliothèque of Du Breul, Paris, 1518. Petri Lizetii Alverni Montigenæ, utroque iure consulti, primi Præsidis in supremo regis Francorum Consistorio, Abbatique commendatarii S. Victoris, adversus Pseudoevangelicam hæresin libri seu commentarii LX. duobus excusis voluminibus. Lutetiae 4, apud Poncetum le Preux 1554.

(12) This is copied from the Supplementum Epitome Bibliothecæ Gesærianæ, Autore Antonio Verdizio, pag. 44.

(13) And not Blaneau, as Hilarion de Colle says in his *Eloge des Dames*, Tom. II, pag. 669.

I hope it will not be thought amiss to produce here Mr Arnauld's judgment upon Peter Lizet's work concerning the translating the scripture into the vulgar tongue. 'There is but one point, says he (13), where, in they can, it may be, with any foundation complain, that I have unjustly treated Mr Mallet. Which is, that I may have mentioned him in some places, as if he was the first author of a great many imperfections, which I have since discovered he might have taken from a pitiful book, which I had not then seen. But I am willing to give them an example of what a man ought to do, when he has committed a fault. I therefore acknowledge, that I was to blame to look upon Mr Mallet as the first author of all the extravagancies, his book is full of. Some indeed are his own, and those are the grossest. But I have discovered by the book I just now hinted at, that he often has only blindly followed five or six authors of the last age, whose works it is the scandal of ours to preserve, so unworthy are they of the care that has been taken to rescue them from that oblivion, in which some of our ancestors, wiser than we, had suffered them to be buried.' Mr Arnauld here speaks of a certain collection of several tracts, the first whereof is Peter Lizet's. He explains this in another book, in which he tells us (14), that the assembly of the clergy of France, made an order in the year 1660, 'at the request of Mr d'Atichy, bishop of Autun . . . to print, at the expence of the clergy, a collection of authors of the last age, who have condemned the versions into the vulgar tongue, both of the scripture and divine offices. And indeed, adds he, this book was printed with this scandalous title. *Collectio quorundam gravium auctorum, qui ex professo, vel ex occasione, sacra Scriptura, aut divinorum officiorum, in vulgarem linguam translationes damnarunt.* And with this running-title, *Collectio auctorum versiones vulgares damnantium.* It is a medley of the most impertinent authors, that have been written upon this subject, mingled with some good ones, but who say nothing of what the title of this collection imports, or who say quite the contrary. It is a book of president Lizet's, which wholly turns upon this foolish notion, that, when the Bible was translated into Latin, in the beginning of the church, there was two sorts of Latin, one conformable to the rules of Grammar, which was only understood by the learned, and the other not tied to those rules, which was the only one the people understood, and that the Latin versions of scripture having been made in this first sort of Latin, was not properly a version into the vulgar tongue; which this president, become an abbot, extends to all other languages.' Mr Simon (15) had nothing to say in defence of this bad writer.

The Epitomy of Gesner makes mention of two other books of Peter Lizet: one *De autoritate Ecclesiæ, & potestate Papæ*; the other *De Hereticis, & eorum penis*. After his death was printed (16) his treatise of the *Method of proceeding, both in the Institution and Decision of Criminal and Civil Causes, together with the Form and Manner of taking Informations in the said Civil and Criminal Causes*. La Croix du Maine, who tells me this, did not know that Lizet died in 1554. He makes him flourish in 1557 (17).

(13) Arnauld, *Preface of the book intitled, L'Esprit de la Pénitence Sainte, Tiers de la troisième Défense of the New Testament of Mons.*

(14) *Idem*, *Défense des Versions, contre la sentence de l'Official de Paris*, du 10 Avril, 1688, pag. 160.

(15) See his new Observations on the versions of the New Testament.

(16) At Lyons, in 1597, by the care of Loya le Charon, a Parisian. *La Croix du Maine*, pag. 403. Du Verdier Vau Privas does not speak of this edition, but of that of Paris, 1555. The Catalogue of Thuanus's Library, Part I, pag. 248, mentions the edition of Lyons, 1577, in 12mo. The Catalogue of Oxford takes notice only of the edition of Paris, 1584, in 8vo, and ascribes this book to M. P. Liffet, as to an author different from Petrus Lizet.

(17) *La Croix du Maine*, pag. 403.

LOGES (MARY BRUNEAU (a), LADY DES) was one of the most illustrious women of the XVIIth century. She was married, in 1599, to Charles de Rechignevoisin, Esq; lord des Loges, who, four years after, was made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber in ordinary. She died the seventh of June 1641, and was buried in a place she had chosen her self, at two hundred paces distance from la Pleau, a house in Limoulin. Her zeal for the Protestant religion, which she made a constant profession of all her life, her piety, and greatness of soul, appeared with a new lustre, towards the end of her life; the last years whereof, and some others, had been exercised by several domestic troubles

troubles [A]. This doubtless occasioned her making just reflexions on the nothingness of creatures. She had nine children [B], and a sister that was married to Mr de Beringhen [C]. The remarks will inform us, what esteem she was in, not only with the greatest wits, such as Malherbe and Balzac [D], but also with the greatest princes [E]. We shall relate a curious story, which Mr Menage has rectified [F]. Mr de Wicquefort observes, that Madam des Loges *had a great ascendant over the duke of Orleans, for which reason, the assemblies were forbid, which were used to be held in her house* (b).

(b) Wicquefort. Mémoires touchant les Ambassadeurs, pag. 542. Edit. Hague 1677.

[A] *She met with several domestic troubles.* It is the common fate of persons of her sex, who distinguish themselves by a great genius, improved by study, if they engage in conjugal bonds. They ought not to do it; there are others enough besides them, who would take care the race of mankind should not fail. It is much if their country does not do them the same injustice, which Seneca speaks of with regard to Cato (1), of not knowing the value of the treasure it possesses. That which their country does not always do, a husband does much less.

[B] *She had nine children.* There were but five of them alive, three sons and two daughters, when she died. One of the sons bore arms in Holland (2), and married a gentlewoman there, of the family of Vander Myle. There are only some daughters from that marriage.

[C] *... and a sister that was married to Mr de Beringhen.* The marquis de Beringhen proceeded from this marriage, who died at eighty nine years of age, in March 1692, after having been for a long time first master of the horse to the king. This alliance gave very illustrious grand-nieces to our Madam des Loges, by the marquis de Beringhen's sisters. The author of several books lately published, with the title of *Voyage d'Espagne*, &c. is one of them. There are two others (3), who, out of zeal to the Protestant religion, have quitted all the advantages of their country, and who, by their piety, give a lustre to all the other excellent qualities that they are enriched with.

[D] *She was in great esteem ... with Malherbe and Balzac.* To have a just idea of the ability and wit of Madam des Loges, we need only consider, that Malherbe was one of her most assiduous courtiers, and constantly visited her every other day (4). Mentioning Malherbe, is mentioning a man, who never praised, nor hardly esteemed, any body, and who is one of the first and greatest masters that has formed the taste and judgment of our nation, with respect to ingenious performances. Balzac was at least equal to Malherbe, and has perhaps more contributed than he to that politeness, which is spread over the kingdom; however, he was equally an admirer of the lady we speak of. The letters he writ to her are a public testimony of it; and his esteem for her, does as well appear by what he said of her to his friends, as by what he wrote to her. He confesses, in one place of his works, that if he was grown more sparing of his praises, he was chiefly obliged for it to the good advice she gave him. 'The

good Madam des Loges, says he (5), gave me some terrible reprimands upon this subject some time before her death. She upbraided me, that I was the dope of all reigns (they are her very words); that I lavished my praises upon all those who made a shew of any worth; that I was too credulous with respect to others, upon the first glimpse of goodness, the bare appearance of virtues, and so forth.' In another place (6), where he thunders against burlesque, which was grown too much in fashion, to the great grief of those, who had acquired glory by a grave stile, he does not think he has sufficiently fulminated that fundamental heresy in his empire, unless he condemns it by a decree of this lady. 'This sort of raillery, says he, favours more of comedy than conversation, and more of farce than comedy. This is not rallying like a gentleman. Madam des Loges used to say, that she should be as pleased to see a drunken man, or bravado, acted ...

Nay, more, she said, she looked upon such jargon, as she would upon a wooden sword by a man's side, and meal upon his face.' Mr de Baurtra, who was not naturally a great admirer (7), doubtless admired this lady, since, to shew a man's want of address, who could not profit by the conversation of the wits, by putting them upon things worthy of them, he makes use of these four examples:

(1) Dissertation at the end of the *Sacrate Chretien*, pag. 176.

(2) Entretien, xixviii.

(3) Entretien, xixviii.

(4) Entretien, xixviii.

(5) Entretien, xixviii.

(6) Entretien, xixviii.

(7) Collez, Lettres, Vol. I, pag. 137.

Il mene aux Allobroges

Balzac, Boissat, Conat, & Madame Des-Loges (8).

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 125.

I do not believe, that they, who are skilled in proofs, can doubt of the extraordinary merit of this lady, after having considered what I have said.

[E] *... but likewise with the greatest princes.*

Balzac shall be my witness. 'If you do not know, says he (9), Urania, the nymph I have so much praised, and whom I bitterly lament, I must tell you, it is my good deceased friend, Madam des Loges, who in her life-time was called more than once, and by more than one academist, the celestial, the divine, the tenth muse, &c. who was esteemed within and without the kingdom, by crowned heads, the demi-gods of our age, by the duke of Orleans, the king of Sweden, the duke of Weimar, &c. I am of opinion, that the verses, which celebrate her memory (I speak of the eloquent Urania) are full as good as those, which one Antipater, a Sidonian, made upon the death of the learned Sappho.'

[F] *I shall relate a curious story, which Mr Menage has rectified.* It is an adventure, which has been published two several ways. Mr de Balzac tells it thus, in his thirty seventh dialogue.

'Malherbe was one of the most assiduous in making his court to Madam des Loges, and visited her constantly every other day. One of those days, finding upon the table in her closet du Moulin the minister's great book against Cardinal du Perron (10), and being seized with a poetical enthusiasm upon the bare reading of the title, he called for pen, ink, and paper, and wrote down these ten lines:

Quoy que l'Auteur de ce gros livre
Semble n'avoir rien ignoré,
Le meilleur est toujours de fuir
Le Proné de notre Cuié.
Toutes ces doctrines nouvelles
Ne plaissent qu'aux folles cervelles;
Pour moi, comme une humble brebis,
Sous la houlette je me range:
Il n'est permis d'aimer le change,
Que des femmes & des habits.

This author may pretend to know
More than a thousand others do;
I follow what our parson preaches,
Believing only as he teaches.
I leave these novelties to those,
Who turn with ev'ry wind that blows;
My shepherd bumble I obey,
Nor ever from his flock do stray.
No change a man of prudence knows,
But in his women, and his cloaths.

Madam des Loges, reading Malherbe's verses, and fired by honour and zeal, took the same pen, and on the other side of the paper wrote these other verses:

C'est vous dont l'audace nouvelle
A rejeté l'antiquité,
Et du Moulin ne vous rapelle
Qu'à ce que vous avez quitté.
Vous aimez mieux croire à la mode:
C'est bien la foy la plus commode,
Pour ceux que le monde a charmés.
Les femmes y sont vos idoles:
Mais à grand tort vous les aimez,
Vous qui n'avez que des paroles.

(9) In the thirteenth Letter of the second book of the *Lettres choisies*: he writes it to Mr Menage, sending him at the same time the verses he had made on the death of Madam des Loges. They are printed among his Latin poems. Here are some lines of them.

Vidi epogramma
Nepum, caput ardua
mundi
Uranias haustus
obstupuisse sonis:
Borbonium genos
& cognata
à stirpe
Navarre
Reliquias; & cui
Mantus sceptrum
dedit.
Hanc coluit,
Jectis caput dulcedine chartæ.
Ille tui victor
magnus, Ihere,
Cetera,
Et dudum patria
dum præparat
arma sub orbi,
Miserat huic
cultus nuncia
signa sui.
Hujus & Ambrosios
avida bibit
aure lepores
Wymarius,
migno non minor
ipse Cete.

(10) That, which is intitled, *Nouveauté du Papisme* (The Novelty of Popery), printed first at Sedan, in fol. in 1627. See the *Bibliothèque Choisie* of Colmic's, pag. 31, 32.

'Tis you, who boldly dare decry,
And set aside antiquity.
Good du Moulin, wou'd but restore
Those doctrines you believ'd before.
But fashion, guide of faith in chief,
Prescribes the mode of your belief:
The most convenient faith, I grant,
For those, whom worldly joys enchant.
'Tis women only you adore,
And bow to their almighty pow'r.
Yet vain your worship, since, at most,
But empty talking is your boast.

‘ The conclusion of these two epigrams will doubtless please the prophane, and those who set up for gallants. For my part, I hold, that in matters of religion, the comic stile is always to be avoided. The first is not grave enough for a man, who speaks in earnest, and the other is too light for a woman, that speaks to a man.’

Mr Menage thinking, that the matter thus happened, printed this story in his observations upon Malherbe's poems, just as Mr de Balzac had told it. But mind what he has put at the end of this book.

Since this note was written and printed, I have been informed by Mr de Racan, that it was he, who made these verities, which Mr de Balzac ascribes to Malherbe, and that Madam de Gombaud made those which he ascribes to Madam des Loges, and that the thing happened in this manner. Madam des Loges, who was of the pretended Reformed Religion, had lent Mr de Racan, du Moulin the minister's book, called *le Bouclier de la Foi*, (*The Shield of Faith*), and had obliged him to read it. Mr de Racan, having read it, made this epigram upon it, which Mr de Balzac has altered in many places.

Bienque du Moulin en son livre
Semble n'avoir rien ignoré;
Le meilleur est toujours de suivre
Le Prône de notre Curé.
Toutes ces doctrines nouvelles
Ne plaisent qu'aux folles cevelles.
Pour moi, comme une humble brebis
Je vais où mon Pasteur me range,
Et n'ay jamais aimé le change
Que des femmes & des habits.

‘ Having communicated it to Malherbe, who came to see him at that time, Malherbe wrote it with his own hand in du Moulin’s book, which he returned at the same time to Madam des Loges, as from Mr de Racan. Madam des Loges, seeing these verses written with Malherbe’s hand believed them to be his; and as she was extremely zealous for her religion,

gion, would not suffer them to remain unanswered. She therefore desired Mr de Gombaud, who was of the same religion, and of equal zeal, to answer them. Mr de Gombaud (I know it from himself) who believed, as Madam des Loges did, that Malherbe was the author of those verses, answered them by the epigram, which Mr de Balzac attributes to Madam des Loges, and which he thinks too light for a woman who speaks to a man. This is not the first time that Mr de Balzac has ascribed to this lady verses she had no hand in; for in one of his letters he makes her the author of the song of the dying lover. the burden whereof is.

Ah c'en est fait ! je cede à la rigueur du sort,
Je vais mourir ; je me meurs ; je suis mort ;

'Tis done ; my destiny is on my head ;
I'm going to die ; I die ; and now I'm dead.

' which was written by the deceased Mr Habert Cerifi,
' one of the finest wits of our age.'

Who sees not in all this an instance of historical uncertainty? Mr de Balzac thought he had communicated to his friend a most certain fact, an incomparable piece of secret history, and infinitely valuable to all the

A SHORT Reflexion on the preceding passage.

lovers of what we call *personalities*. He had persuaded all his readers of it. Mr Menage, having inferred it in one of his books, was just upon dispersing it far and wide, when by chance Messieurs de Racan and de Gombaud, being still alive, disabused Mr Menage, before his observations upon Malherbe were sold off; and thus the public came to be undeceived. If these two gentlemen had been dead, without speaking of this to Mr Menage, or if they had spoken of it at another time, the first narration would perhaps still have had intire credit. How many other facts are there, and much more important, which pass from age to age, and from generation to generation, no body discovering their falldoom; for want of fortuitous occasions, like the conversation of Mr Menage with Racan and Gombaud? However, Madam des Loges is cleared of composing verses in too light a strain. It cannot be denied, that Balzac was in the right, to think the end of the epigram too little consistent with the modesty and purity which ought to reign in all the writings of the fair-sex. Not that we must espouse the hasty and too rigid maxim of those, who pretend, that a woman, who should tax a man with having nothing but words, would as good as declare that she was concerned she had not got, or did not daily get from him, something more real. This maxim is extravagant and false; but who would not wonder at Mr de Racan, if it were true, that he was the author of Malherbe's Life (11), printed with some little tracts in 1672; who would not wonder, I say, that he should tell Mr Menage of Balzac's mistake, and yet insert all Balzac's story (12) in Malherbe's Life, without rectifying it in the

LOGNAC, or LOIGNAC, or LONGNAC, or rather LAUGNAC [A], made himself extremely considerable in the reign of Henry III, and had a great share in that prince's favour. He was brave, and in this point had firmly established his reputation by some duels, and quarrels, which the house of Guise had brought upon him [B],
and

[A] LOGNAC or rather LAUGNAC.]

It will appear by the following remarks, that these four ways of writing this gentleman's name, are found in our historians. The last is, I think, the best, as being that which Dupleix, who was of the same country, has used; and it is known, that the diphthong *au*, is very common in the proper names of that country. This diphthong is pronounced like an *o* at Paris, and in the neighbouring provinces: and hence the authors put an *o*, and not an *au*, in the first syllable of the name of this favourite of Henry III. I shall observe by the way, that one must be very attentive, who would understand the Latin tongue, spoken by the Parisians; for they pronounce in the same manner *aurum* and *borum*, *auris* and *oris*, and thus of several other words.

[B] He had established his reputation by some duels, and quarrels, which the house of Guise had brought upon him.] The baron de Biron (1) had a quarrel in 1585, 'with the Sieur de Carency, eldest son to count

de la Vauguyon . . . for the heirs of the house of
Caumont, whom both pretended to. This quarrel
ended by a duel of three against three; Biron,
Loignac, and Janiffac, on one side, killed Carey,
d'Estillac, and la Bastie (2). The author, I have this
from, relates in another history (3); ' that after the
' duke of Espernon was retired to Angouleme, the
' king having given the place of first gentleman of his
' chamber to the Sieur de Loignac, this gentleman was
as a mark, at which, by the instigation of the duke
of Guise, all the princes of the league discharged their
envy. The chevalier d'Aumalle, a little before the
death of the duke of Guise, returned to Paris, and,
before he came there, had contrived a quarrel with
the said Sieur de Loignac, upon the subject of some
amorous affair, which commonly happens amongst
young gentlemen. Loignac was brave, a man well
skilled in arms, and who had come off in several
duels; his quality of first gentleman of the bedchamber

(2) Taken from
Cayer, *Histoire de
la Poix*, fol. 319,
verso.

(3) Cayer,
Chronologie, Tom.
I, fol. 109.

(1) He who was
beheaded in
1602.

and in which he came off honourably. He was captain of the forty-five gentlemen [C], chosen for the greater security of Henry III's person. He was also master of the wardrobe (a), and gentleman of the chamber to this prince (b). It is generally agreed, That he encouraged him to rid himself of the duke of Guise [D], and was present at the execution; but as to the manner of his being an accomplice in it, it is not so generally agreed [E]; nor are the historians any better agreed about his disgrace: for some only say, he was turned out because he asked a government; and others, That he had a government given him on purpose to remove him from court [F]; adding, that, by the treachery of

gave him a right to fight duels with strangers of the greatest quality, and decline them with such as were not of his own quality. This grudge therefore, and the picking a quarrel on a love affair, made Loignac conclude, that the duke of Guise, and the princes of the league, were resolved he should not long enjoy the advantages the king's favour gave him. We find in d'Audiguer (4) more circumstances, than in Cayet, of Biron's and Carenci's duel.

[C] He was captain of the forty-five gentlemen. Let us cite Mezzerai, who tells the reason of raising this new company. 'Esperson raised to the highest degree of favour, in which Joyeuse began to decline, ceased not to spur on the king to the ruin of the Guises; and they, in revenge, having sworn his destruction, formed several conspiracies to complete it. He had the policy to persuade the king, that they were all intended against his sacred person; and by this means induced him to guard himself with the famous band of forty five, which he himself chose perhaps with a design which the event will discover. They were all Gascons, whom the hopes of pushing their fortune made capable of every thing. Lognac was their captain (5).'

[D] It is generally agreed, that he encouraged Henry III, to rid himself of the duke of Guise. At the same time the duke of Nevers, and Lognac, captain of the forty-five, were continually exasperating him; the duke of Nevers, because he irreconcilably hated the duke of Guise, and Lognac, because, having in some sort succeeded to Esperson's favour, as a second, to Bellegarde, cousin german to this duke, he knew that the house of Guise, a constant enemy to favourites, would not long suffer him in this post (6).'

[E] The manner of his being an accomplice in the murder of the duke of Guise, is not agreed on. Some authors say, that the duke 'feeling the council had not yet met, was passing to the king's chamber, and crossing the gallery which led to it, and entering into his majesty's chamber, he saw the Sieur de Longnac sitting upon a trunk, his arms a-crois without stirring. He had long suspected, that the Sieur de Longnac had undertaken to kill him, and thinking that he was posted there to attack him; he resolved immediately to fall upon him, and laying his hand to his sword, drew it half out; but the Sieur de Longnac, and some others, seeing him make such an attempt, at the king's chamber door, prevented him, and immediately threw him down, and dispatched him with their swords, without giving him time to speak a word. This is the opinion of those who have written the history of these matters, as printed at Geneva (7); but the opinion of the league is quite contrary (8). The relation I have mentioned above (9), imports, that Loignac staid with his sword (10) in the chamber, where the execution was to be performed, and where the king had placed eight of the forty-five. These eight had each a dagger. The duke of Guise entering into the chamber, saluted those that were there: 'who rose up, saluted him at the same time, and followed him as out of respect; but when he was within two steps of the door of the old cabinet, . . . he was suddenly seized by the arm by the Sieur Montfery, the elder . . . who at the same time stabbed him with his own hand in the breast, saying, *ba! traitor, thou shalt die*. At the same instant the Sieur Des Effranats started up, and the Sieur de St Malines gave him another stab with his dagger in the breast, and the Sieur de Loignac run him into the loins (11). Other relations say, 'that nine of the forty five came from behind the tapestry, where they were concealed; and that the duke of Guise, seeing near the chimney, Longnac, whom he knew to be his mortal enemy, made some steps backward to draw his sword; that he at first got rid of the assassins; and that Longnac,

perceiving that he came directly to him, gave him a thrust in the belly, on which he fell down, and died some moments after (12). Davila supposes, that Lognac did not wound him at all, and that he only pushed him back, seeing him come forwards to him; that after this repulse, the duke, who had received several wounds, fell down, and died. 'Dopo molte ferite nel capo, e per ogni parte del corpo urtato finalmente da Lognac, al quale s'era impetuoso famente avanzato, cadde innanzi alla porta della guardaroba, & ivi senza poter proferir parola finì gli ultimi sospiri della sua vita (13). Thuanus affirms, that Loniac seeing him come up to him in a menacing posture, opposed him with his sword in the scabbard, and made him fall (14). He was only spectator of the tragedy, if we depend on Thuanus's relation. He was leaning on a trunk, when the duke disingaged himself from the assassins, and came up to him, as it were, with a design to fall upon him: 'Cum in Monestratum Loniacum, qui cum Rogerio Bellagardio Termo in cubiculo aderat, arcu genu altero innixum protensis brachiis & contractis pugnis tendere videretur, quasi ipsum petiturus (15). Duplex is more positive; he makes the eight alone do the execution. 'Laugnac not being one of those, whom the king had chosen, did not strike him, tho' he was particularly his enemy: However he had offered his majesty to attack him in a single combat. But the king thought there would be as much hazard as courage in that, and would not suffer him (16). I have read this last circumstance in no other Historian; the offer made to Henry III of taking off the duke of Guise by a duel, being constantly ascribed to Grillon. Davila relates, that Grillon making this offer, upon refusing the commission to kill the duke, left the king in an extreme perplexity, which lasted till Lognac had promised him to see the execution done. I relate the words of this Historian, because they contribute to the history of our Laugnac. 'Lasciò il Rè grandemente dubbioso di quello dovesse operare, e stette in questa perplessità fino al giorno vicesimo primo, nel quale confidato il negotio a Lognac uno de' gentiluomini della camera sua, il quale già dal Duca di Gioiosa era stato introdotto alla Corte; e per la gratia per le maniere, e per la gentilezza de' collumi già cominciava ad avanzarsi al luogo de' Mignonni, egli senza molto riguardo promise con alcuni delli quarantacinque, che dependevano strettamente da lui di eseguire prontamente quello fatto (17). — He left the king in great perplexity, till the twenty first day, when, trusting the business with Lognac, one of the gentlemen of his chamber, who had been introduced to court by the duke of Joyeuse, and had ingratiated himself by his polite behaviour, he immediately promised him, with the assistance of any one of the forty five, who depended upon him, to see it executed.'

[F] Some say, he was turned out because he asked a government; and others say, that a government was given him on purpose to remove him from court. 'The Sieur de Loignac, a great favourite of the king . . . importuned him to give him a government, and a place of secure retirement, because of the enmity the house of Guise bore him: his majesty asking him, if he had no other reason, than that, to ask of him a place of retreat: Loignac answered, no, and that the enmity of the house of Guise was reason enough. Get you gone immediately out of my court, said the king to him, and let me never see you more, since you desire any other security than being near my person; I have not been mistaken in my opinion of you, I much suspect that you are tainted with ingratitude, and have forgotten the obligations you are under for the benefits I have conferred on you. Loignac, receiving an answer from the king so contrary to his expectation, immediately left Blois,

10 H

(4) D'Audiguer, l'Esprit des Duels, chap. xxxviii, pag. 436, & seq.

(5) Mezzerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. V, pag. m. 301.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 324.

(7) That is to say, the Memoirs of the League, and the History of the five kings.

(8) Cayet, Chronol. Nouvelle, Tom. I, fol. 105, verso.

(9) Citation (49) of the article HENRY III.

(10) See Marcel, Hist. of France, Tom. IV, pag. 630.

(11) Ibid. pag. 631, 632.

(a) See the remark [F], citat. 20.

(b) See the remark [B].

(12) Varillas, Hist. of Henry III, liv. xi, pag. 104, 105, Edit. of Holland.

(13) Davila, lib. ix, pag. m. 535.

(14) Loniacus enim, ut erat vagina tectus, venientem objicit, cuius pro impulsu jam viribus animi & corporis inquantibus in tapetum substratum toto corpore concidit. Thuanus, lib. xiii, pag. 245.

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Duplex, Hist. of Henry III, pag. m. 181.

(17) Davila, ubi supra, pag. 533.

(c) See the remark [F], citat. (26) and (27).

du Guast, he lost his government, and was forced to retire to Gascony, his native country. He was there killed some time after. Thuanus and Davila seem to say, that he was with the king, when the monk, James Clement, assassinated that prince (c). I do not know whether

(18) Cayet, ubi supra, fol. 133, verso.

(19) At the end of the remark [I], of the article HENRY III.

(20) Pasquier, Letters, book xlii, pag. 65, &c. Tom. II.

(21) Id. Ibid. pag. 66.

(22) The friends and relations of the duke of Guise.

(23) Id. Ibid. pag. 67.

and passing through Amboise, retired into Guienne, where he was killed soon after by a pistol-shot, as he came out of his castle, to go a hunting, by a gentleman his neighbour, with whom he had a quarrel (18). This is Peter Victor Cayet's relation, which at once shews what I have elsewhere promised (19), and is also an instance that Henry III, on some occasions, knew how to shew resolution and greatness of mind. The following relation is very different.

The king, at the beginning of the year 1588, had made two masters of his wardrobe, the lords de Bellegarde and de Longnac; the former from a natural affection he had for him; the latter at the pressing instance of the duke d'Elpernon: but as that affection, which springs from our own nature, takes deeper root, than the liking entertained upon the recommendation of others: so he began to be weary of Longnac, especially after the death of the duke of Guise, and the more because he had been the first, who induced the king to command this murder, which succeeded so unfortunately; so that from thenceforward he began to look on him with an ill eye. I can assure you of one thing, that, three weeks before he left the court, an experienced courier said to me: observe this gentleman; as good a face as he sets upon the matter, he is totally routed. For entering publicly into the king's cabinet, to keep up his good opinion with the people, he immediately comes out by the back door, and retires to his chamber, quitting the field to Monsieur de Bellegarde. The king, who would not entirely discontent Longnac, had formerly given him the government of Anjou and Touraine; and he had often told him, that he ought to retire thither; but he, foreseeing, that if he left his place, he should only be a governor in parchment, and that they, who had the governments of the towns, would have all the power, remained still at court with the king; who at last, not able to bear the sight of him any longer, told him, that he had frequently enough declared how little satisfaction he received from his presence; so that he might take his choice, either to go off immediately, or never appear before him more but on Fridays, a day he set apart to do penance. Longnac, seeing himself totally cut off from his master's favour, and no hopes of any longer respite, began to act the part of a desperate man, who meditated nothing but revenge: a design, however, which he did not execute, but has since been very well managed by another hand. He posted away one fine night, and retired to Amboise (20). This was a town of his government, and where du Guast, whom he looked on as his creature (21), commanded. He was very well received, and proposed to du Guast the design of making an advantage of having the prisoners of Henry III in their power (22). The court suspected this conspiracy, and entered into a kind of negotiation to prevent the consequences: Longnac protested, that he would most faithfully preserve the town, the castle, and the prisoners, for the king. But to say truth, he reckoned without his host; for he had put a thought into du Guast's head, who knew very well how to make his advantage of it (23). There were in the castle two companies; that of du Guast, and another Du Guast, by a bold stroke of policy, gives a false alarm, and makes Longnac believe, that there were people ravaging on the other side of the bridge, who attempted to make themselves masters of it, and that it would not be amiss to play them a trick. Longnac, whose hands itched to be doing something, and who did not at all mistrust du Guast, undertook to clear the coast: he marches out of the castle, followed by the other company, and soon finds there was nothing at all in it. But at his return, thinking to enter at the place where he marched out, he found the gates shut against him, and all his company. You may judge what a miserable condition he was in, to find himself first thrust out of his master's favour, and next out of the only place where he proposed to himself some consolation in his disgrace. Seeing himself thus tricked, he was forced to resume the old road to his house in Gascony, and his company of

soldiers, that of Blois. Du Guast excuses himself (as I have learned from his own mouth) by alledging he had certain advice, that Longnac came to Amboise, with a design to kill him, and make himself absolute master of the place. And that, to avoid this danger, he was willing to prevent him (24). We shall make a reflexion below upon this excuse of du Guast.

Were I to chuse between Victor Cayet's and Stephen Pasquier's accounts, I should not imitate Mr Varillas, who gives the preference to the former, without saying one word of what is contained in the latter. He relates (25) the agreement made by du Guast with the league for delivering the prisoners, and the conditions upon which Henry III made that compact miscarry, by granting du Guast considerable advantages, and then adds, that 'the counter blow of these two compacts rebounded upon Longnac The king was insensibly grown cold to him; and though his majesty had hitherto held the balance between Bellegarde and him, as he had formerly done between the dukes of Joyeuse and Elpernon; he now on a sudden inclined wholly on Bellegarde's side, by refusing Longnac the post of master of the horse, to give it the other. The discontent this gave Longnac made him desire his majesty, too plainly that for his lost favour he would be pleased to give him a place of security for his retreat.' Mr Varillas afterwards relates the answer which Cayet supposes the king made. This is all his account. How many essential circumstances are here wanting; and what did he think of, in connecting Longnac's disgrace with the base dealing of du Guast? to what purpose is this? the omission of facts, which might serve to connect these things, and furnish a reasonable transition to an Historian, is not the least of his faults. Nothing is more worthy of a critic's intention, than such omissions; and nothing more proper to mend the taste and judgment of an author, than to be admonished of this kind of mistakes.

Observe these words of Thuanus (26): 'Tum, *that is when James Clement stabbed Henry III with a knife*, Mompelatus, Lonicus, & Joannes Levias Mirapicensis, qui aderant, hominem istu regis attonitum superanti ira pensum humi sternunt, statim innumeris vulneribus confossum interficiunt. Then Mompelat, Lonicus, and John marquis de Mirepoix (who were present) in a rage, knocked down the assassin, who stood agast when he had struck the king, and, giving him innumerable wounds, killed him.' Davila says (27) that Mompelat, Lognac, and the marquis de Mirepoix, gentlemen of the bed-chamber, threw James Clement's body out at the window. I believe that, in both these Historians, the comma between the two first names is a fault: for Mompelat was one of our Lognac's names (28); but if they mean by their Lonicus, and Lognac, him whom I treat of in this article, they are in an error: he was no longer at court.

By the way, du Guast deserved no credit, when he alledged the excuse, which Pasquier relates. The action, he would excuse, looked so black, so infamous, so perfidious, that there is no lie, but he must have invented to cover it. And it is the common custom of those, who are guilty of such crimes, to maintain that, without that, they had been ruined, and that they had most certain advice of designs formed against their life. They do not always lie; but most commonly they do; and this is sufficient to render all apologies of this kind suspected of imposture, unless they are built upon undoubted evidence. It was not impossible that Laugnac should take measures to supplant the other; for there were few honest men at that time, either at court, or in the league; but the presumption is wholly against du Guast; he was a dishonest man, an arrant villain, and shewed it soon after; since, notwithstanding all his obligations to Henry III, who had loaded him with favours, he treated with the league for the surrendering the prisoners, whom that prince had given him the charge of; and he had actually delivered them, if the king had not prevented him by advantageous offers. Unfortunate prince! who was obliged to recompense

(25) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 205.

(26) Thuanus, lib. xcvi, pag. 300.

(27) Davila, lib. x, pag. 586.

(28) Thuanus, above, citat (15) calls him Mompelatam Lonicum.

whether the Laugnacs, who were killed in a duel in the reign of Lewis XIII, descended from him [G].

the most infamous treasons of his subjects. Miserable age! in which assassination, perjury, disloyalty, were the ordinary ways to greatness; an age worse than the Iron one, and of which every one might say,

Nunc ætas agitur, pejorque secula ferri
Temporibus, quorum scelere non invenit ipsa
Nomen, & à nullo posuit natura metallo (29).

(19) Juvenal.
Sat. XIII, ver.
28.

With an ill grace the Iron age we blame;
Our own so base, no metal gives it name.

[G] I know not whether the Laugnacs, who were killed in a duel . . . descended from him.] D'Audiguer affirms it: he had heard say, that one of those, who fought for the baron de Biron, ' was the last to conquer; but ' having at length got his enemy under, he gave him

several stabs, without being able to kill him, so that ' he was forced to quit him alive, seeing his companions go off, though he continued alone on horseback ' for some time, on purpose to see him die (30). If (10) D'Audiguer ' this was Loignac, continues he, he was punished for ' it in his successors; for the last Loignacs, father and ' son, were both killed in duels within these four or ' five years; one in Rouergue, by the baron de Me- ' gelas, and the other not far from Bistretre, by the ' baron de Rabat (31). Two brave barons, who are ' no less discreet and courteous than brave, and who ' put an end to two brave men. I did not know the ' son; but the blood he drew by several wounds from ' him that killed him, testifies what he was. As for ' the father, I have sometimes seen him in company ' with baron de Roquefueil (another of the bravest men ' in the world) and at the deceased queen Margaret's, ' where he held extraordinary disputes in Philosophy, ' and greatly manifested his knowledge of good let- ' ters.

(31) This duel was fought in 1615. The silent de Gramond speaks of it, lib. i. Histor. Gallie, pag. m.

LOLLIUS (MARCUS) consul of Rome in the year 733. The emperor Augustus gave him great marks of his esteem; for he not only honoured him with the government of a noble province (a) in the year 719, but made him also governor to Caius Cæsar, his grandson, when he sent this young prince into the East, to settle the affairs of the empire on that side. Lollius's conduct in this expedition betrayed the ill qualities, which he had all along politickly concealed under the false appearance of virtue. His dissimulation was so well acted, that, tho' avarice was his reigning passion, he was ever thought impregnable to money [A]. The excessive free-gifts, which he extorted in his expedition with the young Cæsar, lost him that false reputation (b). He discovered some other of his faults in the same employment; for, in order to make himself more necessary, he fomented the quarrel between Tiberius and Caius Cæsar [B]; and was suspected of being a spy of the king of Parthia, to retard the conclusion of the peace. Caius discovered this treachery [C], when he came to discourse with this monarch in an isle of the Euphrates (c), which made him conceive such an aversion for this governor, as drove him to despair; for he killed himself

(a) That which was made by annexing Galatia, Lycania, Inania, and Phidia, after the death of king Antiochus. See Father Noris, Cent. Pisan.

(b) See the remarks [D] and [G].

(c) Paterculus, lib. ii. cap. cl.

[A] He had been thought impregnable to money.] Among other praises, Horace gives him this:

Non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum sileri,
Totve tuas patiar labores
Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones: est animus tibi
Rerumque prudens, & secundis
Temporibus dubiisque rectus;
Vindex avaræ fraudis, & ABSTINENS
DUCENTIS AD SE CUNCTA PECUNIAE,
Consulque non unius anni,
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus
Judei honestum prætulit utili, ET
REJECIT ALTO DONA NOCENTIUM
VULTU: & per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma (1).

(1) Horat. Ode
IX, lib. iv.

My muse shall consecrate thy name,
Thy virtuous labours, and thy fame.
In ev'ry state of things, we find,
In thee, a prudent, steady, mind:
Impregnable to bribes thou art;
No base corruption taints thy heart.
Nor does a single year confine
Thy magistracy's scanty line;
But thy impartial, honest, soul,
Which no oblique attempts controul,
From avarice and ambition free,
Bids thee perpetual consul be.

Though a court-poet makes little conscience of bestowing eulogies on men that are thought unworthy of them, yet we must believe, that Horace here governs himself by appearance; that is, that he pro-

portions his praises to the esteem the person praised was then in; for we learn from a famous historian, that this Lollius concealed his evil qualities to a wonder. ' Sub Legato M. Lollio homine in omnia pecuniarum quam recte faciendi cupidior, & inter summam vitiorum dissimulationem vitiosissimo (2). — ' Under the lieutenant M. Lollius, a man in every thing more fond of money than of behaving well, and, under the biggest appearances of virtue, the most vitious of men.'

(2) Paterculus, lib. ii. cap. xcvi.

[B] He fomented the quarrel between Tiberius and Caius Cæsar.] This we may infer from these words of Suetonius (3): ' Namque privignum Cajum orienti ti præpositum, cum vilendigratia trajecisset Samum (Tiberius) alieniorem sibi sensit ex criminationibus M. Lollii comitis & rectoris ejus. — For Tiberius, having passed over to Samos, to pay a visit to his son-in-law Caius Cæsar, who had the care of the East, found his affections alienated from him by the ill offices of Marcus Lollius, his companion and governor.' This appears still more plain by the testimony, which Tiberius gave Quirinus, governor of Caius Cæsar. ' Datulque rector C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat, quod tunc patefecit in Senatu, laudatis in se officiis, & incusato M. Lollio quem autorem C. Cæsari pravitatis & discordiarum arguebat (4). — And being appointed governor of Caius Cæsar, who was set over Armenia, he had made his court likewise to Tiberius, who resided at Rhodes; which he then made appear in the senate praising his services done to himself, and accusing Marcus Lollius of instigating Caius Cæsar to misbehaviour and falling out with him.'

(3) Sueton in Tiberio, cap. xli.

(4) Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. xlviii.

[C] Caius discovered this treachery.] Consider these words of Paterculus. ' Quo tempore M. Lollii quem veluti moderatorum juvenatæ filii sui Augustus esse voluerat, perfidia & plena subdoli ac versuti animi consilia per Parthum indicata Cæsari (5), fama vulgavit. — At which time the treacherous designs of Marcus Lollius, whom Augustus appointed his son's governor, being discovered by the Parthian to Caius Cæsar, were the subject of common conversation.'

(5) I place a comma after Cæsari, and not before, as Boetius does; but I should rather read, as several do, indicata, Cæsaris ira vulgavit.

[D] Lollius

(d) Dio, lib. liv, himself [D]. He had vanquished the Bessi in the year 738 (d), and, carrying the war immediately into Germany, received an affront there; but he had his revenge [E], and obliged the Germans to make peace. Marcus Lollius, his son, was consul, we know not in what year, and left a daughter, who was wife to Caligula [F], as I observe in the remarks [G].

[D] Lollius killed himself.] This we learn from Pliny. * M. Lollius infamatus regum muneribus in toto Oriente interdicta amicitia à C. Cæsare Augusti

(6) Plin. lib. ix, cap. xxxv. * filio venenum biberet (6). — Marcus Lollius, having lost his reputation by receiving bribes from kings, all over the East, and being discarded from the friendship of Caius Cæsar, the son of Augustus, drank poison.

(7) Solin. cap. lili, pag. m. 85. Solinus says the same thing (7). Paterculus, who was nearer that time, doubts whether Lollius killed himself: *Cujus mors intra paucos dies fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro* (8); but he says, that Lollius lived but a short time after the interview of Caius Cæsar, and the king of Parthia. Suetonius seems to make Lollius live some time after his disgrace; for he says, that Caius Cæsar, being angry with Lollius, was reconciled to Tiberius, and contented, that he should be recalled to Rome. *It* (Caius Cæsar) *forte tunc M. Lollium offensior, facili exorabilique in vitricum fuit* (9).

[E] He received an affront there, but had his revenge.] The shame was greater than the loss, in our Marcus Lollius's misfortune (10). The eagle of the fifth legion was lost in it (11). Eusebius, not mentioning any disgrace of Lollius, affirms, that the Germans were beaten in the fourth year of the CXCth Olympiad. Scaliger (12) pretends, that Eusebius is mistaken, both as to the fact, and as to the year; but since Dion affirms, that the Germans, being informed of Lollius's warlike preparations, and the march Augustus was making with an army into Gaul, retired into their country, made peace, and gave hostages (13), it is probable, they had been beaten in an encounter, as Eusebius supposes.

(10) Lolliam (claudum) majoris infamie, quam detrimenti. *Id.* in Augusti, cap. m. (11) Paterculus, lib. ii, cap. xcvi. since Dion affirms, that the Germans, being informed of Lollius's warlike preparations, and the march Augustus was making with an army into Gaul, retired into their country, made peace, and gave hostages (13), it is probable, they had been beaten in an encounter, as Eusebius supposes.

(12) Scalig. Animadv. in Euseb. pag. m. 171. (13) Dio, lib. liv, pag. m. 612. [F] His son was consul (14) . . . and left a daughter . . . wife to Caligula.] There are several authors, who say, that Lollius, governor to Caius Cæsar, was father to this young lady (15); but it is false. Lolliia Paullina was grand-daughter to this Lollius. This we find in Pliny (16) in express terms, and we may moreover solidly infer it from her competition with Agrippina, when the question was about marrying the emperor Claudius. All the ladies that were eminent for their birth, their beauty, and their riches, entered the lists on this occasion (17); at last the dispute was reduced to this, whether Agrippina was to be preferred to Paullina, or to Ælia Petina. Judge then, whether this can agree with a woman about fifty years of age. Paullina could not be much younger, if she was daughter to our Marcus Lollius, who departed from Rome with his pupil, about the year 751, and died two years after; but the dispute I speak of was in the 801st year of Rome. It is not easy to decide, whether he, to whom Horace addresses the second and eighteenth epistle of the first book, is the same, to whom he addresses the ninth ode of the fourth book. Mr Dacier, who affirms it, must suppose, that these three pieces are addressed to Marcus Lollius, governor to Caius Cæsar. He believes also, that Lollius had this charge, when Horace writ the eighteenth epistle to him, which he supposes we may date from the 742d year of Rome (18). There are two things to be observed against this. I. No historian makes mention of Lollius's having this charge, before this young prince was sent into the East. II. It is no way probable that if Horace had written an epistle to the governor of Caius Cæsar, he would have hinted at nothing that related to this honour. Now it is certain, there is nothing in this epistle to shew us, that Lollius was judged worthy of having the education of the emperor's grandson committed to him. Where is the poet, who would presume to give advice to the governor of the presumptive heir of a great empire, without insinuating at least, that he speaks to a man most qualified to give lessons to others upon Social Virtue (19), and who actually instructed a young prince, by the choice of a great monarch? For the same reason, I am persuaded, that Lollius was not governor to the young Cæsar (20), when Horace addressed the ninth ode of the fourth book to him. Could the poet omit the compliments due to him on that head? Besides, Horace addresses

himself to a man, who had born arms in his youth, in Augustus's expedition against the Cantabrians.

Militiam puer. & Cantabrica bella tulisti,
Sub duce, qui Templis Parthorum signa rexit,
Et nunc, siquid abest, Italiam adjudicat armis (21).

(21) Horat. Epist. xviii, lib. i, vers. 55.

When young, you served in the Cantabrian war,
Under that chief, who in the Parthian temples
His standard fix'd, and now, if ought be wanting,
To crown the glory of the Roman name,
Adjudges it to the Italian arms.

This people was subdued in the year 729, when our Lollius was governor of Galatia. Hence Father Noris (22) makes it appear that Horace wrote not the aforementioned epistle to Lollius, Caius Cæsar's governor. It will not avail Mr Dacier to say (23), that Augustus undertook his first expedition against the Cantabrians in the 726th year of Rome, and that this expedition lasted four years, and that Puer often signified a grown man; and that Lollius's age was dispensed with, when he was made consul in the year 732; all this doth not weaken Father Noris's proof. Let us say then, with this learned author, that Horace did not write the second and eighteenth epistle of his first book to Lollius, Caius Cæsar's governor, as Glandorpius has pretended, at the 547th page of his Onomasticon, but to this Lollius's son.

[G] As I observe in the remarks.] Here I shall give the article of LOLLIA PAULLINA, grand-daughter to our Marcus Lollius. Her first husband's name was Caius Memmius Regulus, who was consul, when Sejanus was put to death. Some time after, being at the head of an army (24), he received orders to bring his wife to Rome, to be married to the emperor Caligula. I say, to be married to him: for this prince, having heard, that Lolliia Paullina's grand-mother had been a prodigious beauty, immediately commanded Memmius to come to Rome, to give him his wife in marriage, and behave himself in the ceremony, as a father, who marries his daughter. * Lolliam Paullinam C. Memmii Confulari exercitus regi nuptiam facia mentione avæ * ejus, ut quondam pulcherrimæ, subito ex provincia * evocavit, ac perductam à marito conjunxit sibi. This is what Suetonius says in the twenty fifth chapter of Caligula's life; and here is what Eusebius says in his chronicle: * Cujus Memmii Reguli uxorem duxit, impellens eum ut uxoris suæ patrem esse * se scriberet (25). — He married the wife of Memmius Regulus, obliging him to sign himself his wife's father. If you desire to see a note of Calaubon upon this place of Suetonius, read what follows, and remember, that what he relates from Dion, is in the fifty ninth book, pag. 745. * Ait Eusebius, scriberet, nempe in dotali instrumento, nam ut omnia acta legitime viderentur, omnia solennia sunt servata. Maritus igitur pro patre fuit, qui eam Cajo desponsavit, dotem dedit, & ad novum maritum perduxit. Auctor Dio. Hinc intelligimus Suetonii frequentia verba, perductam à marito conjunxit sibi.

(25) Euseb. num. 205b.

Eusebius uses the term scriberet (signed or subscribed himself) to wit, in an instrument of dower; for that every thing might seem to be transacted in form of law, all the forms were preserved. The husband therefore acted the father; who betrothed her to Caius, assigned the dowry, and brought her to her new husband. Dio tells us this. Hence we understand Suetonius's words perductam, &c. This happened the 791st year of Rome. Caligula, quickly disguised with Paullina, divorced her under pretence of barrenness (26), and commanded her never more to have to do with any man. *Misam fecit interdicto cujusquam in perpetuum coitu* (27). Nine years after this divorce, Paullina displayed all her charms, to supplant her rivals with the emperor Claudius, whom she would gladly have married; but her faction was not so strong as Agrippina's. * Cæde Calig. cap. xxv. * Messallinæ

(26) Τότε δὲ ἐμβαλὼν τῆν Παυλιναν πρὸς Φαίαν πατρὸς αὐτῆς τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἀνέστη, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου. Ἀνὰ πρεσβυτέρους ἐξορύβατο Παυλινὰν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποφασίζοντα ὅτι ἀστὴρ ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει. (27) Sueton. in Calig. cap. xxv.

(18) Mr Dacier on Horace, Tom. X, pag. 428. Edit. Holland.

(19) It is on this that the xviii epistle of the first book of Horace turns. See the notes of Mr Dacier, *ibid* Tom. IX, pag. 140.

(20) Mr Dacier on Horace, Tom. X, pag. m. 242. However, that Lollius had already been possessed of this

• Messalina convulsa principis domus orto apud
• libertos certamine quis deligeret uxorem Claudio co-
• libis vitæ intoleranti, & conjugum imperiis obnoxio.
• Nec minore ambitu femine exarlerant, suam quæ-
• que nobilitatem, formam, opes contendere, ac dig-
• na tanto matrimonio ostentare. Sed maxime ambi-
• gebatur inter Lolliam Paullinam, M. Lollii consula-
• ris filiam, & Juliam Agrippinam Germanico geni-
• tam: huic Pallas, illi Callistus, fautores aderant: at
• Ælia Petina ÷ familia Tiberonum, Narcisso foveba-
• tur. — The death of Messalina shook the emperor's
• house, a contest arising among his freed-men, who
• should abuse a wife for Claudius, who was grown
• weary of living single, and was fitted for the go-
• vernment of wives. Nor did the ladies burn with less
• rivalry, each claiming the honour of his bed on ac-
• count of birth, beauty, and wealth. But the greatest
• rivalry lay between Lolliia Paullina, daughter of
• Marcus Lollius, formerly consul, and Julia Agrippina,
• daughter of Germanicus: Pallas favoured the latter,
• and Callistus the former: but Narcissus espoused the
• cause of Ælia Petina, of the family of the Tiberi-
• Thus Tacitus speaks in the first chapter of the twelfth
• book of his annals. The favourite, that was for
• Paullina, alleged, that, as she had no children, she
• would be a very good step mother to Claudius's chil-
• dren; 'Callistus, continues the same Tacitus . . .
• longe rectius Lolliam induci quando nullos liberos
• genuisset, vacuum emulatione, & privignis parentis
• loco futuram.' But the favourite, who acted for
• Agrippina, alleged better reasons: so that Claudius
• declared for her. This triumph ought to have effaced
• the hatred, which Paullina's competition had excited
• in Agrippina's breast; yet the happy rival left no stone
• unturned to destroy the unfortunate; she had her
• accused of consulting the augurs, and the oracle of
• Apollo, about the emperor's marriage: the trial ended
• in a decree, which condemned Lolliia Paullina to
• banishment, and the confiscation of the best part of
• her estate. They left her but about 130 thousand
• crowns. Tacitus's words, which I am going to cite,
• will tell us something of Paullina's parentage. 'Atrox
• odii Agrippina, ac Lolliæ infensia, quod secum de
• matrimonio principis certavisset; molitur crimina, &
• accusatorem, qui objiceret Chaldeos, magor, inter-
• rogatumque Apollinis Clarii simulacrum super nup-
• tiis Imperatoris. Exin Claudius inaudita rea, mul-
• ta de claritudine ejus apud senatum præfatus, sorore
• L. Volusii genitam, majorem ei patruum Cottam
• Messallinum esse, Memmio quondam Regulo nuptam
• (nam de C. Cæsaris nuptiis consulto reticebat) ad-
• didit perniciosam in Rempub. confilia, & materiem se-
• leri detrahendam. Proin publicatis bonis, cederet
• Italia. Ita quinquagies sellertium ex opibus immen-
• sis exuli relictum (28). — Agrippina mortally hated
• Lolliia, because she had been her rival in the em-
• peror's marriage: she forged accusations, and suborned
• an accuser, to charge her with consulting wizards,
• and the oracle of Apollo Clarius, concerning the em-
• peror's marriage. Upon this Claudius, without bear-
• ing the accused, having enlarged upon her high birth
• before the senate, telling them that she was daugh-
• ter of a sister of L. Volusius, that Cottus Messalli-
• nus was her great uncle, and that she had been
• formerly married to Memmius Regulus (for be pur-

• posely said nothing of Caius Cæsar's marriage) ad-
• did that it was necessary to prevent the ill designs
• of this lady against the government. Upon this,
• her goods were confiscated, and she was banished Italy;
• and but 130000 crowns of her immense fortunes were
• left her.' Agrippina's hatred being such, as was
• not be satisfied without the death of her rival, caused
• her to be murdered in her exile (29); and, to be
• well assured, that it was Paullina's head, that was
• brought her, which she could not easily distinguish,
• she opened her mouth, knowing this lady had some-
• thing remarkable in her teeth. 'Ἦδὲ δὲ τινὰς καὶ
• τῶν ἐπαρκεῶν γυναικῶν ζηλοτυπήσασα ἐθεύρε,
• καὶ τὴν τε Παυλινὰν τὴν Λολλίαν, ἐπειδ' ἑλ-
• πίδα τινὰ εἰς τὴν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ συνοίκῳ ἐσ-
• χήκεν, ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς κομι-
• θεῖσαν αὐτῇ μὴ γνέρισσας, τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτῆς
• αὐτοχειρὶ ἠνέχε, καὶ τὰς ἰδούσας ἐπὶ σκεῦ-
• τοι, ἰδίως πῶς ἔχοντας. Multas illustres & no-
• biles faminas nulla invidia perdidit: in quarum
• numero fuit Lolliia Paulina: quæ ab ea propterea
• necata est, quod se Claudio nupturam esse aliquando
• speraverat: cujus caput ad se perlatum quum non
• agnosceret, os ejus manu sua aperuit, ut dentes in-
• spiceret quos illa non perinde ut cæteræ solent habue-
• rat (30). By the sum that Paullina had left, we may
• judge she was extremely rich; but we shall know
• this better, if we consider the prodigious costliness of
• her clothes. Pliny, who had seen her, says, that even
• on occasions, which were not the most pompous, she
• wore in her dress, and on her head, jewels, to the
• value of four millions of crowns. 'Lolliam Pau-
• linam, quæ fuit Caji principis matrona, ne serio
• quidem ac solenni cærimoniarum aliquo apparatu,
• sed mediocrium etiam sponsalium cœna, vidi imar-
• dis margaritisque operam, alterno textu fulgentibus,
• toto capite, crinibus, spiris, auribus, collo, manibus
• digitisque: quæ summa quadringentes H-S. collige-
• bat: ipsa confestim parata nuncupationem tabulis
• probare. Nec dona prodigi principis fuerant, sed
• avitæ opes, provinciarum scilicet spoliis partæ. Hic
• est rapinarum exitus: hoc fuit quare M. Lollius in-
• famatus regum muneribus in toto Oriente, inter-
• dicta amicitia à Cajo Cæsare Augusti filio venenum
• liberet, ut neptis ejus quadringentes H-S. operæ
• spectaretur ad lucernas (31). — I have seen
• Lolliia Paullina, who was Caius Cæsar's wife,
• not on a solemn occasion, but at the celebration of
• some mean marriage, her whole head, hair, cap,
• ears, neck, hands, and fingers, covered with emeralds
• and pearls, to the value of four millions of crowns;
• the purchasing of which she was ready to prove by
• bills and receipts. Nor were they the gifts of a pro-
• digal prince, but hereditary wealth, acquired by
• the plunder of provinces. This is the event of ra-
• pine: it was for this reason, that M. Lollius, who
• had lost his reputation by taking bribes from kings
• all over the East, being discarded from the friend-
• ship of Caius Cæsar, the son of Augustus, poisoned
• himself, that his niece, covered with the value of
• four millions of crowns, might make a show at an
• entertainment.' I have said in another place (32)
• that archbishop Usher is mistaken, in saying, that this
• woman was married to Caius Cæsar, grandson to
• Augustus.

(29) In Lolliam
mittitur tribunus,
à quo ad mortem
adigeretur. Id.
ibid.

(30) Xiphilin. in
Claudio, pag. m.
133.

(31) Plin. lib. ix,
cap. xxxv, pag.
m. 335.

(32) In the ar-
ticle of CALI-
GULA, remark
[I]. Father
Noris, Cenotaph
Pisan. pag. 189,
has taken notice
of this mistake of
Usher.

LONGIANO (FAUSTUS DA) an Italian author in the XVIth century, published a book on duelling, and some observations on Cicero, and on Roman coins. It is believed, that he had translated Diofcorides into Italian, before Matthiolus published a like version (a). I have spoken elsewhere (b) of him, on occasion of the translation of a work of Guevara.

(a) Epit. Bibl.
Gesa. pag. 230.

(b) In the remark
[H] of the article
GUEVARA.

LONGOMONTANUS (CHRISTIAN) (a) a great Astronomer, professor of Mathematics at Copenhagen in the XVIIth century, and canon of Lunden, was born in 1562, in a village of Denmark (b). In the beginning of his studies, he run through all the inconveniences, which generally attend scholars, who are as he was, the son of a poor peasant [A]. He lived sometimes with his father, sometimes with an aunt, sometimes

(a) Ab obscura
Cimbria Paro-
cia Longo-Mon-
tanus cognomi-
natus fuit. Gessend.
in Vita Tycho-
brab lib. iii, f. 8
fin. pag. m. 430.

with

[A] He was the son of a poor peasant. This mean condition did not hinder his immortalizing his father's name in the title page of his books; for he writes himself Christianus Longomontanus Severini filius. This is rarely practised by the learned, but when the father has been a great man in the republic of VOL. III.

learning. An adversary, who would have pretended, that Longomontanus was not famous, might have told him, you explain a thing obscure by another more obscure, obscurum per obscurius, imo per obscurissi-
mum.

10 I

[B] Thought

with an uncle, always grappling with ill fortune, and constrained to divide himself betwixt the labours of tillage, and the lessons, which the minister of the place gave him. At last, when he had attained to fifteen years of age, he stole from his father's house, and went to Vibourg, where there was a college. There he spent eleven years, and, tho' he was forced to earn his bread by his labour, he followed his studies with extreme application [B], and, amongst other sciences, made a great progress in Mathematics. After this, he visited the university of Copenhagen, and in a year's time got the esteem of the professors to such a degree, that they earnestly recommended him to the illustrious Tycho Brahe. This recommendation had a good effect. Longomontanus was very well received by this famous Astronomer, who then lived in the isle of Huen. I speak of the year 1589. He lived with him eight years, and was very useful to him, either in observing the stars, or in making calculations, and proved himself so exact, so able an Astronomer, and so laborious, that Tycho Brahe conceived a most particular esteem and affection for him (c), and having quitted his own country, to settle in Germany, passionately desired to have him along with him (d). This appears by letters he wrote to him in 1598, and 1599 (e). Longomontanus complied with this desire of Tycho Brahe, and went to him at the castle of Benach, near Prague (f). He was a great help to him in all his astronomical labours; but being desirous of a professor's chair in Denmark, Tycho Brahe consented to deprive himself of the company and services of this disciple, and gave him a discharge (g), filled with such marks of esteem, as turned greatly to his glory. Nor did he forget to furnish him with large supplies for the expences of his journey. Longomontanus, returning into Denmark, fetched a great compass, to see the places, from which Copernicus had contemplated the stars (h). He met with a kind patron in the chancellor (i); and, after having for some time enjoyed an honourable employment in his family (k), he was promoted to the professorship of Mathematics, in the university of Copenhagen, in the year 1605. He discharged it worthily to his death, which happened the 8th of October 1647 (l). He had lost his wife ten years before, who was sister to Gasper Bartholinus (m). The books he left behind him discover his great capacity [C]. He amused himself with finding out the squaring of the circle, and pretended he had found it: he was vigorously attacked on that account by an English Mathematician [D]. He altered something in Tycho Brahe's system

[B] Though he was obliged to earn his bread, he followed his studies with extreme application. Here is what Gassendus says (1): 'Moratus illic xi. annos partim industria victum parans, partim indefesso labore literis invigilans. — He said there eleven years, partly earning his living by his industry, and partly applying himself with indefatigable diligence to learning.' He forgot, that Longomontanus taught in this school of Vibourg (2). Here is a man, that may be compared to the philosopher Cleanthes (3).

[C] The books he left behind him show his great capacity. Here is the catalogue of them (4): *Sytematis Mathematici pars I. sive Arithmetica*, Hafn. 1611 in 8vo. *Cyclometria & Lunulis reciproci demonstrata*, Hafn. 1612. Ham. 1627. Paris 1664, in 4to. *Astronomia Danica*, Amstel. 1622 in 4to. 1640, 1663 in folio. *Inventio Quadraturæ Circuli*, Hafn. 1634, in 4to. *Coronis Problematica ex Mysteriis trium numerorum*, &c. ibid. 1637, in 4to. *Problemata duo Geometrica*, ibid. 1638, in 4to. *Problema contra Paulum Guldinum de circuli mensura*, ibid. 1638 in 4to. *Rotundi in Plano, seu Circuli absoluta Mensura*, Amstel. 1644, in 4to. *Trépyeia Proportionis sesquiteritiæ*, Hafn. 1644, in 4to. *Controversia cum Pellio de vera circuli Mensura*, ibid. 1645 in 4to. *Admiranda Operatio trium numerorum, 6, 7, 8, ad Circ. mensurandum*, ibid. 1645, in 4to. *Caput Tertium Libri Primi de absoluta mensura Rotundi Plani, unâ cum Elencho Cyclometrie J. Scaligeri & Appendice de defectu Canonis*, &c. ibid. 1646, in 4to. *Geometriae Quæstia XIII de Cyclometria rationali & vera*, ibid. 1631, in 4to. *Introductio in Theatrum Astronomicum*, ibid. 1639 in 4to. *Dispositio de Matheos indole*, ibid. in 4to. 1636. *Disputationes Astronomicæ sex*, ibid. in 4to. 1622. *De Chronologio Historico, seu Tempore, Disputationes tres*, ibid. 1627, in 4to. This is the list we find in Albert Bartholin's treatise *de Scriptis Danorum*. It is not complete. There are many philosophical, astronomical, and chronological dissertations, wanting which Longomontanus had opened in disputation, in his auditory, at several times. You will find the catalogue of them in a book, which Mr Mollerus has intitled, *ad librum Alberti Bartholini de scriptis Danorum posthumum hypomnemata bibliorica critica paucula & plurimis selecta* (5). You will also find there (6), that Witte (7) had no reason to ascribe to George Lewis Frobenius, Longomontanus's *Cyclometry*, printed at Hamburg, without the name of the author, in

1627. The manuscript of Longomontanus's apology which he made for Tycho Brahe, against Craigius a Scotch Physician, was deposited in the hands of George Frommius, who succeeded him in the chair of Copenhagen (8). I do not think it was ever printed. Tycho Brahe pressed him in 1598 to hasten the conclusion of it, than it might ever as an appendix to his treatise upon Comets (9); for it is was upon that subject that Craigius attacked him in the year 1592, in a book intitled, *Caputuræ refutatio, seu cometarum in ætherem sublimationis refutatio* (10).

[D] He pretended to have found out the quadrature of the circle, and was attacked by an English Mathematician. Mr Baillet has mentioned this dispute. 'Mr Des Cartes says he (11), was drawn into an engagement among the chief Mathematicians of Europe, partaking in the famous dispute, which arose that year betwixt Longomontanus and Pell, about the squaring of the circle. Longomontanus . . . had undertaken to demonstrate the quadrature of the circle, that rock, on which the greatest genius's have hitherto split; nor was he more successful in his attempt than others before him, notwithstanding the good opinion he had entertained of his labour. Dr John Pell, an Englishman professor of mathematics in the college of Amsterdam (12), immediately discovered a great deal of false reasoning in it, and seeing that the point of the difficulty consisted in the proof of one single theorem, he first made the demonstration of it by himself, and resolved to propose the thing to all the ablest Mathematicians of his acquaintance, and desired their opinion of it. They who examined it, and sent him their demonstrations, were Messieurs Roberval, le Pailleur, Carcavi, Mydorgius, and Father Merfennus, who was returned from his travels into Italy, about the beginning of July: lord Cavendish, and Mr Hobbes of England, John Adolphus Tassius, a Mathematician of Hamburg, John Lewis Wolzogen, a free baron of Austria, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king of Poland, a Cartesian in Philosophy, and a Socinian in religion; Father Bonaventure Cavalieri, an Italian, professor of Mathematics at Bologna: Mr Golius, professor at Leyden, and some other Dutch Mathematicians. Mr Des Cartes also sent to Dr Pell, a short demonstration upon the same subject, which served much to authorize what he had advanced against Longomontanus.' Mr Mollerus reports (13), I. that Longomontanus boasted, even in his

(1) Printed in 1699. See in it pag. 188, 189.

(6) At page 187.

(7) In *Diario lographico*, ad n. 1645.

(1) Gassend. In Vita Tycho. Brahe. lib. iii, sub fin. pag. m. 430.

(2) Viborgii Scholæ Rector. Witte, in *Diario Biograph.* ad ann. 1647.

(3) Confer quæ supra, citat. (24) of the article *UNIVS* (FRANCIS).

(4) Albert. Bartholinus, de *Scriptis Danorum*, according to the edition of Mollerus, 1699, pag. 25, 26.

(c) Ex eodem Gassendo, ibid.

(d) Gassend. ibid. lib. v, pag. 452.

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Id. ibid. pag. 456.

(g) It is dated from Prague, August 4, 1600. See Gassendus, ibid. pag. 459.

(h) In Poloniam Per Silesiam discessit ac inter redendum invisiere loca in quibus observasset Copernicus. Id. ibid.

(i) He was called Christian Friis de Borrebye.

(k) Longomont. Epist. Dedicat. Astronomiæ Danicæ.

(l) Gassend. ubi supra, lib. vi, pag. 473.

(m) Moller. Hypomn. ad Alb. Barthol. de *Scriptis Danorum*, pag. 185.

(8) Gassend. ubi supra, lib. vi, pag. 473.

(9) Id. ibid. lib. iv, pag. 452.

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 442, ad ann. 1595.

(11) Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, Tom II, pag. 274, ad ann. 1645.

(12) He was so afterwards at Breda.

(13) Vit. Hobbesii. auctar. pag. 15, & 16.

J. Lipstorp. Specim. Philos. Cartes. pag. 14.

(13) Jo. Moller. Hypomn. pag. 187.

system. I think the reflexion of a modern author, upon the inconveniencies and motives of this kind of reform, worth relating [E].

his epitaph, that he had found out the quadrature of the circle, and that Gaspar Bartholinus made a poem, to congratulate him upon it; but that Thomas Bartholinus, Gaspar's son, was of a different judgment, and found, in Longomontanus's enterprize, more ingenuity and labour, than good success. II. That Claudius Hardy, counsellor in the Chatelet at Paris, refuted (14) Longomontanus's paralogisms. III. that John Pell, this Danish Mathematician's chief antagonist, inserted in his book what the most excellent Mathematicians of the age had communicated to him. *Quorum Suffragia, ac Demonstrationes Theorematum, in cuius Probatione totius Controv. Cardo vertebatur, dubii, una cum Pelliana, in Job. Pellii Controversiæ de vera Circuli Mensura, inter Longomontanum ac se An. 1644. exortæ, Parte I. Amstelod. An. 1647. in 4to. excusa, occurrunt* (15). — Whose suffrages, and demonstrations of the doubtful theorem, on the proof of which the hinge of the whole controversy turned, are to be found, together with Pell's, in the first part of John Pell's controversy with Longomontanus, in the year 1644, concerning the true measure of the circle. Amsterdam, 1647, in 4to. Mr Møllerus had before observed, that Longomontanus's friends confused his antagonists upon other points. Peter Bartholinus, his disciple, answered, in 1632 (16), the objections of Martin Hortensius, inserted in the preface of Philip Lansbergius's commentary *de motu terræ diurno & annuo*. George Frommiius, in his treatise *de mediis ad Astronomiam restituendum necessariis*, published in the year 1642, made the apology to the *Introductio in Theatrum Astronomicum*; a work that Longomontanus had published against John Baptista Morin, in 1639. But as to the quadrature of the circle, they could not justify him. His labours were not so successful. 'Haud æque felices fuerant Longomontani Conatus Cyclo-metrici, circa veram Circuli Quadraturam, Scopulum tot Ingeniorum Subtilium Naufragiis infamem' (17). 'Longomontanus's attempts to measure the circle, were not equally successful, with regard to it's true quadrature, that rock on which so many subtle geniuses have split.'

(14) In his *Elenchus Cyclometricæ Longomontani*, printed at Paris in 4to, without the author's name.

(15) Møllerus, ubi supra, pag. 188.

(16) In his *Apology pro Observationibus & Hypothesibus Tycho. Braheii*.

(17) Id. ibid. pag. 187.

[E] He altered something in Tycho Brahe's system. I think the reflexion of a modern author . . . worth relating.] There was a fourth system, which Longomontanus, one of Tycho Brahe's chief disciples designed to bring into vogue, by taking something from all the rest, and endeavouring to avoid the strongest objections against them. He saw, that, in that of Tycho, the inconceivable rapidity of the fixed stars, and, in that of Copernicus, the immense space he put between the heaven of Saturn, and the fixed stars was scarce sufferable; to remedy both which inconveniencies, he made a small change in Tycho's system, by giving the earth a diurnal revolution about it's own axis, by which means the planets, the sun, and fixed stars, did not move round the earth in twenty four hours, but each planet made it's revolution gently from west to east; and the fixed stars had their slow motion round their orbit in 25000 years, as the moon performs her's in twenty seven days, the sun in a year, and others in proportion to their distance, and the greatness of their circle. But though this system, which was only a small reformation of Tycho Brahe's, without disconcerting any of it's parts, might be defended by very good reasons; yet because of the little credit of it's author, and the great reputation of those that preceded him, very few applauded it; some holding, that if the earth be in the center, it must be immovable; but if it does move, that it's motion must be like that of the other planets. In a word, it was believed, that, he who formed this system upon the other two, which at that time divided all the learned, only did it through the natural inclination men have to be always refining upon others, though these reformations generally end in spoiling the whole; they who endeavour to reconcile two opposite opinions, taking a less reasonable method, for the most part, than that which they refuse to submit to (18).

These last words are capable of a large and fine comment, which might be filled up with many reasons and examples.

(18) Mr le Noble, baron de St George, in the second Tome of the *Uranie ou des Tableaux des Philosophes*, chap. x, pag. 71, & seq.

LONGVIC (JAQUELINE DE) (a) duchess of Montpensier, was a lady of great merit [A], and great interest [B], about the middle of the XVth century. She was the youngest

[A] She was a lady of great merit.] Thuanus makes a very honourable mention of her. 'Sub id tempus Jacoba Lonviana Montpensierii uxor V. Kal. Sept. ex tabe deceffit, virili animo & prudentia supra seculum insignis, quæ semper publicæ tranquillitati studuerat, & si diutius vixisset, motus qui postea secuti sunt impeditura credebatur (1). — About that time Jaqueline de Longvic, wife of the duke of Montpensier, died of a consumption; a lady of a manly genius and prudence above her sex, who always consulted the public tranquillity, and, if she had lived longer, would, it is thought, have prevented the commotions, which afterwards followed.' The president de la Place gives her no less glorious a character.

(1) Thuanus. lib. xxviii, ad ann. 1591.

(2) La Place, de l'Etat de la Relig. & Rep. livr. vi, fol. 215, verio.

(3) Charles de Marillac.

(4) See Thuanus, in the beginning of the twenty first book, and the president de la Place, ubi supra, fol. 100 verio. D'Assignat, livr. ii, chap. xxi, is mistaken in saying, that Marillac came himself to wait on the duchess.

(5) La Place, ubi supra, fol. 101, verio.

(6) He ought to have said of Spa.

'try of Liege; who passing to Meru, upon St Martin's day following, spoke to the said constable, but to little purpose.' We shall see below (7), that she was blamed for having ruined all by the advice she gave the king of Navarre.

[B] . . . and great interest.] It is believed (8), that, had it not been for her interest, the duke of Bouillon would not have kept the government of Normandy, after the death of Henry II, as he did. But let us hear Brantome; he will tell us a great deal of this lady's interest. Having told the reasons, why, in the reign of Francis I, the duke of Montpensier had so little success, with respect to his pretensions to the estate of the constable Charles de Bourbon, he adds (9): 'In king Henry's time, he enjoyed some part of it by means of Madam Jaquette de Long-Vic, of the family of Givry, descended from that of Chalon, and from the palatines of Burgundy. This lady, duchess of Montpensier, in king Francis's reign, for reasons and causes at that time talked of, the duke of Orleans serving her, what harm was there in all this? (Monsieur de Rostain, who is still alive, knows it well) had great credit at court; but she could do nothing in this succession for the reasons I have given; besides that she was young, and at that time had not near so much wit as she afterwards had. In king Henry's time, she was in great favour; for she grew more politic, and gained a great ascendancy over the queen. King Francis II came afterwards to the throne; and then too she was in great power; for I have seen her manage so well the king and the queen, as twice with my own eyes to observe, that the king recommended the cause of the said lady, who did all, and her husband little, and solicited for her against his own interest. This was very common at court; inasmuch that once the cardinal of Lorraine, speaking to the gentle- men

(a) Jacoba Lonviana in Thuanus.

(7) In the remark [1].

(8) La Place, fol. 215.

(9) Brantome, *Memoires*, Tom. III, pag. 276.

(b) *Father Anselme, Hist. de la Maison Royale, pag. 306.*

(c) *See the remark [A].*

youngest daughter to John de Longvic [C], lord of Givry, and was married, in 1538, to Lewis de Bourbon, the second of the name, duke of Montpensier (b). She was first favourite to Catherine de Medicis; and had she been alive at the time, when this queen gave into intrigues, which had like to have ruined the kingdom, she would perhaps have made her take better resolutions (c). It is possible too, that her good counsels and address might have had no effect on a soul of such a temper, whose ambition was like a devouring fire. Be it how it will, she died just before the breaking out of the great troubles on account of religion, the twenty-eighth of August 1561. She openly made appear, during a tedious sickness, what her husband had long suspected of her; to wit, that she was a Protestant [D]; and doubtless it was her private instructions, which sowed in the soul of some of her daughters the seeds of reformation, which brought forth fruit some time after: for Frances de Bourbon, her eldest daughter, who was married, in 1558, to Henry Robert de la Marc, duke of Bouillon, openly professed the Protestant religion, and the incredible pains her father took to reclaim her [E] produced no effect. Charlotte, this duke's fourth daughter, had been put into a convent, against her mother's opinion [F], who had a mind to marry her to the duke of Longueville. She was abbess of Jouarre; but as that kind of life did not comport with the instructions she had received from her mother, nor perhaps with her own inclinations, she escaped into Germany in 1572, where she abjured Popery, and was married two years after to the prince of Orange. Of the three other daughters of Jaqueline de Longvic, and the duke of Montpensier, two persevered in

'men of the robe in the name of the king, who had sent for him to his palace of Cluny, when the king went to Orleans, recommended to them the right of the said lady, (who was then present) even so far as to say, that the king would gratify her in that; that he renounced his part and right to that inheritance, and that he would have no part nor portion of it, and that they should manage the matter as little to his interest as they could. In fine, this prince and prince, and their adherents, so laboured and solicited, and pleaded, that they have come in for a snack of every thing, except the duchy of Chastelleraut, which the former kings would never part with, but added to their own estate, which they since gave as a portion to their natural sister legitimated, whom we have heard long called Madam de Chastelleraut, at present Madam d'Angoulême.'

(10) *Hist. de la Maison Royale, pag. 306.*

(11) *Mandatorum summa hanc erat, ut ipsa fideliter recordaretur, quamplurimum bona mariti ex Caroli avunculi hereditate à rege possit reciperet, daturum operam ut Guisiorum consatus impeditentur, tempus venisset Belloacensis ac Dumbartius recepti quo fidem liberaret. Thuanus, lib. xxvi, init. La Place, fol. 100, says the same thing.*

(12) *In the argument to the twenty third book of the History of Henry.*

(13) *Varillas, liv. xxiii, of the History of Henry, pag. m. 134.*

(14) *Father Anselme, Hist. de la Maison Royale, pag. 313.*

be just, though their father's estate had been divided between them.

[D] *Her husband had suspected that she was a Protestant.* Let us see what the president de la Place says of it (15). 'She desired, that the duke de Longueville might marry her third daughter (16), designed by her father for a nun at Frontevault, to the great regret of the said lady, as she gave her husband to understand in her last discourses, discovering to him, what he had before suspected, that she was a Protestant, which she had sufficiently discovered during her said illness, which was long, being at Fontainebleau, and the king at Rheims, in order to his coronation, where she desired a minister of the said religion to confer with her about points of conscience. Malo, being sent to her, refused to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to her, which she desired, so far as she was alone, and had no body to communicate with her; arguing that this sacrament was not instituted to be particularly administered, like baptism, but rather to be communicated to many of the faithful at once; with which, however, she could not be contented, desiring by any means to make declaration of the religion, in which she resolved to die.' Thuanus (17) relates the same thing in substance. Mr Varillas (18) has purely and simply espoused it: an evident sign that he did not believe it was a Huguenot story; for if he had he would have made a long parenthesis to tell us so.

[E] *Frances her eldest daughter Her father took incredible pains to reclaim her.* Among other things, he caused two doctors of the Sorbonne, and two ministers, to dispute before her, in July and August, 1566. This conference could not be held at Montpensier house, because this prince would oblige the ministers not to pray to God before the action, which they would not consent to. The conference therefore was broke off; but it was again agreed upon some time after, and executed at the house of the duke of Nevers. I speak of it in another place (19). The two doctors were Simon Vigor; and Claude de Saintes; the two ministers were Spina and Sureau. They spent a great many words in replies, rejoinders, &c. and afterwards in printed accounts, in which each party ascribed the victory to itself; but the success of the ministers was, that the duchess continued theirs, which was the prize of the contest. The contrary happened in the dispute between the bishop of Meaux, and Mr Claudé: Mademoiselle de Duras adjudged the victory to the Catholic champion.

[F] *Charlotte had been put in a convent, against her mother's opinion.* This gives me an occasion to touch upon a contradiction of Thuanus. He says in his twenty eighth book, that Jaqueline de Longvic was displeased at the cloistering of her daughter Charlotte, for two reasons; one, that she was designed for the duke de Longueville; the other, that she had already shewn her repugnance to a religious life (20). In the fifty first book, he says, that she bred her in the Protestant religion, but secretly, through fear of her

(15) *La Place, ubi super, fol. 215, verso.*

(16) *The author did not know that they had five daughters.*

(17) *Lib. xxviii, pag. m. 562.*

(18) *Hist. de Charles IX, Tom. I, pag. 61. See the remarks of the article SOUBISE (JOHN DE PARTHENNAI).*

(19) *Under the word ROSIER, remark [B].*

(20) *Fremente, matre que Carlotam Longvicam docui videri de hinc, de jam dum animadvertere hinc videri agere filiam in monasterium.*

in the monastic life, to which they had been sacrificed; and one married the duke of Nevers's son (d) [G]. She had followed queen Elizabeth into Spain (e), who loved her entirely [H]. If Jaqueline had converted her husband, she had saved a great deal of Protestant blood, and a great deal of misery to some of her own sex; for he used them with the utmost severity, as we may read in Brantome (f). Their son, though a good Catholic, did not follow the leaguers. Had this lady only procured to France, a chancellor of so much merit, as Michael de l'Hospital [I], her memory ought to be blessed for it; for it was not possible to make choice of a better subject than he, and no body could have so well supported the monarchy in so dangerous a conjuncture. The wisdom and constancy of his counsels would have been the arm of Hector (g), to have maintained the public repose, if the destinies, more powerful than all the industry of man, had not permitted a froward generation to baffle all his designs, and oblige him at last to retire.

husband; and that afterwards this Charlotte, being scarce a year old, was put into the convent of Jouarre: *Vix annula in Jovariense Monasterium confecta*. If she was but one year old, what has been said of her instruction, and the marks of her repugnance, is false and impossible. Doubtless this Historian must have had some distraction of thought, which was not common to him, or what is more probable, he must have understood by *annula* an age more advanced than one year. But can we find good authorities for this sense of the word?

[G] One of her daughters married the duke of Nevers's son. He was called the count d'Eu. I do not find at what time he married; but I distrust Father Anselme, who says (21), 'That Anne de Bourbon

was married by contract the sixth of September, 1561, to Francis (22) de Cleves the second of the name, duke of Nevers, and that she died without children, in 1572.' For what probability is there, that this prince was married eight or nine days after her mother's death? I insist not on what the president de la Place says (23), that the duke de Nivernois died a little after the marriage of Henry de Cleves, his son, with Anne de Bourbon; from whence we must conclude, that this marriage preceded the death of the duchess of Montpensier, if we did not take notice, that they who fix the duke of Nevers's death to the thirteenth of February 1561, followed the custom, which was not abolished at that time, of beginning the year at Easter (24). Now upon that foot it is plain, the duke died after Jaqueline de Longvic, and so the president de la Place does not contradict Father Anselme.

I had rather depend upon Brantome, who says, that the count d'Eu went into Spain to marry the princess Anne. 'He was, says he (25), in my opinion, the finest prince I ever saw, and the most affable and amiable; we reckoned him so amongst us, and when he went into Spain (26), to marry Madam, his wife, daughter to the duke of Montpensier, he was there also as much esteemed, both by the court, and all the country.' Whom shall we believe, Brantome, who says the princess was married in Spain, or Thuanus, and the president de la Place, who say, the former, that after her return from Spain, she married Henry duke of Cleves; the latter, that the duchess her mother recalled her from Spain, to marry her to this Henry? Thuanus, who observes, that she died a little after her marriage, might have said as much of her husband, who was killed at the battle of Dreux by the going off of a pistol of the duke of Guise's cornet.

This is what Brantome says of it; but d'Aubigné (27) tells it otherwise, and gives us to understand, that this young duke of Nevers had the knowledge of the truth. It is probably for that reason, that Jaqueline de Longvic was willing he should marry her daughter. Beza speaks of the death and religion of this duke somewhat at large (28); and observing, that the marquis of Isles, his brother, and the marchioness, his wife, assisted at the exercise of piety with him, and received the sacrament all together on Easter-day the twenty ninth of March 1562 (29); observing this, I say, without saying a word of the duchess, we might conclude, that she died a little after her marriage, as Thuanus has advanced, did we not see two authors against him; one is Father Anselme, affirming that this lady died in 1572; the other is Brantome, who speaks of her as the widow of the count d'Eu, afterwards duke of Nevers (30), when he gives the list of the ladies of Catherine de Medicis's court.

[H] Queen Elizabeth . . . loved her intirely. Brantome informs me (31), 'that this daughter to the duke de Montpensier, a most prudent, most virtuous, and fine princess, and reckoned for such in France and Spain, had been bred some time in Spain with queen Elizabeth of France, and had the place of her cup-bearer, the queen being served by her ladies and maids of honour, and each having a place.' This queen gave her a diamond worth between 1500 and 2000 crowns. A mistress of count d'Eu, declaring a great desire to have that ring, as she saw it on the count's finger, easily obtained it, and wore it always for his sake. The countess, whom her husband had made believe he had lost or pawned his diamond, saw it in the hands of this gentlewoman, whom she knew to be her husband's mistress, and turned her head aside, and never said a word of it to either of them. Brantome has reason to praise her for it; but what an instance of corruption is here! This count lived but a short time after his marriage, and yet was unfaithful to his wife.

[I] She procured to France the chancellor . . . de l'Hospital. Thuanus (32) acquaints us with that particular, after this manner: 'Id autem factum Jacobus Longvianus Montpensier uxoris commendatione quæ in Catharinæ amicitia præcipue florebat, excelsio ingenio mulier, & quæ crescentem Guisianorum potentiam suspectam habebat. Illa Catharinam Guisianorum violentiam jam expertam proprio metu incubat, & ad imperium anhelanti certissimam viam ostendebat, si aliquem deligeret cujus salutibus monitis eorum perniciofa consilia revinceret. — That was done at the recommendation of Jaqueline de Longvic, who was chief favourite of Catherine de Medicis, a woman of a great genius, and who suspected the increasing power of the Guises: This lady inspired Catherine, who had already experienced the violence of the Guises, with her own fears, and showed her the most infallible way to empire, if she made choice of some person, by whose prudent counsels she might traverse their pernicious designs.' See an ample paraphrase of this Latin in Varillas's Life of Francis II (33), where we find also (34) how this duchess of Montpensier contributed to save the prince of Condé's Life in the same reign. This historian is not so favourable to her, in Charles the ninth's Life. He makes her the cause of the king of Navarre's renouncing the regency, in favour of the queen-mother. 'The persuasions, says he (35), of the duchess of Montpensier, who was called the Siren, carried it above the remonstrances of the Montmorenci's, the Chatillon's, the Calvinists, and the most zealous Catholics. . . The easiness of this prince was the cause or occasion of all the miseries that France so long groined under.' But since he confesses, that the constable and the admiral, instead of dissuading him from so scandalous an acquiescence, confirmed him in it for this sole reason (36), that his inconstancy would too much perplex them, and that they could more easily manage the queen, after having obliged her by a benefit so considerable, as was that of inducing the first prince of the blood to give up the regency to her, there is not so much reason to exclaim against the negotiation of this duchess. Thuanus does not blame her (37),

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(d) Anselme, ubi supra.

(e) Thuan. lib. xviii. La Place, Etat. de la Relig. & Republ. liv. vi.

(f) Discours du Duc de Montpensier, au Tom. III, de ses Memoires. See the art. de BARELOZ, remark [G].

(g) Si Pergama dextra Defendi possent, etiam hac defensione fuisset. Had not the gods determin'd to destroy, Tis hand had sav'd the threat'n'd walls of Troy. Virgil. Æneid. lib. II, vers. 291.

(h) Brantome, Discours de Catherine de Medicis, in the volume of Names illustres.

(i) Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 396.

(14) Mr le Laboureur is of this number, Tom. II, pag. 166, of his Additions to Calaneo. But Theodore Beza, lib. 7, pag. 749, expressly observes, that this duke died the fourteenth of February, 1562, computing the year from January.

(15) Apud le Laboureur, ibid. pag. 1561. Id. ibid pag. 107.

(16) Tom. I, pag. 237.

(17) Hist. Eccl. lib. vi, pag. 241.

(18) Idem, lib. vi, pag. 749.

(19) Stolen from Theod. Beza, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv, pag. 406.

(20) Lib. xxv, pag. 525.

LONGUS, a Greek sophist, author of a book intitled *Ποικιλία*, that is to say, Pastorals [A], which is a romance upon the amours of Daphnis and Chloe. Mr Huet (a) bishop of Avranches, who was a great judge in most things, has spoken well enough of this book; but he observes several faults in it, the greatest of which doubtless consists, in the obscenities that are found in it [B]. This is still more remote from the politeness of our romances, than the conduct of Longus's shepherds; the loves too hastily, and grants her kisses too soon [C]. Longus is thought to have introduced that silly idea of gallantry

(a) De l'Origine des Romans, pag. 65, 66. Edit. Latine.

[A] He is author of a book, intituled *Ποικιλία*, i. e. Pastorals. The word *Pastoralia*, which Mr Moreri read in Vossius, made him think this book was in verse; Longus, says he, left four books of pastoral verse, or eclogues, which Godfrey Jungerman has translated into Latin, with his notes upon them, and has dedicated this work to his cousin Lewis Camerarius. Longus's pastorals are in prose: the Latin translator's name is Godfrey Jungerman; and it was needless to observe, that he dedicated this book to Lewis Camerarius, his cousin. Vossius, from whom Moreri has taken this particular, had reasons for this clause in his book, taken from the time and place in which he writ: for this Mr Camerarius was well known in Holland, where he had been ambassador from the king of Sweden: which Vossius did not fail to add (1). Moreri, who had not the same reasons, ought to have omitted that particular, or at least have said all that Vossius did. Thus he would have given occasion to his readers to form some idea of the person, to whom the translation of Longus was dedicated. Greater men than Moreri have thought, that the pastorals I speak of were in verse. Malincrotius was under this mistake

(2), as Mr Konig observes (3), who for his own part was ignorant, that before Jungerman's edition, (he calls him Jugerman) these pastorals had appeared in Latin.

(1) Opera sum dilecti confessoris suo Ludovico Camerario tum Electori Palatino & Consiliarii, postea fecit renissimus Suecicus Regis Legatus Federatus Belgicus, Vossius, de Histor. Græcæ, pag. 517.

(2) Longus Sophista scriptor Heroico carmine de amoribus Daphnidis & Chloës libris quatuor. — Longus, the Sophist, wrote in heroic verse of the Loves of Daphnis and Chloe, in four books. Malincrotius, de Histor. Græcæ, pag. 33.

(3) Bibliothecæ, pag. 480.

(4) Petrus Daniel Huetius, de Origine Fabularum Romanarum, in interrete Gulielmi Pyrrhone, pag. 67.

(5) Petrus Mollæcanus, J. U. D. & Græcæ lingue Professor ordinarius in Acad. Frænekerana, Epistola Dedicat. Longi Pastoralium.

[B] . . . the greatest fault of which consists in the obscenities that are found in it. I believe it was on this account that Mr Huet did not finish the Latin translation; for he tells us, that he began it in his youth, before he perfectly knew the character of the book, how much the reading it might corrupt young men, and how unfit it was for old. Quam puer essem, hunc autorem Latine interpretandum suscepi, cum nondum satis haberem exploratum, quid in eo laudabile esset, quid vitiosum; & quantum ejus lectio pueritiae damno sit, quam parum etiam ætati proventuri decora

(4). This reason hindered not a professor of Franeker from translating this romance, and publishing it with learned notes in 1660. He was apprehensive of the censure of some, whose austere and morose humour cannot bear that any one should publish adventures of a bad example. Observe how he is beforehand with them. His words deserve relating, because there are several authors, whose virtue and prudence might be contended, did we not oppose this buckler of Longus's translator to the surly and malignant criticism of these pretended Cato's. Dicam hic quod sentio, says he (5).

Non feram judices nostra in causâ, Caperatâ fronte Catones, qui sine dubio me altum stertere, aut cucurbitas pingere mallent, quam tanto conatu, tam immanes nugæ agere, vitioque fortasse mihi vertent, quod logos holcæ amatorios (quid enim quæso est, quod non vellicare malignitas possit?); haud tamen illepidos, nec infectos, latine conversos, grandior ætate, edere fategerim. O formidabilem censorum severitatem! Quorum censura actum erit de Homero, homine ad ipsi gratiis ficto, veneris amores, adulteris, incesta, scelera prolixè describente: quem tamen Alexander tanti fecit, ut suo pulvillo noctibus singulis subdiderit: Actum de Aristophane, quem nihilominus Johannes ille Antiochenus, summorum Theologorum lumen, qui propter aureum eloquentiæ flumen, Chrysofomi cognomen obtinuit, nocturna diurnaque versasse manu, à viris fide dignis memorie prodium est. Nullum equidem poetarum invenias, quin multa mul- torum scelera nefaria narret, non quidem ad bonos labefactandos, corrumpendosque mores; sed potius ad eosdem emendandos, atque flagitia illa detestanda, abominanda. Multo minus vitiligatores, (quorum feges in hoc seculo densa est) homines, ut Plinius ait, ad venena natos, qui nullum aliud abominati spiritus premium novere, quam odisse omnia: At potius rerum humanarum æquos mihi ælimatores exopto. — I will here speak what I think. I will not be judged by those rigid censors, who, no doubt, had rather I

were fast asleep, or employed in the most trifling manner, than I should take so much pains to play the fool; and who will perhaps censure me (for what cannot ill-nature find fault with?) for translating into Latin, and publishing, at my advanced age, these amorous pieces, which yet they allow to be elegant and witty. O the formidable severity of these censors! Even Homer must fall before them, a writer formed by the Graces themselves, but who describes, at length, intrigues, adulteries, incests, and base actions: whom yet Alexander so esteemed, that he laid his works every night under his pillow. Nor can Aristophanes escape, whom necertheless Johannes Antiochenus, one of the greatest Divines, who, by the golden flow of his eloquence, obtained the surname of Chrysostom, was perpetually conversant with, as credible authors relate. You will find no Poet, who does not relate many infamous actions, not with the view of corrupting good manners, but rather to amend them, and excite an abhorrence of such actions. Much less will I be judged by cavillers, (of which there is a plentiful crop in the present age) men, as Pliny says, born to poison, who knew no other reward of an abominable disposition, than to hate every thing. I rather chuse to be tried by impartial judges of human affairs. This commentator saw himself indispensably obliged to touch upon Longus's impurities; but he did it with shewing his aversion to them. What could he do more? O pus aliqui tam obscenum est, (as Mr Huet says) (6), ut qui sine rubore legat eum Cynicum esse necesse sit.

A work otherwise so obscene, that he, who can read it without blushing, must necessarily be a Cynic. This otherwise refers to a great fault he had before observed; viz. that Longus begins his book with the birth of his shepherd and shepherds, and continues it to their marriages, their children, and old age (7), which is transgressing the rules of this kind of writing. You do not read above five or six pages, before you find Daphnis ravished with the pleasure of a kiss from his shepherds. Ταῦτο φίλημα χαίρων, says he, ἐκπύδω μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐξαλλεται ἡ καρδιά, τινέται ἡ ψυχή, καὶ ὁμας παρὰ φίλινδα βαλὼν, Hocce osculum admirabile est; quippe spiritus meus exultat, cor exini, anima liquecit: atamen iterum suaviari cudio (8). — This kiss is admirable; for, my spirit leaps up, my heart dances, my soul melts: yet I desire to kiss again. A chalum, in the same page, does not hinder our understanding the circumstances of this kiss. A little after, we find him, handling his shepherds's breasts (9), without any concealment on her side. This poor girl, seeing him stark naked, melts with desire: she saw nothing but what was amiable in him; she was so little startled at this object, that she boldly approached it, and having killed her shepherd, helped him on with his cloaths. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ γυμνὴν ὁρῶσα Δάφνιν, ἐπαυθὲν ἐνσπιντε τὸ καλλὸν, καὶ ἐπικέτο, μὲν δὲ αὐτὴ μὲν μὲν αὐτὴ δυνάμειν . . . ἡ δὲ τὴν ἐσθία αὐτὴν ἀσπόμεναι καὶ γυμνασθῆναι ἐβόλετο, πρὸς τὴν καὶ αὐτὴν εἰλίσσασα. Illa enim nudum conspiciens Daphnidem, efflorescentem in ejus pulchritudinem incitâ, atque contabuit, cum nullam ejus partem vituperare posset (10). — At illa vicissim, dato osculo, cessavit illius, jam loti atque denudati, indubat (11). These things would be monstrous in the romances of our times. People will not forgive the marquis d'Urfé, the little favours he makes Celadon obtain. The pleasure he procures him of seeing Aïreia naked, is charged on him as an unpardonable crime. Here are the words of the accusation, in which Aïreia speaks. It is you, says she (12), calling her eyes upon d'Urfé; it is you that are the author of the injury which I complain of; your rash pen has made blots in my story

(6) Huet, ubi supra.

(7) Petrus etiam videtur est petere & prosequi opera cynica. A vitiorum consuetudine in eorum modis delinquit: ad eorum uigilem, imo & senectutem suam narratorem progrederetur. Id est.

(8) Longus, lib. 1. pag. 12. Edit. Fræneker in 4to.

(9) Κατὰ τὴν ἐσθία αὐτὴν ἀσπόμεναι καὶ γυμνασθῆναι ἐβόλετο, πρὸς τὴν καὶ αὐτὴν εἰλίσσασα.

(10) Ibid. pag. 21.

(11) Ibid. pag. 22.

(12) Ibid. pag. 23.

gallantry, which we meet with in some Romances: the shepherdes fills out drink, drinks a little first, and afterwards presents the glass to the shepherd, in such a manner, that he must apply his lips precisely to the part, where she had applied her's [D]. None of the antients mention Longus, which is the reason why we cannot tell when he lived. We have several editions and several translations of his work [E].

story, which wound me in the tenderest part. I do not pretend to be more nice than others, continues she; I excuse amorous transports, when proceeding from a pure passion; a kiss genteely snatched, never shocked my modesty, and I know there are little privacies, which love inspires, and reason does not condemn. But when I consider, that I am one of the three shepherdesses, which you present stark naked before Celadon, with what face can I behold an adventure so injurious to my honour? And ought I not to believe, that you have an ill opinion of my virtue, or else took me for a slave, which you meant to sell to this shepherd? I believe, without flattery to my beauty, that my face alone was sufficient to make a conquest: there was fire enough in my eyes to melt a stubborn heart, and I can without vanity say, that my nakedness was not essentially necessary to my victory. This is too common a fault in the

(13) Compare what has been said in the remark [C] of the article HYPSEI-PYLE.

(14) Huet ubi supra, pag. 62.

(15) In the article HELIO-DORUS remark [C].

(16) Preface to Ibrahim Bassa, lib. viii. Note, that it is not he, but Mr de Scuderi, her brother, who speaks.

(17) Huet ubi supra, pag. 64.

(18) Vide Longi Pastoralia, lib. iii, pag. 75. Edit. Francker.

deguasti, porrigis ipsi: deinde ipso bibente calicem arripis, & quantum in ipso restat, ebibis, qua parte ipse bibit, & ubi labia applicuit, ut & bibas simul, & osculeris (19).

In Ovid's time, the ladies did not present the glass, out of which they had drank, but the galant endeavoured to take it from them, and applied his lips to the same place where they had applied theirs. It is a precept of Ovid,

Fac primus rapas illius tacta labellis
Pocula, quaque bibet parte puella bibas (20).

(19) Lucianus, in Dialogo Deorum, pag. m. 129, Tom. I.

(20) Ovid. de Arte Amat. lib. i, ver. 575.

Be first to snatch the goblet from her lip,
And drink yourself, where you beheld her sip.

I believe this is still the fashion in some countries. Moliere introduces the practice of it in one of the scenes of his *Etourdi* (Blanderer) (21).

St Jerome, describing the impertinencies of lovers, says nothing of this; but he comes pretty near it; for he speaks of estates, which were presented after they had been tasted (22); 'Crebra munuscula & futilia, & fasciolas, & vestes ori applicitas, & oblatos & degustatos cibos, blandasque & dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet. Mel meum, lumen meum, meum desiderium, omnes delicias, & lepores & risu dignas urbanitates, & ceteras ineptias amatorum in comediis erubescimus. — Divine love has nothing to do with frequent presents, handkerchiefs, garters, and garments kissed by the lover; with food offered, and first tasted; or with Bibles & dews. We are ashamed of my honey, my light, my desire, and all the delicacies, the reparities, and ridiculous politeness, and other fooleries of lovers in comedies.' He says in another place (23), 'speculis aliena oscula & prae gustatos cibos, — xlvii. You will see another's kisses, and food first tasted.' Here is the precept of Ovid.

Et quodcumque cibi digitis libaverit illa,

Tu pete: dumque petes, sit tibi tacta manus (24). Ovidius, ubi supra, ver. 577.

What'er she touches with her fingers, eat;

And brush her hand in reaching to the meat.

[E] There are several editions, and several translations of his work. This romance, translated into French by Amiot, was printed at Paris in 1559. Hifi. Grecis, Laurence Gambara made a version of it, or rather a paraphrase in Latin verse, which is much blamed by Vossius (25). He observes, that Gambara not only changes, adds, and retrenches, several things, but also frequently mistakes Longus's meaning; Godfrey Jungerman's version in prose is incomparably better. It was printed at Hanau with the end of the 307th Greek text, and notes, in 1605. There had been before this a version of it at Heidelberg, in 1601 (26); and before that, the work had been printed only in Greek at Florence, by Philip Junta, in 1598, from the manuscript of Lewis Alamanni's library, with Raphael Columbanus's notes. There is mentioned an 8vo edition, of it in Greek and Latin, by the Commelins in 1606. I have said something above (27), of the Francker edition. I cannot comprehend what induced Vossius to say, that Gambara had translated Longus 170 years ago; for it would from thence follow, that it was of above two hundred years standing now (28); and yet Thuanus places Gambara's death in the year 1586 (29). It is true he makes him ninety years of age; but it is so much the more impossible to adjust Vossius's reckoning by this, as it is certain, that Gambara set about this work in his old age (30), and whilst cardinal de Granvelle, to whom he had dedicated it, was viceroy of Naples. Mr Teiffier (31) does not mention Longus's translation in the catalogue of Gambara's works.

(21) The fourth scene of the fourth act.

(22) Hieronym. Epi. ii, ad Nepotian. pag. m. 213.

(23) Id. Epist. xlvii.

(24) Ovidius, ubi supra, ver. 577.

(25) Vossius, de Hist. Grecis, pag. 517.

(26) I say this on the credit of the Oxford Catalogue, where you find at the end of the 307th page, & Gr. Lat. Heid. 1601, 8vo.

(27) In the remark [B].

(28) I write this in 1694.

(29) Thuan. lib. lxxxiv, pag. 76.

(30) Obstat Ingenium tenue, & jam fessum in corpore vixit. Ob longam ætatem invalidæ.

(31) Eloges taken from Thuanus, Tom. II, pag. 45.

LORME

LORME (PHILIBERT DE) one of the best architects of France, in the XVIth century, was a native of Lyons. He was almoner in ordinary to Henry II, and to Charles IX (a), and abbot of St Eloi of Noion (b); and of the saints Sergius and Bacchus of Angers (a). Thus his abbeys are called (c), by Antony Mizaldus, in the epistle dedicatory of the *Nova & mira artificia comparandorum fructuum*, dated at Paris the first of November 1564. He is called abbot of Livry in Ronfard's life, and it is added, that he had a quarrel with this great Poet [A], in which Catherine de Medicis said he was to blame. He published several books of Architecture, the titles whereof you may see in la Croix du Maine.

(a) Du Verdier Van Prins, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 949.

(b) And not near Noion, as is said in Morel, after la Croix du Maine.

* Du Chêne, Antiq. des Villes de France, &c. chap. i, of the of Anjou.

[(a) Du Chêne has, by mistake, called this abbey St Serge; which, by the way, is without the walls of Angers *. The abbot Châtelain, in his *Vocabulaire Hagiologique*, says *St Serge* and *St Baeg*; which is right. REM. CRIT.]

[A] He had a quarrel with Ronfard. This Poet made a satire called *la Truelle croffée*, *The trowel croffered*, in which he blamed the king for giving benefices to Masons and other mean persons, in which he particularly taxes one de Lorme, architect of the Tuilleries, who had obtained the abbey of Livry, and of whom we have a tolerable book of Architecture. And it will not be unreasonable to observe here the malevolence of this abbot, who, to revenge himself, one day, caused the gate of the Tuilleries to be shut against Ronfard, who followed the queen-mother; but Ronfard, who was satirical and biting when he pleased, immediately wrote with a pencil upon the door, which the Sieur de Sarlan caused presently to be opened, these words in capital letters. FORT. REVERENT. HABE. The queen returning and seeing this writing, in the company of learned men, and of the abbot de Livry himself, would know what was the meaning of it. Ronfard, after de Lorme had complained, that this inscription reflected on him, gave the interpretation; he owned, that by a harmless irony, he had made that inscription for him, reading it in French *, but that it agreed better to him reading it in Latin; they being the first words curtailed of a Latin epigram of Ausonius, which begins *Fortunam reverenter habe*, cautioning him,

[*Fort reverent Abbé . . . Most reverent Abbot.]

by it, to look back to his first and vile fortune, and not shut the door against the muses. The queen assisted Ronfard in his revenge; for she sharply reprimanded the abbot de Livry, after some laughter, laying aloud, that the Tuilleries were dedicated to the muses (1). Du Peyrat relates this story, and adds a preamble to it, much to the prejudice of our de Lorme, and which perhaps is not well grounded; for the author of Ronfard's life has not made the like reflexion, though it might have served as a farther justification to Ronfard. However, these are du Peyrat's words: 'as the modelly of this chaplain to William the conqueror, king of England, procured him the honour of the bishopric of Mans, and the praise of every body; the insolence, on the contrary, and the pride of an ecclesiastic of the chapel of the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, exposed him to the laughter of the court, and of this great prince: he was called Philibert de Lorme, who, having by his mistress's favour obtained the abbey of Livry, utterly forgot his former condition; and his arrogance occasioned the great Ronfard, the French Homer, to write a satire against him, called *la Truelle croffée* (2). . . . *The trowel croffered*. He gives the two verses of Ausonius, whereof we have only the three first words in Ronfard's life. See the margin (3).

(c) Ornatiſſimo viro ac Domino, D Philiberto ab Ulmo, S. Eligii Noviom. & SS Sergii, & Burchi Andegav Abbati.

(1) Binet's Life of Ronfard, pag. 144.

(a) Du Peyrat, Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi, pag. 204.

(3) Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque respiciet. Dives ab exitu progrediente loco. &c.

LORME (N. DE) one of the most famous Physicians of France, towards the end of the XVIth century, and the beginning of the XVIIth, was of Moulins in the Bourbonnois. He was first Physician to queen Mary de Medicis, and after he had long followed the court, retired to Moulins on account of his old age, and there quietly enjoyed the glory he had acquired [A]. I do not know the time of his death, and I might have made this article longer, if Mr Patin had published the book he designed [B]. Our de Lorme left a son, whose reputation did not fall short of his father's, in the profession of Physic. He practised in Paris with great success [C], and besides did great honour to his art by his own long life. Being loaden with years, he still found himself

vigorous

[A] He retired to Moulins, on account of his age, where he quietly enjoyed the glory he had acquired. The letter, which the Sieur Bachot writ to him, and published before his book of *Vulgar Errors* (1), contains as follows. 'If you like it, those must be very nice, who will not like it; since our kings, queens, princes, and princesses of France and Lorraine, have for so long time had, and still have, such an esteem for you, and your merit, that nothing had been able to withdraw you from their ordinary service, but an inability to follow the court, which your great and happy old age, still more loaden with honours than years, has brought you to. When you retired satisfied, and as it were satiated, with so many honours to your own house, and native country, every one saw the honour, which our most august king Lewis the Just did you, in his victorious return from Languedoc in December 1622, together with the queen his mother, by taking their lodgings with you in the beginning of the year 1623, as a testimony of their benevolence.'

(1) See concerning this book, the remark [E] of the article JOUBERT.

[B] I could have made this article longer, if Mr Patin had published the book he designed. He would have inserted in it the elogy of the Physician, who is the subject of this article. 'I formerly collected several memoirs for composing the Latin elogies of the French, who have been famous in their respective sciences, in imitation of Scævola Sammarthanus, upon which I designed to work next winter evenings; but the great number of my patients make

me fearful; for which reason I dare not give an absolute promise. You would oblige me, if you would desire Mr de Lorme, that he would be pleased to send me some memoirs concerning his father, whom I know to have been a great man, and of whom I have something material, which I will boldly insert, concerning the distemper of Mary de Medicis, in which Mr du Laurence disapproved bleeding, being deceived by a passage of Hippocrates, who says, that we are not to bleed in a flux, *fluente alio venam non secabis*; and, on the contrary, Mr de Lorme maintained, and pressed phlebotomy (2). Patin adds, that three Physicians of Paris were consulted, and confirmed Mr de Lorme's advice. The queen-mother was let blood and recovered . . . I design, says he, to make my elogies finer, and more curious, and historical, than those of Sammarthanus, nor shall they be inferior to his, except in expression (3). It is a misfortune, that he did not execute, this good design.

(a) Patin, Lettre cccxlxiii, pag. 85. Tom. III.

(3) Id. ibid. pag.

[C] His son practised in Paris with great success. Bachot, in the letter above-cited, expresses himself thus, speaking to M. de Lorme the father. I give you an account of the subject of this work, which you have encouraged by your advice, if you please to look favourably on it; as also your son, one of the soundest and finest wits of his age, and of this century, in our profession, as he is acknowledged by all the court, and by this populous city of Paris. Bachot writ this in 1626. He prefixed to his work a letter,

vigorous enough to be willing to marry again [D]: This we find in Guy Patin's letters. I have heard say, that he actually did marry, and chose a very young and pretty woman, and it was thought that this would serve to hasten his death; but on the contrary it only occasioned the death of his young wife. She got a phtisic by her good old man's side, and never could be cured of it [E]. This Mr de Lorme was a man of admirable conversation [F]. He had been Physician to Gaston, of France, duke of Orleans, but did not keep that employment long (a). He was much longer Physician at the waters of Bourbon. We shall see below, that he died in 1678 [G].

(a) Patin, Lettre ccccxv, pag. 235 Tom. III.

letter, which de Lorme, the son, his relation, *Counsellor to the king, and his Physician in ordinary*, had written to him, sending him a sonnet of his making (4). Note, that he engaged Mr Gaulmyn, his cousin, to write Latin verses in the praise of this treatise of Bachot. They are printed before the book.

(4) It is an acrostic, and is to be seen before the *Sieur Bachot's* book, with another sonnet of Mr de Lorme, the father.

[D] Being laden with years he found himself vigorous enough, to be willing to marry again.] We shall cite a passage upon this, with all its circumstances. I take it from a letter of Guy Patin dated the eighteenth of June 1666. When you told Mr de Lorme, that Mr Blondel would prove that Antimony was poison, you say he took a great leap. It is very well, if, at his age, he can leap so, and God be praised, that he still is able to leap; but Antimony has made a great many fall, who will never get up again, nor leap more. God preserve him, and bring him from Bourbon in good health; and since he has a mind to marry again, I wish him such a wife, as he would chuse. There is nothing like dying by a fine sword. He must enter with honour into the holy synagoge (5). In a letter of the twentieth of October, the same year, he speaks thus (6); I hear that Mr de Lorme is gone from Lyons, and is returning to Bourbon or Moulins, where he has a design to marry again. He does well, if it be for the health of his soul; for as for his body, I believe he has hardly any need of this piece of furniture. This design was neither executed, nor quitted, when the same Patin writ the letter, in which are these words. 'I saw very lately Mr de Lorme, who was a little indisposed, but with the same vigour of mind, as when in perfect health. So very old as he is, it is said, he has a mind to marry again, and that some body encourages him in this folly, to bring him to the triumvirate, which will be a dangerous yoke to him, and perhaps fatal; I wish it may be for the good of his soul, and for the warmth of his feet (7).'

(5) Patin, Lettre cccxviii, pag. 207, Tom. III.

(6) Idem, Lettre ccccxix, pag. 251.

(7) Idem, Lettre ccccxvii, pag. 450.

(8) Remark [N] of the article BEZA.

(9) See the article GULIELMUS A, remark [d].

(10) See the following remark.

justice of this decree to the skies. 'Si ipsa æquitas hac de re cognosceret, possetne justius aut gravius pronuntiare? Spermis quos genuit: nobis efficta; testamenti ordinem violento animo confundis: neque erubescis ei totum patrimonium addicere, cujus pollincto jam corpori marcidam senectutem tuam subtravisti (11). — If equity herself was to take cognizance of this matter, could she pronounce with more justice or weight? You despise those you have given birth to: you marry, when past child-bearing you violently confound the order of your will; nor do you blush to bequeath your whole patrimony to him, whom you married in your old age.' We ought perhaps, amongst Christians, to annul, more commonly than we do, those matches, which join together, either two extremes of the same character, or two opposite ones, two decrepits, or old age with the flower of age.

(11) Valer. Maximus, lib. vii, cap. vii, n. 4, pag. m. 645.

[F] Mr de Lorme was a man of admirable conversation.] Two passages of Guy Patin shall serve for the present comment. I yesterday (12) visited Mr de Lorme at his house: he received me very kindly, and we discoursed together a good hour, we were neither of us mute; he is admirable in his conversation, as well as in every thing else; he has a wonderful memory for his age of eighty five. I think he will die as he lived, with his Antimony in his heart and head, and yet what comforts me, is, that I hope he will never take any, having so little need of it (13). Some weeks after, he paid him another visit. I yesterday saw Mr de Lorme, whose understanding is still clear, and memory prodigious; these two faculties he possesses in great perfection, and savour nothing of age; but I will not answer for the rest. Maximus est aretalogus. I am told, he has no good band at practice; notwithstanding his pretended and mystical Polypharmacy; he is of a powerful conversation; he knows a great many good things, and expresses them wonderfully well; and, which is more, he is very reserved, when the question is about the merits of several learned men, that have lived in France for this hundred years passed: he happily mixes his judgment with his charity; nemini facit injuriam, nulli quidquam detrahit debite laudis: Take him altogether, he is a great man, who for his perfections is greatly indebted to God and nature: I only wish he were not so great a romancer, when the point is to praise some, who do not altogether so well deserve it; but I believe he does this on purpose that he may not be thought vain glorious or flitting, and this in some respects is commendable (14). From the first of these passages we may infer, that he was born in 1584.

(12) That is to say, the sixth of November 1669.

(13) Patin, Lettre ccccl, pag. 459.

(14) Idem, Lettre cccclii, pag. 476. It is dated the thirtieth of December 1669.

[G] He died in the year 1678.] My proof shall be taken from a passage of the *Mercurie Galant*. 'We have lost a Physician, as old as he was famous; it is Mr de Lorme, who always did that which is passed into a proverb against the Physicians, and which never fails of being objected to them, *Physician cure thyself*. He brought into fashion a Tisan, which was called the *Bouillon-rouge*, (red broth), by which thousands have found benefit. The great fums he spent in experiments are tokens of the care he took not to be ignorant in any part of his profession; he died at the house of the marshal Creguy, where he lived, and was above an hundred years old; he was still very lively, and I have seen some well turned verses of his, which I am assured he made within these fifteen days (15). I do not think he was above an hundred, and I rather adhere to Mr Patin's calculation, according to which he died in the ninety fourth year of his age.

(15) *Mercurie Galant*, July, 1678, pag. 147, 143, Dutch Edit.

(a) Counting the year from January. Moreri, who makes him be born in 1490, is mistaken. His epitaph says that he died viii Kal. Jan. 1574, and that he lived annos 40, menses 10, dies 8, horas quatuor — forty nine years, ten months, eight days, and four hours. See the *Nomenclator Cardinalium*, pag. 141.

LORRAIN (CHARLES DE) cardinal and archbishop of Rheims, son to Claudius, first duke of Guise, was born in February 1525 (a). He was a person of very great abilities; but abused them to the great prejudice of France [A], in order to gratify his insatiate thirst of riches and preferments. He stepped into a very ample succession of benefices in 1550, by the death of cardinal John de Lorraine, his uncle [B], whose debts he never paid [C], though he had promised the creditors he would. At the same time he insinuated himself, by sordid condescensions, into the favour of the dukes of Valentinois (b), and obtained so exorbitant an authority, as to raise to the noblest offices of the kingdom, the persons, who were at his devotion. He did not always stay, till places were vacant, knowing very well how to divest the possessors. The first president of the parliament of Paris sadly experienced it (c). This cardinal, who, in Henry the second's reign, had an almost boundless power, found himself still more powerful under Francis II, when he, and the duke of Guise, his brother, governed the whole kingdom at their pleasure, under pretence, that they were uncles to the young queen Mary Stuart. He made a great figure at the conference of Poissy, by his eloquence and learning, and it is very probable that he consented to the holding that assembly, only to have an opportunity of shewing his eloquence and wit [D]. He made a great figure likewise in the council of Trent; but he

(b) See the remark [C].

(c) See the article LIZET, remark [A].

[A] He was a person of very great abilities, but abused them to the great prejudice of France. Here is the character Mr de Mezerai gives of him: 'The cardinal was a man made all of fire, always in action, and continually forming intrigues and factions for the raising his family; as capable of a quick invention of them, as his elder brother was of a prudent execution: extremely bent upon heaping up wealth, lofty in words, and vindictive; nevertheless close, timorous, and dissembling, except in the resentment of injuries: as for the rest, a man who by the help of the learning he had acquired, and by the charms of eloquence, which were natural to him, had that advantage of making himself heard by every body (1).'

(1) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, Tom III, pag. 24.

If you would have a copy of this character, read only what follows. 'This prince, whose name is so famous in history, and who had a mind extremely lively and penetrating; a temper ardent, impetuous, violent; a rare natural eloquence; much more learning than could be expected in a person of his quality; and which his eloquence made appear much greater still than it really was; the boldest man in his cabinet, in imagining and enterprising great things and vast designs; but the most timorous and dispirited, when he came to the execution, which he saw to be full of danger; he had all his life an unbounded passion for the greatness of his family (2).' These words of Mr Maimbourg precede the passage, in which he relates, how this cardinal formed in the council of Trent the first plan of the league.

(2) Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, livr. 1, pag. 22. Dutch Edit.

[B] He came to a very ample succession of benefices in 1550, by the death of . . . his uncle. Cardinal John de Lorraine had sought his establishment in France, in imitation of the duke of Guise, his brother, and had made it in contempt of the sacred canons, and the most ancient laws of the church. He was at the same time archbishop of Lyons, Rheims, and Narbonne, bishop of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Tervane, Luçon, Albi, and Valence, and abbot of Gorze, Fécamp, Cluny, and Mar-moutier (3). His nephew did not succeed him in all these preferments, but he did in the greatest part (4). The bishopric of Metz was given to Robert de Lemoncourt, who not long after contributed greatly to the reducing this city under the power of France (5).

(3) Varillas, *Hist. de François I*, livr. vii, pag. 264. ad ann. 1556.

(4) See in the following remark, the words of Thuanus.

(5) Thuanus, *lib. vi*, pag. 122, ad ann. 1550.

(6) That is to say, Cardinal Charles de Lorraine.

(7) La Planche, *Hist. de François II*, pag. 433, 434.

Lewis de Reynier, Sieur de la Planche, in his History of Francis II.

[C] . . . whose debts be never paid. We must hear Thuanus. 'At Carolus Guisianus, qui demum Lotaringus dici cepit, cum patru mortuo opulentissimorum sacerdotiorum possessionem adeptus esset, nequam grande res alienum exolvit sicuti receperat, quo ille meritis plerisque creditores secum una meruit. Is in arctiorem Piclavienis familiaritatem, quam totum regis animum occupaverat, turpibus obsequiis cum se insinuavisset, auctor illi fuit quo regni negotiorum administrationem penes se haberet, ut, &c.'

(8) — But Charles of Guise, who began then to take the title of Lorraine, having succeeded his deceased uncle in the possession of the richest benefices, did not pay off the great debt, as he had promised, by which several of his uncle's creditors suffered greatly. Having, by servile compliances, insinuated himself into the favour of the dukes of Valentinois, who was the king's sole favourite, he persuaded her, in order to get the management of affairs into his own hands, to, &c.'

(8) Thuanus ubi supra.

[D] He consented to the holding that assembly, only that he might have an opportunity of shewing his eloquence and wit. Mr Varillas confesses, that this cardinal desired it, out of the too good opinion he had of his own eloquence, and a desire of disputing with those, who had employed all their time in the study of controversy (9). Mr Maimbourg maintains, that this is one of those ill-natured conjectures, which have been so commonly made to the disadvantage of this great prelate, whom they would on this occasion tax with vanity. If he had had as much power, adds he, as he had in the preceding reign, he would doubtless have hindered the holding this conference (10). I believe so too; for, in the preceding reign, he would never have suffered, that the Calvinists should have liberty to complain; but whatever change there was in his interest, he had still credit enough to have broken off the conference, if it had displeased him. Had not he been the cause, by the remonstrances he made to their majesties at the head of the clergy (11), why they durst not maintain the first edict of January (12), that was favourable to the Huguenots, and why they went in person, and sat in the parliament of Paris to find out new expedients? Had not he been the cause, that the resolutions, which were taken in this assembly, produced the edict of July, so terrible and ruinous to the Protestants? Had he not thereby triumphed over the queen-regent, supported by the prince of Condé, the admiral de Coligni, and the chancellor de l'Hospital? When a man could do all this, it could not be very difficult, methinks, to hinder the conference of Poissy. It is therefore probable, that the cardinal de Lorraine, proud of so fine an occasion of displaying his learning and eloquence, contributed much to the holding this conference. Besides that he was assured, the doctrine of the Calvinists would be there condemned by the bishops, which would administer new arms to the zealous and persecuting Catholics.

(9) Mr Maimbourg maintains, that this is one of those ill-natured conjectures, which have been so commonly made to the disadvantage of this great prelate, whom they would on this occasion tax with vanity. If he had had as much power, adds he, as he had in the preceding reign, he would doubtless have hindered the holding this conference (10). I believe so too; for, in the preceding reign, he would never have suffered, that the Calvinists should have liberty to complain; but whatever change there was in his interest, he had still credit enough to have broken off the conference, if it had displeased him. Had not he been the cause, by the remonstrances he made to their majesties at the head of the clergy (11), why they durst not maintain the first edict of January (12), that was favourable to the Huguenots, and why they went in person, and sat in the parliament of Paris to find out new expedients? Had not he been the cause, that the resolutions, which were taken in this assembly, produced the edict of July, so terrible and ruinous to the Protestants? Had he not thereby triumphed over the queen-regent, supported by the prince of Condé, the admiral de Coligni, and the chancellor de l'Hospital? When a man could do all this, it could not be very difficult, methinks, to hinder the conference of Poissy. It is therefore probable, that the cardinal de Lorraine, proud of so fine an occasion of displaying his learning and eloquence, contributed much to the holding this conference. Besides that he was assured, the doctrine of the Calvinists would be there condemned by the bishops, which would administer new arms to the zealous and persecuting Catholics.

(9) Varillas, *Hist. de François I*, Tom I, pag. 55.

(10) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, pag. 212.

(11) Varillas, *ibid.* pag. 52.

(12) This edict of the twenty eighth of Jan. 1561, must not be confounded with that which was issued in January 1562, revoking the edict of July.

They, who know this cardinal's vanity by the symptoms he discovered of it in the council of Trent, will doubtless blame Mr Maimbourg. At the concluding of the council, they were willing to imitate the custom practised in the Eastern church of acclamation and prayer,

he did not maintain the liberties of the Gallican church, with so much vigour, as the court of Rome apprehended (d) [E]. He found it more for the interest of his family to deal civilly with the Pope. His credit, which had suffered a short eclipse by the death of the duke of Guise, his brother, shone out again some time after [F]. He was looked upon as the principal author of the war of Italy, in which the duke of Guise had like to have lost his whole reputation. I shall cite upon this occasion a passage of Brantome, that deserves to be read [G]. I shall cite another passage from him, which shews the vanity of this cardinal, that is to say, the haughtiness with which he spoke to the dukes

(d) See Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent.

of

(13) See Father Paul, book viii. See also Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. V. pag. 83.

(14) In the same history of Father Paul, among the things that this cardinal was blamed for in France, you will find this, *That he might very well have dispensed with composing the acclamations, and much more with pronouncing them. And thus it often falls out, says the same historian, that the vain-glorious, instead of the little honour which they hope to gain, lose all at once, even that which they had acquired.*

(15) The first-teenth of the first book.

prayer, and the cardinal (13) of Lorraine not only took the pains of composing these acclamations, but also of pronouncing them, which made him universally censured of vanity (14). that function, which had been fit for a deacon (and which heretofore had been always performed by deacons) seeming but little becoming a cardinal prince. A man, that was capable of falling into so childish an ostentation, in all probability desired to enter the lists with the ministers, in presence of all the court, in order to shew his wit and eloquence. He was so addicted to the government of the state, and political intrigues, that he had reason to apprehend, he was thought a bad divine. Indeed he might believe, that the world would excuse him for having forgot the notions he had learned at the schools; but the more probable it was, that his profound skill in politics made the world believe, that he was not well versed in controversial matters, the more he was persuaded that it would be to his glory, to shew he understood them thoroughly, and that he could discourse eloquently and learnedly upon them. Here then is the rock that his vanity split upon, and, we may say that one vanity cured another; for if he had not had the ambition to have it said, that he excelled even in things the most remote from his continual occupations, he would but too much have despised the rank and birth of the ministers to have vouchsafed to enter into a regular dispute with them. I wish Montagne had spoken of him in that chapter of his Essays (15), in which he observes, that 'it most frequently happens, that every one chuses rather to discourse on another's profession than his own, looking upon that as so much new acquired reputation. Observe how Cæsar exultates, in describing to us his inventions of building bridges and contriving engines, and how short he is, where he speaks of the offices of his own profession, of his valour and conduct as a general. His exploits prove him to be a very excellent general, but he would make himself appear an excellent engineer, an accomplishment somewhat foreign.' Divinity, you will tell me, is a cardinal's profession: I answer, this admits too many exceptions, and if he be a cardinal prince, or a first minister of state, Divinity is no more his profession, than that of the general of an army.

[E] He did not maintain, at the council of Trent, the liberties of the Gallican church, with so much vigour as the court of Rome apprehended. The cardinal of Lorraine arrived at Trent, attended by a great number of bishops, and took upon him such authority, that the Pope, growing jealous of him, called him, amongst his friends, *the little Pope beyond the mountains*. He knew, that he came with an intention to act in concert with the Imperialists, to procure some satisfaction to the Lutherans, (whom he desired to draw off from the Huguenots, he and his brother having to that purpose discoursed with the duke of Wirtemberg, and other princes of this faith at Saverne) for which reason he had taken care to fortify himself against him, by a great number of Italian bishops, whom from all parts he sent to Trent, before this cardinal arrived there. Some months after his arrival, two great pieces of news came to the council; one concerning the death of the king of Navarre, the other, at some months distance, of the winning the battle of Dreux: both which made the cardinal believe, that his brother would become master of France; and this consideration much heightened his power in the council, and by consequence that of the ambassadors, with whom he had been well united from the beginning. They proposed therefore, according to the commission they had received, thirty four articles of reformation. . . . The cardinal of Lorraine had doubtless strongly supported them, if the death of the duke of Guise had not happened; but as the good fortune of this brother had elevated

his courage, the loss of him infinitely cast him down; he thought of nothing now but of compromising matters with the Pope, and abating of his great designs; he obliged all the bishops of his faction to abate too. Thus the legates, and other creatures of the court of Rome, remained masters of the council, and got a great many things to pass according to their intentions (16).

[F] His credit . . . shone out again some time after. Here is one sign of it. 'The guards, designed for the security of the cardinal of Lorraine, had orders not only to attend him into the Louvre; but also not to leave him at the altar; thus to mingle the smell of gun-powder and match with the odour of the incense, and other sacred perfumes (17).' It was Charles IX, who granted him this favour, as Mr Aubert observes (18), speaking of a privilege much like that granted to cardinal de Richelieu.

[G] I shall cite a passage of Brantome, upon the war of Italy, that deserves to be read. 'These two faults happened by the means of people, who would handle arms, whilst they knew nothing of the profession. And for this reason this great duke of Guise, after he had been very much disappointed in his Italian expedition, frequently said, I love indeed the church of God; but I will never undertake any conquests upon the word and faith of a priest. Designing hereby to reproach Pope Caraffa, called Paul IV, who had not made good what he had promised, by great and solemn affirmations; or else the cardinal his brother, who was gone to get intelligence, and to sound matters, as far as Rome, and afterwards had very rashly pushed his brother upon it. It may be supposed, that my lord of Guise meant it of both; for as I have heard say, the duke frequently repeated such sayings before the cardinal, who, thinking it was a stone thrown into his garden, was enraged at it, and could hardly curb his passion (19).' The two faults, Brantome speaks of, are those of Lewis king of Hungary, and Don Sebastian king of Portugal. 'Lewis died in a battle which he fought against the Turks, not so much out of any reason, as through the persuasion and obstinacy of a cardinal, who governed him very much, alledging, that he ought not to distrust the power of God, and his just cause; that though he should have, as we may say, but ten thousand Hungarians, being so good Christians, and fighting in God's cause, he might expect to defeat a hundred thousand Turks: and he so drove, and hurried him to this engagement, that he lost the battle; and, attempting to retreat, he fell into a bog, and was smothered. The same happened to the last king of Portugal, Sebastian, who miserably lost his life, when, not having sufficient forces, he hazarded a battle with the Moors, who were three times stronger than he, and this upon the persuasion, the preachings, and obstinacy of some Jesuits, who laid before him the power of God, who by his look alone was able to confound all the world, though they should be armed against him; as doubtless it is a most true maxim; however we ought not to tempt nor abuse his power; for he has secrets that we are ignorant of. Some have said, that these Jesuits did this, and said it with a good intention, as it may be believed; others, that they had been suborned and bribed by the king of Spain, thus to destroy this young and courageous king, and full of fire, that he might the more easily seize his dominions, as he afterwards did (20).'

For one reader, who will blame me for having drawn out this remark to such a length, by reciting these two particulars more than a hundred will thank me heartily: it is to oblige such, that I sometimes give a greater extent to my remarks, than the text requires; they experience with pleasure, that they meet with more things by the way, than they expected.

[H] The

(16) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. VI. pag. 420. This is in the discourse of the church affairs of the XVIIth century, ad ann. 1562, 1563. See also pag. 67, Tom. V.

(17) Aubert, Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, livr. II, pag. 87, Tom. I, Edit. Holland, 1666.

(18) Ibid.

REFLECTIONS on the ways advised by churchmen.

(19) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 88.

(20) Ib. pag. 87.

of Savoy, kissing her by main force [H]. Note, that the kiss, he struggled for, was a kiss of ceremony; he loved also other kisses [I], as Brantome informs us. I have elsewhere spoken (c) of his hatred to the Protestant religion, and the satirical writings he was exposed to on this account. I might also have observed, that he was compared to Seneca in one of these satires [K]. He was turned into ridicule, for some time, on his receiving an high affront at Paris, from the mareschal de Montmorenci [L]. He died the 26th

(d) In the remarks of the article GUISE (FRANCIS).

(21) Ibid. pag. 364.

[H] *The haughtiness which the cardinal shewed to the duchess of Savoy, kissing her by main force.* He had naturally a great respect for the ladies (21). But he forgot this respect, and not without reason, towards the duchess of Savoy, Donna Beatrix of Portugal. Passing once through Piedmont, in his journey to Rome, for the service of the king his master, he visited the duke and duchess; after having discoursed some time with Monsieur the duke, he waited on the duchess in her chamber, intending to salute her, and, as he approached, she, who was arrogance itself, offered him her hand to kiss. The cardinal, resenting this affront, advanced to kiss her lips, and she continued to run back, when losing all patience, and coming up closer to her, he took her by the head, and, in spite of her, kissed her two or three times, and though she screamed, and cried out in the Spanish and Portuguese way, she was forced to submit. How comes it, says he, that you use this behaviour to me? Shall not I, who kiss the queen my mistress, the greatest queen in the world, kiss you, who are but a little dirty duchess? I would have you know, that I have lain with as fine ladies, and of as good families as yourself. Possibly he might say true. This princess was to blame in carrying it so high towards a prince of so great a house, or even to a cardinal, considering the high rank they bear in the church, and esteem themselves on a level with the greatest princes in Christendom. The cardinal was to blame, in taking so harsh a revenge; but it is grievous to a noble and generous heart, of whatever profession, to receive an affront.

(22) Ibid. pag. 361, & seq.

[I] *He also loved other kisses.* The following passage is a piece of a comedy, which the people of the world act: by the people of the world, I mean some princes of the church, as well as the most worldly laymen. Let us hear Brantome speak: he will tell us, that the cardinal de Lorraine was no less liberal in point of charity, than galantry: 'Most liberal, says he (22), I may call him, since he had not his equal in his time; his expences, his gifts, and bounties, have testified it, especially his charity towards the poor; he generally carried a great bag, which his valet de chambre, who kept his money for his little pleasures, failed not to fill every morning with three or four hundred crowns; and as often as he met with any poor body, he put his hand in the bag, and what he took out at adventure he gave, without picking or chusing. It was of him, that a poor blind man said, (when passing thro' Rome, and being asked an alms, he, according to his custom, threw the beggar a handful of gold) crying out aloud, O tu sei Cristo, O veramente el Cardinal di Lorena: that is, Either thou art undoubtedly Christ, or the cardinal de Lorraine. If he was an alms-giver, and charitable that way, he was also very liberal to other persons, and especially towards the ladies, whom he easily caught with this bait; for money was not so plentiful in those times, as it is at present; and for their part, they were more fond of junketing and fine cloaths. I have heard say, that when any new maid came to court, or lady that was handsome, he presently came and accosted her, telling her he himself would have the managing of her. A fine manager indeed! I believe the trouble was not near so great, as managing a wild filly: for at that time it was said, there was hardly a lady or maid of any standing at court, or newly arrived, that was not kissed, and caught by the magnificence of the cardinal; and few or none left this court, either women or maids, with unspotted honour. Their coffers and large wardrobes were then to be seen crowded with more gowns, petticoats, gold and silver, and silk, than those of the queens and princesses of this time. I speak from my own knowledge of two or three, who had gained all this by their bodies, their fathers, mothers, and husbands, having never been able to furnish them with such store.' The same Brantome affirms (23), that the bastard daughter of this cardinal, called Arne (§ 2), followed the princess Elizabeth, daughter to Henry II, and wife

(23) In his Discourse on Admiral de Coligni, page 174, of the third Tome of his Memoirs.

to Philip II, into Spain, and was married to Besme, he who assassinated the admiral.

[(§ 2) Perhaps an error of the press for Anne. R. & M. C. & R.]

[K] *He was compared to Seneca in a satire.* We need not wonder at it, when we know, that the author of the *Parallel* took this Philosopher for a wicked man. Let us cite Montagne's words: they are worthy of his good taste: 'Among a thousand little books, says he (24), dispersed by those of the pretended Reformed religion, in defence of their cause, which now and then came from a good hand, and which it is great pity was not employed on a better subject, I have formerly seen one, which, to lengthen and fill up the similitude, he pretends to find between the government of our poor deceased king Charles IX, and that of Nero, draws a parallel between the deceased cardinal of Lorraine and Seneca, and compares their fortunes, they having been both the first in the government of their prince, as also their morals, conditions, and deportment. In my opinion he does great honour to the cardinal; for though I am one of those, who greatly esteemed his wit, his eloquence, his zeal for religion, and the service of his king, and his good fortune in having been born in an age, in which it was so new a thing, so rare, and withal so necessary to the public good, to have an ecclesiastical person, of such extraction and dignity, capable of, and sufficient for his post; yet, to confess the truth, I reckon his capacity nothing near so great, nor his virtue so clean and entire, nor so unshaken, as that of Seneca. Now this book, I speak of, to obtain it's end, gives a very injurious description of Seneca, borrowing these reproaches from Dion the Historian, on whose testimony I in no wise depend.'

(24) Montagne's Essays, book II, chap. xxxii, pag. m, 702, 703.

[L] *He received an high affront from the mareschal de Montmorenci.* Though Charles IX had forbid the wearing of arms, yet the cardinal de Lorraine came to Paris with a great retinue of armed men, and pretended to enter the city with this guard. 'He had a permission, sealed with the great seal, for riding with armed guards (25). The mareschal de Montmorenci, governor of Paris, knew it very well; but expected, that the cardinal should have made him a compliment upon it; and he sent to him an order, by the provost of the mareschals, to command his people to lay down their arms. The cardinal, neglecting it, still rode on. The mareschal, well attended, went to meet him, and attacked him in St Denis's street. . . . The cardinal's attendants dispersed here and there, and he himself escaped into a shop with his nephew (26). In the evening, they all came together to Clugny-house, which was the cardinal's lodging. The next day, the mareschal passed backwards and forwards in a kind of bravado before his gates. . . . The provost of the merchants, in behalf of the parliament, accommodated this affair: he obtained of the cardinal, that he would quit the town, and of the mareschal, that he would suffer this prince to have armed guards, according to the permission of the king, of which he shewed him the copy (27). The reader will be better pleased with Mr le Laboureur's account of it (28). He ordered that the cardinal should be civilly told, that he would not receive him in that warlike equipage, and the contempt shewn to the message, obliged him the more to come to extremities, which was to repel force by force, and do his duty in putting his guard to the sword, unless they disarmed; and this was done without any other loss, than that of one of the cardinal's men, who put himself in a posture of defence, upon which the cardinal, who not being so valiant, though more violent than his brothers, was so frightened, that he ran and hid himself in a shop in Iron-street, near which the skirmish happened. He was afterwards conducted to his house, which was Clugny-house, where he remained some days, without shewing himself, and at last retired by night

(25) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. V, pag. 86.

(26) The duke of Guise.

(27) This happened in January 1566. See Thuanus, lib. xxxvi, pag. 743.

(28) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. II, pag. 37.

26th of December, 1574. You will find very curious things concerning his death, in the Journal of Henry III (*f*). The queen of Scotland, his niece, was politic enough to elude the design he had of keeping her jewels [*M*]. I forgot to observe, that he was the principal promoter of an edict, which made the parliament of Paris of half a year's continuance [*N*]. This lasted not long. We are told, that the prediction of an Astrologer gave him frequent fears, and contributed much to the pains he took to get the wearing of arms prohibited, in the reign of Francis II. The passage, I shall alledge on this occasion,

(*f*) Journal
d'Henri III, ad
ann. 1574.

to his archbishopric of Rheims, to meditate more securely his designs of revenge, not public, as his friends hoped, but secret and cloistered, such as are the resentments of those of his condition, when they can make their particular quarrel an affair of state. This adventure was published throughout Europe, and the Huguenots forgot it not in their libels, and particularly in a complaint they put in the cardinal's mouth, of the little assistance that was lent him for the execution of his designs, wherein he speaks thus :

Mesmes Paris entier, duquel le Comperage
Envers mon fere & moy obligeoit le courage,
Me delaisse du tout. Je le puis voir ainsi
Quand pres St Innocent me fit Montmorency
Descendre de vilelle, & gagner une porte,
Ma garde desarma, & mit à pied ; de sorte
Qu'elle ainsi me mise en blanc deshonneur en a
Et
Ah ! que j'ay de dépit qu'en abaissant ma corne
Il me fit en public recevoir telle escorne,
Sans que de se mouvoir nul homme fit semblant
En toute la Cité, & que d'un cœur tremblant
A luy le lendemain j'envoyay me soumettre,
Le requérant vouloir octroyer & permettre,
Me retirer armé, de crainte des Mutins.
Ce que de luy encor tant brave je n'obtins,
Ains m'en allay de nuit, emmenant un bon nombre
Des miens : si qu'en fuyant avois peur de mon ombre.
Oh ! quel estois-je lors, ô combien different
Estoit Charles nouveau, de ce Charles Parent
De l'espouse à François ! Oh que cette nuit coye
Differoit du plein jour auquel remply de joye,
Je condamnay en Roy, inique & déloyal,
A la cruelle mort le juste Sang Royal.

E'en Paris cast me off, that once respected
Me and my brother. Then I found it so,
When Montmorency, near St Innocent's,
Made me dismount in haste, and to a shop,
For refuge fly ; my guard, unbars'd,
And ignominiously threw down their arms.

How did it gall me, thus to be affronted,
In public too, and not a citizen
Stir to my aid ; nay to be forc'd, next day,
With trembling heart to send a low submission,
And humbly to entreat his worship's leave,
Arm'd to retire, for fear of mutineers :
Yet this he haughtily refus'd to grant.
So that I fled by night, my servants with me,
So fear'd, that my own shadow frighted me.
What was I then ? alas ! how different
From Charles, related to king Francis' queen !
A night how different from that full day,
When joyous, like a king, unjust, disloyal,
I sat in judgment on the royal blood,
And sentenc'd many to a cruel death.

(29) This piece is intitled, Lettre d'un Seigneur du pays de Haynaut envoyée à un sien voisin & amy fuyant la Cour d'Espagne.

Immediately there came out a letter (29), which was presently confuted (§β). This letter was designed to justify the cardinal, and contained several reproaches against the house of Montmorency, and the admiral de Coligni. The answer was very smart ; it proceeded from a better pen than that of the cardinal's apologist. Thuanus makes mention of several pieces published *pro* and *con*, upon this affair, and which had been multipli-

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ed *ad infinitum*, if the parliament of Paris had not forbidden the sale of such books. The same Historian observes, that Lewis Reynier, Sieur de la Planche, was reckoned the author of the first piece that appeared, which was a relation of the fact in favour of the marshal. He observes also, that this marshal had not acted like a good Politician, since he chose rather to provoke a most powerful enemy, by a great, but not very prejudicial affront, than ruin him entirely. *Morantii prudentiam plerique tunc requirebant, qui potentes inimicos levissimo damno irritare, quam perdere cum posset, maluerit.* The prince of Condé blamed him for this conduct (30), and often said, that if Montmorency only meant to divert himself, he did too much ; and if he was in earnest he did too little (31). Perhaps this prince would not have been sorry, whilst he had no hand in it, to have been rid at once of so formidable a family.

The same year the cardinal of Lorraine involved himself in a controversy, in which he did not succeed. The scene of this quarrel was the Pais Messin, where Salcede, who was bailiff of it, vigorously opposed the enterprizes of the cardinal. This was called the cardinal's war, of which there was speedily printed a relation.

(§β) It was printed at Antwerp, by William Richman, in 8vo, and containing but 27 pages. It is dated from Paris, the second of April, 1564, before Easter. The answer to it is intitled, *A reply to the Letter of Charles de Vaudevent, Cardinal of Lorraine, who is called imaginary prince of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Naples, duke and earl, by fancy, of Anjou and Provence, and at present a meer gentleman of Hainault*, 1565, in 8vo. It is extremely full of spirit, and contains very curious things, especially in relation to the genealogy of the Châtillons and Lorrains, and touching the causes of the hatred between admiral de Coligni, and the duke of Guise. It is a pity the author of this piece is unknown : perhaps it is the Sieur de la Planche's, whom Mr BAYLE speaks of a little after ; but he the author who he will, he was certainly a good writer.

I only wish he had not highly approved and commended the assassination of Poltrot. * Are you com-

parable, say, be to the cardinal *, for counsel, resolution, authority, conduct, experience, and bravery, verfo. * Fol. 151, to the tyrant Francis, your brother ? Meray t, our deliverer, has left us a noble and divine example to follow. I know very well, that he need not be as cruel as you are ; but I deny, that it is cruelty to do justice on a tyrant, who had neither pity nor humanity. What have the most furious leaguers said more in favour of the Jureguys, and the Clements ?

does not this shew that passion blinded the writers of both parties ? the title of this answer is very particular, and perhaps Mr du Bouchet copied after it, when he made this : *An Answer to the petition, which Mr de Pranzac, imaginary prince of the blood, fancied he presented to the king ; Paris, Jaquin, 1667, in folio.* REM. CRIT.]

[M] The queen of Scotland eluded the design he had of keeping her jewels.] Mary Stuart, after the death of Francis II, her husband, went over to Scotland. The cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle, was of opinion, that it was her best way to deposit her jewels with him, till fortune had decided the success of her voyage ; but the knowing very well his intentions, answered him, that whilst he hazarded herself to all the dangers of the sea, she should be to blame, in being more concerned for her jewels than her person. See in the margin Thuanus's words (32).

[N] He was the principal promoter of an edict, which made the parliament of Paris, of half a year's continuance.] Thuanus speaks of it under the year 1554, and observes, that John Daurat, preceptor at that time to the king's pages, made verses a little too bold, to flatter the cardinal of Lorraine. He compared the parliament to Plato's Androgynus. * In eam rem Joan. Auratus, tunc alicorum puerorum præceptor & mox

10 M

* professor

(30) Certe Con-
montmorency only meant to divert himself, he did
too much ; and if he was in earnest he did too little (31).
improbat, sub-
inde dictitans
Memorantium si
quidem joco age-
ret plus quam de-
buisset, si serio
minus quam oper-
tuit scilicet.
Thuanus, ubi
supra, pag. 744.
(31) This was the
saying of a Turk
upon the Tourna-
ments. See the
Nouvelles de la
Republique des
Lettres, Novemb.
1684, Art. IX,
pag. 957.

† John Poltrot.
Metz. See
Mezeral, Abr.
Chronol. Tom.
V, pag. 73.

(32) Discedenti
Regine consilium
dedit Lotaringus
Cardinalis, ut
suppellectilem,
mundumque mu-
liebrem magni
pretii, quem in
Gallia lucricece-
rat, velut in alium
orbem transfere-
ret, donec de sui
itineris eventu
fortuna statuisset
verum illa que
avunculi Inge-
nium probe nos-
set, argute re-
spondit, cum se
maris periculo
committeret,
non videre, cur
mundo magis
quam sibi caveret.
Thuan. lib. xxi,
circa init. pag. m.
580, ad ann.
1561.

occasion, will inform us, that the insult he received in coming out of a courtesan's house [O], obliged him to bring back the court to St Germain, in contempt of an ancient custom. Let us not forget, that he preached on several occasions; but good God! in a strain how remote from the spirit of the gospel. He handled things according to the tenor of the Alcoran, as a true successor of Mahomet, and not of the Apostles; he preached nothing but war, and the effusion of blood [P]; but while he expressed this barbarous zeal against the Protestants of France, he gave pensions to some Protestants in Germany [Q]. A new farce!

' professor regius, vir divini ingenii, carmen elegantissimum, sed petulantia libertate, in gratiam Cardinalis Lotaringi, qui negotium illud argebat, conscripsit, quo amplius ordinem Androgyno Platónico comparat (33). Note, that Pasquier observes, that things were reduced to their former condition at three years end (34). Thuanus says the same.

[O] The passage I shall allude to on this occasion, will inform us, . . . the insult he received in coming out of a courtesan's house.] The cardinal going very early out of the house of the handsome Roman, a renowned courtesan in Henry's time, who lodged in St Catherine's-street, had like to have been handled very roughly by some ruffians, who generally wait for such adventures. At which his sanctity being alarmed, and persuading himself, and giving out, that the Heretics laid ambushes for him, he led the court to St Germain, and caused the queen-mother, who would not on any account leave the king, her son, for ever so little a time, to break the custom hitherto inviolable, which obliged the queens, upon their husband's decease, not to stir out of their chamber for forty days, nor see the light of the sun or the moon till he was buried. Presently after, when the strangers were gone, he put out an edict, forbidding the carrying any arms, and especially pistols and arquebuses, under great penalties, revoking all particular and preceding permissions, to whomsoever granted, unless they were newly confirmed by the king, so that only the Guises, and their friends remained armed. Besides, suspecting the cloaths that were then in fashion, as long cloaks (35), and large breeches (and indeed they were too excessive; for the cloak reached below the calf of the leg, and without sleeves, and the breeches were an ell and a half large or five quarters) (36) they induced the privy-council to forbid the wearing them, forasmuch as arms might be easily concealed under them. And 'it was said, that the cardinal took that matter more to heart upon the account of a necromancer, who had prognosticated to him at Rome, that he should be killed by an arquebus, out of envy, and by the enemies he should have in France, upon his being exalted to the highest degree of honour, which gave him, great trouble and uneasiness (the true wages of those, who go to conjurers,) even while all things bowed and submitted to him (37). The historian who furnishes me with this narrative, says, that the Guises did not appear at the magnificent entrance of Francis II at Orleans, the eighteenth of October, 1560. And it was said it was for fear of meeting with some desperate fellow; because a Magician (as we have said) had foretold to the cardinal at Rome, that his brother and he should die a violent death and be killed by arquebuses, so that to avoid this, they were afraid of such assemblies, though they had forbidden the wearing any pistols and arquebuses, upon pain of death (38). Note, that the magician's prediction proved false, for the cardinal did not die a violent death.

[P] He preached nothing but war and effusion of blood.] The witness I shall produce, is neither a libeller, nor a Huguenot, but the famous Stephen Pasquier. 'Because, says he (39), the ministers gained the people before, by sermons and exhortations, so the cardinal of Lorraine, thought to do the like amongst us. He first preached in the church of Notre-Dame, to an incredible affluence of auditors, and afterwards in the church of St Germain de l'Auxerrois. All the holy-days and octaves of Corpus Christi-day, every other turn, he preaching one day, and the Minime (40), of whom I have spoken above; admonishing the people above all things, rather to die, and to spill the last drop of their blood, than engage against the honour of God and his church, to suffer any other religion to prevail in France, besides that which our ancestors so strictly and religiously observed. I thought it as great a

novelty to see a cardinal preach, as a minister a little before. He has very much animated the people to arms. The pens even of the poets engaged in the same. In short, there is nothing trumpeted but fire, war, murder, and desolation.' If you would see what were the fruits of these languinary sermons, consult the same Pasquier (41). It would be impossible to tell you what barbarous cruelties are committed on both sides; where the Huguenots are masters, they destroy all the images, (the ancient bulwark of the common peoples devotion) demolish sepulchres and tombs, and even passing through Clergy, have not spared that of Lewis XI; plunder all the goods consecrated and devoted to churches. By way of retaliation the Catholics kill, murder, drown all that they know to be of this sect, and the rivers overflow with them. Not but that amidst this, some execute their private revenges upon their enemies, on pretence of the public quarrel. And tho' the heads seem not to approve such actions, yet they let them pass by connivance and dissimulation. Peace is better than war.' Though at present the readers see these things only at a distance, they cannot chuse but conceive some indignation against this barbarous sermon-monger, and especially when they consider his character. He was a great cardinal, who run no risk in kindling a civil-war in all the corners of the kingdom. He was certain always to follow the court secure from any danger or trouble: and that whilst the provinces were a theatre of bloodshed, he could wallow in pleasures; that his luxury, his pomp, his feasting, his love intrigues, would suffer no interruption. This is a subject of scandal, which must prodigiously encrease the horror such an incendiary-preacher gives all truly Christian souls; a trumpeter of war, of torments and butchery; a man who, properly speaking, is not of Jesus Christ's religion, but of Saturn, and who indeed practises the same which the priests of Carthage did antiently to the honour of this false god. They sacrificed men to him, and imagined, that their religion required such victims (42).

[Q] He gave pensions to some Protestants in Germany.] The names of them were found in the book of accounts of this cardinal's steward. A book of Zanchius proves it. 'Certum mihi est, quod jam dicam coram Deo; Audi ex viro harum rerum perito, & fide digno, se in libro Theaurarii illius cardinalis Lotharingi, paucis ante annis vita defuncti, nonnullorum Germanorum Theologie Doctorum & Pastorum nomina vidisse: quibus pensiones annuæ, ex Archiepiscopatu præsertim Metensi assignabantur. In quem vero finem non fuisse scriptum (43). — This I am certain of, which I declare in the presence of God; I have heard from a man perfectly versed in these matters, and one worthy of credit, that he had seen in the accounts of the treasurer of this cardinal of Lorraine, a few years before his death, the names of some German divines and ministers, who had annual pensions assigned them out of the revenues chiefly of the archbishopric of Metz, but on what account was not set down.' There is no doubt but the cardinal proposed to himself to keep up the division betwixt the Lutherans of Germany, and the doctors of Geneva; but this was however but an ill way of maintaining his own religion. It was pure Machiavellism. Compare with this what I have said in another place (44).

I have mentioned some sermons of this cardinal: Languet's letters inform us, that they were not disapproved by the Protestants, and that this cardinal was suspected of Lutheranism. It was in the year 1561, that he preached them at Rheims, in Lent. 'Cardinalis Lotharingicus à rigidioribus Pontificibus accusatur Lutheranismi. Per hanc Quadragesimam concionatus est Rheims cum non parva laude. Utinam nihil aliud unquam egisset (45). He had already shewn that he wished for the reformation of a great many

(33) Id. lib. xlii. sub fin. pag. m. 278.

(34) Pasquier. Recherch. livr. ii, chap. iv, pag. m. 65.

(35) See Henry Stephens, at the 208th page of his Dialogue, concerning the new French Language Italianized.

(36) This mode came again in 1660.

(37) Louis Reinier Sieur de la Planchette, Hist. de François II, page 28, & 29.

(38) Louis Reynier, ibid. pag. 613.

(39) Pasquier, Lettre, livr. iv, p. 231, Tom I.

(40) This was brother John de Hays, a native of St Quentin. Pasquier speaks of him, ibid. pag. 203.

(41) Pasquier, ibi. supra, pag. 232, 233.

(42) See Languet, lib. i, cap. xxi.

(43) Hieron. Zanchius Respons. ad Wilhelm Holzerum, ann. 1566, pag. 20. Hieron. summa Controv. pag. m. 274.

(44) Above, remark (A), of the article GUISE (F. & C. 22, duke of J.).

(45) Languet, Epist. xlv, lib. ii, pag. 121. See also Epist. xlv, pag. 116.

many things, but this was only a blind, as
 Laueget well foretold: Cum preterea Cardinalis Lo-
 tharingicus, Jam pulchre simulet se omnino expetere,
 ut fiat aliqua emendatio in religione & faceret hoc
 esse plane necessarium. Ego sane in ea re ipsi non
 credo sed existimo, ipsum hoc ideo facere, quia videt
 aduersando se nihil posse proficere, & sperat se sic agen-
 do posse plura impedire, sed tamen parum proficit (46).
 (46) Id. Epist.
 xlviii. pag. 120.
 Although at present the cardinal of Lorraine very
 plausibly expresses his desire that some reformation
 should be made in religion, acknowledging that it is a
 thing absolutely necessary. Yet for my part I can-
 not credit him in this matter, but am of opinion,

that he does this because he perceives nothing could
 be brought about by a contrary behaviour: whereas by
 thus seeming to comply, he hopes more effectually to
 hinder things from going on, but in this he has lit-
 tle success. What is said in a letter dated from
 Paris the twenty sixth of November 1561, is mis ita concio-
 nator, ut videretur non multum a nostris dissentire.
 more positive: for the writer of that letter having spo-
 ken of the public conversion of the bishop of Troies
 adds, that the cardinal of Lorraine made a shew, as
 if he would do the same; for adds he, he preaches
 at Rheims in such a manner, that he does not seem
 very far from Lutheranism (47).
 (47) Cardinalis
 Lotharingicus vi-
 detur simulare se
 aliquid tale cogi-
 tare: nam Rhe-
 mator, ut videretur
 non multum a
 nostris dissentire.
 Sed videretur ali-
 quod facere, ut
 si faceret eundem
 fidendum. Id.
 Epist. lxxii. pag.
 155.

LOTICHIUS (PETER) abbot of the convent of Solitar, in the county of Ha-
 naw (a) in Germany, was born in the year 1501. He quitted the schools of Leipfic at
 sixteen years of age, in order to devote himself to a monastic life in the convent of Solitar.
 He received priests orders in 1523, and peaceably performed the functions of it till 1524,
 that is, till the peasants war forced him to take sanctuary with his abbot and fraternity,
 under the counts of Hanaw. The abbot bringing back his society to the monastery,
 after these furious troubles were appeased, committed the care of his church to Loti-
 chius (b); who having read Luther and Melanchthon's books, found himself capable of
 preaching, and doing all the other functions of his place better than before. The abbot
 died in 1534, and Lotichius, who succeeded him, thinking in good earnest to reform
 that abbey, opened a school in it, in which a great number of young people were in-
 structed, several of whom became ministers of the Gospel, after having continued their
 studies at Wittemberg and Marburg. He openly established the Protestant religion in
 his monastery, and in all the places depending upon it, in 1543, and wrote a fine Latin
 letter to the abbot of Fulda, to justify his conduct. He was the principal cause of the
 courageous resolution, which the neighbouring ministers took to reject the Interim in
 1549. The rest of his life answered his great zeal by acts of piety and charity. His
 church, his school, and several learned men, experienced the effects of his liberal temper.
 He died at the count of Hanaw's, the twenty-third of June 1567. His body was buried
 two days after, in the abbey of Solitar (c).

(a) In the Jus-
 ticiarius des Scavans
 sur les Pöices,
 Tom. III. pag.
 272, there is
 Nallus for Ha-
 naw, which is
 probably an error
 of the press.

(b) Ecclesiam So-
 litariensem ut in-
 spectum prece-
 ficit. Paul Freb.
 Theatre, pag.
 213.

(c) Taken from
 the Theatre of
 Paul Freberus,
 pag. 213. Fre-
 berus cites the
 Bibliotheca
 Publica, of J. G.
 Peter Lotichius.

LOTICHIUS (PETER) nephew to the former, took the surname *Secundus*, that he
 might not be mistaken for his uncle. He was born at Solitar the second of November 1528.
 His father (a), though he was only an honest country man, designed him for a scholar; and
 we need not wonder at it, considering what we have said of the abbot Lotichius. This
 uncle having observed, by the progress his nephew made at Solitar school, that he was
 very well qualified for the Sciences, resolved to take a very particular care of him, and
 sent him to Frankfort, where Micellus taught the *Belles Lettres* with great reputation.
 After having learnt there a great deal of Latin and Greek, and much better the rules of Poetry,
 to which his genius strongly inclined him; he was sent to Marburg in 1544, and afterwards
 to Wittemberg, whither Melanchthon and Camerarius drew a great resort. The young
 Lotichius quickly gained the friendship of these two famous professors, as also that of George
 Sabinus, a celebrated poet, and of several other learned men. The war which broke out
 in Saxony in 1546, obliged Melanchthon and his colleagues to quit Wittemberg. The
 first retired to Magdeburg (b), and was followed thither by our Lotichius; but when he
 left that place to seek a better retreat, Lotichius, instead of following him, took up arms.
 This kind of life did not intirely break off his commerce with the Muses, nor did it last
 long [A]; for we know that in the year 1548, he lived peaceably among his books at
 Erfurt. A little after he returned to Wittemberg, whither the peace had permitted
 Melanchthon to go and continue his function. He there finished his studies of philosophy,
 and afterwards went into France, in quality of governor to the nephews of Daniel Stibar,
 dean of the chapter of Wirtzburg, a man of great merit, and an intimate friend of
 Joachim Camerarius. It was in the year 1550 that he began this journey, which lasted near
 four years [B]. He made a long stay at Montpellier; and probably he and his pupils
 would

(a) He was called
 Lewis Lotichius.
 Melanchthon
 changed this
 word into Loti-
 chius, which
 seemed to him
 emphatical, for
 the sake of Peter
 Lotichius Secun-
 dus, his scholar.

(b) The Theatre
 of Freberus, pag.
 1240, says Mar-
 burg.

[A] He took up arms; this kind of life did not en-
 tirely break off his commerce with the Muses, nor did
 it last long. Let us hear what he himself says of it
 addressing his discourse to them (1).

(1) Eleg. x.
 lib. I.

Vos quoque sum lituus inter veneratus & enses,
 Quodque fuit vacuum tempus ab hoste dedi.
 Deque tot amissis etiam nunc pauca supersunt
 Carmina militæ tempore facta meæ.

You, amidst arms, were my delight,
 My vacant hours for you reserv'd;
 I, even in camps, could poems write,
 Of which a few are still preserv'd.

For the rest, he did not make much more than one
 campaign, so that the author, cited by Mr Baillet, les Portes, Tom.
 had no reason to say in general, that what is remark-
 able is, that Lotichius composed his verses in the
 tumult of a camp, and under arms (2).

[B] His journey to France. . . . lasted near four
 years. This was the whole time of the journey (3).
 Now as they first saw Paris, Rouen, Diepe, Lyons, Gallia. Rapiet,
 and went for the most part on foot (4). having but in *Vita Lotichii*,
 one horse among eleven of them to carry their cloaths; pag. 56.
 it is certain they staid not at Montpellier four years, (4) Idem, pag.
 as an ingenious man has said (5). They lived there 42, 44,
 above two years. Cum biennio jam atque eo amplius (c) Teissier,
 sorte in Academia Montpeliana vixissent, says Hagius
 in the 47th page. A. dicit aux Elog.
 Tom. I, pag.
 207.

[C] . . . Lotichius

(c) They threaten
ed to oblige them
to make the
amende honora-
ble.

(d) Tum forte
(ut fit) amare
foris, quod domi
habebat, ut ait
Terentius. Id.
impotentius se-
rent hospita juve-
nis formosissimi
amore capta, &c.
Hagius, in Vita
Lotichii, pag. 63.
Edit. 1699.

(e) Taken from
his Lives, compiled
by John Hagius,
his good friend,
and published
twenty-five years
after the death of
Lotichius. Mel-
chior Adam, in
Vitis Medico-
rum, pag. 122,
has given a full
abridgement of
that Life.

(6) Hagius, ubi
supra, pag. 63.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Thuanus,
lib. xxvi, sub
fin.

(9) Theatr. pag.
1250.

(10) Thuan. ubi
supra.

(11) Camerarius,
in Epist. Dedicato-
ria Operum
Petri Lotichii.

would have suffered several insults (c), for having eaten meat in Lent, if Clusius, who lodged at Rondelet's, had not interceded for them with a Dominican, who performed the office of inquisitor. They were discharged for a sum of money. He was scarce returned into Germany but he thought of travelling into Italy. He made this journey, as he had done that to France, at the expence of Daniel Stribar; but he had the misfortune of getting acquainted with too many people. He lodged at Bologna, with a young canon of Munich, who though he had a complaisant landlady at home, made love abroad (d). The landlady being desperately in love, and also jealous, prepared a philtre for him; but by misfortune Lotichius finding his soup too far, changed it for that of the canon [C], and grew immediately mad upon it. He was relieved by vomiting up a part of the potion, which however threw him into a malignant fever that made his nails fall off, and had like to have cost him his life. Hubert Languet, his good friend, travelling into Italy, found him in this miserable condition at Bologna. The poison operated so violently upon Lotichius, that every year he had some returns of his first malady, till at last he died of it. Before he left Italy, he took his degree of doctor of Physic at Padua. Some time after his return into Germany, he was invited to Heidelberg to be professor in that faculty; he accepted of this invitation, and went to Heidelberg in 1557. He there got the esteem and favour of the elector Palatine, Otho-Henry, and of every body else; and as he had all manner of reason to be satisfied with his employment, he refused the offers that were made him at Marburg, of a place of professor of Physic or Poetry. He did not long enjoy that pleasant state; being attacked with his old distemper in the beginning of November 1560, and died the seventh of the same month, he was a man of admirable conversation, and was candor and sincerity it self (e) [D]. A collection of his poems were published in 1561 [E]. It contains so many love-verses, that it was thought the author wanted some apology on that account. Hagius undertook it [F]. The fourth elegy of the second book has something

[C] Lotichius changed his soup for that of the canon. According to Hagius's manner of relating the thing, this philtre was given in a soup; but he is strangely mistaken in imagining, as he seems to do, that the Italians give the name *Minestra* to these enchanting potions, which the Greeks call *philtion*. *Tus parare*, says he (6), *nescio quod male temperatum ac conciliatum Circæum, Itali minestram illud, hoc philtion Græci vocant*. The Italians by *Minestra*, or *Menestra*, barely understand pottage or soup.

[D] he was candor and sincerity itself. His Historian gives a most remarkable proof of it. He might, if he pleased, have married very advantageously; but because he believed he should soon die, he could not think of deceiving the woman; and therefore refused all the matches that were proposed to him. *Quod se sciret supremi diei sui nec vitæ longioris consilium fallere puellam ingenuam ullam, fœmineumve genus, aut latere spe connubii fortunæque stabilitatis nolle* (7).

[E] A collection of Lotichius's poems were published in 1561. Joachim Camerarius wrote the Epistle Dedicatory, in which he gives Lotichius the character of the best Poet, that his age, and Germany had seen. After this edition, many others were made with the addition of several poems. Thuanus (8), who has put three years betwixt Lotichius's death, and the publication of his poems by Camerarius, is two years mistaken in his reckoning. Moreri has copied this fault, and has added a little anachronism of his own on the day of his death, which happened not as he says, on the twenty fourth of October, but on the seventh of November. Thuanus, who has placed his death on the first of November, is not without fault. Freherus (9) also reckons three years betwixt Lotichius's death, and the edition of his poems. Thuanus (10) has placed this Poet below Eobanus Hessus. Camerarius pretends, that if the latter was alive, he would have owned himself inferior to Lotichius. 'Sed & Eobanus & Sabinus, si viverent, cum omnia in Lotichii scriptis magnopere probarent, tum elegantia & suavitate atque expremendi vetustatis similitudinem contentione, se ab hoc alicubi superari non negarent' (11). — But Eobanus and Sabinus both, if they were now living, as they were great admirers of Lotichius's writings, so they would not deny that in elegance and softness of expression, as also in a happy manner of imitating the Antients, they were each of them excelled by him. Hagius affirms, that the greatest Poets of Germany have publicly acknowledged the particular esteem they had for Lotichius's verses; and pretends, that, in the common opinion, Lotichius equalled the most excellent Poets, both antient and modern, and was preferable perhaps to some of the Antients; he cites Paul Melissus's verses, in which the superiority is given

to Lotichius, above all the German Poets, with respect to elegy. Melchior Adam (12) is somewhat unexact in his abridgment of this place, since he makes Hagius say, that the greatest men, and particularly George Sabinus, John Stigelius, George Fabricius, Posthius, and Melissus, have given Lotichius the superiority with respect to elegiac verse. Hagius at the most makes only Posthius and Melissus give him this superiority; he says nothing of the other three, either expressly or implicitly that can relate to this matter.

I thought that the edition of Lotichius's poems procured by Camerarius in 1561, was the first; but Mr Kortholt (13) has been pleased to inform me, that there was printed at Paris in 1551, by Valcofan, *Petri Lotichii secundi elegiarum liber, & ejusdem carminum libellus ad D. Danielem Stribarum equitem Francum*. The letter he writ me thereupon is so mislaid among my papers, that when I was revising this article, I could not find it; however I remember he gave me several particulars of this edition, and told me, among other things, that the dream I shall speak of below (14), is not found in it. Mr Kortholt acquainted me also that he had inserted several things concerning our Peter Lotichius in his dissertation *de entusiasmo poetico*, printed at Kiel in 1696.

[F] Hagius undertook the apology of his love-verses. He confesses (15) that being very young he made frequent reflexions with some sort of surprize, on the perpetual complaints with which the Poets fill their verses; as that they burn with love, that they are pierced with Cupid's darts, and that they find no remedy for these consuming flames.

Mille fatigatus rerum discrimina vici,
Sæpe graves æstus, frigora sæpe tuli:
Unius haud possum superare Cupidinis ignes,
Nec desideris fortior esse meis.

A thousand changes I have born,
And colds, and heats, I have endur'd,
Yet Cupid doth my courage scorn,
Nor are his flames by patience cur'd.

After these verses of Lotichius, he cites three of Virgil's.

Aspice atrata jugo referunt suspensa juveni,
Et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras.
Me tamen urit amor, quis enim modus addit amor?

Releas'd from toil the steers brought home the plow,
The setting sun the length'n'd shadow show,
Me love still burns for love no limit knows.

He

something surprizing in it; it turns upon a dream, which seems to be a prediction of the sacking of Magdeburg [G]. I shall make several remarks on this subject, which yet

He adds, that having asked some Poets the meaning of these things, Lotichius answered him, that it was the fire of divine, and not venereal, love, that burnt the Poets.

Cur vatium pars magna suos decantet amores
Miraris, Hagi candide, & causam rogas?
Accipe, non illos Veneris fax improba, verum
Æterni amor generosus urit numinis.

*That of their loves so many Poets sung,
You wonder, Hagi, and demand the cause.
They were not by a lustful passion sung,
But love divine unto their verse gave laws.*

This answer is ridiculous; it was treating Hagi as a child. He does not speak of it as he ought to do; for he only says, that Melissus explained to him all the mystery much better (16). Melissus represented to him, that if any thing was capable of attracting hearts, and conveying invincible charms into the very marrow, it is the love that is kindled by a modest and chaste object. The purest heaven, adds he, formed this love, and assigned it inflamed hearts for its throne (17). The stars take care to keep up this fire; and as the Poets receive the influences from heaven, which inspire their Poetry, we need not wonder that they have so lively a sense of the fire of love; for these influences having the same origin as love (18), both kindle and keep it up.

Sic propagare laborat
Indita nature femina quique sue.

*Each but endeavours to make those things grow,
The seeds of which kind nature did bestow.*

To reduce this explication to plain human language, and to its just simplicity, we must suppose that Melissus meant, that the same complexion which disposes a man to Poetry, disposes him to love. This proposition is not easy to be made out; for besides that there are many persons, who have a talent at Poetry without being of an amorous constitution, it is certain there are innumerable people who cannot make a verse, and yet are more furiously tormented with the fire of love than those whose poems are the most amorous. How many love-verses are printed, which are only witty conceits? A Poet never so little touched, appropriates to himself whatever he finds in the most passionate elegies; he tries even to carry things higher than what he has read; he invents new turns, and studies the most mournful characters. His design is to make his verses admired; to exercise his vein upon thoughts, which at once give a reputation to his poetical wit, and flatter the object of his passion. There are even some who are free from love, when they compose this kind of verses. Beza was one of them. 'Ilos bonos viros non pudet quicquid de poetice Candidæ amoribus lusi, (lusi autem certè pleraque, veteres illos imitatus, priusquam etiam per ætatem, quid istud rei esset intelligerem) ad castissimam & leuissimam, fœminam accommodare. Id autem non aliter se habere quàm dico, non si tantum testari possunt quibuscum per id tempus vixi, verum etiam res ipsa declarat: quum nullo unquam liberos ex uxore susceperim, in meis autem illis carminibus, Candidam pregnantem superis commendem: quod tum mihi nimirum illud fictitium argumentum, ut alia subinde multa, occurreret (19). — 'Those good men are not ashamed to apply to a most chaste and excellent woman, what I have ludicrously written on Candida: for certainly I said most of those things in jest, and in imitation of the ancients, being at that time so young, as not to know what the thing meant. That what I say is really true, I can not only prove by the testimony of those with whom I lived at that time; but I can appeal to those very verses, for the thing speaks itself. I never had any children by my wife, and yet in these verses I recommend the pregnant Candida to the favour of heaven, because that fictitious subject then struck my mind as many others

'have done at other times.' You have in these last words an instance of the conduct of Poets; they give themselves imaginary subjects, that they may have an opportunity of saying witty things. But let us come to Lotichius's apology.

He had four mistresses successively; for whom he made a great many verses (20): he never proposed, as (20) Puellas they say, to obtain any criminal favours from them, but it is only from himself, a witness in his own cause, that we know this. 'Non fecit id non honeste, quia & caste amavit Lotichius & sine crimine ac scelere: si modo castissimi Poetæ verbis veribusque dignamur aliquam habere non dubiam fidem, sic etenim ipsemet de amoribus suis canit, & Claudia sua.

Feliciter arsi

Inque meo nullum crimen amore fuit.

Non ego te, mea lux, deceptam fraude reliqui,
Non spoliū raptō turpe pudore tuli.

Dī mihī sunt testes, si mentior, æquore vasto
Obruar, & mutis piscibus esca natem (21).

There was nothing of dishonesty in this, for Lotichius loved chaste, and without crime or guilt, if we allow the words and verses of a most chaste Poet credit, when they are express, for thus himself writes of his passion, and of his Claudia.

*My bosom burns with no dishonest love,
But happily a virtuous passion prove.*

*From thee, my love, I ne'er did perjur'd fly,
Nor bore thy honour or good name away.
Thy witness, heaven, or plunge me, if I lie,
In boundless seas to hungry fish a prey.*

The apologist observes, that the privileges of Poetry allowed Lotichius to exercise his muse upon earthly beauties, it being an art which is exercised in the contemplation, and explication of all that is beautiful in the universe. 'Fecit Lotichius id primum jure poetice optimo, ad quam scilicet rerum omnium pulcherrimarum quæ magna hac universitate orbis continentur, cœlestium terrestriumque spectabilium forum contemplatio, commentatioque rite pertinet.' Moreover, as he was civil and polite, he applied himself to write love-verses, and would not deprive himself of this piece of gallantry, which also was useful towards polishing his muse. 'Ex quo illud saltem concessum est commodi, ut molles amores cantando mollius carmen deduceret.' In fine, he wanted this agreeable diversion to banish the melancholy thoughts with which he was disturbed (22).

[G] The fourth elegy of the second book . . . turns upon a dream, which seems to be a prediction of the sacking of Magdeburg.] That is, of the dreadful sacking which this town suffered in 1631, being taken by the Imperial forces. Mr Morhof has made the following observation. 'Illud singulare in hoc viro & prope modum divinum est, ac plus quam Poeticum epigramma arguit, quod in Elegia 4. lib. 2. ad Joachimum Camerarium scripta tristissima obsidionis & expugnationis Magdeburgensis fata integro seculo prædixerit. Res omnino notatu digna, ac elegia illa pulcherrima est. Hæc ille aurea carmina, quod mireris, inter armorum strepitum ipse miles scribebat (23). — This was certainly singular in the manner of whom we are speaking, and shews something in him divine, at least far beyond a poetic enthusiasm, that in the fourth elegy of his second book, addressed to Joachim Camerarius, he predicted the unfortunate siege and hapless taking of Magdeburg, a whole age before it came to pass. A thing justly deserving notice, the elegy it self being also very beautiful. These golden verses he composed while a soldier, and immoderated with the din of arms which is also somewhat strange.' Lotichius in a dream saw a great town besieged, and a young woman, who called herself the protectress of the place, complaining of the cruelties that should lay it waste, and reduce it to a heap

(20) Puellas quoque facile amavit bellas ac bonas formas morales, ac Claudiam quidem primum suam multo carmine celebratam, mihi vero non incognitam, subsistentem, non inforem nec inamabilem puellam: deinde Callirhoen, alteram Cæciberam tunicatam, formosam: hinc pectoris coludem, regiosolam nimis Italiam Panaridem: ac postremam non vero nomine dictam Phylidam pulchram Nicrogenam. . . . He was inclined to love pretty women; first of all his Claudia, whom he celebrates so much in his verses, one not unknown to me, and who, though she was brave, was for all that no unlikely, nor unlovely woman: afterwards Callirhoe, another dragonian beauty: then an Italian shepherdess, a little too religious: and lastly, under the name of Phyllis, the lovely Nicrogena. Hagi, ubi supra.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Oblectationem cum animi honestam ad leniendam animi curam, molestias, agilitates ducebat maximam. Quod poeta ipse de se non proferitur. Mollia sape quidam deducere carmina tenet, Non tamen ut parvis auribus illa scriberet. Saepe mihi sit rigidas inter dum saltem curas, Solamenque malis præmia magna voco.

(23) Morhofius, Polyhist. lib. 1, cap. xix, pag. 226.

(16) Quam rem non paulo & copiosius, & locutius nobis enucleavit Melissus.

(17) Purior hanc æther olim genuit & intra Succensas jussit regna tenere floras.

(18) Habent alimenta colores Vivida fidereis fœta perenne lucia.

(19) Beza, in Epistola Dedicatoria Poëmat.

yet are rather conjectures, than an explication which fully satisfies me. It was thought strange

of afhes. He does not name this town, nor know whether it was upon the Rhine, or the Danube, or the Elbe, but he believes it was upon the Elbe. However, he must have characterised Magdeburg, since this elegy is intitled, *De obsidione urbis Magdeburgensis*. There is doubtless something surprising in this, though it must be owned, that the condition the Poet was then in, diminishes the wonder. He was in the army of the league of Smalcald (24), probably rather expecting the good successes of Charles V, than those of that league. His imagination extended itself to all the possible consequences of Charles the fifth's victory (25). Perhaps this supposition might have intermixed with his dream, that the emperor would severely chastise Magdeburg, if the confederate army was beaten. The Poet immediately prepared to deplore the miseries of a stormed town; and one of his fictions was, that the tutelar goddess makes her complaints, &c (26). When we awake, we easily confound the images, because we forget their order: those escape us which were the bond of connexion; and hence we imagine, that the ideas, which we ourselves have linked to one another, came all at once by inspiration. It is almost as easy to form systems about general affairs sleeping as waking; abundance of people having read great news in a Gazette, draw an admirable plan of the consequences it will produce. In a quarter of an hour, they conduct the victors to the capital city of the vanquished; they fancy to themselves thrones overturned, and all Europe changing its face at once; and if they are Poets or Orators, they add to all this the sketches of a fine poem, or of an eloquent oration; they have the figures ready in their heads, and represent to themselves the very mien and words of the deputies, who come to deliver up the keys of the towns. We may be certain, that at every hour of the day, such things as these are rolling in some peoples brains: the soul, when they sleep, is no less exercised with respect to these chimeras; it draws imaginary schemes. Such was perhaps the case of Lotichius that night. I have given the reason why, when he awakened, he could not perceive that he was the author of this train of visions, as they who build castles in the air whilst awake, know and perceive themselves to be the true authors of them, without the assistance of any foreign intelligence striking in with them to reveal futurities; which is also the reason why they draw no prefaces from them.

This is an observation that might be made upon admitting Mr Morhof's supposition, namely, that Lotichius had this dream before the battle of Mulberg, in which the confederate army was beaten by Charles V. But this supposition having no foundation, I shall chuse rather to say, that Lotichius dreamed thus, during the siege of Magdeburg, in the year 1550, or 1551. It was easy to imagine that Maurice, elector of Saxony, who commanded the siege for the emperor, would take the town, and treat it cruelly. Lotichius possessed with this fear, imagined the sacking of the town in a dream, and fell into poetic fictions. He failed not to introduce the tutelar goddess, who made protestations of her innocence and fidelity, tho' the emperor expelled her from her habitation, &c. The next day he found this subject so fit to be handled in verse, that he made an elegy upon it, which he himself intitled, *De obsidione urbis Magdeburgensis*. I believe indeed, he imagined there was something prophetic in this dream, which proceeded from his not remembering the beginning of it, and not knowing that he had tacked all these visions himself, as the newmongers do theirs, in starting all the consequences they are pleased to suppose to sieges and battles (27). Now as the siege of Magdeburg, was terminated, not by taking of the town, but by a treaty of peace, Lotichius doubtless undeceived himself; he discovered the falsity of his dreams, but his verses were preserved and published after his death. But who knows whether he did not feign that he dreamed this? Do not poets daily give themselves this liberty? after having well considered this, I think it more probable, that he did not dream what he related; but, like other poets, feigned he dreamed thus.

Since the first edition of this work, I have been informed by a letter from Mr Kortholt (28), of some particulars, which oblige me to consider this matter over again. In the first place, it is certain, that the

elegy *De obsidione urbis Magdeburgensis*, is not found in the collection of poems, which Lotichius caused to be printed at Paris by Valcofan, the epistle dedicatory whereof, is dated from Paris the thirteenth of February 1551. If he dated it according to the stile at that time received in France, it was in February 1552. He knew then, that the town of Magdeburg was no longer in fear; being delivered from the siege by a treaty of peace in November 1551 (29). If he dated it beginning the year with January, the siege of Magdeburg still continued, and was far from being ended. Whatever stile he made use of, it is plain, he ought not to have published the poem in dispute at that time; the elegy, I say, in which he is supposed to speak of the sacking and burning of Magdeburg; and though we should be certain, that he had already composed it, we should yet believe he would have been very cautious of inserting it in the edition of his Latin poems. In the second place, Mr Kortholt, who understands poetry very well, and who has collated the several editions of Lotichius's poems, finds a great difference betwixt that of Paris 1551, and those that followed the death of the author. He finds Lotichius but a mean Poet in the Paris edition of his poems (30), compared to what they are after they had been corrected, and in comparison of the new poems added to Camerarius's edition. In a word, he finds, that Lotichius in 1551, was not capable of composing so excellent an elegy as that *de Obsidione Urbis Magdeburgensis*. We must conclude then, that it was made when this town was out of danger, and therefore the dream that threatened it with an entire destruction, cannot be explained by the hypothesis I have alledged. It is a matter which has relation to the time to come, and consequently to the sacking of Magdeburg in 1631, as Mr Morhof pretends. To this I have two replies to make.

I. First I say, that whether Lotichius writ this elegy whilst he bore arms, or composed it during the siege of Magdeburg, and that either in consequence of a dream, or under the fiction of a pretended dream, he ought not to have inserted it amongst the pieces which he published at Paris in 1551. I have given the reasons for this already. But he was not obliged to burn it; he therefore probably preserved it, and having afterwards given it some new touches, and polished it over and over, he worked it to that perfection which he was not able to give it when his poems were first printed. Age, study, and labour, had improved his muse; he changed into an excellent elegy, what at first was but an indifferent poem. It was found among his papers after his death as he had perfected it by his corrections, and it was sent to his friend Camerarius to be printed with his other writings (31). These are very probable conjectures, and therefore those I proposed in my first edition, lose nothing of their due weight. Poets, naturally fond of their own works, would not willingly destroy what they have once writ; but carefully preserve it, even when the occasion is passed; especially when they persuade themselves, that they have treated a subject well, and that it was very capable of ornaments. Mr Menage having heard that Mr Corneille was dead, composed an epitaph for him, which he thought a good one, and would not lose the public honour of it, even after he knew that Mr Corneille was not dead. He preserved this piece so carefully, as to insert it in the editions of his poems, and even after his enemy Cotin had severely rallied him for it. Here follows his raillery, which I believe contains a false supposition; for I am persuaded, the news of Mr Corneille's death was actually spread abroad. *It is above ten years ago, says Cotin (32), since Menage made Corneille's epitaph, though Corneille be not yet dead, having collected out of the Greek and Latin poets, abundance of thoughts upon the death of a great Poet, he killed his good friend to exhaust his common place, he made him die of a Peripneumony.* Let it be observed, that the subject of Lotichius's elegy was very proper to inspire the author with compassion; it is favourable to the poetic art, and therefore the preservation of Magdeburg was not likely to make him suppress that piece of poetry.

II. But let us grant, that Lotichius had written nothing like this, when this great town was out of trouble, and the peace of Passau had secured the Protestants

(24) I speak according to the supposition of Mr Morhof, which is not certain.

(25) Mark well his fifth verse, *Somnia sunt curas hec imitata meas.*

(26) See what shall be cited from Balzac, in the remark [K] of the article THOMAS (PAUL), on occasion of a wood cut down.

(29) See David Chytrus, in Saxonia, lib. xvii, pag. m. 441.

(30) Employ this against the complaint of Mr Morhof, in remark [H].

(31) Consult the last letter of the fifth book of Joachim Camerarius.

(32) Cotin Menagerie, pag. 34, Hague Edit. 1666.

(27) See the description which Mr de la Bruyere, *Charaictres de ce Siècle*, in the chapter of the Sovereign, pag. m. 378, & seq. has given us of these gentlemen, whether in an over sanguine, or a desponding disposition.

(28) Sebastian, of which above, citat. [13].

strange, that Julius Cæsar Scaliger should no where praise Lotichius [H]. We should have more reason to wonder at it, had not Lotichius's reputation been chiefly founded upon the works that were not printed till after Scaliger's death; but this critic's silence is not surprizing, since the first editions of Lotichius's poems (f) are much inferior to that which it was impossible for him to have any knowledge of (g).

(f) That of Paris 1551, in 8vo, and that of Leipzig, 1552.
(g) See citat (30).

testants of Germany; yet must we however in the second place say, that the dream of the author has nothing extraordinary in it. We must remember one thing, which cannot well be called into question, which is, that Poets frequently work upon subjects of pure invention; they describe shipwrecks which they have not seen, and which never were; they feign, as they think fit, times, places, consequences, and incidents. They do the same with respect to the taking of towns. These are subjects, which can exercise their talents to advantage; they make choice of them, not only when they are awake, but also when they sleep. If their nocturnal visions lead them to a besieged town, they fancy a general assault, the besieged forced to give ground; the town carried, plundered, burnt &c. If it be a town, which they are greatly concerned for, their poetical fancy is heated; they deplore the misfortune, they form the draught of a poem; and when wearied with the dream, they awake, and know not whether it be a natural, or an extraordinary one; however they take pen in hand, and give a poetical description of the vision. It sometimes happens, that they have such sort of visions, only because the day before, they had meditated upon the description of the sacking of a town. Experience informs us, that those objects which possess our thoughts in the day time, commonly present themselves to our minds the night following, and there are those who sooner light on a fine turn of poetic thought, whilst they sleep, than when they are awake. Their dreams are vehement, and move and agitate the spirits with a prodigious force. They find themselves, as they awake, in a commotion which astonishes them, they perceive something wonderful in it, which they think deserves cultivating, and immediately fall to versifying. If you examine all these things well, you will find a foundation for conjectures upon the natural causes of Lotichius's elegy. Apply to this what Lucretius says,

Et quo quisque fere studio devinctus adhæret,
Aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati
Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,
In fomnis eadem plerumque videmur obire:
Causidici causas agere, &c. (33).

(33) Lucretius, lib. iv, ver. 959.

Whatever most employs our waking thought,
Back to the mind in midnight dreams is brought.
Then Lawyers plead

Let us go on with our conjectures. There are few who have not observed, that they have often

dreamed of the same thing; as that they were attacked by robbers, that lightning fell into their chamber, that a mutiny happened in a town, &c. The return of the same dreams is more common, when the objects make a lively impression, and when the constitution of the brain gives way to their making well-pressed and deep-printed tracks. It is probable, that during the siege of Magdeburg, Lotichius had a dream that represented the sacking this town, and, pursuant to it, fell to making verses the next day, or a few days after. If the town had been taken and sacked, he had published them doubtless at the same time; but hearing in his travels the news of the peace, he laid by his poem. We may suppose at three or four years end, the same dream returned; the traces it had left the first time, formed a channel, the mouth of which was open'd by the tumultuous and irregular agitation of the animal spirits; but this irregularity hindered not their running along the same tracks; and thus the view of the sacking of Magdeburg was renewed. Lotichius thinking it perhaps mysterious, new-polished his verses, amplified them, and put them in the condition in which the public has seen them. I do not know but he might have been afraid, from his love for Magdeburg, that this new dream was prophetic and supernatural; but, in my opinion, he ought not to have thought it more so now than at the first time, where, according to the usual course of dreams, he might fancy the burning of a town which was actually besieged. Should a Poet, out of a witty conceit, make an elegy at this time, resembling that of Lotichius, it might well enough happen before eighty years come about, that the town he sung of to divert himself, may be bombarded and ruined.

[H] It was thought strange that Julius Cæsar Scaliger has not praised Lotichius. You will find at the end of the text to this article, the reasons why we are not to wonder at Scaliger's silence. However, let us hear Mr Morhof's complaint. 'Fuit Phoenix Poetarum Germaniæ Lotichius, omnibus exterris si non superior, certe æqualis. Hujus tamen vel ipsi Germanis pene ignotum nomen est: exteri nullam ejus mentionem faciunt.' J. C. Scaliger cum censuram Poëtarum Germanorum instituit in Hypercritico suo ne verbum quidem de hoc nostro, qui tamen omnibus cæteris erat antefereendus (34). Lotichius was the Phoenix of the German Poets, whom all, be it at the least equal to any. Yet the Germans themselves scarce know any thing of him; strangers have never mentioned him. Julius Cæsar Scaliger, in the censure of the German Poets, contained in his Hypercritic, says not one word of our author, notwithstanding that he ought to have been preferred to them all.'

(34) Morhof, ubi supra, pag. 225.

(a) Draudius, Biblioth. pag. 1573. Edit. 1625.

(b) Yet Moreri's Dictionary, printed in Holland, affirms this, and cites Freherus for it.

LOTICHIIUS (CHRISTIAN) younger brother to the preceding, discovered in his infancy no less dispositions to study, than he. Therefore his uncle, the abbot, having first caused him to be diligently instructed in his school of Solitar, sent him afterwards to Wittemberg, to study Philosophy there, and especially Divinity. It was not in this university, but in that of Heidelberg that he took his master of arts degree in 1549, after which his uncle gave him the charge of his church and college. Whilst he was thus Vicar to the abbey, he was desired by several learned men, to collect all the poems of Lotichius Secundus, and publish them, with an exact history of the life and studies of this illustrious brother. He was working upon it, when the death of the abbot Lotichius, his uncle, interrupted that work in 1567. It was in his power to succeed him in his abbey; for they who had the right to elect, declared for him; but he rather chose to resign his pretensions to his brother-in-law Sigefridus Hertenus, minister of the church of Groningen. He could not have long enjoyed the dignity of abbot, if he had accepted it, for he died in 1568. He made verses with pretty good success. A collection of his poems was printed in 1602 (a), by the care of John Peter Lotichius, his grandson, who joined them with his own. I have not found in Freherus, who furnishes me with this article, that the poems of Lotichius Secundus, and our Christian Lotichius were ever printed together (b).

LOTICHIUS (JOHN PETER), grandson to the former, made himself known by a great number of books which he published both in verse and prose. He was a Physician by profession, and well versed in Human Literature. The commentary upon Petronius, which he published at Frankfort in 1629, answers these two qualities [A]. The reward he received for the dedication of his epigrams, was very slender [B]. He was invited to Rintell, to be professor of Physic (a).

(a) See the epistle dedicatory of his Petronius.

[A] The commentary which he published on Petronius answers these two qualities. For he there explains by itself, whatever is in Petronius, relating to Physic; and afterwards, in another part, gives critical and philosophical notes upon the same author. He appears to have more reading, and memory, than penetration and judgment. See what an opinion Goldast had of this commentary: 'Mitto tibi Lotichii commentaria in Petronium cum aliorum notis. . . vides quantum abs tuo instituto ac iudicio Lotichius dissideat. Volebam hominem amicum hac occasione ad lectionem veterum Medicorum deducere, quorum illum propterea expertem & negligentem esse advertibam. Sed iudicio destitutus nec in bonis auctoribus versatus, nobis undique compilavit quæ ad grandendum librum convasare ex Cornucopia, Calpino, Textoris officina, Erasmi Chiliadibus & compingit scriptis poterat, ut tandem monstrosum, horrendum, & insanum magnum istud commentum pareret. Adeo sibi philautia placet, ut etiam sordes suas putet mera olere cinnama (1). — I send you Lotichius's commentary on Petronius, with the notes of others. . . You see how far Lotichius falls below you in knowledge, and judgment; I would have advised this man, as a friend, to take this occasion to make himself acquainted with the ancient Physicians, because to me he appears to have been very negligent in that respect; but wanting judgment, and being not at all versed in good authors, he rated together whatever might fill his book, from the Cornucopia, Calpene, Textoris Officina, the Chiliads of Erasmus, and such like authors, by which means his commentary is

rendered of a monstrous and frightful size. In fine, he is so full of himself that he thinks nothing nauseous can come from him.' This judgment is very severe, but I think it more reasonable than that of Guy Patin, and I admire that a man, who was incomparably more inclined to despise authors than esteem them, should speak so much to the advantage of this commentary on Petronius. Lotichius, formerly a Physician, and at present a Historiographer, has wrote two volumes in folio, *Rerum Germanicarum*, and perhaps the third is also printed; if you have them, send them to me. Let me know likewise if he has reprinted his Petronius, in folio, much enlarged, as he designed long ago. This last is an excellent book, and the author a very learned man. He had designed to have reprinted it here, with all his additions, in folio; but I answered him it was impossible, there being too many Monks, Jesuits, and others, enemies to good letters in this place, who would think that they had merited heaven if they had hindered such an impression (2).

[B] The reward he received for the dedication of his epigrams was very slender. He not only dedicated them to Maurice, landgrave of Hesse, but also gave him a copy of them with his own hand. The prince thanked him by an epigram (3), and that was all the present he made him. This was imitating a great emperor (4). He who furnishes me with this particular, says also, that he dedicated a great number of books to princes and republics, without ever getting a penny for them.

(2) Guy Patin, Lettre cxlii, Tom. I, pag. 433. It is dated the first of April, 1657.

(3) Neper Doctor Lotichius sua epigrammata illustravit. Maurice Hesse Landgravi inscripsit, & in presentiarum obtulit, qui et epigramma Eucharistici loco reddidit. Goldastus, Epist. ad Hofman inter Richterianas, pag. 561.

(4) See what Macrobius, *Saturnalis lib. ii, cap. iv*, has said of Augustus.

(1) Goldastus, Epistola ad Hofmannum, inter Richterianas, pag. 555.

(a) See Sammarthianus, in *Elog. Macrini*.

(b) Mercure François, Tom. XX, pag. 768.

(c) D'Aubigné, Tom. III, pag. 223.

(d) Du Chesne, *Antiq. des Villes*.

(e) Id. ibid.

LOUDUN, in the upper Poitou [A], in the confines of Anjou and Touraine, and the diocese of Poitiers, is a very antient town, though we must not give too much credit to the opinion of the common people, who ascribe the founding of it to Julius Cæsar (a). It became considerable in the civil wars of the XVIth century [B], as well on account of its castle, which Lewis XIII demolished in 1633 (b), as for its situation. The duke of Anjou in vain attempted to make himself master of it in 1569 (c), but the king of Navarre reduced it twenty years after with the greatest ease (d). There are several convents in it: that of the Carmelites is the rendezvous of several devout persons, who go thither on pilgrimages to our Lady of *Reconvrance* (e). That of the Ursulines became extremely famous, when, in 1633 and 1634, there was so much talk of the possession of several of these Nuns [C]. The Protestants about this time lost the college

[A] In the upper Poitou. Coulon, in the index of his book of the rivers of France, places Loudun in Touraine. Mr de Marolles is in the same error, when he says (1) that Loudun is part of Touraine, tho' the Loudunois be in the diocese of Poitiers. He ought to have said, that Loudun was also in this diocese. The truth of the matter is, that the election of Loudun depends on the generality of Tours.

[B] It became considerable in the civil wars of the XVIth century. Here is a little story that does honour to this town: d'Aubigné relates (2), that in 1569, Pluvaut, at the head of a company of sixty lances, being in sight of Anville, where the duke of Anjou was quartered, 'saw eighty horsemen come forth, who were the bravest of the court, as the Guises, Brissac, Pompadour, Fervagues, Lanfacc, Jersai, Fontaine, and others. He resolutely stood them, the fight was obstinate, and twice renewed; but not one of Pluvaut's men quitted his post. D'Andelot appearing with twelve troops of horse, obliged the courtiers to retire, leaving two of their men dead upon the spot, and carrying off several wounded. They had a mind to know who they were that they had fought with. La Curée-Jersaut, who with Clermond, la Barbée, and other bold adventurers, gloried in following this captain on extraordinary occasions; instead of naming these gentlemen, answered, 'it was the company of Pluvaut; and Lanfacc replying, *What the Sieurs of Loudun?* most of them being of this place, and of quality. The duke of

Guise cried out, *Let us change this discourse, they are all true gentlemen.*'

[C] The possession of several Nuns of Loudun. I have spoke amply of them in another place (3); but I did not then know a thing which I have read a few days ago, and which I shall mention, after having occasionally taken notice of a fault of Father Labbe. He says (4), that in 1566, 'the possessed Nuns of Loudun, so famous, was dispossessed by the holy Eucharist, in presence of above ten thousand men, and among others, of Florimond de Remond, who soon after, of a Huguenot became a Catholic.' Instead of Loudun, he should have said Laon, which is an episcopal town in Picardy: it was there that Florimond de Remond saw this famous possessed person, as he relates in two places of his works (5). Spondanus (6) relates this fact, and uses the word *Laudunum*, which probably led Father Labbe to believe, that this adventure happened at Loudun. Mr Moreri has committed the same fault in the article of FLORIMOND DE REMOND.

It is affirmed in Mr d'Artagnan's Memoirs, that Grandier was one of cardinal Richelieu's unhappy Victims. Some body had persuaded him that Grandier was a Sorcerer, and had possessed the Nuns of Loudun with a legion of devils. Upon this accusation the Sieur de Laubardemont, at the head of his delegates, against the opinion of a great many of his judges, had him condemned to be burnt alive. He frankly told them, to oblige them to subscribe to so unjust

(1) In the article GRANDIER.

(2) Labbe, Chronologie, Tom. V, pag. 783.

(3) In his book of Amichet, and in the work of the Birth and Gr. with of Heresy, book ii, chap. xii.

(6) Spondanus, *Annal. Eccles. ad ann. 1566, in 31.*

(1) In the list of those who had made him presents of their books at the word *Clevoeau*.

(2) Histoire Universelle, Tom. I, pag. 392.

college which they had there [D]. The last national synod was held in this Town, from the tenth of November, 1659, to the tenth of January, 1660. Loudun has been the birth-place of several learned men, as Salomon Macrinus, Scevola Sammarthanus, Julius Cæsar Bulengerus, Ismael Bulialdus, Urbanus Chevreau, &c. Some call it *Juliodunum* in Latin; but that is not its true name [E]. The Geographer du Val (f) was in the wrong, to say, That it has the title of a duchy; if he had consulted Moreri, he would not have expressed himself in the present tense. That lady of the family of Rohan, in whose favour Moreri says, the duchy was erected, is the lady de la Garnache, of whom I have spoken in her place.

(f) In his treatise of France, pag. 144.

• unjust a sentence, that if they opposed it so vigorously as men of honour ought to do, they should have commissaries appointed to try them, who would soon convict them of being accomplices in his witchcrafts, since he was no more a Sorcerer than they might be. He was much more in the right in talking to them after this manner, than in resolving to put an innocent man to death. All poor Grandier's crime was his debauching these Nuns; and if he had possessed their bodies with any devil, it could be no other than that of impunity (7). Now as these judges had been to see these Nuns as well as he, and might as easily have lain with them, for they were very far from being vestals, they hesitated for some time what they had best do; but being at last prevailed upon, they chose to shew themselves unjust in condemning an innocent person, rather than put themselves in his place by endeavouring to save him; for after all, they might have been accused of Sorcery as well as he, and no one knows what might have happened, his eminence being absolute as he was (8).

(7) An error of the press for impunity or lewdness.

(8) Memoires d'Artagnan, pag. 160, & seq. Edit. 1700.

(9) Note, That there are four correctors of the press, who at the desire of the Book-sellers, examine whether a MS. deserves to be printed, and leave out, or add to it, what they think fit.

(10) In the remark [A] of the article SCHOMBERG (CHARLES DE).

A CONFIRMATION of what has been said of a pretended apparition of the confessor of the nuns of Loudun.

(11) In the remark [K] of the article GRANDIER.

(12) I write this in 1700.

(13) Compare this with citat (1) of the article LAZARRELLI.

I am far from warranting the truth of this, nor can I persuade myself that Laubardemont spoke thus to the judges. He was a wicked man, you will tell me; *transeat*, be it so; but that had not sufficed cardinal Richelieu, he must have had sense and address besides; but what can be more improbable than to say, that a president of a commission is ingenious in wickedness, and yet speaks as this man is made to speak in d'Artagnan's Memoirs. This, in my opinion, is foisted in, either by him who has put these Memoirs in order, or rather by the corrector of the press (9). Be it how it will, Mr d'Artagnan would give no great credit to the story; for at the time of this possession at Loudun, the figure he made, and the places he frequented, could only afford him the most uncertain and popular reports in this matter. But let us not lose time in apologizing for so brave a man as he was. He does not want it: the Memoirs that have been published under his name are supposititious from the beginning to the end; they come from the same author who published the *Memoirs of Mr L. C. D. R.* of which I shall speak in another place (10).

I have in another place (11) said a thing that seemed incredible to some people, which is, that the priest Grandier might have appeared in the chamber of a Nun, as a spectre resembling the deceased confessor of the Ursulines, I must now add a word or two, to make my opinion more credible. Nothing can be more proper for my purpose, than the abjuration made at Rome within these two years (12), by a bare-footed Augulline Friar, who had been guilty of Molinism. He was convicted of having deceived Father Benignus by counterfeit revelations: he endeavoured to persuade him, that the things he had told him on several occasions, were true and holy, and that he was a saint greater than any in heaven. For this he referred himself to the testimony of St Gaetan, and shewed himself to Father Benignus, in the figure of this saint. He also contrived false apparitions of the Holy Virgin, and made use of artificial illuminations, and many changes in the tone of his voice. Let us set down the words of his abjuration: 'Confessasti che le Visioni succedenti erano opere tue, e parimente le Revelazioni del Padre Benigno, mentre tu gli apparisti con l'habito di S. Gaetano, con un bellissimo e candidissimo giglio in mano, e barba posticcia. Il tutto facesti e operasti per far gli credere che le cose dette da te in piu e diversi occasioni erano veridiche e sante, e che tu eri un santo maggior di tutti i santi che stanno in cielo. Facesti apparire la Beatissima Vergine a forza di lume contraffacendo la voce hora in un modo, e hora nell'altro, e per questi tuoi e altri milleri il sudetto Padre Benigno credeva fermamente a queste tue visioni, e visitationi celesti, e che dio non le concedeva se non a te puramente.' Dr Silvestre (13)

V O L. III.

returning from Rome, communicated to me a manuscript copy of the act of the Inquisition, in which are these words; it is intitled, *Ristretto de l'Abjura semipublica seguita nel sant' Officio in persona di Fra Pietro Paolo di S. Gio: Evangelista Romano al Sacello di Casa Granisi, in eta d'anni quaranta, ingiustificata altre volte nella Cita di Napoli, e in quella di Spoleti.* I pass over the infamies this Monk was convicted of as a Quietist, and the abominable impurities he confessed he had committed with his female votaries. They make one's hair stand an end, and shew at the same time, that since the Inquisition was satisfied with condemning a bare-footed Augulline Friar, only to perpetual imprisonment, it ought to be acknowledged, on some occasions, a tribunal of extraordinary clemency and gentleness. But leaving these reflexions, I content myself to say, that by facts undoubted and judicially attested, we know that the secret of representing the dead, and counterfeiting apparitions of the Holy Virgin, is a thing known and practised in the monasteries. Why then should we deny that the curate of Loudun appeared to a Nun, as her deceased confessor? I could never persuade myself, that all the stories of the apparitions of the Holy Virgin, with which abundance of books are stuffed, are either fictions or meer illusions; there is a great deal of reality in these stories. The impostors personally enter the chambers, and actually pronounce words in what name and figure they please: vapours and fits of the mother, do not make the Nuns see and hear this or that. Their senses are really affected by the objects; all the deception consists in their attributing to the divine favour, what only depends on human artifice. The engastrimythes, those who speak from their bellies, and who so well manage the air in their lungs, that their voice seems to proceed from a cave or a garret, are very fit for these little mysteries; they are very servicable people; and by their means many are made to believe, that the dead suffer much in purgatory, and come to desire their heirs to cause masses to be said for them. Observe the exceptions which I mention in the marginal note (14).

[D] The presidents lost the college which they had there.] The Historian of the Edict of Nantes relates (15), That the Reformed of Loudun had lost their college in the year 1635, and that Laubardemont had lodged the pretended possessed Nuns there. After that they were never able to get their possessions restored, nor to recover the money it had cost them. But the court being at Loudun, in 1650, they applied themselves to the president Molé, who was then keeper of the seals. The result was, that at the desire of the queen, they were contented with a sum much below the price of their college, which was offered them in the name of the Ursulines. This sum pretty nearly equalled the fourth part of the value of the buildings, and was not one half of the interest. See in the same author (16), the treachery made use of to endeavour to deprive them of the exercise of their religion.

[E] Some call it in Latin Juliodunum (§ a), but that is not its true name.] Mr Valois the younger, says (17) that Macrinus and Scevola Sammarthanus, were the first, or two of the first, who by a poetical licence called Loudun *Juliodunum*, to make their country participate in the glory of Julius Cæsar. According to him, its name is *Castrum Laudunum*, that of *Loudunum* is later. Some have also given it the name of *Laudidunum*, *Laudunum*, and *Lodunum*. William le Breton has given it this last name, in the eighth book of his *Philippis*.

(§ a) Fauchet, book iv, chap. xiv, of his *Antiquities*, thinks that Loudun might be a certain place of Touraine, which was, says he, antiently called *Castrum Julicense*. And he also observes, that this place was called

(14) That is, they are not always the cause; for on the whole I do not deny but they may be so sometimes, and that the bare impression which the little relation or reading of stories of apparitions, or an artificial apparition makes, may produce the persuasion of other apparitions, in which there is no artifice at all.

(15) Hist. de l'Edit. de Nantes, Tom. III, livr. III, pag. 145.

(16) Tom. III, Part. II, pag. 753, & seq. ad ann. 1684, 1685.

(17) Hadrian. Valesius, Notit. Galliar. pag. 265, & 450.

led *Loviodunum*, by Idacius, or F. elegarius; and was called *Juliodunum* by Marcius, to do honour to Lou- | dun his country; as if that town had been founded by Julius Cæsar. REM. CRIT.]

LOUET (GEORGE) a counsellor of the parliament of Paris, made a collection of arrêts, which was printed at Paris after his death. Sieur de Rochemaillet took care of that edition in the year 1609 in 4to, and dedicated it to Anthony Seguier, who had given the manuscript, and who was president of the parliament of Paris.

LOYER (PETER LE) counsellor in the prefidial court at Angers, was born in the village of Huillé, in Anjou, the twenty-fourth of November 1540 (a). He was one of the most learned men of his age [A], and at the same time one of the greatest visionaries that ever lived. He perfectly understood the Oriental tongues, but was so infatuated with Hebrew etymologies, that he made himself ridiculous [B]. He also pretended to find, in Homer, whatever he had a mind to [C]. He found in him the village of his birth, and his own name; and, for fear he should be taxed with boasting of an extraordinary knowledge, he declared it was the grace of God, that wrought in his mind all these wonderful effects. We see, in his book of Spectres, a prodigious reading; but, as learned as he was, and that with so great a mixture of madness, he was entirely unknown to Vossius and Colomiés [D]. The latter has not inferred him in

(a) Menage, Remarques sur la Vie d'Ayrault, pag. 168.

(1) Menag. in Vita Petri Ayrault, pag. 20.

(2) Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault, pag. 168.

(3) This happened in the year 1572, according to la Croix du Maine, pag. 403.

(4) Printed at Paris, in 1620, in 8vo.

(5) Menag. ibid. pag. 166, 167.

(6) Menag. ibid. pag. 167.

(7) Ibid.

[A] He was one of the most learned men of his age. This is what Mr Menage says of him. 'Erat quidem Loerius Græcæ, & Latine, Hebraicæ, Arabicæ, & Chaldaicæ doctissimus, sed Juris in quo versabatur, planè ignarus (1). — Loyer was indeed most learned in the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic tongues; but in Law, which was his profession, quite ignorant.' There are abundance of people of this character: they are ignorant of nothing, but of what they ought to know best. A counsellor, as he was, ought to have understood the Law, and had nothing to do with Hebrew or Arabic; and yet he was ignorant in the Law, and deeply learned in the Oriental tongues. Let us go on with the praises Mr Menage has given him (2). 'Excepting these visions, Peter le Loyer was a great man. He was one of the best read men in the world, as his works declare, his Colonies, his Spectres, his Paraphrase on the Magnificat. He likewise had a taste for the Belles Lettres. He wrote Greek, Latin, and French verses: when he studied the Law at Toulouse, he carried the Eglantine garland in the Floral games (3). He made a comedy in French verse, called *La Néphelocorgie*, upon which Ronfard made this stanza.

LOYER, ta docte Muse n'erre
De bâtir une Ville en l'air,
Où les Cocus puissent voler:
Pour eux trop petite est la terre.

You build a town for cuckolds in the air,
'Cause earth's too little to contain 'em here.

See la Croix du Maine, and du Verdier Vau-Privas, in their French Bibliothèques.

[B] He was so infatuated with Hebrew etymologies, that he made himself ridiculous. In his books of the 'Idumean Colonies (4). . . he derives from the Hebrew or Chaldaic tongues, not only the names of the cities of France, but even those of the villages of Anjou; of the hamlets, houses, barns, fields, and meadows. I shall therefore say, these are his words, at pag. 217, that the village of Huillé (his birth-place) is derived from Ahale, or Ohole of Ezekiel, which is Ada, or Gada, the wife of Esau, and mother of Eliphaz. Near Huillé, about half a mile on the river Loire, there is, on a hill, a little hamlet, called Basse-tas, which I derive from Bassemath, and Bassemtis, another wife of Esau, and mother of Reuel, grand-mother to Jerab, and great-grand-mother to Job (5). Mr Menage, having given three or four other instances of the same stamp, adds, 'all the book is filled with such observations; which makes me boldly say, that we are not much the worse for the loss of ten or twelve volumes of other books of Colonies of the same author (6). I do not know but Mr Bochart wished that the loss had been more general.

[C] He pretended to find, in Homer, whatever he had a mind to. (7) This Peter le Loyer found every thing in Homer. He found in one single verse his own Christian name, the name of his family, the

name of the village where he was born, the name of the province in which this village lay, and the name of the kingdom which contained this province. In a thing so incredible as this I speak of, I am obliged to give here his own words in his Idumean Colonies. 'After this great prophecy, which is wholly owing to me, Homer comes to speak this verse', addressing himself to Ulysses:

Σὸν δ' ἔπω τις ἔχει καλὸν γίγασσι ἄλλὰ
ἐκπαλῶ.

'And no body, says Anticlea's shade to her son Ulysses, has yet thy (Loyer) reward, in all respects happily reposed; and what follows, which bears another meaning. In all this long verse you will exactly find,

Πιέρω Λωίειο, Ἀνδάντας, Γάλλω, Τλαιν.

'That is to say, Peter Loyer, Angevin, Gaullois, d'Huillé. There is neither more nor less in it; let who will make the trial. This I offer to defend to all that read me; and why should not I defend what is notoriously my own in Homer? there is no satisfaction in a thing, which is not one's own, or doubted to be one's own. Now Homer attributes this verse to me, and by so doing he makes it mine, and not another's. And whatever way we turn this verse in Homer, it will still be mine; and I can claim it for my own. There are three letters, which remain in this whole verse, which perhaps may be said to be superfluous, but they are not so. These are the numeral Greek letters, α, γ, ζ, which denote the time when the name should be revealed, which is contained in this verse of Homer, to wit, the year of Christ 1620. And what is there less superfluous? Now this is sufficient, as to what concerns my self; which I do not relate for the glory I hope from it; but rather because I cannot and ought not to be silent as to what has been revealed to Homer concerning me. This will serve moreover to strengthen my work concerning the originals, migrations, and colonies of people, which had been reserved for me. Homer (8) complains in vain concealed the origin of many nations, under the cover of fables; since there was to be one, in future ages, who should discover what he had attempted to conceal. I do not boast, for all this, to know more than other men. But who will withstand the grace of God, co-operating in me? This is what Homer discovered, even to the naming the little village where I should receive my birth, that I might not glory in my weakness and meanness, but rather in God, who makes me what I am, and renders me so potent and vigorous, in that he comforts me. (8) Nothing could be left out of this long passage, where every thing shews so learned and singular a madness.

[D] He was unknown to Vossius. I have read, in one of his letters (9) a conjecture, which fully discovers his ignorance in this point. He believes that *Loerius de Spectris* had been said, instead of *Lovaterus*.

* Verse 182, of the *Odyssæe*. Δ.

(9) It is the *ecclesiæstic*, pag. 437.

[E] The

in his *Gallia Orientalis*. Peter le Loyer died at Angers, 1634, in the eighty fourth year of his age (§ a).

Gabriel Naudé, doing him justice, as to his reading and knowledge, openly laughs at his notion about Orpheus, *the greatest Sorcerer that ever lived*, said he, *and the greatest Necromancer, whose writings were only stuffed with the praises of devils, as particularly of Jupiter Alastor, the revenging and exterminating devil*. See also the Chevræana, page 30. of the second part.

I had forgot to say, that the verses, which he made in his youth, did not preface that he would be one day what he became. They did not threaten him with the fate of Postel and Cahier, *learned men and fools* (b). They were sprightly, genteel, ingenious, and pleasant [E], and by this one would have conjectured, that, if he applied himself diligently to learning, he would have acquired a literature polite and seasoned with agreeableness, and not a morose pedantic knowledge. That kind of genius, which immediately inclines to sport and toy with the Muses, is generally a preservative against the ill effects of too strong an application to study. It spreads a politeness over the learning a man acquires, be it ever so profound, and prevents a great and extensive reading from stifling and oppressing with it's weight natural vivacity and reason. Our Loyer was an exception to this general rule. He spoiled by his studies the good fund of wit nature had given him, if Greek shook his brain, Hebrew compleated it's overthrow.

[(§ a) He was born then in 1550, and not in 1540, as Mr Bayle says. REM. CRIT.]

[E] *The verses he composed in his youth . . . were sprightly . . . ingenious, and pleasant.* The pieces, which we find in a book intitled (10) *The Works and Poetical Miscellanies of Peter le Loyer of Anjou. Together with the comedy Nephelococcy, or CLOUD OF CUCKOLDS, no less learned than facetious*, are these: the Loves of Flora: some Odes: some Idylls: first and second grove of the Art of Love: Sonnets political or miscellaneous: the Dumb mad, a comedy: the comedy Nephelococcy: the Sports and Pastimes of youth. There are some Greek and Latin poems in this collection, but not many. The *Elégia Virginis vetulae*, fol. 250, is very diverting. The author dedicated his book to Mr de la Valette the younger (11), gentleman in ordinary of the king's bed-chamber: the Epistle Dedicatory is dated from Paris the ninth of September, 1578, and informs us, that it was the first time the author published his poems. *Ayant piece dans l'obole à la poursuite de mes études . . .* in the printed copy, to *a essé de ce monde* (12) inclusive; and again to (13) *Et puis que celui exclusive*.

. . . *Ainsi quelque temps, j'allay supprimant & cachant . . .* in the printed copy, to *Le sujet lequel y est exclusive*. I know not how to reconcile this either with La Croix du Maine (14), or with Du Verdier Vau-Privas, the one of whom affirms, that Peter le Loyer published, at Paris, in 1576, a work of his in French verse, intitled, *Erotopægia, or Love's Past-time*. The other, after having particularized the pieces contained in the collection above-mentioned, adds these words; *he had before sent into the world part of the said compositions under the title of Erotopægia* (15), or *Love's Past-time, in 8vo, printed by Abel l'Angelier 1576* (16). If these two authors are not mistaken, Peter le Loyer was very bold, or rather very impudent, since he dared to say, that he deferred the publication of his poems till 1578. Could he well imagine, that Mr de la Valette, a lover of Poetry, knew nothing of the edition of 1576? Du Verdier Vau-Privas has inserted in his work (17) three sonnets of Peter le Loyer, four epigrams, several tetrasichs of the grove of the Art of Love, and several fragments of the Cloud of Cuckolds. These fragments are portraits, in which the character of several sorts of persons is satirically represented. I am surprized he did not make choice of the epigram in the 121st leaf. The reader will excuse me, if I recite it, since it is an imitation, or translation, of the Latin verses which I have cited in the article LYCURGUS (18).

Epigram on a lady unfortunate in a husband.

En-mes bas ans . . .

in the printed copy, to (19) *allusions*, exclusive.

LOYOLA (IGNATIUS) founder of the Jesuits, was born in 1491, in the province of Guipuscoa, in Spain. He was educated at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella; and, as soon as his age permitted him to bear arms, he fought occasions of signalizing himself. He gave sufficient proofs of his courage at the siege of Pampelona (a), and

(b) Epistle Dedicatory of the Catholic Confession of Sancy.

There are some coarse expressions in the passage, which Du Verdier has taken from the Nephelococcy; but as insupportable as they appear at present, they are honey in comparison of several other passages of the same comedy, which are frightfully obscene. Le Loyer justifies himself the best he can in his preface. He says, that his friends have assured him, that *the learned and benevolent reader will easily excuse a little polite smut mixed with learned and serious matters*. . . . in the printed copy, to *Cemique* (20) inclusive.

(20) lb. fol. 165.

He confesses, that Plutarch . . . (in the book of the comparison of Menander and Aristophanes) has compared the comedies of the latter to the wanton loves of a shameless barlot; but he appeals from this sentence, and, after having spoken of the merit of Aristophanes, he goes on thus (21): *If any Cato's will censure my book*. . . . in the printed copy, to *Continuant ainsi*, exclusive. To *idcirco venissi*, citation (22), and in the margin.

(21) Id fol. 164 verso.

These excuses do not justify his having followed to excess the custom of his time. His comedy, which is full of invention, and seasoned with a good deal of sprightliness and wit (23), would without doubt be better, if there was less obscenity in it, and if all the descriptions or portraits resembled the following, in which there is nothing offensive to chaste ears:

(22) See the remark [E] of the first article FLORA, citat. (9).

(23) See. in the remark [A] the verses of Ronsard. They are prefixed to the poetical works of Peter le Loyer, with several others, which the author's friends wrote in his praise.

Le cruel Mars émouvant les Courages
Aux fiers combats

*The cruel mars rousing their courages
To combats fierce.*

in the printed copy, to (24) *Or maintenant que*, exclusive.

(24) Le Loyer, Oeuvres Poët. fol. 222.

Note, that all the poems of du Loyer are very obscene. He had a sister who wrote four very sensible verses, which the prefixed to his poetical works:

*Si vos amours sont du tout vrayes,
Vous estes malheureux vray'ment,
Mais si elles sont pures bayes,
Que sert feindre tant de tourment ?*

*If your amours are real quite,
In truth you are a wretched wight;
But if they're shams, and nothing more,
Why feign you pains, you never bore ?*

(10) It is a volume in 12mo, of 216 leaves, which was printed at Paris, for John Poupy, the seventh of September 1578, the title has 1579. Du Verdier affirms, that the book was printed by Abel l'Angelier.

(11) He, who was afterwards duc d'Epemou.

(12) It was in 1573, that this Mr de la Valette died. See Father Anselme, H. H. de Grands Off. pag. 388.

(13) Le Loyer, Epist. Dedicat. of his poetical works.

(14) La Croix du Maine, pag. 403; and observes, that he knows nothing of the edition of 1578.

(15) An error of the press for Erotopægia.

(16) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 1018.

(17) See his Biblioth. Franç. pag. 1018, &c.

(18) See in the rem. [G] of the article LYCURGUS, the Lawgiver, the passage of the Suite du Menagiana.

(19) Le Loyer, Oeuvres Poët. fol. 121, verso.

(a) This was the siege, which the French laid to it in 1541,

(b) In Catalonia, about a days journey from Barcelona.

(c) Cum autem in profanis libris legitur eum quo novi milites olim inaugurabuntur, ut ejus ritus imaginem quamdam spiritus in se representaret, novis contra diabolum armis accinctus, &c. — Having

was there wounded by a canon shot, which broke his right leg. During the cure of this wound, he formed the resolution of renouncing the vanities of the world, of going to Jerusalem, and afterwards leading a very particular sort of life. As soon as he was cured, he took his way towards our Lady of Montserrat (b); and being arrived there, he hung up his arms over the altar of the holy Virgin, and consecrated himself to her service, the night of the twenty-fourth of March, 1522. He imitated as much as he could the rules of ancient chivalry (c) [A]; in lifting himself under the standards of this spiritual warfare. He parted before day, dressed himself like a pilgrim, and bent his course towards Manresa, where he sojourned about a year amongst the poor of the hospital, and in the practice of all kinds of mortification. There it was that he writ his book of spiritual exercises [B]. Having embarked at Barcelona, for his voyage to Jerusalem, he arrived at Cajeta in five days, and, being unwilling to continue his enterprize, without receiving

read in profane books the ceremony, with which new soldiers were formerly initiated, that he might in some manner spiritually represent that ceremony in himself, being furnished with new arms against the Devil, &c. Ribadeneira, in Vita Ignatii, lib. i. cap. iv. pag. m. 32.

(1) That is to say, Ignatius Loyola.

(2) Stillinger, of the Fanaticism of the church of Rome, pag. 282.

* Ribadeneira, Vit Ignat. cap. i.

† Ribadeneira, cap. i. Orlandinus, Hist. lib. i. n. 12.

† Orlandinus, Hist. lib. i. n. 18. Maffæus, lib. i. cap. iv.

† Maffæus, lib. i. cap. iii.

[A] He imitated, as near as possible, the laws of ancient chivalry. One of the learnedest men of this age has jested upon this, in a manner worth the relating. The first thing to be observed in him (1), says he (2), is, that he was converted by reading the legends of the saints, as Don Quixot was to knight-errantry, by the reading of old romances. . . . His countryman was never more touched with the adventures of the first knights, than Ignatius with the histories of St Dominic and St Francis *. For these were they, which affected him most; and before he would take a fixed resolution of running through the world, as a religious knight-errant, he represented to himself the difficult adventures of these two illustrious heroes, and found he had courage enough to undergo the like. Thus in a fit of zeal †, he leaped one night out of bed, and fell on his knees before the image of the blessed Virgin, and in that posture vowed himself her knight; which is so considerable a circumstance, that I wonder Maffæus has omitted it, together with the strange noise which was heard in the house, the rocking of the chamber, and the clattering of all the glass-windows, which happened at that time; a sure sign, says Orlandinus, that the devil bad him then farewell. After this, the Virgin appeared to him, with great glory, holding her son in her bosom, which so encouraged him in his first design, that, a little after he took his journey to Montserrat, a place of great devotion to the Virgin. In his journey thither, he had like to have begun his first adventure by fighting with a Moor, who confessing, that the blessed Virgin remained a Virgin, till her child-birth, denied, that she continued so afterwards. For St Ignatius, reflecting whole knight he was, grew to be enraged, that he thought himself absolutely obliged to revenge upon the Moor, the affront he had done his mistress; but considering a little what was best to be done, and the Moor taking another road, he left the affair to the judgment of his mule; and throwing the bridle upon her neck, resolved to be the death of the offender, if at the first cross-way she took the road which he had taken. The good mule, knowing full well her master's intention, turned out of the great road, and took that of Montserrat; where, as soon as he was arrived, he performed a remarkable ceremony, which was this. Ignatius, as Orlandinus and Maffæus † expressly say, having read in books of Chivalry, that the ancient knights taking upon them that honourable employ, were wont to watch all night in their arms, thought himself obliged to begin in the same manner: he hung up his sword and bayonet before the altar of the Virgin, put on his accoutrements, and, instead of glittering armour, took a long robe, of very coarse cloth, girding it about him with a thick cord, to which he fastened a water bottle; instead of a lance, he took a plain staff, walking with an oser shoe on one foot, and the other naked, without making use of a head-piece that he might be exposed to the injuries of the weather. Before he entered the town, he fastened all his vestments, which he had procured by the way, to the pommel of his saddle, says Maffæus †, for fear the people should think him in his right senses, and did not put them on, till he came to the place, where, by the laws of Chivalry he was to watch, thus accoutred. Being come to the appointed place, he put them on, and watched, say they, sometimes standing, and sometimes on his knees, thus consecrating himself, with all his might, to the service of the blessed Virgin. This done, he departed early in the morning, which is a necessary circumstance to

knight-errants, and came to Monresa, where he lodged in the hospital of the town, letting his hair and nails grow, begging from door to door, fasting always six days a week, disciplining himself thrice a day, being seven hours a day in vocal prayers and sleeping on the bare ground, the better to prepare himself for all adventures in his expedition to Jerusalem.

[B] His book of Spiritual Exercises. He composed it in Spain, in 1522, and published it at Rome in 1548, translated into Latin by Andrew Frassius, and with the approbation of Paul III. They, who wonder how he could read the lives of the saints, during the cure of his broken leg, so far as much as he had scarce learned his A. B. C. (3), may with much more reason wonder, how he could compose the book of exercises, in the time of his ignorance, did they not know, what Lewis du Ponte affirms, that God revealed these exercises, to St Ignatius, and that the holy Virgin helped him to compose them. * Rensert Ludovicus de Ponte, vir omni exceptione major, in vita P. Balthazaris Alvarez, c. 43. fida traditione inde usque à P. Jacobo Lainio, altero Societatis Jesu Præposito Generali, acceptum haberi, Deum hæc exercitia Sancto Patri Nostro revelasse: imo per Gabrielem Archangelum non nemini fuisse à Dispara Virgine significatum, se patronam eorum, fundatricem, atque adiutricem fuisse, docuisse Ignatium, ut ea sic conciperet; quo nomine se hæc operi dedisse initium (4). — Lewis de Ponte, a man of unquestionable credit, relates, in the life of Balthazar Alvarez, ib. 43, that it was banded down to us by faithful tradition by Father James Lainio, the other general of the order of Jesus, that God revealed these exercises to our holy father; and that the archangel Gabriel had signified to a certain person from the Virgin Mother of God, that he had been their patroness, founder, and helper; and that Ignatius had begun to compose them by her assistance. About an age after, an indictment of theft was publicly brought against the founder of the Jesuits on occasion of this work (5): it was maintained, that he was not the author of it. The accuser was a Benedictin. This was an affront to Paul III, and to the congregation of rites; for this Pope expressly affirms the contrary in his approbation of the book; and when the cardinal Francis Mari del Monte reported, before Gregory XV, the proceedings of this congregation, with respect to the canonization of St Ignatius, he declared, that the book of Spiritual Exercises was the work of him whom they were about to canonize. The Benedictins, of the congregation of Monte Cassino condemned, in a general assembly (6), the book, in which St Ignatius was accused of plagiarism venna in the year 1644.

(7). Innocent X, put the matter out of doubt, as Father Southwell pretends: for this Pope inserted, in the Roman breviary, a precise testimony, that Ignatius was author of the exercises. * Nunc extra om- nem Controversiam Catholicis certa esse debet (ea res) postquam in Breviarium Romanum est relata atque in lectionibus toti Ecclesie propositis auctoritate Innocentii X. Pont. Max. in festo S. Ignatii diserte tradita his verbis, quo tempore homo literarum plane rudis, admirabilem illum composuit Exercitiorum librum S. Apostolicæ sedis judicio & omnium utilitate comprobatur (8). — The Catholics caught no longer to doubt of this matter, since it has been inserted in the Roman breviary, and expressly delivered in the lessons, proposed to the whole church, by the authority of Pope Innocent X, on the festival of St Ignatius, in these words: at which time this man,

(3) Stillinger, ibid. pag. 289, ex Maffæo, in Vita Ignatii, lib. i. cap. i.

(4) Alegambe, Bibl. Societatis Jesu, pag. 1.

(5) See Alegambe & Sotuel, Bibl. Societatis Jesu, pag. 1, col. 2.

(6) Held at Ravenna in the year 1644.

(7) Sotuel, Bibl. Societatis Jesu, pag. 1, col. 2.

(8) Id. ibid.

the Pope's benediction, he came to Rome (d), from whence, after he had paid his respects to Hadrian VI, he took his way to Venice. Here he embarked, the fourteenth of July 1523, and arrived at Joppa the last of August, and at Jerusalem the fourth of September, the same year. Having satisfied, in this country, his devout curiosity, he returned to Venice, from whence he parted, to go on board at Genoa, in his return to Barcelona, where he fixed his abode for some time, as a most convenient place, for the design he had of studying the Latin Tongue. I say nothing of the miraculous adventures of his voyage (C); I should never have done, should I copy his historian on this head. He began the rudiments of Grammar in 1524, and finding, that the reading a book of Erasmus cooled his devotion (D), he would no longer hear that writer mentioned;

(d) He arrived there on Palm-Sunday, 1523.

man, without any learning, composed that admirable book of exercises, approved by the judgment of the Apostolic see, and by its general usefulness. Alexander VII confirmed the same thing by a brief of the twelfth of October, 1657, wherein he grants a plenary indulgence to all who shall make use of St Ignatius's spiritual exercises (9).

(9) Concessa indulgentia peccatorum plenaria omnibus Christi fidelibus, exercitiis spiritualibus à S. Ignatio instituta peragentibus ætidiu spatio in domibus Societatis. Sæculi, ibid.

The two Bibliographers of the society have not done the Benedictin the honour to name him; but we know from other hands, that he was called Constantinus Cætanus. He pretended, that a Benedictin, called Garcias Cisneros, was the true author of the spiritual exercises, which have passed under the founder of the Jesuits name, and that three monks of Monte Cassino gave the same St Ignatius the book of constitutions of the society of Jesus, when he went to them, whilst he was meditating the design of a new order. This Benedictin, who thus brings St Ignatius into the number of Plagiaries, backs his proof with the testimony of a famous Jesuit, whose sense he has mistaken: for this Jesuit only says, that the founder of the Benedictins assisted St Ignatius with his divine illuminations, for the forming the constitutions of the society. Is this saying, that three monks of St Benedict dictated these constitutions to Ignatius, as to an amanuensis? 'Dixi Societatem Jesu videri charam S. Benedicto, in cujus sinu Lutetie primum delineata sit; & postmodum Cassini sancto fundatori illuc digresso, Sanctissimus Patriarcha illius loci præfens, multa lumina & coelestes afflatus exorasse visus est. Hoc Cætanus ad exceptas inibi per S. Ignatium à tribus Monachis Constitutiones Societatis Jesu traxit; quæ si quod dixi, S. Benedictum, (ut pium est arbitrari,) coelestem lucem, hærenti in æde sua S. Ignatio esse apprecatum, idem sonet, quod tres Monachos nigros dictasse S. Ignatio, velut amanuensis, suas Constitutiones (10). — I said, that the society of Jesus was favoured by St Benedict, in whose bosom it was first planned, at Paris; and afterwards at Monte Cassino, the most holy Patriarch of that place, prayed for much illumination and heavenly inspiration on the holy founder, who was come thither. This, Cætanus pretends, implies, that St Ignatius received there the book of constitutions of the society of Jesus from three Monks; as if my saying, that St Benedict (as we ought piously to suppose) prayed for celestial light on St Ignatius, residing in his house, was the same thing, as if I had said, that three Monks dictated to St Ignatius, as to an amanuensis, his constitutions. Note by the way (11), that the same Benedictin maintains, that the Jesuit, he cites, committed a mortal sin in putting any other name than his own in the title page of his book (12). A Jesuit, called John Rowe, has treated this accuser of Ignatius very roughly. It remains, that I say something concerning the book of exercises. They tried to get it condemned in Spain, in 1553. Melchior Canus was very active in it, and the archbishop of Toledo would not have been sorry that it had succeeded; but the doctor, he consulted, was of another opinion. This is what the Jesuits say: but who knows whether they speak truth? 'Inventi sunt qui . . . anno 1553 eum librum non allatrent modo, sed & morderent, Thomas quidam Pedrovius, alienæ ea in re voluntatis administer, & Melchior Canus, cujus fuggillationes, & obelos, cum Paschali Mantio Ord. Prædicatorum, Complutensi Theologo primario, exhibuisset Joannes Siliceus Præfati Toletanus, qui librum illum cupiebat ab eo improbari, responsum retulit, nihil esse in sic dispendio libro damnatione dignum, præter Cui dispendio, & fuggillationes, ut ad illum annum recitari Orlandinus, addito pergravi Bartholomæi Torris, poëta Canariensis Præfatus elogio eorumdem exercitiorum (13). — Some there were, who, in the year 1553, vented their spleen against that book; among these, one Thomas Pedrovius, employed in that affair by some

(10) Theophil. Rayn. Hoploch. Sect. II, Serie II, cap. XII, pag. m. 256.

(11) Ibid.

(12) This is the treatise De invocatione, against John Barrow.

(13) Theophil. Rayn. de militis & bonis libris, n. 514, pag. m. 293.

other person, and Melchior Canus, whose evils against it, when John Siliceus, Archbishop of Toledo, who was pleased that he disapproved that book, had shown to Paschalis Mantius, of the order of preaching Friars, and a divine of the first rank at Complutum, he received for answer, that there was nothing worthy to be condemned, in this so much censured book, but the censures and evils of Canus; as Orlandinus relates under that year, adding the weighty encomium of Bartholomæus Torris, afterwards bishop of the Canaries, on those exercises.

Some other works are attributed to the same author, a letter de religiosa obedientia ad Lusitanæ socios ac filios, written from Rome the twenty sixth of March, 1553: it has been inserted in the Bibliotheca Patrum. A letter de religiosa perfectione ad Hispaniæ socios, written the fourth of March 1547, was printed in Latin, in the collection of the letters of the generals of the Jesuits. There is another Latin version of them (14) printed at Cracow, in 1607, in the collection intitled, *Thesaurus spiritualium rerum ad Societatem Jesu pertinentium*. A letter to Claudius king of Ethiopia, dated the twenty second of February, 1555. It is found in the History of the Jesuits, 1555. It is not known how this book came to be lost. No body doubts but he is the author of a book, called *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu decem in partes distributæ*. But some believe, that James Lainez is the author of the declarations that are joined to it. Father Southwell confutes this opinion (15). This book of Constitutions, &c. was printed first at Rome by the Jesuits, in 1558, in 8vo. It has since been published in the same place, in Latin, and in Spanish, in folio, 1606. The Latin version was made by John Polancus, secretary to the author (16).

(C) I say nothing of the miraculous adventures of his voyage. The bare recital of his extatic visions would make a very long remark, did I trouble myself to relate all that are found in his history. See Dr Stillingfleet (17), who draws from thence a good proof, that the Institution of the Jesuits, as well as other monks, is founded on Fanaticism. He cites Melchior Canus, who says that Loyola fled from Spain for fear the inquisition, which suspected him of the heresy of the illuminate, should imprison him (18). Melchior Canus adds, that Loyola told him a thousand revelations, and spoke of one of his comrades as a great saint. This pretended saint, being interrogated by Melchior Canus, vented several heresies through meer ignorance. Loyola, to excuse him, alleged, that he was not a Heretic, but a Lunatic, who had his lucid intervals, and who at that time, by reason of the new-moon, was not a good Catholic: 'Cum aliquando Romæ essem, Innicum istum videre mihi libuit: qui in sermone sine ulla occasione cepit suam commemorare justitiam, & perfectionem, quam passus esset in Hispania nullo suo merito. Multa etiam & magna prædicabat de revelationibus, quas divinitus habuisset, idque nulla ejus rei necessitate: quæ fuit occasio, cur eum pro homine vano haberem, nec de revelationibus suis quicquam ei crederem . . . (19). Quendam sociorum pro sancto prædicare cepit, qui cum accitus venisset, illico hominis non satis incolumi capite mihi suspicionem movit: cumque de rebus divinis eum percutatus essem, multa hæretica respondit, quippe qui idiota, planeque rudis & indoctus esset. Innicus ejus causa confusus, ille, inquit, non est hæreticus, sed fatuus, credoque eum lucida habere intervalla, jamque adeo propter conjunctionem Lunæ non esse ulqueque Catholicum (20).'

(D) He found, that the reading of a book of Erasmus cooled his devotion. This book is his *Enchiridion* 63.

10 P

(14) Intitule, De fervore spiritus rite in nobis excitando.

(15) This is that of Theophilus Raynaud; Tom. XVIII, Traictat. contra Clementem Scotum.

(16) Taken from the same Southwell, pag. 1, 2.

(17) Ubi supra.

(18) Melchior Canus, in *Judicio de Societate Innici Loyolæ*, anno 1548, literis consignato. Sciopius cites him, *Infirmi*, Famulus Stridens, pag. 62. *Alibi* cap. 1. See the *Calis of the Relations of Janesius*, pag. 327, Tom. VIII, de la Morale Prati-

(19) Melchior Canus, apud Sciopium, ibid.

(20) Idem, apud eundem, pag. Militis.

tioned; but betook himself to Thomas à Kempis. At two years end, he was thought to have made a sufficient progress, to be admitted to lectures of Philosophy; accordingly he parted for Complutum in 1526. His mendicant life, his equipage, and that of his four companions, who had already espoused his fortune, together with the instructions he gave the people, who crowded about him, obliged the inquisition to examine what he meant. The matter went so far, that he was cast into prison [E], from whence he was not released, but upon condition, that he would forbear venting his opinions for four years (e). This injunction was no way suitable to his design; not willing therefore to submit to it, he retired to Salamanca, where he continued to discourse upon matters of devotion. He was imprisoned afresh, and set at liberty again on the same conditions, as at Complutum. Then he determined to go to Paris. He arrived there in the beginning of February 1528, with a firm resolution to study hard; but the misery, he was reduced to, having obliged him to beg his bread in the streets, and put himself into St James's hospital, extremely crossed his design. He tried several expedients to remove all these obstacles; but as fast as he got clear of one difficulty, he was involved in others; for it was observed, that the zeal, with which he exhorted young people to spirituality, made them betake themselves to a very odd way of life. He was accused before the inquisitor of the faith; and narrowly escaped being whipped in the college of St Barbara [F]. All these difficulties did not discourage him; he went through his course of Philosophy, and Divinity, and gained over a certain number of companions, who engaged themselves by vow to a new life. This they did in the church

Militis Christiani. It is universally looked upon as a piece, in which purity of life is joined with the best rules of Christian morality. However, Loyola did not relish it; it was an ice that damped his fire of divine love; he took an aversion to it, and would never read this author's writings; nor was he willing his disciples should read them. Ribadeneira tells us this particular. 'In hac studiorum palæstra versanti, pii quidam ac docti viri consilium dederunt, ut Erasmi Roterodami, qui eo tempore bonæ Latinitatis auctor habebatur, libellum de milite Christiano legeret, ut sermonis scilicet elegantiam cum pietate conjungeret. Cujus consilii Confessarius etiam ad reliquos auctor accessit. Quod cum Ignatius simpliciter fecisset, observavit illius libelli lectione refrigerare in se spiritum Dei, & devotionis sensum ardorem restingui. Qua re animadvertens, librum de manibus omnino abiecit, & ita est averfatus, ut nec ipse amplius legerit illius auctoris libros, & passim in Societate nostra legi vetuerit (21).'

[E] *The matter went so far, that he was cast into prison* Before it came to this, enquiry had been made about his life and doctrine, and he had only been enjoined to wear shoes and stockings, and not oblige his companions to go barefoot. But when it was observed, that a widow and her daughter had undertaken a pilgrimage on foot, and begging, Ignatius, who had been their casuist, was much exasperated against. Hereupon he was imprisoned. I do not wonder the alarm was taken, when people reflected on the great ascendancy this man had gained over the fair sex. People continued to flock about him in his prison, to hear him discourse; and there were a great many persons of quality - of both sexes (22), who offered him their good offices; but he thankfully refused them. Being asked, whether he had advised the widow's pilgrimage, he answered, that, on the contrary, he had dissuaded her from it, fearing that the young woman, who was very handsome, might be exposed, during these travels, to some accident (23). The sentence was pronounced the forty second day of his imprisonment, and he was discharged (24). He was treated more severely at Salamanca (25).

[F] *He narrowly escaped being whipped in the college of St Barbara.* Mind this account of Mr Jurieu (26). 'He came to Paris in 1528, and, being conscious of his ignorance, he entered himself in Montaigne college; he there began again his studies, put himself into the sixth class, to learn his Grammar a second time, and desired his master to set him a task, and whip him, as he did the other scholars, when he could not say his lesson. He was then thirty seven years old: a pretty sight, to see this venerable saint's shirt taken up amidst a company of boys, who were spectators of the comedy . . . (27). We have already seen, how, after this, at thirty seven years of age, he caused himself to be whipped in Montaigne college, before the little boys.' Here are two things affirmed; one, that Ignatius not only desired his master to whip him, but that he was actually whipped; the other, that this passed at Paris, in

Montaigne college. I think here is a mistake as to both these facts, and that it is better to keep to the following narrative. 'Being returned to Barcelona, he began his Grammar at thirty years of age (28); but, as Massæus says *, he could scarce say *amo*, but his mind was wandering I know not where, and was always filled with so many visions, that he could not remember one single word of what he learned. * Mass. lib. i, cap. xvi. This obliged him, with great humility, to beg his master on his knees . . . that he would please punctually to keep him to a lesson, as he did the other scholars, and whip him soundly, if he did not give a good account of it (29). You see, that all is reduced to a bare resolution of suffering the lash, in case he did not learn his lesson, and that this passed at Barcelona, when he was but thirty three years of age, and not at Paris, when he was thirty seven. I know indeed, that, at Paris also, Ignatius was willing to submit to the lash; but this was after he had understood, that the principal of the college (30) had resolved it should be given him: and he felt some struggles between the flesh and the spirit, before he could resolve to suffer that ignominy (31). Besides, it was not at Montaigne college, but at St Barbara's that they resolved to whip him, and the reason was, not for any neglect of his lesson, but because there were scholars, who renounced their exercises, to practise the counsels of Spirituality, with which he infatuated them. Now the principal of the college was so far from executing his resolution, that, on the contrary, upon his hearing Ignatius speak, he cast himself at his feet, to beg his pardon. 'Quid multa? prehensa manu Goveanus, ad cœnationem Ignatium adduxit; hic repente se, omnibus inspectantibus, illi ad pedes abiecit; lachrymis veniam petit: se nimis credulum, illum virum sanctum clamavit, qui non intentati cruciatus terrore, sed Dei tantum honore tangatur (32). — In short, Goveanus took Ignatius by the hand, and led him to supper: then in the sight of the whole company, he fell at his feet, and begged pardon with tears, calling himself over credulous, and Loyola a holy man, who was not touched with the dread of threatened punishment, but only with the honour of God.' Note, that Ignatius studied the Latin tongue in Montaigne college (33), but I have not read, that he went through all his classes, beginning at the sixth, as Mr Jurieu affirms. It is true, it would be excusable to infer this from these words of Massæus, 'Igitur ad montis acuti Collegium itare quotidie, atque inter procacium puerorum greges matura jam ætate vir Grammatica rudimenta repetere non designatus est (34). — Therefore he condescended to go daily to Montaigne college, and, tho' advanced in years, to begin again the rudiments of Grammar among a parcel of unlucky boys.' See Palquier, who pleasantly ridicules Loyola's studies and ignorance (35). Little did he then imagine, that this man would soon be invoked: he exposed himself to the fault of *Non putaram* (36). I will make a reflexion hereupon in the remark [G].

[G] *Where*

(e) Ribaden. ubi supra, cap. xiv, pag. 73.

(21) Ribadeneira, in Vita Ignatii, lib. i, cap. xlii, pag. 69.

(22) Among others, Teresa de Cardenas, and Eleonora Mascarena, who was afterwards governess to Philippe II. Ribaden. ubi supra, cap. xiv, pag. 73.

(23) Nihil certe minus: immo hoc tibi affirmo percuraciones ejusmodi in universum illis diffusisse me, ne forma ea ætate ac fides in cuiusquam petulantiam incurreret. Id. ibid. pag. 74.

(24) Ex Ribadeneira, lib. i, cap. xiv.

(25) Id. ibid. cap. xvi.

(26) Jurieu, Apolog. pour la Reformation, Part. I, chap. i, pag. 50.

(27) Id. ibid. 51, 52.

(28) He should have said at thirty three years of age.

* Mass. lib. i, cap. xvi.

(29) He did the other scholars.

(30) Stillingsfleet, ubi supra.

(31) He was called Jango Green.

(32) See Ribadeneira, lib. ii, cap. iii.

(33) Ribaden. ibid. pag. 68.

(34) Latetis.

(35) Palquier.

(36) See Cicero, de Offic. lib. i, cap. xxiii.

church of Montmartre, the fifteenth of August 1534; and they renewed their engagement twice successively in the same place, and on the same day, and with the same ceremonies. At first there were only seven, reckoning Loyola himself among them; but afterwards they became ten. It was determined among them, that Ignatius should return into Spain, to regulate some affairs there; that afterwards he should go to Venice; and that they should leave Paris the twenty fifth of January 1537, to go and meet him. He came into Spain in 1535, where he preached repentance [G], and was followed by prodigious crowds of hearers. He remembered the affairs his companions had recommended to him, and in due time passed by sea to Genoa, and from thence travelled to Venice, where they all met him on the eighth of January 1537 (f). During the time that he waited for them, he was not idle: he gained souls, and got acquainted with John Peter Caraffa [H], who was afterwards Pope. Being engaged by vow to make a voyage to Jerusalem, they prepared to go thither; but they were desirous before all things to salute the Pope, and obtain his benediction and permission. They went therefore to Rome, and obtained their desire. Being returned to Venice with a design to go on board, they found no opportunity: the war with the Porte had put an entire stop to the transportation of pilgrims. Hereupon, rather than be idle, they resolved to disperse themselves in the towns under the Venetians jurisdiction. They preached in the streets, and afterwards went into the universities, to gain the scholars; and at last returned to Rome. There it was that Ignatius formed the plan of a new society, which Pope Paul III confirmed in the year 1540, with some limitations, and in the year 1543 without limitations. He was created general of this new order in 1541, and fixed his head quarters at Rome, whilst his companions dispersed themselves throughout the earth. Here he applied himself to several things, as in converting the Jews [I], reforming the women of a bad life [K], or the care of orphans. He found himself soon exposed to the

(f) They parted from Paris the fifth of November, 1536, and did not wait till the time which they had agreed upon.

[G] Where he preached repentance.] He exclaimed, among other things, against the concubinage of the priests, which was hardly looked upon as shameful at that time; for their servant maids confidently assumed the head-dress of married women, and behaved themselves to them, as if they had been their lawful husbands. Ignatius got very severe laws made against this corruption. Quibus quidem operibus & vitæ exemplo, prudentisque tantum apud illos homines profecit, ut errores multos corrigeret; vitia, quæ in sacerdotum etiam mores irreperant, & longa jam consuetudine honestatis nomen obsederant, emendare non destitit: multaque constituit, quæ ad hominum mores conformandos, pietatemque augendam pertinerent. In his severæ leges fuerunt ejus opera latæ à magistratibus, de alea, de concubinato sacerdotum. Nam cum patrio more Virgines, quoad viro tradentur, capite aperto essent, pessimo exemplo mulierum cum apud clericos turpiter viverent, perinde caput obnubebant, ac si legitimo eis matrimonio junctæ fuissent: quibus fidem, quasi matris, præstabant. Quod nefarium institutum, ac sacrilegum, funditus tollendum curavit (37). — By which works, and the example of his life, and his prudence, he so gained upon those men, that he corrected many errors; nor did he cease to amend the vices, which had crept even into the morals of the clergy, and through long custom bad, as it were, ceased to be scandalous: he likewise made many regulations, tending to the well ordering their manners, and the increase of piety. Among these, the magistrates, at his instigation, published severe laws, concerning gaming; and the concubinage of the clergy. For it being the custom of the country for maidens, till they were married, to have their heads uncovered, many, who lived in criminal conversation with clergymen, veiled themselves, as if they were lawfully married to them, thus setting a most scandalous example. This wicked and sacrilegious practice he took care to put a stop to.

[H] He got acquainted with John Peter Caraffa.] Who was Pope under the name of Paul IV, and who had then joined himself with some other votaries (38), to form the congregation called the Theatins. These, in this last age, have had a great quarrel with the Jesuits. See the use Mr Arnaud makes of it. 'One may judge, says he (39), speaking to the Jesuits, how little touchy you are, by that sharp and harsh way, wherewith your writers (40), have treated the Theatins, for having said, in the Life of the blessed Cajetan, that St Ignatius, four or five years before the establishment of your society, living with the Theatins at Venice, when he came thither from Spain, in the year 1536, was so edified, and affected with the sanctity of his hosts, that he desired to be received among

them: but that the blessed Cajetan would not grant his request, because God had acquainted him, that he would found another order, more given to action. Be this true or false, could it be a just ground for flying into such a passion, and continuing so hot a war for near thirty years together; were it true, that you are so little sensible, as you say, of what only affects the reputation of your society?' Spondanus (41) observes, that John Sleidan, and some others after him, have falsely said, that the Jesuits were founded by this John Peter Caraffa. The truth, adds he, is, that as the Jesuits came into the world a little after the Theatins, and almost in the same habit, they were called Theatins, which name they still retain in Spain and Italy. If, in requital, the name of the Jesuits was given the Theatins, we might less wonder at Sleidan's assertion. The author, I have so often cited, acknowledges, that these two orders of regular clergy came so soon after one another, and were alike in so many things, that the name of Theatins was often given to the Jesuits. 'A quibus vulgi errore falsa Theatinorum in nos est appellatio, cognomenque transfusum. Nam cum ordo uterque, noster & illorum, clericorum Regularium sint, eodemque ferme tempore nati, neque habuit valde dissimiles, populus rudis externa specie deceptus, alienum nomen nostris imposuit, Romæ primum; unde in alias deinde urbes influxit, & in remotas etiam provincias penetravit (42).'

[I] He . . . employed himself . . . in converting the Jews.] He entertained in the house of the Jesuits some Jews, who had been baptized, and, by his earnest solicitations, obtained, that all Jews, who embraced the true faith, should be entertained in a certain house appointed for that purpose. At his request, Pope Paul III decreed, that they should preserve all their goods, and that, if they were children, who were converted without their fathers and mothers consent, they should have the whole patrimony (43). And as to goods acquired by usury, the true owner of which was not known, it was ordered, that they should be given to the converted Jews. Julius III, and Paul IV, added a new order, which was, that all the synagogues of Italy should be taxed every year in a certain sum, to be applied to the maintenance of these proselytes (44). The French converters have imitated part of these orders in our days.

[K] . . . reforming the women of a bad life.] 'Magna Romæ muliercularum earum vilebatur multitudo, quæ ex profluita pudicitia quæssum faciebant (major enim per id tempus, morum in urbe licentia, quam sanctissimorum Pontificum vigilantia, severis postea legibus compressa est) & urbs ipsa meretricis sordibus obsolebat (45). — A great number of these women were to be seen in Rome, who gained their li-

(41) Spondanus, ad ann. 1555. n. 8. He cites Sleidan, lib. 227.

(42) Ribad. ff. ibid. pag. 109.

(43) Imo vero Judæorum m. l. h. et ad Christum contra parentum voluntatem venientibus, bona ipsorum omnia integra omnino essent. Ribad. ff. lib. iii. cap. ix. pag. 213.

(44) Taken from Ribadeneira, ibid.

(45) Id. ibid.

(37) Ribadeneira, ibid. cap. v. pag. 109.

(38) Idem, lib. ii. cap. vi. pag. 109.

(39) Morale Persepe des Jesuites, Tom. III, pag. 279.

(40) Joannes Rho. Mr Arnaud might have added Francis Saccin, who has joined to the first part of the History of the Jesuits, a preface, and a treatise, cum sit auctoritas quod in B. Christiani Theatini Vita de S. Ignatio traditur à Joanne Baptista Cusido. infestis ipsi ut in Theatinorum Ordinem admittitur. Sotel, in Biblioth. pag. 254.

most outrageous calumnies [L], which did not however hinder his pursuing whatever might contribute to the glory and establishment of his order. There were those of the other sex, who were willing to submit to his discipline [M]; but the trouble, which the

ving by prostitution, (for, at that time, there was a greater licentiousness of manners in the city, which, through the vigilance of the holy Pontiff, was afterwards suppressed by severe laws) and the city itself was become a nest of whores. At that time their number was prodigious: they, who would quit this infamous way of life, were received into the convent of the Magdalenes, provided they obliged themselves to a perpetual cloister, and to the vows of the order. This condition, which was somewhat hard, retarded the fruits, that might be expected from the institution of this convent; it excluded all married women, and all maids and widows, who would willingly have quitted their wicked course of life, but could not submit to the laws of a long penance. There were therefore two sorts of debauched women, which were to be taken care of. They, who feared the resentment of their husbands, had need of a place of retreat, where they might be in safety, till they had made their peace with them. They, who would quit criminal, without renouncing honest pleasures, had need also of some place that was not a convent, where they might have a subsistence, when they gave over the trade of a courtesan. For which reason, Ignatius caused apartments to be built in the church of St Martha, in which a new society was founded for this kind of penitents (46).

(46) It was called the Community of the Grace of the Holy Virgin.

Permutæ ex iis nuptæ sunt, quæ hoc perfugio excluduntur: quibus tamen locus aliquis dandus est, quo se recipiant, dum maritis reconciliantur, ut à vitæ honestate, quam petunt, abist periculum. Porro aliæ emergere quidem ex sæcibus illis vellent, sed non continuo se diuturnæ penitentiae dedere: neque si à pessima fugiant paratæ sunt, sectari idcirco optima concupiscunt: quibus receptum ad tempus dari Cœnobii illius (47) leges non sinunt. Ignatius igitur, ut omnium saluti consulere: & ne qua esset, quæ victus querendi difficultatem suæ turpitudini prætexeret, locum peropportunitatem instituendum curavit, quod omnium esset commune perfugium (48). He was the first bountiful contributor to this building: his example was followed by several, and especially by Leonora Osoria, wife to John Vega, ambassador of Charles V. It was a very edifying sight, to see the general of the Jesuits, at the head of a band of whores, leading them either to St Martha's church, or to women of qualities houses, who undertook to have them instructed. In hoc autem divæ Marthæ Cœnobium, mulierculæ à turpi quæstus abductas ipsomet sœpenuero, ne perirent, vel in matronæ alicujus honestæ domum, instituendas ad virtutis studium, id ætatis vir, & Generalis Præpositus deducebat (49). When he was told, that the pains he took, to convert these prostitutes, was lost labour, since they were hardened in sin, and would quickly return to their vomit, he answered, that he should think all the labour of his life well employed, if he could cause these creatures to abstain only one night from offending God; and though he was persuaded, that the next day they would fall again into their infamous practices, yet he would not cease to labour with all his might to save that small space of time (50). Cum autem Ignatio objiceretur, in curandis hujusmodi mulierculis male operam poni, quippe quæ in vitiis jam occalluissent, facileque reverterentur ad vomitum: Minimè sanè, inquit Ignatius: sed si omnibus meæ vitæ curis, atque laboribus id possim efficere, ut vel unam noctem peccato vacuum præterire istarum aliqua velit; omnes ego quidem nervos contendam, ut vel illo tam exiguo tempore Deus ac Dominus noster non offendatur: etiam si sciam illam statim ad ingenium redituram (51). As he was careful to remedy the evil, he did not forget to prevent the evil to come. He knew, that the honour of many maids is in danger, either because they are poor, or because their mothers take not sufficient care, or even turn procuresses for them: he therefore got a convent built, whither the young women should be removed, who were in this danger. Illud etiam excogitavit, in lubrico versanti virginum pudicitia: qua ratione succurreret: ne videlicet puellaris callitas, aut matrum turpitudine incuriave desolaretur, aut paupertate. Quamobrem præclarum, omni laude dignum Cœnobium constructum est. Sanctæ Catharinæ, ut vulgo vocant, de funariis:

(51) Father de la Mainferme, in Clynepo. Fontenault. Ordinis Dissert. IV, pag. 219, has made use of this example to justify Robert d'Arbrissel's great care of the common women. See the remark [D], of the article FONTEVRAUD.

in quod, tanquam in asyllum arcemque transferuntur adolescentulæ, quæ in periculo pudicitiae versantur (52).

(52) Ribaden. ibid. pag. 216.

[L] He found himself exposed to the most outrageous calumnies. Ribadeneira does not enter into particulars, and I do not think there is any book extant, in which these calumnies are particularly related. I shall only say, with this Historian, that Ignatius having caused a married woman to be put into the hospital of St Martha, who had suffered herself to be carried off by her galant, exposed himself to the indignation of this ravisher, who, being a very passionate man, was not content to throw stones all night at the house, where his mistress was shut up, but moreover defamed the Jesuits all over the city, and dispersed a hundred Pasquils against them. He accused them of all sorts of disorders, and of the most impious and filthy crimes. He so prejudiced the city of Rome against them, that they durst hardly shew themselves; for they every where met with those, who insulted and cursed them. I shall set down Ribadeneira's words, that I may not be thought to amplify. Ut erat vir acer, ac ferox, & in ipsum Sanctæ Marthæ Cœnobium furere nocturnis lapidationibus cepit, & in nostros iniquis criminationibus debacchari: multaque in vulgus spargere, quæ non solum falsa essent, sed dicta etiam turpissima. Eoque processit (gratia fortasse, qua valebat plurimum, & autoritate fretus) ut Ignatii nomen publicè insectaretur, & laceraret: & ea nostris per se, & suos coram objiceret, quæ honestè audire non possent. Famosos præterea libellos confecit, & vulgo jactavit, quibus multa nefaria, & impura, multa impia, & scelerata continebantur: ut nostris vix in publicum prodire, vix cum hominibus de ipsorum salute agere liceret: ita aut conviciis ab improbitimo quoque, aut maledictis excipiebantur (53). Ignatius

petitioned the Pope to name commissioners for examining these accusations. They were examined by the governor and by the vicar of Rome, who, in their sentence, given the tenth of August, 1543, declared, that they were all calumnies. There was a priest at Rome, who terribly blackened the reputation of the Jesuits. He accused them of Heresy, and of revealing the secrets of confessions, and of committing things not fit to be named, and which made Ignatius deserve to be burnt. See in the margin Ribadeneira's words (54), who observes, that this priest was suspended, and deprived of his benefices, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for crimes which time at last revealed. As for his accusations, the Jesuits did not complain of them, but suffered them to drop unanswered.

(53) Idem, ibid. cap. xiii, pag. 223.

[M] There were some of the other sex, who were willing to submit to his discipline. You will hardly find any order of Monks, but what has convents for maids; and I question, whether you can name a founder, who in his life-time had not female votaries, who constantly attended him. Ignatius had his; but he did not consent to the forming nunneries, which should embarrass his rules. Isabella Rosella, his benefactress, was so desirous to see him again, that she came from Spain to Rome, to put herself under his discipline. She, and some others, obtained leave of the Pope to make the same vows as the Jesuits (55). Ignatius did not oppose it, till he had experienced the prodigious trouble they gave him. Perceiving then, that this would only incommode his society, he represented his reasons so urgently to the Pope, as to get a discharge from this burden. Mirum est trium muliercularum gubernatio, quantum illi molestiæ & occupationis paucis diebus attulerit. Ergo Pontificem Maximum docet, quanto ea res impedimento Societati sit futura, orat, obsecratque Pontificem, ut se præsentis molestiæ Societatem metu perpetuo liberet: neque permittat nostros homines, aliis in rebus magnis, utilibus, necessariis occupatos, hac mulierum cura minus necessariam implicari. Quod utique Pontifex, rationes Ignatii probans, Societati dedit: literaque Apostolicas scribi iussit, quibus nostri in perpetuum ab onere Mulierum eximuntur, & quarecunque mulierum cura sub obedientia nostrorum in communi, vel alias vivere volentium, anno 1547 13. Kalend. Junii. Quo non contentus Ignatius, ut locum hunc maxime periculum

(54) Invidie stimulis incitatus exarsit, ut falsa illum odiosisque criminationibus in inviolabilem vocare, nostrisque infamie labe aspergere conaretur. Nam & hæc calumniam, & multarum confessionsum secretis iura violata, & alia, quæ honestè dici non possent, non est verendum obijcere, & Ignatium ipsum vivum flammis cremandum iussit. Ribaden. ibid. pag. 223.

(55) Id. ibid. cap. xiv, pag. 224.

direction of three women had given him, obliged him to deliver his society for ever from this incumbrance. Having gotten his order confirmed by Pope Julius III, in 1550, he had a mind to lay down his generalship; but the Jesuits would by no means consent to it. So he kept that post to his death, which happened on the last day of July 1556 (g). The author, whom I cite, having honestly owned, That his St Ignatius had not the gift of miracles, and having even prevented the objections, which were to be feared on this head, had no doubt a hint given him, that he had gone too far, and that it was not prudent to make such concessions in the face of the World. However it be, he retracted it in a new book, and mentioned I know not how many miracles wrought by the Founder of his order [N]. They are gone so far as to pretend, that

(g) Taken from the Life of Ignatius Loyola, written by Ribadeneira.

(56) Id. ibid. pag. 231.

‘Iosum communiret, omnesque aditus obstrueret, illud etiam anno 1549, ab eodem Paulo III. impetravit, ne curam Monialium, seu Religiosarum quarumlibet perfonarum recipere teneamur, per litteras Apostolicas impetratas, vel in posterum impetrandas: nisi de indulto illo, & ordine nostro, expressam facientes mentionem (56). — It is strange, what uneasiness and trouble the governing of three women gave him a few days. He therefore acquaints the Pope, what an incumbrance that affair was like to prove to the society: he begs and intreats the Pope to free him from the present trouble, and the society from perpetual fear; and that he would not permit our brethren, employed in other matters of great and necessary importance, to be taken up with the less necessary care of women. The Pope, approving Ignatius's reasons, granted the society this favour, and ordered apostolical letters to be written, exempting us for ever from the burden of Nuns, and the care of any women, who might be willing to submit to our discipline in common, or to live elsewhere, in the year 1547, May the 20th. But Ignatius, not satisfied with this, that he might entirely guard against this danger, obtained the same grant from the same Paul III, in the year 1549; that we might not be obliged to undertake the care of any Nuns, or religious women whatever, by apostolical letters obtained, or hereafter to be obtained; unless making express mention of that indulgence, and of our order.’

(57) Horat. Ode I, lib. II.

(58) See the remarks of the article HIRP.

(59) Virginius beneficio impetravit, ut ab illo die usque ad ultimum vite omnis libidinis seculi careret. . . . He obtained, by the favour of the Virgin, from that day to his death, a freedom from all sorts of lust. Seeckendorf. Hist. Lutheran. lib. III, cap. 215, ex Maffio, in Vita Ignat. Loyolæ.

Periculosa plenum opus aëre
Tractas, & incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso (57).

The task is dangerous, and you tread
On fire, with flatter'g ashes over-spread.

(60) Aged Seeckendorf. ibid.

(61) Hac quidem assertionem caltitia laus destruitur, quæ non est virtus quando cupiditatibus non exerceatur quas vincat. Id. ibid. See the article JÜNGERMAN, citat. (a).

(62) Sed dicat aliquis, si hæc vera sunt, ut profecto sunt, quid cause est quomobrem illius sanctitas minus est testata miraculis? & ut multorum sanctorum vita, signis declarata, virtutumque operationibus insignita? Ribadeneira, lib. v, cap. xiii, pag. 539.

In that respect he had the gift of the Hirpæ (58). What is said of some enchanted soldiers, that they are in no danger, though exposed to a furious storm of musket-shot, is an image of Loyola's continence. The most lascivious ogling, the most tender caresses, and in general, all the artillery woman could employ against his virtue, would have found it impenetrable: always provided that we refer ourselves to Missæus's words (59): I have read a parallel of Luther and Loyola (60), in which it is observed, that Luther, without any extraordinary grace, lived in a chaste celibacy for forty two years of age, and, being afterwards married, neither blemished his modesty, nor piety; and that, after all, Loyola's chastity deserved no commendation, since there is no virtue, but what proceeds from a victory disputed with the passions (61).

[N] He retracted it . . . and mentions I know not how many miracles of the founder of his order. The thirteenth chapter of the fifth book of St Ignatius's Life, written by the Jesuit Ribadeneira is very remarkable: he begins with this objection (62). ‘If all you have been saying be true, whence comes it that Loyola's sanctity was not confirmed by miracles, like those of so many other saints? The author answers, Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath

been his counsellor? God alone works wonderful things, and as it is he alone performs them, he alone knows the proper time, and place, in which miracles ought to be wrought, and by whose prayers, Ut solus ille hæc potest efficere, ita ille solus novit quo loco, quo tempore miracula & quorum precibus faciendæ sunt (63).’ He adds, that all saints have not had the gift of miracles, and that those, who have been most eminent for the greatness, or number of their miracles, have not, for all that, excelled the others in holiness of life. For it is not by miraculous, but charitable actions, that we are to judge of a person's sanctity. This he proves from the authority of St Gregory, from reasons drawn from Scripture, and from example. ‘Neque omnes sancti viri miraculis excellent: neque qui illorum aut magnitudine præstiterunt, aut copia, idcirco reliquos sanctitate superant. Non enim sanctitate cuiusque signis, sed charitate æstimanda est (64).’ He makes it appear by Scripture, that the gift of miracles is granted sometimes to false teachers, and in a very few words exposes to view the strength of whatever the Protestants can urge against those, who upbraid them, because Luther and Calvin had not this gift. I say not this, adds he, to extenuate this virtue, but to let the prudent reader understand, that all this must be referred to the good providence of God, who distributes his gifts according to his own good pleasure. He afterwards assigns some reasons, for which God might think fit, and that even in favour of the Jesuits, to deny their founder this gift of miracles. We must hear himself. ‘Hæc dixerim non ut miraculorum vim elevem, sed ut prudens lector intelligat, rem totam Deo committendam: qui dona sua unicuique distribuit, prout vult. Potuit ille, pro sua occulta sapientia, nostræ hoc imbecillitati dare, ne miracula unquam jactare possemus. Potuit utilitati, ut auctore instituti nostri minus illud fieri, à Jesu potius, quam ab illo, nomen traheremus: & nostrâ nos appellatio sacra moneret, ne ab illo oculos unquam dimoveremus: quem non solum, ut communem humani generis liberatorem ac Principem, sed etiam, ut præcipuum Ducem colere, atque imitari debemus, minimam hanc Societatem sui nominis glorioso titulo decorantem. Potuit hoc etiam tribuere temporibus, quibus hæc miracula necessaria non sunt (65). — I say this, not to lessen the efficacy of miracles, but that the prudent reader may understand, that the whole matter is to be referred to God, who distributes his gifts to every one as he pleases. He might, of his unsearchable wisdom, design to put it out of the power of our weakness, to boast of miracles. He might in this consult our profit, that, the founder of our order being the less illustrious, we might take our name from Jesus, rather than from him; and that our sacred appellation might put us in mind, never to turn our eyes away from him, whom we ought to worship and imitate, not only as the common Saviour of mankind, but as the chief God, who vouchsafes to adorn our humble society with the glorious title of his name. He might likewise in this consult the times, in which these miracles are not necessary.’ Lastly, he says (66), that the manner of the institution of the society of the Jesuits, its prodigious growth, and the miracles wrought by some of its members, are a convincing proof, that it is the work of God, and is a sufficient ground for ascribing the glory of miracles to the life of its founder. Thus the ancient fathers have observed, that the speedy propagation of the Gospel throughout the world, though the instruments God made use of had nothing considerable in them, according to the world, and though it met with the most violent opposition, is so bright a miracle, as would alone be sufficient to prove the divine original of Christianity. The Protestants acknowledge the same thing, when they are asked, what

(63) Ribadeneira. ibid. pag. 540.

(64) Ibid.

(65) Ibid. pag. 542, 543.

(66) Tantum adeit ut ad vitam æternam miranda desine viderentur, ut multa, etque præstantissima, iudicium in media luce versari. . . . Nam siue initia huius Societatis, siue institutum, siue speciemus, siue propagationem, consecutaque ex ea utilitates, miracula certe nulla desideramus: cum tam multis rebus miracula inesse deprehendamus, quæ quæ Deus, & hoc opus suum esse, & radicis naturam, ex tronco ostendit, & fructu. Ibid. pag. 543.

(b) *And not*
1606, as South-
well affirms,
Biblioth. Societ.
Jesu, pag. 2.

the words of Virgil had, in his mouth, the power of dismaying devils, and forcing them to cry out for quarter [O]. You will find, in Moreri, that Pope Paul V canonized Ignatius in the year 1609 (b), and that Gregory XV inserted him in the catalogue

(67) *Ibid.*

miracles Luther and Calvin wrought to support their mission. Let us once more cite Ribadeneira. 'Quid admirabilis, says he (67), quam militarem hominem, ferro & castris affectum, à spiritu Dei alienum, ita immutatum, ut non solum ipse Christo militaret, sed sacrae militiae antesignanus esset, & princeps? Quid inusitatum, quam tot homines ingenio, studio, aetate florentes, ab Ignatio egeno ac despiciendo, nulla magna vel literarum scientia, vel sermonis elegantia & copia, huc adduci potuisse, illustrium ut vitæ cursum abrumperent, spes suas prodigerent, paupertatis, decoris, atque ignominiae sese telis objicerent, & tot laborum periculisque offerent incurisibus? —'

What can be more wonderful, than that a military man, accustomed to arms and camps, and a stranger to the Spirit of God, should be so changed, as not only to fight under Christ's banner, but himself to become the leader and head of the sacred warfare? what more uncommon, than that so many men, famous for wit and learning, and in the flower of their youth, could be prevailed upon by Ignatius, a poor, despised wretch, with no great learning, and as little eloquence, to break off their course of life, give up all their hopes, expose themselves to the darts of poverty, disgrace, and ignominy, and voluntarily submit to so many labours and dangers? He has forgot one circumstance, which in some respects, does exceedingly heighten the wonder, to wit, that there appeared in Loyola's life, from his travels to Monserrat, till the time of his fixing at Rome, so many marks of extravagance, and so many symptoms of a mind disordered, stupified, overwhelmed by fanaticism, that it is strange, men of solid sense, such as Lainez and Salmeron, should have adhered to him, and that his order should so soon have over-topped all the rest. But if we turn the perspective, we perceive, that this very thing lessens the wonder; for nothing is so likely to deceive, as that which appears supernatural in madness, extravagancy, and foolery. However it be, we have here a famous Jesuit, his cotemporary (68), who plainly confesses, that his founder wrought no miracles, but he did not maintain this opinion till his death: for he changed his note in another book (69). It is true, most of the miracles he relates were wrought by Ignatius after his death: thus he speaks (70).

(68) Cujus ego vii historiam quoniam à pueris sanctissime ipsius vitæ spectatores aique admiratores fui, pleniorum ac majorum rerum fide scribere poteram. Ribaden. in Prefat.

(69) In the Abridgment of the Life of Ignatius, which he published, when information were taking in order to his canonization.

(70) Ribadeneira, in Vita Ignatii, in Compendium Redacta, cap. xvii, pag. 121, Edit. Iprensis 1612.

Quia vero postremo quinti libri capite de miraculis breviter egimus quasi nulla fecisset, aut ad demonstrandum ejus sanctitatem necessaria non essent, statui nunc ea paulo fusius exponere, non omnia quidem (res enim nimis in longum excurreret) sed partem duntaxat eorum quæ Deus efficere per servum suum dignatus est. Quamvis enim, cum anno 1572. primum vitam ejus latine scriberem, alia nonnulla miracula ab eo facta novissem, tamen adeo mihi certa & explorata non erant, ut in vulgus edenda mihi persuaderem; postea vero, questionibus de ejus in divos relatione publice habitis, gravibus & idoneis testibus fuerunt comprobata. Enimvero Deus ut servum suum extollat in terris tam frequentibus eum in dies miraculis dignatur, ut mearum partium esse ducam litteris hic mandare nonnulla è publicis actionibus sumta. — Because, in the last chapter of the fifth book, I have briefly treated of miracles, supposing that he did none, or that they were not necessary to demonstrate his sanctity, I have determined, in this place, to treat more at large of them, not of all (for it would be too tedious) but part only of those, which God vouchsafed to perform by his servant. For though, in the year 1572, when I first wrote his Life in Latin, I knew that he had performed some other miracles, yet I was not so fully informed concerning them, that I could persuade myself to publish them: but afterwards, when his canonization was publicly talked of, they were confirmed by sufficient witnesses. And indeed God granted his servant to perform so many miracles, to exalt him in the earth, that they think it incumbent on me to commit to writing some few of his public actions.' Note, that he speaks only of the first edition, which was of the year 1572, and says nothing of the second, which was of the year 1587, and which was much enlarged by him. He added several particulars, which he had learned afterwards, either from the testimony of some persons of great autho-

rity, intimate friends of Ignatius, or the certainty whereof he had discovered by a severe examination, though he had looked upon them as doubtful before. 'Multa mihi necessario addenda judicavi. Primum nova quædam, quæ post libellum excusum, gravissimi viri, & Ignatio valde familiares, & ante Societatem conditam intimi necessarii, quasi testes oculati de ipso Ignatio nobis retulerunt. Tum alia, quæ dubia antea mihi erant, & diligenti postea inquisitione investigata, certa esse comperi (71).' Hence we conclude, that St Ignatius's miracles were things, of which his friends had not informed Ribadeneira, during the fifteen years, which passed between the two editions, nor what the author could clear from uncertainty in that interval of time. Nevertheless he assures us, that, in the year 1572, he was informed of some miracles wrought by this founder, but not with all the certainty necessary to publish them. Amongst the things, of which he was not at that time perfectly assured, there were undoubtedly none, the certainty whereof he sought after more diligently, than that of the miracles of his apostle: since therefore he continued to say, in the edition of 1587, that the blessed Ignatius had wrought no miracles, it necessarily follows, that his strictest search had afforded him nothing certain upon that head; for if it had afforded him any certainty, he would, in the second edition, have added this grand article with more concern, than those other things, which he did add, only because, of uncertainty, as they had been before, they were now become certain, by the exact care he took to be informed about them. Farther, would a Jesuit, who had known, in the year 1572, that his founder had wrought miracles, and who only forbore inserting them in a public work, because his intelligence in that point was not so sure as it ought to be; would he have plainly owned, I say, that his founder wrought no miracles? would he have argued with so much concern upon it? would he have answered objections against it so elaborately? his duty doubtless had been to be silent, till he was fully informed, and there is great probability, that Ribadeneira would have taken that method, and that all he has said, by an after-game, is insincere and full of shifts; nor should it be omitted, that nothing was so capable of being set in a full light during the interval of time between those two editions, as Loyola's miracles, surprising facts, which make a deeper impression than any others, and spread from place to place with greater noise. Would the intimate friends, the inseparable companions of Ignatius, have said nothing of them to Ribadeneira, they, who told him so many other things, of which he was not informed in the year 1572; and which he added to his book in 1587? This, to say no worse of it, makes all the miracles suspected, which have been published, and pretended to have been wrought by Ignatius, before the second edition of Ribadeneira. The other miracles of the same saint are very numerous, if we take the word of his good friends. See the two following remarks.

[O] It is pretended, that the words of Virgil, in his mouth, had the power of dismaying devils, and forcing them to cry out for quarter. The story goes, that Ignatius Loyola had no sooner repeated the place in Virgil, where it is said, that Æneas and Dido entered into a cave, but the possessed woman, who prayed him to succour her, was thrown upon the ground, the devil leaving her, and begging the favour not to be shut up in the eternal cave. He obtained leave to ramble where he pleased, provided he would never possess any man or woman more. 'Hafenmüllerus enim in Histor. Jesuit. cap. 8. pag. 296. ex Turriano refert, quod aliquando Romæ scemina quædam à Diabolo obfessa Ignatium Lojolam secuta sit, & clamavit: Tu solus me liberare & juvare potes. Tunc Lojolam recitasse versum Virgilii: Speluncam Dido, Dux & Trojanus eandem. Qua voce audita Dæmonem mulierem prostravisse ac egredientem clamasse: O fili Lojola, tu ceu Leo me ad speluncam inferni abire cogis, sed rogo te, ne me æternæ speluncæ injicias. Postea Ignatium illi dixisse: Vade quocunque volueris, modo nullum amplius hominem obsequeris; ac statim Dæmonium magno cum strepitu egres-

(71) *Ibid.*, in Prefatione, Edit. 1587.

catalogue of the Saints in the year 1622. Innocent X, and Clement IX, increased the honours of this new saint [P]. But let them do what they will for him, nothing will be so wonderful in his history as the prodigious growth of his order in so few years, both in the old world and in the new, in spite of the strongest opposition of its adversaries. I believe never any society had so many enemies, within and without, as the Jesuits have had, and still have; and yet their authority, which is so suddenly grown to a very high pitch, seems rather to increase daily, than decline. The books, that have been published against them, would make a large library of themselves. They may well say, that a great many condemn them out of meer prejudice [Q]; nor do they fail to make the

(72) Joannes Christianus Frommann, de Falcin. lib. iii, Part IX, cap. iii, n. 15, pag. m. 549.

'sum esse (72). — For Hasenmüllerus, in his History of the Jesuits, chap. 8. pag. 296, relates, out of Turrianus, that once, at Rome, a certain woman, possessed by the devil, followed Ignatius Loyola, and cried out: 'You alone can set me free, and help me: that Loyola then repeated the verse of Virgil, Speluncam Dido, &c. which words the devil hearing, threw the woman on the ground, and, coming out of her, cried out; O son of Loyola, as a lion you force me to depart to the cave of hell; but I beseech thee not to throw me into the eternal cave: then Ignatius said to him; go where you will, only never more possess any man; and then the devil immediately left the woman, with a great noise.'

[P] Innocent X, and Clement IX, increased the honours of this new saint. I shall make use of the words of Father Nathaniel Southwell. 'Eundem (Ignatium) Officio Ecclesiastico ubique terrarum coli jussit Innocentius X. P. M. sub ritu semiduplicis die 29 Octobris anno 1644. Auxit cultum Clemens IX. P. M. & ad ritum duplicem exivit die 11 Octobris 1667 (73).

(73) Sotuel, in Biblioth. Societ. Jesu, pag. 2.

— Pope Innocent X ordered, that Ignatius should be honoured with ecclesiastical service, all over the world, under the semi-double rite, on the twenty ninth of October, 1644. Pope Clement IX increased the worship paid to him, and raised it to the double rite, the eleventh of October, 1667. This author adds, that Ignatius had already more than fifty churches consecrated to him in several parts of the world (74); that the miracles, performed by this saint, during his life, and after his death, are so numerous and so eminent, that they might fill a volume; for besides those mentioned in his Life, and in the bull of canonization; Father Bartoli relates a hundred, that are well attested. Alphonsus de Andra mentions several others, which were wrought at Munebrega, in Arragon, where they worship a miraculous image of St Ignatius (75). A paper image of the same saint has bled very lately at one of the fingers, in a town of Sicily. We have a book upon it, printed at Palermo, in 1668. 'His confamilia narratur contigisse in Sicilia Regalbuti Diocesi. Catanensis, ubi Imago papyracea S. Ignatii anno Dom. 1666. à digito fudit prodigiose sanguinem, & hæc omnia examinata accurate, atque ab Episcopo loci illustrissimo D. Fr. Michaeli Angelo Bonadies, olim Generali Seraph. Ordinis S. Francisci de observantia approbata, & mandata typis Panormi 1668 (76). — Something like this is said to have happened in Sicily at Regalbuti, in the diocese of Catania, where a paper image of St Ignatius, in the year 1666, bled prodigiously at the finger; and that the affair was carefully enquired into, and approved by the most illustrious Michael Angelo Bonadies, bishop of the place, and formerly general of the Franciscans, & published at Panormo.' See the remark, where I shall speak of three Sermons.

(74) Amplius quinquaginta templa in variis orbis regionibus modo numerantur in illius honorem dedicata. Id. ibid. This book of Southwell was printed in 1675.

(75) Refert centum ex auctoritate defuncti documentis noster Daniel Bartolus de Vita S. Ignatii lib. v. & permul- ta recenset noster Alphonsus de Andra, opere de miraculis patris Munebrega in Arragonia, ubi pie colitur Imago admirabilis Sancti Ignatii. Id. ibid.

(76) Idem, pag. 2, 3.

[Q] They may well say, that a great many condemn them out of meer prejudice. It is certain, that whatsoever is published against them, is almost equally believed by their enemies, both Catholics and Protestants. It is also true, that the accusations are renewed against them, as often as occasion offers in any new book. In the mean time, they, who examine with any sort of equity, the innumerable apologies, published by the Jesuits, find, as to some facts, sufficient justifications, to make a reasonable enemy drop the charge. I will give an instance of this.

In 1610, there came out a very severe book against the Jesuits (77), in which it was affirmed (78), that the abbot du Bois had maintained, and would prove it to Father Coton's face, that sentence had been given against him at Avignon, for getting a nun with child. Father Coton, answering this libel, produced (79) the following letter. I, whose name is underwritten, do certify, that I was in Avignon all the time the R. Father

(77) Intituled, Anticoton.

(78) Anticoton, pag. m. 63.

(79) Réponse Apologetique à l'Anticot, pag. 199.

Coton, of the society of Jesus, lived there, and that I never heard any one say, that he had committed any thing contrary to the dignity and quality of his profession; and in particular as to what the Anti-Coton charges upon him. In which Anti-Coton, since I am made the author of a manifest calumny, to wit, that the R. Father Coton is charged: I frankly aver, that I know nothing of it, and that I have always looked upon the said R. Father Coton as a venerable and worthy man. In testimony whereof, I have written and signed this present deposition. From Paris, in my study, the eve of St Denis the martyr, 1610. OLIVIER ABBOT DU BOIS. And I have sealed it with my seal. Besides this he produced four certificates (80),

seen and acknowledged for authentic, true, and legal, l'Anticot, pag. 200. The first was signed Lewis Beau, protonotary of the holy apostolic see, and sealed with his seal, and with those of two subsequent archbishops in the metropolitan city of Avignon, whose vicar general he had been all the time of Father Coton's sojourning in Avignon. The second was signed by fifteen persons, who composed and represented all the clergy of Avignon. The third was signed by the two consuls of Avignon, and their acefflor, and sealed with the seal of the consular house. The fourth was given by the bishop of Orange. These four attestations concur, not only in contradicting the author of the Anti-Coton, as an infamous calumniator; but also in extolling Father Coton's good and pious conduct. Besides these certificates, the magistrates of Avignon writ to this Jesuit in these terms (81). 'If these testimonies of prelates and consuls are not sufficient, we can produce the certificates of the greatest part of the gentlemen, doctors, citizens, merchants, and others of the town.' I know not what could be produced of greater force, to justify the accused. And yet there are a great many, who still believed, the nun was got with child, and that sentence had been passed upon Father Coton. They gave more credit to the Anti-Coton, who brought no proof, nor any authentic evidence, than to Father Coton, who produced all that the most exact judicial proceedings could require. This could be nothing but the effect of an extravagant prejudice.

(80) Réponse à l'Anticot, pag. 200.

(81) lb pag. 206.

The fate of the Jesuits, and that of Catiline, is much the same. Several accusations were given in against Catiline, without any proof; but they met with credit upon this general argument: since he has done such a thing, he is very capable of having done this, or that, and it is very probable he has done the rest. The historian Sallust has judiciously observed this illusion, which is not a sophism of the schools, but of the town. 'Scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita exultarent, juventutem quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse: sed ex aliis rebus magis quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat (82). I know there were some, who looked upon the young persons, who frequented Catiline's house, as men of ill fame; but it was not a knowledge of them, but some thing else, that gave rise to this opinion.' There was published at the Hague, about eleven years ago, a book intitled, the Religion of the Jesuits. The author confesses, that the prejudice against these gentlemen is so general, that whatever attestations of innocence they fortify themselves with, it is impossible to undeceive the world. 'We must know, says he (83), that nothing so horrible can be said against the Jesuits, though ever so doubtful, but what becomes probable from their character, and the consideration of what they are capable of.' He gives two examples of this: One is, the report spread, not only at Heidelberg, but through all Europe, that they had suborned a false spirit from the other world, who cried every night in the ears of the old duke

(82) Sallust in Bello Catilin. pag. m. 33.

(83) Religion des Jesuites, pag. 77. Edit. Hague, 1689. See Bernegre. Tuba Pacis, pag. 122.

the most of this plea, that without being at the pains of answering particularly to all the charges of their enemies, they may be furnished with one general common-place, to invalidate the accusations [R]. But it is certain, there are those, who, without appearing prejudiced, maintain, that several things have justly rendered this society odious. They have not acquired so great a power, say they, nor preserved it so long, without the

duke, that there was no salvation for him, unless he would exterminate Heresy and Heretics out of his new dominions, according to the counsel of the Fathers Jesuits: the duke, tired with these visions, resolved to enquire into the matter. He declared himself to one of his officers, who engaged to conjure the spirit most effectually, without either prayers or holy water. The officer hid himself under the prince's bed, and when the spirit came, he so hacked and hewed him with his hanger, that it is said he died of his wounds. The officer who had done the exploit, had the indiscretion to tell his wife of it, against the duke's express commands. The wife was no more retentive than the husband. And thus the thing was divulged. The Jesuits have tried all manner of ways to clear themselves. The duke has issued rigorous injunctions in his estates, against speaking of it. The Jesuits have procured certificates under the hands of the Protestants themselves, concerning the falsity of the story. But all to no purpose. They will never destroy the suspicions, which these stories, whether true or false, have imprinted in the people's minds, because they are known to be capable of this juggle, by others of the same stamp. He mentions some of them in general, I mean without circumstances of time, and place, and persons: and after having advised us to reject their certificates from the Palatinate, he concludes thus (84): 'However, be this little story true, or be it false, we know what they can do, and that is enough to make the thing probable.' The other example is, that the Jesuits had 'plotted to poison the emperor in the sacrament (85).' This prince was cautioned of it, and would not communicate the next day, but forced the Jesuit to take the poisoned Host, of which he died. The emperor and court of Vienna, according to its devotion, ordered, under terrible penalties, the few persons, that were privy to it, to keep the thing a secret. It was not however well kept; or at least it spread a little, and a gentleman of honour (86) swore, that the thing happened for certain in Vienna . . . (87), 'We do not give this for a truth, *parjure l'auteur*, and, indeed to say all, we are not much inclined to believe it: but be it ever so false, the Jesuits will never be able to destroy the suspicion of it, because of the character of the society, which is known all the world over.' He adds several reflexions tending to persuade his readers, that this story of Vienna is certain; and then proceeds (88): 'The thing, after all may be false; but it will ever be thought probable, considering the ordinary conduct of these good fathers . . . (89). They, who believe the story of Vienna false, will however believe it probable. If it be false, it will at least serve to justify what I have just now said, that the hatred against the society is extreme even in the church of Rome.' See the margin (90).

Without so many repetitions, we might easily have taken his thought. He means, that a man need only confidently publish whatever he pleases against the Jesuits, to be assured, that abundance of people will believe it. I believe him in the right; at least, that in this he will prove a good prophet. It was doubtless on this presumption, that he published the story of Vienna, though he believed it false. But if other authors have taken the same method, what will become of all the facts, which the enemies of the Jesuits have published? Should we not have reason to believe, that they have divulged several, which they knew to be false, or doubtful, and which nevertheless would in their reckoning appear as certain, and be received by the public as undoubted truths? I cannot think the rules of morality will allow the making so ill a use of public prejudice: They command us to be equitable towards all, and never to represent people worse than they are. I own to this author, that the readiness, wherewith the public swallows all that is said against the Jesuits, is a sign of an excessive aversion to the society (91), and I deny not but this aversion affords most reasonable consequences, which blast

their reputation (92). He has reason to add (93), that the good fathers would not do amiss to explain to us this riddle; how it comes to pass, that, being so good, so officious, and so amiable, they are notwithstanding so terribly hated, whilst the Jansenists and Jacobins are not so cried down in the world, as the Jesuits are (94). But he might perhaps be embarrassed, should we require of him the explication of another riddle: how it comes to pass, that there are ministers, accomplished in all kinds of virtues, as they pretend, who are hated as a pest in all the communities different from their own, and who have innumerable enemies in their own, and of whom nothing could be published, but what would appear probable, whilst Mr Daillé, and Mr Claude, are every where in good reputation? Be it how it will, I question whether this writer had all the prudence of a nice disputant, when he insisted so much upon this great disposition of the public to believe whatever is printed against the Jesuits. This is more proper, than he imagines, to keep their own friends fast to them, who will easily believe, that this prejudice has been made too much use of, in publishing the most ill grounded stories. And as, at the bottom, it is a great fault, to be ready to believe whatever is said to the disadvantage of our enemies, true or false, doubtful or certain, so there is more indiscretion, than sincerity, in revealing this prepossession. Would a cunning enemy discover this weak place? But, in point of indiscretion, this author has not his fellow. Does not he say in the same book (95), that the *Esprit de Mr Arnaud* was suppressed in Holland, only because of the FEAR, 'the country was in at that time, of quarrelling with the English?' Does he not tell the public (96), 'that this prohibition hindered not the book's being sold quietly, and without any other precaution, than that of not exposing it in a bookeller's shop? The fine, adds he (97), imposed on the Printer was neither demanded, nor paid; it was only a formality to stop the mouth of the court of England; and they themselves, who had forbidden it, would have been very sorry, if it had not been sold. Nor did this prohibition hinder it's being re-printed in this country. He, who was reckoned the author of the book, was not a jot the worse received for it at court, and every where else.' Is it not to speak with the utmost contempt of his sovereign, to represent Holland so very much afraid of England. Tho' this pretended fear were true, would not a good subject have concealed it? Would he have revealed it to the public? Would he confess, that the edicts of the State, against a book, were only a vain formality, which the Bookellers laughed at? I omit what may be said more: it is an abyss, which prudence advises to stop at the brink of; my indiscretion would be a hundred times more blameable, than that of this author, if I did not draw a veil over what he has had the rashness to boast of, and if I did not cry out, *Procul hinc, procul esse profani*. He has sacrificed to a paternal affection, the things he ought to have had the most respect for; for no body doubts that the author of the *Esprit de Mr Arnaud*, and the author of the *Religion de Jesuits*, is one and the same person. Nothing is more easily discovered; for the eulogies, he bestows on the first of these books, in the latter, can proceed only from the affection of a father, who idolizes his own offspring, and is struck with a singular fondness for the *Esprit de Mr Arnaud*, the child of his own brain, on a double account, first, as it is made according to his own image and similitude; next, as it contains his own true character (98).

[R] . . . They sail not to make the most of this plea . . . that they may be furnished with one general common-place to invalidate the accusations. Here- tofore they used to answer all the books that were written against them; at last they are weary of it. The reason they alledge for their silence is, that they are no more obliged to confute the satires of their enemies, than the king of France is to answer the Gazettees of Amsterdam. 'Why sho ld not he allow, it

(84) Religion des Jesuites, pag. 79.

(85) Ib. pag. 80.

(86) The same whom the author speaks of in these terms, pag. 79. A gentleman, who is perfectly a man of honour, who is in the service of a great prince of Germany, returned from Vienna some months ago, and told as a thing true and uncontested, the account which follows: to wit, that there was a design to poison the emperor in the sacrament.

(87) Ib. pag. 81.

(88) Ib. pag. 82.

(89) Ib. pag. 83.

(90) We shall see, in the remark [88], towards the end, that there has been another false report spread since that time, of a jesuitical conspiracy against the emperor.

(91) Relig. des Jesuites, pag. 84.

(92) See the Dissertation of Fortunius Gallinus Contar de censuris publicis erga Jesuitas edita. It is inserted in a collection of pieces published at Geneva in 1760, under the title of Arcana Societatis Jesu.

(93) Ubi supra, pag. 84.

(94) Ib. pag. 76.

(95) Ib. pag. 44.

(96) Ib. pag. 46.

(97) Ibid.

(98) In the preface to the second page of the Religion de Jesuits, you will find the words: To judge equitably, say they, of the spirit of this author, let us see the spirit of Mr Arnaud, such as discovered; for the eulogies, he bestows on the first of these books, in the latter, can proceed only from the affection of a father, who idolizes his own offspring, and is struck with a singular fondness for the Esprit de Mr Arnaud, the child of his own brain, on a double account, first, as it is made according to his own image and similitude; next, as it contains his own true character (98).

the assistance of the most refined human policy. Now does not this take in the whole compass of ill morals, as to spiritual sins? Besides, the Jesuits are the men, who have carried farthest, and with the greatest eagerness, the consequences of several doctrines, which were hatched before their time, and which expose kings to continual revolutions [S], Protestants to butchery, and Christian morality to the most deplorable relaxation

(99) *Défense des Nouveaux Chrétiens*, Part. I, pag. 27, printed at Paris in 1687. I have already cited part of this passage in the article BEL- LARMIN, citat. (17). See also the remark [E] of the article BERTHE- LIER.

(100) *Ib.* pag. 28.

it is Father Tellier who speaks (99), the Jesuits to neglect answering libels, which in their opinion are no less fabulous and contemptible, than the Gazette of Amsterdam, and the historical or prophetic Systems of Mr Jurieu? Ought they to be more tender in point of reputation, that the powers whom God has placed over us? Ought they not, or, at least may they not, be permitted, after these great examples, to despise what only touches their particular honour? Here are more reasons of theirs, taken from the insignificance of their answers, and the disposition of one part of the public to take for truth, whatever is said against them (100). We no sooner answer one of their satires, but they have half a dozen more ready to be published. They keep magazines full of them, they have them reprinted from all parts of the world. Those that were refuted a hundred years ago, or which the world laughed at, though they were not refuted, they revive again at present, with the same confidence, as if they were new pieces, or had remained unanswered. And the generation, that shall come after them forty or fifty years hence, will do the same with those satires invented in our days, as despicable, and as despised as they are. What use will it be, for instance, to the Jesuits of China, to have been the first, and almost the only men, who submitted, without the least resistance, to the apostolical vicars, in 1684, when this has not hindered their enemies from publishing, the last summer, by the pen of their secretary, the Holland Gazetteer, that the holy father was extremely provoked against the Jesuits, because they would not acknowledge the bishops he had sent to China. Can it be doubted, that, some years hence, this lye will come again upon the stage? In like manner, what advantage will it be to the Jesuits of Germany, to have had an attestation, signed by four of the principal counsellors of the Elector Palatine, all Protestants, in which they declare, that the story of a Jesuit, counterfeiting a voice from heaven to deceive this prince, and to excite him to the destruction of heresy, is a pure fable? Will this act hereafter hinder any good Protestant, who shall continue the History of the Jesuits, from making a chapter of this chimerical adventure, upon the credit of the Holland Gazetteer? Why should we not expect this, when we see the gravest authors of the party seriously tell us the story of the packers of Amiens, with all the circumstances that are capable of making a story ridiculous. . . . After this, let not the Holland Gazetteer repent his publishing, for example, that it was the Jesuits, who by their avarice and wicked councils, engaged the emperor in the last Hungarian war; that the people of Vienna, enraged against them on this account, massacred several of them, when they would have escaped upon the approach of the Ottoman army: that it was they, who burnt Stockholm the last year, (a little before, it was four disguised Turks that did it) &c. Let him not repent his publishing these follies, and an hundred more of the same nature, nor let him change his stile for the future. If they are at present despised, at least he may assure himself, that the time will come, when they shall be very good memoirs for him who shall write the twentieth, or the thirtieth Tome of the *Practical Morality* (101). You see with how much artifice they take advantage of the prejudice of their enemies; and how they verify the maxim, *misfortune is good for something*. They turn the hatred of the world against them to their advantage, *Frauentur Diis iratis*. It is certain, their enemies would hurt them more, if they observed some measure in the blows they give them; for whilst they promiscuously heap on well-grounded accusations with those that are otherwise, they favour the accused; they give him a handle for rendering those suspected, which are really true. A man must be very blind, not to foresee, that several libels, which daily appear against the society (102), will put

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weapons into their hands. Did they pay the authors for publishing such stories, they might be said to employ their money well. See the remark I have made upon the art of slandering (103). Note, that the Janfenists (104) politically boast, they are not so credulous, with regard to the Jesuits, as the Protestants are.

[S] *The Jesuits . . . have carried far . . . the consequences of several doctrines, which were hatched before their time, and which expose kings to continual revolutions.* The opinion, that the authority of kings is inferior to that of the people, and that they may be punished by the people, in certain cases, has been taught and practised in all countries, in all ages, and in all Christian communions, that have made any figure in the world. History affords us instances every where of kings deposed at the instigation, or with the approbation of the clergy. The opinion, that sovereigns have received the sword from God, to punish Heretics, is yet more universal, than the former, and has been reduced to practice among Christians, from the days of Constantine to ours, in all the Christian communions, that have had the power in their hands; and a man dares scarce write in Holland against such an opinion. These two doctrines therefore were not invented by the Jesuits; but they have drawn the most odious consequences from them, and such as are most prejudicial to public peace: for, from the conjunction of these two principles, they have concluded, and that, as they think, by consequential reasoning, that an heretical prince ought to be deposed, and Heresy extirpated by fire and sword, if it cannot be done any other way. If sovereigns have received the sword to punish Heretics, it is evident, that the people, the true sovereign of their monarchs, according to the first principle, ought to punish them, when they persist in Heresy. But the gentlest punishment, that can be inflicted on a Heretic, is, doubtless imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods; and consequently an heretical king ought at least to be dethroned by the people, his sovereign, and superiour; since, according to the first principle, monarchs are only delegates to whom the people, not being able to exercise its sovereignty in person, recommend the functions and exercise of it, with restrictions, and an inalienable right of resuming them, when they acquit themselves ill. Now there is no case, in which they ought more reasonably to be divested of them, than when they deserve the punishment, which the sovereign, according to the second principle, is ordered by God to inflict on Heretics. But as it is not ordinarily possible by judicial processes to take from them the goods, which they have fairly forfeited by virtue of the laws, which God will have established against Heresy: as, I say, they have most commonly power enough in their hands to maintain themselves in the exercise of royalty; an exercise, which is nothing but usurpation, as long as they are Heretics; it follows, that recourse must be had to artifice, in order to bring them to the punishments, which they have rightfully incurred; that is to say, conspiracies may be formed against their persons; since, otherwise, God would have given the sword to the people, as a true sovereign, for the punishment of Heretics, in vain. On the other hand, if sovereigns have received the sword, to punish the breakers of the two tables of the Decalogue, it follows, that they ought to proceed with greater severity against Heretics, who violate the first table, than against murderers and thieves, who only violate the second; for the infractions of the first are immediate treason against the divine majesty, and affront God directly: whereas the infractions of the second offend him only in an indirect manner. It is therefore the duty of ecclesiastics to excite sovereigns to the punishment of Heretics, violators of the first table of the commandments; and if princes are negligent in this part, that negligence deserves more to be exclaimed against, than a neglect in punishing murderers and robbers. It ought also to be represented, that if the inevitable danger of ruining the state, obliges them to grant Heretics a toleration, they are bound to keep their word no longer than the

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danger

(103) In the remark [B] of the article ANNAT, and in the remark [E] of the article BELLARMIN. See also the article GREGO- RT VII, remark [F], towards the end.

(104) Arnaud, *Morale Pratique*, Tom. III, pag. ult.

(101) *Défense des Nouveaux Chrétiens*, Part. I, pag. 31. See, on this, the answers of Mr Arnaud, in the third volume of the *Morale Pratique* (Practical Morality), chap. XI, &c. &c.

(102) For example, that intitled *Les Jésuites de la Mission professe de Paris en belle humeur*, printed in 1695. Compare what has been said in the article ANNAT, remark [E].

tion that can be imagined [T]. To return to Loyola, I ought to mention that the house, in which he was born, is at present called *Santa Casa*, and that the queen dowager of Spain has made a grant of it to the Jesuits [U]; that three sermons were preached upon

danger lasts; and this danger ceasing, they ought to resume the sword for the extirpation of Heresy, just as they would resume it against robbers and murderers, when the danger which forced them to make a truce with these, is once over. In a word, if God has given the sword into the sovereign's hand for the punishment of Heresy, the granting it impunity will render them as criminal before God, as the granting impunity to theft, adultery, and murder; and the only thing that can excuse them, would be, that for the avoiding a greater evil, the infallible ruin of the state and church, they were forced to promise the suspension of the penal laws; whence it follows, that they are obliged to their first engagement as soon as that danger is passed; for every oath that engages to the disobedience of the laws of God, is essentially null. Thus you see upon what foundations the Jesuits have built a system, which hath rendered them so odious, and which has given so just a horror for the maxims that several among them have vented. They have built upon a foundation, which they found ready to their hands; they have raised consequence upon consequence, quite out of sight, without being astonished at the hideousness of the objects; they have believed on one hand, that this would turn to the advantage of the church; and on the other, that they did nothing against the art of right reasoning. I shall not examine, whether Logic in effect did not lead them through all these consequences; the matter would be too odious. I content myself with saying, that France, having seen two of her kings successively murdered, under the pernicious pretence, that they were favourers of Heretics, thought she could no better ruin this wretched gradation of consequences, than by overturning the first principle it depends upon. For this reason the third estate of the kingdom (105) resolved to condemn as pernicious all doctrines, which make the authority of monarchs depend on any thing besides God. I add to this an observation of Mr Jurieu: he cannot be suspected of partiality to the Jesuits, and yet it is certain, he praised this reasoning, viz. *princes may put Heretics to death, therefore they ought to put them to death*; and laughed at a man, who neither blamed those, who do put them to death, nor those, who do not put them to death. Let us see Mr Jurieu's words (106).

(105) In the year 1615.

(106) Vrai, Système de l'Eglise, pag. 638.

(107) The words of this passage, printed in Italy, are taken out of a book of Mr Ferrand, intitled, *Reponse à l'Apologie pour la Reformation*.

(108) In the eighth letter of the *Tableau du Sacerdantisme*.

I explain myself (107), and say, that I am for those, who do not put Heretics to death; and it is my opinion, that their example ought to be followed. But as I believe on the other hand, that it is lawful to punish Heretics capitally, I condemn not those, who do it: both do well in my judgment. Mr Ferrand adds this last period to explain his thought, as he says. 'It had not been amiss, if he had added two, or three, or more, to explain it farther. For they, who have any penetration, will be hard put to it, to unfold this author's notion. They will think, he has hit on a very odd medium. He is of opinion, that it is lawful, and consequently very just, to burn the Calvinists; but yet the best way is not to do it: some troublesome disputant will urge thus: It is never permitted to put any to death, but those who deserve it. If it be permitted to put the Calvinists to death, they certainly deserve it. Now how can reason, justice, and equity permit us to suffer those to live in public society who deserve death? I know very well, that a sovereign may, without any crime, give a murderer his life, or a robber, or a rebel, who deserved death: but it is supposed, that they repent; and that, having once fallen into a crime, they now forsake it, and resolve never to return to it more; there is mercy for every sin. But there is nothing like this, in the case of letting Heretics live, who deserve death on account of their Heresy, and who persevere however, and declare their resolution to persevere in it. I should chuse in the same manner to say, that it is just to put robbers, murderers, and sorcerers to death, who profess they will rob, kill, and poison all they can, as long as they are suffered to live.'

Mr Jurieu reasons as well in this passage, as he reasons ill in another book (108), where he maintains, that magistrates are obliged to punish Idolaters, but yet does not blame the impunity, which the States of

Holland suffer them to enjoy, for whole ages together. Note, that, in saying he reasons well, I have supplied, by my imagination, a clause that is most essential to his discourse, and which he has omitted. The last period is absurd, unless this be added to it, or something equivalent; and nevertheless, *I am for those, who do not put them to death, and it is my opinion their example ought to be followed.*

[T] . . . and Christian morality to the most deplorable relaxation.] It was not the Jesuits, who invented the mental reservations, nor the other opinions, that Mr Pascal has charged upon them (109), nor even the philosophical sin (110). They found all this in other authors, either expressly, or in such a manner, as a doctrine is in the principle, that produces it by consequences. But as we have seen in their society a greater number of patrons of these opinions, than in other communities, and that in their hands, the loose maxims grew daily more fruitful, by the earnestness with which they disputed on these points, they have been formally and expressly impleaded. Wretched fruits of disputation! their method of studying has had at least as great a share in it, as the corruption of the heart. Before they come to read moral Divinity, they have dictated one or more courses of Philosophy; they have accustomed themselves to cavil upon every thing; they have wrangled a thousand times upon the *ens rationis*; they have heard as often the questions maintained *pro* and *con* about universals, and many other things of the same nature; their heads are so turned to objection and distinction, that, when they come to handle matters of morality, they find themselves wholly disposed to perplex them. Distinctions offer to them in shoals; arguments *ad hominem*, oblige you to fortify your self on every hand, and to abate one thing to day, another thing to morrow. All this is very dangerous. Dispute as long as you please upon logical questions; but in morality be content with good sense, and with that light, which the reading of the Gospel sheds on your mind. If you go about to dispute after a scholastic manner, you will not readily find a clew to the labyrinth. It was a very good saying of a certain person, that the books of the Casuists are nothing but the art of cavilling with God (111). These advocates in the court of conscience find out more distinctions and subtilties, than the Lawyers in the civil courts. They make the tribunal of conscience a sort of moral laboratory, in which the most solid truths evaporate into smoke, volatile salts, and vapour. What Cicero said of the subtilties of Logic, admirably agrees with those of the Casuists. 'Dilectici ad extremum ipsi se compungunt suis acuminibus, & multa querendo reperiunt non modo ea quæ jam non possint ipsi dissolvere, sed etiam quibus ante exorta & potius detexta prope retentantur' (112). — *The Logicians at last wound themselves with their own edge, and, by enquiring after many things, find not only what they cannot themselves give a solution of, but what overthrows all they have before been raising.* A man is caught in webs of his own spinning; he is lost, and knows not how to turn himself; nor has he any way to disengage, but by relaxing in almost every article. They, who have read Father Pirot's book (113) will own, that it is easier to censure it, and perceive, that it contains dangerous doctrines, than answer his objections.

On the whole, tho' the Jesuits are not the authors of the relaxed opinions, and tho' they are daily maintained by others, yet they ought not to think it hard, that they are charged with them; whilst we go upon a principle, which they themselves approve, with regard to the version of Mons (114).

[U] The queen . . . of Spain has made a grant to the Jesuits of the house, in which Ignatius was born.] The particulars of this affair are to be found in a book, printed at Salamanca in 1689. It is intitled *Averiguaciones de las Antiquidades de Cantabria* (115). The author calls himself Gabriel de Henao, a name that has appeared in the title page of several books in folio, and among others of a book which might be called a *Curious Account of Paradise*. Gabriel de Henao, is a Jesuit, professor of Divinity in the royal college of the society at Salamanca. He has endeavoured to bring to light the antiquities of Cantabria, only because it was

(109) In the *Lettres Provinciales*.

(110) This doctrine is almost an unavoidable consequence of the definition of liberty, by which it is asserted, that, to the end any action be free, the agent must have a power of determining himself to the right or left, without being necessitated by any foreign cause. Now this definition is that, which is most commonly received in the church of Rome.

(111) See the *Journal des Savans*, March 3^{re} 1665, pag. m. 249, and what Mr Bernier, Abbé de Casselani, Tom. VII, liv. II, chap. viii, pag. m. 529, relates of the first professor of Logic.

(112) Clerm. de Oratore, lib. II, cap. xxviii.

(113) Intituled, *L'Apologie des Casuistes*.

(114) See the observations of Father de Teller on the Defence of the French Version of the New Testament, printed at Mont, pag. 377, & seq.

(115) See the *Journal de Leipsic*, in the Supplement, Tom. I, Sect. X, pag. 525, 526, the

upon his beatification, which were highly censured by the Sorbonne [X], and which doubtless

the country, in which Ignatius was born. He says, that, at present, this province takes in Guipulcoa, Biscay, and the country of Alava. These two last countries produced Ignatius's ancestors. The first gave him birth in the territory of Azpeytia; for the castle of Loyola is situated in this territory. The fons of the church of St Sebastian d'Azpeytia, in which Ignatius was baptized, are a continual object of devotion. Women with child flock thither, and passionately desire their children may be christened at them, and take the name of Ignatius, or Ignatia as an omen of good fortune. The castle of Loyola, where this saint was born, is standing to this day, and is called *la Santa Casa*. Lewis Henry de Cabrera, and Teresa Henrietta Velasco de Loyola, marquis and marchioness of Alcanizans and Oropeza, last proprietors of this castle, made a solemn grant of it, in the year 1681, to Marianna of Austria, mother to the present king of Spain (116). This princess gave it the year following to the Jesuits, for the founding a college for their society, and only reserved the right of patronage to herself, during her life, and, after her death, to her son the king, and the succeeding kings of Spain. But she imposed upon the donataries the same condition, that was annexed to the cession made to herself of it; which was that they should not be permitted to demolish any part of the castle wall, but content themselves with building by it (117).

Should I only mention a curious book of Gabriel Henao, without giving any account of it, I might be complained of for having impertinently provoked the reader's curiosity. I shall say then, that this Jesuit published a volume in folio, in the year 1652, intitled, *Emphyreologia, seu Philosophia Christiana de Emphyreo celo*, in which he so particularly describes the blessedness of Paradise, as to say (118) *there will be music in heaven, with material instruments, as on earth*. But his account, if I mistake not, is not comparable to that of Lewis Henricus, his brother Jesuit, who affirms (119): *that there will be a sovereign pleasure in kissing and embracing the bodies of the blessed; that they shall bathe in the sight of one another, for which there shall be most delicious baths; that they shall swim in them like fishes, and sing as harmonious as larks and nightingales. That the angels shall be dressed like women, and shall appear to the saints in the habits of ladies, their hair curled, their petty-coats fardingaled, and in the richest linnen. That men and women shall divert themselves with majestades, feasts, and balls. That the women shall sing more agreeably than the men, to make the pleasure greater; that they shall rise again with longer hair, and shall be decked with ribands and head-dresses, as they are in this world. That married people shall kiss one other, as in this life, and their pretty sweet children, which will be no small pleasure.*

[X] Three sermons, preached upon his beatification, were censured by the Sorbonne. Paul V having beatified Ignatius in the year 1609, the Jesuits kept a solemn festival in all their houses, colleges, and noviciates, where they made choice of, and desired some of the greatest divines who were not of their order, to make his panegyric (120). Valderama, prior of the Augustines of Seville, preached the sermon, the thirty first of July 1610. Peter Deza, dominican of Valencia, preached another, the twenty sixth of January 1610. James Rebulloja, dominican of Barcelona, preached a third the fourth Sunday of Advent 1609. A Jesuit of Limosin, called Francis Solier, translated these three sermons out of Spanish into French, and published them at Poitiers in 1611. In these sermons were found four articles, which the Faculty of Divinity at Paris, assembled in the Sorbonne, the first of October 1611, thundered against in a terrible manner.

The first is in the first sermon of brother P. de Valderama, pag. 54. and 55. We know indeed, that Moses, carrying his rod in his hand, did very great miracles in the air, in the earth, in the water, in the stones, and in every thing he pleased, so far as to drown Pharaoh and his army in the Red-Sea; but it was the ineffable name of God, which, as the learned Tostat, bishop of Avilla, says, was engraven on this wand or rod, which worked these wonders. It was not so great a matter, that the creatures, seeing the commands of God, their sovereign

king and lord, subscribed with his own name, should pay him their homage and obedience. Nor was it any great wonder, that the apostles should work miracles, since it was in the name of God, by the virtue and power which he had given them; signing it with his signet, *In nomine meo demonia ejicient, linguis loquentur novis, &c.* — In my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues. But that Ignatius, with his own name written in paper, should work more miracles than Moses, and as many as the apostles; that his signet should have so much authority over the creatures, as that they should immediately obey him; this is what renders him exceedingly admirable. The second is in page 91. of the same sermon. As long as Ignatius lived, his life and morals were so grave, so holy, and so exalted, even in the opinion of heaven, that there were only some Popes, as St Peter; some emperresses as the mother of God; some sovereign monarch, as God the Father and his holy Son, who had the happiness to see it (121). The third is in brother Peter Deza's sermon, pag. 111, 112. Doubtless the other founders of religious orders were sent in favour of the church, &c. Novissime autem diebus istis loquutus est nobis in filio suo Ignatio, quem constituit heredem universorum. — But in these last days he hath spoken unto us, by his son Ignatius, whom he hath appointed heir of all things: to which there is no other article of praise wanting than *per quem fecit secula.* — By whom he made the world. The fourth is in brother James Rebulloja's sermon, pag. 207. The martyr Ignatius bore a most particular affection to the holy father and Pope of Rome, as to the lawful successor of Jesus Christ, and his vicar on earth (122).

The Faculty voted and resolved on the first article, that that form of speech, by which the name of the creature is equalled with the name of Almighty God; the miracles done in the name of God are depreciated; and finally, the miracles, which were not as yet certain, are preferred before those, which we are obliged to believe with a Catholic, indubitable faith, is scandalous, erroneous, blasphemous, and impious. As to the second, that assertion, which pretends, that God received any good from the vision of the creature is of itself detestable, false, and a notorious Heresy. As to the third, which appropriates the text of St Paul, *Novissime autem, &c.* to any other than Jesus Christ, it is execrable, and blasphemous, and impious. As to the last article, it has two contrary parts, one of which destroys the other: the last indeed is Catholic, and approved; namely, that the Pope is the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth; but the first, viz. that the Pope is the lawful successor of Jesus Christ, is a proposition manifestly false, and altogether heretical. Signed C. Petit Jan curate of St Peter (123).

Father Solier published a very bold and threatening apology for them (124), in which he says, amongst other things, that it ought to be remembered, that one speaks after a popular manner in sermons and declamations, and chiefly in that style, which they call demonstrative and encomiastic, which more easily admits amplifications than the deliberative and judicial kind (125), and that it is easy to discover when the preacher advances a conception rather to delight the ear, than seriously to instruct the auditors (126). He shewed that Lewis de Grenade, St Antoninus, and St Bernard, have made as bold applications of scripture, and even bolder than those complained of. He cites many scripture passages (127), to justify this thought of Valderama: as long as Ignatius lived, his life and his manners were not universally known: none but God the Father, and his Son, having the happiness to see it; but as soon as he was dead, all the courtiers of the king eternal ran to see him (128). He asks (129), if, when the Holy Ghost says, in the canticles, to a chosen soul, *ostende mihi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis, vox enim tua dulcis & facies tua decora*; it would be ill translating, or blaspheming, or paraphrasing, this passage, to say, my dove, let me see thy face, and hear thy voice; forasmuch as thy voice is sweet, and thy countenance beautiful. He answers nothing concerning the fourth proposition, which was censured, and seems to be ignorant that it was condemned.

(121) Hospinian, at the eleventh page of his Hist. Jesuitica, gives these words a turn altogether ridiculous; he translates them thus; Denique Monarcha supremo Deo Patri ejusque sanctissimo Filio, eos intueri & videre tanquam ex singulari gratia fuerit concessum.

(122) Mercure François, ibid. pag. 266. See also the first Tome of the Morale Pratique, pag. 225.

(123) Idem, pag. 266.

(124) The writers of the Bibliothèque de the Jesuits do not speak of this, nor of the translation of these three sermons.

(125) Mercure François, ubi supra, pag. 267.

(126) Ibid. pag. 271.

(127) Among others, that of the Proverbs, chap. viii, ver. 31, *Deliciae mea esse cum filiis hominum.* — My delights were with the sons of men.

(128) Mercure François, ibid. pag. 267.

(129) Ibid. pag. 268.

(116) I write this the twenty third of November, 1695.

(117) Ne scilicet ullum pro futuri collegii fabrica parietem demolitis effect, sed antiquis hujusce domus muris ob servatis venera tionem illibatis, contigua modo aedificia adjungere & excutere liceret. A. D. A. Evidetur. Lipsi ubi supra, pag. 57.

RASH conjectures on the happiness of Paradise.

(118) See the first volume of the Morale Pratique, pag. 273.

(119) In his book intitled, Occupation des Saints dans le Ciel. See the Morale Pratique, ibid. pag. 274.

(120) Mercure François, Tom. II, pag. m. 264, ad ann. 1611.

doubtless were a fresh accession to Stephen Pasquier's discontent [2]. Some differences arose

(130) Ibid. pag. 271. Deza is the person who makes use of this thought, pag. 151.

(131) See the Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans, August 1605, pag. 555, and remark [N] of the article FRANÇOIS of Albi.

(132) Scoppius, Infam. Familiani Stradae, pag. 159.

(133) Fraus sub-
boluit tandem,
& deprehensum
est, tres haec con-
clones à Jesuitis
conscriptas; ha-
bitas & publicatas
fuisse Hospinian.
Historia Jesuit.
lib. 1, pag. 11.
Edit. 1681.

(134) In the first
Time of the
Morale Pratique
des Jesuites, pag.
22.

condemned. Not but he undertook to justify the four articles; but he supposes, that the fourth was this: *that only the order of St Francis, works miracles in matter of voluntary poverty* (130). 'For a lay-brother of his order, says he, with the cord, which serves him for a girdle, in his hand, works more miracles, than ever the rod of Moses did; because the latter only drew water from a rock; but this extracts bread, wine, flesh, and whatever he has need off, from hearts harder than flint.' He excuses this two ways; first, by saying it is one of those notions a preacher advances, not as a serious doctrine, but to tickle the ears of his auditors: Secondly, by maintaining that, even literally, the proposition is true. But, says he, *though we should take it in strict speaking, and with all the rigours of the school, it is not true, that it is a greater work to mollify an heart steeld by sinful habits, and hardened in iniquity, than to make living water spring out of a rock? Has not St Bernard said in this sense, that Jesus Christ worked a greater miracle in the conversion of Mary Magdalen, than in raising her brother Lazarus from the dead?* He had better have confined himself to the first reason, which was only to represent, that there is an indulgence due to the fallies of an orator, and the eloquence of the pulpit, especially amongst Monks; and that the day of the panegyric is in possession of almost an unlimited licence. But this hinders not, that sometimes the enthusiasms of this licence ought to be censured; as the archbishop of Rheims has lately done (131). I forget not, that Scoppius (132) has been very merry upon a place of this Peter Deza's sermon. It is that, where the preacher exhibits, as a great miracle, the happiness the Jesuits have had in obtaining whatever they desired in an age so covetous, so hard-hearted, and void of charity.

Hospinian, speaking of this matter, has said a thing which, no doubt, he has persuaded a great many of, and which notwithstanding seems to be very false. He says, that the Jesuits themselves composed these three sermons; but that, for the greater honour of their St Ignatius, they gave out that the Spanish dominicans had preached them. He adds, that this fraud was discovered (133). Common sense revolts against this accusation; for suppose the Jesuits as wicked as you please, it will not do; you must farther suppose them stupid, and as foolish as children; since none but blockheads could possibly imagine, but that, in two months at farthest, they should be exposed in the face of the world, if they ventured to print, that such and such Monks, distinguished by their place of residence, their dignities and names, had preached such and such things, such a day, in such a town. Such falsehoods cannot fail of being presently confuted by a public and judicial contradiction, which renders the liar the eternal subject of his enemies derision. If none but fools could foresee this imminent mortification, nothing but a brutal stupidity would, upon such a foresight, have exposed itself to the hazard; so that there is all kind of probability to make us believe, that the Jesuits, who are very jealous of the honour of their order, and very tender of their interests, and narrowly observed by vigilant enemies, have not falsely fathered the three sermons, which Francis Solier printed at Poitiers; and since the Janfenists (134) attribute only the French translation to the Jesuits, it is an evident proof, that Hospinian is mistaken. This brings to my mind a charge of forgery, which proved unfortunate to the Capuchins of Paris. They pretended, that the approbation of one of their fathers, prefixed to a book of Amadeus Guimenius, was fictitious. *We declare, said they, that not any one of us approved that book, and farther, that there neither has been, nor is in our congregation any provincial monk, who is called Luifius of Valencia, who has been twice provincial minister of the Frier minors of St Francis, Capuchins of the province of the Blood of Jesus Christ, in the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia, Master of Arts, first professor, and Jubilate reader of sacred Divinity, and counsellor qualificador of the Inquisition of both kingdoms; and that we have not in Spain any province so called. We protest also that these pompous titles, wherewith the author of this forged approbation is adorned, are very remote from the simplicity we profess. We declare these*

things, upon the testimony of our most reverend father general, who having understood, that this book was published with this approbation, has testified what we have said. This declaration of forgery was confuted in all its parts by authentic acts, attended with all the formalities, that the most judicial procedure could require (135). What did the good Capuchins of Paris think of? Could they imagine, that practised forgers would specify so many characters, proper names, titles of dignity, places of residence, if they had a false approbation to produce? Would not this be pointing out the track to their enemies, to take the hare in its form? Would not this be leading by the hand to the discovery of the imposture? The Janfenists have publicly acknowledged, that the certificate of the Capuchins of Paris contains a false allegation (136).

Note, by the way, that the proper names are wretchedly disguised in this relation of Hospinian; probably by the negligence of the correctors. You find Valderanna, and Vualderanna, instead of Valderama; Doza instead of Deza; Testatus instead of Tostatus; Tilefac instead of Filefac (137); Ducal instead of Du Val (138).

[2] . . . which doubtless were a fresh accession to Stephen Pasquier's discontent. The news of Ignatius's beatification could not but be disagreeable to this writer, a great enemy to the Jesuits, and who had but lately ridiculed their founder in a public work (139) so as to preface, in some measure, that the artifices made use of at Rome, to get him canonized, would come to nothing (140). We may therefore believe, that his displeasure increased in proportion to the noise the pomp of this beatification made all over Europe: I cannot conceive a severer mortification, than his seeing a person beatified, of whom he had spoken very ill. If he had been a Protestant, he would have laughed at the judgment of the court of Rome; but he professed himself a Roman Catholic: he could not therefore deny but that his slanders had been confuted in the most authentic manner possible, and himself condemned by the whole church of Rome, which acquiesced in the Pope's decree. It was a wretched come-off, to say, as his children did in their answer to Garasse, that he did not believe the founder of the Jesuits would one day be beatified. It is an unlucky inconvenience in the Roman communion, that a man runs the risk of seeing himself forced to keep the seals of those persons devoutly, and to invoke them, whom he formerly satirized. This should make critical authors more circumspect. I attack a man, they ought to say to themselves, who perhaps may get into the litanies before I die: let us be cautious of every thing, and consider what may come to pass. It is true, Lewis XII did not think a king of France obliged to revenge the injuries offered to a duke of Orleans; but how do we know whether the beatified are of this humour? Do not the country curates say, a thousand and a thousand times over, that the saints send plagues and famines, &c. to punish the neglect of their chapels and images? If the fault of these indelovout people is chastised by a public disaster, which falls even on the innocent, has not this particular censor, author of the Jesuits Catechism, reason to fear St Ignatius's repentment.

- - - - - scape Diespiter

Neglectus incesto addidit integrum (141).

Neglected Jove oft, in one punishment
Involves the guilty, and the innocent.

The poets advise us to be sparing of our encomiums.

Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice, ne mox
Incitant aliena tibi peccata pudorem (142).

Consider well on whom you praise bestow,
Lest, by imaginary worth misled,
You blush hereafter for another's faults.

And it seems, that, to follow their counsel exactly, we should suspend our praises of any person, till death

(135) See the book, entitled, *Mala fides de columnis authoris anonymi, &c. per Danielem Camptorium, printed at Calage in 1622.*

(136) See the History of the Works of the Learned for the month of January 1683, pag. 140.

(137) He demanded a censure of the four articles extracted out of the three sermons.

(138) He opposed the censure, and there was no regard had to his remonstrances.

(139) See his Catechism of the Jesuits, printed in 1605, chap. xi, and the following of the first book.

(140) See the same Catechism, chap. xv, of the first book, pag. 137, and the following.

(141) Horat. Od. ii, lib. iii. ver. 23.

(142) Horat. Epist. xviii, lib. i, ver. 76.

arose in France about the day of his festival [Z], after Pope Urban VIII had published the bull of his canonization.

His Life has been written by near twenty authors: one of them calls himself John Eusebius of Nieremberg: his work was severely censured, if we believe Father Baron [AA]. I need not add, that the Jesuit Bouhours is one of his patriarch's Historians; it being a thing notorious enough. What Grotius has said of Loyola, and the Jesuits, is not the least beautiful part of his history (i). His expressions are well chosen, grave and noble. There is nothing in it that favours of invective; but all bespeaks a soul sedately possessing it self, and able to hold the ballance in equilibrio. But the more he shews himself exempt from passion and partiality, the more capable he is of persuading a thing, which, to say no worse of it, has no certainty. He maintains, that the profession of a Jesuit does not exclude marriage [BB]; that a man, when he is of the society, may

(i) Grotius, Histor. lib. iii, pag. m. 273, & seq.

has secured him from the danger of inconstancy. Have you praised a man, who dextrously hid his faults? He loses his art, is universally cried down, and you are censured for your incense. Perhaps too he becomes your enemy, and your furious persecutor; this has opened your eyes; you have seen him to the bottom, and have turned your encomiums into satire; for which you are exposed, as at variance with your self. These inconveniencies would not have happened, if you had not been overhasty in dealing out your praises. Besides, men of merit have not always the gift of perseverance; they lose themselves in prosperity, or in other conjunctures, which the general course of affairs produces. You are ashamed to have been the herald of their praises; your ears being stung with ungrateful reproaches on that account. We might avoid all this, would we wait as long, before we pronounced a man praise-worthy, as Solon did to pronounce him happy.

... dicique beatus

Ante obitum nemo, supremæque funera debet (143).

None happy call in this untertain state;

Death only sets us safe beyond the reach of fate.

(143) Ovidius, Metam. lib. iii, ver. 136. It is the substance of the answer Solon makes to Croesus, in Herodotus, lib. i, cap. xxxiii, pag. m. 13.

(144) See the remark [G], of the article I N. NOCENT XI.

(145) To wit, the thirty first of July.

(146) Eo impudentie... pro- velli sunt, ut ex fisis & Calendario ipso Romano, erso nomine S. Germani, qui cum sibi diem luculentum vendicarent, Ignatium suum substituerent. Heid. gg. H. ff. Papatus, pag. 357.

(147) Id. ibid.

nerable to all France, had it not been restored by a decree of the parliament of Paris, passed upon an excellent discourse of the advocate-general. Mr Heidegger might have cited John Lætus (148), or rather James Rævus (149), cited by John Lætus, but what good would this have done?

[AA] The Life of St Ignatius by John Eusebius of Nieremberg was severely censured, if we believe Father Baron. This dominican assures us, that the censor, who was commissioned to examine this Life, reported to the judges that he found it so full of faults that it deserved to be expunged from beginning to end. Adeo mendosum librum ut esset inmendabilis, & à capite ad calcem spongia delendus; nonnulla etiam notavit quæ stomachum & indignationem audientibus moverant (150). Father Papebroch, (151) answering a Carmelite, who alledged this passage, has observed, that Vincent Baron is not to be credited upon this subject, and that the condemnation of the book of Nieremberg concerns only the second edition (152), and is moderated by a donec corrigatur. He adds, that the third edition, enlarged with the Life of Francis Xavier, went off without any opposition.

(148) In Compendio Historiæ Universalis, pag. m. 524.

(149) In Histor. Pontific. Roman. pag. m. 373.

(150) Vincent. Baronius, apud Sebastianum à Sancto Paulo Carmelitam in libello suppli.

(151) Daniel Papebroch. Respons. ad exhibitionem Errorum, pag. 286.

(152) It is that of Madrid, 1637.

(153) Grotius, Histor. lib. iii, pag. m. 274.

(154) Pasquier, Recherch. de la France, livr. iii, chap. xliii, pag. m. 323.

(155) Pasquier, ubi supra, pag. 324.

(156) Réponse de René de la Fon pour les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus, chap. xlii, pag. m. 202. Alegambe, pag. 118, informs us, that Richome disguised himself under the title of René de la Fon.

But as to censure, and criticism, you are not secure, though you wait till the person is dead: there shall arise, it may be, a Pope, who will enroll among the saints the man whom you have treated ill, and bid you, adora quod incendisti, recommend yourself to the intercession of him, whom you have offended. I do not know but the French, who have abused Innocent XI, both in his life-time, and since his death (144), may experience this unlucky fate. It resembles those decrees of parliament, which force a man to marry the woman he has dishonoured.

[Z] Some differences arose in France about the day of his festival. Mr Heidegger relates, that the Pope, having assigned for St Ignatius's festival the same day which by ancient prescription had belonged to St Germain (145), the Jesuits raised the name of St Germain out of the Calendar, to put their Founder's name in it's place (146). The French took offence at this by reason of their great veneration for St Germain. The prince of Condé, a patron of the Jesuits, affirmed that St Ignatius appeared to him, the day they were celebrating his feast at Rome. The cause being brought to Rome was determined in the following manner. The Pope decreed, that the feast of St Germain, and St Ignatius should be kept the same day; but if they could not agree together, Ignatius as being the junior, should be obliged to stay till leap-year, when he should have the intercalated day wholly to himself. 'Lis ad Pontificem delata ridicula ita decisa est, ut eodem die simul Germanus & Ignatius celebraretur: quod si simul stare nolle viderentur, expectaret Ignatius, seu recentior, annum bissextilem, & diem, qui tum intercalatur, sibi eximium haberet (147).' I wish Mr Heidegger had cited some good author; for I do not find all this in the letter to a counsellor of parliament on a writing of Father Annat. We find this letter in the first Tome of the collection of pieces concerning the New Testament of Mons, and this is what we read at the 503d page: 'Who knows not, that, as soon St Ignatius was canonized, the Jesuits substituted him in the place of St Germain bishop of Auxerre, whom they insolently razed out of the Calendar; where we should have no more seen this great name so ve-

[BB] Grotius maintains, that a Jesuit's vow does not exclude marriage. His words are these: 'Transgressi in morem non una habitant omnes. Angustum videbatur Societatis incrementa parietibus includere: DANT NOMINA ET CONJUGES (153). They do not all dwell together. It seemed narrow, to confine the increase of the society within walls: THEY GIVE NAMES AND WIVES.' Pasquier, pleading against the Jesuits in the year 1564, affirmed (154), that their society was composed of two sorts of men, the first whereof, say they are of the great observance, and the others of the less. Those of the great observance are obliged to four vows; for, besides the three ordinary ones of obedience, poverty, and chastity, they make one particularly in favour of the Pope. Those, who are of the lesser observance, are obliged to no more than two vows, one respecting the fidelity they promise to the Pope, and the other obedience towards their superiors and ministers. These latter do not vow poverty; but it is lawful for them to hold benefices without dispensation, to succeed their fathers and mothers, to acquire lands and possessions, as if they were not obliged to any religious vow. (155) This same ordinance makes it possible for all people to be of this order. For as, in this lesser observance, there are no vows made, either of virginity, or poverty, so it indifferently takes in priests and laymen, married or unmarried, since they are not obliged to reside, with the great observancers. But they may inhabit with the rest of the people, provided that, on certain and prefixed days, they appear at the house common to them all, to participate in their grimaces.' But let us see what was answered him by the Jesuit Richome (156). The fifth lie is in the same pleading, where, having discoursed like a dotard upon the rule of the Jesuits, and told a great many pitiful and silly lies, at last he adds one of a larger size, big with many others, saying, this same ordinance makes it possible for all people, &c. And after having fooled sufficiently, he fastens the tail to his chimera, and concludes. So that following this law and rule, it is no absurdity to see a whole town of Jesuits. This lie ought not to be reckoned a single one; for it contains as many as there are words. I have been a member of this society above twenty years, and have carefully read it's constitutions,

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may live where he pleases, and cohabit with his wife. Pasquier had said the same thing, and was publicly charged with a falsehood. I have not found, that he answered the adversary, who treated him as a downright slanderer. Grotius was to be pitied, if he had no other warrant, than Pasquier.

tions, but never heard of the lesser or greater obsequy among the Jesuits; nor have I ever read one word of it, either in their books, or in their bulls expedited by the Popes for their establishment. And to one and all, the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, are so exprets, that no body can doubt of them; besides, who ever saw a married Jesuit among them? or rather, who ever heard any one speak of it, besides Pasquier?

Perhaps Grotius might find himself upon the bare testimony of Pasquier, looking on it as incontestable, since it was not probable, that a man would venture to utter a falsity of this nature, in full parliament, and in so solemn a cause; but the surest way is to mistrust appearances, and never to judge upon the report of one of the parties. *Audi & alteram partem; keep one ear for the accused; inform yourself of the answer of each party;* is a rule that ought never to be forgotten. The lie, that was given to this advocate, is found in a work printed in 1599. Pasquier, two or three years after, published his Catechism of the Jesuits, in which he repeated many of the things he had advanced before, and maintained them against the apologists for the society. He insists (157) chiefly on an examination of the simple vows, which the Jesuits are obliged to make: but does not reply one word about the two kinds of Jesuits, which he had informed the world of, one married, the other unmarried. This makes me believe, that he discovered his error. The Janseist, who, in 1688, published an apology for the censures of Louvain and Douay, supposes (158), that there are concealed Jesuits, who without wearing the habit, are yet of the society, and are left in the world for its interests; but he does not say, that they are permitted to marry. In vain shall we endeavour to excuse Grotius by the testimony of an anonymous writer, who printed a little book in 1682, intitled, *The Emperor and Empire betrayed, how, and by whom*. This author advances the same thing as Pasquier, and suspects even the emperor to be a Jesuit of the second class. 'My

jealousy, says he (159), of his Imperial majesty, encreases the more, because it is notorious, that there are several sorts of religious among the Jesuits; some who are dispensed with, not only as to the habit, but who are even allowed to marry, and to be invested with all sorts of offices and dignities; that if his Imperial majesty, through too great a zeal for his religion, was, in his younger years, unfortunately engaged in this order, under the aforesaid dispensations, we need no longer wonder at any part of his behaviour to the Protestants; for though he were only of the lesser order, in which it is permitted to marry, and to possess all sorts of offices and dignities, it is however true, that in every thing else, and particularly in matters of religion, he would be

under the obedience of the general of the Jesuits, and consequently obliged to make peace and war, just as the general of the society should think fit for the interests of the Papal court, and the society. The war he perpetually makes against the Protestants of the Upper Hungary, his immense presents to the society with the scandalous and disgraceful signing of the last peace (160) All this smells strong of an obedience, which knows no other duty, nor rule of justice and piety, than the absolute command of his superior: and I see nothing in the conduct of this prince, whether in his way of living, and his perpetual applications to Jesuitical comedies, music, or pilgrimages, sometimes to one relic, sometimes to another, together with whatever may discover his natural or habitual inclinations, that contradicts this opinion. Yet once more, it would be impertinent, in favour of Grotius, to alledge such a libeller, who dares so insolently and disrespectfully speak of his Imperial majesty. These writers would be too obligingly treated, should we lay to them; *I expected proof, and you bring me vulgar stories* (161). For they most commonly vent, not only what they have heard themselves, but what they have forged in the mint of their own brain. He, whom I have cited, and Mr Jerieu, would afford matter of laughter to all the world; the one maintains, that the Jesuits betrayed the house of Austria in favour of France, and the other, that they would be always disposed to betray France, in favour of the house of Austria (162). That which is certain is, that the Imperial court has observed such a conduct for above these twelve years past (163), as is an invincible proof, either that the Jesuits have no credit there; or that their councils are adopted to the temporal interests of the emperor, preferable to the advantages of the Catholic religion in general; and if the author of the libel had understood politics, he might easily have seen, that the signing of the peace of Nimwegen was the best and noblest resolution the house of Austria could take, considering the posture of affairs, after the particular peace of France with the United-Provinces. But this author did not consider it so closely; and, if he had been alive in 1697, I doubt not but he had been the promoter of news, not unlike what we have seen above (164). The Historical Letters of October, that year, have this in them. 'It

has been for some time reported, that the Jesuits had formed a conspiracy, against the emperor and the king of the Romans, and that one of them had already been executed. They write from Vienna, that this is a meer calumny; so that the emperor, to deceive the public, has ordered his council of regency to publish an act in High-Dutch upon this subject (165). The author of the Historical Letters gives a French translation of this Imperial act.

(160) That of Nimwegen, in 1678.

(161) Rumoribus mecum pugnas: ego autem à te rationes requiro. *Cicero, de Nat. Dier. lib. iii. cap. v.* See citation (75) of the article LAT. NOI (JOHN DE).

(162) See Mr Arnold in his ninth chapter of the first part of his Apology for the Catholics.

(163) I write this in 1700.

(164) In the remark [2], citat. 85.

(165) Lettres Historiques, October, 1697, pag. 461.

(157) Book II, chap. ix, & seq.

(158) Apologie Histor. des deux Censures de Louvain & de Douai sur la matiere de la Grace, pag. 155. See also the Question curieuse si Mr Arnauld est Hérétique? pag. 92, 93, of the second Edit.

(159) Pag. 158, &c.

(a) He was then explaining Apollonius Rhodius.

LUBBERT, (SIBRAND) professor of Divinity at Franeker, was born at Longoworde in Friseland, about the year 1556. He went through his classical learning in the college of Bremen, and studied afterwards in the university of Wittemberg, where he learned Hebrew to a great perfection, under the professor Valentine Scindlerus, after which he went to Geneva, and diligently attended the lectures of Beza, Casaubon, and Francis Portus (a). He went afterwards to Neustadt, whither prince Casimir had removed the Calvinistical professors. He chiefly frequented the lecture of Zachary Ursinus, and insinuated himself into his intimacy and favour. He was one day praised by him, in such a manner as was at the same time a good proof of this professor's modesty [A]. Our Lubbert had an offer of being substitute to Ursinus in the Logic professorship,

[A] He was one day praised by him in such a manner, as was a good proof of this professor's modesty. He had misquoted David Kimchi in a public lecture, and being told of it by our Sibbrand, he acknowledged his fault in the next lecture, and pointed out the person who had set him right. You will find a larger account of this in the following Latin: 'Accidit aliquando, ut D. Ursinus in lectione publica Kimchium citaret, quem noster quoque antea ad eundem locum confu- luerat. Deprehendebat adolescens, D. Ursinum,

Kimchii autoritatem, five errore *μνημονεύω*, five quod locum obiter insepisset, male allegasse. Mox ait: haec de re præceptorem modelle & verecunde. Is miratus juvenis in Ebraismo peritiam, introduxit eum in Musæum, inspeculoque Kimchii Commentario, rem sese ad eum modum habere deprehendit. Tantum abest ut offenderit clarissimum Theologorum hæc discipuli libertas, ut postmodum in lectione publica errorem illum suum retractaverit, monstrato D. Sibbrand, quem sibi ejus indicium secisse profitebatur.

fellowship, with the promise of a better employment, in due time; but he modestly answered, that he did not think himself qualified to fill a place, in which this illustrious professor had acquired so much glory. Nevertheless, Urfinus had found none amongst his disciples besides him, fit to be recommended to this place. It was given to Fortunatus Crellius. As soon as Lubbert found himself qualified to be promoted to the ministry; he had a call from the Reformed church of Brussels, and from that of Embden; he preferred the latter, by the advice of Zachary Urfinus. He was called into Friesland in 1584 to be preacher to the governor and deputies of the States of the province, and to read Divinity lectures in the university of Franeker, the foundation whereof was resolved on at that time. He had for his colleagues in the Divinity professorship, Martin Lydius, and Henry Antonides Nerdens; and though they were older than he, he far excelled them. He took his doctor of Divinity's degree at Heidelberg, when he saw himself honoured with a professorship in that faculty at Franeker. He exercised this employment about forty years, and in this long interval, was several times employed in important affairs [B]. He was one of the deputies at the synod of Dort; and one of the best heads in the assembly. His great industry and strong constitution, gave him opportunities of composing several books [C], which were much esteemed. He preached with great zeal, and was very fervent in censuring vice [D], and

tur. Eâ etiam occasione D. Urfinus juventuti facra Ebraïsmi studia, paremque diligentiam commendabat.

Pulcrum est digito monstrari & dicier, hic est (1).

It was more glorious to Urfinus thus to acknowledge his fault, than to Lubbert to be praised for discovering it.

[B] He was several times employed in important affairs. Count William of Nassau, governor of Friesland, and the deputies of the States of the Province frequently admitted him into their council; and when in the year 1594, the town of Groningen and the Ommelanden were added to the body of the United Provinces, he was one of the three ministers (2) who founded a church at Groningen, and drew up the statutes of it. Some time after, a quarrel arose between the ministers of Leuwarden, which was carried on with so much passion and obstinacy, that the only means of restoring peace, was to dismiss them all; whereupon Sibrand Lubbert, Lydius, Nerdens, and John Arceus, were sent to serve that church, and continued in it till these dissensions were ended. He was deputed to the Hague, in the year 1606, to assist in a preliminary assembly, ad conventum præparatorium; and in the year 1618, the States of Friesland deputed him to the synod of Dort (3). One of the English divines, who assisted at that synod observes, that this Friesland deputy grew hot, and flew into a passion, and contributed much more to perplex things, and to foment divisions, than to compose them (4). I have spoken elsewhere (5) of his quarrel with Maccovius; and I add here, that he had some differences with his colleague, the learned Drusus (6).

[C] His great industry and strong constitution, gave him opportunities of composing many books. He generally rose a three at clock in the morning or sooner, neither winter nor old age interrupted this custom; and nothing afflicted him more in his maladies, than to be deprived of the satisfaction of studying. He was scarce ever sick till the last years of his life, his good constitution having all along held out against the ill effects of violent study. Robusta & qualis paucis obtingit, valetudine semper usus fuerat, magno Dei beneficio, in tantis adeoque assiduis laboribus. Postremis annis dolores nephritici ex assiduis studiis contracti & catarbi frequentiores per intervalla eum exercuerunt (7). He published books against Bellarmine, upon the controverties concerning the scripture, the Pope, the church, and councils, and replied to Grotius, who had answered for Bellarmine. He had the last in this dispute, for Grotius did not reply. These works of Lubbert, procured him several letters filled with praises; and he was forced to publish them, as a buckler to the blows of one of his adversaries. Quanti autem hoc præclaris & honorificis Elogiis Præstantissimorum ejus luminum, quorum aliquot evulgationem effraenis adversarii maledicta modestissima animæ expressit (8). Having observed, that the Socinian heresy began to appear in the Low-Countries, he published a book against Socinus de Christo Salvatore (9). He wrote also against Arminius's letter ad H. a Collibus, and against

Peter Bertius, who had engaged in the defence of this letter. Afterwards he wrote against Vorstius, and against a book which Grotius intitled *Pietas Ordinum Hollandiæ*. Having thus declared himself an ardent champion of the Contra-Remonstrants cause, he was often obliged to take pen in hand; but the author of his funeral oration, did not think it proper to insist on this. He declared on the contrary, that he wished all these things might be buried for ever, in the grave of oblivion. De iis quæ postea subsequuta sunt, malo tacere, quam rē δακρυον ἐκδιδόν ἐγχείρειν. Optem enim ex animo, quod ipsa quoque Synodus evocet, infausta illa factionum nomina, quæ mihi hic cum cordolio & horrore usurpanda essent, æternâ oblivioni seipulta esset. Si volumus coire Ecclesiæ vulnera & cicatricem ducere, cavendum sedulo est, ne investigatorum anguibus imprudenti zelo resudantur (10). The last book that Lubbert published, is his commentary upon the Catechism of the Palatinate. He left an Anti-Bellarminian compleat, which had cost him infinite labour, and it was thought he had some reasons to desire, that this important composition should not be printed in his life-time (11).

[D] He preached with great zeal, and was very fervent in censuring vice. He had the courage to despise the unjust resentment of those, who were sensible that he aimed at them in his censures, and he always went on his own way. The word of God was so powerful in his mouth, that when he pleased, he drew tears from those, who were most hardened in their crimes. He did not stand in his sermons so much to confute Popery, as to reform the depravation of manners, drunkenness, luxury, &c. Let us hear the author of his funeral oration. Nec enim id solum agebat, ut Pontificias superstitiones in animis hominum veritatis flammâ exureret, sed illud vel maxime, ut qui se Evangelicos profitebantur, ab ebrietate, luxu, aliisque flagitiis avulsi, discerent p̄d, sobriè & jussè vivere. Explevit autem omnes sanctissimi muneris partes in utraque Frisia, ea libertate, ut multorum malorum odia hoc solum nomine sibi conciliaverit. Quæ tamen animosus ille Christi pugil, sanctissimi propositi mutatione nequaquam placanda censuit. Quin contra audientior ibat, publicè peccantes, Tros Rutulove esset, nullo discrimine publicitus arguens. Adfuit huic libertati (Deo laboribus ejus insigniter benedcente) admirabilis efficacia. Qui eum concionantem audire, supersunt autem adhuc plurimi, ajunt eum vel pertinacissimis & deploratissimis hominibus lacrimas, quoties volebat, expressisse. Devotæ autem & contritæ animæ vix unquam sicca oculis eum audire (12). — Nor was it his only care to purge out of the minds of men Popish superstitions by the force of truth, but he was also particularly studious in endeavouring to make those, who professed themselves of the evangeilic faith, to abstain from drunkenness, luxury, and other vices, that they might learn to live, piously, soberly, and justly. He exercised the duties of the ministry in both the Frieslands with such boldness, that he drew upon himself the ill will of many evil doers; yet such was the heroic constancy of this champion of Christ, that nothing could affright or move him from his holy resolution. On the contrary, he behaved with greater severity, reproving publicly notorious

(1) Sixtin. Amama, in Orat. Funebri, Sibrandi Lubberti, fol. C 2, verso.

(2) Menſe Alting and Martin Lydius, were the two others.

(3) Ex Sixtino Amama, in Orat. Funebri.

(4) See the Preface, ac Eruditor, Virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiæ & Theologicæ, pag. 549, 565, 568, & alibi, Edit. in fol. 1684.

(5) In the article MAKOWSKI, remark [C].

(6) See the Preface, ac Eruditor, Virorum Epistolæ, pag. 415.

(7) Amama, in Orat. Funebri.

* Epistolæ D. Bezae, Rainoldi, Maronii, Paræi, P. Baroniæ, Goussierii, vide Repl. Christi. Dogm. pag. 8, & seq.

(8) Amama, in Orat. Funebri, fol. D 2.

(9) Drusus, his colleague, disapproved of that book. See remark [O] of the article SOCINUS (FAUSTUS).

(10) Amama, ubi supra, folio D 2, verso.

(11) Id. ibid.

† Tit. ii, 12.

(12) Amama, ubi supra, folio C 3.

and a severe observer of the statutes; he sometimes refused the dignity of rector, because he feared he could not effectually reform the debauched scholars [E]. He refused a chair of Divinity, which was offered him in the Palatinate, and was become vacant by the death of Kimedontius professor at Heidelberg (b). The governors of the university of Franeker opposed that invitation; and his wife being unwilling to leave her own country, he thanked his electoral highness Frederic IV. He died at Franeker the twenty first of January 1625 (c). Scaliger himself owned him to be a learned man. A letter has been lately published, which informs us, that he was much in king James's esteem [F].

(4) He died in 1596.

(c) Taken from his Funeral Oration, by Sixtinus Amama, printed at Franeker in 1625.

notorious offenders let their rank be what it would. From this liberty of speech (God in a singular manner blessing his labours) there followed wonderful effects. Those who heard him preach, and there are many such alive at this day, affirm, that when he pleased he could draw tears from men who were the most hardened and profligate. As for the pious and the devout they seldom or never heard him with dry eyes.

[E] He sometimes refused the dignity of rector, because he feared he could not effectually reform the debauched scholars. He even desired to be excused assisting at the university assemblies, and upon that condition obliged himself to lectures extraordinary (13), his

(13) On Aristotle's Logic and Ethics.

(14) Amama, ibid. fol. D 3.

(15) Id. ibid.

reason was, because he could not connive at the relaxation of discipline (14). He was grave, and used no complaisance to get the love of the scholars. He severely reprimanded those who took wrong courses. They were angry with him; but the time came, when several of them acknowledged, that they were infinitely obliged to him. In omnibus actionibus erat ferus & gravis. Gratiam favoremque juventutis non alia ratione, quam privata publicaque industria, nec non salutaribus ad pietatem & diligentiam adhortationibus, captare dicerat. Qua ratione etiam subinde petulantiores adolescentes, ut ea ætas solet monitoribus esse aspera, offenderit, eorum tamen plerique, jam viros, eo nomine sibi arctius habuit obligatos (15). Could he have hoped that the ancient discipline would have been re-established, he would not have forsaken the university assemblies, he would have taken his share of the government; but he chose rather wholly to absent himself, whilst he despaired of a reformation. Malebat a publico abstinere, quam illud committere, palam aut fieret, quibus flagitiis coercendis impar esset.

set. Ajebat se boni publici causâ nullas offensas unquam subterfugisse, sed inanes irritaque quæ nec sibi nec collegio usui futuræ essent, constanter deprecabatur (16). A year before his death he was prevailed upon by powerful solicitations, to accept of the dignity of rector; and there was then a probability, that the authority of the sovereign would intervene, to introduce good discipline amongst the young students at Franeker. He began the exercise of his office, with the invocation of the name of God, and with an excellent oration, in which he declaimed against the drunkards and dissolute scholars, and against the debaucheries of the universities, the source of the ill state of the churches; and he menaced those with the severest treatment, who should deserve it: 'In Ebrietatem, juvenutis irreverentiam, & qui dissolutis Academia rum moribus natales suos debet, miserum Ecclesiarum statum graviter dicebat. Discipline necessitatem nervos ostendebat, illudque tandem profitebatur sine ambagibus; se bonis fore Rectorem humanissimum, at malos severiorem præ se non desideraturos.' Here is an example fit to be recommended to all who have offices in universities.

[F] Scaliger himself owned he was a learned man; a letter has been lately published, which informs us, that he was much in king James's esteem. Sibyrus Lubbertus, who is learned, and a good writer, is very ugly and rustic in his person. He is covetous but rich (17); he sells his apples himself, and walks without a cloak, as Felix of Nîmes told me. I want his book *de Conciliis* (18). The letter I speak of, is Calaubon's; you will find it at the beginning of a book published in 1699, by a famous professor of Franeker (19).

(16) Id. ibid. verso.

(17) Compare with this the words of his Funeral Oration, Authoritatem, quam & canities & sanæ celebritas ei conciliaverant, augebat, in iustissima re, fregit, abstinere, & sobria.

(18) Scaligerus, pag. m. 145.

(19) Mr. Vander Waay, professor in Divinity. See his *Dissertatio* Limbergiana Responsoria, before the treatise of Rittingellius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ.

LUBIENIETZKI (STANISLAUS) in Latin *Lubieniecus*, a Polish gentleman, was one of the most famous ministers the Socinians had in the XVIIth century. He was born at Racow the twenty third of August 1623. He was educated with a particular care by his father, who was minister of Racow, and who not only sent him to the schools, but also took care that he should see the diets of Poland, in order to introduce him to the grandees, and instruct him in all things agreeable to his birth [A]. He afterwards sent him to Thorn, where the young man settled for two years, and joined himself to two Socinian deputies (a) during the conference that was held in this city in the year 1644, for the re-union of religions. He drew up an account of this conference. Being made governor to the young count of Niemirycz, he travelled with him into Holland, and afterwards into France, where he acquired the esteem of several learned men, with whom he conferred upon points of religion, without ever dissembling his own, or neglecting any opportunities of maintaining it. He lost his father in the year 1648, and returned into Poland. He married in 1652, the daughter of a zealous Socinian, and was made coadjutor to John Ciachovius, minister of Siedliski; and as he quickly gave great proofs of his prudence and learning, the synod of Czarcow received him minister, and made him pastor of a church of this name. The irruption of the Swedes made him quit it in 1655, and obliged him to retire to Cracow with his family, the 6th of April 1656. He there

(a) Jonæ Slichtingio & Martino Ruaro, qui ad Ecclesiam nomine venerant, adiuit. Vita Stanislai Lubieniecii, in *limine Historia Reform. Polonica*, fol. 2, verso.

(1) I write this in 1695.

(a) Vita Stanislai Lubieniecii, pag. 1.

[A] Agreeable to his birth. The family of Lubienietzki is very noble. The person we speak of, was related in the fourth degree to the house of Sobieski, which at present reigns gloriously in Poland (1). Secum solebat ad Comitibus aliosque conventus Regni Nobilium ducere, vel mittere; notitiæque virorum in patria insignium tradere, omnibus illis imbuere quæ & Christianum & Poloniam Regni indigenam decebant. Nobilem, quippe qui ad Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ, qui hodie tanta cum gloria regnat, familiam quarto consanguinitatis gradu remotus, pertinuerit (2). He was wont either to carry him, or to send him to the diets and other meetings of the nobility, that he might gain the acquaintance of persons of the first rank, and receive an early tincture of every kind of

knowledge, becoming a Christian and a nobleman of Poland. His family was so illustrious as to stand related in the fourth degree to the king, who at this day sways the Polish sceptre with so much glory. Andrew Lubienietzki appeared much at court, when having imbibed the doctrine of the Unitarians, he resolved to sacrifice his fortune to the profession of this sect. He engaged in it in such a manner, that having exercised the office of deacon, he took upon him that of minister, which he exercised in several places at his own expense. He died in 1625, about seventy two years of age (3). He had two brothers who followed his example; they renounced the favour of their prince to be Socinian ministers. One was called Stanislaus, and the other Christopher. The former died

(3) Bibliotheca Unitarianæ, pag. 29.

there employed his time in fasting, and prayer, and preaching (b). The town falling again into the hands of the Poles in the year 1657, he followed the Swedish garrison, together with two other Socinians, to supplicate the king of Sweden that the Unitarians, who had put themselves under his protection, might be comprehended in the amnesty, by the peace that should be concluded with Poland. He arrived at Volgaft the seventh of October, 1657, and was very well received by the king of Sweden. He sat at his majesty's table; an honour this prince had done him before at Cracow. He obtained the acquaintance of some Swedish lords, notwithstanding the opposition of the Divines [B], and explained his religion on several occasions. It is even said, that he was favoured with a signal revelation, during the siege of Stetin [C]. He happened to be at Oliva while the treaty of peace was carrying on there, and had the mortification to see the Unitarians excluded out of the amnesty granted to others who were not Catholics. Seeing himself thus deprived of the hopes of returning into Poland, he bent his course towards Copenhagen; he arrived there the twenty eighth of November, 1660, and endeavoured to obtain of the king a place of retreat for his brethren, who had been banished out of Poland. This prince expressed a great respect for him [D], but as this could not produce an establishment for that sect, he returned into Pomerania (c), and there used all the endeavours he could in favour of his party. His adversaries continually disturbing

(b) Totum tempus Cracovianæ commorations noster cum reliquis Ministris prædicatione verbi divini, frequentibus jejuniis, precibus, quo transiebat, ipseque præterea in gratiam Unitariorum Ungarorum, qui cum Principe Rakoci Cracoviam venerant, Latine concionabatur, sacramque Eucharistiam administrabat. Ibid. fol. 3.

(c) He arrived at Stetin, &c. &c. of June, 1661.

(4) Ibid.

in 1633, having lived about seventy five years (4); the other died at Racow, in 1624, and left a son called Christopher, who was a Socinian minister at Racow and at Lublin (5), and died in the year 1648 (6). He was the father of him who is the subject of this article.

(5) Ib. pag. 50.

(6) Ib. pag. 142.

[B] He obtained the acquaintance of some Swedish lords, notwithstanding the opposition of the Divines. It is no wonder that the Swedish lords had more complaisance for our Socinian minister, than the ministers of the Confession of Augsburg; for it is their business, and not that of courtiers, to take care that Heresy does not spread its poison, ne quid Religio detrimenti capiat. It was therefore a natural consequence that Lubienietzki should be opposed by the ministers of the Confession of Augsburg, whilst persons of quality paid him civilities. Cum in Pomeraniâ commoraretur Tractatus pacis expectans, in Magnatum Sueciæ familiaritatem facile venit, aliorum antea contractam amicitiam renovavit, confirmavit, commercium cum iis literarum habuit, ubique testimonium veritatis, Rege Principibusque ultro lacerantibus, perhibuit. Non desuerunt præsertim Stetini Lubieniecio adversarii, quorum odia Theologica expertus est, illaque Concionatores, etiam ad rudem plebeculam, propagare conabantur, inter quos primarius fuit Johannes Micrælius Vir Stetini celebris. Similia quoque Stralsundi expertus est noster, similia tamen ubique veritati dare testimonium non neglexit (7). — While he waited in Pomerania for the treaty of peace, he easily contracted a friendship with the Swedish nobility, his former acquaintance with some of them being renewed, and confirmed by corresponding with them by letters, every where giving his testimony to the truth, being encouraged so to do, by the king and the chiefs of the nobility. At Stetin Lubienietzki met with new enemies, whose theological malice he experienced, most of these were preachers who endeavoured to irritate the people against him, among these was John Micrælius, a man at that time in high reputation in Stetin. At Stralsund this good man met with the like usage, yet he never omitted giving his testimony to the truth wherever he came.

(7) Vita Lubieniecii, fol. 3, verso.

[C] It is said . . . he was favoured with a signal revelation during the siege of Stetin. There is no sect but, in some measure, ascribes to itself extraordinary and miraculous graces. Here is an example of it: our Lubienietzki was at Elbing, while the troops of the emperor and Brandenburg besieged Stetin. Two weighty reasons induced him to pray earnestly to God, that the siege might be raised; for his wife and children were in Stetin; and a Swedish count had promised to turn Socinian, if Lubienietzki could by his prayers obtain, that this town should not be taken. This minister, moved by the interest of his family, and by the hopes of gaining an illustrious proselyte, spent three weeks in fasting and prayer, after which he went to wait upon the count, and assured him, that the town should not be taken. The count, and they who were with him, looked on it as the effects of a delirium, since Lubienietzki had no sooner left them, but he fell sick; but when at six days end it was known that the siege was really raised, the count was much surprized; for no body could tell Lubienietzki the good news he had foretold. The count was challenged upon his promise, but he answered

ed, that having enquired of God, whether he should do well to embrace this minister's religion: God had confirmed him in the Confession of Augsburg. That the reader may see whether I have been a faithful translator, or have heightened the story, I will set down the words of the original: 'Accidit . . . ut Comes Slippenbachius polliceretur Stanislai nostri Religionem amplecti, modò id à Deo precibus obtineret, ut Stetinum urbs non satis munita nec rebus ad obsidionem tolerandam necessariis instructa, de cuius liberatione propterea desperabant, liberaretur ab hostibus. Lubieniecicus imprimis suorum miseriam motus, tribus hebdomadibus & precibus ad Deum ardentibus & jejuniis frequenti consumptis, veniens ad Comitem, urbem extra periculum esse affirmavit, bonoque eos esse animo jussit. Comes adstanteque insinire eum putabant, præsertim quod ab iis reversus, in morbum inciderit. Ejus vero assertio post sex dies litteris Stetino liberato datis confirmata, graviter perterrefecit Comitem. Id enim temporis Lubieniecicus à nemine certus hac de re fieri potuit. Promissum cum Lubieniecicus, pro sua cum Comite familiaritate, aliquando reposceret, dixit ille, sese in genua procubuisse, Deumque orasse patefaceret sibi num Religio Lubieniecii suscipienda esset, nec ne, sed à Deo in confessione Angustanâ confirmatum esse (8).'

[D] The king of Denmark expressed a great respect for him. Lubienietzki kept a great correspondence by letters, which was a singular advantage to him, to introduce him into the favour of great men, who were glad to know by his means private news relating to other countries. The king of Denmark, to whom some of his accounts had been read, was so pleased with them, that he bestowed a place upon Lubienietzki (9), which was to copy for his majesty the letters he received, for which he was to have an annual pension (10). This prince declared to him in private, that he could do no less than grant the Unitarians a settlement at Altena by connivance. He never saw him at court, but he called to him, to hear him discourse of matters of religion; which exposed the Polish minister to envy, it being feared that the king of Denmark would embrace Arianism. Solebat Rex, quotiescunque Lubieniecium in Aula conspexit, reliquis cæteris, cum propius ut accederet compellere, & de religionis capitibus imprimis colloqui. Quæ res invidiam etiam creavit Lubieniecio, timentibus Theologis, ne Rex fieret Arianus (11). This prince ordered his confessor and our Lubienietzki to dispute, and was present. Cum M. Eryco Gravio Aulico concionatore & confessorario suo Rex eum commisit, ipseque disputationi adfuit (12). He endeavoured to prevail with the magistrates of Hamburg, to let him be quiet; but his intercession was not potent enough. Cum iterum iterumque instaret, ut antea fecerat, Magistratus, urbeque per nuntios Lubieniecio interdicere, frustra Secretariatum Regis Poloniæ obtendenti, nihilque proficientibus ejusdem Regis intercessoribus, in lethalem incidit morbum (13). His friends had obtained for him the title of secretary to the king of Poland, because they hoped that that would oblige the magistrates of Hamburg, not to disturb him; but their hopes were frustrated.

(8) Ibid. fol. 4.

(9) Quæ etiam (relationes rarior) Regi non semel lectæ, officium illas Regi perscribendi in sepeperunt. Ibid. fol. 4, verso.

(10) Oblatum est à Rege honorarium, rogatusque ut que in Europa geruntur per litteras vulge regie referret, certus de annuo Regis salario. Ibid.

(11) Vita Lubieniecii, ibid.

(12) Ibid. fol. 5.

(13) Ibid. fol. penult.

(d) In the year
1662.

disturbing him, he was obliged to quit Stetin, and betake himself to Hamburg, whither he ordered his family the year following (d). He there frequently discoursed with queen Christina, on matters of religion, in the presence of some princes. The second voyage he made to the court of Denmark was favourable enough to him: the magistrates of Fridericksburg consented that the Unitarians should reside in their town, and have the domestic exercise of their religion. But by the endeavours of a Lutheran superintendent, the duke of Holstein gave them orders, some time after, to depart. Lubienietzki struggled a long time with the Hamburg ministers [E]: at last the magistrates gave him punctual orders to depart. He was then sick, and promised to obey them; but he died some days after

[E] He struggled a long time with the Hamburg ministers. They so frequently and instantly solicited the magistrates to make Lubienietzki depart, that he received frequent orders to retire; and it was in vain to say, that his Danish majesty honoured him with his protection, or that he was innocent; for he was forced to yield to the storm (14). However some years after, he returned to Hamburg, thinking they would no more take notice of him; but he was mistaken: a licentiate in Divinity was so vigilant and vehement, as to cause new instances to be made to the magistrates against Lubienietzki; and the clergy had so exasperated the people, by representing Lubienietzki as a public pest, that he durst hardly stir out of his lodgings. Post annos aliquot consilio amicorum, credentium jam de furore remississe adversarios, ob commoditatem dirigendam litterarum Hamburgum se contulit cum familia, sed nimis vigilantem expertus est Dominum Edvardii Licentiatum Theologum, qui indefesso studio id egit, ut cum collegis suis magistratum incitaret ut Lubieniecium urbe ejiceretur. Dignus qui hic nominetur, gloriatur enim, se auctorem Lubieniecium cum familia urbe exactum. Imo propter Ministrorum zelum, qui etiam ex cathedra in templo cum absente Lubieniecio disputabant, eumque hæreticum, teterimamque civitatis pestem proclamabant; ut ex Lubieniecii manuscripto colligi potest, quod jam fecerant cum primâ vice per Hamburgum Hafniam transiret anno 1667. Lubieniecio ante migrationem, domo exire non semper tutum fuit (15). — Some years after, by the advice of his friends, who imagined that the rage of his enemies was by this time somewhat abated, he removed with his family to Hamburg, for the convenience of his epistolary correspondence; but Mr Edvard, a licentiate in Theology, was so vigilant, that by his own interest, and that of his colleagues, he wearied the magistrates till they banished Lubienietzki the city. It is fit this man's name should here be recorded, because he made it his boast, that it was by his means, that Lubienietzki, with his family, were expelled the city. Tea such was the zeal of the clergy, that they disputed in the church against the absent Lubienietzki, declaring him a Heretic, and a very plague to the city; as may be collected from a manuscript of Lubienietzki's, and they did this even the first time that he passed thro' that city in his way to Copenhagen in 1667. Before he left the place, it was not safe for him to stir out of doors. What the Sieur Edvardus did in this town, was practised at Fridericksburg by John Reinboht, who excited the duke of Holstein to banish the Socinian refugees. His

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid. fol. 5, verso.

pacis discessit Hafniâ, venitque Fridericopolim, ibique à Magistratu urbis obtinuit ut exules in communionem & sacram & civilem reciperentur, privationemque in ædibus more Polono exercitium Religionis perageretur; quod etiam per literas Fratribus significavit. Lubieniecus in id laboravit, nec sumptibus pepercit & damnum rei familiaris subiit, quo posset eo frates deducere, deductis succurrere, donec ex urbe fecedere jussi sunt à Principe Holstiae, quod debent partim Domino Superintendenti Lutheranæ Joanni Rembotto (16). — These things being settled, he quitted Copenhagen, and went to Fridericksburg, where he obtained the consent of the magistrates, that the exiles should be received into all the rights of the city, sacred and civil, and that they should be permitted to celebrate divine service in private houses after the Polish manner; which by letters he signified to the brethren. Lubienietzki laboured in this matter without sparing cost, and even to the detriment of his own affairs, that he might draw the brethren together, and relieve them when they came to him, till they were obliged to leave the city by the command of the duke of Holstein, in some measure partly procured by the Lubie-

ran superintendent John Reinboht. Mr Mollerus affirms the same thing. Socinianis, says he (17), ab oppidi Friderichstadiensis Magistratu, & incolendi istud potestatem, & sacrorum exercitii libertatem, a. 1662. obtinuit Stanisl. Lubienitzius, promachus scetæ istius non incelebris, sed incassum. Sereniss. enim Dux Holstæ-Gottorpensis, quo ignaro hæc erant gesta, edicto publico, suâ Johan. Reinbohtii, Theologi aulici, promulgato, & civitate illa, & ditionibus suis unitis, non multo post iisdem interdixit. Lubienitzius ipse, quem singulari Rex Daniæ, Frid. III. favore dignabatur, urbe, quam per aliquot lustra, connivente Magistratu, incolerat, Hamburgensi a. 1675. Edvardi & Pastorum ordinariorum instinctu, jussus excedere, antequam obsequi Senatui posset, veneno, cibis ipsius immixto, cum biga filiarum d. 18. Maji periiit. — Stanislaus Lubienietzki, the famous champion of that sect, procured from the magistrates of Fridericksstadt, in the year 1662, that the Socinians should not only be allowed to inhabit this place, but also to have divine service, after their manner, celebrated therein, but in vain. For his most serene highness, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, without whose knowledge this had been transacted, did, by the persuasion of John Reinboht, a Divine of his court, publish an edict, whereby he commanded him to quit that city, and every other part of his dominions. As for Lubienietzki being favoured in a particular manner by Frederick III. king of Denmark, after living some time, by connivance of the magistrates, at Hamburg in 1675, through the interposition of Edvard, and other ministers, he was ordered to withdraw; but before he could obey the injunction of the senate, he, with two of his daughters, were destroyed with poison given them in their food on the eighth of May. There is hardly any person among the Catholics, or Protestants, but will praise this conduct of the Lutheran ministers. If you alledge to them, that it is expressing too much diffidence of their cause, they have good answers ready. They will tell you, that diffidence is the mother of security, and when Jesus Christ promised his church, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, he meant not to exclude humane means, which are most proper to preserve orthodoxy: I mean the edicts of princes, which stop the mouth of the heterodox, and stifle the knowledge of objections, which might be made against the sound doctrine: if you reply, that, after all, they behave themselves as if they had not read the book of Eldras (18), in which the force of truth is represented superior to all others, whether that of wine, or a king, or of women; and that, on the contrary, they believe it unable to subsist in the places where it sways, if it be left exposed to the attacks of three or four fugitives (19); they will answer you, that the heart of man is more inclined to evil than good, and that therefore error is more capable of seducing him, than truth of undeceiving him; so that Christian prudence does not suffer us to allow Heretics the proposing their arguments. I question whether there ever was any subject more fruitful in answers and replies; it may be turned several ways in every sense; and hence an author will maintain to you to day, that truth need only shew itself to confound hereby; and to-morrow, that if hereby be suffered to expose it's subtilties, it will quickly corrupt all the inhabitants. One day you shall have truth represented as an immoveable rock, another you shall be told, that it ought not to be put to the hazard of a dispute, as being a rencounter in which it would dash itself in pieces with respect to the hearers. What are we to do in this volubility of reasonings (20)? There are some who preserve truth as they do a piece of China-ware, and seem to be convinced, that as it has the transparency, so it has the brittleness of crystal (21).

(17) Mollerus; sagace ad Hiller. Chersonnensi Cimbricæ, Part. III, pag. 105.

(18) V. Vitam Lubienitzi, c. 18. Historie Refutationis Polonicae Freitzi, ann. 1687, exculie præfationem, & Ant. Heimerichii Hist. Eccl. Sieve lib. iv, cap. iii, pag. 227, 228.

(19) Third book of Eldras, chap. iii, v.

(20) See, above, remark (2) of the article HADRARIAN.

(21) Quo tenemus vultus matris, Procer nodos. Horat. Epist. lib. i, ver. 90.

(22) See the Philosophical Commentary on the text, Compel them to come in, in the Supplement, pag. 303, 304; and see, above, remark (8) of this article ACOS-TA.

[F] He

(c) Taken from
his Life, prefixed
to his Historia
Reformationis
Polonicae, printed
in 1685.

(f) See the remark [D].

(g) Vita Lubie-
niecii, fol. 53
verso.

(22) Vita Lubie-
necii, fol. 6,
verso.

(23) *A little
lower the same
author says,
Quis autor mortis
fuerit non facile
divinare, imo ne
cui fiat injuria ;
nec divinare
licet.*

(24) Vita Lubien
fol. 6, verso.

(25) Veneno ab ancilla subornata à nefariis hominibus è medio sublatus. *Hist. Reformat. Polonic. lib. iii, cap. xvii. pag. 278.*

(26) This is not
always done out
of Policy; several
are persuaded of
what they publish
on that account.

(27) This is what
had been published
of Luther, Calvin,
&c.

(28) Vita Lubie-
niccij, sub fin.

(20) Bibliotheca
Antitrinitar.
pag. 165, & seq.

(30) Printed at
Amsterdam,
1667, in fol.

(31) Eodem anno
Hollandiam
abire coactus est,
ob iniquitatem
& versutiam
eorum per quos
Theatrum Co-
meticum impri-
mi curavit.
Vita Lubien.
fol. 6.

(a) Freher. in
Theatro, pag.
410.

Juvenal with a paraphrase; the *Antologia* with his Latin version; and the *Epistole veterum Græcorum Græcè & Latinè cum Methodo conferendarum Epigrammorum Græcè & Latinè*. Commentaries upon St Paul's principal Epistles. *Monotelarion, sive Historia Evangelica ex 4. Evangelis in unum corpus redacta* (1). *The Dionysia* of Nonnus in Greek and Latin (2).

(1) Taken from
Paul. Freher in
Theatro, pag.
112.

2) He is the author of the Latin translation.

explain the origin of sin by a new hypothesis [B]. He was attacked upon it by some Divines [C]. He married twice [D], and died the second of June, 1621, after having been ten months sick of a quartan ague (b).

(b) *Id. ibid.*

at Frankfurt 1605, 8vo. His Latin verses are in the third tome of the *Delitiae Poëtarum Germanorum*. We shall find in the following remark the title of some other of his works.

[B] and one among the rest, in which he pretended to explain the origin of sin by a new hypothesis. He established two co-eternal principles, not body and vacuum, as Epicurus, but God and nothing; God as a good principle, and nothing as an evil principle. He added, that sin was only a tendency towards this nothing, and that sin had been necessary, that the nature of good might be known. He applied to this nothing, all that Aristotle had said of the first matter (3). One may easily see that all this is chimerical, and wholly unable to lessen the difficulties about the origin of evil; for who is so stupid as not to see, that nothing is not capable of producing any thing, either as an efficient cause or as a passive subject, and it is as impossible for sin to proceed from nothing, as it is for the finner: consequently it is as necessary to assign a positive cause to sin as the finner. It is no wonder then, that this hypothesis of Lubin should not pass. The professor Grawerus, who confuted it, had no hard task of it. He had the suffrages of Mylius, Huttenus, Piscator (4), Schluffelburgius, Major, and Petrus, and many others (5).

[C] He was attacked upon it by some Divines. I will give Mr Baillet's account of it (6). 'Eilhard Lubin had composed a book, more than metaphysical, upon the origin and nature of sin, in which he sufficiently discovered himself to be of the number of the Lutherans of the old stamp, concerning election, reprobation, justification, human liberty &c. His book was printed at Rostock, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in 1596, and re-printed in the same town four years after, in 8vo and in 12mo,

with the title of *Phosphorus, de prima causa, & natura mali Tractatus Hypermetaphysicus, in quo multorum gravissimæ dubitationes tolluntur & errores deteguntur*. Grawerus . . . exclaimed at Lubin's *Phosphorus*, as if it had been a comet. He accused him of running into the most exorbitant paradoxes, and wrote against him a little after. Lubin answered him, to let him see that his accusations were pure calumnies, and printed a new book at Rostock, in the year 1600, with the title of *Apologeticus quo Alb. Graw. Calumniis respond. &c.* which was re-printed in 1605, in 4to, in the same town. Grawerus hereupon was obliged to defend himself in his turn, which he did in the *Anti-Lubin*, printed at Magdeburg in 1606, in 4to, with the title of *Anti-Lubini, five Elenchus Paradoxorum Lubini, & Emblematum Calvinisticorum, &c. De prima causa, & natura mali*. This was only an answer to Lubin's *Phosphorus*, but Grawerus made another to it for his *Apologeticus*, which was printed by way of appendix, with the *Anti-Lubin*, under the title of *Responsio ad elumem Lubini Apologeticum*. I do not know whether Lubin appealed to the Divines of the confession of Augsburg, against Grawerus's ill usage, and whether with that intention he wrote the book intitled *Tractatus Theologicus de causa peccati, ad Theologos Augustanae Confessionis in Germania*, which he published the year following at Rostock, in 4to; but I can affirm that all these works have not hindered posterity from believing him a better Humanist than Divine.

[D] He married twice. His first wife, widow to James Backmeißer, professor of the Hebrew tongue at Rostock, lived seven years with him, and bore him no children. The second bore him nine. She was daughter to William Lauremberg, a famous Physician (7).

(3) Taken from the *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica* fasciuli XXII, lib. I, cap. XXII, pag. 109, 110.

(4) Professor at Jena, and quite a different man from Piscator, who taught at Harburg.

(5) Memorabilia Ecclesiæ ubi supra. The author cites Hieronymus Kromajer in Hist. Eccl. 1649, it. Theologia politico-polemica, pag. 296.

(6) Baillet, Anti, Tom. I, pag. 397, & seq.

(7) Ex Freheri ubi supra.

LUCIDUS (JOHN) surnamed *Samothæus*, or *Samofatheus*, lived in the XVIth century. A book of Chronology, which he published at Venice in 1537 in 4to, gave him reputation [A]. It is said that the name which he took was not his true name [B]. David Blondel did not know the time in which this author flourished, for he places him in the year 1510, among such as have spoken of Pope Joan (a).

(a) David. Blondellus, *Examen Quest. de Papa femina, circa inst.*

[A] A book of Chronology gave him reputation. Vossius witnesses this in the following words: 'Anno cijo xxxviii facile locum suum tuebat Joannes Lucidus Samofatheus: qui anno eo Venetiis labores suos Chronologicos, non sine eruditæ cavæ applausu, diffundebat. In iis sunt ista: Emendationes temporum ab orbe condito; canones in perpetuam temporum tabulam; de vero die Passionis Christi; Epitome emendationis Calendarii Romani (1). — In the year 1537, John Lucidus Samofatheus easily held his place, who this year published at Venice, not without great applause, his Chronological labours. In these are contained the emendation of times from the beginning of the world; Chronological Canons; of the true day of Christ's suffering; Epitome of the emendation of the Roman Calendar. The account here given us of the pieces contained in the work of Lucidus, is taken, word for word, from the Bibliothèque de Gesner. Vossius might have said, that Lucidus published a new edition of this book, in the year 1546, wherein he gives us to understand, that he was writing in the year 1545, and that he looked upon that year as extremely proper for the reformation of the Calendar. 'Hoc igitur anno Domini 1545, says he (2), maxime convenit, ut emendetur Calendarium Romanum in hoc generali Concilio, postquam reformata fuerit Ecclesia, in eis quæ pertinent ad fidem, atque ad bonos mores, quæ magis necessaria sunt. Hæc enim oportet facere, & illa non omittre, sicut Dominus nos in Evangelio admonet. — In this year 1545, it would be very proper to amend the Roman Calendar, by the authority of the present general council, after the church had been reformed in things relating to faith and good manners, which are more necessary. These ought to be done, and those ought not to be omitted, as our Lord ad-

monishes us in the Gospel.' He had given the reason why the year 1545 ought to have been chosen. It was 1590 years after the reformation made in the Calendar by Julius Cæsar, and consequently the equinoxes were advanced fifteen days precisely; for he supposed, with Albategni, that every 106 years occasions the difference of a day, between the solar and the Julian year.

Lucidus's performance was continued to the year 1575, by Jerom Bardi, a Monk of the order of Camaldoli.

[B] The name which he took was not his true name. This particular is to be found in Florimond de Remond. He had been reproached that he had objected nothing to John Lucidus, who had maintained the truth of this fact (3), but that he was too late a writer to prove any thing; to this he answers; 'This Protestant is to be pardoned for what he says, for he has thought that this Lucidus was some honest man of the old times, but he is mistaken, for he wrote in the year 1537, neither did he write in defence of the truth of the story, but only used these words: *Joan, an English woman, two years one month. During these two years we may say the see of Rome was vacant, because a woman is not qualified for the pontificate*. This is all that he says. John Lucidus is an assumed name, as I was informed by a very learned person, who assured me that he heard Poffet say, that he was acquainted with that author, who concealed his true name under that of Lucidus, thereby to intimate, that he had brought new light to Chronology (4). The first part of this passage does not appear to be necessary, but yet it is not altogether useless, in as much as we learn therefrom, what Lucidus said concerning Pope Joan.

* Apud Luc. Ant. Juntum.

(1) Vossius, de Scient. Mathem. pag. 358.

(2) Joannes Lucidus, *Emend. Calend. cap. I. See Matth. Beroald. in Chron. lib. I, cap. vii, pag. m. 29.*

(3) The story of Pope Joan.

(4) Florimond de Remond, at the end of the *Anti-Pope*, pag. 452.

LUCILIUS

LUCILIUS (Caius) a Roman knight, and Latin poet, was born at Sueffa in the country of the Arunci in Italy, towards the beginning of the VIIth century of Rome [A]. He bore arms under Scipio Africanus in the Numantine war [B], and had a great share in the friendship of this famous general, and in that of Lælius [C]. He composed thirty books of Satires, in which he severely censured, even by name, several persons of quality [D]. Some learned men say that he was the first author of this sort of Poetry [E]; but others are of a different opinion. He used to say, that he wished to meet with readers who were neither ignorant, nor very learned [F]. It is not probable

[A] He was born at Sueffa, in the country of the Arunci, towards the beginning of the VIIth century of Rome. Eusebius's Chronicle places the birth of Lucilius in the first year of the CLVIIIth Olympiad, which is the DCVth of Rome (1). Ausonius points out this poet, when he says,

(1) Consult the remark [B].

(2) Auson. Epist. xv, ver. ix, pag. m. 626.

Rudes Camœnas qui Sueffæ prævenis (2).

For thou com'st up to the rude Sueffian verse.

Juvenal also hints at him in this verse:

(3) Juvenal. Sat. I, ver. 20.

Per quem magnus equos Auruncæ flexit alumnus (3).

The road in which the great Aruntian drove.

And therefore that is Lucilius's country which I give him, and not Sueffa Pomertia, as Father Briet will have it. C. Lucilius, says he, Romanus Eques ex Sueffa Pomertia urbe Aruncorum non procul à Pomptina palude ortus fuit (4). — Caius Lucilius, a Roman knight, was of Sueffa Pomertia, a city of the Arunci, situated not far from the Pomptin lake. If he had consulted Cluverius, he would have found Sueffa Pomertia was in the country of the Volsci, and not in the country of the Arunci. Cluverius distinguishes two towns called Sueffa; one, with the epithet Pomertia, was in the country of the Volsci, the other, with the epithet Aurunca, was in Campania, beyond the Liris (5). Some commentators on Juvenal (6), by a notable blunder, say, that Lucilius was born at Aurunca, or Aurunca, a town of the Rutuli. The time has been worse mistaken than the place of his birth, by Father Briet. Natus, says he, Olymp. CXXXVIII. obiit Olymp. CXLIX. ætatis 46 Neapoli publico elatus funere, ut scribit Hieronymus. — He was born in the CXXXVIIIth, and died in the CXLIX Olympiad, being forty six years old. He was honoured at Naples with a public funeral, as Jerome writes. St Jerome does not say this; and if he had, this Jesuit should either have confuted, or rejected him, since, according to him, the Poet Lucilius bore arms in the Numantine war (7), fifty years later than the CXLIXth Olympiad.

(4) Briet. de Poët. Latin pag. 6. He was misled by Vossius, de Poët. Lat. pag. 12.

(5) Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. iii, cap. viii, pag. 599. Epitomes Buonotis.

(6) Britannicus, Farnabius.

(7) Militavit sub juniore Africano bello Numantino. Briet. ubi supra, pag. 6.

(8) Vell. Patere. lib. ii, cap. ix.

(9) Scallig. Animadv. in Eusebium, n. 1044, pag. m. 149.

(10) Scipio Africanus & Lælius feruntur tam fuisse familiares & amici Lucilio, ut quodam tempore Lælio circum lectos tricinili fugienti, Lucilius superveniens eum oborta mappa quasi ferituru sequeretur. Vetus Commentar. Horatii.

[B] He bore arms . . . in the Numantine war. Valerius Paterculus tells us this. Celebre, says he (8), & Lucili nomen fuit, qui sub P. Africano Numantino bello eques militaverat. Quo quidem tempore juvenis adhuc Jugurtha ac Marius sub eodem Africano militantes in iisdem castris didicere quæ postea in contrariis facerent. — The name of Lucilius was famous, who served under Publius Africanus in the Numantine war, at which time Jugurtha and Marius, both young men, served likewise under Africanus, and learned in the same camp, those arts which they afterwards practised against each other. It must be confessed, that this does not well agree with Eusebius's Chronicle; for when Scipio made war with the Numantines. Lucilius, by this Chronicle, was but fifteen years old. Did any one lift in the cavalry before he took on the Toga Virilis? Scalliger observes (9), that the fathers sometimes brought their sons to the army, before the taking this garment; but this was not what they called militare equitem. Yet this is what Paterculus affirms of our Lucilius.

[C] He had a great share in the friendship of Scipio and Lælius. They honoured him with such a familiarity, as to droll and toy with him. See Horace's scholiast upon these words of the first satire of the second book.

Quin, ubi se à vulgo, & scena, in secreta remorant Virtus Scipiadae, & mitis sapientia Læli: Nugari cum illo, & discincti ludere, donec Decoqueretur olus, soliti . . . (10).

V O L. III.

Did Lælius, or did Scipio hate his muse?
Or storm when he Metellus did abuse?
The great ones and the crowd did discommend,
And valu'd virtue only and her friend?
No, no, they treated him, and thought him good,
And when remov'd from bus'ness and the crowd,
Would keep him company, would laugh and jest,
And sport until their little meat was dress'd.

CREECH.

[D] He composed thirty books of satires, in which he censured by name . . . several persons of quality. Let us hear what Horace had just said of him.

Quid cum est Lucilius ausus

Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrahere & pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
Cederet, introrsum turpis? num Lælius, aut, qui
Duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen,
Ingenio offensus? aut læso dolere Metello?
Famosisque Lupo cooperto veribus? atqui
Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributum,
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis (11).

(11) Horat. Sat. I, lib. ii, ver. 62.

How, Sir, Lucilius that did first engage
In writing satires, and that lash'd the age,
And stripp'd our foppings of their lion's skin,
In which they look'd so gay, all soul within. &c.

CREECH.

Perfius says the same thing in fewer words (12). See Juvenal, who relates how Lucilius made the guilty tremble with his pen, as much as if he had pursued them with sword in hand.

(12) Scult. Lucilius urhem Te Lupo, te Muti, & genulum fregit in illis. Perf. Sat. I, ver. 115.

Ense velat stricto, quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
Criminibus, tacita sudant præcordia culpa (13).

(13) Juven. Sat. I, ver. 165.

Sharp as a sword, Lucilius drew his pen,
And struck, with panic terror, guilty men;
At his just strokes, the hard'ned wretch would start,
Feel the cold sweat, and tremble at the heart.

[E] Some learned men say that he was the first author of satire; others are of a different opinion. They who make him the inventor of it, ground themselves on these words of Horace:

Quid cum est Lucilius ausus

PRIMUS in hunc operis, componere carmina morem (14)?

(14) Horat. ubi supra, ver. 48.

Was it not Lucilius who first attempted to write in this way.

They alledge also a passage of Quintilian, and these words of Pliny: 'Si hoc Lucilius qui PRIMUS condidit styli nasum, dicendum sibi putavit (15). — If Lucilius, who first introduced the Satiric stile, thought proper to say this.' Quintilian's testimony is this: 'Satira quidem tota nostra est, in qua PRIMUS insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius (16). — Satire is indeed entirely our own, and Lucilius is the first that gained praise therein.' But Infit. Orat. lib. notwithstanding these authorities, Mr Dacier has maintained, with greater probability, that Lucilius had only given this kind of poetry a juster turn, and seasoned it with more wit and delicacy than his predecessors Ennius and Pacuvius (17).

(15) Plinius, in Prefat.

(16) Quintil. Infit. Orat. lib. x, cap. i.

(17) See the preface to the sixth Tome of Mr Dacier's Horace.

[F] He wished neither ignorant nor very learned readers. There is something in this wish, that discovers a deal

10 U

probable he died at forty six years of age [G], as some affirm. Of all his works we have only some fragments of his Satires remaining [H]. It is a misfortune; for if we had all his works, we should learn a great many things by them. Cicero has contradicted himself

a deal of good sense. These two kind of readers, are sometimes equally formidable; the former see not enough, and the latter see too much; the one have not sense enough to understand what is good, there is no justice to be expected from them; and there is no concealing from the others what is imperfect. One of Cicero's interlocutors, in the second book of the Orator, mentions this thought of Lucilius, and approves it, and applies it to himself; I mean, he wishes the same thing. Here is what he says. 'Quod addidisti tertium vos eos esse qui vitam insuavem sine his studiis putaretis; id me non modo non hortatur ad disputandum, sed etiam deterret. Nam ut Cajus Lucilius homo doctus, & perurbanus dicere solebat, ea quæ scriberet, neque ab indoctissimis, neque ab doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse de se, quo etiam scripsit: Persium non curo legere. Hic enim fuit, ut noramus, omnium fere nostrorum hominum doctissimus. Lælius Decimus volo, quem cognovimus virum bonum & non illiterarum, sed nihil ad Persium. Sic ego, si jam mihi disputandum sit de his nostris studiis, nolim equidem apud rusticos, sed multo minus apud vos. Malo enim non intelligi orationem meam, quam reprehendi di (18). — What you add in the third place, that you are of the number of those, who, without these studies, think life unpleasant, not only binds me from disputing at present, but also utterly deters me from it; for as Caius Lucilius, a learned and very polite man, used to say, that he did not desire that his writings should be read by the most ignorant, nor by the most learned, because the former knew nothing of the matter, and the latter perhaps more than he who wrote it; so I do not care to read Persius. For he was, as we all know, one of the most learned of our writers. I like Lælius Decimus very well, whom we knew to be a good man, and not illiterate, but nothing when compared to Persius. So were I to dispute on the subject of our studies, I should not care to do it among clowns, but much less among you. For I had rather my discourse should not be understood, than be censured.' Cicero, in another book, where he speaks in his own name, declares himself to be far from this wish of Lucilius; he requires the most penetrating readers, and fears no colours. 'Nec enim, says he (19), ut noster Lucilius, recusabo quo minus omnes meæ legant. Utinam esset ille Persius. Scipio vero, & Rutilius multo etiam magis, quorum ille iudicium reformidans, Tarentivis ait se, & Conventinis, & Siculis scribere: facere is quidem sicut alias, sed neque tam docti tunc erant ad quorum iudicium elaboraret, & sunt illius scripta leviora, ut urbanitas summa apparet, doctrina mediocris. Ego autem quem timeam lectorem, quum ad te (20) ne Græcis quidem cententem, in philologia audeam scribere?' He had in another book mentioned this thought of Lucilius, and approved and adopted it, as appears from Pliny's preface, who, after to great an example, doth himself an honour to espouse it. 'Præterea est quedam publica etiam eruditorum rejectio. Utitur illa & M. Tullius, extra omnem ingenii aleam positus, & (quod miremur) per advocatum defenditur. Nec doctissimis: Manium Persium hæc legere nolo, Junium Congum volo. Quod si hoc Lucilius, qui primus condidit styli nasum, dicendum sibi putavit: si Cicero mutandum, præsertim cum de Republica scriberet; quanto nos cautius ab aliquo iudice defendimus?' Father Hardouin has expunged *Lælius Decimus* out of this passage of Pliny, to insert *Junium Congum*, agreeably to the manuscripts. He observes, that Lucilius more than once made use of this thought, and named one while some persons, and another while others; and therefore it is a mistake to pretend, that it was *Lælius Decimus* in Pliny, because this name is found in Cicero's second book, *de Oratore*. Pliny had not this passage of Cicero in view, but another in his book *de Republica*. See the margin (21).

[G] It is not probable that he died at forty six years of age. Eusebius's Chronicle does not make him older; it places his birth in the first year of the CLVIIIth Olympiad, and his death in the second year of the CLXIXth Olympiad (22), which is the DCLIIIth of

Rome. Glandorpius ought not to be accused of making him sixty four years old; it is an error of the press, which transposing the figures, gives 64 for 46. Such errors are common. To prove that Eusebius is mistaken, we need only consider, that Lucilius has mentioned the Licinian law, made against the expences of feasts in the 656th year of Rome, or thereabouts. *Lex deinde Licinia rogata est Huius legis Lælius Poëta meminit. Lucilius quoque legis istius meminit in his verbis, Legem citemus Licini (23).* (23) A. Gellius, He therefore lived five or six years after the year it is lib. II, cap. xxi, pretended he died at Naples; and if, on the other hand, we consider that he must be born before the 605th year of Rome, since he bore arms before Numantia, in the year 620, we shall find, that Horace might well call him an old man, literally, and without a figure. It is in the place where he says Lucilius committed all his secrets to his books, so that we find in them his life, as in a votive table.

me pedibus delectat claudere verba
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
Ille velut fidis arcana fodalibus, olim
Credebat libris: neque, si male gesserat usquam
Decurres aliò, neque si bene, quo fit, ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita SENIS.

I love to rhyme, and have a railing wit,
And chuse the way that wise Lucilius writ:
He did to's books, as to a trusty friend,
His secret virtues, and his faults commend.
And when a good or faulty deed was done,
He trusted them with that, and them alone,
And hence his books do all his life explain,
As if we saw him live it o'er again.

CREECH.

These words of Horace are in the first satire, verse 28, of the second book.

[H] Of all his works we have only some fragments of his satires remaining. For five or six words, which remain of his other pieces (24), deserve not our notice, besides, it is not agreed these pieces were his. See Douza the son's notes upon Lucilius's fragments, at the 99th page. Some say, that he wrote the Life of the same Scipio Africanus, whose victories were celebrated by Ennius. Douza denies it, for a reason which I think very weak; he takes it from Scipio and Lucilius's living at different times, a very bad proof; for may not a Poet, who shall live an hundred years hence, write the private Life of the prince of Condé, or the marshal de Turenne. However, I believe, with Douza, that Lucilius wrote the Life of that Scipio Africanus, with whom he intimately conversed. 'Ejusdem Scipionis (it is Douza the son who speaks in his notes upon the fragments of our Poet, at the 98th page) vitam privatam postea descripsit, in quo Pseudoporphyrionem manifesti erroris convinct Parens meus, qui Lucilius vitam privatam Scipionis, Ennium vero bella descripsisse annotat: ubi male nomina Scipionum inter se confusa. Ennium enim Scipionis majoris res gestas cecinisse constat. Lucilius autem ut ejusdem vitam privatam descripsit, ratio temporum plane vetat. — Of the same Scipio, he wrote the private Life; in respect of which my father convicted the false Porphyry of a manifest error, who observed, that Lucilius wrote the private Life of Scipio, as Ennius recorded his wars; wherein he confounds the Scipios one with another, for it is agreed, that Ennius sung the exploits of the elder Scipio, but that Lucilius wrote his private Life, is a thing inconsistent with Chronology.' Mr Dacier must have believed this argument to be good, since he speaks thus: 'Lucilius, besides his satires, wrote a particular book, concerning the life of the young Scipio Africanus, son to Paulus Æmilius, in which he spoke of his justice and valour: Such as have thought, that Lucilius wrote the history of

(18) Cicero, de Oratore, lib. II, cap. VI.

(19) Id. lib. I, de Finib. cap. III.

(20) He speaks to Brutus.

(21) Videntur porro hæc affixi ex præfatione Ciceronis in libros suos de Republica, quos Plinius respicit se plane non significat. Inde Lucilius verus, qui trochæus est, sine ciatur, ut doctissimus, ut intelligitur, hæc scribo: Quem alter trochæus integer mox sequatur, Manium Persium hæc legere nolo, Junium Congum volo. Ubi metri causa in Manio Persio nota est. Hardouin. Næ in lib. I, Plinii, n. 4, pag. 14.

(22) Caius Lucilius legimus scriptor Nægolit monuit, ac publico funere effretur, anno mactatus. Euseb. in Chron. ad ann. 2, Olymp. 169.

(24) Nonius vocat Eugium, ceteros Errodo Hymnos of Lucilius. He cites also in comedy intertextus, Nummularia. See Prefat. de Poet. Latina. pag. 22.

himself concerning Lucilius's learning [I]. I do not think Horace was reasonably blamed for the judgment he made of this Satirist [K]. Pompey, by the mother's side, was grandson,

of the great Scipio, and that it is he whom Horace mentions here, confound Chronology. The great Scipio was dead above thirty five years before Lucilius was born (25). If Lucilius had died before Scipio was born, this had been an invincible confutation of those who attributed to him the history of this Roman general: but to go and confuse them by this reason, that he was born thirty five years after the death of this hero, must proceed from want of attention. It is not only possible, that this Poet might write the history of Scipio Africanus the elder, but very probable that he has done it; and that at the request of Scipio Africanus, the younger, his good friend, who might furnish him with many good materials. I do not, however, retract what I have advanced; how many things are not true, which are yet most probable (26) for the rest, Lucilius's fragments were collected with great care by Francis Douza, and published (27) at Leyden with notes, in the year 1597. They stand greatly in need of being better illustrated by some learned critic.

[I] Cicero has contradicted himself concerning Lucilius's learning. In his first book *De Oratore*, he acknowledges that Lucilius was a learned man; his words are worth reciting. Sed ut solebat C. Lucilius sæpe dicere homo tibi subitatus (28), mihi propter eam ipsam causam minus quam volebat familiaris, sed tam men & doctus & perurbanus, sic sentio neminem esse in oratorum numero habendam, qui non sit omnibus iis artibus quæ sunt libero homine dignæ perpolitus (29). — But as Caius Lucilius, a man who did not like you, and who therefore was less intimate with me than otherwise he would have been, but yet a very learned and polite man, was wont to say, so think I, that no one ought to be taken into the list of orators, who is deficient in any thing it becomes a free man to know. He gives him the same praise of a learned man, in the second book of the same work (30), but takes that praise from him in the first book *De Finibus* (31). Quintilian gives it him, without ever retracting. I will cite him in the following remark.

[K] I do not think Horace could reasonably be blamed for the judgment he gave of Lucilius. The critics murmured, and he justified himself. Let us see his words: we will begin with the criticism, and end with the apology.

Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ,
Atque alii, quorum comœdia prisca virorum est:
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur;
Quod mœchus foret, aut scarius, aut alioqui
Famofus: multa cum libertate notabant.
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus:
Mutatis tantum pedibus, numerisque facetus:
Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus.
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora sæpe ducentos,
Ut magnum, versus disclabat stans pede in uno:
Cum fueret lulentus, erat quod tollere velles:
Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem:
Scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror (32).

Cratin, and Eupolis, that last'd the age,
Those old comedian furies of the stage:
If they were to describe a vile, unjust,
And cheating knave, or scourge a lawless lust;
Or other crimes: regardless of his fame
They show'd the man, and boldly told his name.
This is Lucilius's way, he follows those:
His wit the same, but other numbers chose;
I grant he was a sharp and ready wit,
But rude and uncorrect in all he writ:
This was his fault, he hastily wou'd rhyme,
(As if 'twere said a wondrous thing in him)
Two hundred tedious lines in one hour's time:
Yet when with force his muddy fancy flow'd,
Some few pure streams appear'd amongst the mud:
In writing much 'tis true his parts excel,
Too lazy for the task of writing well.

CREECH.

Now we shall see how Horace justifies himself.

Nempe incompolito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili: quis tam Lucili fautor ineptæ est,
Ut non hoc fateatur? at idem, quod fale multo
Urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.
Nec tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera,
nam sic

Et Laberi mimos, ut pulchra poemata, mirer (33).

Well Sir, I grant, I said, Lucilius' muse
Is uncorrect, his way of writing loose,
And who admires him so, what friend of his
So blindly dotes as to deny me this?
And yet in the same page I freely own
His wit as sharp as ever last'd the town;
But this one sort of excellence allow'd,
Doth not infer that all the rest is good:
For on the same account I might admit
Laberius farce, for poems and for wit.

CREECH.

He afterwards answers Lucilius's admirers concerning the mixing Greek with Latin words, and professes he does not design to rob him of the crown so justly due to him.

Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino,
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
Inventore minor: neque ego illi detrachere ausim
Hærentem capiti multa cum laude coronam (34).
In satires I, with Varro try'd in vain,
And others too may have a happy strain.
Yet thou, Lucilius, lest, I freely own,
I would not strive to blast his just renown,
He wears, and best deserves to wear, the crown.

CREECH.

He demands the same liberty with respect to Lucilius, which every one takes with respect to the greatest Poets, and which Lucilius himself took with respect to Ennius; and maintains, that if the author he censured were alive, he would correct his own works, and write with greater exactness.

At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, sæpe ferentem
Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis, æge, quæso,
Tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?
Nil comis Tragicæ mutat Lucilius Atti?
Non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,
Cum de se loquitur, non ut majore reprensus?
Quid vetat, & nosmet Lucili scripta legenteis
Quærere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Vericulos natura magis factos, & cuncteis
Mollius (35)?

(35) lb. ver. 30.

— fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis & urbanus: fuerit limatior idem,
Quam rudis, & Græci intacti carminis auctor,
Quamque Poëtarum seniorum turba: sed ille,
Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in ævum:
Detereret sibi multa: recideret omne, quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur & in versu faciendo
Sæpe caput scaberet: vivos & roderet ungues (36).

(36) lb. ver. 64.

Ay, but I said his fancy muddy flow'd,
And faulty lines did oft exceed the good.
Well Sir, and is e'en Homer all correct?
Is he, Sir Critic, free from all defect?
Doth not Lucilius Accius rhymes accuse?
And blame our Ennius's correcter muse?
For too much lightness oft his rhymes deride,
And when he talks of his own verse, for pride?

Then

(25) Dacier, Tom. VII, pag. 27, commenting these words of Horace, Sat. I, lib. ii, ver. 16. Attamen & justum poterat & scribere fortem Scipiadem ut sapient Lucilius.

(26) Sant pluri-ma vera quidem, sed parum credibilia; hinc falsæ quoque frequenter verisimilia. Quintil. lib. i, cap. ii, pag. m. 182.

(27) With the Horace of Crægus.

(28) That is to say, to Mutius Scævola. The reason which the author of a Commentary, in uñm Delphini, gives for this usage is to be seen in the article ALBUTIUS, citat. (23).

(29) Cicero, de Oratore. lib. i, cap. xvi.

(30) See the remark [F], citat. (18).

(31) See the remark [F], citat. (19).

(32) Horat. Sat. IV, lib. i.

(33) Horat. Sat. X, lib. i, ver. 2, & seq.

(34) lb. ver. 46.

son, or rather great nephew, to Lucilius [L]. I shall observe the faults of Mr Moreri [M], and of some other writers [N], and particularly an anachronism of Stephen Pasquier [O]. There are ancient verses extant, which shew they exposed themselves to a great

*Then what's the reason that his friend repines,
That when I read Lucilius' looser lines,
I try if 'tis his subject won't permit,
More even verse, or if 'tis want of wit?*

*Well then suppose Lucilius was a wit,
His virtue's more than faults in what he writ.
Correster than the older writers own,
And that we satire owe to him alone,
Satire a poem to the Greeks unknown.
Yet did he now again new life commence,
He would correct, he would retrench his sense,
And pare off all that was not excellence;
Take pains, and often when he verses made,
Would bite his nails to th' quick, and scratch his head.*

CREECH.

I thought my self obliged to set down all these long passages, because they acquaint my reader with Lucilius's character, and it is disagreeable to be diverted by references, in reading the life of a famous man. Mr Dacier never gave a better proof of his judgment, than when he declared himself (37) for Horace against Quintilian; it is strange, that learned Rhetorician should not applaud this Poet's judgment. His words will let us see the prodigious prejudice of many in Lucilius's favour. 'Satira quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius, qui quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non ejusdem modò operis autoribus, sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis, tantum ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere solutentum, & esse aliquid quod tollere possis, putat. Nam & eruditio in eo mira, & libertas, atque inde acerbitas, & abunde satis (38). — Satire indeed is wholly ours; and Lucilius was the first who acquired any reputation therein, to whose work some are so bigotted, that they stick not to prefer him not only to all Satirists, but to all Poets. For my part, I differ as much from them as from Horace, who thought Lucilius raked too much in mud, and said many things which might have been as well let alone. For his learning is certainly wonderful. He writes with a great freedom, smartness, and sparkling strokes of wit.'

[L] Pompey . . . was grandson, or rather great nephew, to Lucilius.] Porphyryon, upon these words of Horace,

— quidquid sum ego, quamvis
Infra Lucili censum ingeniumque (39).

(39) Horat. Sat. I, lib. ii, ver. 74.

*Whate'er I am, altho' I must submit,
To wife Lucilius, in estate and wit.*

observes, that Lucilius was brother to Pompey's grandmother, and consequently his great uncle by the mother's side. Acron (40), another old interpreter of Horace in Religio race, says that Lucilius was Pompey's grandfather. This opinion is less probable than the former, for if Lucilia, Pompey's mother, had been Lucilius's daughter (41), I do not think that Velleius Paterculus would have forgotten to mention it. We must therefore believe she was daughter to a brother of Lucilius, and consequently, that Porphyryon mistakes the true ground of the relation. Thus the learned Antonius Augustinus (42), and Francis Douza reason and conjecture.

(40) Apud Franciscum Douzam, notis in Religio Lucillii, pag. 97, col. 2.

(41) Fuit hic (Pompeii) genitrix matre Lucilia stirpis senatoris. Paterculus, lib. ii, cap. xxix.

(42) In libro de Familiis Romanorum apud Douzam, ubi supra.

(43) Sat. X, lib. i, ver. 66.

(44) Casaubon & Theodore Marston, cited by Dacier on Horace, Tom. VI, pag. 649.

[M] I shall observe the faults of Mr Moreri.] I. Lucilius was not a native of Suevia Pometia. II. His town was not in the country of the Aurunci. III. It is not certain, that he was the first who wrote satires in Latin verse. Mr Dacier shews the contrary: see, above, the remark [E]. IV. However it be, he should not have pretended, that besides this, he was the author of a kind of verse unknown to the Greeks; from Græcis intacti carminis auctor; for if these words of Horace (43) did concern Lucilius, they would only ascribe to him the invention of satire. V. But the best critics (44) have long since observed, that these words relate to Ennius, and not to Lucilius. VI. It is not true,

that the CLXIXth Olympiad falls in the 651st year of Rome: an Olympiad includes four years.

[N] . . . and the faults of some other authors.] See above (45) those of Father Briet. Gesner's abridger is grossly mistaken about the age of Lucilius, or Lucilius, as he calls him; Floruit, says he (46), *secundi belli Punici temporibus*. Glandorp (47) was of opinion, that he whom Cicero speaks of, as an author, who defied neither ignorant nor very learned readers, is not the same Lucilius, who composed the satires. It is an error. Charles Stephens has committed the same fault: Lloyd and Hofman have adopted it, and moreover pretended, that our Lucilius was born in the LIIIrd Olympiad, and that he died in the LXIXth, being forty six years of age: an absurdity which is manifest. They cite Quintilian 17. 21. which is a chimerical citation.

[O] . . . and an anachronism of Stephen Pasquier.] His words are these. 'With this it was (48) that the

advocates of Rome sported most, when they had a mind to awake their judges. See this piece of Cicero in his oration for Milo: *Est enim hæc, Judices, non scripta, sed nata lex, &c.* You will find it equals the finest verses of all antiquity: which afterwards grew into such an affectation and abuse, that Lucilius, a satirical Poet ridiculed it very handsomely in one of his satires whose verses Aulus Gellius relates in the thirteenth book of his *Noctes Atticæ* (49). Garasse has not pardoned him this mistake; let us hear him. 'Wherein, I say, Mr Pasquier has very handsomely exposed himself to the laughter of all men, moderately versed in Chronology; for how could Lucilius, who lived about an hundred years before Cicero, ridicule what was done an hundred years after his death? It is just as if I should say, speaking of that nice, polished, and accurate poetry, which was introduced by Berthaud and Malherbe, that Marot and St Gelais were disgusted so much with it, as to ridicule and satirize it in their writings. Such was the sufficiency of that old dotard mentioned by Servinus Boëtius in his book *de Disciplina Scholæ*, who asked whether Æneas was not Julius Cæsar's wife. Such was the impertinence of that minister noted by Horace Dolabella, in the sixth chapter of his Apology, who being asked, *Uter fuerit prior secundum Annales Ecclesiæ Constantinus an Nero?* — *Who, according to the annals of the church, lived first, Constantine or Nero?* came off very ingeniously by these words of our Saviour, *Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta.* — *It is not for you to know the times or the seasons.* Acts i. 7. And yet I believe these men, tho' very ignorant, if they had seen the difference of stile, between Lucilius and Cicero, would never have called in question, whether Lucilius had been before Cicero; as a man need not be very much versed in Chronology, to be able to say a hundred years hence whether Alain Charretier, Froissard, and Montrelet, were before Monsieur du Vair; and it would be a horrid ignorance to say, that Alain Charretier, or Montrelet, improved the stile, the diction, and figures of Amiot, or du Vair (50). It was difficult to make a good answer to this censure; and therefore we find, that the learned Pasquier's sons defended him but ill upon this point: here is what they answer, Garasse says that Lucilius was an hundred years before Cicero, which is false, for Cicero and Pompey lived at the same time; but Lucilius was Pompey's uncle: so that it is easy to judge, that our calumniator is much mistaken in his computation. In the second place he says, *this might be known by the difference of stile.* This ignorance is more insupportable than the former; for Pliny expressly observes, that *primus fuit Lucilius qui stylen acuisse dicitur*. Horace calls him *emundæ naris*, and says he made two hundred verses in an hour, and Quintilian calls him *principem Satyricorum*, inasmuch, that Adrian the emperor preferred him before Virgil. Observe, I pray, into how many absurdities a man sometimes runs by the itch of criticizing (51). There is nothing good in this reply, but the remark on the hundred years Garasse puts betwixt Cicero and Lucilius. This Jesuit pretending to criticize one fault in Chronology, falls into another; for it is not true, that Lucilius was an hundred years before Cicero, he died some years after Cicero.

(45) That it is joy, the disquietude, a stimulant delinquentia.

(49) Pasquier, Recherches de la France, liv. vii, chap. i, pag. m. 595.

(50) Garasse, Recherche des Recherches, pag. 595.

(51) Défense pour Étienne Pasquier contre les Impudences de Calémeus de Colomnes de into another; for it is not true, that Lucilius was an hundred years before Cicero, he died some years after Cicero.

great danger, who ventured to speak ill of Lucilius's poems [P].

Cicero was born. It was easy for Pasquier's apologists to justify this; but instead of good proofs, they only alleged, that Lucilius was Pompey's uncle, Cicero's cotemporary. They were mistaken; Lucilius is accounted the grandfather, or great uncle, to Pompey (52). They are very much in the wrong, to pretend that there is no distinction to be observed betwixt Lucilius and Cicero's stile; there is a greater difference between the stile of Cicero and that of Lucilius, than between the stile of Mr Flechier, and that of Clement Marot. To be soon convinced of it, we need only cast an eye with some judgment on the fragments of the Latin satirist, and on the works of Cicero at the bare opening his book. To oppose to Father Garasse the words of Pliny ill cited (53), and those of Quintilian ill cited (54), is to pretend that because Regnier is the first who writ good French satires, his stile differs not from that of Mr Patru, or Mr Boileau. The *emundæ naris* of Horace proves nothing; this might be said of Clement Marot, and Regnier, with a great deal of justice, and yet what difference is there between their stile, and that of Patru and Boileau? Consider Horace's whole verse,

Emundæ naris DURUS componere Versus.

Have they not been forced miserably to mutilate his testimony, that they might be able to make use of it? If they had given it intire, would they not have furnished arms to their adversary? But that proof from Horace is much less ridiculous than that which follows, and is taken from the same author, *Lucilius*, as Horace says, *made two hundred verses in an hour*, therefore he writ as well as Cicero. What a monstrous consequence is here, and more amazing still, when we consider that Horace mentions this as a fault of Lucilius, and immediately compares this author's poems to muddy streams:

*Nam fuit hoc vitiosus in hora sæpe ducentos,
Ut magnum versus distabat, stans pede in uno.
Quum fluere LUTULENTUS . . . (55).*

The last proof which Stephen Pasquier's apologists bring, is no better than the others. It is founded on a false fact, the consequence whereof would make against them, if it were true. It is not to Lucilius, but to Ennius, that Adrian gave the preference before Virgil; and all that this proves, is, that Ennius's stile was more ruly and mouldy; for this was Hadrian's taste, as his Historian observes. 'Amavit Prætera genus dicendi vetustum . . . Ciceroni Catonem, Virgilio Ennium, Sallustio Cælium prætulit (56). — Besides he loved the old manner of speaking . . . He preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Virgil, Cælius to Sallust.'

LUCRETIA, a Roman lady, famous for her beauty and noble extraction [A], but much more for her virtue, was married to Collatinus, a relation to Tarquin king of Rome. Every one knows the reason that induced her to kill herself. I shall however relate the circumstances of that tragical history. Tarquin not being able to make himself master of the town of Ardea, as soon as he expected, resolved on a formal siege. The siege continued a long time, and did not hinder the young princes from entertaining one another pretty often. Sextus having invited to supper his two brothers and Collatinus, the discourse turned upon the fair sex; and a dispute arose, not about the beauty of their mistresses, as it would in our age, but upon the beauty of their wives. Each maintained

[A] For her . . . noble extraction.] Lucretia's family was doubtless Patrician, since we find consuls in it, at a time when the Plebeians were not admitted unto the consulship. It made a noble figure in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus; for this prince gave the government of Rome to SPURIUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, father to our Lucretia, married to a prince of the blood (1). Some authors say (2), that Numa Pompilius, being chosen king of Rome, married a lady called Lucretia. If she was of the family I here speak of, as it is probable she was, what proofs should we desire greater of the famous antiquity of this house? Spurius Lucretius, after his daughter's death, was created *Interrex*, and he named Brutus, and his son-in-law Collatinus, to the consulship (3).

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[P] They exposed themselves to a great danger, who ventured to speak ill of Lucilius's poems.] It is a long time ago since I read what I am going to transcribe. 'Our little doctor does much the same (57). That is to say, Girac, the Disgenet, acts in every thing contrary to the people. And indeed a man of that humour, is in a fair way of being beaten (I mean with the tongue and pen) for we do not live in an age so licentious, as was that of these young Romans of quality, who walked the streets all day, concealing long whips under their gowns, to chastise the insolence of those who did not approve the Poet Lucilius, if they had the misfortune to be in their way (58). I believed when I read this, that since Coftar cited no body, he did not know who first said it, and I put myself upon the enquiry. I found it in some verses which have passed for Horace's, and have been prefixed to one of his satires (59) in some editions. Mr Dacier has inserted them in his notes upon this Poet; I will transcribe all he has said upon it; by which we shall see, that Coftar magnifies objects, and that his embroidery is too high.

'We may say of Lucilius, that he had the good fortune of some women, who with very little beauty have created violent passions. Among his partisans, there were some so extravagant as to run along the streets, with whips under their gowns, to lash such as durst speak ill of Lucilius's verses.

Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone
Defensore tuo pervincam, qui male factos
Emendare parat versus. Hoc lenius ille
Est quo vir melior. Longe subtilior ille
Qui multum puer & loris & funibus udis
Exornatus ut esset opem qui ferre Poëtis
Antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,
Grammaticorum Equitum doctissimus.

'I will shew you, Lucilius, how full of faults you are, even by the testimony of Cato, your great patron. He has a design to polish your ill turned verses. As he is a better man than most others, he has taken the gentlest and safest method. But he is not so subtil as that learned knight, who armed himself with good strops and moistened cords, to revenge our dislikes of the ancient Poets.

'These verses had been prefixed to this satire, as if they were written by Horace, and were the beginning of it. Canterus and Lilius Gyradius, have been deceived by it. Though they are not Horace's, yet they are not bad, and they serve to shew, that Lucilius's verses were not always universally esteemed (60).'

The later was soon after forced to resign his office, and retire to Lanuvium (4), where he spent the rest of his life, which was very long. Valerius being chosen in his room, took Spurius Lucretius for his colleague (5), after Brutus had been killed; but this colleague died in a few days (6). I find a TITUS LUCRETIUS, who was consul the following year, and a few years after (7); and a PUBLIUS LUCRETIUS, colleague to Valerius, when he was consul the third time (8). This Titus Lucretius is thought to be the father of LUCIUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, consul in the year of Rome 291 (9). I pass over several Lucretii, who enjoyed afterwards the principal posts in the government, before it was determined, that the Plebeians should be admitted to

10 X

them

(72) See the remark [L].

(53) Pliny said, primus condidit styli nasum, and ut primus fuit Lucilius qui stylum aculeis dictat.

(54) Quintilian says, in satyra primus insignem ludem adeptus est Lucilius, and not fuit princeps satyricorum.

(55) Horat. Sat. 19, lib. i, ver. 9.

(56) Spartian. in Hadriano, cap. xvi, 192. m. 158, Tom. I.

(1) Livius, lib. i, cap. lix.

(2) See Plutarch. in Numa, pag. 74. A.

(3) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv, cap. lxxx.

(57) That is to say, Girac, the Disgenet, acts in every thing contrary to the people.

(58) Coftar, Suite de la Description de Voiture, pag. 40.

(59) The tenth of the first book.

(60) Dacier on the tenth Satire of the first book of Horace, page 603 of the sixth Tome.

(a) Pergunt inde Collatiam: ubi Lucretiam haudquam ut regis nurus, quas in convivio luxuriosum cum aequalibus viderant, tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lane inter lucubrentes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem invenirent. *T. Livius, lib. i, cap. lvi.*

(b) Taken from Livy, at the end of the first book, cap. lvi, & seq.

maintained that his was handsomest; the controversy growing hot, Collatinus proposed a means of deciding it. Why so many words, said he, we may in a little time have visible proofs of my Lucretia's pre-eminence; let us take horse, and go and surprize our wives; the determination of the question will by this means be easier, than if they were prepared to receive us. Wine having heated them, they readily embraced the proposition, and rode to Rome full speed. They found Tarquin's daughters-in-law at table, regaling themselves with some persons of their own age. They afterwards went to Collatia; and, though it was very late, they found Lucretia, in the midst of her maids, working with her hands upon wool (a). They agreed, that she excelled all the others and returned to the camp. Sextus, transported with a violent passion for her, returned a few days after to Collatia, without saying a word to any person. He was received with all the civility, that was due to a near relation, who was the king's eldest son, and who was not suspected of the least dishonest thought. After he had supped, he was conducted to the chamber designed for him. He did not sleep, but when he thought the family were quiet, he stole, with his sword in his hand, into Lucretia's chamber, and threatening to kill her if she made the least noise, he declared his passion to her; he used all the tenderest entreaties, and the most terrible threats, and all imaginable artifices that can touch a woman's heart. It was all to no purpose, Lucretia continued firm; the fear of death did not shake her, but she could not resist the menace that Sextus made of exposing her to the last degree of infamy. He declared, that after having killed her, he would kill one of her slaves, and lay him in her bed, and make it be believed, that both the murders were the punishment of the adultery, in which he had surprized her. Having thus accomplished his infamous design, he retired as content and proud of his conquest, as if it had been fairly obtained, and according to the nicest laws of gallantry. The lady, seized with the deepest melancholy, sent to entreat her father, who was at Rome, and her husband, who was at the siege of Ardea, to come immediately to her. They did so: she acquainted them with her misfortune, and conjured them to revenge her. They promised they would, and said all they could think of to comfort her; she would by no means be comforted, but drawing out a dagger, she had hid in her cloaths, struck it into her heart. Brutus, who was present at this spectacle, found the occasion he had long fought for of delivering Rome from Tarquin's tyranny, and so far improved this occasion, that the kingly power was abolished (b): thus Lucretia's death was the cause of the liberty of the Roman people, which has given a great lustre to the immortal memory of this lady. Historians relate her adventure differently [B]. The

epitaph

them. But there is no need of all these particulars to prove, that the Lucretii Tricipitini were of a Patrician family. What I have said is sufficient. It is not certain that this can be said of the Lucretii surnamed Vespillo, or Ofella, or of those of any other surname: There are even some Lucretii, whose surname we are ignorant of, who were of a Plebeian family; for we see a MARCUS LUCRETIUS, tribune of the people in the second Punic war (10). Note, that QUINTUS LUCRETIUS, the first who was surnamed Vespillo, had this surname for calling Tiberius Gracchus's body into the Tiber: *Chius Corpus Lucretii Aditis manu in Tiberim missum; unde ille Vespillo dictus* (11). Cicero (12) speaks honourably of one QUINTUS LUCRETIUS Vespillo, a good Lawyer and good Advocate. There was one QUINTUS LUCRETIUS Vespillo, a senator, who followed Pompey's party (13), and whom the fidelity of his wife preserved from the fury of the Triumviri, who had proscribed him (14). This is probably the same who obtained the consulship in the 734th year of Rome (15). Cicero speaks of LUCRETIUS Ofella, as an orator, who was better at making harangues to the people, than at pleading causes: *Apertior concionibus quam judiciis* (16). Moreri has wretchedly translated this. *He was fitter, says he, to make speeches than pronounce judgments.* Another (17) affirms, that Cicero represents him *fitter to be a judge than a great orator.* It is believed (18), that this Lucretius Ofella, is the same who quitted Marius's party, and joined Sylla, and retook Praeneste, where he forced Marius the younger to kill himself. This piece of service hindered not Sylla's putting him to death in the midst of the Forum, because he had demanded the consulship against Sylla's intention (19).

[B] Historians relate Lucretia's adventure differently. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and Livy, have given the largest descriptions of it. They lived at the same time, and exactly consulted the preceding authors. Nevertheless, they agree but in three or four general facts: I. That Sextus entered by night into Lucretia's chamber. II. That this lady, after having resisted the menaces of death, intreaties, and promises, yielded at last, when she was threatened with infamy. III. That

she killed herself the next day. IV. That Brutus laid hold of this occasion to change the government. The first of these two Historians gives a more particular and large account than the other: as for instance, he particularizes that Sextus promised Lucretia to marry her; by which means she would immediately be queen of the Gabii, and afterwards of Rome, upon Tarquin's death, whose successor he would infallibly be, as being his eldest son (20). Livy contents himself with these general expressions. *Stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, Tace Lucretia, inquit, Sex. Tarquinius sum, ferrum in manu est: moriêre, si emisseris vocem. Cum pavida è somno mulier nullam opem, propè mortem imminentem videret; Tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare: miscere precibus minas: versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum* (21). *With his drawn sword in his hand, he approached the sleeping Lucretia, he put his left hand upon her breast, he silent, said he, Lucretia, I am Sextus Tarquinius, my sword is in my hand, and if you speak a word you die. The woman, awaking in a fright, perceived no help nigh, and that she was in danger of immediate death: then Tarquin declared his passion, besought her, mingled threatenings with prayers, and used all the arts capable of prevailing on a woman.* But to know the difference between these two Historians, we need only remember, that Livy relates the story, as we find it in the text of this article; and at the same time take notice of the following particulars: I take them from Dionysius Halicarnassensis. Sextus being sent to Collatia by king Tarquin, upon affairs relating to the siege of Ardea, lodged at the house of Collatinus, his relation, who was then at the camp, and found a proper opportunity to satisfy the passion he had conceived for Lucretia in a former visit. The Historian does not speak of the dispute of the young princes, concerning the beauty of their wives, which obliged them to go to Rome and to Collatia, to end the difference. This circumstance, however, was singular enough to deserve a place in Dionysius Halicarnassensis's account; and was an incident very capable of embellishing the narration. Lucretia, over-whelmed with melancholy, took coach at break of day, as soon as Sextus was withdrawn: she

(20) Dionys. Halic. lib. iv, cap. lxxviii. *Notæ, that he differs, that Sextus joined colla to his promises and menaces.*

(21) Titus Livius, lib. i, cap. lvi.

epitaph which is seen in Italy, and is pretended to have been composed by Collatinus her husband [C], is doubtless, a supposititious piece. Her ravisher was not long exposed to the remories of his conscience, or the severe reproaches of his family, whose total ruin he had occasioned. He retired to a town of the Gabii, where he had formerly commanded, and there perished a little after (c). The reflexions which have been made by some writers, are not only false wit, but vain cavelling sophistry [D]. It has been said in another

(c) Sext. Tarquinus Gabilus tanquam in suum regnum profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatum quas sibi infecerat rapinisque conciverat, est interfectus. Livius, lib. i, cap. ult.

(22) Οὐδὲ τὰ καὶ δαίμονες ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν τὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν δῖνα τῶν ἀναλλὰγῶν τὸ βίον. Com. precataque deos & demones ut fecit & vito extimerent. Dionys. Halicarn. lib. vii, pag. 265.

(23) Take notice however, that Florus, lib. i, cap. x, seems to call him Aruns.

(24) Ex Servio, in Æneid. lib. viii, ver. 646.

(25) In the second book of the Æneid.

(26) See the remark [H] of the article OLYMPIAS.

(27) Ovid Fastor. lib. ii, ver. 31, & seq.

(28) Glandorp. Onomast. pag. 555.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) What shall we think of Lucretia, but what Mr. de Charleval has judged of her . . . that she killed herself too late. Sarsin's Dialogue where a man should be in love, pag. m. 182. See also Menagiana, pag. 281, Dutch Edit.

took a mourning habit, and a dagger under her robe, and went to Rome with a dejected countenance, and all in tears, without saying any thing to those who asked her the cause of her affliction. When she came to her father's house, she threw herself upon her knees; she cried without saying a word, and at last desired him to send for her relations and friends: as soon as they were come together, she told them her adventure; prayed the gods to take her quickly out of this world (22), and stabbed herself. Valerius was immediately dispatched to the camp, to carry this news to Collatinus, and to join with him in raising an insurrection among the soldiers. He met Collatinus and Brutus not far from Rome, who had heard nothing of what had happened. Thus you see variations somewhat surprising; and which prove, that the first Historians, the sources of Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, did not take the necessary care to have an exact information.

Here are more variations. Servius calls him Aruns who violated Lucretia; other Historians call him Sextus, and give the name of Aruns to another son of Tarquin (23). The same Servius supposes, that, in order to determine the dispute, they went first to Lucretia at Collatia, and then to Rome, and says, that the slave he took with him into Lucretia's chamber, was an Ethiopian (24). I say nothing of Ovid, who has related (25) Lucretia's misfortune with several circumstances of which no Historian makes mention. He used a Poetical licence, and has invented what he thought most proper to adorn his story. Nay, he has inserted what the Greeks said of Polyxena (26), that she took care to settle her cloaths, that, as she fell, nothing might be seen that modesty would have concealed.

Nec mora, celato figit sua pectora ferro:

Et cadit in Patrios sanguinolenta pedes.

Tunc quoque, jam moriens, ne non procumbat honeste, Respicit: hæc etiam cura cadentis erat (27).

This said, her fatal dagger pierc'd her side,
And at her father's feet she fell and dy'd.
Yet as she fell, her dying thoughts contriv'd,
To fall as modestly as she had liv'd.

But as it would be no embellishment to his account, to say that the ravisher of this lady was Tarquin's youngest son, we must believe that in this he followed some tradition; and consequently that the Historians were divided on this particular point: most said that the ravisher was eldest son to that prince, and some took him for the youngest.

[C] The epitaph that is . . . pretended to have been composed by Collatinus her husband.] These are the words of it: 'Collatinus Tarquinus dulcissimæ conjugis & incomparabili, pudiciæ decori, mulierum gloriæ, vixit annis xxxii. mens. iii. d. vi. pro dolor, quæ fuit carissima (28). — Collatinus Tarquinus to his most dear and incomparable wife, honour of chastity, glory of women. She lived twenty two years, three months, six days, who was most dear to me!' It is said, that this inscription is seen at Rome, and in the diocese of Viterbo (29).

[D] The reflexions . . . of some writers are not only false wit, but vain cavelling sophistry.] A modern author, fancied himself, no doubt, very witty in observing that Lucretia killed herself too late; and that, if she resolved upon parting with her life, it was not till she had tasted the forbidden fruit (30). This is the falsest railery in the world; and there is no reasonable man, but will agree, that, on such a subject as this, to quit gravity, and in any wise to aim at jesting, is not only a rash audaciousness, but also stupidity and brutishness. Lucretia's action should only excite the sense of compassion and admiration. Her conduct was exempt from any mixture of impurity; she was a bright sacrifice to the love of virtue and glory; and it

would be as ridiculous to say, that he is guilty of prodigality, who throws away his cloaths to save his life by swimming, as to say there was any thing of lewdness in Lucretia's patience; for this illustrious lady was patient only to save her reputation. But if you would see the efforts of cavilling, read this long passage of Henry Stephens (31). 'And yet the poor Lucretia did not pass a right judgment on herself, when, being thus violated, she said she had lost her chastity; since it is certain, virtue cannot be ravished by any human force: and therefore what she adds, that her body was violated, but that her thought (or her mind) was not culpable, contradicts what she had been saying, namely, that she had lost her chastity, it being certain, that the seat of it is the mind, and not the body; which yet the Heathens seem not well to have considered, who have not only excused this woman's act, in being her own murderer, but have taken occasion from it to extol her to the skies, as being a woman of courage, and of a great soul, in that she revenged, by her death, the outrage done to her chastity. However, before I answer them, as to the outrage they pretend was done, her chastity, I would desire them to tell me, what they mean by the word revenge; because to me it seems a thing against all reason, that the injury should be revenged, by the death of the person who received it, and not by the death of him that gave it. Whereupon I should alledge to them, that she herself did not say, *Mors ultrix erit*, or *vindex*, my death shall revenge it; but *Mors testis erit*, that is, my death shall witness it: as if she had said, my death shall witness to the eyes of the world, what I cannot discover, it being a secret in my own conscience; to wit, that pleasure was so far from making me consent to such an act, that my life is hateful to me for having committed it. But, to come to the answer of the other point, I say, that supposing this death to import revenge, it must be the revenge of an outrage done to the body, and not to the mind, the seat of chastity. Which a certain author (whose name St Augustin has thought fit to conceal) considering in a declamation, has this fine sentence, concerning Lucretia's misfortune: a wonderful thing! here are two persons, and only one commits adultery. But St Augustin afterwards argues thus; if it is not impudicity to have to do with a man against her will, she is unjustly punished, since she is chaste. For it is certain, that the more the adultery is excused, the more the murder is heightened; and the more the adultery is censured, the more the murder is excused: (It being once supposed lawful for a person to kill himself.) And the same St Augustin, who praises this Rhetorician's saying, seems also to have succeeded well in that other argument (if it be his) *Si adultera, cur laudata? Si pudica, cur occisa?* That is, if she be an adulteress, why is she praised? if chaste, why was she killed? Upon which words, a friend of mine (32), a learned man, whom God has blessed with many graces, the fruits whereof are scattered in many parts of Christendom, has lately made an epigram, with which I am willing to gratify the reader. It is this:

Si tibi fortè fuit Lucretia gratus adulter,
Immerito ex merita præmia cæde petis:
Sin potius casto vis est allata pudori,
Quis furor est hostis crimine velle mori?
Frustra igitur laudem captas Lucretia: namque
Vel furiosa ruis, vel scelerata cadis.

If thou wert pleas'd with the adulterous deed,
With justice then did thy soul bosom bleed.
If guiltless you did with the monster lye,
Why for an enemy would you thus die?
In vain, Lucretia, thus you seek a name,
Rage or Remorse can never lead to fame.

Lewis

(31) Henry Stephens's Apology for Herodotus, chap. xv, pag. m. 135, 136.

(32) This is Renatus Laurent de la Barre. These verses may be seen in his Notes on Turtulian's book ad Martyres. Mæri calls him Renatus Laurens, but he should have said, Renatus Laurent de la Barre.

ther place, that religion had no share in this action of Lucretia. A learned man has opposed

(33) Louis Guyon, *Diverses Leçons*, Tom. III, liv. iv, chap. xiv.

(34) See, above, remark (B) of the article L. E. O. VITIUS.

† S. Ambr. ad virg. lapsum, cap. v.

‡ S. Tho. ad Coloss. cap. III, lect. I.

(35) Juan de Torres, *Philosophia Morale de Principes*, lib. xix, cap. viii, pag. 577.

(36) Livius, lib. I, cap. lviii.

(37) Note. That this would not prevent his action being construed a true rape, and punishable according to the rigour of the laws made against the ravishers of the sex.

Lewis Guyon (33) stole all these things from Henry Stephens, without the least alteration; and without citing him; which plagiarism is customary with him (34). A Spanish Jesuit has amused himself with the same cavilling: but, as we shall see in the following remark, he has mixed some good things with it. He approves the Latin verses we have seen above; and maintains, that Lucretia shewed neither chastity nor courage, and, from a cowardly spirit, feared her husband's knife more than her own. 'Ni def- cubrio lo uno ni lo otro: no lo primero, pues confinitio: y como dize Sant Ambrosio a otra de su manera †: *Facilius oportuit sanguinem cum spiritu fundere, quam perdere castitatem*. Ni tampoco mo- stro lo segundo, pues por flaqueza de animo temio mas el cuchillo de Colatino, que el suyo propio: y por esto se mato con desesperacion, la qual ‡ pone Santo Thomas por hija dela luxuria (35).— She shewed neither the one nor the other: not the first, since she consented, when as St Ambrose says, she ought rather to have lost her life than her cha- stity. Nor the second, since, thro' a cowardly spirit, she was more afraid of Collatinus's knife, than of her own: and for that reason she killed herself out of despair, which according to St Thomas, is the daughter of Luxury.' All this is false and unjust: she manifested both a great love for chastity, and a great courage. When a man has the courage to take away his own life, to secure his reputation, does not he chuse to die, rather than lose his good name? And is there in this the least sign of cowardice? If this is acting against the rules of true religion, it is at least conforming to the ideas of Heathen heroism. But let us consider a little Henry Stephens's words. He accuses Lucretia of contradiction and ignorance: She did not know the true name of things, since she believed she had lost her chastity, notwithstanding the resistance of her will. She contradicted herself, because she immediately added, that her body only had been violated. 'Quid salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? These are her words; Vestigia viri alieni Collatine in lecto sunt tuo. Cæterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons: mors tellis erit: sed date dexteras fidemque, haud impune adul- tero fore (36). — What is left to a woman who has lost her honour? The print of another man, O! Collatine, is visible in thy bed. But it was my body only was violated, my soul is pure, death shall witness this, but give me your right hand, and pledge me your faith, that the adulterer shall not escape unpunished.' I am surprized, that Henry Stephens, who was so good a Grammarian, had so little considered, that, in the usage of all languages, the same words, without any impropriety, are taken in different senses, more or less comprehensive. Did he think he could instruct Livy on the signification of the word *pudicitia*? I say Livy: for it is he to whom our Lucretia's expressions belong. The Latin that was spoke at Rome, when this lady was alive was not like the Latin of this eloquent historian: and there is no probability, that he any where had found the very words which Lucretia used; each historian turned them to his own way of speaking; the most exact were content to retain the sense and force of them. It is probable she complained, she had lost her honour; that she had been dishonoured, or that Sextus had violated her honour, &c. There is no impropriety in those expressions. Thus an English woman would express herself in the same case, though she perfectly understood the language; and though, notwithstanding her affliction, she took care not to break thro' through the rules of grammar. They who steal away a maid, and enjoy her by force, are reckoned ravishers of her honour: and if the parents confined their prosecutions to the forcing him to marry her, the process is most properly called a process in reparation of honour. The same phrases would be used, though the violence had not been so extreme; I mean, in case the ravisher had obtained some sort of consent (37); because having proposed to her choice, either the yielding to his passion, or death, or the rack, or famine, or some other pain, able to intimidate the most resolute, she had chosen the first part of the alternative, without any kind of inward approbation. Now, if Lucretia could properly say, her honour was lost, she might

very well use words equivalent to *pudicitia amissa*. Note, That Ovid uses the words *pudor raptus* to signify the forced enjoyment of a maid (38), and Plau- tus expresses despoiling, by the words *pudicitia pul- sa* (39). Thus the pretended contradiction, imputed to Lucretia, falls to the ground; for those maids or wives, who should at this day complain of having been violated, dishonoured, or robbed of their honour, in the sacking of a town, or otherwise, might add, without contradicting themselves, that their soul had no share in that stain.

Henry Stephens understands not what he says, when he affirms, that the Heathens praised Lucretia, for having revenged, by her death, the outrage done to her chastity. It is false, that they gave this turn to their praises: all therefore that he advances to con- fute them is a deception, a fallacy, which is called *ignoratio elenchi*. The Heathens, who praise Lucre- tia, grounded their panegyrics upon her extreme sense of glory, and the reputation of a chaste wife, and her great delicacy as to this point of honour; which was so very great, as not to permit her to survive the affront that had been offered her. What our critic borrows from St Augustin, whose meaning he has not rightly taken, is subject to the same censure: it is still the false supposition, that Lucretia killed herself to punish herself for the crime. It is an ignorance of the state of the question. This lady knew herself innocent, and yet would die, that no leud woman should have the face to live, under pretence, that Lucretia had the cowardice to survive her rape (40).

One of the most reasonable objections of St Augu- stin, is, that self-murder is a crime; and he streng- thens his argument by the encomiums that are given to Lucretia. He reasons *ad hominem*, against the Heathens, and alleges to them the laws of their own tribunals. These laws would have obliged them to punish a man, who had killed Lucretia. You would therefore be obliged, continues he, to punish her, if she was accused before you, of having killed herself. But if ye answer, that it is impossible to punish her, since she is not in being, why do you accumulate so many praises upon the murderer of a virtuous per- son? 'Sed quid est hoc, quod in eam gravius vin- dicatur, quæ adulterium non admittit? Nam ille pa- tria cum patre pulsus est: hæc summo est mactata supplicio. Si non est illa impudicitia, qua invita opprimitur; non est hæc iustitia, qua casta punitur. Vos appello, Leges judicesque Romani. Nempe post perpetrata facinora, nec quemquam scelestum indem- natum imponere voluistis occidi. Si ergo ad vestrum iudicium quisquam deferret hoc crimen, vobisque probaretur, non solum indemnata, verum etiam castam & innocentem interfectam esse mulierem; nonne eum qui id fecisset, severitate congrua pleste- retis? Hoc fecit illa Lucretia, illa, illa sic prædica- ta Lucretia innocentem, castam, vim perperam Lu- cretiam insuper interemit. Proferte sententiam. Quid si propterea non potestis, quia non adlat quam pu- nire possitis, cur interfectricem innocentis & castæ tanta prædicatione laudatis (41)? I do not pretend to justify those who would say, in favour of this lady, that St Augustin has condemned her by principles she did not know; for she was ignorant of the axioms of the Christian religion, which forbid the attempt- ing upon our own lives: She might therefore have complained of being brought before such a tribunal: she might have declined the jurisdiction, and appeal- ed to her natural judges, to those ideas of grandeur and heroic glory, which have persuaded so many people, that it is better to die, than to live in dis- grace. But, as I have already said, this is an answer which I shall not concern myself with; I chuse rather this other reflexion. The Roman magistrates, whom St Augustin speaks to, and demands for judges of the question, might have quickly undeceived him, by shewing that, the laws, which gave no authority to private persons over one another's lives, debar not any one the privilege of disposing of his own. Do not you know, they might have said, in what admi- ration the Cato's, the Brutus's, the Cassius's, and so many other illustrious Romans, have ever been, who preferred death to a life, that would have made them witnesses of the oppression of liberty, or exposed them

(38) Tenuitque supam raptusque pudorem. Ovid. *Metam.* lib. I, ver. 600.

(39) Plane hic ille est qui mihi in Epiduro pri- mus pudicitiam perpulit. Plaut. in *Epiduro*, Act. IV, Sc. I. ver. 14.

(40) Ego me, etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero. Nec ulla deinde impudica exemplo Lucre- tiæ vivet. Livius, ubi supra.

THE EXAMINATION of an objection of St Augustin.

(41) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. I, cap. xix, pag. 68.

to the discretion of their enemies, or a languishing condition? Are you ignorant with what eulogies that courage of Porcia (42), and Arria (43), have been crowned? Are you ignorant, that we have seen, with some displeasure, that Cleopatra, who had dishonoured herself by her debaucheries, should have the glory she did not deserve of preferring death before the disgrace of being led in triumph?

(42) See Valer. Maximus, lib. iv, cap. vi, n. 5.

(43) See Pliny, Epist. xvi, lib. iii.

- - - Quæ generosus
Perire querens, nec muliebriter
Expavit ensē, nec latentes
Classe citâ reparavit oras.
Ausâ & jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, & asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberatâ morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens,
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho (44).

(44) Horat. Od. xxvii, lib. i.

But she design'd a nobler fate,
And falling would appear as great
As when she singly fill'd the throne,
No fears betray'd,
Nor fled to coasts unknown.
To live secure, or meanly beg for aid:
Her falling throne with smiling look
She boldly saw; she dar'd provoke
Fierce serpents rough with poisonous trains
To dart their tongues,
And fill her dying veins;
Grown furious now, on death resolv'd so long:
The stout Liburnian ships, the same,
And lasting glory of her shame,
She envied: she a soul too proud,
Too haughty to be seen
Amongst the private crowd
And grace a triumph less than Egypt's queen.

CREECH.

In a word, are you ignorant how the resolution of private persons has been admired, or even of whole towns, of perishing by precipice or fire, rather than to fall into their enemies' hands? the nation, whom you look upon as the favourite people of the true God, blamed not Saul, it's first king, and one of the valiantest princes of his age, for having prevented, by killing himself, the disgrace of falling into the hands of the conqueror (45). His successor, one of your greatest prophets, did nevertheless give him the greatest praises (46). Do not the books of the same nation give the same praises to a hero, who imitated the action of king Saul (47)? And after this, will you tell us, whoever should have killed Lucretia, would have been punishable; and therefore she is punishable for having killed herself? Learn to reason better, and remember, that the maxims of the noblest and most august sect that ever was among the Greeks (48), favour this lady's proceeding.

(45) 1 Sam. xxxi, 4.

(46) 2 Sam. i.

(47) 2 Maccab. xiv, 42. See also in Josephus, de Bello jud. lib. vii, cap. xxxiv, xxxv the speech of Eleazar, and it's effect.

(48) Treat of the Stoics.

It is certain St Augustin took a wrong method in recurring to the maxims of the Heathens, as a rule for the condemnation of Lucretia. I know well enough, that they were not all of the opinion of the Stoics, and there were some great Philosophers, who condemned self murder. I know also, that it has been said, that it was rather cowardice, than a proof of courage, to forego life, to be rid of trouble and pain; and that a man, who resolves to struggle long with his ill fortune, discovers as much firmness as he who kills himself, shews weakness. I know, I say, there have been many among the Heathens, who have been of this opinion; but they wanted on their side glory and lustre: they were only considered as the populace: the other faction was the nobility, the distinguished party, the school of heroism; and it might be represented to them, that, like counterfeited braves, they assumed honourable names, and gave the names of constancy and intrepidity to an excessive love of life, and an excessive fear of death. They were so fond of life, that nothing was

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able to give them a disgust of it: dishonour, poverty, the most stinking dungeons, the most inveterate diseases, did not disfigure it in their eyes (49); It appeared to them amiable even in this equipage. Death was not able to put on any disguise that could in Seneca, Epist. ci, pag. m. 414. conceal the least feature of it's ugly face. This, might they say, was the principle of that great courage of which they gloried, and which made them consider the action of Lucretia, as the effect of cowardice: *Flaqueza de animo*, said the Jesuit, John de Torres in the passage above cited.

Let us now examine St Augustin's dilemma. 'Ita A CONFUTATION of St Augustin's dilemma.

'hæc causa ex utroque latere coarctatur, ut si ex-tenuatur homicidium, adulterium confirmetur; si gus-tin's dilemma.

'tenuatur homicidium, adulterium confirmetur: nec purgatur adulterium, homicidium cumuletur: nec omnino invenitur exitus, ubi dicitur, Si adulterata,

'cur laudata? si pudica, cur occisa (50)? — This case has it's difficulties on each side, so that if the murder be extenuated the adultery is confirmed; if we acquit her of adultery, she must be charged with murder: nor can we any way answer this charge, viz.

'If she was an adulteress, why is she praised? if chaste, why did she kill herself.' He pretends, that this lady's murder cannot be extenuated, without aggravating the adultery, nor her adultery extenuated, without aggravating her murder. But to shew that he had not diligently examined this matter, it suffices to say, that his argument proves too much; for by a like reasoning, we ought to blame a person, who deserves great praises. It sometimes happened, that in the first ages, very pious young women, who were consecrated to celibacy, for the service of God, were violated. This is but too common a case at present; and we daily hear the story of an abbess, who, with her Nuns, had passed thro' the hands of an Irish company in Piedmont, and who made her complaints to Monsieur de Catinat. Let us suppose, that a Nun should, in this case, contract such a melancholy, as might bring upon her a mortal disemper. Let us suppose that the testimony of her conscience, fortified with the strongest consolations that a Divine could give, were unable to relieve her. Let us suppose she had conceived such a value for the purity of body and mind, that the bare idea of the most involuntary defilement, should cast her into an insupportable affliction of which she should die: would not this be a convincing proof of an exquisite chastity? Would not her innocence and virtue stand in a clear light? Whereas, if we follow St Augustin's dilemma, as much as you give to her affliction, you take from her chastity, *si pudica, cur mortua?* You see then, that there is more subtilty, than solidity, in this Father's argument: and thus you see Lucretia perfectly screened from St Augustin's attacks, except in respect of the murder; for if she had died of grief only, both he, and the other fathers of the church, had, by this kind of death, confirmed the praises of her incomparable chastity.

(50) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. i, cap. xix, pag. 69.

One of the odd conceits, which Balzac attributes to his Barbon, is this. 'Another word, misunderstanding in the history of Dion, made him calumniate Lucretia's chastity, that is, throw dirt on the finest flower of antiquity, and sully the chief ornament of rising Rome. And although the reputation of so honest a lady had come down pure to our times, this accuser of virtue had the impudence to oppose his single judgment to the testimony of all ages: and to dispute that heroin the possession of her glory, by an impertinent accusation. He pretends, that Tarquin began indeed by force, but ended by persuasion; that Lucretia would not give her consent to the crime, but shewed some respect to his quality; and that, after she was vanquished she was won, and the remorse of conscience, for the sin she had committed, as much as a repentment of the affront, made her resolve not to survive her dishonour (51).

The pretence, which the historian Dion might furnish these ill-natured people with, consists in his saying Lucretia, was worked upon to suffer voluntarily Tarquin's enjoying her. *Ἡρώκασεν αὐτὴν ἐκὼσαν ὑπεραβήνας: Cogit eam NON INVITAM stuprum pati* . . . (52). *Διὰ μὲν ἐν ταύτῃ ἐκ ἀνύστα δὴ ἐμοι: εὐθὺν. Eam igitur ob causam NON INVITA adultero cessit* (53). The learned critic, who has published several fine fragments of Dion, blames him for offering so cruel an injury to Lucretia, as saying, that she was not dishonoured against her will (54); he pretends that this is ruining all that was serious and grave in the narration of this adventure: and that such a fact, having brought on a famous revolution

(51) Balzac, pag. m. 88, 89, of the Barbon.

(52) Dio, in Excerptis à Valerio editis, pag. 574.

(53) Id. ibid, pag. 576.

(54) Gravissima injuria Lucretiæ afficit Dio qui eam minime involtam cum adultero commixtum esse scribit. Valesius, Not. in Excerptis, Dimis, pag. 81, revolution

opposed this opinion by some remarks, which will deserve to be discussed [E]. Father

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volution in Rome; and being, as it were, the hinge on which the history of the Roman people turns, it ought to have been treated in a very serious way, that it might appear, that the Romans, who had lived under a kingly government ever since the foundation of their city, did not abolish that form of government without a very just provocation. So that he should not have said, that Lucretia voluntarily suffered Sextus to satisfy himself, for this was next door to the crime (55); but that she was forced, by a dagger at her breast. This critic advises us to compare the narrative of Dion with that of Dionysius Halicarnassus, which he thinks much inferior to that of Diodorus Siculus (56); but, he adds, the best of all is that of Livy.

(55) Hoc enim proximum culpe est. Id. ibid.

(56) Diodorus Siculus, in iisdem excerptis, pag. 253.

Whatever admiration I may have for the profound learning and judgment that appears in the writings of Henry Valesius, I cannot here be of his opinion. It seems to me that nothing is wanting in Dion's relation, as to the point of gravity; and I think Lucretia's chastity is as well set forth there as in any other historian, and in all the circumstances that can raise our idea of it. The words, *ἐκείνη, ἡ ἀνδραγαθή*, signify nothing but what Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassus and others give us clearly to understand. They only serve to show a circumstance which no historian has omitted, viz. that Sextus did not make use of direct force, as when a woman defends herself as much as she can with her hands, and feet, and teeth, &c. But Dion gives us nevertheless to understand, that there was something voluntary in Lucretia's patience, just as the most covetous man throws his merchandizes into the sea voluntarily, when there is no other way of saving his life, which is still more precious to him than his riches. All the world judges, that he who enjoys a woman after he has threatened to kill her, or to put her to the rack, or to some other terrible punishment, has effectually forced her; and that he ought to be punished as a ravisher; and no body can say, that this woman suffered this willingly: Her consent is like that of a man who walks, but only does it, because they hold a sword to his breast, and are ready to kill him, or to drag him along with a rope about his neck, if he does not walk. I am persuaded that Dion would have used the same words *ἐκείνη, ἡ ἀνδραγαθή*, non invita. If he had designed to express what difference there is between a woman who chuses to walk rather than to suffer herself to be dragged along, and a woman who rather chuses to be dragged along than to walk. Let them no more therefore say this Historian has injured Lucretia.

[E] It has been said that religion had no share in this action of Lucretia. A learned man has opposed this opinion by some remarks, which deserve to be discussed.] Three observations have been made in the *Miscellaneous Thoughts upon Comets*. I. That for the three first ages of antient Rome, the modesty, frugality, and chastity of women were very remarkable; and there were some who manifested a very lively sense of honour (57). II. That this sense of honour could not be inspired into the Roman women by the religion they professed; since it was necessary, to that end, that their religion should teach them, that immorality was displeasing to the gods: but far from that it taught them the contrary, that the gods themselves were excessively leud (58). III. That, if Lucretia had loved chastity from a principle of religion; or, which is the same thing, if she had loved it in obedience to God, she would never have consented to Sextus's desires; but have rather chosen to abandon her reputation to calumny, than her body to adultery. However this she did not do. She courageously resisted this prince's pursuit, though he threatened to kill her. But when he threatened to expose her reputation to eternal infamy, she granted his desires, and afterwards killed herself. This is an evident proof, that she loved nothing in virtue, but the glory that attended it; and that she had not in view the pleasing of her gods; for they who would please God, would chuse rather to be reckoned infamous by men, than commit a crime. It must therefore necessarily be confessed, that Lucretia's religion contributed nothing to her chastity; and that, in that respect, she had been the very same as she was, tho' she had never heard there

(57) Penſées diverses, sur les Comètes, chap. cxxx, pag. 557.

(58) lb. pag. 559.

(59) lb. pag. 560.

Mr du Rondel published in 1685, some reflexions upon a chapter of Theophrastus (60), which I have read over and over again with great pleasure. The place, where he makes the elogy and apology for Lucretia, chiefly charmed me, as having always been an admirer of this illustrious lady; and if the subject could have suffered it, I would have pleaded her cause no less in the *Miscellaneous Thoughts on Comets*, than in the preceding remark. I therefore heartily applaud all that Mr du Rondel alledges in her justification, except what relates to the motives of religion. He makes two learned reflexions upon this point; one (61), 'that the 'leud gods were not those who were worshipped (62) 'in antient Rome'; the other, that 'if Lucretia (63) 'was willing for some moments, to survive her honour, it was, because she was forced to it by her religion, and was accountable for her reputation, before the Eumenides (64). She could not discharge her duty without calling her husband, her father, and the rest of her relations, and exposing her misfortune to them to the least circumstances; and then killing herself before them, in confirmation of the truth of what she had said. A Poet, whose name is not known, has hit upon this thought:

(60) See the ab. *ſtraſſ* of it in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Decemb. 1685, Art. V, pag. 1341, & seq.

(61) Du Rondel, Reflexions upon a chapter of Theophrastus, pag. 94, & seq.

(62) lb. pag. 96.

(63) lb. pag. 97.

(64) lb. pag. 99.

Quum foderet ferro caſtum Lucretia peſtus,
Sanguinis & torrens egrederetur, ait:
Accedant teſtes, me non ſaviſſe tyranno
Ante virum ſanguis, ſpiritus ante Deos.
Quam bene, producti pro me poſti ſunt, loquentur;
Alter apud Manes, alter apud Superos.

When chaſt Lucretia pierc'd her tender ſide,
Thus ſhe exclaim'd, while flow'd the purple tide:
That no ſeſent my ſpotleſs mind did know,
To men, my blood, to heaven, my ſoul ſhall ſhow;
Thus my ſad fate my innocence ſhall prove,
To late poſterity and powers above.

But I muſt here illuſtrate what I ſay, concerning the tribunal of the Eumenides. This is the account of it. According to the antient Theologiſts, man was compoſed of a ſoul, a body, and a ſhade. At death the ſoul was reſtored to heaven, where the thoughts were examined before the Diræ; the body was reſtored to the earth, where the actions were examined before the Furæ; and the ſhade was reſtored to hell, where the reports that had been ſpread of us were to be accounted for, and that before the Eumenides. Ne Lucretia, ſays an antient author (65), Caſtitaſ famam deperderet, quippe quam ſine Purgatione futuram eſſe cernebat, invita turpibus imperiis paruit. Lucretia, fearing ſhe ſhould loſe the reputation of her chaſtity, which ſhe ſaw would happen unleſs ſhe juſtified herſelf, ſubmitted therefore, tho' againſt her will, to his baſe deſires. It was neceſſary there ſhould be witneſſes, and blood, to be cleared from calumny, and to appear with impunity before the Eumenides; or reſolve to be damned to all the ſerpents of infamy, which was one of theſe goddeſſes, *tertia Pœnarum Infamia*. Thus, Sir, Lucretia has ſatisfied her religion, and is more commendable than has hitherto been imagined; ſince, with the ſtab of the dagger, ſhe made an expiatory ſacrifice, which ſtopped the mouth of ſlander, and cleared her a glorious way to the Elyſian fields.

(65) Serevius, in Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. viii, vet. 646.

Nothing can be more properly alledged, to confirm the firſt of theſe obſervations, than what is found in Dionyſius Halicarnaeſus, concerning the laws of Romulus. This prince, the founder of Rome, borrowed from the Greeks the beſt inſtitutions they had for divine ſervice, but reſected the fables, the Antients had divulged concerning the crimes of their gods, and ſuffered not any thing to be aſcribed to thoſe divine natures unbecoming the ſupreme ſelicity. Τὸς δὲ πα-
ραδεδωμένους περὶ αὐτῶν μύθους, ἐν οἷς βλασ-
φημίας τινες εἰσὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ κατηγορίας,
πονηρὰς καὶ ἀνοφελεῖς καὶ ἀσχημονας ὑπολα-
βὼν εἶναι, καὶ ἔχ' ὅτι θεῶν ἀλλ' ἑὸν ἀνθρώ-
πων ἀγαθῶν ἀξίως, ἅπαντας ἐξέκαλε, καὶ πα-
ροικνύσας τὰς ἀνθρώπων κρατίσας περὶ θεῶν λή-
γειν τὴν καὶ φρενὴν, μὴδὲν αὐτοῖς παρασπάρ-
τας ἀνάειν ἐπιτινδύματα τῆς μακαρίας εὐσεύας.

Ceterum

le Moyne will furnish me with some thing. He is one of those who have made an apology for

Ceterum fabulas de ipsi a maioribus traditas, probra eorum continentes ac crimina, improbas censuit, inutilesque ac indecentes, & ne probis quidem viris dignas, nedum diis superis: repudiatisque his omnibus, ad bene ac præclare de diis sentiendum & loquendum cives suos induxit, nihil eis assingi passus quod beatæ illi naturæ parum esset consentaneum (66). He expressly observes, that the

(66) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. ii, cap. xviii, pag. 90.

Romans did not teach, that Cælus was castrated by his children, or that Saturn devoured his; or that Jupiter, having dethroned Saturn, threw him into Tartarus, or that the gods had been at wars, or had been wounded in them, or that they had been slaves among men. This whole passage of the Historian is very remarkable: we see in it, that Romulus established a religion, not as a man educated among shepherds, but as an excellent Philosopher, and a thousand times a better Theologian, than the magistrates of Greece. Nevertheless, the other Historians, even they, who, like Livy, were more interested than Dionysius, in Romulus's glory, have been silent upon this article: which silence is surprising and unaccountable. But let us observe, that this author, who particularizes so many things, rejected by the first king of the Romans, does not take notice that he had banished what concerned the adulteries of the gods. Let us also say, that he falsely advances, that they did not speak of the castration of Cælus, or the dethroning of Saturn, &c. How durst he affirm things so false? Did he not know, that the Romans had adopted all the chimeras of the Greek Mythology (67)? Why did he not content himself with saying, that, during the first ages of Rome, they gave no credit to them? Be it how it will, though we grant what he says of Romulus, we cannot thence infer, that our Lucretia was persuaded, that the gods were very chaste.

(67) See Cicero, de Natura Deorum.

The tradition, that Romulus was the son of Mars, and of the vestal Sylvia, was, doubtless, very ancient in Tarquin's time; for this vestal had declared, when she was with child, that a god was the father of it (68). It was Romulus's interest that this fable should be believed, in order to screen the honour of his mother, and give himself a celestial origin. This was moreover well suited to the temporal interests of the city he had built; which is probably the reason why he, rejecting the other fables of the Greeks, did not intimate, that the amours of the gods were to be excluded.

(68) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. i, cap. lxxviii, pag. m. 61.

Let us then be persuaded, that, in Lucretia's time, one of the articles of the faith of the Roman people, was, that Mars got Sylvia with child, when he went to fetch water, for the divine service, to the wood consecrated to this god (69). So that Lucretia far from fearing to offend the gods, supposing she should commit adultery, ought to fear the being alone in some consecrated wood, and imagine that her honour would run a great risk there, the god of the place being very likely to fall in love with her, and to force her, with so much the less scruple, as she had never been a vestal (70), as the mother of Romulus had. Note, that during the wars that Tarquin made with the Romans they built a temple to Castor and Pollux (71); that is, to two bastards of the same Jupiter, whom they worshipped in the Capitol; which is a justification, even in respect of ancient Rome, of what is said in the *Miscellaneous Thoughts on Comets*, that religion did not teach, that lewdness was displeasing to the gods. Note also, that the first king of Rome, by forbidding to ascribe to the gods what Greece imputed to them, intimated, that there were evil reports concerning their conduct. This, doubtless, would occasion at least the curiosity of informing themselves what these slanders were: and we know, that in Tarquin's time, the oracle of Delphi was very well known at Rome (72). They had therefore an account of the religion of the Greeks; they knew the stories concerning the love-intrigues of the gods; and, as people easily believe what gratifies their passions, they easily gave credit to these discourses, authorized by a learned and ingenious nation; and which furnished dissolute men with so many apologies. We only imitate the gods, said they privately, in the beginning; they were bolder afterwards, as the law of Romulus grew obsolete. We know, from the experience of the later ages, that the forbidding a book, wherein the amours and corruptions of a court are exposed, prevents indeed the inhabitants of the country from dispersing these scandalous stories,

(69) Id. ibid.

(70) That is to say, a maid who had consecrated her virginity to the goddess Vesta.

(71) Florus, lib. i, cap. xi.

(72) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv, cap. lxxv, pag. 2. 4.

but not from thinking of them and believing them any more than before. Apply this to the subjects of Romulus, with respect to the proscribing the Grecian fables: add too, that the building of the temple of Castor and Pollux, was, as it were, an authentic declaration of Jupiter's adulteries, and derogatory to Romulus's law (73). The husband to the mother (74) of these two deities, was, by this edifice, as solemnly declared a cuckold, as by a decree of the Amphictyones, or of the senate. Whence we must conclude, that the virtue and good morals, so conspicuous among the Romans for the three or four first centuries, did not depend on the religion of the Heathens, but only on natural religion, &c.

(73) I speak thus to accommodate myself to those, who might pretend that that law comprehended the article which Dionysius Halicarnassensis has not mentioned.

But here is a dilemma. The religion, established by Romulus, and which represented God as a most perfect being, either subsisted intire in Lucretia's time, or was already corrupted by the fables of Greece. In the first case, Lucretia did not govern herself by the principles of her religion, since she stood more in fear of what the world would say (75), than of God himself. In the second case, she governed herself by the ideas of virtue, and the love of chastity, which the notion of her gods did not give her. Let us now see what relates to the second observation of our learned friend.

(74) Leda the wife of Tyndarus.

(75) Succubuit famæ victa puella metu. Ovid, *Fagor. lib. ii, ver. 810.*

He must give me leave to say, that the learning he has shewn upon the distinction of the Diræ, the Furæ, and the Eumenides, and so on, was above the comprehension of Lucretia, and all the other women of Rome or Athens. It was a piece of the most mystical Theology then in being: the women had nothing to do with it; the Initiates did not come near it: only the old Adepti were to be instructed in this article. I question whether Varro, the most learned of the Romans, and the Pontifex Caius Cotta (76), penetrated so far. But most certainly Lucretia did not know, that her acquitting herself in heaven and earth, before the Diræ and the Furæ, was to no purpose, unless she was furnished with the certificates, which the Eumenides demanded in hell. She did not therefore die, to provide herself with an answer to an examination, which she had no idea of. The bare interest of her reputation, without the least regard to religion, induced her to kill herself, as has been said in the *Thoughts upon Comets*.

(76) One of Cicero's Interlocutors in his books de *Natura Deorum*.

St Augustin understood very well this truth, and hath justly concluded, that Lucretia's conduct does not equal that of Christian women, who, having submitted to a like violence, comfort themselves in God, the witness of their inward purity; and are far from refusing the suspicions of men, by transgressing the laws of God. 'Quod seipsam, quoniam adulterum pertulit, etiam non adulterata occidit, non est pudicitie caritas, sed pudoris infirmitas. Pudit enim eam turpitudinis alienæ in se commissæ, etiam si non secum: & Romana mulier laudis avida nimium verita est, ne putaretur, quod violenter est passa cum viveret, libenter passa si viveret. Unde ad oculos hominum mentis suæ testem illam penam adhibendam putavit, quibus conscientiam demonstrare non potuit. Sociam quippe facti se credi erubuit, si quod alius in ea fecerat turpiter, ferret ipsa patienter. Non hoc fecerunt Fœminæ Christianæ, quæ passæ similia vivunt. Tamen nec in se ultæ sunt crimen alienum, ne aliorum sceleribus adderent suæ; si, quoniam hostes in eis concupiscendo stupra commiserant, illæ in se ipsis homicidia erubescendo committerent. Habent quippe intus gloriam castitatis, testimonium conscientie: habent autem coram oculis Dei sui; nec requirunt amplius, ubi quid rectè faciant, non amplius habent, ne deviant ab auctoritate legis divinæ, cum male deviant offensionem suspitionis humanæ (77). — That tho' she submitted to the adulterer, yet without being an adulteress, afterwards slew herself, was not the effect of her regard to chastity, but through a fear of shame. She could not endure the thoughts of a man's baseness towards her, tho' she was not base with him, and this Roman lady, too covetous of praise, was afraid, lest that violence which she had suffered when alive, would be thought to be voluntary if she still lived; therefore she resolved to render that evident to the eyes of men by her death, which otherwise she could never have made manifest to their minds, dreading to be thought an accomplice in the fact, if having been basely used she had patiently

(77) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. i, cap. xlix, pag. 69.

for this lady, and he says, she surpassed her own deities [F]. Let us not forget to observe, that as soon as Sextus was sensible of his passion for Lucretia, he resolved to make use of force (d). This shews, either that, in those times, married women were not used to be cajoled, or that the virtue of Lucretia shone so in her face and conduct that no body durst hope for any favour (e). This shews also how the times change: for at present, princes, great lords, and all galants in general, think first of declaring their passion, and begin by cajoling. They think on nothing less than offering violence, as imagining they shall have no need of it. And if the worst come to the worst, this is their

(1) Ibi Sextum Tarquinium mala libidine Lucretie per vim stupran- de ca. it. l. x. lib. i, cap. lvi.

(*) Confer above citat. (10) of the article JUDITH.

* patiently sustained it. But Christian women have not acted like her, for having suffered what she did they are yet alive, desiring not to revenge on their own bodies the crimes of others, nor to add new crimes to theirs, which they must have done, if, because the enemies in the heat of their lust had abused them, they had for shame murdered themselves. For they enjoy within the glory of chastity from the testimony of their consciences. They have this also in the sight of God; neither do they require any more; but choose to all so as not to offend against the divine law, rather than to do evil to avoid the suspicions of men. If instead of following the Roman genius, which thirsted after the praise of men (78), she had conformed to the precepts of sound religion, she had chosen to die by the hand of Sextus, rather than suffered him to do what he did. She cannot therefore be justified at the bar of religion? but if she is judged at the tribunal of human glory, there she will come off with flying colours. For if, on one hand, life was less dear to her than chastity; she sacrificed, on the other, to a fair reputation, what she preferred before life itself. All this centered in self-love; but had she been a Christian, I say, a thorough Christian, she would have acted otherwise, and from a principle of divine love. The Spanish Jesuit, above-cited, states her duty aright, and opposes to her the answer of Lucia, a Christian woman. 'Mal se eganno Lucretia, y si tuviera tanto valor de animo como hermofura, con el primero reparara el danno que la hizo la segunda. No son violadas, dize Sant Basilio', hablando de las virgines: *Quæ vim passæ sunt non consentiente ad voluptatem animæ, imo integram aique incorruptam sponso suo & fide & virginitate inclytam, majori cum gloria & laude obtulerunt.* Esto no fabia Lucretia, y si lo entendia, cegose con el puntillo de la honra, y todo lo perdio. De manera, que por medio de la muerte, quedo muerta: y por temor de la honra quedo deshonrada. Quanto mas, que respondio muy bien otra no Lucretia Romana, sino Lucia Christiana, al Presidente Paschasio, que sobre el mismo punto dixo, la pondria en el lugar de las mugeres ramera, para que qualquiera la infamasse, y el Espiritu divino de que se preciava la desamparasse: *Si invitam jufferis violari, castitas mihi duplicabitur ad coronam* (79). — Lucretia was much mistaken, and if she valued herself as much for her courage as for her beauty, with the first she repaired the mischief which was caused by the second. They are not defiled (says St Basil, speaking of the virgins) who have suffered violence when their soul did not consent to the lust; on the contrary, they have offered themselves with greater glory and praise, like pure and faithful virgins to their spouse. Lucretia was ignorant of this, and if she knew it, she was blinded by the point of honour, and lost both her life and honour. How much more to the purpose was the answer not of the Roman Lucretia, but of the Christian Lucia to the president Paschasius, who, in the same case, said, he would send her among the most abandoned women that any one might defile her, and the holy spirit on which she valued herself should forsake her: If you order violence to be offered me against my own consent, my chastity will merit a double crown. There is one thing more, in which the Christian women St Augustin speaks of, excelled her. She had her choice of death or consenting: they were not allowed this option (80). Tyrants, persecutors, and soldiers, made use of violence, without proposing the alternative. Being reduced to this condition, all the defence they had was a denial of consent, and repugnance of will; for what would the resistance of arms and hands have signified? As for the rest, we must presume as much in favour of Lucretia, as in favour of that is, reject the surmises St Augustin has suggested concerning this Heathen lady. Who knows,

(78) Vincet amor patriæ laudumque immensa cupido. Virgil. Æneid. lib. vi, ver. 824.

* S. Basil. lib. de Ver. Virg.

(79) Juan de Torres Philosophia Moral de Principes, lib. xix, cap. viii, pag. 577.

(80) Christianis feminis in captivitate compressis alieni ab omni cogitatione sancti totis insulant. August. ubi supra.

say he, but she was conscious of some kind of consent, which might be the reason of her killing herself? Quid si enim, (quod ipsa tantummodo nosse poterat), quævis juveni violenter irruenti, etiam sua libidine illecta consensit, idque in se puniens ita doluit, ut morte putaret expiandum? Quamquam nec sic quidem occidere se debuit, si fructuosam posset apud deos falsos agere penitentiam. Verumtamen si forte ita est, salumque est illud, quod duo fuerunt, & adulterium unus admisit, sed potius ambo adulterium commiserunt, unus manifesta invasione, altera latente consensione, non se occidit infontem (81). — But supposing (which she herself only could know) that she the youth committed violence on her, yet through her own lust she consented, for which afterwards grieving she thought it could be expiated only by death? Yet in this case she ought not to have put herself to death, if by any penitence her false gods might in her opinion have been appeased. But if this be true, then the other notion is false, that though two were concerned in the crime, one only committed adultery, rather both committed adultery, one by open force, the other by secret consent, in this case she did not kill herself without guilt. These are unreasonable suspicions. We ought to believe, that her soul lost nothing of its purity; and that she was violently robbed of an immaculate chastity (82), according to the literal meaning of Brutus's words in Dionysius Halicarnassensis. Note, that we may reasonably suppose, no body had ever known young Tarquin's exploit, if Lucretia had not revealed it.

(81) Ib. pag. 68.

(F) Father le Moine . . . has made an apology for this lady, in which he says she surpassed her own deities.

I have seen, says he (83), the action brought against her memory, and the sentence which is annexed to it in St Augustin's books de Civitate Dei. I have sometimes heard, in declamations, that one of the most heroic and strict ladies of her sex (84) had pleaded against her; and I confess, that if she were to be judged by the Christian law, and the rules of the gospel, she would find it very difficult to justify her innocence. But if she be removed from this severe tribunal, where Pagan virtue finds no footing, she is out of danger of being condemned: if she is judged by the laws of her own country, and the religion of her time she will be found to be the chastest of those who then lived, and the most resolute of all the Heathens. The noble and virtuous Philosopher, who accuses her so often, would pardon her misfortune, and reconcile himself to her, and every body must confess, that her crime was less her fault, than the imperfection of the Roman law, which had not regulated it rightly, and the scandals of her religion, which had only given her ill examples: and truly the law of that country, in those times, was only superficial and out-side . . . As for the Roman religion which exalted ladies of pleasure to the rank of goddesses, and offered sacrifices to adulterers, it could not be expected that it should keep women virtuous or chaste. In this, Lucretia, nay, the ravished Lucretia, was better than the gods of Rome. It was not the love of pleasure, or the fear of death, that made her transgress: It was the love of honour, and her extreme apprehension, that she should lose it. And if she had not the resolution of Sufannah, who neither yielded under the fear of death, or infamy; it is sufficient to say in her excuse, that she did not believe in Sufannah's God: and the miracle had been too great, if a Pagan had equalled one of the sublimest virtues of the faithful. Were it not for the law and grace, what could the faithful do? We need not therefore scruple to praise Lucretia. . . . Not being able with her hands to resist an armed force, she resorted to it in thought, and her soul raised itself as much as possible to avoid the stain of impurity, which which her body was defiled (85).

(82) The last avowal of the Greek and Latin poets is, that she was violated by Tarquin.

(83) Father le Moine Galerie des Femmes, pag. 180. Dutch Edit. 1660.

(84) Further le Moine Galerie des Femmes, pag. 180. Dutch Edit. 1660.

(85) I should be glad to know who this person is that Father le Moine means here.

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the Life of Lucretia, related to his friend transla- tion of this Poet, printed at Paris, 1660.

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their last shift; whereas it was the only one of the eldest son of Tarquin, a potent king at that time. He made his first declaration of love, with a sword in his hand, and with the threats of death in his mouth.

LUCRETIIUS, commonly called, *Titus Lucretius Carus* [A], was one of the best poets of his age. He was born, according to Eusebius's Chronicle, in the second year of the CLXXIst olympiad [B], and killed himself in the forty fourth year of his age; that is, he killed himself in the 702d year of Rome. He had a philtre given him, which threw him into a phrenzy. During this madness he had some lucid intervals, in which

[A] *Titus Lucretius Carus.* Lambinus conjectures, that our Poet was either of the family of the Lucretii firmamed Vespillo, or of the family of the Lucretii firmamed Ofella; and that the firmame Carus was a fourth title, denoting either his admirable genius, or the sweetness of his temper, or something of this kind (1). He produces some instances of other persons, who had two firmames. The baron des Coutures goes farther (2), and affirms, as an undoubted fact, that *Lucretius* was firmamed Vespillo, or Ofella; because, in all appearance, he derived his pedigree from one of these two families. The same Lambinus conjectures, that Lucretius was either brother, or cousin german, to the two orators, Cicero speaks of, one firmamed Vespillo, and the other Ofella; or else to Lucretius Vespillo, mentioned by Julius Cæsar. This last Lucretius was a senator, but that hinders not but he might be a near relation to our Poet; for there were families, in which some raised themselves to the senatorial dignity, whilst others remained in the rank of knights. To prove this, Lambinus makes use of a false supposition: he says, that if Cicero's brother had not aspired to great employments, there would have been an instance of two brothers, one of which was a senator, the other only a knight; but he owns, that this was not the case of Cicero's brother. * Finge ex his duobus fratribus alterum se ad honores petendos, & Remp. gerendam contulisse: alterum luce populari carere, suum negotium agere, intra pelliculam se continere voluisse (quod tamen fecus factum est) sed finge ita evenisse, procul dubio is qui ædilitatem majorem, præturam, consulatum adeptus esset, ut Marcus, Senatorii ordinis factus esset: ille alter qui nullum Magistratum gessisset, in equestri ordine mansisset (3). The baron des Coutures goes still further, and affirms, that our Lucretius always continued in the equestrian order; and that Cicero, who enjoyed the most considerable dignities of the republic, had a brother, *Quintus Tullius*, who never rose higher than the degree of a knight.

[B] He was born in the second year of the CLXXIst olympiad. It is a pretty current opinion (4), that Lucretius was born twelve years after Cicero, in the consulship of Lucius Licinius Crassus, and Quintus Mutius Scævola, in the 658th year of Rome. The baron des Coutures (5) is the first I know of, who places the birth of Cicero twelve years later than that of Lucretius; and yet he places the birth of each under the consulships fixed upon by other writers. Here Lambinus falls into three errors. He says that Eusebius has placed Lucretius's birth in the CLXXIst olympiad; that is, in the consulship of Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, and Caius Cassius Longinus, in the 657th year of Rome; and that others place it in the CLXXIId olympiad; that is, in the consulship of L. Licinius Crassus, and Q. Mutius Scævola, in the year 658: from whence it follows, says he, that this Poet was twelve or eleven years younger than Cicero, who was born in the consulship of Q. Servilius Cæpio, and C. Attilius Seranus. I. Eusebius places Lucretius's birth in the second year of the CLXXIst olympiad. Now Domitius Ænobarbus, and Cassius Longinus, were consuls the year before. II. Their consulship, and that of Licinius Crassus, and Mutius Scævola, do not belong to the CLXXIId, but to the CLXXIst olympiad. It is somewhat strange, that Lambinus should so carelessly determine the olympiads CLXXI and CLXXII, by the years 657 and 658 of Rome. III. Since the consulship, in which Cicero was born, falls in with the 647th year of Rome, he ought to have said, that Lucretius was ten or twelve years younger than Cicero, and not twelve or eleven. Gifanius, and his copyer, Daniel Pareus (6), placing Lucretius's birth in the 658th year, are in the wrong to make him precede Cicero by twelve years.

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I have reckoned up eight faults in eight lines of Father Briet (7). He will have Lucretius born in the second year of the CLXXVth olympiad, and that year to be the 543d of Rome. He will have Lucretius die in the 584th year of Rome, at thirty six years of age, or rather forty, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus; and that this was the year, in which Virgil assumed the *Toga Virilis*: lastly, he pretends that St Jerome says, that Lucretius killed himself at forty years of age. Let us sum up his faults. I. He should have placed the birth of Lucretius in the CLXXIst olympiad, and not in the CLXXVth. II. The olympic year he mentions, answers to the 674th year of Rome, and not to the 543d. III. It is absurd to say, that a man who was born in the year 543, and died in 584, died at thirty six years of age; this, I say, is absurd, though he corrects it by these words, or rather at the age of forty; for besides that, he should have said forty one, and not forty, such a disjunctive ought never to be used, as at thirty six or forty, when it is certain that the first part of the proposition is false. This is Father Briet's case. He positively fixes Lucretius's birth to the 543d year of Rome, and his death to the 584th: he ought not therefore to have advanced two different opinions concerning his term of life. IV. As Crassus and Pompey were twice consuls together, it is a fault, simply, to observe, that such a thing happened in the consulship of these two men: he should have specified under which consulship. V. Crassus and Pompey were consuls the first time in the 683d year of Rome, and not in 584. VI. He should either not have mentioned Virgil at all, or have said, as Donatus does, that this Poet took the *Toga Virilis* the same day that Lucretius died. The point of singularity consists in the sameness of the day: and this Father Briet enervates, by barely observing, that Virgil took the *Toga Virilis* the same year Lucretius died. VII. It was in the second consulship of Crassus and Pompey, that Virgil took this robe, and in the 698th year of Rome (8); he ought not therefore to have placed Lucretius's death in the 584th year. VIII. St Jerome has plainly said, that Lucretius killed himself in the forty fourth year of his age. *Propria se manu interfecit anno ætatis quadagesimo quarto* (9). Add to these eight faults, that which Father Briet has committed a little after, in saying, that Ovid gave Lucretius the epithet divine.

Carmina divini tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,
Exitio terras cum dabit una dies.

Sublime Lucretius wrote with so much fire,
That his bright work shall with the world expire.

It is *sublimis*, and not *divini*, in Ovid (10). Gassendus was strangely mistaken about the passage of St Jerome: he thought the year of the death of Lucretius had been specified in it, and not that, of his birth; which made him conclude, that Lucretius was older than Zeno the Epicurean, whose auditors Cicero and Atticus had been (11). Mr Creech has placed Lucretius's birth in the 659th year, and his death in the 702d; and pretends, that Virgil was born the same day Lucretius died; which would make a Pythagorean believe, that Lucretius's soul transmigrated into Virgil's body. *Vix absolute opere moritur, eo ipso die quo natus est* Virgilius; & aliquis Pythagoreus credat Lucretii animam in Maronis corpus transisse, ibique longo usu & multo studio exercitatum Poëtam evasisse (12). This is a considerable fault; for we must hence conclude, that Virgil wrote his Eclogues at eight or nine years of age. Thus you see how the most learned men confound their ideas. They change the day that Virgil took his *Toga Virilis*,

(7) De Poëtiæ Latinis, pag. 9.

(8) Decimo septimo anno ætatis virilem togam cepit, illis Consulibus iterum quibus natus erat. Eventusque ut eo ipso die Lucretius poëta diceretur. Donatus, in Vita Virgilii.

(9) In Chronic. Eusebii.

(10) Ovid. Amor. lib. i. Eleg. xv, ver. 23.

(11) Aliquanto vetustior, sed Romæ fuit T. Lucretius Carus; obit enim juxta Eusebium Olympiade CLXXI. cum ægeret annum ætatis quadagesimum tertium. Gassendus Vita Epicuri, lib. ii, cap. vi.

(12) Thom. Creech, in Pref. Lucretii.

which he composed his six books *de Rerum Natura* [C], where he learnedly explains Epicurus's Physics. The same Chronicle informs us, that this work was corrected by Cicero after the death of the author [D]. Never any man denied the Divine providence with more boldness [E] than this Poet; and yet he has acknowledged some I do not know what cause which delights in the overthrow of human greatness [F]. And

Virilis, into that of his birth. Lambinus made the same blunder (13).
(13) See the end of this remark.

If we judged by the style, we might easily conclude, that Lucretius was older than Cicero; but that rule would be fallacious. How many authors have we younger than Balzac, who wrote in old French, whilst Balzac wrote eloquently and politely? however, I have read in some Moderns, that Lucretius preceded Cicero. 'Paulo antiquior fuit, Terentio Varrone, & M. Tullio, ut quidam scripserunt. — He lived some time before Terentius Varro, and Cicero, as some have wrote.' These are the words of Crinitus (14). Charles Stephens, Lloyd, and Hofman, have exactly copied him; but Decimotor, copying him without well-placing the commas, has uttered a gross falsehood.

'Lucretius, says he (15), Poëta latinus paulo antiquior Terentio, Varrone & M. Tullio. — Lucretius, the Latin Poet, was a little older than Terence, Varro, and Cicero.' In another book (16) he had barely said, that Lucretius was more ancient than Terence and Cicero. A famous Englishman (17), whom I frequently cite, will have Lucretius to be cotemporary with Cicero and Varro, but somewhat older. He puts in the margin, that Lucretius flourished 105 years before Jesus Christ. Now, according to him, the birth of Jesus Christ falls in the 751st year of Rome (18), he believes therefore, that our Lucretius flourished in the 646th year of Rome. He must therefore fix his birth about the year 620. In which he deviates far from the common opinion, and from that of St. Jerome. Lambinus's Life of Lucretius, in the edition I make use of (19), imports, that he died in the forty third year of his age, in the third consulship of Pompey, in the 751st year of Rome, the day that Virgil was born. Of the two faults, which are notorious in this account, one is, doubtless, a fault of the press (20), and the other of the author. Lambinus, instead of the day that Virgil took the *Toga Virilis*, has put his birth-day; and, though we should rectify him thus far, yet we could not clear him of an error, for it was in Pompey's second consulship that Virgil took the *Toga Virilis*, in the year 698 (21).

[C] During this madness, he had some lucid intervals, in which he composed his six books *de Rerum Natura*. They who shall read in Thuanus (22), that Tasso was subject to great fits of madness, which hindered not his writing excellent verses, will not think incredible what we here say of Lucretius. 'Amatorio poculo in furorem versus, quum aliquot libros per intervalla insanie conscripisset (23). — Falling mad by taking a love potion, he composed some books in his lucid intervals.' Some believe, that Statius alluded to this madness, when he said *et docti furor ardens Lucreti* (24); but others think, that he only meant his Poetic Enthusiasm, and that he alluded to these words of Lucretius's first book: *sed acri Percussit thyrsi laudis spes magna meum cor*. See Barthius upon these words of Statius.

[D] Eusebius informs us, that this work was corrected by Cicero, after the death of the author. Father Briet seems to believe it, since he uses these words: 'In suis versibus, duris quidem, sed valde Latinis, & Tullii lima dignissimis. — His verses are difficult indeed, but his Latin is pure, and worthy the revision of Cicero.' Some think (25), he only meant, that Lucretius's poems had need of Cicero's file; but others believe his meaning is, that they do honour to Cicero, by whom they were corrected; or that it plainly appears, they received the finishing stroke from this great man.

[E] Never any man denied the divine providence with more boldness. He sets out with this impious exordium.

Omnis enim per se Divum natura necesse est Immortali ævo summa cum pace fruatur, Semota à nostris rebus, sejunctaque longè. Nam privata dolore omni, privata periculis,

(14) De Poëtis Latinis, lib. ii, pag. m. 657.
(15) In Theatro linguarum voce Lucretius.
(16) In Parte II, Sylvæ Vocibus rum, printed at Frankfurt, in 8vo, in 1591.
(17) Pope Blount, Censura Authorum, pag. 39.
(18) See what he says of the death of Cicero, pag. 40.
(19) It is that of the Dauphin's Commentator on Lucretius.
(20) 751 instead of 701, the Frankfurt edition of 1583, has 651.
(21) Donatus, in Vita Virgilli.
(22) Thuanus, Hist. lib. cxlii, pag. 686, ad ann. 1595.
(23) Chron. Eusebii.
(24) Stat Silv. VII, lib. ii, ver. 76.
(25) See Baillet, Jugemens sur les Poëtes, Tom. II, pag. 39.

Ipse suis pollens opibus; nihil indiga nostri, Nec bene promeritis capitur, nec tangitur ira (26).

(26) Lucret. lib. i, ver. 59.

For what he'er's divine must live in peace,
In undisturb'd and everlasting ease:
Not care for us, from fears and dangers free,
Sufficient to it's own felicity:
Nought here below, nought in our pow'r it needs;
Ne'er smiles at good, ne'er frowns at wicked deeds.
CREECH.

He goes on, with giving infinite praises to Epicurus, who courageously attacked religion, and triumphed over it.

Humana ante oculos scedd cum vita jaceret
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione:
Quæ caput à cœli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribili super adpectu mortalibus instans:
Primum Grajus homo mortales tollere contra
Est oculos ausus, primique obfistere contra:
Quem nec fama Deum, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compressit cœlum: sed eo magis acrem
Virtutem iritât animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.
Quare religio pedibus subjecta vicissim
Obteritur: nos exæquat victoriosa cœlo (27).

(27) lib. ver. 64.

Long time men lay oppress'd with slavish fear,
Religious tyranny did domineer,
Which, bring plac'd in heav'n, look'd proudly down,
And frighted abject spirits with her frown.
At last a mighty one of Greece began
To assert the nat'ral liberty of man,
By senseless terrors, and vain fancies, led
To slavery; strait the conquer'd phantom fled.
Not the sam'd stories of the Deity,
Nor all the thunder of the threat'ning sky,
Could stop his rising soul, thro' all he pass'd,
The strongest bounds that pow'rful nature cast:
His vigorous and active mind was hurl'd
Beyond the flaming limits of this world,
Into the mighty space, and there did see
How things begin, what can, what cannot be:
Thus by his conquest we our right regain;
Religion he subdu'd, and we now reign.

CREECH.

He says, in the same book, that one of the things that most encouraged him, was the praise he hoped to deserve, in treating of a subject quite new, and in breaking the fetters of religion.

Primum quod magnis doceo de rebus & artibus,
Religionum animos nodis exolvere pergo (28).

(28) Ibid. pag. m. 30, ver. 930.

He has acknowledged some, I do not know what cause, which delights in the overthrow of human greatness. Having described the fear which seizes admirals at the approach of a tempest, he adds, that their vows are all in vain. So true it is, that a hidden force seems to sport with the dignities of the earth.

Summa etiam cum vis violenti per mare venti
Induperatorem classis super æquora verrit,
Cum validis pariter Legionibus, atque Elephantis:
Non Divum pacem votis adit? ac prece quaerit
Ventorum pavidas paces, animasque secundas?
Nequicquam: quoniam violento turbine sæpe
Conreptus nihilo fertur minùs ad vada lethi:

Uſque

And no one can deny, but his work is intermixed with several fine maxims against ill morals

Uſque adeo res humanas VIS ABDITA quædam
Obterit, & pulchros Faſceis, ſævaſque Secureis
Proculcare, ac LUDIBRIO SIBI HABERE
RE videtur (29).

(29) Idem, lib. v.
(ver. 1225).

Befides, when winds grow high, when ſtorms increaſe,
And ſcatter war-like navies thro' the ſeas;
When men for battle arm'd, muſt now engage
A ſtronger foe, and fight the water's rage:
Doſt not the trembling gen'ral proſtrate fall?
And beg a calm of th' gods, or proſperous gale?
In vain, the ſtorms drive on, no off'ring ſaves;
All, ſhipwreck'd, drink cold death amongſt the waves.
And hence we fancy unſeen pow'rs in things,
Whoſe force, and will, ſuch ſtrange confuſion brings,
And ſpurns and overt brows our greateſt kings.

CREECH.

(30) You muſt underſtand here by Fortune, a deity which acts with knowledge, but is whimsical, malicious, unjuſt, imprudent, &c.

See here a Philoſopher, who, though he obſtinately denies a providence, and the power of fortune (30), and attributes all things to the neceſſary motions of atoms; a cauſe which knows not whither it tends, nor what it does: yet is forced, by experience, to acknowledge, in the courſe of events, a particular affection of over-turning thoſe exalted dignities which appear among men. It is hardly poſſible not to diſcover this affection, when we attentively ſtudy Hiſtory, or only the tranſactions of the countries within our own knowledge. A life, of any moderate length, ſuffices to ſhew us, how perſons, raiſed to the higheſt ſtations, by a ſwift courſe of good ſucceſſes, fell back again into their primitive nothing, by a like courſe of un-proſperous events. All proſpered with them formerly, but nothing at preſent: they are daſhed by a thouſand ſtorms, which ſpare moderate conditions, though ſtanding, as we may ſay, in the ſame road with them. It is againſt them that fortune ſeems exaſperated: it is their ruin ſhe ſeems to have conſpired, whiſt ſhe ſuffers others to eſcape. I do not wonder then, that Lucretius perceived ſuch an affection as this, inexplicable by his principles, and very hard to be explained by any other ſyſtem. For it muſt be confeſſed, that the phenomena, in the hiſtory of man, caſt the Philoſophers into no leſs perplexity, than thoſe in the hiſtory of nature. That which is moſt conspicuous in the hiſtory of man, is that viciffitude of exaltation and abaſement (31). I elſewhere ſpoke of (32), and which, as Æſop ſays, is the ordinary exerciſe of providence. How ſhall we reconcile this with the ideas of a God, infinitely good, infinitely wiſe, and director of all things? can the infinitely perfect being delight in raiſing a creature to the higheſt pitch of glory, on purpoſe to hurl it, ſome time after, to the loweſt degree of infamy? would not this conduct reſemble that of children, who no ſooner have built a caſtle of cards, but they undo and over-throw it again? this, you will ſay, is neceſſary, becauſe men abuſing their proſperity, grow ſo insolent, that their fall muſt be a puniſhment for the ill uſe they have made of the favours of Heaven, a conſolation to the miſerable, and a leſſon to thoſe whom God ſhall favour hereafter. But were not it better, will another ſay, to mix with ſo many favours, the grace of not abuſing them? inſtead of ſix great ſucceſſes, only give four; and add, as a compenſation for the two others, the ability to uſe them well. It will no longer be neceſſary either to puniſh the insolent, or comfort the miſerable, or inſtruct the man deſigned for exaltation. The firſt thing a father would do, if it were in his power, would be to ſupply his children with the gift of rightly uſing all the goods he thought beſtow on them; for without this, the other gifts are rather a ſnare than a favour, when it is conſidered, that they ſhall produce a conduct, the puniſhment whereof muſt be exemplary to others: beſides that, the uſefulneſs of theſe examples is not ſeen: all generations hitherto have had need of this leſſon: and there is no probability that future ages ſhould be more exempt from this viciffitude, which Æſop ſpoke of, than the preceding ones. Thus this viciffitude of good and evil, bears not the character of a being, infinitely good, wiſe, and immutable. I know a thouſand reaſons may be thought on to ſolve theſe difficulties, but as many replies may be invented: the

mind of man is more fruitful in objections, than answers: ſo that it muſt be acknowledged, that, without the lights of revelation, Philoſophy cannot unravel the doubts that are drawn from the hiſtory of man. It is the province of Divines, and not of Philoſophers, to explain this. The Heathen Poets had recourſe to an hypotheſis, which paſſed very well with the people: They pretended, that among that multitude of deities who had a ſhare in the government of the world, there were ſome envied the happineſs of men; and who, to aſſuage the gnawing of this envy, left no ſtone unturned to ruin thoſe men. Hence Paganism was particularly careful to appeaſe theſe envious gods; and the goddeſs Nemefis, who was repreſented at the head of them, had as great a ſhare as any other deity, in the worſhip and honours of religion: and even when a man was thought to be humbled, as much as theſe envious powers could wiſh, he ſtill moſt humbly beſought them to ceaſe their perfection.

Vos quoque Pergamæ jam ſas eſt parcere genti,
Diique Dæque omnes, quibus obſtiti Ilium & in-
gens

Gloria Dardanizæ (33).

Let it ſuffice that deſtiny thus far
Has perſecuted Troy: and all ye gods,
And goddeſſes, to whom the Dardan ſtate
And glory ſeems obnoxious . . .

TRAPP.

If this hypotheſis were once admitted, it might eaſily be explained, how human grandeur is more expoſed to the insults of fortune, than moderate conditions; and every one might underſtand the cauſe of that affection, which Lucretius himſelf could not deny. Now, of all the ſyſtems of Philoſophy, there is none ſo irrecoverably over-whelmed with the difficulties I ſpeak of, as that of Epicurus. Lucretius did not know what to fix upon; he could neither employ the hypotheſis of the Poets, nor any kind of morality; for he allowed not the gods any ſhare in the government of the univerſe, nor acknowledged in our world any inviſible being, which knew or willed any thing; conſequently his *vis abdita quædam* is a convincing argument againſt himſelf. By it he over-throw his own principles.

I ſhall obſerve, by the way, that it had been very eaſy for him to reconcile the exiſtence of what people called, *Fortune*, *Nemefis*, good and evil genii with his own ſyſtem. He might have left the gods in the ſtate, in which he conceived them, content with their own condition, and enjoying a ſupreme felicity, without concerning themſelves with our affairs, without puniſhing evil, or rewarding good, &c. but he might ſuppoſe, that certain collections of atoms, to which he had given what names he pleaſed, were capable of jealousy, with reſpect to man; as alſo of labouring inviſibly in ruining exalted fortunes. I have often wondered, that neither Epicurus, nor any of his followers, ſhould conſider, that the atoms which form a noſe, two eyes, ſeveral nerves, a brain, have nothing more excellent in them, than thoſe which go to the making a ſtone (34): and therefore it is very abſurd to ſuppoſe, that every collection of atoms, which makes not a man or a beaſt, ſhould be diſtinct of knowledge. He who denies the ſoul of man to be a ſubſtance diſtinct from matter, reaſons childiſhly, unleſs he ſuppoſes, that all the univerſe is animated; and that there are every where ſome particular thinking beings; and that, as there are ſome, which do not equal men, ſo there are others which exceed them. On this ſuppoſition, plants and ſtones, would be thinking ſubſtances. It is not neceſſary, they ſhould have a ſenſation of colours, ſounds, ſmells, &c. but it is neceſſary, they ſhould have another ſort of knowledge: and, as theſe would be ridiculous to deny there were any ſuch beings as men, who do them a deal of miſchief, who pluck them up by the roots, who cut and break them in pieces; as, I ſay, they would be ridiculous to deny this, under pretence that they do not ſee the arm or ax which ſmote them; ſo the Epicureans are moſt ridiculous, in denying, that there are beings in the air, or elſewhere, who know us, who do

(33) Virgil.
Æneid. lib. vi.
ver. 63.

(31) Quidquid in
altum Fortuna
tulit ruitura levat
modicis rebus
longius ævum eſt.
Seneca, in Agam.
The Polyambus
at the word For-
tuna, is full of
ſuch ſentences.

(32) In the ar-
ticle ÆSOP,
remark [I].

EPICURUS
ſhould have al-
lowed ſpirits, if
he had reaſoned
conſequentially.

(34) Compare
this with what
has been ſaid in
the article
HOBBES, re-
mark [N].

morals [G]. Had he as attentively considered the accidents which befall private persons, as he did those which happen to the great, he might perhaps have discovered some I do not know

us sometimes evil, sometimes good; or who are inclined, some to destroy, others to protect us: I say, the Epicureans would be very ridiculous to deny this, under pretence, that we see no such beings. They have no good reason to deny Witchcraft, Magic, the Larvæ, the Spectres, the Lemures, Hobgoblins, familiars, and other things of this nature. It is more allowable in those who believe the soul to be distinct from matter, to deny them; and yet I know not by what preposterous turn of mind, they who believe the soul of man to be corporeal, are the readiest to deny the existence of demons.

[G] His work is intermixed with several fine maxims against ill morals. A learned critic, who has laboured to explain this poem, as much as any man whatever, gives it this testimony: 'Ambitionem etiam suæ ætatis gravissimis versibus libro tertio & quinto reprehendit (Lucretius). Quam sanctis denique fuerit moribus Poeta testis est locupletissimum opus gravissimum, multique præclaris ad bonos mores conformandos adhortationibus illuminatum (35). — The pride and ambition reigning in his age, he (Lucretius) reproves in the most severe verses in his third and fifth books. In fine, to what a sanctity of manners our Poet attained, his excellent work is a sufficient testimony, every where abounding with the most elegant exhortations to a moral life.' So that we know not what to think of that Jesuit, who durst affirm, that all the world is agreed, concerning Lucretius's ill morals, which, adds he, are but too manifestly exposed in his book (36).

Upon the testimony of this Jesuit, Mr Baillet had reason to say (37), 'that some have found fault with Lucretius for not dissembling, more than he did, his own corrupt morals, and so much the more, as he had less need to expose them.' But it is certain this Jesuit is in an error; and that there is nothing in the poem of *Rerum Natura*, whence it may be reasonably inferred, that the author was a man of a dissolute life; so far is he from glorying in the corruption of his own morals. I confess, he explains some things, concerning generation, in very obscene terms: but do not our most esteemed and most virtuous Physicians do the same, in the books where they treat of these matters, and several others? Read Mr Menjot's dissertations, who was a Protestant, and a perfectly honest man: read, I say, his dissertation de *Sterilitate*, where you will find Lucretius's verses, preceded by an explanation, which, to say no worse, comes not behind the verses themselves. 'Causis etiam sterilitatis annumeratur incompotitus inter coeundum motus, dum scilicet clunibus & coxendicibus sublevatis lumborum crispitudine fluctuat, sive, ut dixit Martialis †, vibrat sine fine priuriens lascivos docili tremore lumbos fœmina oisphalis (Latinus crissare, Græci στερυγίζων appellat) unde belluæ naturæ edocæ in congressu citrà στέναι quietæ perstant. Lucretius †, quem nescias utrumne inter Poetas an inter Philosophos numeres, hanc rationem reddit,

Nec molles opus sunt motus uxoribus hilum,
Nam mulier prohibet se concipere atque repugnat,
Clunibus ipsa viri Venerem si lata retrahet
Atque exoscat ciet omni pectore fluctus.
Ejicit enim fulci rectâ regione viâque
Vomerem, atque locis avertit feminis ictum.
Idque suâ causâ confuerunt scorta moveri
Nè complerentur crebrò, gravidæque jacerent (38).

There is a great difference betwixt the Poets, who publish obscenities in the way of Catullus and Ovid, and those who are forced to use obscene words, in explaining the effects of nature. Lucretius must be reckoned in this last class; and consequently his expressions cannot be brought as a proof against his morals. The case is quite different as to Catullus, and such as he, who publish obscenities only to give the history of their amours, or excite people to the most filthy debaucheries. In a word, Lucretius is a Poet who was a Natural Philosopher, and the others are the authors of verses on galantry: it is lawful for him to make use of the Physicians' stile. But obscenity is intolerable in love-
verses. I mention not the poem, in which the abbot

Quillet gives rules for getting handsome children (39). I am not ignorant how Mr Baillet blames him (40); therefore I forbear saying, that, if a Christian Poet, a Poet who is an ecclesiastic (41), is not excluded from the number of men of probity, on account of the descriptions he has given upon the subject of generation (42), Lucretius ought not to be excluded.

I will not take advantage of Dionysius Lambinus's (40) libel, & pag. testimony. He is an author, who, desirous to prove by examples, the modesty wherewith the ancient Poets described what concerns the venereal exercise (43), alleges, amongst other passages, that of Lucretius above-cited (44). 'Ad genera verecundiora redeo. Pindarus Apollinis cum Cyrena concubitus narans, ita testis verbis utitur, ut ne virginales quidem aures eis offendi posse videantur hoc modo, *νεγ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖον καίτερον μὴ λινδὴν ποίαν, &c.* id est, licet ne ex ejus cubili suavem herbam tondere? & ibid. de Antei filia, quam pater optimè currenti præmium proposuerat. *Χρυσόσπαρξ δὲ οἱ ἥσας καὶ πὺν ἀνδάναν ἀποσπείλας ἡδονῶν;* id est, curiores autem florentem ei pubertatis aureæ fructum decerpere volebant. Lucret. lib. 4. in extr. de muliere motum adhibente in concubitu, *Ejicit enim sulci rectâ regione, viâque Vomerem, atque locis avertit feminis ictum* (45). — I return to the chaster Poets. Pindar, describing the commerce between Apollo and Cyrena, uses such words as might inoffensively touch even a virgin's ear, thus: *Is it not lawful to gather a fragrant herb out of it's bed. The same Poet, telling us, that Anteus, offering his daughter as a prize to the man who overcame in the race, speaks thus of the desires of those who contended on this occasion, the young men who ran desired to pluck the fruit of her golden youth: Lucretius, in his fourth book, describing the motion of a woman in the act of love, says, that by diverting the plow she sometimes causes the grain to fall in an improper place.* The reason which hinders me from taking advantage of this testimony, is, that Lambinus had no very nice taste upon this subject: for at present we should think such expressions, as he cites to be very gross. One of Pindar's examples; contained in the words I have copied, answers to this English expression: *they would rob her of the flower of her virginity.* The instances he cites from Homer (46) are for the most part as strong as the expressions of carnal copulation, and cohabitation; which the country notaries do now make a scruple of inserting, in the contracts for marriage, as was done heretofore. He moreover alleges these words of Horace, *Inachiam ter nocte potes;* where, says he, *verbum, in quo turpitude & obscenitas inest, tacetur.* — (The verb in which the obscenity lies is suppressed. But tho' two Poets, natives of Vire in Normandy (47), have used the like suppression, as Horace, in translating these words, yet is the translation obscene. I omit to say, that the ode, whence Lambinus has taken this example of a modest conduct, furnishes us with a quite contrary instance presently after.

Inachia langues mindus, ac me.
Inachiam ter nocte potes: mihi semper ad unum
Mollis opus: pereat malè, quæ te
Lesbia, quærenti taurum, monstravit inertem!
Cum mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,
Cujus in indomito constantior inguine nervus,
Quam nova collibus arbor inhaeret (48).

We shall not therefore trust to Lambinus, as not being a competent judge. What he calls chaste and modest expressions, are intolerable, at present, in love-verses, in a book of wit, in a sermon, or a speech. None but Physicians, or Advocates, or Historians, or Dictionary writers, &c. can justifiably employ them.

Let us conclude with a fine encomium, which an excellent commentator on Lucretius has lately given him. Nothing can better prove what I have affirmed in the text of this remark. 'Huic calumnias ita profligatæ succedit alia elatior aspectu, & voce truculentior; clamitans vesanum esse, immodestum, impium, voluptatis magistrum, omni denique spurcitie, quæ decet porcum ex Epicuri grege, inquinatum: Ego verò nunquam animum meum inducere potui ut credam

(35) Gifanius, in Vita Lucretii.

(36) Sed de vitæ hujus anis (scilicet minus conveniunt, de insaniam omnes & turpissimis moribus, quos nimis prodidit in suis verbis. Philippus Bristius de Poët. Latinis, pag. 10.

(37) Jugemens sur les Poëtes, Tom. II, pag. 95.

† 5. Epigr. 79.

† Lib. iv.

(38) Antonius Menjotius, Dissertat. Pathologica, Part. III, pag. 41. See also his Dissertation de Furore uterino.

(39) See Mr. Baillet, Jugemens sur les Poëtes, Tom. V, pag. 61. This poem of the abbot Quillet is intitled, Callipœdia.

(40) Ibid. & pag. 62.

(41) This is according to the supposition of Mr. Baillet. See the article JULIET.

(42) Baillet, ubi supra, pag. 61.

(43) Libet huc annotare quam verecunde quam scilicet verbis venerem turpitudinem significat. Lambinus, in Horat. Ode V, lib. ii.

(44) Cist. (38). It is in the fourth book, ver. 1263.

(45) Lambinus ubi supra, pag. 128, 129.

(46) Eodem V. 1267. Inachiam. Lecto cum ea nunquam commiscetur. Mijon Quærenti: mal adu. Cum eo lectum habuit commanem. Lambinus. ibid.

(47) Robert and Antony le Chevalier d'Agneux, brothers.

(48) Horat. Epod. XII.

know what, which delight in molesting meaner conditions; but perhaps he would also have rejected this hypothesis [H], and have undertaken to explain this matter physically. They

credam, Pomponii Attici, castissimi viri familiarem, utriusque Ciceronis delicias, & eximium suae ætatis ornamentum tot vitiis (de impietate aptior erit dicendi locus) sedatum: Testes igitur quæro, sed nullibi inveniam; scripta evolvo, at in illis omnia longe dissimilia: multa adversus metum fortiter, intemperantiam severè, libidinem castè disputantur, quæ hortari ad virtutes, ab avaritia, ambitione, luxuria possint deterrere plurima: & qui ad illius præcepta vitam morisque componit, illum privati habebunt integerrimum amicum, civem Respublica (49). — To this profligate calumny, succeeds another higher in its nature, and couched in severer terms, he is clamorously said to have been mad, immodest, impious, immersed in pleasure: in fine, to have been polluted with all the filth which might be expelled on a swine out of Epiræus's herd: for my part, I could never bring myself to believe, that the intimate friend of so chaste a man as Pomponius Atticus, one who was the delight of both the Cicero's, and the ornament of the age in which he lived, could be covered with such a multitude of vices, for as to his impiety, we shall find a proper place to speak of it. I therefore enquired for witnesses, but I could find none: I turned over his writings, in which every thing is of a contrary cast; many fine things are said to remove fear, many severe things against intemperance, he chafely disputes against lust, and as to what may exhort men to virtues, and deter them from avarice, ambition, and luxury, with such passages his book abounds; and if any person conform himself to the precepts he gives for the regulation of life, private persons will find in such a one a valuable friend, and the public a good citizen.

The Jesuit Possevin, full, as he is, of scruples, and as earnest as he has been, in advising not to suffer students to read some places of Lucretius (50), is yet of opinion, that they ought to be shewn the fine precepts of morality, which are in this Poet, upon the contempt of death: the avoiding of love, and upon the means of bridling the passions, and of procuring the tranquillity of the soul. Non negaverim perlegi posse in Lucretio quæ de morte contemnenda, de amore fugiendo, de coercendis cupiditatibus, de sedandis animorum motibus, de mentis tranquillitate comparanda . . . disputat (51).

[H] He might perhaps have discovered some, I do not know what, which took a pleasure in molesting meaner conditions; but perhaps he would also have rejected this hypothesis. There are very few who have not taken notice that the world generally complains, that infirmity and death, seize the persons that are dearest to them, more commonly than indifferent or hated people. See such a one, say they, he loved his wife and had good reason for it: he lost her the second year of their marriage, and is not to be comforted: and, while he laments this dismal separation, many husbands have panted after a state of widowhood for twenty years together, and are still threatened with the long life of their wives. Observe this widow, how she mourns night and day her good husband, which was carried off by death in the flower of his age: a hundred other husbands enjoy a perfect health for a great many years together, and shall live on several years longer, and persist in abusing their wives without cause. Should they happen to die, patience would be no longer necessary in their houses: comfort, repose, and good housewifery would there agreeably reign together; and therefore we ought to believe they will live long. A child is lately buried, an only son, the delight of his father and mother's heart: he was a youth of promising hopes, and worthy to succeed to the great estate he was born to: death has singled him out, amidst a hundred others, whom she has spared, and who are a burden to their families. That worthy man, who made so good use of his parts, and riches, is lately dead. His life was very short; he never enjoyed a day of health; and, if his constitution had been stronger, he would have done more service to the world than he has done. He is dead, and twenty others in the neighbourhood are perfectly well, and never knew what sickness is, who seek only to disturb all the world besides, and who abuse their health, their wit, and their riches, to the oppressing of innocence, and scandalizing the public by a wicked life. Observe yon rogue, a vagabond, and pro-

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fligate; he fell from the third story, and never hurt himself. A gentleman's son, an only son, an honest man, would have broken his bones with a much less fall. My readers will all own, that such complaints are daily heard: and it is even a common saying, that the wishes of the public, for a wicked man's death, have a particular virtue to prolong his life. It would be easy to explain this, by the hypothesis of these jealous, envious, and malignant deities, which the Heathens admitted. Sound Divinity may reason solidly hereupon; but what could Lucretius have said.

If there were really deities, who repined at the profligacies of men, and delighted to mortify them, they would doubtless affect to destroy an only son in the flower of his age, a husband tenderly beloved, a wife, who was the happiness of her husband; and, preserve the life of a villain, who was a heart-breaking to his father and mother, and preserve a husband and wife, who were plagues to one another. Were they to put a family in mourning, they would chuse out a child of the greatest hopes, and most beloved; and were they to persecute a parish, they would afflict such as were the support of it, by their charity and prudence; they would consign them to the bed of sickness, and afterwards to the grave; and protect the life of the wicked from all harm and danger. They would delight in mortifying the public, by preserving the objects of their curses, and speedily destroying the objects of their hopes, the delights of mankind, the Marcellus's and Germanicus's. Consider what Tacitus says, in describing Germanicus's triumph, and the disturbance that glorious day bred in the minds of those, who remembered, that the favour of the Roman people brought ill luck. 'Augebat intuentium visus eximia ipsius (Germanici) species, currusque quinque liberis ornatus: sed suberat occulta formido reputantibus, haud prosperum in Druso patre ejus favorem vulgi, avunculum ejusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis studiis intra juventam ereptum, breves & insanos populi Romani amores (52). — The fight was enabled by (52) Tacitus, the beauty of his (Germanicus's) person, and the appearance of his chariot with five children; but they were struck with a secret fear, remembering that the favour of the people had been fatal to his father Drusus, that his uncle Marcellus was cut off immaturally on the same account, whence they inferred, that the love of the Romans was short and ominous.' Every one knows Virgil's reflexion, that Marcellus died young, that fate did but just shew him to the world, because the gods thought, that Rome would be too potent, if it enjoyed him a long time.

Offendent teris hunc tantum fata; neque ultra

Esse sinent: nimium vobis Romana propago

Vifa potens Superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent (53) (53) Virgil. Æn. lib. vi, ver. 870.

This wonder to the world must be but shewn,
The Roman race had too much greatness known;
Had not the powers divine resum'd their own.

It is very probable, that Virgil had in view the jealousy attributed to the gods; but our divines reason in a manner infinitely more solid. They do not deny in general the distinctions, which a prophane and impious Heathen would have called an affection to vex men, a respect of persons, or even pure malice, and envy of fate: they find in these distinctions, a providence full of goodness, wisdom, and justice. God separates us from those whom we love most tenderly: he does it with a design to dis-unite us from the earth, and to teach us, that the true happiness ought to be sought in heaven. He suffers us to be long exposed to domestic miseries, in order to prove our patience, and to purify us in this crucible. He lengthens out the days of the wicked, in order to punish the sins of men. They are the scourges of his justice; and no body suffers more than he has deserved. Thus sound Divinity finds nothing difficult in all this; but neither Lucretius nor Epicurus could have easily solved the difficulty. They might perhaps have denied the fact, and maintained, that the authors of the murmurs, complaints, and observations, we have seen above, compute wrong. It is customary for men not to reckon enough on one hand, and to reckon too much on

11 A

(a) See the remark [G].

They who have written his life affirm, that he was a very honest man (a). Some pretend that the invocation at the beginning of his poem [I] may afford us a proof of his contradicting

on the other. Let a wicked man, or a wicked husband die soon; this is presently observed, but a man quickly forgets his reflexion upon it. But if an honest man, or a good husband, be nipped in the bud; this is attentively considered, and never forgotten, the memory being then a faithful register. Perhaps as many children die, according to the wishes of their parents, as only idolized sons. The death of the former makes no noise, it is but lightly reflected on; but the death of the other raises a thousand out-cries and reflexions. Besides this, we must know, that men are naturally more inclined to complain of their destiny, than commend it; and fallily imagine, on a thousand occasions, that their neighbours prosperity exceeds their own (54). There are some so ungrateful, and impertinent, as to say, *My son is dead of his wound; if he had been another man's son, he would have recovered.* Add, that Lucretius would have recourse to his Natural Philosophy. Wonder not, he would have said, that a son, tenderly beloved, should die sooner than another, who had lived unregarded; the later grows robust, he hardens himself in all weathers; the other is softened by his effeminate education, and the least indisposition carries him off. A young man of extraordinary parts is sickly, and dies before he is thirty years old: a fool, a booby is never sick, or at least recovers from the violentest distemper, and lives to be very old. Have you kept a register, would Lucretius answer, of all the learned of the first rank, who have lived to eighty; and of all the blockheads who have not attained to the age of man? resume your counters, and calculate better, you will find your accounts are wrong. But after all, what wonder is it, that a great wit should not be of a strong constitution. His texture is of a finer web of atoms, and therefore his resistance to extraneous bodies must be very feeble. A clumsy peasant is compounded of more massy and strong wrought parts; and therefore must last the longer. If the atoms of the imagination are in a very rapid motion, they disorder and shake the parts of the brain, opening breaches, by which there evaporates abundance of atoms, which are necessary to the maintaining of the organs. The machine must therefore necessarily wear itself out, and the principles of life quickly corrupt. Here is the explication of the axiom,

(54) Fertiliior
seges est alienis
semper in agris,
Viciniurque pec-
cus grandius uber
habet. Ovid de
arte amandi lib.
i, vers. 349.

(55) Marth. lib.
vi, Epigr. xxix.

Immodicis brevis est ætas, & rara senectus (55).

*Great wits, have seldom scap'd a sudden fate,
And rarely age doth on their honours wait.*

Telle est la loi du Ciel, nul excès n'est durable;
S'il passe le commun il passe promptement (56).

(56) See the
Letters of Buffi
Robutin, Part.
IV, Letter cccxix,
pag. 479, Dutch
Edit.

*Such is the law of heaven, no excess
Endures, when once the common bounds it breaks.*

These answers, which I suppose Lucretius would have given, are far from accounting for all that is contained in the beginning of this remark.

[I] The invocation at the beginning of his poem.]

The baron des Coutures observes (57), that 'this invocation has surprized a great many of the learned, as being contrary to Epicurus's doctrine. Lambinus, adds he, cites a Florentine, who pretends to have found the reason of it, because this Philosopher, having maintained, that our crimes provoked not the anger of the gods, nor our good actions procured to us their favours, admitted however of prayers, and owned, that they heard those of men.' I do not examine, whether, from Epicurus's professing to honour the gods, we may be allowed to conclude, that he professed also to invoke them, and to expect they would hear his prayers. There is no consequence between these two things. We may esteem, respect, and venerate a being on the account of the perfection of its nature, without addressing our prayers to it; for we might be persuaded, that it concerned itself with nothing, and dispensed neither good nor evil. Nor yet do I trouble myself to enquire, whether Epicurus might not pretend to honour the Deity, only to secure himself from the punishments established against A-

(57) Remarks on
the first book of
Lucretius, at the
beginning, pag.
340.

theism. I refer my reader to a treatise of the learned Mr du Rondel (58). But I venture to affirm, that Lucretius did not invoke the goddess Venus, to conform himself to the principles this Florentine ascribes to Epicurus, that the gods are worthy of our prayers, though they do not govern the world. 'I am not of Lambinus's opinion, (it is the baron des Coutures that speaks) (59) who applauds this Florentine; nor does he himself explain the thing better, by adding, that Lucretius, perhaps only addressed himself to Venus, according to the custom of the Poets: and that it was not as a Philosopher that he pretended her charms could obtain of Mars the peace which the Romans desired; or perhaps that Epicurus, placing the supreme good in the absence of pain, addressed himself to the mistress of pleasures; or, lastly, because she was the mother of Æneas, from whom descended the founder of Rome: for my part, I maintain, that Lucretius did not depart from the notion of Epicurus, in the invocation of Venus, it being neither a Poetical flight, nor a Roman gratitude, but a Philosophical reflexion. He did not look upon the mistress of Mars to be a goddess, since he himself in the second book says, that Bacchus and wine, Ceres and corn, are the same thing: nor did he any more imagine, that Mars was a god; but, as he had written a poem concerning the nature of things, could he better address himself, than to generation, which he means by the mother of love; and whom all the Naturalists have acknowledged for that secret appetite, which is given to every species for its propagation.' This removes not the difficulty; for it is certain Lucretius considered Venus according to the ideas of those, who took her for a goddess. He does not consider her as the natural passion, which induces sexes to unite: for in that notion, Venus is no more the mother of Æneas, than of Epicurus, and yet he first characterizes her by the epithet of *Æneadum genitrix*. That which, in my opinion, is most reasonable to believe, is, that all this is only a piece of wit. Lucretius seeing all the Poets invoke the Muses at the beginning of any great work, was not willing his Poem should be destitute of an ornament of this kind: he therefore sets out with an invocation of Venus, as the properest Deity for a Naturalist. But he no ways pretended, that this was an act of religion; or that Venus, whom he celebrates with so many praises, was an intelligent being: thus he has in another place invoked the Muse Calliope (60), (60) Tu mihi without pretending that he addressed himself to an intelligent being: he has not therefore acted against his own principles. I should sooner accuse Lippius, of committing an act of Heathen idolatry in the verses he addresses to the planet Venus, in behalf of his garden (61), than ascribe to our Lucretius an act of religion, from the prayer he addresses to the mother of Æneas. Note, that abundance of Christian Poets, infinitely greater enemies to the Heathen gods, than Lucretius was, solemnly invoke the Muses, or Bacchus, in their poems. This is imitating the Antients, and not performing an act of religion; for they have not a thought of invoking the deity. Note also, that this (61) *Tu will invocation of Lippius ad Stellam Venerem, and Lucr. find them at the invocation have been compared, with a design to convict Lippius of an impiety (62); but this it cannot, the first Miscellanea, unless we suppose his prayer was not a piece of new Century.*

(58) Jacob Ren-
dellius, de Vita
& Moribus Epi-
curi, Amstelred.
1693, in 22mo.
See the article
EPICURUS,
remark [L].

(59) Remarks on
the first book of
Lucretius, ubi
supra, pag. 343.

(60)

(61)

(62)

For the rest, the Florentine, mentioned by the baron des Coutures, is the learned Peter Victorius. Mr Minutoli acquainted me with it in 1693. Here are his words somewhat more at large than I gave them

in the article EPICURUS (64). 'There is in the (61) Aut ergo tu same collection (65) at the 19th page, a letter of Iudis in precibus, Petrus Victorius, to John della Casa, archbishop of Benevento, which turns upon the question, whether the Poet Lucretius, who, in the beginning of his *De rer. lib. i.* poem, invokes Venus, does not in that contradict the doctrine of his patron Epicurus; and whether this is consistent with the inactivity ascribed to the gods, by this Philosopher. Doth Mr du Rondel, whose work I have not read, and who endeavours to make an apology for Epicurus in this respect, mention this difficulty, or cite that letter?' Tycho Brahe was consulted upon this question by Isaac Pontanus, (64) Citation (117).

(63) Georgius
Thomson, in
Vindicie Veritatis,
tit. pag. 3.

(64) This is the
essence of the
Letters collected by
John Michael
Brutus.

contradicting himself, and forsaking his system in the very first line of his book. They would be in the right, if this invocation were any thing more than a poetical flight [K], by which he was willing to accommodate himself, in some sort, to custom. It may easily be showed that he has, on several occasions, adapted his style to the common way of

(66) See the Letters published by Mr. Matthews at Leyden, in 1695, in 8vo, pag. 162.

(67) Ibid. pag. 203.

in the year 1596, and gave this judicious answer. 'Ad questionem illam joculam, says he (66), & nonnihil Criticam antiqui Lucretii, cum is sectam Philosophorum Deos eorumque providentiam inficiantium profiteretur, Venerem nihilominus, Aeneadum genitricem, primordio sui operis, ejusque opem imploret, non habeo serio dicere, quomodo hæc resolvenda sit, si quidem non ad Veneris fidus cœlestis, quod nos una cum ceteris subinde scrutamur, sed ad terrestrem illam Venerem, Aeneadum, uti fingebant Poëtæ, matrem, & aliorum quoque hominum genitricem pertineat (67) Si quid tamen in his nostris valent lusus, crediderim Lucretium ad imitationem aliorum Poëtarum sic exorsum esse, non quod revera aliquam Deam, quæ Venus appellaretur, aut ulla alia numina statueret. Ideoque sub hoc nomine voluptatem corpoream, quam etiam Deum subinde nuncupare non veretur, intellexisse arbitror. ——— As to that jocosé, and in some measure critical, question, concerning Lucretius, why he, who followed that sect of Philosophers, that deny the providence of the gods, invoked, notwithstanding, the aid of Venus, the mother of Aeneas in the beginning of his work. I know not what to say, seriously, in as much as it cannot be applied to the celestial planet Venus, which we, as well as others, observe, but to that earthly Venus, who, as the Poets feign, was the mother of Aeneas, and of other men. However, if one may be allowed to offer somewhat in a ludicrous way, I should think that Lucretius did this rather to imitate other Poets in his exordium, than that he believed Venus in reality to be a goddess, or that he allowed any other deities, I am therefore of opinion, that hereby he intended sensual pleasure, which elsewhere he does not hesitate to style a God.'

[K] They would be in the right, if this invocation were any thing more than a poetical flight.] Before we quit this subject, we must say, that had Lucretius invoked either Venus or Calliope, being persuaded, that his prayer would procure him any assistance, he would have contradicted himself in a manner not only unworthy of a Philosopher, but even of a man any way capable of reasoning. For he scarce has finished this pretended invocation to Mars's mistress,

Nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace juvare
Mortaleis: quoniam belli fera mœnena Favores
Armipotens regit: in gremium qui sæpe tuum se
Reficit, æterno devinctus vulnere amoris (68).

(68) Lucret. lib. 2, ver. 32.

Peace is thy gift alone, for furious Mars,
The only governor and god of wars,
When tir'd with heat and toil, doth oft resort
To taste the pleasures of the Pæban court;
Where on thy bosom he supinely lies,
And greedily drinks love at both his eyes.

CREECH.

When he lays down as a principle, that the gods concern not themselves, nor intermeddle with any kind of affair (69); and throughout his whole book, he makes it his chief business to explain the phenomena of nature, by the motion of atoms, and to confute those who ascribe them to the operation of the gods. It cannot be hence inferred, either that he did not believe their existence, or had no respect and veneration for them: for, according to his principles, it is not absurd, that beings should have been formed much more perfect than man, content with their own conditions, and no way curious either of knowing or reforming the actions and affairs of others: and as it is most certain, that we admire, with great veneration, the merit of some great men, though we never received any benefit from them, nor expect any favour, nor fear any evil office, nothing hinders, but that Epicurus's followers might have had an actual veneration for the gods. But it may very well be inferred from Lucretius's system, that he could not invoke them; and that he must have looked upon all the religious worship,

(69) See the remark [E], citat. (26).

WHETHER Epicurus could possibly have reconciled his system to the public worship, and received the Athenians.

practised at Rome, the vows, sacrifices, feasts, &c. as wholly insignificant. A reflexion offers here upon the conduct of the Athenian priests, with respect to Epicurus. They had several times brought to punishment the Philosophers, whom they accused of Atheism, and they vigorously prosecuted Anaxagoras for one simple act of profanation. 'Miror cur Anaxagoras reus factus sit quia solem esse dixit lapidem ardentem, negans utique Deum, cum in eadem civitate gloria floruerit Epicurus, vixeritque securus, non solum solem vel ullum siderum Deum esse non credens, sed nec Jovem nec ullum deorum omnino in mundo habitare contendens, ad quem preces hominum supplicationesque perveniant (70). ——— I wonder that Anaxagoras should be declared guilty of a capital offence, for asserting the sun to be only a burning stone, and so denying it to be a god, when Epicurus flourished in the same city with glory, and lived in quiet, who not only denied the sun, or any other star to be a divinity, but also asserted, that neither Jupiter, nor any other of the gods, dwelt within the sphere of this world, or were capable of bearing the prayers and petitions of men.' How comes it then that they did not seize Epicurus? was it because he had no quarrel with them, either on account of some personal interest or personal offence, as perhaps those they prosecuted had, and whom perhaps they would not have accused of irreligion, if it had not been to gratify their private passions, under the cloak of piety? or was it because Epicurus politically conformed to the public worship, and openly approved it? I believe indeed they were capable of being satisfied with the exterior, as they do at present, without searching into the thoughts: but was it not necessary, as at present, that this exterior should be observed, even in books and lectures? would they suffer a man to dogmatize in this school, contrary to what he professed in the streets and temples? it is hard to imagine this. And yet Epicurus's system was contrary to the worship of the gods, as practised by the Athenians: it could only allow the esteem, and respect, the praises of the gods; but not the prayers, sacrifices, and acts of repentance. Thus all the inconveniencies, that were to be feared from Atheism, the destruction of our confidence in the protection of heaven, the ruin of our hopes of happiness by living well, and of our fears of misery by living ill: all these inconveniencies, I say, without one exception, flowed as naturally, and as necessarily from Epicurus's doctrine, as from that of the Atheists. The least discerning may very easily comprehend, that all the practices of religion are founded not upon the doctrine of the existence of God, but upon that of his providence: since therefore Epicurus was tolerated in a city, which punished Atheists, it follows, that there was with them, respect of persons, and that they had double weights and double measures: or else, that the Athenians, so subtle and ingenious in other respects, were very stupid in point of religion. They suffered themselves to be plaid upon like children; not perceiving, that in dogmatizing, like Epicurus, a man mocked them, if he protested, that he approved the use of sacrifices, and prayers, and all the other parts of public worship. This reason would appear to me very strong to prove, that this Philosopher taught the providence of God, as Mr. du Rondel pretends; it would appear to me, I say, very strong, did I not see Lucretius manifestly combating providence, without any subterfuge or equivocation, or leaving any room for such apologies, as are made for Epicurus, and yet living in an entire tranquillity at Rome, a city no less jealous of religion, nor less severe against impious men, than the people of Athens. Note, by the way, that the good morals of a man, who owns, with Lucretius, the existence, holiness, goodness, immortality, of God, without acknowledging his providence, are as good proof of this position, Atheism is not necessarily joined with bad morals, as the proof drawn from the good life of those, who should deny the providence of God, and his existence all at once: for it is plain, that the belief of the existence, without the belief of a providence, can be no motive to virtue, nor restraint to vice.

(70) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii, cap. xlii.

[L] Hs

of speaking, and to the opinions, which he accounted vulgar errors [L]. It is pretended, that he was a disciple of Zeno. They who have criticized this, have not succeeded very well [M]. When we confute Mr Moreri [N], and some other writers

[L] *He has adapted his style to the common language, and to the opinions which he accounted vulgar errors.* I will give two instances of it. He believed, that heaven and earth would not last for ever; and he declares to him to whom he dedicated his book, that the destruction of this world might perhaps happen in their days; and adds, may fortune, which governs all things, avert this evil far from us.

--- dictis dabit ipsa fidem res
Forſitan, & graviter terrarum motibus orbis
Omnia conſuſſari in parvo tempore cernes:

QUOD PROCLA A NOBIS FLECTAT FORTUNA (71)

GUBERNANS:

Et ratio potiùs, quàm res perſuadeat ipſa,
Succidere horriſono poſſe omnia victa fragore (72).

*And yet I'll ſing: perchance the following fall
Will prove my words, and ſhew 'tis reaſon all:
Perhaps thou ſoon ſhalt ſee the ſinking world,
With ſtrong convulſions to conſuſion burſt'd.
When ev'ry rebel atom breaks the chain,
And all to prim'tive night, return again,
But chance avert it! rather let reaſon ſhew
The world may fall, than ſenſe ſhould prove it true.*

CREECH.

It is plain, that the vow or wiſh, or prayer, he puts up here, proceeded only from a habit he had got of ſpeaking like other men. He daily converſed with people, whoſe language was filled with parentheſes, which might have been called religious, if they had not been an effect of cuſtom rather than an act of reflection. His wife, his maid, his friends, and all the Romans in general, were accuſtomed to bring in a ſolemn wiſh or prayer, in the mentioning an ill preſage, or ſad accident. *Deus avertat, God forbid*, ſaid they; if any miſfortune ſhould happen, *quod abominor, which God avert*. Authors likewiſe made uſe of theſe ways of ſpeech,

Di, prohibete minas, Di, talem avertite caſum (73).

May heaven prohibit, gods avert ſuch ill.

I make no doubt, that Lucretius, being uſed from his childhood to theſe forms of diſcourſe, uſed them in familiar converſation, either without any ſalvo, or only ſubſtituting the term *natura*, or *fortuna*, in the room of *Deus*. Thus the Proteſtants have ſubſtituted the parentheſis, *God receive his ſoul*, inſtead of that, *God aſſolve him*. The Roman Catholics uſe the later, when they mention their deceaſed relations; but as this could not agree with thoſe who denied a purgatory, the Proteſtants have not admitted it; but however have accommodated themſelves to cuſtom by a phraſe placed like the other, and turned according to the maxims of their own religion. Lucretius being accuſtomed by his reading and converſation to this kind of parentheſis, inſerted the prayer or wiſh we have ſeen above. Nothing was more vain than this in the hypotheſis he maintained; and it cannot be pretended, that he was ignorant of the inconſiſtency of ſuch a wiſh, with the doctrine of atoms: he very well knew, that that nature, or fortune, which ſhoved them on, was unable to change or ſuſpend their courſe, or even to hear the deſires of men. If the train of their motion were ſuch as muſt ſpeedily bring on the diſſolution of the world; this diſſolution was inevitable: the devouteſt prayers of mankind, their ſacrifices and proceſſions, could not give it the leaſt delay. How then comes Lucretius in ſome ſort, to invoke nature or fortune, to put off to another time the diſtruction of the earth? it was becauſe he ſometimes ſpoke according to the language of the vulgar. Note, that the doctrine of fatality did not exclude all wiſhes; for, without departing from his principles, Epicurus might very well wiſh, that the diſpoſition of atoms might be favourable to his health. He could not have deſired that it ſhould alter, but only have wiſhed, that their nature might incline them to ſuch

or ſuch purpoſes. Lucretius goes farther, as appears by his expreſſions. This is the firſt inſtance that I will give.

The ſecond is not very far different from it, ſince immediately after the ſix verſes, I have recited, we find theſe:

Qua priùs aggrediar quàm de re fundere fata
Sanctiùs, & multo certa ratione magis, quàm
Pythia, quæ tripode è Phœbi lauroque profatur;
Multa tibi expediàm doctis ſolatia dictis (74).

*But now before I teach theſe truths, more pure
And certain oracles, and far more ſure
Than what from trembling Pythia reach'd our ears,
I'll firſt propoſe ſome cure againſt thy fears.*

CREECH.

Here he promiſes oracles, much more certain than thoſe of Delphi, and he made uſe of the ſame comparison in another place, to heighten the importance of the doctrine of the antient Grecian Philoſophers.

Quamquam multa bene ac divinitus invenientes
Ex adyto tamquam cordis reſponſa dedere
Sanctiùs, & multo certa ratione magis, quàm
Pythia, quæ tripode ex Phœbi, lauroque profatur (75).

*Which they have left as oracles, more ſure
Than from the Tripod ſpoke, and leſs obſcure
Than thoſe the Antients from the Pythia heard. . .*

CREECH.

Who ſees not that, in both theſe paſſages, he expreſſes himſelf, according to the ideas of the people, and not according to the principles of his ſect? for, according to him, the anſwers of Apollo's prieſteſs could only be the dreams of a diſtemper'd brain; or of an ignorant impoſtor. He acknowledged no Divinity in the oracles: It was not therefore giving the higheſt idea of a philoſophical Doctrine, to affirm it excelled the Delphic oracles. It is as much as if we ſhould now ſay, that Des Cartes's notions deſerve more attention, than the prophecies of your ſtrolling gypsies, and fortune-tellers. It is plain then, that Lucretius adapted his language to popular opinions: and it would be ridiculous cavilling to maintain, that the force of truth ſometimes drew expreſſions from him, which overturned his ſyſtem, and convicted him of groſs contradiction: for example, where he owns in two places of his Poems, that there was ſomething divine, inſpired, ſupernatural, and prophetic, in the oracles of Apollo.

[M] *It is pretended he was a diſciple of Zeno. They who have criticized this, have not ſucceeded very well.* If we once admit their opinion, who ſay, that Lucretius was ſent to Athens to ſtudy, it can hardly be queſtioned, but he was one of Zeno's diſciples, the chief of Epicurus's ſchool at that time. Accordingly we ſee, that Lambinus and Giſenius joined theſe two opinions together. 'Credibile eſt Lucretium . . . ſeſe Athenas contuliſſe ibique Zenonem illum Epicuræorum Coryphæum audiviſſe (76). *It is probable that Lucretius . . . went to Athens, and there heard Zeno, the great leader of the Epicureans.* This is what Lambinus ſays: the following words are Giſenius's (77). 'Præerat hortis eo tempore Zeno acriculus ille ſenex, & Phædrus, Epicuri homo, ut Cicero ait, humaniſſimus, itaque hi videtur uſus præceptoribus Titus, quos etiam Atticus paulo licet hoc poeta grandior audivit. The gardens were at that time under the direction of Zeno, a ſhrewd old man; and Phædrus, whom Cicero mentions as a perſon of the greateſt humanity, theſe therefore were, in all probability, the maſters of Titus, ai, a little before, they had been to Atticus, who was ſomething older than that Poet.' The Baron des Coutures has trod in the ſame ſteps. *It is probable, ſays he (78) that Lucretius went to Athens, where Zeno, who was the honour of the Epicurean ſect, had acquired a general eſteem.* A letter has been inſerted in the *Bibliothèque Univerſelle* (79), containing ſome critical obſervations on the baron's opinion. The laſt

(74) Lucret. ubi ſupra, ver. 112.

(75) Ibid. lib. 1, ver. 737, 740, 41.

(76) Lambinus, in Vita Epicuri.

(77) In Vita

(78) In the Life of Lucretius.

(79) Tom. XXII, pag. 183, 186.

(71) Some manuſcripts have *Natura*: It is the ſame thing as to the ſenſe. See the Commentary of Lambinus, in hunc locum, pag. m. 593.

(72) Lucret. lib. 1, ver. 105, pag. m. 255.

(73) Virgil. Æn. lib. iii, ver. 265.

writers [O], we shall say several things concerning Lucretius. They who desire to know the eulogies that have been given him, need only consult the authors, whom Barthius points out to us (b). Mr Creech who, in 1695, put out an edition of this poet (c), with an excellent paraphrase, and fine notes, had before published an English translation of it. It is pity so good an author had not a longer life (d), and that his end was, in some measure, like that of the Roman author, whom he had translated and paraphrased. I am certain, that the abbot de Marolles's French translation would not have met with the fate it did [P], had it been as good as this English version.

(b) Comment. in Statium, Tom. I, pag. 261.

(c) Printed at Oxford, in 8vo.

(d) He died in 1700, before he was full forty.

See the Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, Sept. 1700, pag. 334.

last is this: lastly, the fifth blunder is, that Zeno is said to have been the honour of the Epicurean sect, whereas he is acknowledged to be the head of the Stoics. The critic did not observe, that there were more Zeno's than one: He thought the founder of the Stoics was meant, and upon this foot he should have found in the words he censured a notable fault in chronology, which he does not mention. Zeno, the chief of the Stoics, died the first year of the CXXXIXth Olympiad: so that his death must have preceded the birth of Lucretius above 160 years. He ought therefore to have suspected, that the author he censured, had a Zeno in view, different from the founder of the Stoics: and if this suspicion had put him upon making some inquiries he would probably have found, that there was a famous Epicurean, named Zeno (80), who taught at Athens in Lucretius's time.

[N] We consult Mr Moreri.] I. He ought not to have said, that our Poet was called T. Carus Lucretius. Carus was not his name, but his sur-name, Cognomen. II. By these words, Roman by nation, Moreri doubtless meant, that Lucretius was born at Rome. This is expressing his thought ill; for where is the author so exact as to scruple to say, that Cicero and Livy were Romans by nation, as Demosthenes and Thucydides were Greeks by nation? III. We have no proof that Lucretius was born at Rome: Mr Moreri therefore ought not peremptorily to have given him this birth-place. IV. Much less ought he to have said that Lucretius himself declares, he was a native of Rome: I have found in Lucretius but one passage, which may give ground to say, that he makes it his native city; but that passage is of no force. It is this,

Funde, petens placidam Romanis incluta pacem,
Nam neque nos agere hoc patriâ tempore iniquo
Possimus æquo animo (81).

Carest with all the subtil arts, become
A flatterer, and beg a peace for Rome.
For midst rough wars, how can verse smoothly flow:
Or midst such storms, the learned laurel grow?

CREECH.

Cicero, Livy, Florus, Seneca, who were all born out of Rome, would not have spoken otherwise. All the inhabitants of a country might say, in the time of a Civil-war, that their country is afflicted, though the particular place of their birth were exempt from that public calamity. Learned men, more learned than

Moreri (82) have affirmed what he affirms. Mr Morhof, somewhat wiser, you will say, than the rest, has used the particle, *perhaps*: but it is certain, that his *forte* relates to another doubt: therefore we may reckon him among those who positively say, Lucretius was born in Rome (83). V. He should not have affirmed, that Lucretius's relations sent him to study at Athens. This is, I confess, very probable, but yet, since there is no proof of it, he should have mentioned this by way of conjecture; or at most only say, as Gifanius has done, that no one doubted it. 'Adolescentulus autem, *says he*, quin à parentibus, seu propinquis, considerata ejus ad bonas artes nata pende divina indole, Athenas more patrio sit missus, Athenas non ita pridem à P. Sulla crudeliter vastatas, non dubito, postular hoc Romanorum consuetudo, ad doctrinæ ratio (84). — That a lad, either by his parents or by his relations, led by the consideration of his pregnant, and almost Divine, parts, was sent according to the custom of those times to Athens, a little before cruelly treated by Publius Sulla, I make no question, the custom of the Romans, and the mode of education in those days, obliged me to own it.' VI. It is not true, that Velleius Paterculus and Cicero have said, that Lucretius's eloquence rendered him the sub-

limest of all the Poets of his time. Cicero speaks of him but once; nor is it certainly known whether he praises he gives him, are great or moderate: for the learned are divided about the reading of his passage (85): some (86) understand it, that there was not much wit in Lucretius's poem, though there was a great deal of art: others (87) understand it, that this work sparkled with a great many bright thoughts, and that, nevertheless, a great deal of art appeared in it. Take the most favourable reading you please, Cicero will not be found to say, what Moreri ascribes to him. As for Velleius Paterculus, he is content to place Lucretius in the list of great wits; *eminentium ingeniorum notare tempora* (88). He has said nothing particular of him. VII. It is no small fault to say, that a woman, named Lucilia, gave Lucretius a love-philtre, which threw him into a strange phrenzy. This is omitting one capital circumstance, to wit, that Lucilia is said to be Lucretius's wife (89). VIII. It is not true that Cicero says, that Lucretius Offella was fitter to make orations than to pronounce judgments (90). IX. Cicero, Velleius Paterculus, and Cæsar, do not speak of another, who was probably brother or uncle to the poet. It is very true, that he whom Cicero and Cæsar speaks of, the former in his letter to Atticus (91), the latter in the civil-war, is the same man; but he whom Velleius Paterculus speaks of, is another, and probably the same who harangued better than he pleaded.

[O] . . . and some other writers.] See above, the remark [B]. The baron des Coutures makes Lambinus say, that Lucretius's elocution is preferable to that of Cæsar or Cicero. He must have used a different edition from that I have consulted, where I have found these words. 'Hoc non dubitanter affirmabo nullum in tota lingua latina scriptorem Lucretio latine melius esse locutum: non M. Tullii, non C. Cæsar's ascribes them to orationem esse puriorem (92). — I will not be so fitate to affirm, that none of the Roman writers, deserve to take place of Lucretius in point of Latinity; the style of Cicero, or of Cæsar, is not more pure.' Something like this might be imputed to Peter Victorius; for he boldly preferred Lucretius before Virgil (93). It is surprising, after the foregoing passage, to find Lambinus accused of saying that Lucretius's Latin was bad. 'Quo respexit forte Dionysius Lambinus cum Lucretium malum latinittatis autorem vocat, qua tamen cum sententia ille minime audiendus est (94). — To this perhaps Dionysius Lambinus had regard, when he said that Lucretius wrote bad Latin, in which however he deserves no credit.' Borrichius supposes, that Cicero, Aulus Gellius, and Scaliger, have praised Lucretius for writing the purest Latin. 'Certe purissimæ latinittatis esse omnia in confesso est . . . laudaturque hoc nomine Ciceroni, Gellio, Scaligero, aliis (95). — Certainly in purity of Latin style his merit is generally confessed . . . having on this account, been praised by Cicero, Gellius, Scaliger, and others.' We have seen above that Cicero's eulogy, had no relation to the purity of style. Glandorpius is mistaken (96) in supposing, that Lucretius followed Empedocles's opinions: if he had considered the first book of *de rerum Natura*, where Empedocles is confuted he would not have said this.

[P] The abbot de Marolles's translation would not have met with the fate it did.] Queen Christina would have thanked him for the dedication of so fine a book. Her silence, doubtless, mortified the abbot, who nevertheless continued well satisfied with his performance. Let us hear what he himself says (97): 'When my version of Lucretius was printed, the worthy Mr du Morhier, for whom I have always had a great esteem, advised me to make a present of it to Christina queen of Sweden (98): But this produced nothing; nor do I so much as know

(96) Onomast. pag. 557.

(97) Marolles, Memoires, pag. 186, 187, ad ann. 1650.

(98) That is to say, that I should dedicate it to her.

11 B

whether

(85) Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, lita sunt multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis. Cicero, ad Quintum Fratre, lib. II, Epist. xii. Some pretend it should be non ita, and not lita.

(86) Charles Stephens, Glandorp, Lloyd, Hofman, Baillet, Pope Blount, &c.

(87) Tanaquill. Faber, the baron des Coutures, &c.

(88) Lib. II, cap. xxxvi.

(89) It is to her these words are applied. Livium suum occidit quem nimis oderat, Lucilia suum, quem nimis amaverat.

— Livia murdered her husband because she hated him excessively, and Lucilia murdered her, because she excessively loved him. Lloyd

Seneca but wrongfully.

(90) See, above, the article LUCRETIA, remark [A].

(91) Epist. IV, lib. VIII.

(92) Lambinus, in Vita Lucretii, lib. II. See also his Notes in Horat. Ode V, lib. II.

(93) Passing through Florence I happened to meet with a commentary of Victorius, on a book of Aristotle; in which this puerile Commentator taxes Virgil, good God! what a rashness! what an attempt! with mistaking one word for another, and with being less pure and genuine, in his diction, than Lucretius.

Julian. Defensio III à Menandro, pag. m. 405, of the Œuvres Diarjet.

(94) Morhof. de Patavin. Liviana, pag. 156.

(95) Borrichius, de Poet. Lat. pag. 45.

(80) He was son of Sidon. See Jonnius, de Script. Histor. Philosph. pag. 312.

(81) Lucret. lib. I, ver. 41.

(82) Lambinus & Gifanius, in Vita Lucretii. Thom. Creech, Prefat. Lucretii, Oxonii editi, 1695.

(83) Equos ergo in tota hac aurea ætatis classe qua possimum hæc censeri debebat urbanitas, Romanos habebimus præter duos forte Lucretium & J. Cæsarem. Morhofius, de Patavinitate Liviana, p. clvi.

(84) In Vita Lucretii.

It will not be improper to examine a false reasoning and a contradiction, that Lucretius is reproached with. The false reasoning relates to one of the arguments he has used to shew, that death was to be despised. Epicurus had employed it before, but in such a manner that Plutarch severely censured him for it [2]. The contradiction relates to Lucretius's

'whether ever she received the book, which Mr Herault, who managed her affairs here with so much care and fidelity, assured me he had sent her. At least I received no answer, contrary to the custom of this prince, who was then liberal of her compliments to men of letters. However it be, the book has not failed of a good reception from the public: and some learned men, the count de Pagan, the late Mr le Pailleur, the learned Mr d'Avignon, Mr de la Courvée, Physician to the queen of Poland, and some others, have given me thanks, in the name of the public, for having, in some measure, solved the difficulties that might be raised from the doctrine of this Poet, in his third volume, where he treats of the nature of the soul. I have since very much corrected it, and put it in a better state for a second edition.' The abbot de Marolles did not understand the Latin tongue, or Epicurus's physics enough to succeed in such a version. Yet it has bore two editions, the first in the year 1650, dedicated to the queen of Sweden; the second in the year 1663, to which was added the translation of the tenth book of Diogenes Laërtius, and dedicated to the first president.

[2] *Plutarch severely censured Epicurus.* To comment these words regularly, we must first set forth the design of Epicurus and Lucretius. They proposed to prove, that death is not to be feared, that death is nothing, that we are not interested nor concerned in it.

[100] Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 842, pag. m. 172.

Nil igitur mors est, ad nos neque pertinet bilum (99).

[100] Diog. Laert. lib. x. n. 139. Aul. Gell. lib. ii. cap. viii. pag. m. 55.

[101] Plut. lib. ii. de Homero apud Gellium, ibid.

[102] Moretus, Variar. Lecl. lib. xi. cap. xvi. pag. m. 1080.

[103] See, in Gassendi's notes on the tenth book of Diogenes Laërtius, Oper. Tom. V. pag. 131, what turn might be given to this argument of Epicurus?

Their proof was taken from hence, that things dissolved, or separated, have no sense; and that things which have no sense are nothing with regard to us. Epicurus's words are these. 'Ο θάνατος ἐστὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητὶ, τὸ δὲ ἀναισθητὴν ἐστὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (100). Plutarch (101) pretended, that this Philosopher argued wrong here, and that there was a necessary proposition wanting in his syllogism; namely this, death is the separation of the body and soul: 'Ο θάνατος ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος διάλυσις. Aulus Gellius, taking Epicurus's part, agrees, that the syllogism, to be in form, ought to contain this proposition: but he maintains, that Epicurus, having not undertaken to reduce his reasoning to syllogistical rules, suppressed it on purpose, as being sufficiently self-evident. And it should not be thought strange, that the conclusion was placed not at the end, but at the beginning of the argument; the Philosopher Plato, frequently arguing after the same manner; that is, inverting the order of the propositions of a syllogism. This is what Aulus Gellius answers to Plutarch's censure: he mistook the point, and has been severely criticized in the XVIth century. He has been accused of having betrayed his own folly by endeavouring to cover that of another, and even of not understanding the state of the question. 'Naclus autem est patronum (Epicurus) tali prorsus cliente dignum Gellium: qui dum alienam stultitiam tege-re vult, prodit, suam. Tantum enim abest ab eo defendendo, ut ne intellexisse quidem videatur, quid in eo reprehenderetur (102). It might have been added, that he did not know in general, what a syllogism was; for he supposes, that of Epicurus is really conformable to the rules, and that to be in form there is nothing wanting, but the proposition sub-understood by the author. Now let us see what this syllogism would be, by adding what Epicurus has sub-understood.

*Death is the dissolution of body and soul,
That which is dissolved is insensible, and what is insensible does not affect us:
Therefore death does not affect us.*

This syllogism is fallacious, as manifestly consisting of four terms (103). We must therefore believe, that Plutarch's objection was not founded on the suppression of the major, as Aulus Gellius pretends, but upon this

that the major, which was sub-understood, was not a principle from whence the conclusion could be deduced. This is assuredly the case of this principle; and you clearly see, that after having granted the major and the minor of the syllogism, just now produced, the consequence may still be denied. Moretus is very angry with Epicurus hereupon, and treats him as an impertinent Logician. 'Ilius artis (Dialecticæ) ignorantia ruebat in dicendo: sæpeque aliquid probare aggressus, ea fumebat, quibus datis ac concessis, id tamen quod probare instituerat, non concluderetur. Quale est, quod cum docere vellet, mortem nihil ad nos pertinere, ita ratiocinabatur: 'Ο θάνατος ἐστὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητὶ. τὸ δὲ ἀναισθητὴν ἐστὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Neque enim sequitur, si id quod dissolutum est sensu vacat; idcirco ipsam quoque dissolutionem non sentiri. Neque mors est τὸ διαλυθὲν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὴ ἡ διάλυσις. Meritoque Plutarchus secundo librorum, quos de Homero composuit, imperfecte, atque præpostere, atque inscite syllogismo usum esse cum dixerat: non quod prætermisisset illud ἄληθμα, ὁ θάνατος. 'Ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος διάλυσις: quo addito, nihilo magis efficitur, quod ipse voluit: sed quod, stupiditate quadam, & crassitudine ingenii, non pervidisset, quantum inter id, quod dissolutum est, & ipsam dissolutionem interesset (104). — Being ignorant of the Art of Logic, he made frequent mistakes: for when he undertook to prove something, he laid down such propositions, which tho' they were granted, would nevertheless have concluded nothing, in favour of what he intended to prove. For example, when he endeavoured to prove that death no way concerns us, he reasoned thus: Death is nothing to us, for what is dissolved, becomes insensible, and what is insensible is nothing to us. For it does not follow, that if what is dissolved, be insensible, therefore dissolution itself, cannot be felt: nor is death the thing dissolved, but the dissolution itself. And Plutarch says very rightly, in his second book upon Homer, that he used this syllogism in a manner imperfect, preposterous, and which showed that he had no skill in arguing. Not merely for leaving out this lemma, Death is the dissolution of soul and body: Which being added makes nothing in favour of what he intended to prove, but that thro' a certain stupidity and grossness of understanding he could not see the difference between the thing dissolved, and the dissolution itself. And to convince us that the fault Plutarch has taxed Epicurus with, consists not in barely suppressing the major; he produces a passage of Alexander Aphrodisæus (105): in which Epicurus's argument is censured just as he supposes Plutarch had criticised it. I cannot think Plutarch would have troubled himself to censure that which the best Logicians might have done. Nothing hinders their employing an enthymema, which is a syllogism wanting either the major or minor. It is still used in the schools, while the greatest slaves to the formalities of disputation have nothing to say against it, provided the proposition understood be right: but what hissing would they make, if it was found to be as defective as this before us? Let us discover the fallacy. Epicurus and Lucretius suppose, that death is a thing that does not concern us, and in which we are not at all interested. They conclude this from the supposition that the soul is mortal, and consequently that the man is insensible, after the separation of the soul and body.

*Nil igitur Mors est, ad nos neque pertinet hilum,
Quandoquidem natura Animi mortalis habetur:
Et velut anteacto nil tempore sensimus ægri,
Ad consigendum venientibus undique Pœnis;
Omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu
Horrida contemnuere sub altis ætheris auris:
In dubioque fuit sub utrorum regna cadendum
Omnibus humanis esset, terraque marique:
Sic ubi non erimus, cum Corporis, atque Animæ
Discidium fuerit, quibus è sumus uniter apti*
Scilicet

Lucretius's doctrine concerning the nature of the soul of man. He maintains, that this soul dies with the body; and yet he observes, that it returns to heaven when the man dies.

Scilicet haud Nobis quidquam, qui non erimus tum,
Accidere omnino poterit, sensumque movere:
Non si terra mari miscbitur, & mare caelo (106).

(105) Lucret.
lib. iii, ver. 842,
pag. 172.

*Well then, what's death to us, since souls can dye?
For as we neither knew, nor felt those harms,
When dreadful Carthage frighted Rome with arms,
And all the world was shook with fierce alarms;
Which undecided yet, which part should fall,
Which nation rise the glorious lord of all:
So after death, when we shall be no more,
What tho' the seas forsake their usual shore,
And rise to heav'n? What tho' the stars drop from thence?
Yet how can this disturb our perish'd sense?*

CREECH.

They are in the right to say, that nothing concerns a man, which happens to him in a state of insensibility: for it is the same thing to the statue of Socrates, whether it be broken to pieces, or the statue of Caesar. Since therefore the breaking of Caesar's statue, does in no wise concern the statue of Socrates, the latter is no way interested in its own destruction: it neither sees it nor feels any thing of it any more than it would the burning of a tree under the south pole. But still they fall into a fallacy two ways: they cannot deny, but that death happens, whilst a man is yet endued with sense; it is therefore a thing which concerns a man. And from the insensibility of the separate parts, they are in the wrong to infer, that the accident, which separates them, is imperceptible. 'Epicurus . . . negavit mortem ad nos pertinere, quod enim dissolvitur, inquit, sensu caret, & quod sensu caret nihil ad nos. Dissolvitur autem & caret sensu non ipsa mors, sed homo qui eam patitur. At ille ei dedit passionem ejus est actio. Quod si hominis est pati mortem, dissolutionem corporis & peremptionem sensus, quam ineptum, ut tanta vis ad hominem non pertinere dicatur? (107) — Epicurus . . . denied, that death any way concerns us, for, said he, that which is dissolved, wants sense, and that which wants sense, can be nothing to us. But that which is dissolved, and wants sense is not death itself, but the man who suffers it. So that be attributed passion to that which is the action. But if it be the part of man to suffer death, the dissolution of the body, and the loss of sense, how ridiculous is it to say, that this great change concerns him not.' Thus their first inconsequence consists in their concluding from the parts separated to the separation itself; as the latter, may be painful, and attended with a thousand sorts of troublesome sensations, it is an evil which properly and really belongs to man, and that even in virtue of their own principle, that if the dead are not at all interested in their condition, it is because they feel nothing. The second defect of these Philosophers reasoning, is their supposing, that man only fears death, because he imagines it attended with a great positive misery. They are mistaken, and afford no remedy to such as look on the bare loss of life, as a great evil. The love of life is deeply rooted in the heart of man; and this is a sign that it is considered as a very great good: from whence it follows, that death is feared as a very great evil, merely for robbing us of this good. What signifies it, against this fear, to say, *You will feel nothing after you are dead?* Will you not quickly be answered, *It is enough to be deprived of a life I love so well; and if the union of my body and soul is a state which belongs to me, and which I passionately desire to preserve, it cannot be pretended, that death, which breaks this union, is a thing which does not concern me.* Let us conclude, that Epicurus and Lucretius's argument was not just, and could only be conclusive against the fear of pain in another world. There was another sort of fear, which they ought to have removed; to wit, the fear of the deprivation of the pleasures of this life. They might say, that, taking all together, the insensibility of the dead is a gain rather than a loss, as being a deliverance from the evils of this life. Now whether these evils surpass the goods, as many have believed, or whether

they only equal them, it is an advantage to be insensible; for there is no man who rightly understands his own interest, but would prefer four hours of good sleep, before two hours of pleasure, and two hours of pain, supposing them equal in degree (108).

Let us see another paralogism of Lucretius. He pretends, that death would not concern us, even tho' sensation should remain in the separate parts, or tho' chance should again in time produce a re-union of soul and body. His reason is, that we are compounded of a soul and body; and therefore nothing concerns us, but what belongs to us, as we are this compound. As us of. He also therefore the soul, separate from the body, is not the man, it's sensations in that state would not be those of the man; and it would not be true to say, that Scipio would be unhappy, under pretence that Scipio's soul was unhappy after Scipio's death. I make use of this example, though it is not contained in these words of Lucretius.

(108) See Lucret.
lib. iii, ver. 913,
& seq. where he
has recourse to
the comparison of
sleep to confuse
those who alledge
the good which
death deprives
us of. He also
very well confutes
the other reasons
of those who
grieve, that they
must die.

Et si jam nostro sentit de Corpore, postquam
Distracta est Animi natura, Animæque potestas:
Nil tamen hoc ad nos, qui cætu, conjugioque
Corporis atque Animæ constitimus uniter apti (109),

(109) Lucret. ubi
supra, ver. 855,
pag. m. 173.

*But now suppose the soul, when separate,
Could live, and think, in a divided state:
Yet what is that to us, who are the whole,
A frame compos'd of body join'd with soul?*

CREECH.

He thinks it possible, that the same atoms a man is composed of, and which are dispersed by death, may take, in time, the same situation, and produce a man again: but he will not allow, that the events which happen to this new man, should any way concern the former. The interruption of life, adds he, hinders our having any interest in what shall happen hereafter, in case the ages to come should restore to us the human nature we had before. The state we were formerly in, is at present a thing entirely indifferent to us; and we may say the same of the states we may arrive to, in the time to come.

Nec, si materiam nostram conlegerit ætas
Post obitum, rursumque redegerit, ut sita nunc est;
Atque iterum Nobis fuerint data lumina vitæ,
Pertineat quidquam tamen ad Nos id quoque fastum,
Interrupta semel cum sit repetentia nostra
Et nunc nil ad Nos de Nobis attinet, antè
Quæ fuimus, nec jam de illis Nos afficit angor,
Quos de materia nostra nova proferet ætas:
Nam cum respicias immensū temporis omne
Præteritum spatium, tum motus Materiæ
Multimodi quàm sint; facili hoc adcredere possis,
Semina sæpe in eodem, ut nunc sunt, ordine postâ:
Nec memori tamen id quimus deprendere mente.
Inter enim jectâ est vitæ pausa, vagæque
Deerrant passim motus ab Sensibus omnes (110).

(110) Id. ibid.
ver. 859.

*Now, grant the scatter'd ashes of our urn
Be join'd again, and life and sense return;
Yet how can that concern us when 'tis done?
Since all the mem'ry of pass'd life is gone?
Now we ne'er joy, nor grieve, to think that we
Were heretofore, nor what those things will be,
Which fram'd from us the following age shall see.
When we revolve, how num'rous years have run,
How oft the east bebel'd the rising sun,
E'er we began, and how the atoms move,
How the unthinking seeds for ever strove;
'Tis probable, and reason's laws allow,
Those seeds of ours were once combin'd as now:
Yet now who minds, who knows his former state?
The interim of death, the band of fate,*

Or.

dies. They who pretended that he could not say this without contradicting himself were but little acquainted with his work, or had not well considered his opinion [R]. This objection

*Or stopp'd the seeds, or made them all commence
Such motions, as destroy'd the former sense.*

CREECH.

A COMPUTATION of Lucretius, as to what he says of the sense which might remain after death.

If Lucretius expected to convince of these two points of Physics, such as know how to go the bottom of a question, he made little use of his reason. Here is an instance that will set this matter in a clear light, tho' I suppose it at pleasure. Let us fancy to ourselves a watch, and let us suppose it to be animated, to be sensible, and capable of understanding what the maker says to it. Let us after this suppose, that he tells it, he is going to take it to pieces; that he will not leave two wheels of it together; that all the pieces shall be separated, and laid each a-part in a box; that the sense shall remain, notwithstanding this dissolution; and that the soul or principle of life shall retain it's faculties, as to grief and joy, &c. Is it not certain, on this supposition, that the watch will interest itself in these sensations, which it is told the dispersion of it's parts will not put an end to? It will be no longer affected as a watch: but it is sufficient, for it's misery, that, as a sensitive substance, it shall still feel heat, cold, pain, trouble, &c. It will certainly be the same substance, which had been exposed to these evils in the watch; and the evil it shall suffer after the destruction of the compound will only be a continuation of the evil it had suffered, whilst the compound subsisted. Apply this to our soul, and you shall see, that, if it remain sensible after our death, it would be most true to say, that the same nature which had suffered hunger, and cold, the fever, and stone, &c. in a human body, suffers other things out of the human body: and that Lucretius's consolation is chimerical and ridiculous. What signifies it, says he, if your soul be miserable after your death, you are a man; the soul will not be a man in a separate state; and consequently the miseries of the soul will not belong to you. A silly consequence! It is as if Pythagoras had said to a man, at the point of death, your soul shall go into the body of an ox; which shall be almost all it's life yoked to the plough, and suffered to die of hunger when it is old; but that suffering will not concern you, since an ox is not a man. Would not this be a wonderful comfort? People do not sufficiently attend to this position, that the subject of the accidents remains always numerically the same, in all the transformations of bodies. The same atoms that compose water, are in the ice, in the vapours, in the clouds, in the hail, and in the snow: those which compose the wheat pass into the meal, the paste, the bread, the blood, the flesh, the bones, &c. If they were miserable under the form of water, and under that of ice, it is the same numerical substance, that is to be pitied in both these estates; consequently all the disasters that are to be feared, under the form of meal, concern the atoms which compose the wheat: and nothing ought so much to interest itself about the lot and condition of the meal as the atoms of wheat, though they are not to suffer in the state and composition of wheat.

A COMPUTATION of Lucretius, as to what he says concerning the production of the same man

Let us now confute another fallacy of Lucretius, and resume the example of a watch. If the watch-maker should say to it, *I will keep your parts dispersed for three or four years, but at that period of time I will re-join them, and make you up again. During the separation, no part shall feel any pain; they shall all be in a perfect sleep, but as soon as they are restored to their former situation, their labour, their constraint, and state of suffering, shall return.* Would not a watch, that should give credit to these words, be fully persuaded, that itself and no other should be the watch, that he would put in order again at three or four years end? It would have the greatest reason in the world to believe it, and to interest itself in this new watch's fate and destiny, as it's own. And yet it's first life would have been interrupted. Let us say then, that Lucretius too lightly examined this matter, when he affirmed, that death putting a long interval between the first and second life of the same atoms of a human body, would cause this first and second life to belong to different men. I know indeed, that, though we suppose this kind of resurrection, yet we might say, that the miseries we had suffered at Rome in Marius and Sylla's

time, do not at all contribute to our present fortune. A total oblivion separates us from those times; nevertheless we should have been those miserable persons: and we should be the same men, who had formerly undergone so many misfortunes: from whence it results, that if we should return again into the world a thousand years hence, all the miseries we were to suffer in that new life would properly belong to us; and the certain knowledge of such a futurity must necessarily give us a disturbance. Lucretius therefore has not reasoned justly. There are but two ways a man can take to calm, in a reasonable manner, the fears of another life. One is to promise the happiness of heaven; the other is to promise a privation of all kind of sense. Note, that the Spinozists had no pretence to either of these two consolations. All their refuge consists in preparing themselves for a perpetual and infinite circulation of forms, ever accompanied with thought, but without knowing whether they shall be more happy or more miserable than under the human form.

[R] They who pretended that he could not say this without contradicting himself, have . . . not well considered his opinion.] Lactantius charges this contradiction upon him, and imagines, that the force of truth overpowered him, and insinuated itself into his soul without being perceived. 'Denique idem Lucretius oblitus quid assereret, & quod dogma defenderet, hos versus posuit;

*Cedit item retro de terra quod fuit ante
In terram, sed quod missum est ex ætheris oris
Id rursus Cæli fulgentia templa receptant.*

Quod ejus non erat dicere, qui perire animas cum corporibus differebat; sed victus est veritate, & imprudenti ratio vera surrepsit (111). — In fine, Lucretius forgetting what he had asserted, and what doctrines he hath defended, hath left us these verses;

*Whatever is from the earth's entrails born,
Dost soon, or late, unto that earth return,
But what descends from the æthereal skies,
From earth releas'd, to heav'n again will rise.*

Which surely was not fit for him to say, who had maintained that the souls perished with the bodies; but he was overcome by truth, and these words escaped him unawares. A Dominican, who has lately written concerning the Chinese idolatry, perfectly approves this observation of Lactantius, and makes use of it to corroborate his proofs against the Jesuits (112). 'It would be no wonder that the Chinese should contradict themselves, since Lucretius, one of the learnedest Philosophers of the Epicurean sect, who durst openly attack the doctrine of the soul's immortality, confessed, notwithstanding, that if it dispersed itself after death, it was because the grosser parts were lost in the earth, and the more subtil and celestial parts re-ascended into the third region of the air, or into heaven. Thus, says Lactantius, he fell into a manifest contradiction upon the subject of the soul' (113). The notion of the learned of China, upon this point, perfectly resembles that of Lucretius, and they explain themselves much as he did. This Philosopher maintains, that the soul perishes with the body: nevertheless he confesses, that it's citest & subtilest parts ascend and re-unite in heaven, from whence they came. He contradicts himself, though he was a very ingenious man: and you object to us, as a great absurdity, that the Chinese who are a people of a very mean understanding, without subtilty, penetration, and almost without principles, as you declare in your Memoirs, should contradict themselves, if they believed, that the pictures of the dead were the seats of their souls? If the contradiction of the Chinese be no grosser than that which Lucretius is accused of, the adversaries of the Jesuits will get little by it; for it is certain Lactantius had no reason to believe, that Lucretius contradicted himself. See the

PETER (114). They immediately precede those verses I have cited in the remark [G] of the article (114) *Chin.* (115) *Chin.* (116) *Chin.* (117) *Chin.* (118) *Chin.* (119) *Chin.* (120) *Chin.* (121) *Chin.* (122) *Chin.* (123) *Chin.* (124) *Chin.* (125) *Chin.* (126) *Chin.* (127) *Chin.* (128) *Chin.* (129) *Chin.* (130) *Chin.* (131) *Chin.* (132) *Chin.* (133) *Chin.* (134) *Chin.* (135) *Chin.* (136) *Chin.* (137) *Chin.* (138) *Chin.* (139) *Chin.* (140) *Chin.* (141) *Chin.* (142) *Chin.* (143) *Chin.* (144) *Chin.* (145) *Chin.* (146) *Chin.* (147) *Chin.* (148) *Chin.* (149) *Chin.* (150) *Chin.* (151) *Chin.* (152) *Chin.* (153) *Chin.* (154) *Chin.* (155) *Chin.* (156) *Chin.* (157) *Chin.* (158) *Chin.* (159) *Chin.* (160) *Chin.* (161) *Chin.* (162) *Chin.* (163) *Chin.* (164) *Chin.* (165) *Chin.* (166) *Chin.* (167) *Chin.* (168) *Chin.* (169) *Chin.* (170) *Chin.* (171) *Chin.* (172) *Chin.* (173) *Chin.* (174) *Chin.* (175) *Chin.* (176) *Chin.* (177) *Chin.* (178) *Chin.* (179) 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objection would have given him no trouble: he would have been infinitely harder put to it, to maintain the attributes of his gods [S]. For he himself furnishes arms to those who

the earth, impregnated with atoms which fall from heaven along with the rain, produces plants, and beasts, and men. Lucretius would prove in this place, that two kinds of insensible matter may compose one entire sensible being. The earth is insensible, the seeds it receives into its bosom, and which drop from heaven, are insensible; and yet the earth, impregnated by those seeds, produces and nourishes bodies that have life and sense. Death disunites the parts of these bodies, but destroys nothing of their substance. Those that the earth supplied are restored to the earth; and those which descended from the region of the æther ascend thither again. This manifestly means, that the subtil parts which compose the soul, according to Epicurus's system, evaporate, and exhale, when the man dies, and disperse themselves in the air; just as we see bodies do in the chymical analysis of compounds, when the spirituous parts gain the top, and the earthy remain at the bottom of the vessel. Lucretius does not pretend, as the Dominicans suppose that the parts of the soul, go, and reunite in heaven from whence they came; so as to persevere in a state of a soul, and a thinking substance. He supposes them dissipated, and insensible, as they were before the life of the animal (115); and therefore does not believe, that the soul, as a soul, survives the man: there is therefore no contradiction in his doctrine, and he cannot be alledged for an example of the contradictions which the Chinese would fall into, if they affirmed, on one hand, that the soul is nothing but the *subtilest parts of this-kie or matter*; and pretended on the other, that it descends into the pictures of the dead from the uppermost region of the air, where it had resided (116).

[S] He would have been infinitely harder put to it, to maintain the attributes of his gods. A perfect tranquillity, and compleat happiness, were the principal qualities which he attributed to the gods (117). He maintained, on the other hand, that the nature of things contained nothing but vacuum and body;

Omnis, ut est, igitur, per se, Natura, duabus
Constituit rebus; nam corpora sunt, & inane (118).

*This All consists of body and of space,
That moves, and this affords the motion place.*

He assigns his reasons and then concludes,

Ergo præter Inane, & Corpora, tertia per se
Nulla potest rerum in numero natura relinqui;
Nec, quæ sub sensus cadat ullo tempore nostros,
Nec, ratione animi quam quisquam possit aspicere.
Nam, quæcunque cluent, aut his conjuncta duabus
Rebus ea invenies: aut horum eventa videbis (119).

*Well then a different third in vain is sought,
And not to be discover'd by sense, or thought,
For whatso'er may seem of more degree,
Are the events, or properties of these.
While to explain we call those properties,
Which never part except the subject dies
Body and space make up this mighty frame,
And all we see is but made up of them.*

CREECH.

Without an extraordinary penetration one may easily perceive, that these two doctrines of Lucretius are inconsistent. I might therefore have discovered the difficulty, which we shall see by and by; but I had not the leisure to consider it; I have found it, ready to my hand, in a book of the Sieur Cotin, before I had considered this subject. And, as it is but just to give every one his due, I shall make use of the words of this writer. The gods 'have bodies, or something like bodies, since besides vacuum and body, and what results from their union, we cannot so much as conceive any other nature. This Epicurus positively teaches;

This All consists of body and of space.

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says the interpreter of this Philosopher, who also believes, that, if the soul were incorporeal, it could neither do nor suffer any thing. What felicity then would the gods have, if they were incorporeal (120)? Their bodies are composed of atoms and there is a vacuum betwixt the parts which compose these divine bodies since vacuum and atoms are the principles of all things. Every body may be resolved into the parts which compose it; and the heap of atoms . . . cannot eternally subsist in the same manner; they are too volatile, and moveable to remain always at rest (121). Cotin infers from all this, 'that Epicurus's gods, though discharged from human affairs, are not so happy and quiet as he imagines: they are not without apprehension and fear of the last separation of atoms, which being once dispersed thro' the vacuum, will never unite again. Thus, says this Philosopher, the particles which compose the soul being once dispersed, can never reunite throughout all ages: otherwise we might be, after we had ceased to be; that is to say, the resurrection would be naturally possible. An hypothesis, however, which may be inferred from Epicurism (122): for why may not the same chance, which had once united the little bodies, that composed Pythocles and Metrodorus, be able to reunite them once again? Besides . . . the Epicurean gods having settled their mansions amidst those innumerable worlds, which overthrow one another, and make a dreadful crash, how can they bear, without extreme disturbance, so many ponderous masses falling round about them, and perhaps upon their heads? For chance knows them not, and consequently can pay them no respect (123). Note, that this writer observes (124), that most of the Epicureans have said, that the gods . . . are not composed of atoms. What I offer hereupon may be seen in the remark [F] of the article EPICURUS (125). They perceived, that eternal felicity, which they attributed to the gods, was not consistent with the contexture of atoms. It was necessary therefore to give them another nature; but hereby they ruined the fundamental article of their system, that capital principle which is the basis of their Physics, viz. that atoms and vacuum are the principles of all things. I do not think Lucretius could ever get clear of this difficulty. He must either have given up the blessed eternity of his deities, or his two principles, for it is not possible to retain both these doctrines at the same time. Hence we may judge, that the hypothesis of the existence of the gods; which is the richest jewel in the system of Anaxagoras, and some other Philosophers, and the noblest and most excellent piece of the whole machine, is the weakest part of the Epicurean system. Their founder, having delivered himself from all fear, with respect to the divine justice, found himself, in other respects, more embarrassed with his gods, than if he had ascribed to them a providence. He durst not deny their existence, and yet he knew not what to do with them, or where to place them. Whatever he could say of them, made a breach in his system, and exposed him to invincible objections. See how Cicero has turned him into ridicule, as well upon the subtilty of the bodies of the gods (126), as their human shape (127), &c.

The Sieur Cotin taxes him with a palpable contradiction, with respect to divine providence. 'What will you say, if I shew you, by a precise and formal passage of Epicurus, that he not only believed a Deity, but also owned his providence? This passage is in his epistle to Meneceus *; it is certain there are gods: but we must have a care of attributing to God, mark this, who is an immortal and most happy being, any quality repugnant to his immutable felicity. No, he is not impious, who does not believe that croud of gods, which the greatest part of men imagine and never saw, but he who believes things too mean and unworthy of them. The gods send to these prophane wretches, who dishonour them by their false opinions, innumerable calamities; and, on the contrary, heap their benefits upon the wise and good. The reason whereof is, because they love their like, and think that what is not agreeable to virtue, is not agreeable to their nature. Seneca, Epictetus, and Plato, could not

(120) Cotin Theodéc, ou la vraie Philosophie des Principes du Monde, Dialog. III, pag. 54.

(121) Id. ibid. pag. 56.

(122) We have seen, above, citat (110), that Lucretius plainly acknowledges this possibility.

(123) Cotin, ubi supra, pag. 57.

(124) Id. ibid. pag. 58.

(125) Citat. (81), and following.

(126) Cicero, de Natura Deor. lib. i, sect. lxviii, pag. 95, & lib. ii, sect. lix, pag. 313.

(127) Id. ibid. lib. i, sect. xxi, pag. 132.

WHETHER Epicurus owned a Providence.

* Diog. Laert. in the Life of Epicurus.

11 C

who would attack them; and in this, his system does not appear to be the production of a man who can reason consistently.

* speak more divinely. Epicurus, thou, at the bottom of thy soul, art religious, because nature cannot wholly deny itself: the misfortune is, that thou canst not say what thou sayest, without contradicting thyself (128). Here you see a slight and a moral reflexion, which the author would have placed better, if he had brought them into one of his sermons. But wherever he had placed them, they would have been ill grounded; for it is not true that Epicurus ever wrote to Menecæus, what Cotin attributes to him. Let us see the Greek words, with the learned Gassendus's Latin translation, which will clearly shew, that Epicurus's notion is as remote from Cotin's sense, as heaven from earth. Ἀσεβὲς δὲ οὐχ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν θεῶν ἀναίρων, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς περσάπων. Οὐ γὰρ περσάψεις εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' ὑπολήψεις ψευδεῖς αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀποφάσεις. Ἐνθεν καὶ μεγίστας βλάβας δύναιται τοῖς κακοῖς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπάγασθαι, καὶ ἀφελείας τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. Ταῖς γὰρ ἰδίαις οἰκεῖται διὰ παντὸς τὰς ὁμοίας ἀποδέχονταί, πᾶν τὸ μὴ τοιούτου, ὡς ἀλλόττερον νομίζοντες. Impius est proinde,

(128) Cotin, ubi supra, pag. 59.

non is, qui vulgareis multitudinis Deos tollit; sed is, qui multitudinis opiniones Diis adhibet. Non enim germanæ prænotiones sunt, sed suspiciones falsæ, eæ, quæ de Diis ab hominibus à vulgo traduntur. Arbitrantur quippe & malis detrimenta maxima; & bonis præsidia à Diis advenire: siquidem propriis virtutibus, seu affectibus innutriti, simileis sui Deos admittunt, & quicquid affectuum suorum non est, id exilimant ab ipsis alienum (129). — He therefore is not impious who denies the gods of the vulgar, but he who attributes the notions of the vulgar to the gods. For the sentiments of the vulgar concerning the gods, are not true and certain, but false and supposititious only; for they imagine, that great misfortunes befall the wicked, and blessings are bestowed upon good men, by the direction of the gods, ascribing to them their own passions and inclinations, and excluding from them, whatever they feel not in themselves.

(129) Diog. Laert. lib. x. (130) 123, 124. pag. 46, Tom V. Oper. Gassendi.

However, this contradiction does not concern Lucretius; and, if I have mentioned it, it is only to shew the best and the worst side of his censure.

LUGO (FRANCIS DE) elder brother to the cardinal of that name, of whom I speak below, was born at Madrid in 1580, and became a Jesuit at Salamanca in 1600. He took so much pleasure in humbling himself, that, after having taught Philosophy, he begged of his superiors the employ of explaining the rudiments of Grammar, and obtained it. Having afterwards taught Divinity, he desired he might be sent to the Indies, to teach the Infidels their Catechism and Grammar. But they employed him to to higher purposes: they gave him a professorship of Divinity in the cities of Mexico and Santa Fe. Finding that the employment given him in this country did not agree with that humility in which he designed to live, he desired to be re-called to Spain. In his return he lost the greatest part of his commentaries upon Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* [A]. He was deputed to Rome by the province of Castile, to assist at the eighth general assembly of the Jesuits, and stayed there after the breaking up of this assembly to exercise two offices, viz. that of censor to the books published by the Jesuits, and that of Theologist to the general: but finding his reputation encrease daily, after his brother was made a cardinal, he returned into Spain, where he was chosen rector of two colleges. He died the seventeenth of December 1652 (a). He is the author of several books [B]. If any one refuses to believe what I have been saying of this Jesuit's humility, I shall not charge him with incredulity.

(a) Taken from Nathan. Southwell, Bibl. Societ. Jesu, pag. 255.

[A] The greatest part of his commentaries upon Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*. He himself was in danger to be taken by the Hollanders. 'Dum renavigat in Hispaniam classe ab Hollandis intercepta, ipse quidem in terram evasit in Insula Cubæ, sed maximæ partis commentariorum suorum in totam *Summam Theologicam* Sancti Thomæ iacturam fecit (1). — Sailing back into Spain, he was taken by a Dutch Squadron; however, he got safe ashore in the isle of Cuba, but the greatest part of his commentary upon the *Summa Theologica* of St Thomas was lost.'

(1) Nathan. Southwell, Bibl. Societ. Jesu, pag. 255.

[B] He is the author of several books. The titles are as follows, and shew, that he wrote upon the same things as his brother. *Commentarii in primam partem S. Thomæ de Deo, Trinitate, & Angelis*, at Lyons, in 1647, two volumes in folio. *De Sacramentis in genere, baptismo, confirmatione, & Sacra Eucharistia*, at Venice, in 1652, in 4to. *Discursus prævius ad Theologiam moralem, sive de principiis moralibus æstium humanorum*, at Madrid, 1643, in 4to. *Quæstiones morales de Sacramentis*, at Grenada, in 1644, in 4to (2).

(a) Taken from Southwell, ibid.

LUGO (JOHN D'E) a Spanish Jesuit and cardinal, was born at Madrid the twenty fifth of November 1583; but he always wrote himself of Seville, because his father kept his ordinary residence there [A]. He discovered his parts when he was but three years old, for he could read printed books and manuscripts. He maintained some theses at fourteen, and was sent soon after to Salamanca to study the Civil-law, in imitation of his elder brother, and notwithstanding the oppositions of his father, he became a Jesuit the sixth of July 1603. He finished his course of Philosophy with the Jesuits at Pampelona, and studied Divinity at Salamanca. After the death of his father, he

(1) I believe those who enjoy this employment are called *Jordanos*, as the consuls of Bourdeaux are called *Jurats*; but these consuls are chosen every year.

(a) Bibl. Script. Hispan. Tom. 1, pag. 556.

(3) Id. ibid.

[A] Because his father kept his ordinary residence at Seville. He had a very honourable employment there: I would name it, if I knew how it is called in Spanish (1): but not knowing it, I shall use the Latin words of Don Nicolas Antonio (2). *Joannes de Lugo, Joannis filius civis & Jurati (quomodo secundi subalterni decuriones vocant) Hispanensis*. The States of the kingdom being called to Madrid, he assisted there as deputy of his country (3): he married in the same city Teresa de Quiroga, and had the son by her, who is the subject of this article (4). This son might have

(4) Nath. Southwell, Bibl. Script. Societat. pag. 471.

been more rightly surnamed *Hispanensis*, than *Madritensis*; for when a woman lies-in, in a journey, it is not usual to make that the child's birth-place where he is born, but where his parents live. This is the case of children of ambassadors, born in the places of their embassy. They are reckoned natives of the places where their father would reside, were they not ambassadors: and because they are absent upon public affairs, *Republicæ Causa*, their children have the same privileges as those who are born at home. Thus it was with cardinal de Lugo's father; he only resided at Madrid, as deputy of Seville to the assembly of the States of the kingdom.

[B] He

he was sent by his superiors to Seville, to take possession of his patrimony which was very considerable. He divided it with his brother's consent betwixt the Jesuits of Seville and those of Salamanca. He taught Philosophy for five years (a), and afterwards was made professor of Divinity at Valladolid. The success with which he discharged this employment, made him esteemed worthy of a more eminent chair: accordingly in the fifth year of his professorship he received orders to go to Rome, to teach Divinity there. He set out in March 1621; and, having escaped several dangers in crossing the provinces of France, he arrived at Rome in the beginning of June the same year. He professed Divinity there twenty years, with a great reputation; for he thoroughly understood school Divinity: He made a good choice (b) of the opinions he defended, and was admirable for joining brevity with perspicuity. He minded only his own business, without losing time in making his court to the cardinals, or frequenting ambassadors' houses. He never affected to be an author, but having received a command to publish some of his works, his vow of obedience did not permit him to dispense with it. He printed seven large volumes in folio [B]; the fourth of which he dedicated to Urban VIII. This Pope made him a cardinal the fourteenth of December 1643. Some very singular things are related, which show how free from ambition this Jesuit was [C]. While he was cardinal, he shewed himself very charitable to the poor: he liberally distributed the bark to such as were afflicted with agues [D]. He died the twentieth of August 1660, leaving all his estate to the Jesuits of the professed college at Rome, and would be buried at the feet of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order (c). He invented the hypothesis of turbid points [E], to solve the unfurmountable objections, both against the divisibility of parts *ad infinitum*, and against Mathematical points. A fragment of

(a) *Nicolas Antonio, Biblioth. Scriptor. Hispan. Tom. I, pag. 556, says, that de Lugo taught Philosophy at Medina del Campo.*

(b) *Est quippe in eligendis moribus sententia prestantis iudicii, in explicandis infemæ extremitatibus, & cum perspicuitate, quod eorum est, conjungat congruum breviter. Nat. Sitwell. Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, pag. 471, 472.*

(c) *Id. ibid.*

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[B] *He printed seven large volumes in folio.* The first treats of *Incarnatione Dominica*, and was printed at Lyons, in 1633, and 1653. The second, *de Sacramento in genere & de ven. Eucharistia sacramento & sacrificio*, at Lyons, 1636. The third, *de Virtute & Sacramento Pœnitentiæ*, at Lyons, 1638, 1644, and 1651. The fourth, and fifth, *de Justitia & Jure*, at Lyons, 1642, and 1652. The sixth, *de Virtute Divina fidei*, at Lyons, 1646, and 1656. The seventh is a collection *Responsorum Moralium*, at Lyons, 1651, and 1660. Besides this, he wrote notes, in *privilegia vocis oraculo concessa societati*, printed at Rome, in 1645, in 12mo; and he translated the Life of the blessed Lewis de Gonzaga out of Italian into Spanish (5). The fourth of these volumes was dedicated to Pope Urban VIII. The author hereupon was obliged to go and pay his respects to this Pope, to whom he had never spoke (6). He was favourably received by him; and from that time Urban employed him on several occasions, and expressed a particular affection for him. De Lugo seeing himself obliged to be an author, employed no amanuensis, or any other person, to fit his manuscripts for the press. He himself underwent all this great labour (7). Father Maimbourg has made use of a thought of this cardinal; which the reader will perhaps be glad to find here, and may give him some notion of the principles of this Spanish doctor. 'The church, says Father Maimbourg (8), has not yet thought it necessary to determine any thing concerning the immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin. It has not used this method concerning her exemption from venial sin, having decided that point as being an appurtenance of faith. . . . She has searched the scriptures and apostolical tradition, and the sense of the holy fathers, upon the quality of the mother of God, to discover the whole extent of it. And † as afterwards she found the exemption from venial sin to be comprized in this supreme dignity, as a necessary consequence in it's principle, she has defined it as a point of faith †, revealed in the word of God, which contains it. This is the remark of the learned and subtle cardinal de Lugo †, in his excellent treatise concerning faith, which I had the honour to receive from him at Rome, when I was his disciple.'

[C] *Some very singular things are related, which show how free from ambition this Jesuit was.* He was created a cardinal without his knowledge, or the least thought that the Pope had any such design. Hearing the news of his creation, he was almost confounded; and did not give the messenger, who brought the news, the present due to him on such occasions: the reason he gave for it was, that this news was disagreeable to him; and he would not suffer the college of Jesuits to give any testimony of joy, or play-days to the scholars. He looked on the coach, that cardinal Francis Barberini sent him, as if it had been his

coffin; and, when he was in the Pope's palace, he declared to the officers, who were preparing to put on his cardinal's robes, that he first desired to represent to his Holiness, that the vows he made, as a Jesuit, forbade him to accept the cardinal's cap. He was answered, that the Pope dispensed with those vows: *Dispensationes*, replied he, *leave a man to his natural liberty, which if I am permitted to enjoy, I shall always refuse the cardinalship.* They were therefore obliged to introduce him to the Pope: to whom he told his reasons, and asked him, whether his Holiness commanded him, in virtue of holy obedience, to accept this dignity: the Pope answered he did; whereupon de Lugo humbly acquiesced, and stooped to receive the hat. The purple did not hinder his retaining a Jesuit constantly near him, as a perpetual witness of his actions: he continued to dress and undress himself, without the assistance of any of his domestics. He would have no tapestries in his palace; and he settled such regular orders in it, that it was a kind of seminary. This is a good part of Father Southwell's account (9): every one may believe of it what he pleases.

[D] *He liberally distributed the bark to such as were afflicted with agues.* This febrifuge came from Peru. It was brought to Rome in 1650, by the Jesuits; from whence it is called in some places *Jesuits Powder*. There was an attempt to discredit it, which made Father Fabri publish a book at Rome, in the year 1655, intitled, *Pulvis Peruvianus Febrifugus vindicatus* (10). This powder was then very dear, as Southwell affirms. By this he heightens the cardinal's charity. *Quibusque (pauperibus) corticem Peruanum non levis pretii contra febres benigne & liberaliter distribuebat* (11). It is observed, in Furetiere's Dictionary, at the word *Quinquina*, that this febrifuge was called at first, *cardinal de Lugo's powder*.

[E] *He invented the hypothesis of turbid points.* To speak more exactly, I think it ought to be said, that finding this hypothesis almost dropped, he adopted it, and brought it into credit. It does not remedy the difficulties that are proposed against Mathematical points: and besides it manifestly includes an incomprehensible absurdity; which is, that a corpusele, which in itself has neither parts nor extension, should swell at such a rate, as to fill several parts of space. The ordinary doctrine of the school-men, concerning rarefaction, gave occasion to John de Lugo to evade the great inconveniencies of this strange absurdity. The school-men teach, that a rarefied body takes up more space than it did before, without acquiring any new parts of matter; the same body, say they, sometimes fills a greater space, and sometimes a lesser: but as this doctrine is absolutely incomprehensible, and contradictory, it could be but of very small advantage to this Jesuit. See how Arriaga confutes him without naming him (12).

(9) *Southwell, ubi supra, Nicolas Antonio, ubi supra, says, in general, the same things.*

(10) *He disguised himself in the title-page of this book, under the name of Antimus Coningius. Southwell, ubi supra, pag. 350. I believe that instead of Coningius, he ought to say Conyngius, a name derived from the Greek, to signify a beautiful powder.*

(11) *Id. ibid. pag. 472.*

(12) *Roder de Arriaga, Disput. xvi, Physicæ, sect. ix, pag. 421, & seq. Edit. Paris, 1639.*

[F] *A fragrant*

(5) Taken from Southwell, ubi supra, pag. 471, 472.

(6) Ea occasione necesse habuit adire suam Sanctitatem, quam nunquam antea fuerat allocutus. Id. ibid. pag. 472.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Maimbourg, Methode Pacifique, pag. 60, of the third edition, 1652.

† Aug. lib. de Nat. & Grat. cap. xxxvi.

† Conc. Trid.

† Disput. III, sect. v, n. 73.

one of his letters has discovered a pretty curious mystery [F]; which is, that there is sometimes a nice piece of policy in the devotion to the holy Virgin.

He is said to be the first author of the discovery of the Philosophical Sin [G].

(13) *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, Tom. I, pag. 270.

(14) *At Pag.* 119, 120.

* Dices saltem illo brevi tempore, quo sine culpa ignoretur Deus, posset aliquis mori ante cognitionem Dei. Quid igitur fieret de illo adulto sine peccato mortali? respondeo facile . . . in nostro casu dicendum, pertinere ad eandem providentiam Dei, ut nullus infidelis adultus moriatur, donec vel cognoscatur Deum, vel saltem dubitet, & culpabiliter omittat ejus inquisitionem, vel, non obstante illo dubio, committat alia peccata graviora: quæ quidem jam erunt omnino mortalia, cum opponat se periculo offendendi illum Conditorum, de quo dubitat an sit. *De Lugo Tract. de Incarnat.*

[F] A fragment of one of his letters has discovered a pretty curious mystery. The Jesuits teach the immaculate conception not out of piety, but out of hatred to the Dominicans, and to render them odious to the people. The cardinal du Lugo, a Jesuit, wrote this letter to one of their fathers at Madrid. 'I desire your reverence may be pleased to take care, that your society diligently apply themselves in your quarters, to enforce the devotion of the conception, for which the people of Spain, have a great affection, to see if, by that means, we can give a diversion to the Dominicans, who press us hard here in defending St Augustin: and, I believe, if we cannot oblige them to employ themselves upon some other subject, they will overcome us in the principal points de auxiliis (13).

[G] He is said to be the first author of the discovery of the philosophical sin. See the book intitled, *The Philosophism of the Jesuits of Marseilles*, there you will find the following words (14). That which embarrasses de Lugo, in admitting actual sins purely philosophical in a savage, at least during the short time in which he supposes and maintains, that he may be inculpably ignorant of God, is, that this savage may possibly die, within this small time, in his philosophical sins; and that he does not know what God may think fit to do with, nor what judgment he may pass upon such a sinner, nor in what rank he may place him for eternity. Some other Jesuits send him to the limbo of still-born infants after a temporal punishment, proportioned to the philosophical sin, of what nature soever it be, whether parricide, incest, &c. But de Lugo chuses rather to establish a new order of providence. . . . In this new order, God, rather than banish out of this world the philosophical sin, which is so necessary

in it, and not to be embarrassed what to do in the next, with this sort of sinners, will work a miracle rather than let them die in this state. He will give them, before they leave this world, as much knowledge of the true God, as shall be necessary to qualify them for sinning theologically, or at least as much light as may be necessary to create a doubt in their minds that there may be a God, and wait and prolong their life till they have committed, with this knowledge or under this doubt, some sin which he may proceed against as a mortal sin, and punish it eternally, in hell; for that doubt alone which he would neglect to remove would render his sin eternally punishable, because, that, by sinning in this state, he would expose himself to the danger of offending him, who is the author of his being. The thought is wholly new, and worthy of him, who appears to be the first Jesuit, who made the discovery of the philosophical sin. We may, easily perceive, that the author, who thus sets forth the doctrine of this Jesuit, mixes some touches of raillery in what he says: but after all, it is not strange, that a doctor should be embarrassed, when he endeavours to reconcile the eternal damnation of man with the natural ideas, which clearly discover to us, that, in order to an action's having a character of morality, it is indispensably necessary, that a person, committing this action, know whether it be good or bad, or be ignorant of it through his own fault. It is an easy matter to stumble in such way, since we can hardly avoid making some false steps, even when we propose to acquit the judgments of God, of whatever seeming makes them appear less equitable. The supposition of our de Lugo does not tend to diminish the number of the damned, but to render them more notoriously to deserve damnation.

LUPERCALIA, a feast celebrated by the Romans, on the fifteenth of February.

Romulus was not the inventor of it (a), but Evander, who introduced it into Italy (b), whither he retired sixty years before the Trojan war. As Pan was the great Divinity of Arcadia, Evander, a native of that country appointed the feast of the Lupercalia in honour of this god (c), to be celebrated in the place where he built houses for the colony he brought with him; that is, upon the Palatin Mount. He there built a temple (d) to the god Pan; and ordained a solemn feast, which was celebrated by sacrifices offered to that god; and by the races of naked people, with whips in their hands, wherewith they lashed all they met in their way. Dionysius Halicarnassensis cites Ælius Tubero, whose exactness he commends. He cites him I say, to shew, that this feast was celebrated, according to Evander's institution, before Romulus and Remus thought of building Rome. But, as it was pretended, that they were nursed by a wolf, in the very place which Evander had consecrated to the god Pan, no doubt this determined Romulus to continue the feast of the Lupercalia, and to render it more famous. The LUPERCÆ (which was the name of the priests, who officiated in this particular worship of Pan) were divided into two societies; one of which bore the name of Quintilii, the other that of Fabii (e), to perpetuate, as is said, the memory of one Quintilius and of one Fabius, who had been the heads, the one of the party of Romulus, and the other of the party of Remus. A long time after was added to them the college or society of Julii, in honour of Julius Cæsar (f). Marc Antony entered himself into this society [A]. Though the celebration of the Lupercalia served only to disgrace religion, yet Augustus perceiving, that it had been discontinued for some years, gave orders for the re-establishing

(a) *Valerius Maximus*, lib. ii, cap. ii, goes no higher than Romulus.

(b) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, lib. i.

(c) In hujus (mantis Palatini) radicibus templum Lyceo quem Græci Panem, Romani Lupercum appellant constituit. (Evander) ipsum nudum caprina pelle amictum est, quo habitu nunc Romæ Lupercalibus decurritur. *Jestinus*, lib. xlii, cap. 1.

(d) *Calid Lupercal*.

(e) See *Ovid. Fastor.* lib. ii.

(f) *Dion. l. xlvii*, (Hofman cites 24.) *Suetonius in Cæsar. cap. lxxxi.*

[A] Marc Antony entered himself to this society. Cicero, in the second Philippic, tells him, 'Ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulere esse meminisse deberes. Though you were one of the Luperci, you ought at least to remember you was a consul.' Whence we may reasonably conclude, that he was one of the Julii Luperci; for so great a flatterer of Julius Cæsar, as he, would have been far from entering into either of the two ancient societies, whilst there was a new one established in honour of Julius Cæsar. But, without drawing inferences, we find the fact clearly in Cicero's oration against Marc Antony, as Dion Cassius relates it (1). Τὸ γὰρ λυκαῖα ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑταίρῳ τῷ Ἰουλίῳ ἑταίρατος; that is, according to Xilander's translation, *Nimirum agenda ei erant Lupercalia uni ex Collegio Julio*. Father Abram (2) has translated this Greek more exactly, thus, *Lupercalia*

enim erant, & ipse in sodalitate Julia erat constitutus. — It was in the time of the Lupercalia, and he was one of the society of the Julii. After Julius Cæsar's death, the revenues were taken away from the Luperci, which he had bestowed upon them. Marc Anthony complains of it, in his letter to Hirtius and Octavius, which is so exactly confuted by Cicero in the thirteenth Philippic. Manutius reading thus the passage, *Vetustigia Julia Lupercis ademisti*, is in pain (3) to know whether Cæsar's liberality extended to all the colleges of the Luperci, or only to that XIII. which was consecrated to himself; but Father Abram (4) is in no doubt, since he follows this reading, *Vetustigia Juliani Lupercis ademisti*. — You have deprived the Julii Luperci of their income. See Nodding's (5) citation of Cicero's letter to the young Cæsar.

(1) In Philipp.

(2) In Philipp.

(3) *Vox Constat*

The letter cited is in the second book

(1) Lib. xlv.

(2) *Commentar.* in Philipp. II, pag. 704.

[B] *Augustus*

(g) Sueton. in August. cap. xxxi.

(b) See Baronius, Tom. VI, ad ann. 496, n. 28, & seq.

(i) Baronius, ubi supra, gives it entire.

(k) Plutarch, in the Life of Cæsar, and in that of Marc Antony. See also Festus, in voce Crepi.

ing it (g) [B]. This is infinitely less strange, than to see it continued under Christian emperors, and to find, that when, at last, Pope Gelafus, in the year 496, would tolerate it no longer (b), there were Christians found amongst the senators themselves, who endeavoured to maintain it, as appears by the apology which the Pope writ against them (i). Not only the Luperci ran like mad men along the streets, during the Lupercalia, having only a little girdle to cover their pudenda; but several young people of quality, and even some of the principal magistrates [C], ran along with them in the same posture (k), anointed with oil of olives [D], and like them lashed the people who came in their way. In Augustus's time, no beardless youth was permitted to run with the Luperci (l). The women were so far from fearing these stripes, that, on the contrary, they voluntarily exposed themselves to them, in hopes of becoming fruitful, if barren, or being more easily delivered, if with child (m): but I much doubt the truth of what Pope Gelafus says, viz. that the Roman ladies were glad to be publicly whipped stark naked on these occasions (n); I believe they only stretched out their hands [E], as a boy

(l) Lupercalibus vetuit currere imberbes. Sueton. ubi supra.

(m) Plut. in Cæsar. & in Romulo.

(n) Apud illos nobiles ipsi curabant & matronæ nudatæ publice corpore, vulpabantur. Apud Baron ubi supra, n. 33.

(6) De Divinat. lib. ii, fol. m. 318, verso.

(7) In vita Antonii.

(8) In vita Cæsar.

(9) Ibid.

(10) In vita Antonii.

(11) In vita Cæsar.

(12) Apud Dion. lib. xlv.

[B] Augustus . . . gave orders for the re-establishing it. Moreri makes Suetonius say, that Augustus restored the three societies of the Luperci. This supposes they had been all suppressed, but Suetonius has no such thing: He only says, that Augustus re-established the Lupercalian ceremonies, *sacrum Lupercale*, which had been by degrees abolished. How many ecclesiastical or civil customs are there, which fall insensibly into disuse, though the bodies or societies, which ought to practise them, subsist with all their incomes? does not Cicero say somewhere (6), that the ancient custom of the auspices was hardly any longer observed? And yet the colleges of the augurs, pontiffs, &c. subsisted as before.

[C] And even some of the principal magistrates. This we learn from Plutarch: Διαθέσει δὲ, says he (7), τῶν εὐγενῶν νέοι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων. Discurrunt autem & ex nobilibus juvenes multi & ex Magistratibus. — Some noble young men, ran as well as some magistrates. He says the same in another place (8), and uses the word, ἀρχόντων, they who translate it, *those who are the chief magistrates for that year*, or who are then in the magistracy, are, in my opinion, not amiss: for a parenthesis, which Plutarch uses in another place (9), clearly shews, that he believed the consuls were obliged to run naked with the Luperci. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν θεόντων τὸν ἱερὸν δρόμον εἰς ἣν (καὶ γὰρ ὑπάτευεν). Antonius autem unus eorum erat qui sacrum cursum peragebant (gerebant enim Consulatum). — Antony was one that ran the sacred race, for he was then consul. But it is very probable, that Plutarch imposes upon his readers; for if 'the custom was such (I will set down * his own words (10) as they are in our English translation) that on this day, there were many young noblemen, and even those who were the principal magistrates that year, who ran stark naked through the city, anointed with oil of olives, &c. If (11) Antony was one of those that ran this sacred race * (of the Lupercalia) as being then consul, how is it that Cicero ventured to say, in a full senate (12), that, from the foundation of Rome, not only no consul, but no prætor, no tribune of the people, no ædile, ever did what Mark Antony ventured to do? Now what was that action of his? It was this, that, being consul, he went naked, and anointed, to the public place, under pretence of the Lupercalia, got into the pulpit, and harangued the people. Marc Antony endeavoured to justify this conduct by his being Lupercus: but he was answered, that the quality of consul, which he then bore, ought to take place of that of Lupercus; and that every body knew, that the consulship was a dignity of the whole people, whose majesty ought ever to be preserved, and not exposed or rendered contemptible in any respect whatsoever. Let no body tell me, that Cicero does not blame this consul, for his haranguing the people naked; for besides, that the contrary appears from the citations before-mentioned, we must know that Cicero made use of a figure, which manifestly contains this maxim, *The Lupercalia might be celebrated according to all the ceremonies belonging to them, without the consul's disbonouring the whole city, by his nakedness, and by his postures*. It is certain therefore, that Plutarch is mistaken. For Cicero, more worthy of credit than he, in what concerns the dignity of the consulship, takes it for granted, that the Lupercalian races were in-

consistent with this dignity; and that never any consul, or any of the principal magistrates of Rome, were concerned in them before Marc Antony; but Plutarch pretends, that the consul, and the other magistrates, were always concerned in them.

Who would not be surprized to find Father Abram (13) draw this consequence from the principles and reasoning of Cicero, that one and the same person at the same time was to be consul and Lupercus: unum & eundem & consulem & Lupercum fieri debuisse. It was easy for him to confute this consequence by the words in which Plutarch affirms, as we have already seen, that the young Roman nobility and magistrates ran the races in the Lupercalia. He adds, in confirmation, the passage of the same historian, in which it is said, that because Marc Anthony was consul, he was one of these runners; and thence concludes that Plutarch would insinuate, that they who were not magistrates were excluded from these races. A man would almost advise the renouncing study when he sees learned men entangle themselves in such absurdities, upon things as clear as the sun. Abram ought at least to have refuted Plutarch, by the long passage of Dion, which he has partly cited, and partly referred to.

Britannicus (14) affirms, that it was lawful for all, whether men or women, to celebrate this feast: whence Plutarch writes, that Marc Antony, in celebrating it, was carried along the streets stark naked in a coach, by women and maids stark naked (15). This commentator has but ill expressed his own meaning; for how could a man, that was carried by women, ride in a coach through the city? But this is not the worst of it; it is hardly to be doubted, but he has erroneously fathered this upon Plutarch; and that at bottom, it is false. Were it true, Cicero's Philippics, which do not mention it, would, doubtless, have thundered against Antony.

[D] Anointed with oil of olives. I have followed the translation of Xylander. Others translate Plutarch's Greek, ἀλειψόμενοι λίπα, by *unguento delibuti*, — besmeared with ointment. The difference is small; Cicero (16) speaking of the Lupercalia of Marc Antony, makes use of the words *unguentis oblitus*. Dion mentioning the oration of Cicero against Marc Antony, uses twice on the same subject of the Lupercalia the word *μυμυρισμένος, unguentis delibutus*. Lloyd finds he says a thing but little known, when he tells us, that he had learnt from a passage of Appian, that the Luperci anointed their bodies. *Nudum etiam corpus tunc illis unctum nescio an vulgo notum sit sed erus ex Appian. lib. 2. Bell. Civil.* He neither cites Plutarch, nor Dion, nor Cicero; but Appian, who has only copied Plutarch, except the parenthesis which may be seen in the margin, where it is expressly observed, that this unction was a customary thing (17).

[E] I believe they only stretched out their hands. I do not pretend to deny, what Charles Stephens, and several of his transcribers or his originals say, viz. that the Luperci, running naked through the city, lashed the women on their hands and bellies: *Nadi per urbem curstabant mulierum palmas utroque caprina pelle ferientes*. But I say, that this does not justify Pope Gelafus; for it must be, undoubtedly, supposed, that the blows upon the belly were given upon the cloaths. As for the story which Ovid tells, and which seems to make against me, I answer, I. that it only relates to the particular time, in which the oracle was given; and

(13) In Philipp. 11, pag. 744.

(14) Britannicus, in Juvenal. Sat. 11, ver. 142, pag. 83. Edit. Paris. 1613, in 4to.

(15) Præter Sacerdotes licetibus omnibus tam viris quam mulieribus ludos celebrare, unde scribit Plut. M. Antonium nudum in Lupercalibus cursum per urbem fuisse vectum à matronis & virginibus omnia membra nudatis. Id. ibid.

(16) Philipp. XIII.

(17) Ἀντώνιος παταύων εὐν ἀντὶ Καίσαρ καὶ διαβίων τοῦ γυμνῆς ἀλειψόμενος (ὡς περ εἰκότως ἐστὶ τῆς ἱερῆς) ἐπὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἀναδυσάμενος ἐκφάνους διαδύματι. Lloyd, voce Lupercalia. This passage of Appian may be thus rendered, Antonius ipse in Consulatu Collega dicrens nudus & unctus (ut mos est per id soleme Lupercis) condescenditque rostra diducens capiti ejus imposuit.

(o) Plut. in Cæsar.

(p) Hence comes the expression of Juvenal, Nil prodest agili palmas præbere Luperco. Sat. II, ver. 142.

boy does (o), who receives the ferula from his master (p). As to the ceremonies the Luperci were to observe in sacrificing (which were, doubtless, very singular, since, amongst other things, there were to be two boys present who laughed aloud) see Plutarch in the life of Romulus. And as for the reasons why these priests were naked, during the divine service, and when they ran along the streets, see Ovid, who gives a great many of them, in his second book of Fasti. One is taken from the ill success of Pan's amours, which is pleasant enough; and which hath been very ill related by Du Boulay [F].

and that it must not be believed, that any women, but those who were then married, and at the age of Child-bearing, submitted to the sentence of the oracle. I say, II. that Ovid does not tell us how or by whom they were lashed; whether naked, or in their cloaths; whether by their husbands, or the Luperci. What way however it was done we do not find in it the proof of Pope Gelafus's assertion; for their husbands were far from whipping them publicly, since the oracle did not command it; or from suffering the Luperci to whip them, otherwise than in private, and as the high-priest whipped the vestals, who had suffered the sacred fire to go out (18). This manner of execution fulfilled the sense of the oracle; and it is to be believed, that the husbands went no farther, and, perhaps too, stood ready at hand to prevent the Luperci's using one sort of instrument for another.

Ovid's story is this. He says (19), that in Romulus's time, women became so barren, that this prince said, it had been much better they had never stole them (20). They had recourse to prayers; husbands and wives prostrated themselves in a wood consecrated to Juno. The goddesses answer threw them into a violent anxiety; for these words were distinctly heard: *That an ugly old goat should leap the Roman wives. Italidas matres, inquit, caper birtus inito.* By good luck an augur that was present, put them out of pain: he sacrificed a goat, and ordered, that the skin should be employed to whip the women (21); which they consenting to, failed not to lie-in in ten months time. Thomas Bartholin (22), who has adapted to his subject the general custom of their submitting to be whipped by the Luperci, which Meibomius had forgotten (23), would have found his account better in the particular adventure I have related.

[F] Ovid . . . gives . . . a reason pleasant enough, which has been very ill told by Du Boulay.] As Du Boulay (24) has told it with several interpolations, I think myself obliged to give a faithful account of it here, in order to inspire my readers with a just mistrust of writers, who transcribe one another, without recurring to the original (25): the story is thus. Hercules travelling with Omphale, was seen by Faunus (26), who immediately fell in love with the fair one, and sought an opportunity to enjoy her. Hercules and Omphale lodged that night in a cave, where, whilst supper was getting ready, Omphale amused herself with changing cloaths with Hercules, dressing him in her petticoats, and trinkets, and putting on herself, instead of them, the lion's skin, the club, and the quiver. They supped in this equipage, and went to sleep in it. They were to lie a-part that night, because in the morning they were to sacrifice to Bacchus, an act of religion which required continence the preceding night. Faunus, who had pursued his beloved object, stole into the cave, in the dark, whilst the domestics were in a deep sleep; not without hopes that Hercules and his mistresses were as fast asleep as they; and that, by this means he might perform his exploit. He groped about sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, till at last he found Omphale's bed: but he no sooner touched the lion's skin, but he started back in a great fright. A little after, feeling about, he found Hercules's bed, and judging, by the fineness and softness of the cloaths, that it was Omphale, he laid himself along, and with

great eagerness began to take up her coats; and without being discouraged by the bristly legs (27), thought to accomplish his design. Hereupon the hero, giving him a thrust with his elbow, threw him out of the bed (28). This awakened Omphale; she calls up the people, a candle is brought, Faunus is found sprawling on the ground, hardly able to rise, and is made the laughing-stock to the company. Ovid pretends, that this is one of the reasons of the nakedness of the Luperci: Faunus, taking an aversion for the habits which had thus deceived him, would not suffer his priests to wear any at all, during the ceremonies of his worship.

Let us now reckon up the faults, which Mr du Boulay has committed in the space of twenty one lines. I. He says, that Hercules was passing through mount Palatin, when Faunus was smitten with his wife: but if he had read Ovid (29), he would have found that Hercules was then in Lydia. II. He does not know whether the wife that attended Hercules, was Iole or Omphale. Ovid's text, without leaving room for a doubt, fixes us to Omphale. III. He says, that Hercules retired into a forest, to avoid the scorching heat of the sun. Ovid makes him retire into a cave, and only when it was late. IV. He says, that Omphale going to bed, as being the more chilly and timorous, took the lion's skin, which her husband wore, to cover her, and the club to defend her from the wild beasts. There is not one word in Ovid concerning any of these motives: and besides, what incoherence! that, on one hand, the season, should be so vehemently hot, as to oblige them to retire into a forest; and, on the other, the nights should be so cold, that a young woman must cover herself with a lion's skin to keep herself from being starved? V. He says, that Faunus observed every thing, except the change of the cloaths: Ovid makes him take notice of nothing, nor does he send him into the cave till mid-night, when all the servants, and Hercules, were asleep. VI. He says, that Hercules awakened his wife, and ordered a fire to be lighted, whilst he held this impudent fellow. In Ovid it is Omphale who cries out, and commands not that a fire should be lighted, (this not being what is said on such occasions) but that a light should be brought (30). Besides, Hercules only pushed this impudent fellow out of bed; he did not hold him. VII. He says, that Faunus was soundly thrashed: of which Ovid says not one word. VIII. He says, that this adventure was the reason of Hercules's rising quite naked: but, on the contrary, as Ovid tells the story, he had lain all night in Omphale's cloaths. What likelihood is there that he should be undressed to rise upon such an occasion as this? IX. He says, that Hercules guarded his wife from violence. This is false; for the spark, taking the husband for the wife, made no attempt at all upon her. X. He says, that because Hercules rose quite naked, and had secured his wife from violence, he added the ceremony of nakedness to the others, which were practised at the feast of this god, to appease him for the treatment he had given him. All this is false and absurd: the two causes of adding ceremonies are chimerical, as we have seen; and it was not Hercules, but Faunus, or Pan, that established the ceremony of nakedness.

(27) Console the article HERCULES, remark [F].

(28) Ascendit, spondeaque sibi propiora recumbit: Et rigido cornu durius inguen erat. Interea tunica ora subducit ab ima, Horrebant densa aspera crura pillæ. Cætera tentantem cubito Tityrius hians Respuisit: & Ioma decidit ille toro.

(29) Jam Bacchea membra Tmolii vincula tenebant.

(30) Inclamat comites, & Iamona poscit Mæonia, illatis ignibus acta patent.

(a) It is an easy matter for every body to separate the wheat from the chaff in it: therefore I do not examine the faults which this author may have committed in the article LUTHER.

LUTHER (MARTIN) a reformer of the church in the XVIth century. His History is so well known, and is found in so many books, and particularly in Moreri (a), that I shall not trouble my self to repeat it. I shall principally insist on the falsehoods which have been published concerning him. No regard has been had in this either to probability, or to the rules of the art of flandering: and the authors of them have assumed all the confidence of those who fully believe, that the public will blindly adopt all their stories, be they ever so absurd. They have dared to publish, that an Incubus

Incubus begat him [A]; and have even falsified the day of his birth, in order to frame a scheme of his nativity to his disadvantage [B]. They accuse him of having confessed, that after struggling for ten years together with his conscience, he at last became perfectly master of it, and fell into Atheism [C]. They add, that he frequently said, he would renounce his portion in Heaven, provided God would allow him a pleasant life for a hundred years

[A] They have dared to publish that an Incubus begat him. Father Maimbourg has been so equitable as to reject this ridiculous story. 'He was born, says he (1), at Illeben in the county of Mansfeld, in the year 1483, not of an Incubus, as some, to render him more odious, have written, without any appearance of truth, but as other men are born, a thing never called in question till he became an Heresiarch, which he might easily be, without any need of substituting a devil in the place of his father, John Luder, or disgracing his mother, Margaret Linderman (2), by so infamous a birth.' Such fables are hardly to be pardoned in those who mention them only as witty conceits. This is what an Italian Theatin (3) has done in a poem, in which he supposes, that Luther, born of Megera, one of the furies, was sent from hell into Germany. This is more monkish than poetical.

[B] They have falsified the day of his birth, in order to frame a scheme of his nativity to his disadvantage. Martin Luther was born the tenth of November, betwixt eleven and twelve of the clock at night, at Illeben, whither his mother was come on account of the fair, not thinking he was so near her time: for we must know, that her husband, a man of mean condition, and who worked in the mines, did not then live at Illeben, but in the village of Meza (4). The good woman, being examined by Melancthon, concerning the year she was brought to bed of Martin Luther, answered, that she did not very well remember it; she only knew the day and the hour (5). It is therefore out of pure malice, that Florimond de Remond places his birth on the twenty second of October. He thought thereby to confirm the astrological predictions of Junctinus, who, by the horoscope of this day, has defamed Martin Luther, as much as he could. This Astrologer was strongly confuted by a professor of Strasbourg, who shewed, that, by the rules of Astrology, Luther was to be a great man. 'Nihilominus Ræmundus diem 22. Octobris præfert, ut malitiosæ Astrologi cujusdam Junctini calumniæ fidem conciliaret, qui ex horoscopo illius diel ingenium Lutheri miris modis infamare voluit. Hunc Isaacus Malleolus Professor Mathem. Argentoratensis anno 1617, edita dissertatione de genitura Lutheri refutavit (6). — However, Florimond de Remond has fixed upon the twenty second of October, that he might give credit to the malicious insinuations of one Junctinus, an Astrologer, who, from the horoscope of that day, endeavoured to throw the most scandalous reflections on the abilities of Luther. Isaac Malleolus, professor of the Mathematics at Strasbourg in the year 1617, refuted all that this man advanced in a dissertation on the birth of Luther.'

To illustrate these words of Mr Seckendorf, I ought to say, that Florimond de Remond followed Cardan's hypothesis more than Junctinus's. He mentions both the dates, that of the twenty second of October, and that of the tenth of November. He prefers the first, which is that of Cardan, and insinuates, that Junctinus followed the latter. 'Luther, says he (7), was born at Illeben . . . in the year 1483, the twenty second of October, in the afternoon at eleven of the clock, thirty six minutes . . . Several authors say he was born the tenth of November, on St Martin's eve, which made his parents name him Martin: this, perhaps, has occasioned that variation; for it is not probable, that Cardan and Junctinus, who with so much curiosity have calculated his nativity, should be both misinformed. But Cardan says, he was born the twenty second of October; this is Luther's true birth day: the same says Junctinus. And, though there be some variation between these two Astrologers, about Luther's horoscope, yet it is so small that it deserves not to be considered. For in both, the planets are situate in the same houses; the moon, in both, is in the twelfth; Jupiter, Venus, and Mars, in the third; the Sun, Saturn, and Mercury, in the fourth.' The variation of these two famous Astrologers, was not so great as that of some others, who differ a whole year with respect to the birth-day of Martin Luther.

I shall cite my author (8). 'There will be as many themes or figures (9) as there are spectators at different hours; and each Astrologer, by that means, will make his own different from the rest . . . They will however agree, notwithstanding all this; as heretofore two of these gentlemen did in Germany, who, in making Luther's horoscope, who was born the tenth of November 1483, agreed as to all the events of his life, and his personal qualities, though they differed as to the day of his birth a whole year: so true it is, that this noble science never fails to discover all events.' The difference between Gauricus and Cardan, is a complete year, bating some few hours. Gauricus places Luther's birth the twenty second of October 1484, one of the clock, ten minutes in the afternoon, and he finds by this horoscope the same abominations as Cardan. 'Hæc mira fatique horrenda. 5. Planetarum coitio sub Scorpii asterismo in nona celi statione quam Arabes religioni deputabant, efficit ipsum sacrilegum hereticum, Christianæ religionis hostem acerrimum, atque prophenum. Ex horoscopi directione ad Martis coitum religiosissimus obiit. Ejus Anima celestissima ad Inferos navigavit, ab Allecto, Tiphphone, & Megera flagellis igneis cruciata perenniter (10). — This is strange, indeed terrible, five planets being in conjunction in Scorpio, in the ninth house which the Arabians allotted to religion, made him a sacrilegious Heretic, a most bitter and most prophane enemy to the Christian faith. It appears from the horoscope directed to the conjunction of Mars, that he died without any sense of religion, his soul steeped in guilt sailed to hell, there to be tormented with the fiery whips of Allecto, Tiphphone, and Megera thro' endless ages.' Can any body now say, that the Astrologers have not a great zeal for the religion they profess. But note, that this last was a prelate.

[C] They accuse him of having confessed, that having struggled for ten years together with his conscience, he was . . . fallen into Atheism. Martin Luther, who had made such progress, as to arrive at the perfection of Atheism, confessed, nevertheless, that he had struggled for ten years together with himself, to stifle or blunt that piercing sting of conscience, which his Atheism fixed in the inmost recesses of his miserable soul (11). Such an accusation required a citation of Martin Luther's own words; and yet Garasse has given none, he does not so much as cite this author's works in an indefinite manner: but in the 968th page of his book, he has not so far forgot his duty; he has cited something: this is what he says, 'Luther, who was a perfect Atheist, says, in his Table-Talk, related by Rebenstok, that he had lain ten years before his conscience, as the Greeks lay before the city of Troy; for that was his comparison: But that by his diligence, he had mastered it, and reduced his mind to such a state, as to entertain no farther scruples. He might, in my opinion, apply the whole story, and the taking of Troy, to the taking of his conscience: for, as Troy was taken by means of a wooden horse, so it was by a wooden horse that Luther took his own conscience, and stifled all that vermin of scruples: for from that time he became a horse, if there ever was an horse in the world: and his disciple, Aurifaber, deposes, as an ear-witness, that he had learned it from Luther's mouth from the pulpit, that, thanks be to God, he felt no longer any disturbance of his conscience; and that he began to see the fruits of his gospel amongst his disciples; Nam post revelatum Evangelium meum, said he, Virtus est occisa, justitia oppressa, temperantia ligata, veritas lacerata, fides clauda, nequitia quotidiana, devotio pulsa, hæresis relicta. I have fought with such success that I have stifled the seeds of virtue, oppressed justice, extinguished sobriety, rent truth to pieces, broken the pillars of faith, made villany familiar, banished devotion, and introduced Heresy.' There is no need to observe here, that all this is perverted; the thing speaks itself: and I am certain, there is no honest man, whatever religion he is of, but will detest or pity the extravagance of such a slanderer.

[D] They

(1) Maimbourg, Hist. de Luther. livr. 1, pag. 23, 24. See also Spondani Annal. ad ann. 1537, n. 13.

(2) Seckendorf, Hist. Luther. lib. 1, pag. 20, col. 2, owns, that this is the true name of Luther's mother.

(3) Cajetanus Viechi, Töten-da, lib. 1. See the Journal of Leipsic, 1686, pag. 573, in the extract of the Sæer Helicon of this author. Thomas de Vio, surnamed Cajetan, is taken, in this Extract, for the founder of the Theatines, and for the same with Cajetan Thiene. This is an error.

(4) Seckendorf, ubi supra.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Seckendorf, ubi supra. See also a book of John Frideric, van der Straß, minister near Strasbourg, intitled, Memoria Thaumastandri Lutheri renovata.

(7) Florimond de Remond, Hist. de l'Heret. livr. 1, chap. v, pag. m. 25.

(10) Lucas Gauricus, in Tractatu Astrologico de præteritis multorum hominum accidentibus per genituræ examinationem, fol. 60, verbo, Edit. 1552.

(11) Garasse's Doctrine curieuse, pag. 214.

years in this world [D]. They impudently maintain, that he denied the immortality of the soul [E]. They charge him with having grofs and carnal ideas of heaven [F], and with composing hymns in honour of drunkennels, a vice to which they make him much

(12) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 88g, 850.

[D] They add, that he frequently said he would renounce his portion in heaven, provided God would allow him a pleasant life for a hundred years in this world.] This accusation comes from the same hand as the former (12). Quirinus Cnogerus has observed, in his 'Lutheran Creed, that he had seen a little German book written in praise of SAINT MARTIN LUTHER, which contained at large the legend of this new saint, canonized by the ministers of Germany, in which he had particularly read the following passage. Compositi sunt duo verus in honorem carissimi nostri preceptoris SANCTI LUTHERI, debentque omnes Papistæ ferre, velint, nolint, ut veri verus, & pia carmina sint & maneat: sunt autem hujusmodi:

IN VITA ÆTERNA.

Christus habet primas, habes tibi Paule secundas,
At loca post illos tertia, LUTHER habet.

'Two verses have been made in honour of our dear master SAINT LUTHER, which, whether the Papist will allow it or no, shall always be acknowledged to contain true and pious praises: they are these:

IN LIFE ETERNAL.

Christ's place is first, Paul to the next preferred,
Who will deny, that LUTHER claims the third.

You will find in the margin the sequel of this passage (13).

[E] They impudently maintain, that he denied the immortality of the soul.] Martin Luther, who was a man wholly carnal, and composed of fat and grease, teaches, in several places, that the immortality of the soul is a meer chimera: for behold his own words in the second tome of his works of the Wittenberg edition, in the year MDLI, in the twenty seventh article of his assertions. Quos Leo Pontifex definitivi articuli fidei, de immortalitate animæ, portenta sunt. — That is a monstrous doctrine which Pope Leo asserted, concerning the immortality of the soul. And in the same tome of the edition of the year MDLII, in the articles XXXI and XLI, he plainly says; Nihil est quod dicitur, Anima rationalis creando infunditur, & infundendo creatur: melius hac in re ratio decernit & Poeta dicens, Patrem sequitur sua proles. — It is idle talk to say, that the rational soul is infused in it's creation, or created in it's infusion: reason determining this much better, as also the Poet who says, the offspring from it's fire derives itself. It is better to believe, says this grofs blockhead, what the Poet says, than what the church teaches: thus you see from what fountain this reformer drew his articles of faith; from the leud Poets, who have acknowledged no other deity than Venus, nor any other pleasure than sensuality.

(14) Garasse, ubi
supra, pag. 877,
878.

'(14.) The first of these two passages is so mutilated, that no judgment can be passed upon it. It is no strange thing for a most orthodox man to call those thoughts chimeras, which another entertains concerning the immortality of the soul. He would not call the doctrine of the immortality itself thus, but the absurd reasons they would build it upon, and the extravagant consequences they would deduce from it. As to the second passage, what can be more absurd than to pretend, that a man teaches the mortality of the soul, upon pretence, that he supposes it produced by another soul? may he not be persuaded, with some fathers of the church, that the soul is immortal, and produced by way of propagation, ex traduce? but, what do I stand on? a man would be as ridiculous to take pains to prove, that Luther believed the immortality of the soul, as he who accuses him of believing it mortal.

But, to shew what stress is to be laid upon Garasse's citations from Martin Luther's Table-Talk, let me here observe how he cites Prateolus. Calvin's doctrine, says he (15), bolds, and must bold, the mortality of the soul, if it will be at all consistent, and Prateolus very well perceived this in his book of Heresies.

verbo Athei; for he there observes, that a general assembly being held at Geneva, of all the States, to deliberate concerning Purgatory, one of the most ingenious, and most considerable, said expressly, when it came to his turn to give his vote, Purgatorium cum Missa & Romano Pontifice melius abolere non possumus, quam si dicamus, simul animam cum corpore extingui; — We can never find out a better way to abolish Purgatory, the Mass, and the Roman Pontiff, than by saying, that soul and body died together. Such was the opinion of this gentleman. And then afterwards, to confirm this doctrine, came out public theses, printed and disputed in Geneva, in the year MDLXVIII, wherein were these words: Quicquid de animarum habetur immortalitate, ab Antichristo ad statuentem suam culinam excogitatum est. All that is said concerning the immortality of the soul, said this proponent, is nothing else, but an invention of Antichrist, to make his pot boil. Prateolus (16) has only cited Lindanus, who said, that the Italian Protestants, who fled to Geneva, deliberating one day concerning the means of abolishing Purgatory, the Papacy, and other doctrines of the Catholic church; one of them gave his opinion, that the best way was to say, that the soul died with the body. By this means, said he, we shall destroy Purgatory, the Mass, and the Pope, all at once. Lindanus (17) cites the acts of Valentine Gentilius's trial. It is a book wherein the Calvinists complain of some members of the Italian church of Geneva, who were infected with Arianism, and were expelled for their errors. Judge if this be proper to stain the Calvinists, or fix any blot upon the orthodoxy of the Genevese.

But especially admire Father Garasse's rashness, who has converted a meeting of ten or twelve Italians, into a general assembly of all the States; and an opinion advanced by some inconsiderable persons in a chamber, into theses publicly defended (18). If this Jesuit makes such ill use of Prateolus's authority, what credit can we give him, when he cites Martin Luther's Table-talk? I shall only confute him in this general way; for having not the book itself, I cannot confront the words with Garasse's citations. I add, that he has related a thing quite otherwise than one of his fraternity has done. Articulus ille, says an Irish Jesuit (19), quo creditur animam esse immortalem, Luthero judice est portentum in Romano Hieronymo Decretorum quod Papa condidit sibi & suis fidelibus. — This article, by which the immortality of the soul is settled, ought, in the opinion of Luther, to be thrown on the dunghill of the Pope's decrees, whereby he established his own faith, and that of his followers.

To have just suspicions that this is ill cited, we need only cast an eye upon the rest of this Jesuit's discourse. Si dubites, continues be, an forte contagio hujus portentosi Paradoxi alios Reformatione afflavit, Respondet Joannes Brentius: Ego inter nos nulla sit publica professio quod anima simul cum corpore intereat, & quod non sit mortuorum resurrectio: tamen impurissima & profanissima illa vita quam maxima pars hominum sectatur, perspicue indicat quod non sentiant esse vitam post hanc. Nonnulli etiam tales voces tam ebriis inter pocula excurrent, quam sobriis in familiaribus colloquiis. Quibus declaratur, licet non publica, saltem privata persuasione, & licentia vitæ, hanc invaluisse sententiam, eamque vel ipsos sobrios profiteri. Can any thing be more astonishing? a pastor deplores the corruption of his flock. Though there be not among us, says he, any formula of public faith, by which we declare that the soul dies with the body, and that the dead rise not again; yet the impure and profane life that most people lead, is a manifest sign, that they believe not the immortality of the soul. Some even drop such discourses not only when they are drunk, but when they are sober, in common conversation with their friends. Hereupon they accuse a whole church of disbelieving the immortality of the soul, and represent them as only forbearing to make it an express article of their confession of faith. Who can bear consequences, in which the blindness of passion, is so scandalous? See the margin (20).

[F] They charge him with having grofs and carnal ideas of heaven.] Let us still cite Father Garasse.

Luther

(16) Itinimodi complures esse Geneve in Ecclesia, quom dicunt, Italiae, unum illud scilicet superque arguit, quod cum isti Calvinistæ de abolendo semel Purgatorio exstinguendo, alii que Catholicæ Dei Ecclesiæ dogmatibus, delendis inter se consultant, uno præ cæteris eximie sui magnitudinis mendaciorum patris affatus: Dicitur animam, inquit, una cum corpore extingui, sic Purgatorium cum Missa & Romano Pontifice semel abolimus. . . . Hec Lindanus, Prateolus, in Elenco Heres. vocæ Athei, pag. m. 72.

(17) In Dubitatione, Dial. ii, pag. m. 247, 248.

(18) See, below, citat. (20).

(19) Henricus Fitz Simon, in Britannomachia Ministrorum, lib. i, cap. xii, pag. 112.

* Brentius, Homil. 35, in cap. xx, Lucæ.

(20) Not having the acts of the trial of Valentine Gentilius by me at this time, I cannot tell whether Lindanus has faithfully quoted what he alleges from it; or whether there really was any Italian, who believed as Lindanus says.

much addicted [G]. They affirm, that he uttered a thousand blasphemies against the holy Scripture, and particularly against Moses [H]. They go so far as to maintain, that

(27) Garasse, ubi
supra, pag. 320.

Luther, says he (21), being arrived to perfect Atheism, was still more ridiculous, for having devised intolerable fooleries, according to the confession of his disciple Rebenstock: for he one day preached publicly, that God, to pleasure his elect, was resolved to create, after the last judgment, little cats, and lap-dogs, Quorum cutis erit aurea, & pili de lapidibus pretiosis, i. e. Whose skin should be of gold, and their hair of precious stones, and bestow them on the blessed to use them for play-things, as the ladies do who put them in their muffs. He adds, that there will be serpents, toads, and caterpillars, in heaven, but that they shall be of the finest ducat gold; and which is more, there shall be, says he, pismires, lice, fleas, and bugs, in heaven, but they shall be all of precious stones, and shall all smell much better than civet (22); for these are his very words: Ibi formicæ, cynipides & omnia fœtida, & male olentia animalia, meræ delitiæ erunt, & optimum odorem spirabunt. All the excuse I can make to cover the impiety of this gross man, is, that when he said and wrote these things, he was drunk, for it was, In Sermonibus CONVIVIALIBUS titulo de vitâ æterna, pag. 454.

(22) Compare what has been said in the article LOYOLA, remark [U].

[G] . . . and with composing hymns in honour of drunkenness, a vice to which they make him much addicted. Martin Luther, in the first Tome of his works, in the chapter of Drunkenness, after having authorized this vice, and shewn, as well as he could, that it was incident to all the great persons that ever were, at last remembering the ecclesiastical hymns, he was wont to chant in the cloysters, made one in honour of drunkenness, which consists of two stanza's; the first whereof is this:

Si vino te impleveris
Dormire statim poteris,
Est post somnum, ventriculum
Vino implere iterum,
Nam Alexandri regula
Præscribit hæc remedia (23).

(23) Garasse, ubi
supra, pag. 772.

If you will drink but deep,
You presently will sleep,
And then your belly will
Be fit again to fill,
Great Alexander's rule
(And sure he was no fool)
To keep a man at ease,
From care or from disease.

. . . we see in a book called Concordia Protestantium, that Luther is honoured with those eulogies, • *Divus Lutherus zelo plenus*: and, as the Painters represent our saints with their personal signs, St Jerome with a lion, (though this be a fault of the Painters, authorized by ancient custom, for it is not St Jerome, but St Gerasimus, that ought to be represented with a Lion) St Ambrose with a bee-hive, St Augustine with a young child, St Gregory with a white pigeon; so it is a custom, throughout all Germany, to paint this new saint of the pretended Reformed religion, with his specific mark; namely, a great glass full of wine; which, as I have shewn before, and related from Rebenstock, he called *Poculum Catechisticum*: such are Luther's arms; and John Mathesius adds, that he boasted no body could drink off his glass in a breath but himself; as no body could manage Hercules's club (24) but himself (25). The passage Garasse refers to, concerning the catechistical goblet, is in the 59th page of his book: thus: 'The most frolicksome of all was Martin Luther, as Rebenstock, and Mathesius relate in his life; for this gross blockhead being at table, used to have his great goblet brought him, which he called *Poculum Catechisticum*, which held about two pints, and which he swallowed at a draught, boasting that no body could do it but himself: as Ulysses, said he, had a bow, which no body could bend and draw up to the arrows point but himself. Now when he was heated with wine, having three or four times con-

(24) I wonder that Garasse, since he was speaking of HERCULES, did not allude here to the cup of that hero. See remark [D] of his article, and remark [N] of the article GOU-LU (JOHN).

(25) Garasse, ubi
supra, pag. 773.

sulted his catechistical goblet, he told the pleasantest stories in the world; for, falling upon the ancient doctors, he used to draw them in very fine colours. Let us also recite what we find in Fitz Simon's book. I insert his authorities in the margin: 'Ait de se Lutherus, nihil singulare in vita mea eminet. Possum jocari, potare, frontem exporrigere, ridere, sumque commodus & facetus convivator, cumque unum biræ, sive cerviciæ cantharum teneo (verbi gratia vitrum illud monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, ex Apostolorum symbolo, Dominica oratione, & decem præceptis constans, quod uno haultu Lutherus exhaurire consuevit). Statim dolium ipsum totum concupisco, sæpiusque bene bonum haustum facio in Dei gloriam. Pro ea itaque quod prius macerabam corpus meum, mox cum mortuus & in capulo repositus fuero, vermibus ventricosum beneque crassum Doctorem escam dabo'.

Ventricosum itaque & bene crassum Doctorem Discipuli Reformati, Evangelistamque joculosum, bibacem, commodum & facetum convivatorem, proprii oris confessione Evangelici nostri Reformatores nacti sunt (26). — Thus speaks Luther of himself: there is nothing singular in my life; I can joke, drink, be merry, laugh, and be a facetious companion at a feast, when I take my tankard of beer or ale (he means his monstrous goblet of such an enormous bigness, that it held the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments: and yet the whole contents of it Luther could drink off at a draught.) I then wish for the whole hoghead, and drink many a good draught to the glory of God. And whereas I formerly used to macerate my body, now as soon as I am dead I shall afford the worms a good feast out of a jolly tumbellied doctor. Therefore the reformed disciples have a jolly tumbellied doctor, and our evangelical reformed an evangelist, merry, smiling, complaisant, and a facetious feaster, as appears from his own words. In another place of his book (27) we find these words: 'Quasi vero Lutherus in immani suo vitro catechistico, quod solus ille exhaurire potuit, unam aquæ guttulam insillari tulerit? — As if Luther would ever have suffered a drop of water to be put into that monstrous catechistical glass, on which he valued himself for being the only one capable of drinking it up at a draught.' Mr Juncker, at page 193, and 220 of his *Vita D. Martini Lutheri Nummis atque Iconibus illustrata*, maintains, that all that is said of this pretended catechistical rummer, is an imposture and gross fiction; and he cites two or three books, which prove, that we ought not to take any notice of what is found concerning it in the *Colloquia Mensalia*. This book of Mr Juncker is very curious, and shews, that the author applied himself, with great diligence and success, to a re-search into every thing that was fit to illustrate the matter which he was upon.

[H] And particularly against Moses.] 'Martin Luther had hardly any thing oftener in his mouth, particularly in his cups, than that the commandments of the decalogue, were the source and fountain of all the villainies in the world, as Rebenstock has related in his *Colloquies*, in page CCCLXIX, and in the second tome of his works of the Witemberg edition, page 112, he makes a vow to God, almost of the same nature of that of the miserable Theophilus, in the first sonnet of the satirical Parnassus; for his part, he solemnly and devoutly promises never to keep any of the ten commandments: and in fine, being in the ecstasy of his devotions, he says, *Tollantur à medio omnia Dei præcepta & cessabunt omnes Hæreses*. To suppress Heresies, talk not to me of disputes, nor conferences, nor war, nor the command of princes: I know a shorter expedient than all this; which is, to throw the decalogue into the fire, and there will be no more Heresies in the world (28). . . . But if you would more clearly understand and discover Luther's opinion concerning the decalogue, and the law of Moses, observe how he speaks of them in the first tome of his works of the Witemberg edition MDL, page CCXV. *Vide ut sit prudens, & Moslem cum sui lege, quam longissime amoliri, & in malam rem abire jubeas; neque quicquam illius terrore ac minis movearis, sed suspectum eum habeto, ut pessimum hæreticum anatematizatam & damnatum hominem, utoque deteriorem Papa & Diabolo*. Be prudent, says

* Luther in Col-
cipuli Reformati, Evangelistamque joculosum, bibacem, commodum & facetum convivatorem, proprii oris confessione Evangelici nostri Reformatores nacti sunt (26). — Thus speaks Luther of himself: there is nothing singular in my life; I can joke, drink, be merry, laugh, and be a facetious companion at a feast, when I take my tankard of beer or ale (he means his monstrous goblet of such an enormous bigness, that it held the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments: and yet the whole contents of it Luther could drink off at a draught.) I then wish for the whole hoghead, and drink many a good draught to the glory of God. And whereas I formerly used to macerate my body, now as soon as I am dead I shall afford the worms a good feast out of a jolly tumbellied doctor. Therefore the reformed disciples have a jolly tumbellied doctor, and our evangelical reformed an evangelist, merry, smiling, complaisant, and a facetious feaster, as appears from his own words. In another place of his book (27) we find these words: 'Quasi vero Lutherus in immani suo vitro catechistico, quod solus ille exhaurire potuit, unam aquæ guttulam insillari tulerit? — As if Luther would ever have suffered a drop of water to be put into that monstrous catechistical glass, on which he valued himself for being the only one capable of drinking it up at a draught.' Mr Juncker, at page 193, and 220 of his *Vita D. Martini Lutheri Nummis atque Iconibus illustrata*, maintains, that all that is said of this pretended catechistical rummer, is an imposture and gross fiction; and he cites two or three books, which prove, that we ought not to take any notice of what is found concerning it in the *Colloquia Mensalia*. This book of Mr Juncker is very curious, and shews, that the author applied himself, with great diligence and success, to a re-search into every thing that was fit to illustrate the matter which he was upon.

(26) Fitz-Simon, Britannomachia, lib. i, cap. xi, pag. 95, 96.

(27) Fitz-Simon, ubi supra, lib. iii, cap. ii, pag. 270. He cites Joann. Fredericus Matthesius de ritu bibendi super Sanctitate, pag. 76.

(28) Garasse, ubi
supra, pag. 561.

that he got *Amadis de Gaule* translated into good French [I], to put people out of conceit with the Scripture, and all books of devotion. They observed so little measures in the calumnies they published against him, as to accuse him of having said, that he believed nothing of what he preached [K]; and that he was very glad to hear that other ministers resembled him in this. Most of these calumnies are grounded upon some words in a certain book published by Luther's friends [L]; to which they give a very malicious interpretation, and very remote from this minister's thoughts. Not but it must be confessed, that it was a very great imprudence to publish such a collection. It was the effect

he, and stand upon your guard; and when the question shall be about Moses, send him to the devil, with all his Old Testament, and not be concerned at his menaces; for as much as he is an heretical miscreant, an excommunicated wretch, and a damned soul. In a word, a wicked man more cursed than the Pope, and the devil (29). Garasse had said before (30), that Luther 'having, by his great industry, arrived to Atheism, held also the like discourse, as Rebenstock relates, in his Table-Talk. *Ego non pluris facio sexcenta loca Scripturæ, quam putridam nucem*, 'I value six hundred places of the Bible, if they should be urged to me no more than a rotten nut.' Lastly, he pretends (31) that Luther used to say after dinner, that he knew a good way to prevent sinning mortally against God; which is, said he, to throw the decalogue and the Bible into the fire.

(29) Ibid. pag. 562.
(30) Ibid. pag. 237.
(31) Ibid. pag. 281.

(32) Intituled, *Lectiones Morales in Jonam Prophetam*. It is three volumes in folio, printed at Amstercp, the two first in 1680, the last in 1693. See the *Journal of Leipsic*, Oct. 1694, pag. 443.

(33) *Journal of Leipsic*, Ibid. pag. 444.

[I] They go so far as to maintain, that he got *Amadis de Gaule* translated into good French. This egregious lie is found in the book (32) of an Italian Dominican, called Brother Angelo Paciuchelli. His book, written in the Italian tongue, has been translated into Latin by Charles de Marimont, a Lorraine Theatin. The *Leipsic Journal* mentions it, in which I have found the following passage. 'A veritate maxime alienum est, quod Lectiones statim prima, qua S. Scripturæ & Asceticorum librorum necessitatem & utilitatem commendat, de B. Luthero traditur: scelus scilicet illum virum, cum Germaniam execrabili hæresi contaminare decrevisset, profanis eam libris corripisse, curavisseque ut lingua Gallica liber quidam donaretur, *Amadis*, dictus, & quidem omni elegantia exornatus per Principum aulas spargeretur; sicque paulatim sacrarum paginarum spiritualiumque librorum nausea curiosorum aulicorum animis infillaretur. Cujus ineptissimæ calumniæ, quæ nobis quidem non indignationem sed risum movet, non poterit non cordatores ex Romano-Catholicis pudere, quos minime fugit quanto zelo ad sacræ Scripturæ, quæ, ipsi tunc clero tantum non sordebat, laicorum vero manibus extorta plane erat, frequentissimam lectionem, omne hominum genus, summos, medioximos, infimos Lutherus noster revocaverit, sacris in eum finem Bibliis (non *Amadiso*) in vernaculam linguam incredibili labore atque studio traductis (33). — It is very wide of truth, what in the first section concerning the necessity and usefulness of reading the holy Scriptures and mystic books is reported of Luther, viz. that this most abominable man, when he had determined to corrupt all Germany with his detestable Heresy, took care to have a book called *Amadis* put into new and elegant French, and brought into the courts of the princes, that by degrees he might insinuate into the minds of people of rank, a contempt for the sacred writings, and of all pious books in general, which ridiculous calumny cannot excite in us indignation but laughter, for the honest Catholics themselves must be ashamed of it. For they cannot be ignorant that by the indefatigable pains of Luther, the sacred writings were once more put not only into the hands of the clergy, but into those of the middle rank, nay, even of those of the meanest sort. He having for that purpose translated into the vulgar tongue, with incredible study and toil, not *Amadis* but the holy Bible.' What is not a man capable of in point of gross calumnies, and diametrically opposite to all probability, when there are those who dare affirm, that Luther desired to bring the Scriptures into discredit: Luther, I say, who had no greater reproach to bear, with all the reformers, than that of too much recommending to lay-men the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue?

[K] They . . . accuse him of having said that he believed nothing of what he preached. There are a great many Christians, who are Christians in appearance, who make an outward profession of believing in God, in a perfunctory manner, and by way of

compliment, that they may not be thought Atheists. Sturmius reproached Beza with being of this class, and applied to him the saying of Socrates, *Hoc unum me scire scio, quod nihil scio*. — I only know this, that I know nothing; he applied it to Theodore Beza by this gentle parody, *Hoc unum me credere credo, quod nil credo*. — I think I only believe this, that I believe nothing. Of this humour was the fat mortal, Martin Luther, who thanked God, that he was not singular in his fraternity: for I believe nothing, said he, of what I preach; and, God be blessed, there are many who are infected with the same distemper among our ministers; as John Mathesius has written in his life: this is what I call, believing in God in appearance, and these are the Christians in appearance, who believe in God by way of compliment, *Ne nihil credere videantur*. — Let them should be thought to believe nothing (34). Compare this with Mathesius's Latin, cited by Henry Fitz-Simon, you will find how Garasse has amplified it. 'Joannes Mathesius in vitam Lutheri plures conciones composuit, quas tandem in lucem emisit. In earum vero duodecima sic ait: *Magister Joannes Musa Prædicator Rochlitzensis narravit mihi, se quodam tempore admodum dolenter Lutero quæsum esse, quod ipsemet ea credere non posset quæ alius prædicabat*. Tum respondisse Lutherum: *Benedictus ergo sit Deus, cum id usque venire credidi* (35). — John Mathesius composed several sermons on the Life of Luther which at last he published. In the twelfth sermon he has these words. Master John Musa, minister at Rochlitz informed me, that having once complained to Luther with great concern, that he found it impossible for him to believe what he preached to others: Luther answered, I bless God that this has fallen out to another as well as to me; for hitherto I thought that I alone had this misfortune.'

[L] A certain book published by Luther's friends. According to the present mode, it would have been called *Lutheriana* or *Lutherana*. But the title that was given it of *Sermones Mensales*, or *Colloquia Mensalia*, is better; for Luther's Table-Talk is the subject of the book. It was published in 1571, by Henry Peter Rebenstock, minister of Eislecherheim. Andrew Rivetus, if I mistake not, says somewhere, that this book is supposititious; but Gisbert Voëtius (36), at least as zealous against Popery as he, acknowledges the contrary. Mr Seckendorf has not attempted to prove this book supposititious, he only observes that these Table-Discourses were collected with indifferency, and rashly printed by a person . . . who impudently idolized Luther (37). The controversies of the other side took advantage of it, as appears by Garasse's passages above-cited, and by the notes of Feuardentius upon St Irenæus (38). They have made the same use of Luther's Letters, published with little discretion and prudence. See Mr Gaffineau's Controversial Letters, who cites several pieces from them, not very honourable to the memory of the author. See what Mr Saldenus has answered to Bellarmine, who would prove, from Luther's table-talk, that he discarded Job out of the canon of scripture. 'Impegit Lutero quod Jobi etiam Libro divinam auctoritatem detraxerit, arguendo à convivalibus ejus Sermonibus deprompto, at ludicro plane & calumnioso; cum neque Libri illius auctor unquam fuerit Lutherus, neque eo vivente vel approbante editus sit (39). — He objects to Luther, that he had detracted from the divine authority of the book of Job, citing in support of what he says, some what taken out of Luther's Table-Talk, but this is idle and scandalous, since it is well known, that Luther was not the author of that book, nor was it published in his life-time, or ever had his approbation.' See the margin (40).

(34) Garasse, ubi supra, pag. 109, 110.

(35) Fitz-Simon, ubi supra, lib. 1, cap. xj, pag. 100. He cites Joan. Mathesii de Vita Luth. Conc. 12, fol. 147.

(36) Voët. Diss. Theolog. Tom. IV, pag. 618.

(37) Seckendorf, apud Besauv., Hist. des Ouvr. des Scavans, Febr. 1692, pag. 262. The words of Seckendorf, Hist. Lutherana, lib. iii, pag. 64, are these, Libro Colloquiorum mensalium minus quidem exote compositione & vulgata.

(38) Lib. iii, cap. xx. You there find several passages of the collection of Rochlitz, as Garasse observes, ubi supra, pag. 60. You find some all in the Thomæchis Calvinistica of the same Feuardentius.

(39) Salden. in otis Theolog. pag. 489. He cites Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, lib. i, cap. v, vii.

(40) Mr Jauch, of the Life of Luther nummis illustrata, refers us to two or three writers who have lately examined what itself we are to lay on these Sermones Convivalia.

1st Collier, Dr
2nd des Oeuv.
3rd Voltaire, pp
4th & 5th

1st Co
2nd Col
3rd Col
4th Col
5th Col

1st Col
2nd Col
3rd Col
4th Col
5th Col

[M] It

effect of an inconsiderate zeal [M], or rather of an excessive prepossession, which hindered their discerning the faults of this great man. It cannot be denied, but the impetuous heat of his temper forced from him such sayings, as deserve to be condemned, as when he declared his opinion upon the Epistle of St James [N]. There were some Protestants, who maintained, that he had not spoken so harshly as was pretended; and at the

(41) Costar, Défense des Ouvr. de Voiture, pag. 10, & seq.

[M] It was the effect of an inconsiderate zeal. Voiture's apologist makes use of a thought which may be properly applied in this place: I shall recite the passage at large, as containing several curious particulars (41). 'It were to be wished, that the public had received from Mr Voiture's own hands the present that has been made it of his verses and letters. He would, doubtless, have retrenched some things to have made it perfect. . . . He would not have appeared before the world as he has done in some of his letters, in disorder, in a dishabille, in his morning-gown; he would have put on his court-cloaths, or even a ceremonial and festival habit. He would have kept up in all points to the strictest laws of Decorum; with the rules of which he thought he might lawfully dispense, in a free secret correspondence with his friends and confidants. They who have published his works . . . are fallen into a fault, which is seldom avoided on the like occasions, having chosen to employ their diligence in collecting the scattered pieces of our author, rather than the judgment in making a good choice of them. And indeed, it is no wonder, that ingenious men, of ever so fine and delicate a taste, should be mistaken in this manner. That beloved freed man of Cicero, whom he somewhere calls the reformer and rule of his writings; and who, particularly by the beauty of his wit, had merited his tenderest affections, did something still worse than this. After the death of his master, he published a collection of his jests, wherein, through an excess of passion and zeal, not having courage to leave out any thing, he inserted many so cold and insipid, that Quintilian, a supreme judge of these matters, thinks them unworthy of so famous an orator. The meaning of which, Sir, is, that as piety consecrates the vilest things, when they have touched the bodies of saints, or only their bones and ashes; so love and admiration idolize whatever bears the name of those extraordinary men, who have been snatched from their admirers; and as if every one was capable of the same devotion and worship, they propose them to the veneration of all the earth, and of all ages. The least important and most neglected billets or letters, are, by their passionate admirers, looked upon, as precious relics of these great wits, worthy to be engraved on brass and marble, and to be handed down to latest posterity. . . . For the rest these, whatever may be said of them, are not virtuous extremes (42); for, proceeding from the violence of a friendship nobly placed, this sort of excess is more to be esteemed, than the moderation of other virtues; and deserves not only excuse, but commendation. Your ridiculous curiosities are justly condemned; such as that of the Greek, who bought Epictetus's earthen lamp, which he used in his lucubrations, at the price of three thousand drachmas; or of that extravagant prince, who gave I know not how many talents for the Poet Æschylus's Table-Book; or that other who corrupted the priests of Delphi, to get Orpheus's lyre out of their hands, though he knew not how to touch it, or even to put it in tune.' I have seen in an edition of the Scaligerana (43); a preface which contains the same thoughts in fewer words. 'Ea plerumque est in istos literatorum heros præpossessione vulgi religio & quædam velut idolomania, ut ne verbum quidem illis excidere patiatur quod non avide colligat, & inter pretiosissima hæmælia sedulo condat. Pene quomodo hodierni ἀγιογράφοι divorum cineres, unguis, pilos, ossium fragmenta, vestium simbras aut laciniis, & cætera quæ reliquiarum nomine censent venerandi servant. Sic Virgili speculum, & quidem inter sacra monumenta, Dionysiani in agro Parisiensi Monachi non sine risu visendum præbent. Sic Italos Petrarachæ sui non modo tumulum ædificque, sed & utrumque & sedile, imo & domesticæ felis sceleton cadaver aliisque nescio quot ejusdem farinæ quisquilias magna pompa peregrinantibus ostentare refert Jo. Philippus Thomasinus, libro quem de divini poetæ rebus composuit. — Such for the most part, is the ridiculous vene-

ration, and almost idolatrous regard, which the vulgar pay to those heroes in literature, that they cannot suffer so much as a word to escape them without greedily seizing it, and laying it up among their most precious curiosities. As our modern saint-servers preserve the ashes, nails, hair, pieces of bones, beads, or bits of garments; and whatever else goes under the name of relics, with the biggest reverence. So the Monks of St Dennis at Paris, shew, not without exposing themselves to just contempt, the looking-glass of Virgil, among the rest of their sacred treasures. And the Italians, as we are informed by John Philip Thomassin, in his Life of Petrarch, not only shew the house and tomb of that divine Poet, but also his pitcher and his stool, nay, the very skeleton of his cat; and I know not what besides.' These things fairly represent to you the case of the compilers of Martin Luther's discourses.

[N] His opinion upon the epistle of St James.] He called it a work of straw, in comparison of the epistles of St Paul and St Peter. The Catholic controversialists have hereupon made a thousand outcries, without being assured, by their own eyes, that ever Luther said so. Edmund Campian's adventure is remarkable; he had accused Luther of using this expression: he had the lie given him, and afterwards the confusion of not being able to make good what he had said, though he was furnished with the books he cited (44). This, which in reality was but a vain and imaginary triumph, was, however, a substantial one, on account of the shame it gave the Jesuit, and the joy it occasioned among the Protestants. The learned Whitaker, if we believe Mr Dailly (45), enjoyed a great satisfaction from it all his life long: he maintained, that Luther had not spoken in that manner, and that Campian slandered him. Let Mr Dailly speak. 'Mr Cottibey taxes Luther with saying, that this epistle is a work of straw; but he does not shew the book, nor place of Luther where these words are found; which makes me suspect, that, without having seen them, he trusted to Edmund Campian the Jesuit, or some such author, who hurried on by a furious hatred against our religion, makes no scruple to impute to us whatever comes in their head, be it ever so false or incredible. I will not undertake to read Luther's seven or eight great tomes, to know whether he writ these words, which your disciple charges upon him. I will only tell you, that reading over again what William Whitaker †, a grave and learned man, answered to your Campian, who said the same thing of Luther, I have found, that he accuses him of a great falsity; and says, that having carefully fought for the preface of Luther to this epistle, from whence Campian cited these words, he had at last found it, and that it began thus: "Tho' this epistle of St James has been rejected by the ancients, yet for my part I praise it, and look upon it to be useful and advantageous." He adds, that the same person in the book, concerning the Babylonish captivity, speaks of it farther in these words: "I omit, says he, what many affirm, with great probability, that this epistle is not the apostle St James's, nor worthy of the spirit of an apostle. But for this work of straw, of which your Father Campian, and your new disciple speak, he proffers he has no where met with it in Luther (46)." It is, nevertheless, true, that this is found in a preface of this Reformer. Let us hear farther what Mr Dailly says. "Afterwards Mr Rivet answering the Jesuit III, cap. xxiii, & Sylvester de Petra Sancta, who also advanced the same calumny, adds," that some have discovered to our people, that Luther had written in a German preface upon the first edition of the Bible, that St James's epistle, as to its worth, cannot be paralleled with those of St Paul, and St Peter, and that, in comparison of these, it is an epistle of straw. We do not approve (says Mr Rivet †) this judgment of Luther; and it is certain, that he himself afterwards condemned it. These words being not to be found in any of the editions made after the year

(44) Qua fronte id ausus es abiolite asserere, postquam ante multos annos, Edmundus Campianus & scila tua pseudo-martyr, super ea re falsè convictus fuisset in Anglia, ubi cum id objectat, prolatis libris, nihil unquam tale reperire potuit? Rivetus, Cossigat. Notar. in Epist. ad Galatas, cap. ix, n. 6, Oper. Tom. III, pag. 524.

(45) We shall see in the following remark that we ought not to rely on him.

† Whitaker. Respon. at Rat. Camp. ad I, pag. 7, col. 2.

(46) Dailly, Reliquie à Adam & à Cottibey, Part. ix, p. 295.

† A. Rivet. Jesh. Vapul. cap. ix, §. vi, pag. 238.

(42) Costar is mistaken, they are vicious almost always.

(43) It is ascribed to Mr Dailly, and I think, not without ground. I have seen some who attribute it to Mr le Moine. This edition is of Cologne (as the title imports, but I believe it is of Roan) in 1667.

the bottom they were in the right, but they denied something which they ought to have granted [O]. If he actually said all the things he is accused of uttering against this Epistle

(47) Daillé, ubi supra, pag. 296.

(48) That of Luther on the Epistle of St James.

(49) Fitz-Simon, ubi supra, pag. 135.

† De Capt. Babylon. T. II, 86.

(50) Hist. des Variat. livr. iii, n. 48, pag. m. 129.

* Luth. in 2. Proemio Novi Test. i. Edit.

** Vide Sixt. Senen. Pref. in Biblioth. Sanct.

(51) Fitz-Simon, ibid. pag. 132.

(52) Campian. Ratione I. init. He cites Luther's Prefat. in Epist. Jac. vide etiam li. de Capt. Bab. cap. de extr. uncl. Cent II, Magdeb. pag. 58.

(53) See the Jesuit Paul Bombinus, in the Life of Campian, chap. xlv.

(54) Vita Campiani, cap. xlv, pag. 260, Antwerp. Edit. 1618.

(55) He vero quasi desperato jam cause Campianus sermone patrum inde usque à Germania advocaret, effusi in petulantem risum Ministri dicentem adhuc illudere. Ibid. pag. 258.

'year 1526 (47). To shew how authors copy one another, without consulting the originals, I will observe, that Fitz-Simon, renewing the accusation which his brother-Jesuit Campian could not prove, cites the same preface (48) which Campian had cited. *Idem dico de Epistola Sancti Jacobi quam Lutherus non tantum ut dubiam, sed ut contentiosam, tumidam, aridam, stramineam, & apostolico spiritu indignam appellavit* (49). The bishop of Meaux does not speak of this epithet *straminea* (of straw), nor cite any of these prefaces, but another book of Luther. 'The bold reformer retrenched from the canon of the scripture, whatever did not agree with his notions; and it is on occasion of this unktion, that he writes in the captivity of Babylon, without any testimony of antiquity, that this epistle *does not seem to be St James's, nor worthy of the apostolic spirit* (50). Fitz-Simon has said, in another place, that Luther rejected the three first evangelists. 'Judicare quoque oportet ejus (Lutheri) animum erga vetus testamentum, ex odio erga præcipuam partem novi testamenti in his verbis expressam. *Non immerito igitur admonui* (inquit) *in prologo novi testamenti lectores, ut hanc falsam abolant opinionem, quod scilicet quatuor sint evangelia, & quatuor tantum Evangelistæ. Dixi autem Joannis evangelium esse unicum, pulchrum, verum ac principale evangelium, aliisque tribus longe ac longe præferendum, ac anteponendum: addo ut etiam Pauli ac Petri epistolæ longe præcedant tria evangelia, Matthæi, Marci, ac Lucæ.* Delevit ergo Lutherus pro virili tria simul integra evangelia, ut asciitua, deformia, falsa, vilipendenda (51). 'We ought to judge of Luther's sentiments in respect of the Old Testament, by the aversion he expressed against the greatest part of the new, which I shall prove from his own words. Not without reason, therefore, says he, I have admonished my readers, in my prologue to the New Testament, that they should lay aside that false opinion, viz. that there are only four Gospels, and four Evangelists. I have said that the Gospel of St John, is a true and excellent Gospel, and therefore to be esteemed the principal, being by far superior to the other three; nay, that the Epistles of Paul, and Peter, ought likewise to be in higher esteem, than the three Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Thus Luther, as far as it was in his power, has abolished three entire Gospels, by representing them, as counterfeit, ill wrote, false, and of little worth.'

Since the first edition of this Dictionary, I have discovered, that Mr Daillé and Mr Rivet have not traced Campian and Whitaker's dispute, so exactly as I thought they had done. I imagined, that these two French ministers, who were both men of prodigious reading, had said all that could be said upon the subject; but I was in the wrong to think so. This we shall see in the following remark, with a small censure of the passage of the bishop of Meaux.

[O] The Protestants denied something which they ought to have granted.] Campian's accusation was contained in these words: *Quid Lutherus (causæ fuit) ut Epistolam Jacobi contentiosam, tumidam, aridam, stramineam, flagitiosus Apostata nominaret, & indignam spiritu censeret Apostolico? Desperatio* (52). He pretended then, that Luther said, that St James's epistle was contentious, bombastic, dry, and of straw, and unworthy of the apostolic spirit. This was one of the first points that was discussed in the verbal dispute, which Campian maintained in the Tower of London (53). He was furnished with Luther's works that he had cited; he was required to find out the words of his accusation; he did seek, and found only this, 'Affirmant nonnulli epistolam Jacobi Apostolico spiritu indignam (54) — *Some affirm, that the epistle of St James is not worthy of the apostolical spirit.*' He had asked leave to send to Germany for the editions, published by Luther himself: he protested, that he had read the words in question in Luther; and that before him several famous writers, some of whom he named had accused Luther of the same crime. But he was laughed at, as a man who would send to Germany or an advocate in a desperate cause (55).

Whitaker, some time after, took pen in hand against this Jesuit, and treated him as a liar, as we have seen in the preceding remark, in the first passage of Mr Daillé. But he afterwards owned, there was something of truth in the accusation; for observe his reply to John Duræus, a Scotch Jesuit, who had written in defence of Campian: 'Cum viderem accusatum à Campiano Lutherum, ut ego putabam, injuste, licuit mihi falsum crimen verbo notare. Itaque Jacobi epistolam esse his contumeliis, quas Campianus commemorat, à Luthero affectam negavi, quia, in Lutheri libris nihil tale potui reperire. Tu jam verba ipsa profers, quæ tamen nec vidi unquam, nec qui se vidisse diceret, conveni. Utique se res habet non magni refert. Nobis enim Lutheri quæque dicta minimè præstanda sunt. Quanquam mihi plane suspectam esse fidem tuam profiteor, & te aliorum scilicet auditionibus nimium tribuisse suspicio. Primum enim vidi quandam Lutheri præfationem antiquissimam, editam anno 1525 Wittembergæ, in qua Jacobi epistolam præ Petri ac Pauli epistolis stramineam vocat. Sed hoc cum tuis conferendum non est. Deinde cum alii pontificii volunt ostendere Jacobi epistolam à Luthero stramineam esse dictam, hanc ipsam præfationem, atque hæc verba proferunt, de tuis nullam mentionem faciunt. Denique cum videam in quadam præfatione hanc epistolam præ aliter stramineam dici, non exillimo in eadem præfatione *ἀνδρῶς*, & tumidam & aridam, & contentiosam, & stramineam, & spiritu Apostolico indignam nominari. Quare dum novam hanc editionem tuam video, ἐπὶ χεῖρῶν malo, quàm aliquid temere in alterutram partem affirmare (56). When I saw that Campian had accused Luther in a manner, which to me seemed unjust, I thought my self at liberty to take notice of that false charge. I therefore denied that Luther had treated St James's Epistle so contumeliously, as Campian has reproached him with; because in all Luther's writings, I could not find any such thing. You now produce the words themselves, with I never saw my self nor could ever meet with any man that had seen them. However it be, this matter is of no great importance, since all Luther's opinions are not of equal weight with us. However I cannot help saying, that I suspect what you affirm, and am afraid you have been deceived, by giving credit to the too bold assertions of others. For first, I have seen Luther's preface, a very ancient piece, printed in the year 1525, at Wittemberg, in which he says, that the epistle of James, compared with those of Peter and Paul, is an epistle of straw; but this is nothing to what you advance; yet when other Popish writers have attempted to prove, that the epistle of James was called by Luther an epistle of straw, they quote this very preface, and these words, but they say nothing of the words you mention. Lastly, when in a certain preface I observe, that the epistle in question is said to be an epistle of straw, in respect to others, I cannot think it should in the same preface be called, without any restriction, angry, bombastic, dry, contentious, an epistle of straw, and unworthy the apostolic spirit; therefore, till I see this new edition of yours, I will suspend my judgment, and not affirm any thing rashly on either side. Observe, he confesses, that, since the publication of his book against Campian's reasons, he had found a preface of Luther, printed at Wittemberg in 1525; in which it was said, that St James's Epistle, is an Epistle of straw, compared with the Epistles of St Peter and St Paul; but that not finding the Epithets *contentiosa, tumida, arida, indigna Apostolico spiritu*, alledged by Campian, and repeated by Duræus, he will not grant the truth of the citations, till the copy be produced, that contains them. He declares that, in the mean time, he will suspend his judgment betwixt the affirmative and negative. Campian's apologists got some ground by this confession of Whitaker; but, to have justified him perfectly, they should have produced to the public, a work in which the epithets of *contentiosa, tumida, &c.* were contained. It does not appear, that they were able to do it; and therefore Whitaker, in answering a new antagonist, maintained, that Campian still lay under the charge of a slanderer, since nothing more could be proved than the epithet *straminea*. Consider

(56) White. in Respon. ad Rationes Campiani. Defensione contra Confutationem Duræi, pag. 21, 22. Edit. London. 1583.

Epistle, it was doubtless, before the year 1525 [P]. I shall give some reasons for it below

Consider well the following passage, in which Whitaker talks to his adversary William Rainolds: 'Cum copiosam & amplam hujus rei defensionem suscepis, quare in ea re maximè deficiis, ad quam maximè auxilio tuo opus est? Nam quod affers destramine, antea fatebamur totum illud, quod verum fuit: tuæ itaque partes fuissent copiosius confirmasse, Lutherum etiam Epistolam illam vocasse contentiosam, tumidam, aridam indignam spiritu Apostolico; quorum omnium eo in loco illum Campianus accusavit. Sed cum nihil ad hanc rem probandam afferre possis, coactus es fateri Campianum gravius Lutherum, quam meritis est, de hac Epistola accusasse: ita ut si uno aliquo verbo Jesuitæ tui, cujus causam agis, exiftimationem defenderis; pluribus tamen eum verbis condemnasti; quæ tu interim veteratorie omittis, quasi nec ea unquam dixisset Campianus, nec tua res ageretur. Fateor sanè parum referre, quid de Lutero Campianus finxerit nequiter: at qui eum defendendum suscepisti, ne putes te officio tuo satisfecisse, si ex multis, quæ ille protulit, in una aliqua re eum defenderis, & in pluribus defeceris. Quare vel define tandem de uno isto verbo litem movere, vel reliqua testimoniis confirma (57). — Since

(57) Whitaker, Reason ad Rainoldi Refutationem, pag. 105, 106.

'you undertook a full defence of this matter, why do you most fail in that wherein your aid was most wanted? For as to what you say about straw, that has been admitted and acknowledged to be true, but it is your business to prove at large that Luther has called that epistle, contentious, bombastic, dry, unworthy of the apostolic spirit; of all which Campian in the same place accuses him. But when you are able to bring nothing to support this, you are forced to confess, that Campian has censured Luther, with respect to that Epistle, more severely than he deserved. Thus though you think you have made good one, of the words cited by the Jesuit, whose cause you maintain, yet you have condemned him as to many more of which however you take no manner of notice, as if they had never been said by Campian, or you had never undertaken his defence. I do acknowledge, that it is not of very great importance, what Campian has wickedly feigned to have been said by Luther, but as you undertook his defence, you ought not to think your work done when you only support him in one part of his charge, and give him up in the rest. Therefore let us hear no more of this single word, or else come with your proofs, as to the rest of his charge.'

Let us cite another passage, in which he tells us, that he had not suppressed the discovery he had made since the publication of his answer to Campian's ten reasons. He examined, with all possible care, as many copies as he could find, whether German or Latin, of this reformer's works, and having at last met with that which concerns the epithet *straminea*; he published it in a preface to his answer to a tract of Sanders. 'Si Lutherus hoc scripserit, iniquè ego Campianum falsi reum peregi: si non scripserit, turpissimè Lutherum Campianus infirmulavit. Ut veritatem istius rei cognoscerem in omnibus exemplaribus, quæ comparare potui, tam Germanicis quam Latinis examinandis summam industriam collocavi: cum autem nulla verba ejusmodi, sed diversa potius, invenirem; credebam, optimâ impulsus ratione totum illud excogitatum fuisse; itaque falsissimum esse pronuntiavi. Evenit verò postea, ut in vetus Germanicum Testamentum à Lutero conversum inciderem præfixis ipsius præfationibus, in quibus inveni quiddam, quod aliqua ex parte referret illud quod objecerat Campianus. Cum autem illud legissem, non rem dissimulavi, sed fatebar in responsione mea ad Gregorium Martinum. In illa quidem præfatione scribit Lutherus, S. Jacobi Epistolam non posse dignitate certare cum Epistolis S. Petri & Pauli, sed Epistolam stramineam esse, si cum illis comparatur. Quam ejus sententiam non probo; atque in recentioribus editionibus cum omisa sint illa verba, opinor ipsum postea Lutherum hanc suam sententiam improbasse. Non profecto dubito, quin æquus lector fatebitur inter hoc, quod scribit Lutherus, atque illud, quod ei objicit Campianus, discrepantiam esse. Etenim aliud est loqui planè & ἀπλῶς, aliud uti comparatione. Lutherus, inquit Campianus, Epistolam S. Jacobi stramineam vocavit. Lutherus ait præ Pauli & Petri Epistolis stramineam esse (58).

— If Luther really wrote this, then it was wrong

in me to charge Campian with falsely accusing him; but if he did not write it, then Campian most basely traduced Luther. In order to come at the truth of this matter, I diligently compared all the copies I could meet with, either in German or in Latin; but when I could find no such words, but rather things of a contrary nature in them, I, on good ground, believed the whole to be a fiction, and pronounced it false. But afterwards, when, in an old German Testament, I found a preface written by Luther, wherein something was contained of what had been objected by Campian against him, I did not dissemble this matter, but confessed it freely in my answer to Gregory Martin. In this preface Luther writes thus, The epistle of St James is by no means of equal dignity with the epistles of Peter and Paul, but is an epistle of straw, if compared with them. This opinion of his I do not approve, and as these words are omitted in later editions, I am of opinion, that Luther himself disapproved it. However, a candid reader will, I doubt not, easily discern that there is a wide difference between what Luther wrote and what is objected to him by Campian; for it is one thing to use an expression absolutely and simply, and another to apply it by comparison. Luther, says Campian, calls the epistle of St James, an epistle of straw, but Luther himself says, that it is an epistle of straw in comparison of those of Peter and Paul. By all this it appears, that Mr Dailly and Mr Rivet were ignorant of a great many things relating to this controverly. They did not know, that Whitaker retracted part of what he had advanced; nor that he himself found out the preface which informed him of Luther's bold expression. The Jesuits have not been ignorant of this; they boasted of it, and exaggerated the thing, pretending, that he owned that the whole accusation brought against Luther was well grounded. We shall cite the author of Campian's life, in the place where he gives us the history of the conference held in the tower of London. 'Is matutini certaminis ordo exitusque fuit, visque hæretici eo lætiores & certamine abscedere, quod Lutherum calumnia suo judicio exemissent: quamquam id quoque gaudium ut vanum ita non diuturnum fuit: paulo post ad inquisitionem tantæ rei omnium studiis conversis, corrupti Lutheri codices inspecti, inque is inventa ipsa, quæ carperat hominis Apostolæ Campianus verba. Et quoniam res aperta erat, ipsi hæresis magistri, inter quos Whitakerus fuit, Lutheri insanas illas voces in vetustis exemplaribus legi palam passi; personam triumphanti penè jam mendacio, vel invitui suis ipsi manibus detraxere (59). — This was the method (59) Vita Campian!, ubi supra, pag. 261, 262.

and issue of the morning dispute, and the heretics seemed to go off with joy, because they thought they had vindicated Luther from these calumnies; but as this joy was ill founded, so it continued not long, for people being now turned to the search of this point, Luther's uncorrupted copies were examined, and in them the very words were found with which Campian had charged that apostate. And as the thing was now notorious, even the arch-heretics, among whom we may reckon Whitaker, publicly acknowledged, that they had read these senseless expressions of Luther in some old copies; and thus they themselves pulled off the mask from a lie, which had like to have triumphed over truth.' The more we examine, these things, the more we find it an Herculean labour, to discover truth in the midst of so many disguises and juggles.

What I have to say against the bishop of Meaux will not detain my readers long. He assumes (60), that (60) See, above, Luther, without any testimony from antiquity, has written. (50). ten, that this epistle appears not to be St James's, nor worthy of the apostolical spirit. This observation is false; you need only compare it with these words of Mr Dailly: 'Origen †, many ages before Luther, writ, that some rejected this epistle, which Eusebius † also testifies, and says, there were but few of the ancients who had mentioned it; and St Jerome † after him says, that it was affirmed, That it was not the apostle himself, but some other person, who had writ it under his name, tho' by little and little, in tract of time, it had been received, and authorized (61).' Whitaker, in his answer to Duræus, proves at large, that St James's epistle was suspected by a great many in the ancient church.

[P] . . . it was, doubtless, before the year 1525. (62) In citot. We have seen (62), that the epithet, *straminea*, is found

(58) Id. ibid. pag. 103, 104.

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(b) In the remark below (b). The world was long ignorant of the fault he had been guilty of in consenting, that the landgrave of Hesse should have two wives at the same time [2]. But at last it became

(63) Joannes Cochleus, de Actis & Scriptis Lutheri, fol. m. 83.

¶ *Tuan, lib. xli, ad ann. 1567.* Addam, quod plerisque ritu dignum mihi silentio minime pretermittendum visum est, ipsum tam inextinguibilem veneros usus fucci fuisse, ut cum uxore sola uteretur, & illa toties illum admittere non posset, vir aliquot castus quique vagis libidinibus minime oblectabatur ex ejus permisso, negotio cum Pastoribus communicato, concubinam unam superinduxerit, cujus consuetudine ardore aliquantum perdomito, parcius ac moderatius cum uxore versaretur. Tandem hoc anno, qui illi climactericus fuit, postmodum Pasche mortalitatem exiit. Inspecio à Medico corpore triorchis repertus est. . . . I will add what many thought deserved only to be laughed at, but what to me appears unfit to be passed over in silence, that he was a man so redundant in what stimulates men to venereal pleasures, that while he kept himself to his wife alone, she was unable to sustain him; and therefore he being otherwise a chaste man, not inclining to converse with various women, with her consent, and by the advice of the pastors, he took to him a concubine with whom having blunted his amorous ardor, he afterwards conversed more sparingly and moderately with his wife. At last, in this year, which was his climacteric, he, the day after Easter, departed this life. His body being opened by Physicians, he was found to have three testicles.

found in a preface printed that year. But it is certain he had been less circumspect some years before. We may therefore presume, that, growing moderate by degrees, he softened and tempered, in 1525, what he had advanced too shocking, the passage, for instance, which Campian, Duraus, Fitz-Simon, &c. charge him with, and which was entirely left out in the editions after the year 1525. I have observed, that Cochleus, in the year 1522, accuses him of having published injurious prefaces, with respect to some books of the canon of the scripture. 'Optimis quibusque videbatur Lutherus, nimis malitiose grassari in sacras literas novi Testamenti. E quorum Canone, audaci censura rejiciebat Epistolam ad Hæbreos, Epistolam Jacobi, Epistolam Judæ, & Apocalypsim Joannis. Quas sane & atrocibus infamabat calumniis in suis præfationibus. In præfatione vero generali, etiam in sacratissima Evangelia audacissime manum mittebat: volens in primis repudiandam esse vetustissimam hanc & omnibus Christianis notam ac receptam opinionem & sententiam, Esse scilicet Quatuor tantum Evangelia, totidemque Evangelistas (63). — Luther, in the opinion of the best of men, is thought to have treated the sacred writings of the New Testament with too malicious a boldness. Out of the canon of which, by his audacious censure, he has rejected the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, the epistle of Jude, and the revelation of John, defaming them in his prefaces. But in his general preface, he has audaciously injured even the most sacred gospels, endeavouring to destroy, and to reject that most ancient, and universally received, notion amongst Christians, that there are only four gospels, and as many evangelists.' Be pleased to remember, that this Cochleus had been one of his most violent adversaries: But, after all, since it cannot be denied but that the *straminea* subtilis, it is probable, that Campian's whole passage was in some ancient preface: For, in reality, the other epithets are not more, nor indeed so injurious as this. Whitaker, like a skillful man, took advantage of this Jesuit's apology, not being able to produce the edition they wanted. He made good use of this advantage, and profited by Luther's restriction, tho' it has not all the force that is imagined, and be only a palliative remedy: For whoever says, that St James's epistle is an epistle of straw, in comparison of St Paul's, really says, that it is not canonical, or the production of an inspired writer. It would be absurd to pretend, that writers, inspired by God have not an equal authority, or that some are more credible than others. Would not this be to say, that the Holy Spirit neglected some of them, and left them to their particular opinions, true or false? This cannot be admitted; and consequently there is a necessity of saying, they are all, as to us, of equal authority: so that when a man affirms, that a writing, compared with St Paul's epistles, is a writing of straw, he can consider it no otherwise than as a human writing. And upon this foot he thinks it lawful to pass such a judgment on it, as the laws of criticism require; and to take to task the style, the turn, the thoughts, as if he were judging of the works of Tertullian, or Arnobius. This, however, does not excuse Campian's not mentioning Luther's restriction, if he found it in the edition, upon which he grounded his charge; otherwise he fell into the sophism, a *dicto secundum quid, ad dictum simpliciter*. Still reserving a liberty to say, that on such occasions, restrictions are only an appearance of reserve; since St James's epistle still remained actually and fully degraded from its canonical character, as a work divinely inspired.

(2) He consented that the landgrave of Hesse should have two wives at the same time. Mr Varillas has spoken of this matter at large. 'Philip, landgrave of Hesse, was of so vigorous a constitution, that one wife was not sufficient for him; and the Surgeons, who opened him after his death, found a natural cause for it, which the modesty of our tongue will not permit me to explain. . . . He persuaded himself, that his infirmity dispensed with the gospel rigour, and permitted him to have two wives at the same time. Nothing disturbed him in the notion he had conceived of it, but the novelty of the thing: But he supposed, that the approbation of Luther, and others of the most famous divines of his sect, would justify his action. He assembled

them at Wittemberg, in form of a council, in the year 1539. The affair was there examined with all the precautions that were thought necessary to prevent their decisions being turned into ridicule. They foresaw the troublesome consequences of what they were going to do; But, at last, the fear of disobliging the landgrave, carried it in Luther's opinion, and his chief disciples, against the law of Jesus Christ, conscience, reputation, and all other human and divine considerations. The result of the assembly of Wittemberg, was written with Melancthon's own hand, and signed by Luther, and by the other most famous divines of their sect. It was expressed in so strong terms, that it could leave no doubt, or ambiguity, and was sent to the landgrave in the following form (64). Mr Varillas gives the act intire in Latin and French. We there find an express permission granted to this landgrave to marry a second wife, provided, that only a few persons were made privy to it. We there also find, that in certain cases of necessity, any other man might marry again in his wife's life-time; and two of these cases of necessity are specified by these doctors, viz. I. If a man being a captive, in a foreign country, cannot preserve, or recover his health, without the use of a woman. II. If a man be married to a leprous woman. 'Certis tamen casibus locus est dispensationi, si quis apud exteras nationes captivus ad curam corporis & sanitatem inibi alteram uxorem superinduceret, vel si quis haberet leprosam; his casibus alteram ducere cum consilio sui Pastoris, non intentione novam legem inducendi, sed sue necessitati consulendi, hunc neficium, quæ ratione damnare liceret (65). Mr Varillas sets down in Latin and French the landgrave's contract of marriage with Margaret de Saal; to which marriage this prince's first wife gave her consent. This historian makes many reflexions thereupon, tending to shew, that the reasons of these Casuists open a very large door to polygamy, and observes, that the two acts, inserted in his history (66), have been faithfully transcribed and collated by the Imperial Notaries with the originals, which are preserved in the archives of Ziegenbain, belonging equally to the branch of Hesse-Cassel, and to that of Hesse-Darmstadt (67).

But after him came a more artful controversialist (68), who has drawn another piece out of the same place, and has made many subtle reflexions upon this matter. This other piece is the instruction the landgrave gave to Martin Bucer. In this we find, on one hand, the reasons which induced this prince to a second marriage; and, on the other, those by which he would induce the Divines to consent to it. He shews, that he never loved the princess, his wife; and that she was so disagreeable, and so subject to drunkenness, that he neither could, nor ever would abstain from other women, whilst he had no other wife but her; and that, nevertheless, he would not incur the penalties, which the scripture denounces to fornicators and adulterers. Cum videam quod ab hoc agendi modo penes modernam uxorem meam nec possim nec velim abstinere (69). The Physicians, adds he, know the strength of my constitution; besides, I am often obliged to assist at the diets; they last a long time, and we have rich tables there; how then can I preserve my continence? For I cannot always take my wife along with me, with her great retinue. 'Primo quod initio, quæ eam duxi, nec animo, nec desiderio eam complexus fuerim. Quali ipsa quoque complexionem, amabilitate, & odore sit, & quomodo interdum se superfluo potu gerat, hoc sciunt ipsius aulae Præfetti; & Virgines; alique plures: cumque ad ea deferenda difficultatem habeam, Bucero tamen omnia declaravi. Secundo, quia valida complexionem, ut Medici sciunt, sum, & sæpe contingit ut in fœderum & imperii comitiis diu verfer, ubi lautè vivitur & corpus curatur; quomodo me ibi gerere queam absque uxore, cum non semper magnum Gynæceum mecum ducere possim, facile est conjicere & considerare (70). He adds to all this I know not how many threats and promises, which much embarrassed his Casuists; for it is highly probable, that if a private gentleman had consulted them upon the like case, he would have obtained nothing from them. It may therefore reasonably be imagined, that they were men of little faith; they

(64) Varillas, Hist. de l'Hesse, liv. xii, pag. m. 87.

(65) Apud Varillas, ibid. pag. 93.

(66) The constitution of the Divines, and the contract of marriage.

(67) Varillas, ibid. supra, pag. 86, 87.

(68) Mr de Meaux, Hist. des Variations, liv. vi, a. 1, & seq.

(69) Ibid. pag. m. 259.

(70) Ibid.

became public: the Roman Catholics exclaimed very much about it; and some ministers, have not had all the necessary prudence in answering for Luther [R]. They have advanced

they had not a due confidence in the promises of Jesus Christ: They believed, that if the reformation of Germany was not maintained by the princes who professed it, it would soon be extinguished. The experience of the time past made them timorous; they saw, that the violence of persecutions, and the violence, employed by Catholic princes against those who had left the Romish communion, had ever destroyed those reformations in the birth. It was natural to fear a like fate, unless force were repelled by force. However it be, it cannot be denied, generally speaking, but Luther's book contained several things favourable to polygamy (71). Lyserus gives several instances of it (72). See the Remark [U]. I will conclude this with the words of the bishop of Meaux, 'At present, says he (73), all this mystery of iniquity is discovered by the pieces, which the elector Palatine, Charles Lewis, (who died last) (74), has caused to be printed; and whereof, the prince, Ernest of Hesse, one of Philip's descendants, has revealed a part, since he turned Catholic. The Book, which the prince Palatine caused to be printed, is intitled, *Confessiones Considerations upon Marriage, with an Explication of Questions hitherto discussed, concerning Adultery, Divorce, and Polygamy*. The book came out in high Dutch in 1679, under the borrowed name of Daphneus Arcuarus, under which was concealed that of Laurentius Bæger, one of this prince's counsellors.'

It must here be observed, that Thuanus was ill informed of the circumstances of this affair. The landgrave, according to him, was, on one hand, so vigorous in the conjugal exercise, that his wife could not admit his embraces as often as he desired; and, on the other, so chaste, that he did not love to take his pleasure abroad: And therefore the prince consented to the diversion which a concubine might give to the vigour of her husband. And the thing having been communicated to the ministers, they gave the landgrave a concubine, who might tame him a little, and oblige him to be more moderate towards his wife (75). This was not the case; he had never loved her; he married her against his inclination: and beginning three weeks after his marriage to make use of other women, he continued the same course till his second marriage. 'Initio quo eam duxi, nec animo nec desiderio eam complexus fuim. . . Si porro diceretur quare meam uxorem duxerim, vere imprudens homo tunc temporis fui, & ab aliquibus meorum consiliariorum, quorum potior pars defuncta est, ad id persuasus sum. Matrimonium meum ultra tres septimanas non servavi, & sic constanter perrexi (76).'

— *When I first married her, I had no inclination for her. . . If it be asked, why then did I make her my wife? I own frankly, that I was at that time, an imprudent man, and that some of my counsellors, most of whom are now dead, persuaded me thereto. I did not keep my marriage above three weeks, and so I have gone on.* It is very probable, that she was ignorant of his vigour, or knew it only by hear-say. Away with these foolish jesters, who might be able to criticize Thuanus, on his supposing, that the prince, finding herself unable to bear so frequent attacks, called in a concubine to her assistance. Montagne might have rallied this Historian upon it, but his authority is suspected. See here a passage of his Essays. 'We have farther read of a difference that happened in Catalonia, between a woman, complaining of the too constant efforts of her husband (not that, in my opinion, she was so much incommoded by them; for I believe no miracles, except in faith; as under this pretence, which is the fundamental action of marriage, to re-trench and bridle the authority of husbands over their wives; and to shew, that their lust and naughtiness pass beyond the nuptial-bed, and trample under foot the charms and pleasures of Venus): To which complaint, a man truly brutal, and unnatural, answered, that even on fasting days, he could not dispense with less than ten times. From whence proceeded that notable decree of the queen of Arragon; by which, after mature deliberation of the council, this good queen to give a rule and example to all ages of the moderation and modesty required in a just marriage, determined, for the legitimate and necessary bounds,

fix times a day; abating and quitting much of the occasions and desires of her sex, to establish, as she said, an easy form, and by consequence permanent and immutable. Whereupon the doctors cry out, what must be a woman's appetite and concupiscence, since their reason, their reformation, and their virtue is defined at this rate (77)?'

See the remark [D] of the article GLEICHEN, and remember that abundance of authors, who relate the same thing as Montagne, and make their jests upon it, do this rather to exercise their wit, than to express their thoughts. Some of them are at least persuaded, that they have been told sincerely, that is enough.

Claudite jam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt (78).

Swains, stop your streams, the meads have drank enough.

[R] Some ministers, have not had all the necessary prudence in answering for Luther.] The only answer that should have been given the bishop of Meaux, was to say, as Mr Bafnage has prudently done (79): I. That Luther ought not to have granted the landgrave of Hesse the permission to marry a second wife, whilst his first was alive; and that the bishop of Meaux did justly condemn him upon that article. II. That the Popes have run into much more criminal excesses; from whence it follows, that Luther's fault, censured by the Papists, has no weight; for if this fault hindered him from being an instrument in the hand of God to declare the truth, and reform the church, the Roman Catholics are to blame in believing that the Popes, who have been guilty of more crying sins than this, were, however, living oracles to the church, and the vicars of Jesus Christ. It is certain, the Catholics can infer nothing from this action of the reformers, nor from any other to invalidate the reformation, without destroying a principle absolutely necessary for their own support; to wit, that the greatest crimes do not bind the Pope pronouncing ex cathedra, from declaring a truth, the belief of which is obliging on all the faithful.

Had the author of the Pastoral Letters been as judicious as Mr Bafnage, he would not have exposed his cause to objections, which he could never get over. First, he would have confessed the fact; for if it be permitted to doubt of the acts, which the elector Palatine, Charles Lewis, caused to be published, with the attestation of a Public Notary, declaring they were copied from the original, in the archives of the house of Hesse, there will be no possibility of proving facts: the most authentic declarations of sovereign courts, the privy-seal, the great-seal, and all the most valid testimonies imaginable, will be a feeble barrier against the obliquity of a disputer. Therefore prudence required, that it should not be called in question, whether the landgrave Philip obtained of Luther, and some other ministers, a dispensation to marry two wives. I say this further: the respect that is due to the most illustrious house of Hesse, and to the memory of a reformed elector, does not suffer us to doubt of it: nevertheless, the author of the Pastoral Letters has very plainly declared he doubts of it (80). But his great fault lies here, that, to extenuate the complaisance of these ministers, he displays every thing, that can shew the law of marriage, of one with one, to be subject to a thousand exceptions; he would particularly have it sacrificed to the imperious power of a lascivious constitution. 'There is no manner of comparison, says he (81), betwixt those two evils; to wit, the having recourse to the unhappy remedy of a second marriage, and the launching out into a thousand impurities; which are the necessary consequences of celibacy in persons, whose complexion is not turned to continency.' This created him adventures, both among the Catholics and Protestants. The author of the History of the Variations told him, that this principle would carry us too far. 'The perpetual indisposition of a husband or a wife, is as invincible an impediment, as absence, or captivity itself: the married couple therefore must unmercifully leave one another in these sad circumstances; but an inability of humour, one of the most incurable diseases, will be a no less necessary impediment (82).'

This minister found, in his own communion, many adversaries both lay-men and divines. The bishop of Meaux

(71) Luthero erroris hujus dicam scripsit Bellarminus haud uno loco. At patrociniū Luthero exarsare conatus est Johannes Gerardus, etiam si (ne quid diffimulem) maculam illam tam plene elucere non poterit, quin concedendum sit, Virum illum magnum imprudentiſcule nonnunquam de materia hac locutum esse. Saldanus, in Otis Theol. pag. 363.

(72) Polygamia triumphatrix.

(73) Hist. des Variat. livr. vi, n. 1, pag. m. 227.

(74) It is a mistake; the son and successor of Charles Lewis was dead when the bishop of Meaux wrote this.

(75) See, above, after (63), the marginal citat. from Thuanus.

(76) Apud Hist. des Variat. livr. vi, pag. 259.

(78) Virgil. Eclog. III, vers. ult.

(79) Bafnage, Hist. de la Religion des Eglises Reformées, Tom. I, pag. 443.

(80) See the *Jewish Pastoral Letter* of the year 1688, pag. 166, in 12mo, and the *sixth Letter* of the *Tableau du Socinianiſme*, pag. 302.

(81) The eighth *Pastoral Letter* is of 1688, pag. 176, in 12mo.

(82) Mr de Meaux, IV Avertissement, pag. 131, Dutch Edit.

advanced principles manifestly pernicious: And the most tolerable of what they offer is of such a nature, that they had much better have said nothing [S]. Mr Claude's manner of speaking of this great reformer is very judicious [T]. He has justified him among

(83) Ibid. pag. 136.

Meaux produces him (83) a letter from another minister, who blasphemes for his brother, on account of these necessities, alleged against the gospel, and these inevitable impurities . . . and who perceives the inconvenience of this impure doctrine, which would introduce divorce, and even polygamy, whenever either of the parties should labour under distempers, I say not, incurable, but long; or where any other impediment may be found, which should oblige them to live separately. This minister is not named; but another has openly impeached this doctrine, in order to have it censured; and has published, that it is a principle naturally productive of this conclusion, that a man, who has a sick wife, may marry a second (84). There is

(84) See the book of Elias Savarin, pastor of the Walloon church at Utrecht, intitled, Examen de la Theologie de Mr Jurieu, pag. 801.

(85) See his answer to the Avis.

(86) See a pamphlet, intitled, Declaration de Mr Bayle, pag. 18.

nothing more certain, adds he, an equal necessity gives an equal privilege; and if an husband is as much hindered from cohabiting with his wife, by having a dead palsy, as by his own captivity among Barbarians, he is equally at liberty to seek a remedy to his incontinence, in a second marriage. Mr de Beauval, among the lay-men, has urged this still more strongly (85). Another lay man has maintained, that this maxim (86) opens a gate to the strangest disorders; it authorizes an incontinent person, whose wife is long sick, to marry another; and then another and another, without end, if providence pleases to render them all unhealthy. Thus you see a Turkish polygamy breaking in by this gap, into Christianity, and filling it with its brutal lusts: besides, you see in Christianity, that which was never seen in ancient Paganism, nor is, at this day, to be seen in Mahometism; to wit, women authorized to have several husbands at the same time, when not having the gift of continency, they happen to be joined to a distempered husband: for it were ridiculous to pretend, that it is a less evil in them, to give way to promiscuous lusts, which are, according to this minister, the infallible consequence of celibacy in some constitutions, than to recur to the remedy of a second husband. We see therefore that his maxim is a source of the most scandalous and filthy licentiousness, that ever was seen in the world; and that nothing will expose our communion to more mortifying reproaches, than this doctrine of Mr Jurieu, unless our synods condemn it. All the laws which decency and the prudence of magistrates have introduced to hinder widows from marrying again, before a certain time, fall to the ground, or are only a tyrannical imposition, which makes those of a certain complexion launch into a thousand impurities. The author of the Pastoral Letters finds a hundred expedients (87) to bring himself off, with respect to some other difficulties that were proposed to him concerning divorce, and second marriages; but it was utterly impossible for him to disengage himself from this. All he could do was to calumniate his accuser; for it is a calumny for a man to complain, that he has been accused of a thing, of which he has not been accused (88). Thus you see how much it concerns those who answer a book of controversy not to be hasty; for if they give way to the impetuous rashness of their own thoughts and temper, they spoil the best cause.

(87) See the first letter of the Tableau du Socinianisme, pag. 300, & seq.

(88) See Savarin, ubi supra.

(89) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 87.

(90) See Varillas, ibid. & Mr de Meaux, Hist. des Variat. liv. vi, c. 1, sub fin.

What I have said of the respect due to the most illustrious house of Hesse, and to the memory of the reformed elector, would not be understood by every body, if I did not explain it. The acts of this second marriage were taken from the archives of Ziegenbain, common to the branch of Hesse-Cassel, and to that of Hesse-Darmstadt (89). Prince Ernest of Hesse Rhinfelds, having embraced the Romish religion, was glad at their being published, because he thought this would fix a blemish on the church he had quitted (90); and it is manifest, they are a great disgrace to Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, &c. There is therefore no likelihood, that the landgraves of Hesse-Cassel, and the landgraves of Hesse-Darmstadt, the former Calvinists, and the later Lutherans, would have been silent, if there had been any suspicion, that these acts were forged. These great princes could not be sufficiently blamed, if, having any suspicion of this, they had done nothing to oppose the design of the landgrave, Ernest, a Catholic profelyte. It is therefore denying them their due respect to doubt, whether these acts be genuine;

it is insinuating that they suffer under the authority of their archives, the reformers to be publickly aspersed, and most unjustly slandered, and a dishonour brought upon the Protestant church. As they are not capable of a lukewarmness, so injurious, it is most certain their silence clearly proves the validity of these acts. And as for the elector Palatine, how shameful would it be, should it be proved, that he ordered one of his counsellors to publish false acts of this nature? I know indeed, that it was his interest they should be most genuine, because he did all that was possible to legitimate his marriage with a lady he had kept, whilst his electress was alive; which occasioned this prince's leaving him, and refusing to be called his wife any longer: but, however, he had too much honour and prudence, to go about to justify himself by a supposititious fact, the falseness whereof might have easily been proved by the electress's relations (91).

[S] . . . they had much better have said nothing.] The author of the Pastoral Letters has much enlarged upon the practice of some states (92). This was giving a handle for three new objections: for, I. his adversaries (93) failed not to take the advantage of it, as if the civil laws of Protestants left a man too great a latitude in matrimonial cases; and, as if only a small number of private persons had disapproved it, whilst he had the general practice on his side. II. All the examples he produces, or could produce, are of a different kind from the matter in debate; they being not marriages of a man with two wives in the same house at the same time, as were those of the landgrave. III. Lastly, a casuist ought not to regulate himself upon a practice tolerated by princes. Who is ignorant what extreme abuses civil laws have authorized or tolerated in Christianity for many ages together, with respect to marriage (94)? The church has stood out, and by its opposition, has at last caused those things to be changed, which were not reconcilable with the gospel. What a fine case should we be in, if the casuists would approve of all that princes permit? Do they not almost every where suffer fornication to go unpunished (95)? If any suit happens betwixt a young woman and him who has got her with child, the most he has to fear, is, that the man will not be condemned to pay her a sum of money (96): as for censures or other penalties, she need not be afraid of them. The judges refer all this to her confessor, her relations, or her confidant. And are not plays not only tolerated, but even protected by the prince? Have not the Actors of operas at Paris a guard allowed them, detached from the troops of the king's household? Nevertheless, do the preachers cease to exclaim against these diversions? And if any ecclesiastical author dares to write in favour of plays, is he not immediately overwhelmed with opposite writings, and forced to recant (97)? So that a good moralist will not regulate his opinions by the practice of the civil law, in a point concerning relaxation of manners.

Whoever would see as good an answer as could be given to the bishop of Meaux, concerning the marriage of the landgrave, will do well to read Mr Seckendorf (98).

[T] Mr Claude's manner of speaking of Luther is very judicious.] These are his words. 'I confess it were to be wished, that Luther had been more temperate in his way of writing; and that with his great and invincible courage, with his ardent zeal for the truth, with that unshaken constancy he ever manifested, he could have showed a greater reserve and moderation. But these faults, which are most commonly common, prevent not our esteem of men, when, in other respects, we perceive in them a good fund of piety, and virtues perfectly heroic, such as were seen to shine in Luther. For we cannot refuse to praise the zeal of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, or to admire the great qualities of St Jerome, though we discover too much keenness and passion in their stile. And perhaps too, there was some particular necessity at the time of the reformation, to employ the strongest expressions, the better to awaken men from that profound slumber, in which they had lain so long. However, I grant, that Luther ought to have been more reserved in his writings; and that if the author

(91) See what is said of the house of Hesse.

(92) See the first letter of the Tableau du Socinianisme, pag. 303, & seq.

(93) Mr de Meaux, Defense de l'Hist. des Variations.

(94) See the article LAMBERT, remark [A].

(95) See the remark [D] of the article ALES.

(96) I do not speak of those who are got with child upon promise of marriage by persons of their own quality: These often obtain divorces, which condemn the man to marry them.

(97) This happened at Paris, in 1694, on occasion of a book in favour of comedy, which Father Francis Caffaro was supposed to be the author of. See the Journal of Hamburg, 1694, pag. 24, 62, 65.

(98) Hist. Lutheran. lib. iii. n. 79. Addit. 3.

among other things upon a point, which has given occasion to several writings; that is to say the dispute with the devil concerning private masses[U].^b Luther died the eighteenth

of the Prejudices would have contented himself to complain of the acrimony of his style, we should have been content, as a full answer, to desire him, for the future, not to imitate himself what he condemned in another (99). All this is good and solid. I shall only observe, that a general method of justifying people from hence, that their temper was very proper, considering the posture of affairs, to produce good effects, is a great source of illusion. No body doubts, that providence knows how to chufe the most effectual means to arrive at it's ends: but as the ill qualities of men are, at some seasons, more proper than their brightest virtues, to execute God's decrees, it would be very ill reasoning to conclude, that violence and passion are commendable upon pretence, that the corruption of the world needs the harshest treatment. The wisdom of God, I confess, is eminent in employing such instruments; but the instruments may very well be extremely vicious. I have observed above (100), that Cardinal Palavicini has excused Julius II, upon the need the church then had of a war-like Pope.

[U] He has justified him . . . upon the dispute with the devil, concerning private masses.] There are some objections, which the great controversialists leave to the disputants of the lower forms; but there are others which are employed by all authors, great and small (101), by those who preach controverfely from a bulk in the streets, and those who dictate from the highest pulpits: the objection I speak of, is of this number. The meanest country missionary has not failed to urge it; Mr Nicolle has opposed it with a very grave air. 'Never any one, says he (102), but Luther durst boast, in a printed book, that he had had a long conference with the devil; that he had been convinced, by his reasons, that private masses were an abuse; and that this was the motive which induced him to abolish them. Bat common sense has ever made all others conclude . . . that it was an excess of extravagance, to take the devil for the master of truth, and become his disciple.' Mr Claude answered this objection very well (103). This is one of the four places of his book, to which the Janenist replied, in a book intitled, *A Confutation of the Answer of a Lutheran minister, concerning the conference of Luther with the devil*. And they failed not to infer this part of their reply in the second edition of the Prejudices (104). To see a complete answer to this objection, we need only read a tract, an extract whereof has been given in the News from the Republic of Letters, in the month of January 1687. This tract (105) is a solid confutation of a little book of the abbot de Cordemoi. The bishop of Meaux (106) forgot not this reproach against Luther; but see how Mr Bafnage answered him (107).

The advantages the Roman controversialists pretend to draw hence are, doubtless, imaginary; but there is no probable reason for taking this story of Martin Luther as a kind of figure or parable, as Mr Claude pretends. For Luther owns, in several places of his works, that he knows very well the devil's way of disputing; and that it had cost him many a bitter night: *Multas noctes mihi satis amarulentas & acerbas reddere ille novit* (108). He disputes, says he, with that force, that it is sudden death to a man; he believes this was the fate of Oecolampadius and Emserus. The only pleasure, according to him, that is found in these disputes, is, that the devil quickly dispatches them, and suffers them not to be spun out to any length, when he finds a man alone in his house. 'Diabolus sua argumenta fortiter figere & urgere novit. Voce quoque gravi & forti utitur. Nec longis & multis meditationibus disputationes ejusmodi transiguntur, sed momento uno & quellio & responso absolvitur. Sensi equidem & probe expertus sum, quam ob causam illud nonnunquam evenire soleat, ut sub auroram quidam mortui in stratis suis inveniantur. Corpus ille perimere vel jugulare potest: Nec id modò, verum & animam disputationibus suis ita urgere, & in angustum coarctare novit, ut in momento quoque illi excedendum sit, quo sanè me quoque non semel tantum non perpulsi . . . Credo equidem quod Emserus & Oecolampadius, alique horum similes, istiusmodi ignitis Satanæ telis & hastis confossi subitanè morte perierint. Nemo enim mortalium citrà singulare Dei auxilium ac robur illas sustinere & perferre potest.

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Jucundum equidem sese disputando præbet, scilicet. Brevibus enim transigit omnia, nec diu moras nectit, siquidem virum solitarium domi suæ invenerit (109).
— The devil knows how to urge and apply his arguments with great force. He uses a strong and grave voice: nor are such disputes transacted in long or many meditations; but in a moment the question and it's answer are dispatched. I know, and am well assured, that from this cause some have been found about break of day dead in their beds. For he is able to squeeze and strangle the body, and not so only, but in these disputes to press the soul and reduce it to such straits as in a moment to drive it out, to tobick extremity he has more than once reduced me . . . I verily believe that Emserus and Oecolampadius, and other such men struck by these fiery darts and javelins of Satan, have perished by a sudden death; for no mortal, without the singular aid and assistance of God, has strength to sustain and resist them. It is true his way of disputing is very agreeable; for it is short and not tedious, especially if he meets with a solitary man at home.' Add to this these words of Luther's seventh tome at page 230 of the Wittenberg edition. 'Urget (Satan) in immensum corda, nec desinit nisi repulsi verbo Dei: & ego plane persuasus sum, Emserum & Oecolampadium & similes, his ictibus horribilibus & quallionibus subito extinctos esse; nec enim humanum cor horrendum hunc & ineffabilem impetum, nisi Deus illi adit, perferre potest, &c. — Satan strongly urges the heart, nor desists unless repulsed by the word of God: and I am fully persuaded that Emserus and Oecolampadius and others have been suddenly destroyed by these horrible blows, neither can any human heart sustain these terrible and inexpressible attacks unless God assists it.' See the second edition of Mr Nicolle's Prejudices, page 366. It is pretended, that Luther said, that if the Sacramentarians understand not the scripture, it is because they do not dispute with the devil, the best opponent in the world: and that, without carrying him, hung about one's neck, as he had done, a man could be nothing more than a speculative Divine. 'Quod Sacramentarii (inquit Lutherus) sacram Scripturam non intelligunt, hæc causa est, quia verum opponentem, nempe diabolum non habent, qui demum bene docere eos solet. Subdit: Quando diabolum ejusmodi collo non habemus affixum, nihil nisi speculativi Theologi sumus (110). . . . Ego Diabolum intus & in cute novi, quippe quocum plus uno talis modio comederim (111). . . . Diabolus multo frequentius & propius mihi in lecto accubares solet, seu condormit, quam mea Catherina. Mecum in dormitorio deambulare solet. . . . Ego Diabolum collo meo affixum habui (112). — That the Sacramentarians, says Luther, do not understand the holy Scriptures, the true cause is this, because they have not the true antagonist, that is to say, the devil, who in the end is wont to teach them right. He adds, when we have not the devil thus hung about our neck, we are no more than speculative Divines. . . . I know the devil intimately, having eat more than one bushel of salt with him. . . . The devil much oftener sleeps with me, and lies nearer to me in bed than my Catherine. He uses to walk with me in my bed-chamber. . . . I have had the devil hung about my neck.' &c. Hence I conclude, that Mr Claude ought not to have suspected that this dispute of Luther was only a parable.

He has answered another objection of the author of the Prejudices, founded upon this, that Luther seems to have animated his self to slaughter. Mr Nicolle accuses him of it, but Mr Claude justifies him. I thought he had repelled another attack; to wit, that, founded on the famous words, *Si nolit uxor, veniat ancilla*; but having hastily run over his Defence of the Reformation, and the book of the Prejudices, I met with nothing relating to it. The bishop of Meaux has not omitted this reproach of the missionaries. His words are these: (113) I have always been afraid to speak of those inevitable necessities, which he discovered in the union of the two sexes, and of the scandalous sermon he preached at Wittenberg upon marriage: but since the sequel of this story has once obliged me to break through the restraint that modesty had imposed, I can no longer dissemble what is found printed

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(109) Lutherus, de Missa privata, Tom. VI, fol. 31, apud Hopfianum Mitt. Sacrament. Part. II, fol. 22c, Edit. 1684.

(99) Claude, Défense de la Réformation, Part. II, chap. v, pag. 331. Dutch Edit. in 12mo.

(100) See, above, remark [K] of the article LUTHER, citat. (42).

(101) One might here apply Juvenal's thought: Expectes eadem à summo minimeque poeta. Sat. I, ver. 12.

(102) Prejuges légitimes contre les Calvinistes, chap. II, pag. 17. Edit. Bruxelles, 1682. He cites Luther, Tom. VI, vide Hopfian. Part. ult. fol. 231.

(103) Claude, Défense de la Réformation, ubi supra, pag. 333 & seq.

(104) That of 1682; the title-page says it is printed at Brussels by Eug. Henry Fria.

(105) Mr Seckendorf is the author of it. See the Index of the ten first Tomes of the Journal of Leipzig, and the eighth Tome, pag. 70.

(106) Hist. des Variat. livr. IV, n. 17.

(107) Bafnage, Hist. des Eglises Reform. Tom. I, pag. 431, & seq.

(108) Luther, ubi infra, apud Hopfianum, ubi infra.

(110) Fitz-Simon, in Britannomachia Ministror pag. 60. He cites Luth in Colloquio I. lib. de Verbo Dei, fol. 23, in Colloquio Francfort. fol. 18.

(111) Idem, Fitz Simon, ibid. pag. 353. He cites Emserus & Coeleus de Luth. Conc. Dom. reminiscere inter 27. conciones Witebergæ & Argentine impressas, in 4to. fol. 19.

(112) Fitz-Simon, ibid. pag. 353, 354. He cites the Colloquio Menfalia.

(113) Hist. des Variat. livr. IV, n. 11, pag. 235.

eighteenth of February 1546. A thousand fables have been invented concerning his death [X]. Nor did they forbear publishing lies, upon this subject, till he had left this world

† Tom. V.
Serm. de Matrim.
fol. 123.

↓ Ep. ad Wolf.
Tom VII, fol.
50; &c.

(114) Hist. des
Variat. livr. iii,
n. 47, pag. 130

(115) *Benè cum Republica agi, si in aliquis una ci- vitate vel quinque virgines & quinquaginta annorum viginti annorum castitatem hinc plus esse quam tempore Apostolorum, & Martyrum acciderit. . . . Demum non minus vires nature transgredi hominem cœlebem, quam si nihil omnino comederet vel biberet. Luther. Serm. de Tribus Regibus, pag. 198. Colmaria ann. 1523, apud F. de Simon, ubi supra, pag. 155.*

(116) *It was groundless! See Beckendorf, Hist. Luther. lib. ii, pag. 30.*

(117) *Surius, Commentar. pag. 195*

in Luther's works. It is true then, that in a sermon that he preached at Wittemberg for the reformation of marriage, he was not ashamed to speak these infamous and scandalous words †: *If they are so obstinate, he speaks of wives, it is fit their husbands should tell them, If you will not another will: If the mistress will not come, let the maid be called. . . .* However, the husband ought first to bring his wife before the church, and admonish her two or three times; after that divorce her, and take Esther instead of Vahsti. The bishop of Meaux expresses himself thus in another place: Luther explained himself against monastic vows, in a terrible manner, so far as to say of that of continence (stop your ears, chaste souls) that it was as impossible to keep it, as to divest ones self of his sex ‡. It would put modesty out of countenance, should I repeat the words he uses, in several places upon this subject, and shew how he explains the impossibility of continence: I cannot imagine how he can reconcile this to that life, which he said he had led, without reproach, all the time of his celibacy, till he was forty five years old (114). He is accused of having preached, that it is lucky, if five maids, and as many men, be found in a whole city, who have preserved their chastity to twenty years of age; and that this would exceed the purity of the apostolic ages, and the ages of the martyrs; and that a man, who lives, without a wife, as much transcends the powers of nature, as if he lived without eating (115). These are things which we must not attempt to justify. They are excesses, and first motions, which Luther, doubtless, retracted before his death. What can be said more satirical against the laws canonical and civil, which force no body to marry, and which prohibit marrying any more than one wife? These principles of Luther are inconsistent with monogamy. I doubt not but these fallacies of his zeal, against monastic vows, gave grounds to the accusation that was formed against him. George duke of Saxony, complained, that so many adulteries had never been known, as since Luther's teaching that a woman, who conceived not by her husband, might apply to another man; and that if she happened to be pregnant, her husband was to take care of the child, whilst a husband, whose wife was barren, might use the same privilege. This prince charged this on Luther himself (116), in a letter he wrote to him in the year 1526. 'Quando tam numerosa perpetrata sunt adulteria quam postea quam tu scribere non dubitasti: si mulier è viro suo concipere nequeat, ut ad alium se transferat à quo possit concipere, & maritus prolem inde natam alere teneatur: Itidemque vir faciat (117). This was carrying the point higher than Lycurgus.

[X] A thousand fables have been invented concerning his death. Some have said, that he died a sudden death: others that he killed himself; others that the devil strangled him; others that his corps stunk so abominably, that they were forced to leave it in the way as they were carrying it to be interred. Nor are they people of mean figure and credit, who vent these calumnies, but the most famous writers; which reflects on the whole body of Popery; for such fables ought not to pass the press: the censors of books ought to expunge them, unless they saw them judicially proved. We shall see who these authors are, that have published these impertinences. Pontificii . . . asserunt mortem Lutheri fuisse malam & infelicem, sed de mortis genere non unam eandemque sœvent sententiam. Quidam contendunt, Lutherum sibi ipsi violentam manus intulisse, ita Lutheri avroxycepiay tribuit Thomas Bozius de Signis Eccles. Tom. 2. lib. 23. c. 8. Quam locum etiam adducit Cornelius à Lapide, qui ad cap. 2. post Epist. Petri scribit, Lutherum cum vespere laudæ canisset, noctu desperatione & furii Dæmonum actum sibi injecto laqueo necem intulisse, asseruit ejus famulus postea ad orthodoxam fidem conversus. Quidam calumniantur, Lutherum morte repentinâ obiisse. Ita Bellarminus, l. 4. de Eccles. c. 17. § Lutherus, ex Cochleæ de vita Lutheri hæc adducit: Lutherus morte repentinâ sublatu est. Nam cum vespere opiparam Cœnam sumisset, laetus & sanus, & facetiis suis omnes ad risum provocasset eadem nocte

mortuus est. Quidam eo impudentiæ progrediuntur, ut eum à Cæcodæmone sublatum fuisse calumniantur. Ita Gulielmus Bessæus Jesuita Gallus in Concept. Theol. Sabbat. Post cineres, p. 102. de morte Lutheri disserit: Lutherus benè potus, & ci- bis distentus absque ullo Pietatis signo cubitum secidens apud inferos pernoctavit. Unde & Cœterus in venenato suo carmine de morte Lutheri ita canit:

Infelix ex alvo animam diffudit Arius:
Hunc sequeris nimio, vane Luthere, mero.

His omnibus pollicem premit Fabianus Justinianus, qui in Comment. in cap. VI. Tobie ita scribit: *Ipsum Lutherum subitanè & improvisè morte à suo Cæcodæmone sublatum, peremptumque plurimi censent, quod vocati ad eum Medici morbum vel ignorare se faterentur, vel apoplexiam fingerent. . . .* Extat historia de morte Lutheri à viris fide dignis, qui ipsi agonizanti adfuerunt, descripta videlicet à Justo Jona, Michaelæ Cælio, Johan. Aurisabro Vinariensi, qui coram Deo & in conspectu Christi testantur, quod sanctâ fide & bonâ conscientia historiam obitus Lutheri referant, quæ habetur Tom. 8. *Tenens. Germ.* quam videat lector veritatis amans ei- que addat B. M. Johan. Mathesii concionem XIV. de vita Lutheri. Sleiden. l. 16. Comment. imò ipsum Jacob. August. Thuanum Historicum Pontificium, l. 2. Hist. p. 30. Quæ omnia Pontificiorum, mendacia de morte Lutheri affusa, facili negotio dissipare, & in jugulum calumniantium redigere possunt. . . . Mortuo Lutherò nondum quiescunt Pontificii, sed denuò fluctus irarum suarum evomunt, & cœno calumniæ post mortem ipsius corpus adspargunt. Fabulantur enim, corpus electi Dei organi ob intolerabilem sætorem in itinere fuisse relictum (118). — *The Papists assert, that Luther died an ill and an unhappy death, but they do not agree about the manner of it. Some contend, that Luther laid violent hands upon himself; this was the opinion of Thomas Bozius, who, in support thereof, cites these words from Cornelius à Lapide. Luther, when he had supped heartily, being in the night pressed by despair, and diabolical fury, dispatched himself by the help of a rope, as is asserted by his servants, since converted to the orthodox Faith. Oberi, as Bellarmin, falsely suggests, that Luther died suddenly, for which he quotes a passage out of Cœlæus's Life of Luther, which runs thus: Luther was taken off by a sudden death, for having in the evening supped splendidly, and being merry in good health, and having made all the company laugh at his facetious stories, he the same night died. Again, some have impudently proceeded so far as to give out that he was taken away by the devil. Thus William Bessæus a French Jesuit writes, Luther having drank heartily, and being well stuffed with meat, without the least sign of piety, went to his bed, but passed the night in hell, with the devils. Hence Cœterus, in his envenomed poem, on the death of Luther, says,*

As impious Arius, did his bowels void,
So Luther died with wine, and eating cloy'd.

Fabianus Justinian gives his approbation to all these stories in the following words: many are of opinion that Luther himself was taken away by a sudden and unprovided death by the agency of his own evil spirit, because the Physicians, when called to him either knew not what to make of his disease or pretended it was an apoplexy. . . . There is an account of Luther's death, by persons worthy of credit, and who were eye-witnesses thereof, such as Justus Jonas, Michael Cælius, John Aurisaber of Wiemar, who, before God, and in the presence of Christ, testify, that a true and faithful account of the death of Luther, is given in the eighth volume of his works, wherein the curious reader may be largely informed of that matter, as well as from Matthæus Sleidan, and Thuanus, a Roman Catholic. . . . All which lies of the Papists, concerning the death of Luther, may be easily disproved, and

(118) Joh. Adamus Osiander, in Tractatu Theologico de Magia, pag. 271, & seq.

world [Z]. I have said nothing of his marriage, because I speak largely of it in another place [Z]. His greatest enemies cannot deny, but that he had eminent qualities, and history affords nothing more surprising than what he has done: for a simple Monk to be able to give Popery so rude a shock [AA], that there needed but such another intirely

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through down the throat of these calumniators: . . .

Even now that Luther is dead, the Papists cannot let him rest, but shew their hatred to him, and invent new lies concerning him. For they pretend, that the body of this chosen instrument of God, was left in the high way, because, of it's intolerable stench.

Some have published, that Luther died like Arius.

These are Simon Fontaine's words (119). 'Some Catholic's who had opportunities to know how the thing truly happened, have written, that, rising to ease nature, he fell down dead.' Father Maimbourg has rejected all these foolish stories, but he has been mistaken in a notable fact. 'The elector of Saxony, says he (120), caused his body to be conveyed with a most magnificent pomp to Wittemberg, where he erected for him a monument of white marble, surrounded with the statues of the twelve apostles, as if he had been the thirteenth, with respect to Germany.' Mr Seckendorf has shewn, that this monument, and these statues, are chimeras (121).

I shall here set down a passage of a Paris Divine, who reproached the Lutherans with acting contrary to their principles. 'They had always condemned, says he (122), the pomp with which the Catholics buried their dead in paying them the last honour of sepulture, blaming the sermons that were preached in honour of the deceased, and saying, that it were much better to have charitably bestowed on the poor what was thus spent in these funeral pomps and honours. On the whole, that it was all one, and equally Christian, to be buried in a dunghill and without tapers, as to be deposited in holy ground, with all this pomp. If what they said was before true, why did they employ such expence and cost to lay their Luther in his grave? Why did they not give this money to the poor, which was spent in conducting him from Illeben to Wittemberg? Which could not be done for a small sum. Why did they not bury him in a dunghill, where he might have rotted as well as at Wittemberg? In short, if this veneration is condemned by the holy scriptures (as they falsely think) why have they used it? It is certain that they who reform do not always consider, that there are some abuses, which should not be spoken against for fear of condemning themselves beforehand; these being things into which people quickly relapse.

[Y] Nor did they forbear publishing lies, upon this subject, till he had left this world.] A pamphlet was published at Naples, and in other places; the substance whereof was this. Luther, being dangerously sick, desired to communicate, and died as soon as he had received the viaticum. As he was dying, he desired that his body might be laid upon the altar to be adored; but that request being neglected, he was buried. There arose a furious tempest at his interment as if the end of the world was at hand. The terror was universal. They who lifted up their eyes to heaven, perceived, that the host, which the deceased had presumed to take, was suspended in the air. It was gathered up with great veneration, and laid in a sacred place, and the tempest ceased. It returned the night following with still greater fury, and filled all the town with consternation. The next day Luther's sepulchre was opened, and found empty, and a sulphureous stench proceeded from it, which no body could bear. The assistants fell sick of it, and many of them repented, and returned into the pale of the Catholic church (123). This pamphlet was written in Italian, and it was said in it, with an air of triumph, that it contained a miracle in honour of Jesus Christ, for the terror of the wicked, and the consolation of good people; and that this event was known by letters from the French ambassador (124). Luther, having read this pamphlet the twenty-first of March 1545, caused it to be printed, and added a postscript to it. Some Roman Catholics, being ashamed of this imposture, endeavoured to ward off the infamy, by another fraud. They endeavoured to persuade the world, that Luther, or some of his

friends, were the authors of this romance; but there are very authentic proofs to the contrary. 'Fuerunt

ex adversa parte, quos protervi figmenti puduit, & ideo inventorem ejus ipsum Lutherum sublituere voluerunt, vel aliquem ex suis; impudenter utique & vene. Extant enim . . . literæ Landgravi ad electorem Saxonie d. 12. Mart. authenticæ, in quibus ei relationem istam italicam misit, significans, se eam ab Augustano quodam, cujus literas etiam adjunxit, accepisse, ex quibus percipitur typis exculam schedam illum Neapoli & multis aliis locis fuisse (125). What a scandal is it to those who understand the nature of scandal, to find such effects of a false zeal for religion?

[Z] I speak largely of Luther's marriage in another place.] To wit, in the article BORE. I have but one observation more to make, and it is designed for the correcting a fault of the famous Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter. He says, that a malicious apostate affirms, that 'Luther had been the day before a monk, the next day betrothed, the day after a husband, and the next day after a father (126). My informer (127), continues he, maintains this last by the testimony of Erasmus +, who, in one of his letters to his friend, Daniel Mauchius of Ulm, mentions the same story more at large. Pray, reader, look over all this vast volume of Erasmus's Epistles, Refut. p. 28, 29. and if there be no such person, (as indeed there is none) nor any such letter; judge you what we are to think of the veracity of these people.' He is to blame to censure the person, who alleged Erasmus's testimony; and he would not have censured him, if he had known what is found in the 278th page of Chytraeus's annals. We there find that Luther's adversaries alleged a certain letter of Erasmus (128), not printed; wherein he makes mention of the too hally lying-in of Luther's wife (129). So that Joseph Hall ought not to have insisted on this Letter's not appearing in the vast volume of Erasmus's letters. If he had treated it as a forgery, he had been much to blame. See above (130) the same fact, in another letter of this author. That which might be very justly said, is, that Erasmus had acknowledged the falsity of this news (131). From hence we may learn how hard a task it is to confute a man on matters of fact: for we must know almost an infinite number of them to oppose with safety any thing that an adversary affirms or denies.

[AA] We cannot sufficiently admire that a simple monk should be able to give Popery so rude a shock.] How many states and nations did he induce, in a little time, to separate from the Romish communion? This was represented very happily, though in somewhat a burlesque manner on a piece of tapestry. Read this passage, taken from a letter of Coltar. 'The last time the king was at Chalons, a very rich piece of tapestry was hung in his chamber, which came from the late queen of Navarre; in which were represented Luther and Calvin, who gave the Pope a clyster, which put the good man into such commotion, that he was seen in another place taken with a great vomiting and looseness, and evacuating abundance of kingdoms and sovereignties, Denmark, Sweden, the duchy of Saxony, &c.' Wickliff, John Hufe, and several others had attempted the same thing, but did not succeed. This was, you will say, because they were not favoured with a concurrence of circumstances: they had no less merit nor abilities than Luther; but they undertook the cure of the disease before the crisis; and, as we may say, in the increase of the moon. Luther, on the contrary, attacked it at a critical time, when it was arrived to the highest pitch; when it was impossible it should grow worse; and therefore, according to the course of nature, must either cease or diminish: for when things are arrived to the highest point of their ascension, they commonly begin to decline (132). He followed in the full moon, when the wane was just drawing on: he had the same good fortune, as those remedies have which are employed last, and which carry away the glory of the cure, because applied, when

(126) Joseph Hall's Apology for the Marriage of Ecclésiasticks, pag. 48.

(127) That is, he who had wrote against Joseph Hall.

(128) See Seckendorf, Hist. Luther. lib. II, Colloq. Tit. de moribus Lutheri.

(129) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

(130) See the remark [Z] of the article BORE.

(131) Above, citat. (123) of the article BORE.

(132) Invida factorum series, summiq; negotium Stare diu, nimioque graves sub pondere lapsus, Nec se Roma ferens. Lucan. lib. I, ver. 72.

(119) Hist. Catholique, liv. xvi, fol. 230.

(120) Maimb. Hist. de Luther. liv. III, Tom. I, pag. 301, 302, Dutch Edit.

(121) See Seckendorf, Hist. Luther. lib. III, pag. 645.

(122) Simon Fontaine, Hist. Catholique, liv. xvii, fol. 232.

(123) Seckendorf, Hist. Luther. lib. III, pag. 580.

(124) Nata forte hinc est immensis illa de ejus obitu fabula, que Tom. VIII. Alt. fol. 415, & sequ. lingua Italica, & in Germanicam versa, legitur. Scribunt autem cum magna quidem exultatione & gratulatione, tanquam de miraculo à Deo, in honorem Christi, terræque malorum, & solatiū bonorum, ut in pie negantur, editi, ex Legati Regis Galie literis innotuisse, quod Lutherus periculose negotians, &c. Seckendorf, ubi supra, pag. 580, col. 1.

(125) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

(126) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

(127) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

(128) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

(129) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

(130) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

(131) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

(132) See above, citat. (122), of the article BORE.

to over-throw the Romish church, is what we cannot sufficiently admire. Some attribute the revolution, brought about by his ministry, to certain positions of the stars [BB]. It is not true, as some affirm, that his enterprize has inspired several people with a contempt for the Christian religion [CC]. He, who would be thoroughly acquainted with the history

when the distemper has discharged its malignity. You may, if you please, add, that the concurrence of Francis I. and Charles V. was fatal in this affair. I answer, that all this notwithstanding, there must have been eminent gifts in Luther to produce such a revolution as he has done. Here is an excellent thought

(133) Fra. Paolo, Hist. du Concile de Trente, livr. 1, pag. 4.

(134) That is to say the indulgence of Leo X.

† Opportunus magis conatibus transitur rerum, says Tacitus, Hist. 1.

(135) Add to this the false steps that Popery made in this conjuncture. I shall speak of them in the last remark.

(136) Simon Fontaine, doctor of Divinity at Paris, by his ministry, to certain positions of the stars. Hist. Catholique de Notre Temps, livr. vii, fol. 97, Edit. Paris 1562.

(137) Jovius, Hist. lib. xiii, fol. m. 239, vers.

[BB] Some attribute the revolution brought about by his ministry, to certain positions of the stars. Paul Jovius goes so much into this profane thought, as to impute to a malignant constellation, not only what happened in Germany, by means of Luther, but also the conversion of the Indians in the east and west: and when he considers, that the faith of people changed almost at the same time, in the four parts of the world, some embracing Mahometism others Christianity, and others Lutheranism, he cannot believe but the influences of the stars had brought this about by their occult and pernicious qualities. 'Nec multo post exarsit in Germania, says he (137), aethere Luthero dira hæresis, quæ populis, ut in perfide acciderat, ad insaniam versis, Christiani dogmatis placita, & veteris sacrorum ritus vehementissimè conturbavit. Ita ut facillè crediderim ab ocula cæli potestate, malignoque syderum concursu provenisse, ut religiones toto terrarum orbe enatis factionibus uno tempore scinderentur, quando non Mahometani modo Christianique, sed & remotissimæ gentes idololatræ, aut sydera aut portenta pro Diis venerantes, cum in India quæ ad Orientem vergit, tum in Novo orbe ad Occiduum plagam reperto, novas sacrorum opiniones induerint.' Florimond de Remond seems to applaud this notion: he gives it in French, and complains of a Protestant translator, who had omitted that passage. 'Almost at the same time, says Jovius, that Ismael seized upon the empire of the Persians, and changed the religion, blending it with the new Mahometan superstition, there arose in Germany, under Luther's authority, that monstrous Heresy, which endeavoured to destroy the Catholic religion, and all that antiquity had received; as the people, enraged and bigotted with their new follies and superstitions, had done in Persia: by which means, says he, I willingly admit, that, by a secret power of heaven, and a malignant influence of the stars, all the religions in the universe began to change; since not only Mahometans, but also Christians, nay idolatrous nations, the most remote, who worshipped idols, both in the East-Indies and in the new world towards the West, fell into new religions and opinions at the same time. This is what the Latin of Jovius says. But in his French translation, the reformed sincerity, the scrupulous conscience of his translator is remarkable, who passes over all that Jovius says of this change of religions, and this monstrous Lutheran Heresy sprung up in Saxony: this grieved him at the heart. With what fidelity do they handle holy and sacred books, when they thus impudently mutilate the present History

rians to suppress a sentence relating to Luther (138). The delicacy of such translators cannot be approved. If there be zeal in their conduct, it is a zeal to blind, so superstitious, so mean and childish, that it deserves to be given up to their adversaries indignation. Note, that Lipsius attributed also to the stars the fondness of the XVIth century for disputes in religion (139). *Fatalis ista est ingeniorum scabies, ut omnes disputare malint, quam vivere...* (140). *Ita loquor, quia velut à carlo, & ut dixerim, astro aliquo est hæc pestis. Atque ut corporum quidam morbi certis temporibus interveniunt: sic nunc iste animorum. Viri, femine, senes, pueri, quæstionibus ludunt & lascivunt: eoque ventum, ut pro parum sano sit, qui non sic insanit. Myserum Theologia erat, facta est popularis oblectamentum.* He pretends, that the soul is subject, as the body, to some distempers, which return from time to time; and he reckons, in the number of these diseases of the soul, the spirit of disputing, and the change of religion, which reigned at that time. He relates a passage of Nicephorus Gregoras, containing a description of the like state. All places rang with Theological disputes; even they who knew not what was to be believed, nor what they themselves pretended to believe, talked of nothing, but of Theology, in the markets and theatres (141). *Vis imaginem clarum horum temporum? Nicephori Gregoræ ista lege.* * Apud nos etiam opificibus effusa sunt arcana Theologiæ, atque ita omnes inhiant ratiocinationibus & sermonibus syllogisticis, ut herbæ & pascuis armenta. Et illi, qui de rebus fide ambigui sunt, & qui nec quomodo credendum sit sciunt, nec quid sit illud quod credere se dicunt; illi inquam & fora & porticus & theatra omnia Theologiæ compleverunt. Without recurring to constellations, the ordinary sanctuary of ignorance, second causes might have been discovered on earth, which God made use of to effect the change that happened in Germany in the XVIth century.

[CC] It is not true... that his enterprize has inspired several people with contempt of the Christian religion.] If Coëffeteau had said, that Luther made a

abundance of people damn themselves by the profession of Heresy, he would have spoken according to his prejudices, and we should have pardoned him; but this is not the evil he deplors. Let us hear him. 'Mean time, says he (142), instead of representing to us here the fallies of this furious spirit of Luther, whose insolence has displeased the Calvinists themselves, the Sieur du Plessis, ought to have meditated on the horror of his crime, and represented to himself the great loss of souls, with which he is chargeable before God and his angels, for having been the author of all the disputes that are arisen in Christendom. God ordained in the antient law **, that if it happened, that any having a controversy with another, should strike a woman with child, so as to destroy her fruit, his life should go for the life of the child. What then will the divine justice appoint against those, who, by their ambition, and by the disputes, which they have excited in the church, have occasioned the death of so many millions of souls, who are disgusted at the Christian religion, to see those, who profess themselves ministers of it, so ill agreed upon the principal points of the holy Gospel.' We may affirm, that the number of those who were lukewarm, indifferent, or disgusted with Christianity, diminished much more than it increased by the disturbances Europe felt on occasion of Luther. Every one chose his side with warmth; some remained in the Romish communion, others embraced the Protestant: the former conceived a greater zeal for their religion than they had before; the later had an ardent zeal for their new belief. No body can show those who, as Coëffeteau says, rejected Christianity, upon account of so many disputes. Had he said, that the divisions of Christians, and their conduct towards one another, after having formed themselves into sects, are most proper to bring the gospel into discredit, and the people into unbelief, I should have agreed with him; but he must have supposed, at the same time, a thing which very few practise. He must have supposed, that there are a great many without double weights; that is, who examine

(138) Florim. de Remond, Hist. de l'Herésie livr. 1, chap. ix, pag. m. 24.

(139) Lipsius, Civil. Doctrinae lib. iv, cap. iii, pag. m. 65, Oper. Tom. IV.

(140) Idem, adversus Dialogum, pag. 310, ejusd. Tomi.

(141) Id. lib. ii. * Hist. lib. ii.

(142) Coëffeteau, Réponse au Mystère d'Iniquité, pag. 123.

** Exod. xxiii.

RELIGIOUS controversies make but few Sects.

history of this great man need only read Mr de Seckendorf's large volume (c). It is, in its kind, one of the best books that have appeared for a long time. I should advise him also to read the *Lutherus Defensus* of a Hamburg minister (d); for there all the personal reproaches are answered.

I was amazed to find, that cardinal du Perron durst say, that Luther believed the mortality of the soul [DD]. Should Francis Garasse vent a thousand such calumnies (e), I should not wonder at it; and if I had found it in Luther's life, published at Paris in 1577, by the Monk Noel Talepied (f), or in Nicole Grenier's book, of which we shall see a long passage below [EE], or in the books of such like writers, who have no reputation to lose, I should not have been surprized: but I could not but think it strange, that a cardinal, of so great a name, should be guilty of so much rashness. The curious will not be displeased to hear of a small ruffle which was given Mr Arnauld on occasion

(c) *Historia Lutheranismi. See the Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, Febr. 1692. Art. XIII.*

(d) Called John Mullerus.

(e) See the remark [E].

(f) A Franciscan of Pontoise.

examine, without prejudice, what happens at home and abroad. But where are these to be met with? Where are those, who, by the force of custom, do not judge the same things to be most just, when they make others suffer them, and most unjust when they suffer them themselves? In such a disposition as this there is no danger that the multiplicity of sects should create many Sceptics: let what will happen, every one will stick fast by the party he has chosen. The anti-peristasis, which the new Philosophers have banished from nature, takes place in religion. Zeal cools, when we are not taken notice of, nor surrounded with another sect, and rekindles when we are. We may here apply the verses that were made upon Menelaus (143), and say, that Coëffeteau has mistaken the matter: he has taken that for a real fact, which must happen only in case men reasoned after a certain manner.

[DD] I was amazed to find that cardinal Perron durst say, that Luther believed the mortality of the soul. See in what words he affirms it (144): 'Luther denied the immortality of the soul, and said, that it died with the body; and that God afterwards raised both again: so that, in his opinion, no one enjoyed the visible presence of God; whence he drew an argument against praying to saints, shewing, that the saints hear not our prayers. The church believes that the souls of the saints, and of the blessed enjoy the presence of God as soon as they are dead; and Luther reckons this among the impieties of the Romish church, that she believes the immortality of the soul.' You see he is not charged with absolutely denying the punishments and rewards of another life, but only with deferring them, till after the final resurrection of all men. This is lessening very much the heinousness of the accusation, which others had brought against him; but this is not avoiding the crime of lying and slandering. It is a common saying, that all romances are founded upon some history: I have therefore suspected, that cardinal du Perron built this fable upon some words of Luther, ill understood, and found in quotations; and I, having not the leisure to turn over all the great volumes of this minister, have consulted a Divine of the Confession of Augsburg, and desired him to inform me if there were any pretext that could occasion this cardinal's speaking thus. The substance of the answer, he was pleased to make me, is as follows: Luther never taught that the soul died with the body, and was to rise again with the body. It can never be proved by his works that he was of this opinion; and he has very clearly shewn, that he believed quite contrary. Consult what he has written upon the eighth verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, where he speaks of the death of Abel. The origin of the calumny is in a letter he writ to Amldorf in the year 1522; in which he appears much inclined to believe, that the souls of the just sleep to the day of judgment, without knowing where they are, &c. He does not pretend to say, that they are dead in this interval, but only lay in a profound rest and sleep; in which opinion he followed many fathers of the ancient church. He rectified his opinion, in process of time; and though he seems in his later writings to attribute rest to the souls of the predestinate, he does not mean thereby a rest which is a profound sleep, and deprives them of the vision and conversation of God and the Angels. See his commentary upon the twenty fourth chapter of Genesis, where he speaks very largely of the state of souls departed.

[EE] In Nicole Grenier's book, whereof we shall see a long passage. This book is intitled, *The Shield of Faith, by way of dialogue, extracted from the holy*

Scriptures, and holy Fathers, and most ancient doctors of the church. The author, a regular canon of St Victor, dedicated it to Henry II. I cannot tell in what year he published it the first time. La Croix du Maine, and du Verdier Vau-Privas, mention only the edition of Paris 1566, and 1567. They say nothing of that of Avignon 1549, which I use, and which is not the first; for the title imports, that the book was revised and enlarged by the author. The edition mentioned by du Verdier Vau-Privas contains an apology against the Lutheran bound, which attempted to gnaw the Shield of Faith. I suppose he means Bartholomew Causse, minister of Geneva, author of a book intitled, *The true Shield of the Christian Faith; in several dialogues, demonstrating, from holy Scripture, the errors and false allegations of a book intitled, The Shield of Faith; formerly written by a monk of St Victor at Paris, calling himself the Bienallant (well-going).* My edition is of Geneva 1563, revised and very much enlarged. Let this be said in favour of Bibliographers. Let us now come to the point, and relate what the canon of St Victor says of Luther. 'Luther's ambition, and desire of glory and honour, was so great, that, tho' he was but a meer Presbyter, and an Augustine, an Apostate, and an uncowed Monk, yet he took upon him the episcopal office and dignity. For being once in the city of Lisbon (145), he presumed to ordain two presbyters in St Andrew's church, imposing hands upon them, and singing the anthem *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Moreover he caused himself to be carried in a pompous chariot, or litter, as a great prince, surrounded and attended with gentlemen and guards. And, in his entry into towns, there were volleys of shot, and firing of cannons. This was not imitating Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and the holy Doctors of the church, who, by their preaching and example recommended humility and simplicity. Very different is the life of true Christians, and heretical Antichrists. The Life of the Apostles, and holy Doctors of the church was humble, sober, chaste, modest, and devout: but the life of the false Doctor and Apostate, Luther, was proud, gluttonous, lascivious, infamous, and sensual: for it is notorious and evident to all, that, having violated his religious vows, and ecclesiastical continence, he took for his wife, or whore, a nun, by whom he had three bastards and illegitimates. His gluttony was the cause of his great incontinence; for, as St Jerome says, *Venter mero effluens, facile despumat in libidinem.* The scum of lust easily rises in a stomach boiling with wine. And, to speak the truth, Luther ought rather to be called the prince and doctor of drunkards and gluttons, than of Saxons and Germans. He was a second Epicurus, or Sardanapalus, since it is commonly said of him, that, at every dinner and supper, he drank two gallons of luscious rich wine; and eat of the most exquisite and delicate dishes; which he continued to the last: for he died suddenly, full glutted, after having supped plentifully, and stuffed his paunch. But let us leave this wretch (146). It is for the interest of the Lutherans, and all Protestants in general, to re-publish the fabulous impertinences their adversaries published against the reformers of the XVIth century. They shew, that they were wholly conducted by a blind prejudice; a prejudice which is to their reproach and disadvantage. Here you have a canon of St Victor of so little judgment, as to employ an objection, which overthrows Pope, cardinals, and all the prelacy, whose train and pompous equipages are diametrically opposite to the life of the Apostles.

(145) The author, if I mistake not, would say *Lieben*, but by an inexcusable negligence, he did not well inform himself of the true names of towns, and fell into a ridiculous mistake, there being in Portugal the city of Lisbon, where Luther never was.

(146) Nicole Grenier, Bouclier de la Foi, pag. 784, & 149.

(143) He was weary of Helena while he had her in an undisturbed possession, and was all on fire when she was taken away from him. See, above, citat. (41), of the article HELENA.

(144) Perronians, at the word Luther, pag. 302, Edit. 1669.

1 Origin, St Chrysostome, and Theodoret, among the Greeks: Tertullian and Lactantius, among the Latins.

of a citation from Luther [FF]. It was impossible for him to verify it by the original books. This leads me to make this observation, that nothing would be more convenient for those who are accused of mis-quoting this reformer, than the liberty of the most curious library of prince Rodolphus Augustus, duke of Brunswick [GG]. Luther's life, in medals (g), published in the year 1699, contains an infinite number of particulars (b), and points out an infinite number of authors, who have spoken of this illustrious person. We find, in the Preface to the reader, a list of all those who have composed either his elegy or his history. We there likewise find a confutation of the falsehoods of an anonymous author, whose dialogues were printed in the year 1694, with the title of *Lucien en belle humeur*. I only mention this circumstance to have an opportunity of saying, that there is no ground to think, that Mr Fontenelle is the author of these dialogues (i). They might positively affirm, that he is not; and that he is not capable of so imperfect a performance. In the Vatican library at Rome is shewn (k) a Bible, which is said to be of Luther's translating, and written with his own Hand. But this is not probable, considering the extravagant prayer (l) at the end of it, and which appears to be of the same hand with the rest. Whilst the troops of Charles V quartered at Wittemberg in the year 1547, a foldier gave Martin Luther's effigies in the church of the castle two stabs with his dagger (m). The emperor did a very generous action at that time: He would not suffer the tomb of this pretended heresiarch to be demolished; and he forbid the attempting any thing of that nature upon pain of death [HH]. Luther had made a great progress in scholastic learning, and had even followed the sect of the Nominals; which spun the thread finest in all abstract questions; yet no one inveighed so much as he against the method of philosophizing used at that time; nor was any man more vehemently bent against the great Aristotle. You will see the proofs of this in the extracts I shall give of an invective of Father Gretser [II], where the Jesuit endeavours to make out

(g) The author's name is Christian Funcker.

(b) See, above, remark [G], at the end.

(i) Num sit & hujus auctor de Fontenelle qui les Nouveaux Dialogues des Morts publicavit Parisi... non habeo affirmare. Funcker in Vita Lutheri Nomenclis illustrata, in Prefat. § XVII. One Mr de Ternan, who published these Nouveaux Dialogues des Morts, at Amsterdam, in 1681, in 1700, ascribed in the preface the Nouveaux Dialogues des Morts, to Mr Prebich.

(k) Miffon, Volage d'Italie, Tom. II, pag. 134. Edit. 1683.

(l) Mr Miffon, ibid. recites it in High Dutch, and in French.

(m) Andreas Senectus, in Athenis Wittenbergensis apud Junckerum. in Vita Lutheri nomenclis illustrata, pag. 216.

(147) And not at Lille, as is said in the title-page.

(148) Le Fevre, Replique à Mr Arnould, pour la Defense du livre des Mots Invincibles, cap. xviii. The pages are not figured; it is in the left leaf of the sheet.

[FF] A small ruffe was given Mr Arnould, on occasion of a citation from Luther. Mr le Fevre, doctor of Divinity, of the Faculty of Paris, has published what follows, in a book printed at the Hague (147) in 1685. Does not he remember, says he (148), speaking of Mr Arnould, that about four years ago, a minister having writ to him, that he had falsely cited some passages from Luther to shew that he denied the necessity of good works, and amongst others this; let us beware of sin; but, above all, let us beware of the law and good works, and fix only on the promise of God and faith; words which he cited as from a sermon of Luther, upon a text in the New Testament; he found himself obliged to take the trouble of searching for this passage in all the works of Luther that were to be met with at Paris, and not finding it could give no other answer to the minister, who had writ to him, than confessing he had taken, this passage from Bellarmine, and at the same time insisting on this cardinal's fidelity.

[GG] The most curious library of prince Rodolphus Augustus, duke of Brunswick. This prince, who has joined the love of letters, to all other qualities worthy his illustrious family, was not satisfied with the magnificent library of Wolfenbuttle; he set up another private one, which he stored with a very great number of scarce books. Here we find all the writings that Luther published from the year 1517 to his death: the editions, I say, which he published and corrected himself, and which are preferable to the original manuscripts, because in revising the proofs he corrected many things that had escaped him. It is a much safer way to have recourse to these editions, than to those, in which all his works have been reduced into a body; for they who collected them took the liberty to mend, and change, what they thought fit (149): and this is, doubtless, the reason why the citations from Luther, upon which any controversy arises, are so hard to be verified. We can hardly have any recourse now, except to the volumes in folio published since his death. The compleat editions of all his works have caused the particular editions of his tracts to be neglected; and hereby almost all the copies of these particular editions are lost, which is a misfortune. 'Libelli à Luthero ipso editi diligentius quam factum est, assertari debuerunt, non tantum, quod commodius legi poterant, quam in magnis, in quos, postmodum redacti sunt, voluminibus, sed & quia genuini & ab interpolatione aut incuria, quæ compilatoribus tomorum dudum imputata est, securi erant (150).' The prince I speak of, employed a Professor of Helmstadt (151) to publish an account of his library. See the book intitled, *Antiqua Literarum monumenta, autographa Lutheri aliorumque celeberrimorum virorum ab an. 1517, usque ad annum 1546 reformationis ætatem & historiam egregie illustrantia*, &c. The first tome of it was printed at

Brunswic, in 1690 (152), and the second in 1691 (153). The overseers even of public libraries, which are the best endowed, sometimes use a blamable economy. They part with the particular tracts, when they have once all the works of an author reduced into a body: And thus it comes to pass, that there is no verifying from these great libraries, whether an author, who has cited passages, from the first editions, which differ from the latter, hath acted sincerely.

[HH] Charles V would not suffer Luther's tomb to be demolished, and forbade the attempting any thing of that nature upon pain of death. The Spaniards earnestly solicited him to pull it down, and even desired his bones should be dug up and burnt: But the Emperor very wisely answered, I have nothing farther to do with Luther; he has henceforth another judge, whose jurisdiction it is not lawful for me to usurp: Know that I make war, not with the dead, but with the living, who still make war against me. 'Violari autem sepulchrum vetuit Carolus V, Imperator, Witebergam expugnatam armis minisque ingressus, contra quam urgebant Hispani omnes, eo uique insensu, Luthero, ut & ossibus ejus invaderent quietem, eaque perinde, ut hussio factum fuerat vivo, mallet cremari; quos laudatissimus tamen Imperator gravissimo sermone castigavit, quando dixit: Nihil mihi ultra cum Luthero, alium ille judicem jam habet, cujus Jurisdictionem invadere nostrum non est, neque mihi cum mortuis bellum esse sciatis, sed cum superstitionibus in nos armatis. Cumque animadvertisset, Hispanos duci Albano & Episcopo Atrebatensi, suadentibus ejus Indignitatem facti, consentire, severe tandem atque etiam vitæ capitique periculo sanxit, inviolatum Lutheri sepulchrum ut esset (154).'

[II] The extracts I shall give of an invective of Father Gretser. I do not believe I am mistaken in ascribing to him the harangues (155) which were pronounced in the academy of Ingolstadt, the 14th of November 1606, when he presented two licentiates in Divinity for their degrees. One of them made a long declamation, intitled, *Utrum Lutherus fuerit Scholasticus Theologus*, wherein he undertook to prove the negative, and something more. 'Lutherum non modo non fuisse Theologum Scholasticum, sed omnium subtiliorum scientiarum hostem & calumniatorem impudentissimum. — Luther was not only no scholastic Divine, but also an outrageous enemy, and calumniator of all kinds of subtle science.' The proof of the first part of this thesis was reduced to a syllogism, which the candidate pronounced with a very audible voice; 'Utrum, scilicet de (156), rem ipsam statim, cunctis ambagibus omittis aggrediar, elata voce proclamo; Scholasticus non est, qui crassissimos, stupidissimos, & ut sic appellem, decumanos, prorsusque asinos contra Theologum & Philosophum

(152) See the Journal of Leipzig, for December 1690, pag. 125 (wrong figured 601), & seq.

(153) See the same Journal for September, 1691, pag. 422.

(154) Christianus Junckerus, in Vita Lutheri, nomenclis illustrata, pag. 218, 219. He cites Joh. Sleidanus, de Statu Religionis & Reipublice in Germania lib. xix, pag. 665, & 668, and Mich. Picartus, in Observationibus Historico-Politicis, Decad. VI, cap. vi. I have found nothing like it in the numerous book of Sleidan.

(155) They are ascribed to him in the Bibliotheca of Alegambe, pag. 200, col. 2.

(156) Gretser, Inaugural Doctor, pag. 3.

(149) See the following citation.

(150) Acts Erod. Lipsienf 1690, pag. 627.

(151) Mr von Hardt.

out this proposition, *Luther does not understand scholastic Divinity.* One of the arguments made use of to prove this, is his teaching that one and the same doctrine is false and true at

*Philosophiam, commisit errores. Lutherus tales errores commisit; non est igitur Lutherus Scholasticus. — But that without dwelling on unnecessary circumstances, I may come to the point itself, I, with a loud voice, proclaim, He is no scholastic, who commits, gross, stupid, and, if I may so call them, alike errors, against the principles of Divinity and Philosophy. Luther hath committed such errors; therefore Luther is no schoolman.' He afterwards went upon the proof of the minor, for the major was self-evident. He had already observed, that Luther boasts of a thorough knowledge of all the secrets of the nicest school-divinity; and that Melancthon hereupon has belittled great encomiums on him (157). 'Lutherus non semel testatur, omnia Scholasticæ Theologiæ mysteria sibi probè esse cognita: omnia adyta perlustrata: omnes excusos angulos. Credatis fortiter Magistrum nostrum eximium (sic loquitur Lutherus Doctores Lovanienses & Colonienfes compellens). Lutherus esse notam Philosophiam & Theologiam vestram, in qua non pessimo ingenio, nec ultima scordia versatus sit plus duodecim annis, interque Symplesitras vestros detritus. Et ne ignoraremus in quam Scholasticæ Theologiæ familiam nomen dederit, alibi nobis exponit cum dicit, se se Occami castra secutum; cujus sectatores, tempore Lutheri, vulgò TERMINISTÆ audiebant. longæque ac latè in scholis regnabant, teste ipso Lutheri: qui palam scribit: se se Occanicæ seu Modernorum sectæ placita & dogmata non tantum a limine salutasse, aut primoribus labris solummodò degustasse: sed penitus imbibita tenere; his enim verbis suam in Scholasticæ Theologia peritiam decantat Lutherus: de qua etiam perpetuus Lutheri encomiastes Melancthon: Gabrielis & Cameracensis (duos insignes ex Occami gymnasio Theologos) pœne ad verbum memoriter recitare poterat Lutherus. Diu multumque legit scripta Occami. Hujus acumen præferbat Thomæ & Scoti. — Luther has more than once affirmed, that all the mysteries of scholastic Divinity were well known to him, that he had searched its most hidden parts, and had penetrated even its obscurest corners. You may safely believe, most excellent masters, (these are the words of Luther to the doctors of Louvain and Cologne) that your Philosophy and Divinity is well known to Luther, in which, neither with the dullest wit, nor with the least pains, he, for twelve years together, contended with your champions. And that we may not be ignorant of what tribe of the scholastic Divines he was, he elsewhere informs us, that he fought under the banner of Occam, whose followers, in the time of Luther, were commonly called Terminists, who then reigned in the schools, as Luther himself witnesses, and declares, that he had not only some knowledge of the doctrine of Occam, but understood it perfectly; for these are Luther's own words, in which he sets out his great skill in scholastic Divinity. To the same purpose Melancthon, the constant panegyrist of Luther, says, that Luther could almost repeat word for word the writings of Gabriel and Cameracensis, (two famous Divines in the school of Occam) and that he had studied, with great assiduity, the works of Occam, and preferred the penetration of this doctor to that of Thomas Aquinas, and Scotus.' The first proof of the minor is taken from Luther's having maintained, that this proposition, *The word was made flesh*, is true in Divinity, and absolutely impossible and absurd in Philosophy. 'Omne verum vero consonat. Tamen idem non est verum in diversis professionibus. In Theologia verum est, Verbum esse carnem factum. In Philosophia simpliciter impossibile & absurdum (158).*

— *Truth is always consonant to truth, but the same thing is not true in different sciences. In Theology, it is true, the word was made flesh; in Philosophy, it is impossible and absurd.* The author displays here the common distinction of Divines, to maintain, that the philosophical arguments, which Luther alleges do not oppugn the mystery of the Trinity and Incarnation; and adds, 'Simili soliditate dicit (Lutherus) Syllogismus prædictus non esse malos vitio formæ syllogisticæ; sed virtute & majestate materiæ, quæ in angustias rationis seu syllogismorum includi non possit. Quasi verò nullus syllogismus & forma & materia probus formari queat de re Cœlesti & Theologica; & divi-

nitus nobis revelata (159). — *With like stupidity* (159) *Id. ibid.* he (Luther) affirms, such syllogisms are not bad thro' any defect in the syllogistic form, but because of the excellency and majesty of the matter, which cannot be pent up within the narrow bounds of reason or syllogism. *As if no syllogism, regular both in form and matter, could be framed with respect to heavenly and theological matters, or such as have been communicated to us by divine revelation.* He forgets not that maxim of Luther, That Divinity clashes with the rules of Philosophy; but that Philosophy, in its turn, clashes much more with the rules of Divinity: 'Impingit Theologia in Philosophiæ regulas, inquit Lutherus, sed ipsa vicissim magis in Theologiæ regulas (160)!' He takes notice of Luther's indignation at the Sorbonne, which had defined, that what was true in Philosophy, was also true in Divinity; and he declares, he must be a beast, who disapproves this determination. 'Vehementissimè stomachatur scholasticus noster in Parisiensem Theologorum Scholam, quam Sorbonam vocant. Qua de causâ? Sorbona, mater errorum, pessimè definiit, idem esse verum in Philosophiâ & Theologia. Non tantum Sorbona optimè & sanctissimè hoc definiit; sed & Concilium Lateranense sub Leone X. Et certe tam est hoc evidens, ut fungum esse oporteat, qui dissentiat: Nam ut album est album, ubicunque ponatur; & aqua est aqua, ubicunque collocetur; ita & verum est verum ubicunque constituitur, five in Theologia, five in Philosophia (161). — *Our schoolman most virulently* (161) *Id. ib. pag. 159.*

rails against that college of Divines in Paris, called the Sorbon: For what reason? Why, this Sorbon, the mother of errors, has foolishly determined, that the same thing is true in both Philosophy and Divinity. Not only the Sorbon has wisely and religiously determined this, but also the Lateran council, under Leo X. Nay, it is so evident, that a man must be a very blockhead who denies it; for as white is white, wherever it be placed; and water is water wherever it is found; so truth is truth wherever it is established, whether in Divinity or Philosophy. What the censor affirms, concerning the doctrine itself, I think unquestionable (162); but he is to blame to look upon the contrary opinion, as stupidity of mind; for there have been very subtle and sagacious Divines (163), who maintained Luther's notion in this matter. 'Confidera & hoc stuporis Lutherani indicium, (addit this critic 164), *Aliquid est verum in una parte philosophiæ, quod tamen falsum est in alia parte philosophiæ.* Nimirum naturam esse principium motus & quietis, verum erit in Physica: falsum in Metaphysica & Ethica. Humor humectat, inquit Lutherus, est veritas in Sphæra æris, sed manifesta hæresis in Sphæra ignis. Forte propterea, quia in Sphæra ignis concrevit in glaciem. Nam si non congelaretur: quomodo non madefaceret Lutherum, si integro aquæ dolio perfunderetur? — *Consider this mark of Luther's stupidity.* Something is true in one part of Philosophy which is false in another; for example, that nature is the principle of motion and rest, will be true in Physics, but false in Metaphysics and Ethics. That humidity moistens, says Luther, is true in the sphere of the air, but a manifest heresy in the sphere of fire. Because, perhaps, in the sphere of fire, it hardens into ice: for if it did not congeal, why should it not wet Luther if a tub of water was poured on him? If the Jesuit had been a good Natural Philosopher, he would have been more equitable in this last censure; he would only have said, that Luther had not clearly enough explained his thought. I believe Luther had a glimpse of what the new Philosophers have a clear and distinct notion of. They shew, that what the Peripatetics call humidity, one of the four elementary qualities, ought to be called liquidity (165). And, in this sense, Luther said rightly, that humidity wets the air, but not in the fire: for flame is a liquid body, and does not wet; consequently it is true, that the liquid moistens in the elementary air, and not in the elementary fire. I know this example, at bottom, Oper.

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Here

at the same time, false in Philosophy, and true in Divinity [KK]; false in Natural Philosophy, and true in Morality, &c. Their next argument was Luther's invectives against

(166) Gretser. ubi supra, pag. 43.

† Luther. Tom. I, Epist. IX.

‡ Luther. Tom. I, Epist. XXXIII.

§ Hæc omnia sumpta sunt ex Luthero in Explicat. Oct. Præcepti, Tom. I, lat. Witeb. & in Respons. ad Condemnat. Lovanien. Colon. Tom. II, lat. contra Obeliscos Eclij. Tom. I, lat. Witeb. lib. contr. Lat. Difo Deum simpliciter esse unum.

* Luther. Tom. I, Epist. Lat. Epist. VIII.

Here follows a long scroll of reproaches against Aristotle (166). 'Nisi caro fuisset Aristoteles, inquit Lutherus (†), vere diabolus cum fuisset, non pueret asserere. Eidem Luthero est Aristoteles, Proteus, histrio, qui Græca larva Ecclesiam lufit, vaserimus ingeniorum illufor, calumniosissimus calumniator, fycophanta impiissimus, princeps tenebrarum, triceps Cerberus, tricolor Geryon, vere ἀπολλων, ‡ id est, perdens, & vassator Ecclesie; metus logodædalus, & logomachus, vassator piæ doctrinæ, bestia, caligo hominum, & quidem teterrima. Momus, imo Momus Momorum †. Bestia gentilis similis hydrae in Lerna. In quo fere nihil est Philosophiæ. Impiissimus est. Publicus veritatis, & ex professo hostis. Gentilis animarum carnifex. Hircus, vel potius hircocervus. Bis sacerimus Aristoteles. In cute perfectus Epicurus. Non mihi persuadebitis, inquit Lutherus, Philosophiam esse garrulitatem illam de materia, motu, infinito, loco, vacuo, tempore, quæ fere in Aristotele sola discimus: talia quæ nec intellectum, nec affectum, nec communes hominum mores quidquam juvent: tantum contentionibus serendis, seminandisque idonea. Quod si maxime quid valeret, tot tamen opinionibus confusa sunt, ut, quo quis certius aliquid sequi proposuerit, hoc incertior feratur, & faces Euboicas seclatur; & serò tandem cum Proteo sibi fuisset negotium, peniteat. — If Aristotle had not been flesh, says Luther, I should make no difficulty to affirm, that he was a true devil. To the same Luther, Aristotle appeared a Proteus, a Buffoon, who, in a Greek mask, deceived the church; a crafty deluder of minds, a most outrageous calumniator, a most impious fycophant, a prince of darkness, a three headed Cerberus, a three bodied Geryon, a true Apollon, that is, destroyer, and spoiler, of the church, a very juggler in words, a prater, a subverter of pious doctrine, a beast, and a most terrible deceiver of men, a Momus, yea, the Momus of Momus's, a beaaten brute, like the hydra in Lerna, in whom there is hardly any thing of Philosophy, a most impious person, a public and professed enemy of truth, a beaaten murderer of souls, a buck goat, doubly wicked Aristotle, a perfect Epicure. You shall never persuade me, says Luther, that Philosophy consists in prating about matter, motion, infinite, space, void, time, which are almost the only things we learn in Aristotle, which neither improve the understanding, nor the inclinations, or common manners of men, serving only to sow and nourish contentions: which granting them to be necessary, yet the many opinions about them are so confused, that whoever proposes to attain certainty by pursuing them, becomes but the more uncertain, following an Eubæan torch, and repenting, at last, that ever he had any thing to do with this Proteus.' It cannot be said, that he was so incensed against the head of the Peripatetics, only after he had quarelled with Popery; for it may be proved, that he was of the same mind before he had done any thing to displease the court of Rome. Read this passage of Gretser: 'Neque unquam bene erga Aristotelem affectus fuit; quod discis ex his, quæ anno Domini 1516, ad Langum Augustinianum prius scripsit, quàm aperte infaniret * : Mitto has literas ad eximium D. Jodocum Isenacensem, plenas quæstionum adversus Logicam, & Philosophiam, & Theologiam, id est, blasphemiarum, & maledictionum contra Aristotelem, Porphyrium, Sententiariorum, perditæ scilicet studii nostri saculi. Sic enim interpretabantur, quibus decretum est, non quinquennio cum Pythagorice, sed perpetuò, & in æternum cum mortuis silentium tenere, omnia credere, semper auscultare, nec unquam saltem levi præludio contra Aristotelem, & Sententias velitari, & mystificare. Quid enim non credant, qui Aristoteli crediderunt, vera esse, quæ ipse calumniosissimus calumniator aliis affingit & imponit tam absurda, ut asinus (Lutherus) & lapis non possint tacere ad illa? Nihil ita ardet animus, quàm distrionem illam (Aristotelem) qui tam vera Græca larva Ecclesiam lufit, multis revelare, ignominiamque ejus cunctis ostendere, si ocium esset. Habeo in manus commentarios in 1. Physicorum, quibus fabulam Aristei denud agere statui in meum ipsum Protea (Aristotelem). Pars crucis meæ vel maxima est, quod videre cogor fratrum optima ingenia, bonis studiis nata, in istis cænis vi-

tam agere, & operam perdere (167). — Neither was (167) Gretser. he ever well affected to Aristotle, as you may see ibid. pag. 44. from what he wrote in the year 1516, to Langus Augustinianus, before he publicly shewed his folly. I send these letters to the illustrious Jodocus of Isenach, full of objections against Logic, Philosophy, and Divinity, that is, of blasphemies and curses against Aristotle, Porphyry, the Sententiariorum, those destructive studies of our age: for so they will determine, to whom not only a Pythagorean silence of five years, but even a perpetual and everlasting one, like that of the dead, is enjoined, and to bear, and believe, without daring so much as to whisper, or hint the least doubt of what is delivered by Aristotle, or in the sentences. What will they not believe, who believe Aristotle a most outrageous calumniator, who imposes upon others such absurdities, as an of (Luther) or a stone, would scarce bear without speaking. There is nothing I so much desire, as to expose this buffoon (Aristotle) who, in a Greek masque, deceives the church, and to make him justly odious to all, if I had but time. I have a commentary by me, on the first book of his Physics, in which the story of Aristotle shall be re-acted upon this Proteus of mine (Aristotle). My greatest vexation is, to see my brethren, who have excellent talents, and seem born for the improvement of learning, toiling at such stuff, and losing all their time.' This Jesuit produces a great many other passages, injurious to Aristotle, taken from Luther's writings.

[KK] Luther taught that one and the same doctrine is false . . . in Philosophy, and true in Divinity.] I have spoken of this in the foregoing remark: but here I add, that the most rigid followers of Luther have deserted him upon this article; and have with so much force, opposed their brethren, who revived this notion that they have obliged them to retract it (168). Let us say also, that some misunderstanding may mix in this dispute, and much controversy about words; and that Luther's doctrine would be wrongfully blamed, if he had expressed himself after this manner, the same doctrines which appear false and impossible, when we judge of them by natural light, are true and certain when we judge of them by the light of the word of God. But to pretend, that even after revelation has shewed us that a doctrine is true, it continues to be false in Philosophy, is a gross mistake. It is much more reasonable to own, that philosophical light, whose evidence hath seemed to be a sure guide to us in our judgments of things, was fallacious and illusive; and that it must be rectified by the new knowledge communicated to us by revelation. Affirm, as long as you please, according to the notions which Logic teaches us, in the chapter de oppositis, that a man is not a stone; but beware of affirming, as Aristotle would have done, that it is impossible a man should be a stone: would not Aristotle have affirmed, that it is impossible God should be born of a woman; that God should suffer cold and heat; that God should die: in a word, that God is man? And would he not be mistaken in these assertions? Now since we know that the opposition betwixt the idea of God, and the idea of man, hinders not that one of these beings may be truly affirmed of the other, ought we not to say that nothing hinders but a man and a stone may be one the subject, and the other the predicate, of an affirmative, and most true proposition? Let us say then, that the Jesuit, who exclaimed so much against Luther, perplexes himself wretchedly, and is angry without reason. One would think he affirms it absolutely impossible for two created natures to be united hypochondrially; and does he not see, that, if this be once allowed impossible, the same may be concluded against the mystery of the incarnation; for which he is so angry with Luther? Audite, says he (169), & oblitescite, vel potius execramini: non tantum ubi supra, & imperitiam, sed & intolerabilem blasphemiam. Nec 6, 7. minus, inquit Lutherus, imo magis disparata est prædicatio; Deus est homo; quam si dicas, homo est asinus. An non hæc Lutheri impia thesis totum incarnationis mysterium ex imis fundamentis evertit? Si magis disparata est illa, Deus est homo; quàm illa,

(168) See above, remark (C) of the article HOFMAN (DANIEL).

(169) Gretser, ubi supra, pag. 44.

against the universities, and the burlesque expressions he made use of to turn them and their doctors into ridicule [LL]. This bantering way of his, might, doubtless, be censured;

ista, Homo est asinus; tunc magis erat falsa illa, Deus est homo, quam ista, Homo est asinus; quæ simpliciter falsa est: cujus falsitas oritur ex disjunctione Prædicati à Subiecto; quia enim nullus penitus nexus est Prædicati cum Subiecto; fit, ut Prædicatum non nisi mendaciter de Subiecto affirmetur. Si igitur in illa; Deus est homo: tanta, imò major, est Subiecti à Prædicato, & vice versa, disjunctio, & ut sic loquar, disparatio; falsa erit illa propositio; Deus est homo; sic ut & hæc; Homo est asinus; quia disparata non possunt de se mutuo affirmari, quamdiu nullo communi nexu copulantur. Si autem subiectum & Prædicatum illius Propositionis, Deus est homo, vero, reali, substantiali & hypostatico vinculo colligantur; sequitur, mentiri Lutherum cum Subiectum & Prædicatum ejus æque, imò magis, ac Subiectum & Prædicatum hujus, Homo est asinus; distare & disparari pronuntiat. Qualis ergo Lutherus Scholasticus Theologus; qui stupiditate & fatuitate suam totum divini verbi æconomiam subruit & prostrernit; imò Turcice prorsus, inficiatur; & inficiari volentibus non rimam, sed ipsas fores fatissimè aperit? —

Hear, and be humned, or rather execrated not only the ignorance, but also the intolerable blasphemy. There is no less, says Luther, yea, there is greater disparity in this position, God is man, than if you should say, man is an ass. Does not this impious assertion of Luther, subvert the very foundation of the mystery of the incarnation? If there is more disparity in saying, God is man, than in affirming, man is an ass, then it is more false that God is man, than that man is an ass, which yet is simply false, which falsehood arises from the disjunction of the predicate from the subject, because there being no connection between the predicate and the subject, it follows that, without lying, the predicate cannot be affirmed of the subject. If then in that proposition, God is man; there is as great, nay, greater disjunction of the subject, from the predicate, and vice versa, then that proposition, God is man, is false, as is this man is an ass, because disparities, cannot be affirmed of one another, as long as they are not connected by a common bond. But if the subject, and predicate of this proposition, God is man, are connected by a true, real, substantial, and hypostatic bond, then it follows that Luther lied, when he affirmed that the subject and predicate of that proposition, was equally, nay, more distant, and disproportionate, than the subject and predicate in this, man is an ass. What sort of a Scholastic Divinie then was Luther? who, through his own stupidity, and fortyness, overturns and destroys the economy of the holy Scripture; nay, like a very Turk he denies it; and to all who have a mind to deny it seems not only a bore, but opens a large breach. We need only consider this passage to see the unfairness and blind passion of that writer.

[LL] The burlesque expressions he made use of to turn the universities and their doctors into ridicule.] He jested upon their titles, and the badges of their doctorships. Habent Doctores in Academiis, ritu veteri, certa quædam insignia & digmata: Habent titulos & suas quasdam appellationes, honoris & reverentiae causa. Vocantur Magistri nostri; itemque eximii Magistri nostri. In certam facultatem, velut in tribunal quendam collecti sunt, suos habent loquendi modos; suas formulas & voces. Hinc arrepta scurrandi occasione Theologica facultas est Luthero Facultas à fece & Vacultas à vacca. Doctores facultatis Theologicæ. Magistrolli, nostrilli, separatim, conjunctim, Magistrolli nostrilli, Theologaster, Theologastri, Liripipiani, Magistrolliter, Liripipia, qui tria habent Sacramenta Magistrollica, Birretum, Talarem, Liripipium, seu relipendum. . . . Sed recitemus ipsa, Lucianica prorsus in Scholasticos commata ex ludu Lutheri †† à Sorbona damnati, cujus proculdubio auctor Melanchthon, ut intelligas quam leves, futiles & scurriles fuerint Lutherus & Philippus; & quam ab omni gravitate Scholastica averfi. Decanus noster almæ Facultatis, inquit levissimus ille Ludio, est Sanctus Petrus in alma Facultate. Et ipse habet tria signa, quæ cogunt eum sic sentire, ut non possit errare; quæ sunt, Registrum, Sigillum, & Almutium. Unde patet quod valde arroganter, & frontose scripsit iste hæreticus contra almam Facultatem. Communia autem signa sunt hæc. Et fit sic . . . Signum autem eorum primum, & maximum, est Liripipium, seu, ut eruditi dicunt, Relipendum, quod est evidentissimum, & notissimum signum, per quod concluditur sic: Ipse habet Liripipium, ergo est Magister noster in fide illuminatus; ergo habet Spiritum Sanctum. Aliud signum est, quod sedent in superiore cathedra, quando disputant, & legunt. Per hoc signum arguitur sic: Christus dicit; Super Cathedram Moysi sederunt quæcunque dixerint, servate. Ergo quæcunque dixerint, sunt vera. Sed illi sedent in Cathedra, & docent sic; ergo, non possunt errare. Aliud signum est quod comprehendit multa. Et sunt insignia illa Doctoralia; annulus, pyrrhetum, liber, osculum, circitheca, & pyrrheta distributa in aula Doctorali: etiam candelæ ardentes; & super omnia; Te Deum Laudamus, quod in fine canitur. Ultimo egregium convivium Doctorale. Ultimum & fortissimum signum est intrinsecus Domini Decani in Sorbona, quando Bedelli cum sceptris præcedunt, & voce magna clamant: Transeat spectabilis, & eximius Magister noster, Dominus Decanus almæ Facultatis Theologicæ cum magistris nostris eximii. Transeat ille, transeat. Et hoc signum est valde bene masticandum; quia formaliter concludit; Magistros nostros non posse errare, &c. Pudet pigetque plura referre; adeo vana, profana, & Lucianica sunt, ut quidvis istos potius fuisse suspicer, quam Scholasticos: quos, ut magis Lutherus irrui exponeret, vocabula quædam ad eorum imitationem finxit, & scriptis suis, ut scurras suos oblectaret, inseruit. Cujusmodi sunt Dissolutio †† Catharinissima & Romanissima, Thomistitates, Italitates, magisteria nostrissima, magistralissima determinatio-nes, sivestralliter, Thomistraliter, Colonialiter, Lo- vanialiter, Catharinaliter, Latomalliter. Thomist- cissime, Thomastificissime, Henricissime (170). — The doctors in the universities, according to ancient custom, have certain marks and distinctions among themselves; they have also certain titles appropriated to them as marks of honour and respect. They are called our masters, and our excellent masters. They are distinguished into certain faculties, as into tribes which have their ways of speaking, their forms and particular words. Hence Luther took an occasion of scurrilously calling the Theologic faculty, fecultas from feces, dregs; and vacultas, from vacca, a cow, &c.

Francis Garasse has diverted himself with this facetious humour of Luther. 'This fat fellow, says he (171), writing against the sacred faculty of Divinity, in the second Tome of his works, supposes certain conclusions against the faculty, and then condemns them, as in the name of the whole university, impertinently playing upon a thing of consequence. The title of the tract is this. 'Apologia Philippi Melancthonis adversus furiosum decretum Theologastorum pro Luthero, &c. The three first conclusions are these: In Libro Joannis Majoris sunt PLAUSTR A nugarum. The second, Quondam fuerunt strenui Milesii. The third, Spectabilis Domine Decane vos estis iratus. To these three propositions he answers in the name of all the Divines of France. As to the first, which says, that in Major's books, there are cart-loads of fooleries. Hæc Propositio est stultè asserta, in eo quod intendit nugas plaustris vebi: cum nugas sint res spirituales, & Plaustra res corporales. Having formed this chimera out of his own brain, he combates it, to obtain a false triumph, like that of Caligula. To the second, which says, that the French Divines were formerly as brave, as the Milesians; but that they have degenerated; he makes our Divines answer, Hæc propositio est suspecta, quia scriptura est Græca: & Græci sunt heretici: Hoc est nostrum sentimentum. To the third, which says, venerable dean of the faculty, you are angry: he makes all the Divines answer. Hæc propositio est derisorio & scandalosa in eo quod dicit, vos estis irati, est enim incongrua sicut ego currit, & à nobis olim damnata: & in eo quod dicit Decane vos estis, intendendo quod sumus ex cane nati, est consumeliosa.'

†† Luther. cont. Cathar. Lat. Reg. Angl. Sylvest. & in lib. de Missa privata abrog.

(170) Gretser. Inaugurat. Doctor. pag. 38, & seq.

(171) Garasse, Doctr. curieuse, pag. 520, 521.

** Lut lib. de missa privata atrop. Tom. II, lat. Witcb.

†† Tom. II, lat. Witcb.

(m) See the remark [X], towards the end.

fured, but it was not unuseful at that time; and we know it has been said, that Erasmus, by his raileries, served for a fore-runner to Martin Luther (m). But if it be true, that Erasmus prepared the way, it is also true, that this way was more and more enlarged, and laid open by the wrong measures, that were taken with this reformer. Erasmus observed seven great faults in those measures [MM]. See the book of the Sieur Richard, prior of Beaulieu St Avoys (n), a Catholic author.

(n) *Intitule: Sentimens d'Erasmus, par, and printed in 1688. See page 248, &c. where you will find several things curious and solid.*

It is certain, that a grave and elaborate answer, would not have been so proper, as these burlesque pieces, to expose the universities of that time to the last contempt, with a great number of people. But it might be questioned, whether it became Luther and Melancthon, thus to divert and amuse themselves with jests and banter. They ought, you will say, to have been wholly taken up with the important affair they had undertaken; and if they had well weighed the great characters of their mission, they would not have had leisure for banter. They knew what persecutions their cause was exposed to in other countries: they ought therefore so to have laid it to heart, as to have no desire to make merry by humorous and burlesque compositions. I do not offer these as strong and weighty objections, and am persuaded, that they whose interest it is to find them weak, will easily answer them. For which reason I shall not stand to dispute about them. I shall only say, there are a great many persons who have not disapproved the reflexions, which they found at the end of a book of Mr Brueys.

(172) Brueys, *Defense du culte exterieur de l'Eglise Catholique*, pag. 340, & seq. Dutch Edit.

In truth, says he (172), I cannot believe, that the Protestants of this kingdom, who are truly pious, whatever esteem they have for Mr Jurieu's wit and learning, can approve that a minister, who has forsaken them, and fled into a foreign country, affects in all his works the character of an humourist and droller, whilst he daily hears at a distance, of the ruin and desolation of his party. Methinks if we consider the disposition which becomes a person of his character, the joy he expresses in all his writings, at his being out of the reach of the danger his sect is exposed to, is not very natural nor warrantable. It ill becomes him, in my opinion, to be merry in security, whilst those he has deserted groan under the just chastisements, which the church, as a good mother, mixes with the kindnesses and benefits she employs to bring them back into her bosom: in my opinion it is acting contrary to the gospel, to laugh with those who weep; and I think the works of this author, how fine and delicate soever in other respects, ought at least to have some taste of the bitterness of his soul if he were really more affected with the affliction of his brethren, than with the tranquillity which he himself enjoys. We may therefore say, that as the calumnies and reproaches with which this author's works are filled, may induce the Catholics to believe, that a man, whose thoughts are so remote from charity, cannot be a good Christian, though he spoke with the tongue of angels; so that ill-natured joy, which he manifests in his writings, those strokes of railery and ridicule, by which all the world im-

mediately discovers the productions of his pen, ought to persuade all the pretended Reformed, who have any judgment, that it is impossible for him, who so mis-times his railery, whatever zeal he expresses in their defence, to be a good Protestant.

[MM] Erasmus observed seven great faults in the measures taken against Luther.] I have mentioned the book, in which there is a large account of this matter; and it is a book that may be easily had at the Bookellers; so that I shall be very short on this head, and only shew in gross the capital point of each of these faults. The first consisted in their suffering a quarrel to arise about the gatherings among the mendicant Friars, and the *Thebes of indulgences*, to be discussed before the people in sermons (173). The second, in their opposing to Luther only some mendicant Friars, who were no more than declaimers and organs of slander (174). The third, that they did not impose silence on the preachers of both parties, and chuse out prudent, learned, and peaceable persons, who might have instructed the people, without any contention, and inclined them to peace and the love of the gospel (175).

(173) *Sentimens d'Erasmus*, pag. 251.

(174) *Ibid* pag. 258.

(175) *Ibid* pag. 274.

The fourth, that they would abate nothing on either side (176). The fifth, that cruelty was exercised against the Lutherans, at the instigation of some mendicant Friars (177). The sixth, that the bishops of Germany, who were MILITARY MEN for the MOST PART, did not do their duty (178).

(176) *Ibid* pag. 277.

(177) *Ibid* pag. 285.

The seventh, that they did not take care to appease the wrath of God by public prayers, and by a conversion, truly penitent and sincere (179). The catalogue of faults of the Romish party might, perhaps, be enlarged: but that we leave to the speculative, and content ourselves with saying, that most of these, specified by Erasmus, could not well be avoided, considering the posture of affairs the church was then in. Hence it may be concluded, that Luther's design was brought forth in a favourable juncture of time. The prudence of the court of Rome plaid its part well enough; but it could not prevent the marring the affair in several instances, by a defect in its instruments; and I am certain, numbers of Protestants are convinced, that their party maintained itself by the false measures of the opposite side, as much as by the goodness of its cause. On the other hand, a great many fancy, that there were several faults committed on the part of the reformation, and that these were incidents favourable to popery. Thus great quarrels are generally fed and fomented; each party makes false steps, which reciprocally serves to balance and support the other (180).

(179) *Ibid* pag. 293.

(180) See in the *Pensées sur les Comètes (Miscellaneous Thoughts on Comets)*, page 703, a fine passage from the *Memoirs of the duke de la Rochefoucault*.

LUTORIUS PRISCUS (CAIUS) a Roman knight, was punished with death, for an offence that can hardly be thought capital [A]. After having received a good reward of Tiberius, for a poem he had made upon the death of Germanicus, he was accused

[A] He was punished with death for an offence that can hardly be thought capital.] It is not easy to fix the species of this action. Some ingenious men (1) believe, that Lutorius's crime consisted in 'deceiving

(1) Amelot de la Houffaye, *Morale de Tacite*, de la Flaterie, n. 17, pag. m. 3^e, 31. He has changed his opinion in his version of the *Annals of Tacitus*.

(2) That is, say, the law in famous libellos.

(3) Theoph. Raynaudus, de malis & bonis libris, n. 113, pag. m. 72, 73.

Tiberius, by presenting him an elegy on the death of Germanicus, which had been made before for the death of Drusus, who had recovered from a distemper, which it was thought he would die of. Others believe, that he had made a satire upon Drusus. This is the opinion of Theophilus Raynaud: 'Ex ea item lege (2), says he (3), Lutorius Priscus apud Dionem, lib. 57. quod in Drusi ægrotantis mortem, famosum carmen scripsisset, mori iussus est Senatus decreto.' These two opinions I think are false, and should chuse rather to say, that Lutorius was accused of having had the audaciousness of accounting Tiberius's son as dead, and even composing verses upon it before the time. The author of the News from the Republic of Letters, from whom I borrow these words, im-

mediately adds (4): 'It is certain, a man exposes himself to the rigour of the law, who dares declare, on some occasions, the sinister judgment which people pass upon the sickness of kings. The Physician, du Val, was sent to the galleys, because there was found in his closet a paper, in which he had predicted, that Lewis XIII would die before the dog-days, in the year 1631.' This particular is found in certain memoirs of the duke of Orleans, which came out in the year 1685. The words of Manius Lepidus do not oppose the opinion I establish, so much as is imagined: for in an age of flattery no difficulty is made of advancing, that a Poet who instead of making vows, and confiding in the fortune of the republic, whilst the presumptive heir to the crown is sick, sings the death of that prince, and communicates to his friends the black and dismal ideas of so lamentable a state, not yet arrived; that such a Poet, I say, is possessed with an execrable thought, and possesses his heavens with

(4) For *Journal* 1636, pag. 655.

(a) Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. iii, cap. xlix, ad ann. 774.

(b) Corrupt de-
lator, objectans
agro Druso com-
positis, quod si
extinctus foret,
majore pecunia
vulgaretur.
Tacitus, *ibid.*

(c) Tacitus,
Annal. lib. iii,
cap. i.

It is a crime to
inquire the future
events of the life
of the prince.

(6) Jul. Paulus
V. Sentent. 21,
apud Fortinerm
in Tacit. *Annal.*
lib. ii.

(7) Fortinerm,
ibid. citing Am-
mian Marcellin.
lib. xxix.

(8) Libanius,
Orat. XII, apud
Harduinum Not.
in Themistium,
pag. 490.

† II Tom. Conc.
cap. iv, fol. 739.

m, cap.
fol. 74.

ii, Apolog.
y Part. I,
versio.

accused of having composed another, on the death of Drusus, while this prince was sick (a); and it was affirmed, that he kept this poem ready to be produced, with hopes of a greater recompence, in case Drusus should die (b). The prince's recovery should have obliged this Poet to suppress his work; but he could not deny himself the glory of it. He read it to some ladies; all of whom except one, durst not deny the fact (c). All his judges, except two, condemned him to death. Tiberius, who was then absent (d), practised his usual artifices [B], when he understood that the sentence was executed, and made some regulations for the time to come. Manius Lepidus, who voted only for his banishment, gave a very ingenious turn to his opinion [C]. We shall see how

(c) Ut delator
exstitit, ceteris
ad dicendum
testimonium ex-
territis, sola Vi-
tella nihil se au-
divisse adsevera-
vit. *Id. ibid.*

(d) Dion, lib.
lvii, pag. m.
707.

with the like. 'Si, patres conscripti, unum id specta-
mus quam nefaria voce Lutorius Pricus mentem
suum & aures hominum polluerit, neque carcer, ne-
que laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus in eum
suffecerint (5). — *Conscript Fathers, if we consider
only with how wicked a speech, Lutorius Pricus
has defiled his own soul, and the ears of all men; nei-
ther prison nor halter, nor indeed the punishments pecu-
liar to slaves are equal to his crime.*' These are the
words of Manius Lepidus. Let us therefore conclude
that the crime this Poet was accused of, was anticipa-
ting, in his poem, the death of Drusus, the empe-
ror's son. There was, doubtless, more imprudence
than crime in this action.

I deny not but the laws have treated those as guilty
of a capital crime, who consult the future events
of the prince's life: 'Capitale est de salute principis
vel de summa Reip. respondere aut consulere (6).
It is a capital crime to answer or to enquire of
the health of the prince, or of the fate of the go-
vernment.' I know several persons have suffered
death for such a curiosity. 'Valens imperator sub
uno prologo iussit occidi omnes qui de suo succes-
sore spiritus consuluerant, nec modo qui consule-
rant, sed omnes qui aliquid ea de re inaudierant,
nec ad se detulerant (7). — *The emperor Valens,
by a single warrant, ordered all to be put to death,
who had consulted spirits to know who should be his
successor, and not only such as consulted, but all who
had so much as heard any thing of the matter, and
had not informed him.*' The emperor Julianus Didius,
caused all those to be burnt, who consulted the divi-
ners upon the emperor's fortune (8). The canon
laws have excommunicated those who engage in in-
trigues about the succession in a prince's life-time.

This is what the learned John Beloi represented to the
leaguers in Henry the third's reign. 'By these means
they seem to conspire his death, which, in effect,
is revolting against nature, good manners, Christian
piety, and the love we owe to our king; for whom we
are constantly obliged to pray, to wish, and preface
well: so that to act upon the presumption of any
unluckily accident or misfortune to him, would be
against all laws, civil and natural; and therefore
good people cannot approve, that, against their king's
desire, and in his life-time, his succession should be
disputed, and called in question, which is a thing
not in being as long as it pleases God to continue
him in the world. Therefore, by a decree in the
fifth council of Toledo in Spain, which was held in
Honorius the first's time †, about the year 622, in
the reigns of Heraclius the emperor, and Chin-
tillus king of Spain, all those were excommunicat-
ed, who inquired, or presumed to be solicitous
and inquisitive, who should be their king, after him
who holds the scepter. "Therefore, says the text
because it is contrary to piety, and dangerous for
men to think of future things, of a forbidden na-
ture, and to inform themselves about the acci-
dents of princes, or to provide for the future,
with relation to them, so far as it is written,
"it is not for you to know the times or the seasons,
which God has reserved in his own power: we
ordain by this decree, that if there be any enqui-
rer about these things found, who, in the king's
life-time, looks upon another from a prospect of
his succeeding to the kingdom, or draws others
to him on that account, he shall be expelled the
society of Catholics by the sentence of excommunica-
tion †." The same decree was repeated in the
sixth council, held in the same city of Toledo; to
which is added a most pertinent reason, by which
the authors of these discourses are blamed, as aim-
ing at the knowledge of futurity, which God per-
haps will never suffer them to arrive at (9). I

have read in the French Mercury, a story I am go-
ing to relate: 'Noel Leon Morgard, an Almanack-
maker affirmed in his Almanack, for the
year 1614, that the state of France would change,
and reflected on the person of the king, and shewed
the time, the months, and places, in which he spoke
of several great princes, whom he denoted, only
transposing the letters of their names. This Almanack
being sold the first day of the year, there was an
extraordinary demand for it among the curious,
who said, it was a prophecy: and that which gave
vogue to it was, that Morgard, having said in the
first quarter of January, that a marshal should play
his son an unlucky trick, it happened, that a man,
in years, in the suburbs of St Germain, and who
had formerly been a soldier, killed his son, de-
signing to kill a woman he kept. The noise that
these new predictions caused among the people, com-
ing to the ears of their majesties, and the council,
Morgard was, on the eighth of January, carried to
the Bastille, by the archers of the grand provost. Nine
days after he was removed to the common goal; the
tenth of January, he was condemned by a decree of
the court, for nine years to the galleys; and the
ninth of February he was put in chains, to be car-
ried to Marseilles, where he tugs at the oar in the
king's service (10).'

Every one may have read several things of this na-
ture, but I venture to say, that this was not Luto-
rius's case. All the enquirers into futurity have no
other end but to raise conspiracies, or disturb the pub-
lic tranquillity; or, in general, they are ill-affected per-
sons as Tertullian observes. 'Cui enim opus persequi
super Cæsaris salute nisi a quo aliquid adveniret il-
lum cogitatur, vel optatur, aut post illam speratur
& sustinetur? non enim ea mente de caris consultiur
qua de dominis (11). Now what is there like this
in a Poet's impatience, who, during his prince's sick-
ness, prepares a copy of verses to produce them in case
the prince shall die? there was nothing in the conduct
of Lutorius, but a great deal of indiscretion and vanity.
He ought not to have read his poem: he should not
have entertained the ladies with it, to be entertained in
his turn by their commendations.

[B] Tiberius . . . made use of his usual artifices.] He
praised the zeal the senate had expressed in punishing
severely the least offence committed against the emperor,
but desired they would not be so hasty in punishing
them. He praised Lepidus, and did not blame Ag-
rippa. The latter was consul designed, and voted for
death, Lepidus only for banishment. It was resolved,
for the future, that the decrees of death should not be
executed till the tenth day after sentence. *Id. Tiberius
sollis sibi ambagibus apud senatum incusavit, cum ex-
tolleret pietatem, quamvis modicas principis injurias,
acriter ulciscendum; deprecaretur tam præcipientes ver-
borum pœnas: Laudaret Lepidum, neque Agrippam ar-
gueret. Igitur factum S. C. ne decreta patrum ante
diem decimum ad ærarium deferrentur; idque vitæ
spatium damnatis prorogaretur (12).* Some (13) attri-
bute all this to Tiberius's ambition; they pretend, that
he was displeased not that they had put Lutorius to
death, but that they had condemned him to death
without his advice. They add, that, to make himself
master of all sentences of this nature, even in his ab-
sence, he got a decree passed, that the execution should
be deferred.

[C] Manius Lepidus . . . gave a very ingenious turn
to his opinion.] I have already recited (14) the be-
ginning of his discourse; here is another piece of it.
Vita Lutorii in integro est, qui neque servatus in pe-
riculum Reipub. neque interfectus in exemplum ibit.
Studia illi ut plena vecordie, ita inania & fluxa sunt:
nec quidquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas, qui
suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor, non virorum ani-
mis

(10) Mercure
Francois, Tom.
III, pag. 394.

(11) Tertull.
apud Lipsum, in
Tacit. *Annal.*
lib. iii, pag. m.
140.

(12) Tacit.
Annal. lib. iii,
cap. li.

(13) Dion, lib.
lvii, pag. 707.

(14) In the re-
mark [A].
citat. (5).

how the advocate Arnould, who employed it in pleading against the Jesuits, was reflected on by Father Richeome [D]. Mr Moreri has committed some faults [E].

(15) Tacit. ubi
supra.

'mis, sed muliercularum adrept: cedat tamen urbe, & bonis amissis aqua & igni arceatur (15). — The life of Lutorius is still untouched: to save it, will no wife endanger the state; nor will the taking it away have any influence upon others. His studies, as they are full of wildness, are likewise empty and perishing: neither is ought important or terrible to be apprehended from one who thus betrays his own follies, and makes his court not to the minds of men, but the imaginations of women: let him however be expelled Rome, interdicted from fire and water, and his estate be forfeited.' There is nothing to be feared, said he, by suffering Lutorius to live; nor will the taking away his life be any great example. He is an idle fellow, who spends his time in trifles; all his ambition is to get into the women's good graces: we need not fear any serious enterprize, or any thing considerable from him.

(16) Plaidois
d'Arnould, pag.
m. 57.

[D] The advocate Arnould . . . was reflected on by Father Richeome. Arnould, pleading against the Jesuits in the year 1594, amongst other things has this (16); they say, 'that they came into France for our great advantage; experience has shewn, that they have caused our ruin. What need of any longer trial? Let them go and advantage our enemies the same way: there is to this purpose an excellent passage in Tacitus, Si, patres conscripti, unum id spectamus quam nefaria voce aures hominum polluerint, neque carcer, neque laqueus sufficient: est locus sententiae, per quam neque impune illis sit, & vos severitatis simul ac clementiae non poeniteat: aqua & igni arceantur. — If, conscript fathers, we do but consider how wickedly they have defiled the ears of men, neither dungeon nor halter can punish them sufficiently: but there is room for a sentence by which neither they shall escape unpunished, nor will you have cause to repent of your severity or indulgence, let them be forbid fire and water. There you have the Jesuit's sentence.' Some years after he employed the same thought in a tract called, *Le franc & véritable Discours* (17): 'Gentlemen, if ye consider the horrid wicked-

(17) See, above,
remark [C] of
the article AR-
NAULD (AR-
TONY) Advoca-
cate.

ness of these people, hanging will not be sufficient for them; but I know a means, by which you will never repent of, having been either too gentle, or too severe; banish them all.' Richeome answers (18), that these words are not so in Tacitus; and that therefore this discourser is 'a wonderful bold forger, writing to his prince . . . With these words then he condemns us, in mercy, to banishment . . . more cruel and deceitful, by half, than the Heathen who first spoke them. For in this place of Tacitus, Marcus Lepidus, a Roman general, advised the senate to clemency towards Lutorius a knight, convicted of many great crimes. Whereas this man metamorphoses his words into an exhortation to cruelty, to persuade the ruin of many innocent persons.' After this he gives a translation of the passage of Tacitus, cut off with an *& cetera*; and complains of Arnould's confidence in producing it egregiously disguised (19), and opposes the innocence of the Jesuits, to Lutorius's abominable crimes. He commits two faults at least; for his complaint of the pretended falsification of the passage of Tacitus is ill-grounded; and he ought not to have supposed, that Lutorius was actually a desperate criminal, guilty of abominable and numberless crimes. He should have regulated himself, not by the phrases of the senator Lepidus, but by the real nature of the fact. He might have found the quality of the offence in the very words of this senator, I mean in those he suppressed by his *Et cetera*.

[E] Mr Moreri has committed some faults. He has only consulted Dion, who has too much abridged the matter, not in the twenty seventh book, as Moreri affirms, but in the fifty seventh. Tacitus should have been consulted, whose narrative is larger and more exact. But Moreri's great fault lies in saying, that Lutorius was accused of having written a poem against Drusus. Would he have said this, if he had known, that this Poet was accused of designing to publish this poem, in case Drusus should die, and believing he should receive a greater reward for it, than for that he had made upon Germanicus's death.

(18) Richeome,
Plainte Apologé-
tique, n. 43, pag.
180.

(19) Id. ibid.
n. 43, pag. 181.

(a) This is one
of the seventeen
provinces of the
Low-Countries.

(b) His reign be-
gins from the
year 936.

(c) His reign be-
gins in 1346.

LUXEMBURG, the capital city of the province of that name (a), was only a castle in the time of the emperor Otho the Great (b). Gilbert, son to Ricuin of Ardenne, having obtained it of the abbot of St Maximin, enlarged it, and founded the county of Luxembourg, with the consent of Bruno, duke of Lorraine, brother to the emperor Otho the Great. This county was made a duchy, by the emperor Charles IV (c), for Venceslaus, his uncle (d). The town of Luxembourg is very strong. It is not true that it was never taken by the French, before the year 1684 [A]. Hither the miraculous image of our Lady of Consolation, patroness of the duchy of Luxembourg, and county of Cbini, was brought as to a place of security; but it was carried back to her chapel the twentieth of May 1685. The public has seen the advice that was given to the Jesuits about the procession, they made that day (e). They find many Roman antiquities in this province [B], which makes all the curious earnestly desire the publication

(d) Taken from
the *Itinerarium
per nemorosam
Gallia Belgica
partes of Abra-
ham Ortelius,
and John Vivia-
nus, pag. 36,
Edit. 1584.*

(e) See the Nou-
velles de la
Repub. des
Lettres, Oéob.
1685, Art. X.

[A] It is not true that it was never taken . . . before the year 1684. When the French besieged it in 1684, I heard several persons say, that it was then a virgin, a name vulgarly given to towns that were never taken. It was not hard to undeceive them; for we find in history, that the French took Luxembourg in 1542, and that being recovered by the emperor's arms, they retook it in 1543. They lost it the year following. Note, that they blocked it up in 1682; they bombarded it in 1683; and took it in 1684 (1). They restored it by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

(1) See the dates
of all this in Fa-
ther du Londel's
Fautes des Rois de
la Maison d'Or-
leans & de celle
de Bourbon.

[B] They find many foot-steps of Roman antiquities in this province. The inhabitants of the duchy of Luxembourg believe, that each planet had a particular place consecrated to it in this country; and that anciently in the town of Arlon there was an altar of the moon. Several images of the false gods have been found there, and several medals and inscriptions (2). Peter Ernest, count of Mansfeld, removed them to Luxembourg, to adorn a fountain he consecrated to the memory of his wife. He caused a magnificent house to be built near it. The inscription of this fountain will, perhaps, not be unacceptable here. It is a notable monument of conjugal affection (3). 'Porticus in

(2) Itinerar.
Abrah. Ortelii,
& Joh. Viviani,
pag. 32.

(3) Ibid. pag. 33,
34.

'primis amplas mirabamur, quas . . . se ad id desti-
'nasse dicebat ut in eis reponeret, quæcunque nancisci
'posset antiquitatis monumenta, quorum magnam jam
'habet copiam, ex diversis locis, & Arlunio in primis
' . . . petitam . . . Sunt autem maxima ex parte fi-
'mulacra deorum gentilium, & epitaphia, quæ in cre-
'pidine fontis illius pulcherrimi, ac claritudinis exi-
'miæ, quo dilectæ quondam conjugis Mariæ de
'Montmorenci memoriam sancte conservat, crebro ad
'Mariæ fontem, (sic eum nuncupavit) adventando sic
'sunt . . . disposita ut . . . Iplam prius inscriptio-
'nem, qua Illustriss. princeps fontem hunc suum de-
'coravit, audiamus.
'Quisquis hic accedis si te æstus sitisve urget. Hic
'æstum quietus vitato. Sitim pronus extingui. A-
'quam manu haurito. Os lavato. At pede ne turba-
'to. Nudo corpore ne polluito. Quiescentibus enim
'carissimæ uxoris manibus tranquillam undam sacra-
'vit. Mariæ de nomine Mariæ fontem nuncupavit.
'Æterni sui amoris testes latentes vasis sub rupe
'lymphæ erui. Vivo lapide cingi. Eternæque suæ
'justit.

P. E. C. M.

First

publication of Father Wiltheim's book (f).

* First we admired the noble porticoes which . . . he in-
* formed be designed for the reception of such monuments
* of antiquity as he could any where procure, of which
* he had already a large collection from many places,
* and especially from Arion . . . They consist, for the most
* part, of images of the Heathen deities, and of epi-
* taphs round the border of that beautiful fountain,
* which he carefully preserves in memory of his beloved
* wife, Mary of Montmorency, often going to Mary's
* fountain (so called by him) . . . But let us first hear
* the inscription with which this illustrious prince has a-
* dorned his fountain:
* Whoever thou art that comest hither to avoid the
* heat, or to quench thy thirst. Thou mayest be re-
* freshed here agreeably, undisturbed. Take up the
* water with thy hand. Wash thy mouth. Trouble

it not with thy feet. Nor pollute it with thy naked
* body. For he has consecrated these gentle waters to
* the peaceful manes of his most dear wife. And from
* her name Mary, called it Mary's fountain. He cauled
* these limpid streams, the latent witnesses of his eter-
* nal love, to rush from yonder rock. Enclosed them
* in native stone, and bid them for ever flow.

Peace be to the ashes of Mary.

This is taken from a relation dated at Antwerp, the
seventh of October 1575 (4). Mr Baudelot informs us
(5) that Mr de Ballonffaux, nephew to Father Wil-
theim, shewed him, in manuscript, the antiquities of
Luxemburg, written by this Father.

(f) See the re-
mark [B], at the
end.

(4) It was printed
by Plantin, in
1584. in 8vo,
the edition of
Leyden, which is
the third, was
printed in 1667,
in 12mo.

(5) In his Differ-
entiation on Ptole-
maeus Auletes.

LYCOPHRON, the son of Periander, king of Corinth, had a very odd de-
stiny. He was seventeen years old, when Melisa his mother was killed by Periander,
and had a brother (a) a year elder than he. Procles, their grandfather by the mother's
side, king of Epidaurus, invited them to his court, and, when he sent them back to
their father, he told them they ought not to forget who it was that killed their mother.
Lycophron was so struck at this saying, that being returned to Corinth, he took up a
stubborn resolution not to speak to his father, either to ask him, or to answer him a
question. Periander, enraged at his carriage, expelled him his house, and understanding
from his eldest son, what Procles had said to them, he forbade those, who had received
Lycophron into their houses, to entertain him any longer. The young man, being
forced to depart, found a reception elsewhere, for some days; but as soon as his lodgings
were known, orders were sent to his landlord to turn him out of doors; at last, a decree
was published, imposing a fine at discretion, to be paid to Apollo, on any who either
lodged, or vouchsafed to speak to him. This order was obeyed, and Lycophron lay
four days and four nights in the streets, without eating or drinking. Periander, touched
with compassion, went then to speak to him, and tenderly represented, how much better
it were for him to succeed to his riches and crown, than make himself miserable by a
mistaken repentment. All the answer he could get from him was, that he ought to pay
the fine, since he had spoken himself to his son. Periander, finding the disease incurable,
sent Lycophron away to Corfou, and there left him, without ever once thinking of him,
till he found old age coming on, and rendering him incapable of discharging his kingly
functions. The incapacity of his other son obliged him to send and offer Lycophron the
government. He slighted the proposition, and would not vouchsafe, so much as to
speak to the messenger. His sister was dispatched to him, and in vain represented all the
sweets of sovereign authority. At last a proposal was made, that he should come and
reign at Corinth, and his father would reign at Corfou. He accepted the condition; but
the inhabitants of Corfou flew him, to prevent a change, which they did not approve
of. This, in my opinion, is such an abridgment as ought to be made of Herodotus's
narrative (b) [A].

(a) Diog. Laërt.
in Vita Perian-
dri, calls him
Cypselus.

(b) Taken from
Herodot lib iii,
cap. 1, & seq.

[A] This is the abridgment I think ought to be made
of Herodotus's narrative. Diogenes Laërtius (1) has
mangled this narration. Mr Moreri, not content to
mutilate and falsify it, has perplexed it with an obscure

jargon. What he says of Lycophron's constantly re-
fusing to return to Corinth, is expressly contradicted by
Herodotus. Mr Hoffman is in the same error.

LYCOPHRON, a Greek Poet. You will find, in Moreri, what country he was
of, and when he lived. The poem, which we have of his is a very obscure piece [A];
but

[A] The poem, which we have of his, is a very ob-
scure piece. It is intitled *Alexandra*, and contains a
long train of predictions. The author supposes, that
Cassandra, daughter of Priam, is the oracle, which fore-
told all these things; but however, it is not she that
speaks, but a man, who gives a faithful account to
Priam of all Cassandra's prophecies (1). Dædion, O-
rus, and Theon, had written notes upon this poem,
which are lost (2). Tzetzes's commentary is still in
being. Amongst the modern critics, William Canter-
rus, and John Meursius have learnedly employed
themselves on Lycophron's *Alexandra*. Meursius's edi-
tion is accompanied with a Latin translation, composed
by Joseph Scaliger, and suited to the character of the
original, as being very difficult to be understood, and
thick set with barbarous terms.

The best edition of this Poet, is that which was
published at Oxford, in 1697, in folio. Mr Potter
who procured it, has done all that was proper to re-
commend it. He has corrected the Greek text; and
over against each verse of Lycophron, he has set down
William Canterus's Latin translation, which is in prose;

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under it the commentary of Isaac Tzetzes, with the
corrections and various readings. He has given Scal-
liger's version, which is in Iambic verse, by itself, and
then the notes of Canterus, the commentary of Men-
sius, and his own, which is very learned. To all this
are added several exact and commodious indexes. Mr
de Boissieu assures us (3) that his father, who was well
versed in several languages, and as famous for learning
as for arms, had written a commentary on Lycophron;
but he does not tell us, whether this work was ever
printed. For the rest, we must not forget, that Ber-
nard Bertrand, native of Riez, in Provence, is the
first, who translated this poem of Lycophron into
Latin. He translated likewise the commentary of
Tzetzes. Both these versions were printed together at
Basil in 1558. Canterus (4) has mentioned this work the word *Lyc-*
with a pretty deal of contempt. No notice is taken of
it in the abridgment of Gesner's Bibliotheca, printed
at Zurich in the year 1583. Lycophron is there spoken
of on the footing of an author, some of whose works,
in manuscript, are found in the library of Vienna (5);
and when Bernard Bertrand is spoken of, mention is
only

(3) Dionysius
Salvagnius,
Boissius, Not. ad
Ovidium in Ibin.
ver. 389, pag.
77. Edit. 1633,
in 4to.

(4) Canter. Pref.
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(5) Note, That
these words of
the Abridgment
of Gesner, at
Basil in 1558.
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(1) See Canterus,
Not. in Lycophr.
init.

(2) See Vossius,
de Poët. Græcis,
Pag. 64.

(a) Lives of the Greek Poets, pag. m. 13^o, & seq.

(6) See the abbot Faydit's preface to the *Telemaque*.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Utque cothurnatum perillie Lycophronis, narrat, Hæreat in fibris missa sagitta totis Mæyli thos, like Lycophron, in slain, And thy heart's blood the feather'd arrow slain. Ovid. in Ibin, ver. 533.

(9) Not in Ibin Ovidii, apud Boissieu, pag. 107.

(10) Comment. in Ibin, pag. 107. (11) Arnob. lib. vi, pag. m. 193.

but, in my opinion, he must have had not only a great deal of learning, but a great deal of wit, to compose such a book. You will find in Mr le Fevre (a), a great many learned and ingenious thoughts on the obscurities of it. I know not why he should say, that Suidas has preserved the names of twelve or thirteen tragedies written by Lycophron; for we find, in Suidas, the titles of twenty. This Poet was killed by an arrow; and Ovid is the only author, who informs us of this particular [B].

only made of his translation of Eustathius on *Dionysius Afer de Situ Orbis*, printed at Basil by Oporin, and his version of a book of Galen *de humoribus*, printed at Strasburg in 1558. I would have them print the interlineary glosses and Greek notes, which Mr Nicolle wrote with his own hand on the Greek text of Lycophron (6). It is a very excellent manuscript, as the abbot Faydit assures us (7), to whom Mr de Bessat, master of accounts, and nephew of the abbot de Bourzeis, lent it.

[B] He was killed by an arrow; Ovid is the only author who informs us of this particular (8). Valerius Andreas Desilelius (9) who pretends, that Theodoret mentions it, is mistaken, as the learned Mr de Boissieu observes (10). He shews, that Theodoret does not speak of Lycophron's death, nor even of the place of his sepulture. For instead of *Lycophrone*, it ought to be read *Leucophryne*; as appears by this passage of Arnobius (11): *Leucophryne monumentum in fa-*

no apud Magnesium Dianæ esse, Myndius proficetur ac memorat Zeno. — Zeno, the Myndian, records, that there is a monument of Leucophryne in the temple of Diana at Magnesia. These are Mr de Boissieu's words: *De obitu Lycophronis ne verbum quidem apud illum (Theodoretum) reperitur: deinde Theodoretii locus (12) ubi ex Zenone, Lycophronem in Dianæ Magnesiæ templo conditum effat refert, plane depravatus est; & pro Lycophrone, reponendum est Leucophryne, cuius monumentum erat apud Magnesium in Dianæ templo, ut ex eodem Zenone tradit Arnobius — There is not a word in Theodoret of the death of Lycophron: then the passage of Theodoret. . . in which he relates, out of Zeno, that Lycophron was buried in the temple of Diana of Magnesia is manifestly corrupted, and for Lycophrone, we must restore Leucophryne, whose monument was among the Magnesiums, in the temple of Diana, as Arnobius relates from the same Zeno.* I wonder Mr le Fevre has not mentioned this passage of Ovid.

LYCORIS. It is the name Virgil gives a famous courtesan, whom other authors call Cytheris. He speaks of her in his tenth Eclogue, in order to comfort a friend [A] of his in despair on her preferring Marc Antony before him. We have spoken at large elsewhere (a) of Marc Antony's fondness for Cytheris, but have not given the history of this woman fully enough. Let us say then, that she was a famous Comedian, whom Volumnius fell in love with, and made free [B]. This was the reason of her taking the name

(a) In the article FULVIA, remark [L].

(1) In Eclogam X. Virgilii.

(2) See Scaliger, in Eusebii Chron. m. 1990, pag. 167.

(3) Amorum suorum de Cytheride libris scriptis quatuor. Servius, ubi supra.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Cicero. Philipp. II, cap. xxiv. In the eleventh Letter of the tenth book to Atticus, he calls Cytheris that player, whom Marc Antony carried about with him. Plutarch, in Antonio, pag. 929, calls her Cytheris.

(6) Epist. xxvi. lib. ix, ad Famil.

[A] Virgil . . . speaks of her . . . to comfort a friend of his.] This friend, if we believe Servius (1), was the orator Caius Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio. But, as Servius adds, that this Gallus is the first, who was made governor of Egypt, the learned suspect his commentary; for it is manifest he has confounded the Poet Cornelius Gallus with the Orator Asinius Gallus (2). The first, who obtained of Augustus the government of Egypt, immediately after the conquest of this kingdom, was the Poet Cornelius Gallus. It is probably to him, that Virgil addresses his eclogue of Consolation, on the barbarous infidelities of the courtesan Cytheris. The person, to whom the Poet inscribes it, composed four books of poems upon his own amours (3). There are some fragments of them extant, if we believe the critics.

[B] She was a Comedian . . . whom Volumnius fell in love with, and made free.] Servius says, that Virgil's Lycoris was the courtesan Cytheris, whom Volumnius had made free: *Hic autem Gallus amavit Cytheridem meretricem libertam Volumnii* (4). He does not say she was a Comedian; but, that we learn elsewhere. We know that the courtesan Cytheris, Marc Antony's mistress caused herself to be called Volumnia. *Vehebatur in esedo Trib. plebis: lictores laureati antecedeabant, inter quos aperta læticia MIMA portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti obviam necessario prodeuntes, non vero illo & mimico nomine, sed VOLUMNIAM con-salutabant* (5) — *The tribune of the people was drawn in a chariot: laurelled Lictors went before, among whom an Actress was carried in an open litter, whom the honest burgesses of the several towns, being obliged to meet her, saluted, not by her true theatrical name, but by that of VOLUMNIA.* For what reason, if not because Volumnius had made her free? Now Marc Antony's Cytheris was a Comedian; and therefore she, that Servius speaks of, must have been too. The only thing to be proved, is, that Volumnius loved her. This proof I take from one of Cicero's epistles (6): *Accubueram hora nona . . . apud Volumnium Eutrapelum, & quidem supra me Atticus, infra Verrius . . . infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit.* In eo igitur, inquis, convivio Cicero ille quem adspicebant, cuius ob os Grajiorum obvertebant sua? nonne Hercule suspicatus sum ille iam affare: sed tamen ne Aristippus quidem ille

Socraticus eruhit cum esset obiectum habere cum Laide: habeo, inquit, non habeo a Laide — I sat down to table . . . at the house of Volumnium Eutrapelus, between Atticus and Verrius . . . below Eutrapelus sat Cytheris. You will say, it did not become me to be present at such a banquet: I protest I had no suspicion that she would be present: yet Aristippus, the Socratic, did not blush, when it was objected to him, that he had Lais: I have been, says he, but she has not me. It is plain, that Cytheris is here a courtesan, whom Volumnius entertained at bed and board. This epistle of Cicero is said to be written in the 703d year of Rome. He wrote another (7) to Volumnium the same year, but without saying a word of the courtesan. Father Abram, who imagines the contrary, had not well considered it: *ad hunc amorem, l. 7. ep. 32. alludit scribens, ad eundem Volumnium, Ut nihil sit tam dæmoniacum quod non alicui venustum esse videatur* (8). — *To this intrigue, book 7. ep. 32, he alludes, writing to the same Volumnium, nothing is so barren of wit, but it will please some body.* This entirely relates to an ill relish for jests. Cicero's meaning is, that there is no jest so flat or insipid but one or other is pleased with. For the rest, we do not learn which way Cytheris came to be turned over from Volumnium to Marc Antony, whether by gift, or thro' the natural inconstancy and ingratitude of the mistress. I should rather believe the first, it being certain that Volumnium was one of Marc Antony's good friends.

This appears from the following passage of Cicero (9): *Scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne si ad lars concerning Dolabellam solum scripsissem iracundus homo commoveretur: quod autem aditus ad eum difficillior esse dicitur, scripsi ad Eutrapelum, ut ei meas litteras redderet, legatione mihi opus esse.* — *I wrote to Antony concerning the lieutenantship left, if I had written only to Dolabella, the choleric gentleman might have resented it: but knowing that he was difficult of access, I wrote to Eutrapelus, to give him my letters, informing him that I stood in need of the lieutenantship.* This he wrote to Atticus a few months after the death of Julius Cæsar. It is the same Volumnium, if I mistake not, that Cicero means in the thirteenth Philippic, giving a list of Marc Antony's gaming companions (10): *Cornelius Nepos tells Philipp XIII, us, that Volumnium, Marc Antony's intimate friend, circa init.*

(12) Theodoret. lib. viii, de Graeco affectu curat.

(7) The thing feared of book vii, ad Famil.

(8) Abram, in Cicero, Orat. Tom. II, pag. 645.

(9) Epist. with lib. xv, ad Antio.

(10) Ad Att. Antonii colloquio & sodales Eutrapelum, Melan, Cællium, &c. — Add to these Antony's gaming companions, Eutrapelus, Mela, Cællius, &c.

name Volumnia, in her travels with Marc Antony through the towns of Italy. Marc Antony caused great honours to be paid her, carried her about in an open litter, and made his mother's equipage follow, as it were to make up the train of this courtesan (b). It was upon this occasion, that lions were yoked in Marc Antony's chariot (c). (b) See the article FULVIA, remark [2].

Another

had a considerable post in his army. 'Familiares ejus (M. Antonii) ex urbe profugientes quantum potuit texit (Atticus), quibus rebus indiguerunt adiuvit: P. vero Volumnio ea tribuit ut plura a parente proficisci non potuerint . . . (11). L. Julium Calpurnium . . . propter magnas ejus Africanas possessiones in proscriptionum numerum a P. Volumnio praefecto, fabrum Antonii, absentem relatum, exedivit (12). — Atticus gave shelter to Marc Antony's exiled friends, and supplied their wants: a father could not be more bountiful than he was to P. Volumnius. . . . He cleared L. Julius Calpurnius, Antony's craftsman, who, in his absence, had been put, by P. Volumnius, the prefect, in the number of the proscribed, on account of his large possessions in Africa.' This Volumnius's house was a sanctuary to Pomponius Atticus, during the rage of the triumviral proscriptions

it not more probable, that this Comedian was a man made free by Volumnius, and that, like Cytheris, he took the name of his master, to whom he owed his liberty? I determine nothing. I believe Plutarch might be mistaken, for the following reasons. Volumnius, according to all appearance, gave a full swing to his rallying and jocose humour, and had no more regard to decorum, or his own quality, than a professed Comedian. This was almost unavoidable in a man, who, like him, had a talent for witty sayings, and an intimate acquaintance with Marc Antony, the most liberal man in the world to those, who knew how to divert him, and to the Comedians in particular, with whom his house was always crowded. 'Agrim Campanum, qui cum de vestigalibus eximebatur ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnam Reip. vulnus putabamus: hunc tu compranforibus vis & collusoribus dividebas: mimos dico & mimas P. C. in agro Campano collocatos (22). — When your Campanian farm was

(22) Idem, Philipp. II, cap. xxxix.

(13). It is impossible, I think, to determine, whether our Volumnius is the same, who was killed in cold blood by Brutus's men (14). The grounds for doubting it are, I. that Plutarch calls him, who was killed by Brutus's party, a Comedian. *Ἦν δὲ τις βολεμνίου Μίμῳ καὶ Σακυλίων γελοιοποιῶν ἡλωότες, ὅς ἐν ἔδει λόγῳ τιθεμένη τῷ Βρούτῳ, προσάγοντες οἱ φίλοι κατηγοροῦν, ὡς ἐδὲ νῦν τῷ λέγειν καὶ σκώπτειν πρὸς ὕβριν αὐτῶν ἀπεχομένους.* Erat quidam Volumnius mimus & Sacculio Sannio capti. Hos Brutus quum contemneret, adductos ad eum accusaverunt amici ejus ne tunc quidem a dieteris & contumeliis in ipsos jaciendis temperare

(14). — One Volumnius, and Sacculio a buffoon, were taken: these Brutus despised; but his friends brought them before him, and accused them of not restraining even then from jesting upon them. II. That he joins him to a buffoon. And III. that he observes, that Brutus despised them both. This does not agree with the Volumnius mentioned by Cornelius Nepos. But, on the other hand, the drolling humour perfectly suits him; that itch of witticism, which Plutarch's Volumnius was so over-run with, that he could not forbear jesting even on those, who kept him in a prison. One of Cicero's Epistles, which I have before-cited (16), shews, that Volumnius Eutrapelus (17) was full of witty sayings. Cicero feared no man but him in this way, and recommends two things to him; one, that he would not suffer the silly quibbles, ridiculous puns, and pitiful rebus's, which went about in his name, during his absence from Rome, to be ascribed to him; the other, that he would assert the rights of polite conversation against the fatal encroachments of uncourtly buffoonry. Is not this representing Volumnius as a wit? 'Quibus in litteris omnia mihi pericula fuerunt, praeter illud, quod parum diligenter possessionum salutarum mearum a te procuratore defenditur. Ais enim, ut ego discessem, omnia omnium, dicta, in his etiam Sestiana, in me conferri. Quid? tu id pateris? nonne defendis? non resistis? equidem sperabam, it notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum, ut cognosci sua sponte possent (18). — In which letter, every thing pleased me, excepting that you neglect to defend the possession of my salt-pits. For you say, that, no sooner is my back turned, but every one's sayings, even Sestius's, are ascribed to me. What! do you suffer it? do you not defend me? do you make no resistance? I thought my words might easily be distinguished from those of others.' After these words, Cicero gives him a just standard of his own sayings, and desires Volumnius to vouch even upon oath (19), that whatever would not bear such a test never came from his mind. 'Urbanitatis possessionem, amabo, quibusvis interditiis defendamus: in qua te unum metuo, contemno ceteros (20). — I beseech you, let us defend, at any rate, the possession of politeness, in which I fear you alone, and despise others.' Here is another very great eulogy: 'Opus est hinc limatulo & polito tuo judicio, & illis interioribus litteris meis quibus saepe verecundorem me in loquendo facis (21). — There is need of your exact and polite judgment, and those middle parts of my letters, in which you often make me express my self more modestly.' Can a man of this merit and character be the Comedian mentioned by Plutarch? Is

(23) Idem, Philipp. II, cap. xxxix.

(24) Petrus Victorius, in the Cicero's Gracianus, Epist. ad Famil. Tom. I, pag. 434.

(25) Horat. Epist. xviii, lib. I, vers. 31.

Eutrapelus, cuicumque nocere volebat, Vestimenta dabat pretiosa: beatus enim jam Cum polchris tunicis sumet nova consilia & spes; Dormiet in lucem: scorto postponet honestum Officium: nummos alienos pascet: ad inum Thrax erit, aut olitoris aget mercede caballum (25).

Eutrapelus Bestow'd fine cloaths on those he meant to hurt, Thus reasoning, that the rich attire would give A different turn to the gay wearer's mind. He'll sleep till noon, drink, whore, and run in debt; Till, beggar'd quite, he's forc'd to earn his bread, And drive an herb-man's cart for wretched hire.

[C] Lions were yoked in Marc Antony's chariot.]

He was the first among the Romans who put them to this kind of service. 'Jugo subdidit eos primusque Romæ ad currum junxit M. Antonius, & quidem civili bello cum dimicatum esset in Pharsalicis campis, non sine quodam ostento temporum generosos spiritus jugum subire illo prodigio significante: nam quod ita vectus est cum Mima Cytheride supra monstra etiam illarum calamitatum fuit (26). — Antony was the first at Rome who yoked them to his chariot, and that during the civil war, and at the time of the battle of Pharsalia; which was looked upon as a kind of prodigy, importing, that generous spirits now submitted to the yoke; for that he was thus carried about with the Aëres; Cytheris was beyond all the prodigies of those calamitous times.' According to these words of Pliny, this fight had never been seen in Italy, till after the battle of Pharsalia: and yet Cicero seems to say the contrary in one of his epistles (27) to Atticus, before this famous battle; 'Tu Antonii

(26) Plinius, lib. viii, cap. xvi, pag. m. 161.

(27) The thirtieth of the tenth book.

(11) Corn. Nepos, in Vita Attici, cap. ix.

(12) Ibid. cap. xii.

(13) Ibid. cap. x.

(14) Plutarch in Bruto, pag. 100.

(15) Id. Ibid.

(16) The thirty second of the seventh book ad Famil.

(17) He was probably so called, because of his facetious humour. See the article ERASMUS, citat (23).

(18) Cicero, Epist. xxxii, lib. vii, ad Famil.

(19) Ut sacramento contendamus mea non esse. Ibid.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Cicero, ad Voluminium, Epist. xxviii, lib. vii, ad Famil.

Another author says no more, than that Cytheris's train was not inferior to that of her galant's mother [D]. He would have said something more probable, had he affirmed, that they, who expected favours from Marc Antony, made their court more submissively to his mistress, than his mother. Servius would have obliged us, if he had marked with more exactness, the time when this courtesan followed Marc Antony to the army [E]. I do not think she followed him into Asia after the battle of Philippi

'tonii leones pertimefas cave: nihil eft illo homine
'jucundus. — Never fear Antony's lions: he is the
'pleafanteft man alive.' He means, I think, that At-
ticus ought not to be afraid, becaufe Cæfar's lieutenant
had his chariot drawn by lions. He affirmed this
more clearly, if Victorius's conjecture be right. This
learned critic (28) will have it read *leonibus*, inftead of
leonebus, in the paffage of the fecond Philippic, which
I cite in the margin (29). His reasons are fpecious,
and I could eafily believe him in the right, with Fa-
ther Abram (30). In this cafe Plutarch (31) and Pliny
would not have been faithful Hiftorians; for it is cer-
tain that the words of the fecond Philippic relate to
Marc Antony's progrefs through the towns of Italy,
in honour of the Comedian Cytheris, whilft Cæfa-
r made war in Spain againſt Pompey's lieutenants, a
year before the battle of Pharfalia. At work, I ven-
ture to fay, without any regard to Cicero's words, that
Andrew Alciatus is guilty of a grofs falshood in
fuppofing Marc Antony did not harnefs a fet of
lions, till after he had put to death the father of elo-
quence.

Romanum postquam eloquium, Cicerone perempto
Perdiderat patriæ pestis acerba suæ,
Incendit curus victor, junxitque leones,
Compulsi & durum colla subire jugum;
Magnanimos cellissæ suis Antonius armis
Ambage hac cupiens significare duces (32).

That is,

(32) Alcīat.
Emblem XXIX.

After that this dire plague of his country, by killing Cicero, had given the last blow to the Roman eloquence, he mounted his car victorious, drawn by lions, whom he compelled to bear the yoke; thus emblematically signifying his victory over great commanders.

(33) It has been remarked by the Commentators on the Emblems, and by Father Abram, *ubi supra*, This falsity (33) is the more inexcusable, as the author has founded on it an elogy on Cicero, and some moral reflexions. [D] *Cytheris's train was not inferior to that of her gallant's mother.*] Plutarch's making the two equipages

(34) Philipp. II, cap. xxiv. (34). — *The mother came after, following the misdeeds of her debauched son, as if she had been her*

(35) In Antonio, us; and the following are Plutarch's (35): 'Ο δὲ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιπρὶν ἐν πορείᾳ περνεύοντο, καὶ τὸ φορτίον ἐκ ἐλάττης ἥ τὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς περιποιῶντες ἠκολούθουν. Hanc urbes peragrans circumdacebat lectica; lecticam ejus non minor comitatus quam matris ipsius sequebatur. — In his progressi through the towns, he carried this *lectica* with him in a litter, with an equipage not less than that of his mother. Neither he nor Cicero speak of Marc Antony's wife, which is a sign he was not then married. See the article FULVIA (36).

(36) In remark [L]. See the article FULVIA (36). [E] *The time when this courtesan followed Marc Antony to the army.* We know she followed him beyond the Alps.

Galle quid insanis? inquit: tua cura Lycoris
Perque nives alium, perque horrida castra secuta
est (37).

*Gallus, what frenzy this? thy care Lycoris
Follows another thro' rough camps and snows.*

TRAPP.

Nunc infans amor duri me Martis in armis
Tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostes.
Tu procul à patria (ne sit mihi credere) tantum,
Alpinas, ah dura, nives, & frigora Rheni

Me fine sola vides: ah te ne frigora lædant :
Ah tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas (38).

Now frantic love amidst thick darts and foes
Detains me in the rigid toil of arms;
While thou, (but can I yet believe it so?)
Far from thy native soil art wand'ring o'er
The Alpine snows, or near the frozen Rhine,
Ab cruel! not with me. Ah! bow I fear,
Left the sharp cold should pierce thee, or the ice
On the rough mountains tear thy tender feet!

Idem.

But did the follow Marc Antony, when he went to serve in Gaul (39) under Julius Cæsar, or when he retired thither, after he was beaten at Modena? I should chuse the latter opinion; otherwise Virgil applied a plaister to a very old wound; he comforted the man ten years after Lycoris had jilted him. Virgil's *Bucolics* were written after the death of Julius Cæsar; and consequently, if Lycoris had forsaken Gallus, to go into Gaul with Marc Antony, whilst Cæsar was making war there, Virgil must have exercised his muse on a superannuated intrigue of infidelity. But supposing the other part of the alternative, Gallus's wound must have been fresh, and Virgil's verses might come in a proper time. According to this last supposition, Marc Antony appears not to

(39) He went thither twenty-
1. after his return
from Egypt,
where he had
served, in 69,
under Gabinus;
2. after he had
been made
philopp. See
Cicero, *Quæst.*
II. cap. xii. xx.
He was quartered
in Gaul under
Cæsar, anno 70,
as we are informed
by Histius.

have been a man of his word. He had promised Fulvia, in the year 709, to part for ever with his dear Comedian (40). He quitted her probably for a time, and in that interval Gallus took possession of Cytheris. If he had not time for the writing his four books of verses, before the war of Modena had debauched her away, he employed the following years; for it is not necessary to suppose, that there were not a great many sharp reproaches of her peditiousness in such a number of verses. I have observed above, that the letter, in which Cicero excuses his being at an entertainment with Cytheris, is supposed to have been written in the year 703. This is an objection against those, who say, that Cytheris went into Gaul with Marc Antony, before the rupture between Cæsar and Pompey. See the marginal note. I confess, I see nothing to induce me to believe, that the date of this letter is rightly fixed. However, the opinion I follow has been established by Servius

(40) See the article FULVIA, remark [L] citat. (31.)

himself (41), though with less exactness than I could wish. Add these words to those in the margin (42).
 • Hic Gallus amavit Cytheridem meretricem liberatam
 • Volumnii, quæ, eo spretæ, euntem Antonium ad
 • Gallias est secuta: propter quod dolorem Galli nunc
 • videtur conolari Virgilius. Nec nos debet movere,
 • quod cum mutaverit partem quarti Georgicorum,
 • hanc Eclogam sic reliquit. Nam licet consoletur in
 • ea Gallum, tamen aliud intenuenti vituperatio est.
 • Nam & in Gallo impatiencia turpis amoris ostendi-
 • tur, & aperte hic Antonius capripur inimicus Augu-
 • stem, quem contra Romanum morem Cytheris est in callis
 • comitata. — This Gallus was in love with the
 • courtesan Cytheris, the freed woman of Volumnii,
 • who despising him, followed Antony in his expedition
 • into Gaul: on which account Virgil now seems to com-
 • fort Gallus in his grief: nor ought it to move us, that
 • when he changed part of the fourth Georgic, he left
 • this Eclogue as it is. For tho' in it he comforts Gal-
 • lus, yet whoever examines it more narrowly, will find
 • that he is blamed. For in Gallus is shown the im-
 • patience of unchaste love, and Antony, the enemy
 • of Augustus, is here plainly lauded, whom Cytheris,
 • contrary to the Roman custom, followed to the wars. Panfa.

We will end with this remark of the fame Commentator: there were three famous ladies of pleasure at the same time, Cytheris, Origo, and Arbuscula. The two latter are found in Horace's verses (43) under the notion of Comedians; they therefore all three were *ultimæ*, lib. i. Players.

[F] I do

Philippi [F]. When Ovid observes, that the name of Lycoris was famous from East to West (c), I do not doubt, but he had in view Gallus's verses on this courtesan. Cicero mentions a piece of railery, in which Fulvia perhaps was less concerned than Lycoris [G].

(c) Vesp. & Ecce novum Lycoris terram. . . . Ovid. lib. iii. var. 537, de Arte Amandi.

(44) The New Dialogues of the Dead, Part II, pag. m. 28.

(45) You will find the Latin lines in Martial, lib. vii. epigr. XXI. Consult also the article of the first GLAPHYRA, remark [C].

(46) Thus this author calls Cytheris.

[F] I do not think she followed him into Asia after the battle of Philippi. And yet an ingenious author is of this opinion (44). * Marc Antony was bewitched to the Comedian Cytheris (it is the answer he supposes * Fulvia gave Helena to the question, whether she instigated Marc Antony to make war with Augustus) and, to be revenged on him, I would fain have had Augustus fall in love with me, but Augustus was nice in his mistresses. He neither thought me young, nor handsome enough; and tho' I let him understand, that he was like to be involved in a civil war for want of some regard for me, yet I never could drag him to one act of complaisance. I will repeat you too, if you please, some verses (45) he made upon that evasion, and which are not the most to my honour. They are these.

Parce qu'Antoine est charmé de Glaphire (46)
Fulvie à ses beaux yeux me veut assujettir.
Antoine est infidèle. Hé bien donc? est-ce à dire
Que des fautes d'Antoine on me fera patir?
Qui? moi? que je serve Fulvie?
Suffit-il, qu'elle en ait envie?
A ce compte on verroit se retirer vers moi,
Mille épouses mal satisfaites.
Aime-moi, me dit-elle, ou combatons. Mais quoi?
Elle est bien laide! Allons, sonnez trompettes.

That is,

Because Antony is in love with Glaphyra, therefore Fulvia would fain captivate me. Antony's false: what then? Must I pay off Antony's scores? Must I be Fulvia's galeant, only because she desires it? At this rate every jealous wife will have recourse to me. Either love me, says she, or fight with me. She is very ugly; therefore found to arms.

Take notice that these verses relate to the year after the battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius fell. Augustus was then in Italy, and Marc Antony in Asia. We have seen, in the article of GLAPHYRA, that she was accounted a lady of pleasure, who had gained the affections of Marc Antony, and it does not appear that Cytheris was with him at that time. I believe then, the name in Augustus's Epigram is not disguised. It was not on account of Cytheris, but of Glaphyra, that Fulvia desired Augustus to revenge her. Besides, her menaces were not that she would, in case of refusal, excite Marc Antony to make war on Augustus, but that she would take up arms herself: and we have seen in her article, that she actually did so, and that, without the concurrence of her husband, she put all Italy in combustion; for which Marc Antony chid her severely the next time he saw her.

[G] Cicero mentions a piece of railery, in which Fulvia, perhaps, was less concerned than Lycoris. Marc Antony is upbraided, in the second Philippic, with a trick he served his wife. He rode into town by night, as a courier dispatched by Marc Antony; and gave Fulvia a letter, in which her husband said the tenderest things to her in the world (47). He had disguised his face, that he might not be known in presenting Fulvia the letter; but whilst she read it, he discovered himself, and threw himself on her neck. He was asked, why he would take such a method, which alarmed the whole city? He answered, He was come about an affair of his own. This gave occasion to a jest on him. Let us cite Cicero's words (48). * O hominem nequam! . . . Ergo ut te catamillum nec opinato com offensus, præter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti? Et domi quidem causam amoris habuit, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus prædes suos venderet. Productus in concionem à Trib. Pleb. cum respondisses, te rei tuæ causa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te reddidisti. — Infamous man! . . . Because your wife discovered your pederastic intentions, therefore have you disturbed the quiet of Rome, and of all Italy? At home, in-

deed, the pretence was love; abroad, a more scandalous one, lest L. Plancus should sell his farms. When you answered before the tribune of the people, that your affairs brought you to town, you gave the populace a handle to jest upon you. Manutius hath made a note upon this, which is more indeterminate than that of Valesius the younger. * Ex ambiguo sensu, says Manutius, illorum verborum, rei tuæ causa: quod refertur etiam ad concubitus potest. — The words rei tuæ causa are equivocal, and may signify lying with a woman. But see the other note: it is in the Valesiana (49).

Custodes, lectica, Cinifiones, Parasitæ,
Ad talos stola demissa, & circumdata palla
Plurima, quæ invident pure apparere tibi rem (50).

Id est cunnum. Quod noto primus, ut apud Cicero- nem Philippica II. . . . O hominem nequam! ergo ut te catamillum, &c. (51) cum respondisses te rei tuæ causa venisse populum in te dicacem etiam reddidisti. Scilicet populus lusi in nomine rei, & quod Antonius dixerat se rei suæ, id est rerum suarum causa in urbem venisse, populus, ut est dicax, eum cunni uxoris causa venisse dixit, & dicacitatis materiam invenit in eo verbo.

The envious litter, and surrounding guards,
The flowing robe, and garment girt, conspire
From your too prying eyes to bide thy affair.

i. e. the . . . which I first remark, as in Cicero, Philipp. II. . . . Infamous man! &c. when you answered, that your affairs brought you to town, you exposed yourself to the jests of the populace. That is, the people jested upon the word affair; and, Antony saying that his affairs brought him to town, the people, who love a jest, said that he came for his wife's affair. You will find what follows in the 71st page of the same book. * Probavi alibi ex Cicero in Philippica II. de Marco Antonio, qui rei suæ causâ se venisse dicebat, populumque his verbis dicacem reddidit; & ex Horatio, plurima quæ impediunt pure apparere tibi rem, & ex aliis rem aliquando cunnum significare. Sic Martialis:

Parce tuis igitur dare mascula nomina rebus.

Id est, pedici tuo & cunno, ô uxor (52). — I have proved elsewhere, out of Cicero, Philipp. II. concerning Marc Antony, who said he came upon his affairs, and gave the people opportunity for a jest; as also from Horace, who speaks of the many things, which bide the affair; and from other authors, that the word res, (affair or thing) signifies cun . . . Martialis uses it in the same sense. Valesius indirectly censures Scaliger, qui in Priapica ex Arnobii nescio quibus locis & ex versione carminum Orphei ait mentulam rem vocari. I do not think Scaliger is mistaken: the word res had doublets as extensive a signification among the Latins, as the word affaire among the French, or the word thing in English. Now it is certain, that the word affaire sometimes signifies the natural parts of either sex. This is so true, that even they, who know but little of the French tongue, are acquainted with this signification. I have heard some young Dutch gentlemen make a great many jests on the sermon of a Monk, who preached at Spa. His subject was the importance of salvation; he shewed them, that it was the grand affaire of man, the affaire, by way of excellence; and reckoning up all the ways of sin, he shewed, that they ruined their affaire: gentlemen and ladies, said he, take heed to yourselves, if you do this, or that, you will spoil your affair. The too frequent repetition of this term led several of his hearers into the gross and burlesque sense of the word affaire; so that it became the subject of jest for a long time. We read in the Chevræana (53), 'that a gentleman, coming to wait on a prince, to thank him for his kindness in recommending his interests to a lady of great virtue, expressed himself thus: That it was happy for him, that his biggness had got his affair

(49) At the 121st page of the Holland edition.

(50) Horat. Sat. II, lib. I, ver. 98.

(51) See, above, in citat. (48), what is wanting here.

(52) Valesiana, pag. 121.

(53) Chevræana, Part. I, pag. 57, Edit. Holland.

'to pass thro' the channel of Madam * * *'. The whole company burst out a laughing. I have another remark to make against Valefius. In Horace's verses, quoted by him, the word *res* ought to signify, in general, *merchandise*: the Poet does not confine himself to that part which Valefius names in Latin; but extends to all the rest, which the clothes cover. The preceding and following words manifest this sense. Here are those that follow.

Altera, nil obstat: Cois tibi poene videre est
Ut nudam: ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi:
Metiri possis oculo latus: an tibi mavis
Insidias fieri pretiumque avellier, ante
Quam MERCEM ostendi?

With Catia, 'tis not so: she stands confess'd
The filken garb permits the curious eye
To pry, and measure each minute defect.
You wou'd not, surely, buy a pig in poke,
And pay the price before you see the goods.

I believe then, that they, who gave Marc Antony's words such a malicious turn, had at least as much regard to Scaliger's sense, as to Valefius's: and as it is the nature of scandal to rub the sorest part, I do not doubt but it was meant by Marc Antony, with respect to his mistress the Comedian Cytheris, rather than his wife; for since he promises, in his letter, to part with his Comedian, it is a sign that the Roman people were still persuaded he saw her. Thus you have the whole commentary belonging to the text of this remark.

LYCURGUS, the legislator of Lacedæmon, lived I know not when. The diversity of opinions is too great and too perplexed upon this head (a), to fix upon any thing certain. He gave extraordinary proofs of his generosity, by the care he took to secure the crown to the person who had the rightful title to it, when he might have easily seized it himself, had he taken advantage of the occasions offered him (b). You will find this in Moreri's Dictionary, with several other facts, which I avoid repeating. I shall insist upon one thing, which this author has not touched. Lycurgus's regulations against luxury are most admirable. He wisely judged, that the way to prevent the degeneracy of the courage of the Lacedæmonians, was to keep them from pleasure; and that, to this end, he ought to banish from among them all thoughts of growing rich, and deprive them of all opportunities of it. His method of training up their children was very proper to make them good soldiers; but he carried it too far, since he would have the young girls perform the same exercises as the boys, and dance naked before them, ridiculing, or praising them, according as they acquitted themselves [A]. Note, that the boys danced naked before them. Was not this the way to make both sexes impudent? And is it any wonder after this, that Lacedæmonian girls had so bad a character [B]. I question whether he judged right in saying, that these practices would excite

(a) See Scaliger, Animadvers. in Eusebium, n. 1132, pag. 63.

(b) See Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus.

[A] He would have the young girls perform the same exercises as the boys, and dance naked before them. I shall cite Plutarch's words (1). 'He (2) looked upon the education of children as the greatest and most important affair of a legislator, and therefore made an early provision for it, by regulating what ever concerned marriages and births; for we must not believe what Aristotle says, that, having endeavoured to regulate, and reform the women, he gave it over, finding it impossible to restrain their unbridled licentiousness, and the too great ascendant they had got over their husbands, who, by reason of their frequent warlike expeditions, were obliged to leave them to their own conduct, and, to prevent their abusing this liberty, were forced to flatter them, and soothe them, by calling them their ladies and mistresses. On the contrary, he took all the care of them that was possible. In effect, whilst they were maids, he hardened their bodies, by exercising them at running, wrestling, pitching the coat, and darting the javelin, that the fruit they should afterwards conceive, finding a strong and vigorous body, might take stronger root in it, and that they themselves, made robust by these exercises, might, with greater ease, strength, and courage, undergo the pains of child-birth. To re-trench all kind of delicacy, and effeminacy, he accustomed them to appear stark-naked in public, and dance in that posture at solemn feasts, singing witty songs, in which they seasonably intermixed some sharp touches of raillery on those, who had done amiss, and praise to such as had acquitted themselves worthily. By this means, they fired the youth with the love of glory and virtue, and kindled in them a noble emulation. For he, whose brave actions were so much extolled, and who saw his name celebrated by these young ladies, returned proud of the praises he had received, whilst their scoffs and raileries touched the undeserving more sensibly, than the severest remonstrances and harshest corrections; the more, as all this passed in the presence of the whole body of the people, citizens, senate, and even the kings themselves.'

[B] Is it any wonder after this, that the Lacedæmonian maids had a bad character. They were called *bare-butts*, and furious for a male: slanders, which, by Plutarch's own confession, were founded on the too

great liberty Lycurgus allowed them. I speak thus of Plutarch, because he has made an apology for that great legislator on this head; 'H δὲ γυμναστικὴν λέγει, (3) (3) In Lycurgus, τῶν παρθένων ἰδὲν αἰσχρὸν εἶχεν αἰδῆς μὲν παρὰ τὴν φύσιν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἀπόψεως: ἀλλ' ἐθισμὸν ἀρετῆς καὶ ζῆλον εὐσεβίας ἐνέειχε, καὶ φρονίμους τὸ δὴ πάλιν παρὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀγνῶντας, ὥς μὲν δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας μέστωσαν οὖσαν. That is, And as to those ladies, who shewed themselves thus stark naked, there was nothing shameful in it, Sparta being the throne of modesty (4), and disputation not so much as known there. This did only accustom them to a simplicity of manners, gave them a wonderful emulation, who should have the strongest and robustest constitution of body, and at the same time raise their courage, by letting them understand, that they ought to participate in glory with the men, and aspire to the same principles of honour and virtue. Plutarch, forgetting this apology, thirty pages after, confesses, that Numa Pompilius acted much wiser, in restraining maids to the decency of their sex, and that the liberties Lycurgus allowed, exposed them to poetical satires. 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ μάλλον ἢ περὶ τὰς παρθένους φυλακὴν κατέσχευε τῇ Νουμῷ παρὰ τὸ δὴ πάλιν καὶ κόσμον. ἡ δὲ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ, παντάπασιν ἀναπεπλάμην καὶ δῆλον ἔσται, τοῖς ποινταῖς λόγον παρέσχον. Φαινομένης τε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀποκαλῶσιν, ὥς Ἰβυκῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαυεῖς λοιδόρουσιν, ὥς Εὐριπίδης. Præterea curam puellarum restrinxit ad pudorem muliebrem & severitatem Numa arctius: Lycurgi soluta proflus & fluxa in jocos incurrit poetarum. φαίνομένης enim vocant (5) Euripides, in eas, velut Ibius, quod incessu coxas reteregeant: & Andromacha, ἀνδρομαχῆς, quasi virolas & in viros infans ardentes amore, ut Euripides (5). The two verses of Euripides cited by Plutarch, do not sufficiently prove my assertion. I shall therefore set down that passage of this Poet at length, by which we shall see, that the appearing naked, and exercising promiscuously with the boys, was reckoned the true cause of the immodesty of the Lacedæmonian maids.

(6) Οὐδ' ἐν εἰ βέλονται τις.
Σάφρον γίνοντο Σπαρτιατῶν κληρῶν,
'Αἰ εὖν νοίσιν ἐξεργασαί (7) δόμους,
Γυνώσκει μύθοι καὶ ἀπλοῖς ἀμειβόμενοι,
Δρόμους παλαίστρας τ' ἐν ἀνασχέτοισι ἐμοῖς.

Korais

excite the young folks to marry [C]. The great desire he had to have strong bodied Spartans induced him to make some regulations about marriage, which deserve to be condemned

Κοινὰς ἔχουσ' ἅπαντα θαυμάζειν χρεὼν,
Εἰ μὴ γυναῖκας σώφρονας παιδεύετε.

- - - *Negue si velit aliqua,
Puella Spartana, possit esse casta:
Quæ relinquentes domos, cum juvenibus
Nudis femoribus, & tunicis laxatis,
Cursum, & palastras non tolerandas mihi,
Communes habent, deinde an mirari oportet,
Si non educatis mulieres castas.*

(8) Τὸ γὰρ ὄντι
τὰ παρθενικὰ
χρῆστος αἱ
παιδεύσεις ἢ
ἡσαν ἀνθρώπων
μὲν κατὰ τὸν
ἀνθρώπου
τοῦτο καὶ τὴν
ἐγγύμνητον ἔσαν
ὅτι τὰ βαδίζειν
τὴν μὲν καὶ
ἐκφύλαττα τὸ
ἡνέμενον εἰρη-
νικῶς Σοφοκλῆς
ἐν τούτοις. Καὶ
τὴν νεογνὸν
ἀσπὶ ἀσπὶ
χρῆστος θυρεὸν
αὐτῶν μὲν
πύσσεται
Ἑρμιόνα δὲ
καὶ θαυότερα
ἀγνοῦται γινέ-
σθαι καὶ πρὸς
αὐτὴν πρῶτον
ἀνδράσιν τοῦ
ἀνδρός. Sane
virginum tunicæ
imæ non habe-
bent pinas con-
sutas, sed expli-
cabantur, & to-
tum incesu ape-
riantur femur: id
quod clarissime
hæcæ verbiis
ostendit Sopho-
cles: Stola caret,
tunicam induens
Hermione Dila-
tidem regegit
femur juvenula.
Unde proceres
dicuntur fuisse,
& primum ad-
versus ipsos virles
viros. Plutarch.
in Parall.
Lycorgi & Numa
Pompili, pag. 77.

(9) M. M. . .
went into Breta-
ny with the mar-
chioness of La-
vardin to pay a
visit to Madame
de Sevigny. He
was in the mar-
chioness's coach,
and upon the
road, per un-
parier trippe cog-
lione, not to appea-
too infidel, used
several flattering
expressions to
her, and took her
hands to kiss
them. The
marchioness said
to him smiling,
Sir, you are pra-
ctising them for
Madame de
S. . . . ? Mena-
giana, pag. 378,
Dutch Edit.

(10) Plutarch. in
Apopth. Laco-
n. pag. 232.

(11) Epigr. iv,
lib. iv.

(12) Cum . . .
querelis uxorum
post tam longum
viduitatem revo-
carentur. Jussin.
lib. iii, cap. iv.

(13) Id. ibid.

The readers will not be displeased to find here the translation of this passage of Plutarch. 'The carriage of maids, who were married according to the ordinance of Numa, was stricter and more becoming the honour of the sex; that of Lycurgus, being too free and licentious, occasioned satires upon them, and scandalous nick-names. Ibycus calls them Phenomeridas, that is to say, bare buttocks; and Andromenes, that is to say, mad for man; and Euripides says also of them,

*In vain the Spartan virgin would be chaste:
With flowing robe, and naked limbs expos'd,
They mix with boys in exercise robust:
And is it strange a Spartan woman's lewd?*

And indeed the skirts of their petticoats were not tucked at bottom, so that, as they walked, they shewed their naked thighs; which Sophocles very plainly declares in these verses:

*You sing the masculine Hermione
Whose opening coats disclose her naked thighs.*

However, they say, they were daring, masculine, and stout, even to their husbands themselves in the first place (8). We need not wonder at Euripides's saying, that it was impossible for the women of Lacedæmon to be honest with such an education. Maids thus dressed, who went abroad with the young fellows, had their ears accustomed betimes to all kind of obscene language. Such conversation must needs have been a school of impudence; I leave you to judge, whether young fellows, who, left they should be thought stupid (9), imagine they must do more than custom permits, ever let their hands or tongues rest in the company of such maids. Besides that, they were allowed to discover their nakedness, only in order to get a husband; for when once they were married, they covered themselves decently. This we learn from Plutarch. Πυθαγομένη δὲ τινῶ διὰ τὸ τὰς μὲν κόρας ἀκαλύπτει, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐγκεκλυμέναις εἰς τεύχεα ἀγασσιν. Ὅτι (ἐγὼ) τὰς μὲν κόρας, ἀνδρας εὖρεῖν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, σῶζειν τὸς ἐχόντας. Quærenti cur Spartani virgines detestari, mulieres velatas in publicum emitterent? Quia, inquit, virginibus querendi sunt viri, mulieribus opera danda ad servent maritus (10). I pass over this touch of Martial,

Aut libidinosæ Lædææ Lacedæmonis palastras (11).

I have a stronger proof than the obloquy of the Poets. The Lacedæmonians being employed for ten years in a siege, and being called home by the complaints of their wives, who could not bear so long a widowhood (12), sent back to Lacedæmon the youngest of their soldiers, and gave them leave to lie indifferently with as many of their wives as they pleased. These youths were very well received; an evident sign, that the women of Lacedæmon had no virtue. The children, that sprung from these embraces, founded a colony at Tarantum. Not one of them knew who was his father. Itaque legunt juvenes ex eo genere militum, qui post jusjurandum in supplementum venerant, quibus Spartam remissis promiscuos omnium feminarum concubitus permiscere; maturiorem futuram conceptionem rati, si eam singule per plures viros experientur. Ex his nati, ob notam materni pudoris, Partheniæ vocati. Qui cum ad annos xxx pervenissent, metu inopie (nulli enim pater existerat, &c. (13). I do

not take notice here of the lascivious impudence these girls might have contracted, by seeing the boys naked, because I am to speak of it in the following remark.

A father of the church, amongst other enormities, reproaches the oracle of Apollo with it's praising the Lacedæmonian women; women, adds he, who satisfied nature with whatever man they liked. Οὐτῶ καὶ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαίνει γυναῖκας ἀδώς οἷς ἂν ἐθέλωσι μιγνυμένας. Hic idem & Lædæas mulieres laudat, licenter se cum quibuscumque viris commiscens (14).

[C] He pretended, that these practices would excite the young folks to marry.] We learn from Plutarch that Lycurgus prescribed this kind of education, and ordered the maids to appear naked, that they might excite love in the young men. Ἦν μὲν ἔν καὶ τὰτα παρρησιαστικὰ πρὸς γάμον. λέγω δὲ τὰς πομπὰς τῶν παρθένων. καὶ τὰς ἀποδύσεις, καὶ τὸς ἀγῶνας ἐν ὧσι τῶν νέων, ἀγομένων ἢ γυμναστικαῖς, ἀλλ' ἐρατικαῖς (ὡς οἰοῖν ὁ Πλάτων) ἀνάγκαις. Et quamquam hi quoque ad nuptias erant stimuli, pompas dico virginum vestium detractioem, certamina, quæ inspectantibus adolescentibus peragebant, non geometricis sed amatoris (ut ait Plato) coactibus (15). — It was moreover, says (15) Plutarch, he, an attractive to marriage; I speak of those dances in Lycorgo, pag. 48, and wrestling, in which the young maids, thus naked, exercised themselves before the young men, who were drawn, as Plato says, not by a geometrical necessity, but by one much stronger, and which proceeds from the force of love. Lycurgus considered perhaps, that the number of beautiful women, being generally very small, in comparison of those, who are otherwise; and they, who are not handsome, very often receiving from nature a notable recompence in the parts concealed, it was thought necessary to give the girls an opportunity of displaying all their charms. Probably he believed, they, who could not kindle love by a handsome face, might happen to discover charms elsewhere to touch the heart of some young man. See, in Athenæus, the good fortune of two country-women, who caused a temple to be built (16). On the other hand, the young fellows, who were clumsy, and against whom the maids let fly their scornful raileries, might, by the help of their nakedness, prevail, and subdue the heart of a lais, without the assistance of any higher star, by Juvenal's favour.

- - - fatum est & partibus illis
Quas sinus abscondit, nam si tibi sidera cessent,
Nil faciet, &c. (17).

*Even in the parts conceal'd a fate appears,
And nothing's to be done without the stars.*

Thus they found out a counterbalance to deformity, and ordered it so, that no one should escape the darts of love, or complain of being prejudiced in his market, by not having the liberty of seeing the commodity he was to buy. But was not this to introduce into common life, where modesty ought to reign, the pretended advantage of the fews, so much celebrated by Horace?

Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, aper-
tos
Inspiciunt: ne, si facies (ut sæpè) decora
Molli fulta pede est, emtorem inducat hiantem,
Quod pulchræ clones, breve quod caput, ardua
cervix.
Hoc illi rectè, ne corporis optima Lynceis
Contemplare oculis: Hypsè cæcior, illa,
Quæ mala sunt, spectes: ô crux, ô brachia, verum
Depygis, nascuta, brevi latere, ac pede longo est.
Matronæ præter faciem nil cernere possis,
Cætera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.
Si interdita petes, vallo circumdata (nam te
Hoc facit infanum) multæ tibi tùm officient res:
Custodes, lectica, Cinifiones, parasitæ,
Ad talos stola demissa, & circumdata palla,
Plurima;

(14) Theodor. de
Grec. affect.
Serm. X, pag.
630.

(15) Plutarch.
he, an attractive to marriage; I speak of those dances in Lycorgo, pag.
48, and wrestling, in which the young maids, thus naked,

(16) To Venus
with the lovely
buttocks Κα-
λαρυψ' Ἀφρο-
δίτην Ἀθην.
lib. xii, sub fin.
Coffar has related
this passage with
several altera-
tions, as we shall
show perhaps in
some article or
other.

(17) Juven. Sat.
IX, ver. 32.

condemned. He would have the husbands not approach their wives but by stealth, and rise from this table with an appetite [D]. Let that pass; but as for old men, who had young wives, he suffered them to impart them to handsome young men [E], and allowed the

(18) Horat. Sat.
11, lib. 1, ver.
85.

Plurima, quæ invadeant purè apparere tibi rem.
Altera, nil obstat: Cois tibi penè videre est
Ut nudam: ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi:
Metiri possis oculo latus; an tibi mavis
Insidias fieri, pretiumpue avellier ante,
Quàm mercem ostendi - - - - (18)?

Great men, who purchase couriers for the race,
View well each steed, lest, beauteous to the eye,
It prove at length a jade. The caution's good.
Dwell not on beauties with an eagle's eye,
And, blinder than a beetle, pass o'er faults:
What legs, and arms! True, but her shape's too
short;

Her nose, and foot, too long: a matron shows,
Nought but her face, the rest her dress conceals.
If parts forbidden you desire to view,

A thousand things obstruct the curious eye:
The envious litter, and surrounding guards,
The flowing robe, and garment girt forbid,
Too nice inspection of the modest fair.
With Catia 'tis not so: she stands confessed;
The silken robe permits the curious eye
To scan and measure each minute defect.
You wou'd not, surely, buy a pig in poke,
And pay the price, before you see the goods.

Was it not begetting in these girls the impudence of the eye, which is worse than that of the ear? It was a means, say they, of blunting the edge of a curiosity, which is very keen. But this pretended reason has not hindered civilized nations from infilling into the sex a horror for nudities even in a picture; and here is a legislator of Lacedæmon, who permits young girls to view nudities in the original. He should be sent to the school of the Romans.

(19) Juvenal,
Sat. XIV, ver.
44.

Nil dictu scdum visuque hæc limina tangat,
Intra quæ puer est (19). - - - -

For hence be objects and ev'n words obscene,
Where youth resides - - - -

The curiosity I speak of has been delicately touched by Mr de la Bruyere: 'Every one knows that long bank, which bounds and shuts in the channel of the Seine, on that side where it enters Paris along with the Marne, which it has but newly received. Men bathe themselves here during the dog-days: people see them, at a good distance, throw themselves into the water, and see them come out again; it is an amusement; before this season's come, the women of the city never walk out that way; and when it is past, they quit that walk (20).' Dionysius Halicarnassensis praises the Romans for having constantly made the champions wear girdles: ancient Greece did the same: he proves it from some passages of Homer, and says, that the Lacedæmonians were the first, who abolished this wife custom; and he names the Lacedæmonian, who first appeared naked at the Olympic games, in the fifteenth Olympiad (21). It is a remark, which leaves a blot upon that nation. We must add, that the wrestlers appearing naked was doubtless the cause of making laws which condemned all the women, who had the curiosity or confidence to be spectators at the Olympic games, to be thrown headlong from the top of a rock (22).

[D] He would have husbands not approach their wives, but by stealth, and that they should rise from this table with an appetite. Thus Plutarch speaks. 'When they had a mind to marry, their courtship was a sort of rape upon the persons whom they had a fancy for, and those they chose were neither too little nor too young, but in the flower of their age, and full ripe for a husband: after this, she, who managed the wedding, came and shaved close the hair of

'the bride, dressed her up compleatly in man's clothes' and laid her upon a matress; this done, in came the bridegroom, in his every day cloaths, sober and composed, as having supped at his ordinary, and stole in as privately as he could into the room where the bride lay, untied her virgin zone, and took her into his embraces; and so having stayed some time together, he returned as secretly as he could to his apartment with the rest of his comrades, with whom he spent all the day and good part of the night too, unless he stole a short visit to his bride, and that with a great deal of circumspection and fear of being discovered; nor was she wanting (as may be supposed) on her part, to use her woman's wit in watching the most favourable opportunities for their meeting and making appointments, when company was most out of the way. In this manner they lived a long time inasmuch that they frequently had children by their wives, before ever they saw their faces by day-light. Their interview being thus difficult and rare, served not only for a continual exercise of their temperance, and furthered very much the ends and intention of marriage; but besides, these short absences kept their passion still alive, which flages, and decays, and dies at last by too easy access and long continuance with the beloved object; they always parted with regret, contriving when they should come together again, and thought minutes hours till the next meeting (23). Modern authors have descanted upon this order and here is what Lewis Guyon says of it (24). 'Lycurgus the legislator of Lacedæmon, willing and desiring that the married couple should receive a perfect and lasting pleasure and satisfaction in marriage, and beget robust children, forbade the husband and wife to lie together; but, if they met by day in some secret place, then to embrace; for a short pleasure, and a little at a time, is best relished; by this means the married pair are kept in heart, and even rendered more brisk and gay: whereas their lying constantly together makes the wife slighted, and other women desired, and which is commonly seen, makes the woman desirous of another man: so that intermitting their matrimonial conversation served to reinvigorate their love. And for this cause, the boys and girls, begot in these marriages, were strong and lusty; whereas they, who abuse the the female commerce, often beget maimed or weak children (25). In the mean time, he ordered, that children who disobeyed their fathers and mothers, should be put into a sack, and cast into the sea (26).'

[E] As for old men, who had young wives, he suffered them to impart them to handsome young men. Plutarch continues his narration thus (27). 'Having thus set modesty as a sentinel over the marriage-bed, he next bethought himself of a remedy for that wild and womanish passion, jealousy: and this he thought the best expedient; to allow men the freedom of imparting the use of their wives to those, whom they should think fit, that so they might have children by them; and this he would needs make a very commendable piece of liberality, and laughed at those, who think the violation of their bed such an insupportable affront, that they revenge it by murders often, and sometimes by cruel wars. Lycurgus thought a man not to be blamed, who, being advanced in years, and having a young wife, should recommend some virtuous handsome young man, that she might have a child by him, who might inherit the good qualities of such a father; and this child the good man loved as tenderly as if he had been of his own begetting: on the other side, an honest man, who had a love for a married woman upon the account of her modesty, and the well favouredness of her children, might, without formality, beg of her husband a night's lodging, that he might have a slip of so goodly a tree, which he might transplant into his own garden. And indeed, Lycurgus was persuaded, that children were not so much the property of their parents, as of the whole commonwealth. And therefore he would not have them begot by first comers, but by

(23) Plutarch,
in Lycurgus.

(24) Lewis
Guyon, Diverses
Leçons, Tom.
III, pag. 551.

(25) Compare
what Juvenal
says above, at
the article HER-
LICUS, remark
[H], citat. (24)
and (25).

(26) I do not re-
member I have
ever read this
law of Lycurgus.

(27) Plutarch,
libid.

(20) La Bruyere,
Caractères ou
Mœurs de ce
Siècle, pag. 268
269, eighth Edit.
of Paris, 1694.

(21) Dionys. Ha-
licarn. lib. vii,
cap. lxvii.

(22) Pausan. lib.
v, cap. vi.

(c) See the article
DEJOTA-
RUS, remark
[F].

(d) See the remarks of Mr Dacier, on the Life of Lycurgus, which he has translated from the Greek of Plutarch.

‘abovementioned for its maintenance; but if they found it deformed, and of an ill complexion, they ordered it to be cast into a deep cavern in the earth, near the mountain Taygetus, as thinking it neither for the good of the child itself, nor for the public interest, that it should be brought up, since nature had denied it the means of happiness in its own particular, by not giving it health nor strength sufficient to make it serviceable to the public: upon the same account the women did not bathe the new-born children with water, as is the custom in all other countries, but with wine, to prove the temper and complexion of their bodies; for they had a conceit, that weakly children would fall into fits, or immediately faint, upon their being thus bathed: on the contrary, those who were of a strong and vigorous habit, would acquire a greater degree of firmness by it, and get a temper in proportion, like steel in the quenching [32].’

[G] *He did not allow maids to marry too young.*] Let us hear Plutarch. 'Now the time which both (33) ordained, either in relation to virgins or married women, were answerable to the manner of their education: for Lycurgus esteeming the procreation of children to be the principal end of marriage, would fix no set term of age, when men or women should be esteemed capable of giving their consents to each other in marriage; for he thought that nature, being the principle guide in that matter, should not be restrained with violence, which produces hatred and fear; but rather being gently indulged, when youth, and love, and kindness, move, the coition might be more satisfactory, and consequently the children be come more robust, strong, and healthful (34). But the Romans, designing, in the first place, to deliver the bodies of their daughters pure and undefiled into the embraces and possession of the husband, made it lawful for fathers to marry their daughters at twelve years of age, or under: which first way of Lycurgus seems more agreeable to the desires of nature, which only respects the procreation of children; but the other is better adapted to make a conjugal life comfortable, and calculated for the rules of moral living.'

The distinction Plutarch here makes between the two legislators does not seem just, nor obliging to the sex. This author discovers in Lycurgus's laws a physical, and in those of Numa a moral good. Is not this insinuating that, after the age of twelve, a man has reason to suspect in his consort the want of purity both in mind and in body (35)? Is not this a satire on the fair sex? He should have given all the advantage to the laws of Lacedæmon; for those of the Romans were, on one hand, very apt to spoil morality, and, on the other, prejudicial to the strength of the children, and the lives of the mothers. Aristotle gives upon this topic some well argued precepts. He would not (36) have maids marry till eighteen, nor men till thirty seven. He observes, that the inhabitants of all the towns, where marriages are contracted too early, are infirm and small of stature, and that immature marriages make the child-bed the death-bed of several women. He mentions ' a famous oracular answer ' given to the Trezenians, the meaning whereof was, ' that they died because they eat their fruits too green, ' and which was interpreted, as if the oracle had said, ' that they died because they married too young, and ' not because they gathered their fruits before they were ' ripe (37). Aristotle observes, that children, who are not much younger than those who gave them being, have but little respect for them, from whence arise innumerable domestic jars. This is one moral inconvenience: he touches on another of the same class, which concerns chastity. Ἡτις δὲ καὶ πρὸς σωφροσύνην συμφορὰ τὰς ἐκδοτοῦς παρῆσθαι πισυροτέρες. ἀκολούθῳι γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖσι νέαι

11 M χρηστέμεναι

(32) Plut. in
Lycurgo, p. 49.
Mr Dacier, in
his remarks on
this place,
produces a pas-
sage from the
eighth book of
Aristotle's *Peli-
tics*, in which
this detestable
law of Lycurgus
is approved.

(33) *That is, Lycurgus and Numa.*

(74) Τοῦ μὲν
Λυκούργου πα-
τερὸς καὶ ἐρ-
γῶν αὐτοῦ
οὗτος, ὅπως
ἦτο ἐκείναι δει-
κνύμενος ἡδὴ τῆς
φύσεως, ἡμέ-
ρας ἡ καὶ Φι-
λιάς ἀρχὴν καλ-
λον ἢ μίσητον
καὶ φοβόν παρὰ
φύσιν βιαζομέ-
νον καὶ τα
σοικατά ῥωμαί-
ων πρὸς τὸ
τὰς κινήσεις ἀ-
ναφερόμενος
τὰς ὁδούς,
ὡς ἐπ' εὐδὲν
ἄλλο γαμουμέ-
νων ἢ τὸ τῆς
τεκνοσεως ἐρ-
γον

Lycurgus maturas
et viri appetentes
elocac, quo ea
confecitio impel-
lente jam natu-
ra, benevolen-
tiae et amoris po-
tius quam odii
et timoris contra
naturam coacra-
rum esset ingres-
sio, corporaque
firmiora essent ad
uterum sefen-
dum atque eni-
tendum, velut
ad nihil aliud
nubenter, quam
ad pariendum.
Plutarch.
Numa, p. 77. C.

(171) Οὕτω γὰρ
 ἂν μάλιστα καὶ
 τὸ σῶμα, καὶ
 τὸ ἦθος καθα-
 ρὸν καὶ ἀδικτόν
 ἐπὶ τῇ γαμῶν-
 τι γενέσθαι.
 Ita potissimum
 corpus et mores
 puros illibatosque
 in matrimonium viri
 censentes per-
 venturos. *Plat.*
ibid.

(36) Aristotel.
lib. 7. de Repub-
lica, c. 16.

(37) See *Dacier*,
Remarks on
Numa, p. 411.

(28) See the *New Letters against Maimbourg's Calvinism*, pag. 557, and the following.

(29) Remarques
sur la Vie de Ly-
curgue, pag. 289

(30) In Parall.
Lycurgi &
Numæ, pag. 76

(31) In the article HOR-
TENSIIUS,
citation (52).

The banishing jealousy from a married state is doubtless delivering it from a great plague; yet Lycurgus was much to blame in healing it by a remedy worse than the disease. It is at bottom but a physical evil, which has its uses in the world (28); for it contributes more than is imagined to the preservation of modesty, and the preventing infinite scandals, whereas lewdness and adultery are moral evils. Now, according to good morality, a physical evil ought never to be remedied by a crime. Mr Dacier (29) justly blames Lycurgus for sacrificing all sort of honour and decorum to chimerical notions of the public utility, as if what was shameful could ever be useful. It may even be said, that this great legislator banished all sort of good breeding, by permitting the women to grow impudent; for it is certain, if the fair sex preserved not the modesty and honour, which is kept up in civilized nations, mankind would universally sink into a filthy and brutal lewdness.

For thereof, Plutarch pretends, that Numa Pompilius in some measure imitated Lycurgus. ' By the community of women and children, *says he* (30), they both designed to banish from marriage all kind of jealousy; but they did not pursue the same methods. ' For the Roman husband, who had children enough and desired no more, gave his wife to him that had none, and who desired her of him; and he was at liberty, either to leave her with this second husband or take her again. Whereas the Lacedæmonian, when any one desired his wife to have children by her, lent her without quitting her, and his marriage still continued undissolved; and very often, as we have said, if he saw a handsome man, from whom he might expect a good and generous race, he intreated him to get him children, and conducted him to his wife. *Mr Dacier's marginal note deserves to be set down.* This is true of Lycurgus, *says he*, but it no where appears, that Numa had the same design; and it were easy to prove, that this community of women began not at Rome, under Numa, but much later, and that it was not general.' To be satisfied of this, we need no other witness than Plutarch himself. See the discourse he puts into Hortensius's mouth. I have mentioned it elsewhere (31). Bodin, whom I have confuted, is ignorant of what Plutarch imputes to Numa; if he had known it, his criticisms would not have so much deserved to be criticised. It is difficult for an author, who has written so many books as Plutarch, not to contradict himself frequently.

[F] Children, who did not promise . . . to be . . . robust, Lycurgus would have them made away with.] "Nor was it in the power of the father to dispose of the child as he thought fit, but he was obliged to bring it before the examiners, who were some of the gravest men of the tribe to which the child belonged: their business was carefully to view the infant, and, if they found it lusty and well-favoured, they gave order for it's education, and allotted it one of the nine thousand shares of land

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to judge, that his remarks are judicious, and are not very different from the motives, which induced the Greeks not to let their women be present at assemblies, where the conversation

χρησάμεναι ταῖς συνουσίαις. Præterea vero & ad temperantiam adjuvat elocare paulo ætate grandiores, videntur enim esse intemperantiores ac libidinosiores eæ quæ valde puellæ rebus veneris usæ sunt. —

Befides, it conduces to temperance to marry a girl at a little more advanced age; for those, who are accustomed to venery very young, are found to be more intemperate and lustful. It is the Physicians business to reason upon these words: but without going so far, and departing out of the road of conversation, every body may affirm, that an immature marriage does not suffer modesty to take root deep enough. The respect we have for the sex, and the care we take, not to use too free discourses before them, is not half so great towards those, who, either have, or have had an husband. We look upon them as initiated persons, from whom the mysteries are not to be concealed; so that the maids, who are married very young, have not time to use themselves to a grave exterior, which has greater influence than is imagined upon the interior. The Romans were so persuaded of the ill effects of loose discourses, that they would not suffer the young maids (38) to be present at feasts (39). They supposed their ears were stopped against obscenity, till little boys came and unstopped them on their wedding-day. *Pueri obsecant; verbis novæ nuptæ aures returant* (40). Horace's advice ought to be a law every where, as well as in Lacedæmon. It is this.

(38) Virgo de convivio abdicatur ideo quod majores nostri virginis sceleris aures veneris vocabulis imbuti noluissent. Varro in *Agathon*, apud Nonium Marcellum, voce scelerum, p. m. 247.

(39) Compare what St Cyprian says hereupon, article GUARINI, citat. (17).

(40) Varro ibid. apud eundem, voce *returare*, p. m. 167.

(41) Horat. Od. V. lib. ii.

Nondum subacta ferre jugum valet
Cervice; nondum munia comparis
Æquare, nec tauri ruentis
In venerem tolerare pondus.
----- Tolle cupidinem
Immitis uvæ: jam tibi lividos
Distinguet autumnus racemos
Purpureo variis colore (41).

*Not yet her tender neck can bear
The yoke's too pressing weight;
Not yet she can support the steer,
Or meet in lust her mate.*

*The grape's unripe; restrain this haste,
And moderate desire;
Soon autumn will exalt it's taste,
And raise it's juices higher.*

Reasons of state oblige princes to dispense with this law: witness the conduct of Charles V towards Margaret, his natural daughter. 'She was but ten years of age when he promised her to Alexander de Medicis, in order to draw off Pope Clement VII from the interest of France; and the marriage was consummated before she was twelve (42).' By the way, I shall add, that this emperor did violence to nature in a quite contrary manner in Margaret's second marriage. 'The young widow was not re-married for a long time, because Charles, who had gained his point by her first marriage, sought a new advantage by her second. She desired in vain to be given to Cosmo de Medicis Alexander's successor, who sought her the more importunately, because thereby he would neither have dowry to pay, nor portion to restore. The match was agreeable: but Charles pretended to purchase by his daughter's second marriage the friendship of Pope Paul III, as he had by the first that of Clement VII. And he bestowed her on Octavian Farnese, who was but twelve years of age, which gave occasion to a Poet of Anjou * to make one of the finest epigrams, which has been seen in this last century (43).' There needs no great change in the epigram of the Menagiana, to make us believe it the same that Mr Varillas meant. 'I know not whole the following epigram is; but it is very elegant, and the subject finely treated.

Impubes nupti valido, nunc firmior annis,
Ex succo & molli sum facta viro.

Ille fatigavit teneram, hic ætate valentem
Intactam tota nocte jacere finit.

Dum licuit, nolui; nunc dum volo non licet uti.

O Hymen! aut annos, aut mihi redde virum (44).

*Strong was my husband, in my tender years;
Now, older grown, my bed a fumbler shares.
The first fatigued my tender frame too much;
This lets me sleep all night, nor cares to touch.
I might, when I could not; I may not, now I can;
Hymen! or give me years, or give me man.*

Mr Menage might have read in Sammarthanus (45), that James Bouju, president in the parliament of Bretagne, and native of Chateaufort in Anjou, is author of this epigram; but he ought to have corrected the *fatigata* in the second verse, and put it *sciata*, and have read in the fifth verse, *dum nollem, licuit*. Mr Varillas is mistaken in saying du Bois was the author. A like epigram was made in French (46). This is not my only supplement to the remark [G] of this article, in the second edition. Here is another somewhat larger and which refers to the observation I have made upon the ill effects of free discourse.

Muretus observes, that the ancient Greeks very prudently forbade women to be present at feasts: for the men being used to talk more freely there, it was hard for them to forbear now and then a smutty jest. They must therefore have offended the chaste ears of the sex, or, by being more reserved, have lost a great part of the mirth that belongs to such entertainments. For these reasons they introduced this custom. If any woman appeared at a public feast, she was reckoned thorough-paced, and declared thereby, that she was not only content to hear whatever was said, but also to suffer what they pleased. 'Neque ulla in virorum symposiis accubebat mulier, nisi quæ quidvis non audire modo, verum etiam perpeti posset (47).' Muretus cites two or three passages. He alleges the answer Thais makes in Terence to the spark, who desired that young Pamphila might be at the feast (48). He alleges what Cicero relates of Rubrius's impudence, for whom Verres had procured a lodging at Philodamus's, a burgher of Lampacus, for a lewd design. The burgher, one of the chief men of the place, would never suffer his daughter to come into the feast room, as Rubrius desired. 'Posteaquam satis celerè res Rubrio visa est: Quæso, inquit, Philodame, cur ad nos filiam tuam non intro vocari jubes? homo, qui & summa gravitate, & jam id ætatis, & parens esset, obstupuit hominis improbi dicto; inflare Rubrius; tum ille, ut aliquid responderet, negavit moris esse Græcorum, ut in convivio virorum accumberent mulieres (49). — As the guests grew warm, says Rubrius, prithee, Philodamus, why do you not order your daughter to be called in? Philodamus, who was a grave, elderly, man, and a father, was surprised at Rubrius's unreasonable request: Rubrius persisted; then the other, by way of answer, said, that it was not the custom of the Greeks to admit women to their banquets.' You see Philodamus alleges for his reason it's being contrary to the Grecian custom. Some learned men believe that this was an invented excuse. But Muretus opposes the testimony of a great Orator (50), and he might have confirmed it by the words of Cornelius Nepos, which are to be found above (51), and by those in the tenth chapter of the sixth book of Virtruvius. He might have urged, that, even at the court of Macedon, the princesses were not admitted to the feasts given to strangers, and that the complaisance shewn to the king of Persia's ambassadors had consequences, which proved that the refusal of their request had been more prudent; for when at their entreaty the ladies were introduced, they took such liberties, as it was necessary to put a stop to with the sword's point. 'Legati benigne excepti, inter epulas ebrietate crescente, rogant Amyntam, ut apparatus epularum adjiciat jus familiaritatis, adhibitis in convivium suis ac filii uxoris, id apud Persas haberi pignus ac fœdus hospitii. Quæ ut venerunt, petulantius Persas eas contrectantibus, filius Amyntæ Alexander rogat patrem, respectu ætatis ac gravitatis suæ abire convivio, pollicitus se hospitum temperatum jocos, &c (52).'

(44) Suite du Menagiana, page 197. Edit. of Holland.

(45) Sammarthanus, Elog. l. 3. p. 102. Edit. 1696: he calls him Bouju.

(46) You will find it in the remark [E] of the article LOYER.

(47) Muretus, Variar. Lect. lib. vii. c. ii. p. m. 990.

(48) Terent. Eunuch. Act. 4. Sc. 1.

(49) Cicero in Verrem, lib. ii. cap. xxvi.

(50) Called liæus.

(51) Article HIPPARCHIA, citation (6).

(52) Justin. lib. vii. c. iii. p. m. 172, 173.

(42) Varillas, Hist. de François I, livr. xlii, pag. m. 387.

* Du Bois.

(43) Id. ib.

conversation was too free. I have something to observe against the author of old and new Lacedæmon [H]. He is too much a gentleman to be disturbed at it.

— The ambassadors being kindly received, and at a banquet growing warm with wine, desire Amyntas to send for his own, and his son's wives to grace the entertainment, and plead, that, among the Persians, it was looked on as a pledge of hospitality. When they were introduced, the Persians began to be too free with them; whereupon Alexander, the son of Amyntas, desired his father, in respect to his age and dignity, to leave the banquet, promising to restrain the mirth of his guests. Lastly, Muretus observes, that the Romans contented themselves with forbidding maids the liberty of going to feasts. I have in another place (53) observed with what severity they prohibited women the use of wine; but, in Seneca's time, that custom was lost: their manners were so corrupted, that they got drunk as much as the men. 'Non mutata fœminarum natura, says he (54), sed vita est. Nam cum virorum licentiam æquaverint, corporum quoque virilium vitia æquaverunt. Non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, & oleo & mero viros provocant: æque invitis ingesta viceribus per os reddunt, & vinum omne vomitu remittuntur: æque nivem roduunt, solatium stomachi æstuantis. — The nature of women is not changed, but their way of life. For, by taking the same liberties as men, they have equalled their vices. They sit up as late, drink as much, and challenge the men in luxury: they get drunk and spew, they swallow snow to cool their stomachs, no less than the men.' The change is as great in France, if we may believe travellers. They had no laws prohibiting women the use of wine; and yet, in the days of our fathers, they drank hardly any thing but water; but we are told that, for some time past, they indulge themselves with the best wines and strongest liquors, and it is to be feared they will fall by degrees, or even all at once, into the excesses of the Flemish girls (55). Read these words.

'Who would have thought that the women . . . would have added tobacco, and brandy to so many other vices they have gloried in for above thirty years past? They carry as yet but runlets of brandy at their side; who knows but that in time they will carry barrels?' This is what a Physician of Paris (56) has published in a book printed in 1606 (57). If Ovid, the easiest of Casuists, be the director these tipplers have made choice of, they ought, at least, to keep within the bounds he has prescribed; he would indeed have women drink, but not to excess. He discourages them by the threats of a punishment, which must be worse than a bare disgrace, otherwise the persons, he speaks to, would not have regarded the evil denounced as very terrible.

Aprius est, decaatque magis potare puellas,
Cum Veneris puero non male, Bacche, facis.
Hoc quoque, qua patiens caput est; animusque pedesque,
Consent: nec, quæ sint singula, bina vide.
Turpe jacens mulier multo mædæfacta Lyæo:
Digna est concubitus quoslibet illa pati.
Nec fomnis positâ tutum succumbere mensâ:
Per somnos fieri multa pudenda solent (58).

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Per somnos fieri multa pudenda solent (58).

To drink her glass the fair one may be free:
Bacchus and Cytherea's son agree.
Yet let the nymph this caution take along:
To bear the liquor, let her head be strong;
Lest mounting fumes her giddy brain surprize,
And double objects to her swimming eyes.
A drunken woman is a monstrous thing,
Prepar'd to meet whatever chance may bring,
Her womanhood in public to disgrace.
And suffer every leacher's foul embrace.
Nor let her, when the banquet's ta'en away,
Retire to sleeps for slumbers oft betray
TV' unbinking fair, to acts that shame the day.

I have lost sight of my subject, but I shall come up with it again by the help of a citation, proving what I have said concerning the diminution of respect to married woman. The chevalier d'Her . . . writing to one of his kinswomen, who made a scruple of marry-

ing clandestinely, expatiates upon the advantages she may find in the condition of a wife, whilst she passes for a maid. 'You will be, Madam de la F . . . says he (59), and you will be called Mademoiselle d'Her . . . you will still be free of the charming tribe of maiden ladies, who will seem to be all like you, and perhaps really are. You may pretend not to understand some things, which indiscreet people may say, and you will be allowed to blush at them. whereas if your marriage be once declared, you must assume an air somewhat less innocent, and more knowing; in fine, you will have a right to give yourself all the little affected airs of a meek maid; and can any thing be prettier? for naturally modestly loves these little affectations; and why not? since it is believed the commonly owes her all to them. You may practise them upon Monsieur de la F . . . himself; you will be a demi-virgin even to him; and as long as you do not bear his name, you will have a right to be somewhat more coy, and more reserved in your carriage to him.' Note, that he rallies her thus (60), because she would have 'the banns thrice openly and audibly published, the contract made in form, and a wedding afterwards, where all the relations might come, and talk over their fooleries (61).

[H] I have something to observe against the author of Old and New Lacedæmon.] I have only three things to object to him.

In the first place I could wish he had not attempted to apologize for the nakedness of the Lacedæmonian maids. Mr Dacier had a much better taste: he openly declared against that custom; he saw, that Lycurgus had sacrificed the laws of decency, and the impressions of modesty, to a false notion of politics.

In the second place, I do not think the apology founded on good reasons. This I am now to examine Mr Guillet's words are these (62): 'The Spartan maids danced stark-naked in public; and few people are persuaded, that this was a modest sight. Yet I cannot but think, that the Lacedæmonians had their reasons for it, and that the thing, being very common, made no dangerous or sinful impressions on their minds. There grows a familiarity betwixt the eye and the object, which disposes to insensibility, and expels the soul desires of imagination. The emotion proceeds only from the novelty of the thing. A perpetual custom cloy the eye more than it tempts; and if you consider the integrity of that nation's morals, you will acknowledge the truth of this sentence; *The maids of Sparta were not naked; the public honesty was a covering to them.* I shall not say, that, generally speaking, their excuse would be any excuse among us: but in short, there are several countries in North America at this time, where the women always appear in the dress of these Spartan dancers, and yet our travellers affirm, that they are absolutely exempt from crime. But, tho' I should be ten whole years in pleading the cause of the maids of Sparta; I foresee I should never give you a good opinion of their modesty. You will rather believe the biting satires of the Athenians, and even of Aristotle himself, who, as much a Macedonian as he was, had lived too long at Athens, to be untainted with that general hate, which reigned there against the Spartans. Observe what he has said of the Lacedæmonians in the second book of his Politics. When Lycurgus undertook to introduce constancy and patience into Sparta, it is evident, that, as to the men, he did succeed; but he was more remiss as to the women; for they lived there in a general softness and dissoluteness. He adds, that Lycurgus vainly attempted to reform them; in which he is contradicted by Plutarch. What we are told of this familiarity between the eye and the object, which disposes to insensibility, is good and solid, generally speaking, and is one of Balzac's reflexions against the famous sonnet of Job.

The Author of the sonnet (63) was charged with contradicting himself (64); and thus they endeavoured to convict him: 'He is afraid his lady will not be moved by an object worthy of compassion, and immediately after, desires she would accustom herself to see this object. Consequently he desires what he fears. The custom of seeing, tending to cure his lady of all emotion, it is plain, he desires what he has declared he should be sorry were the case.

(59) Lettres du Chevalier d'Her . . . Part 2. Lettr. 42. pag. 215. Edit. of Holland.

(60) Id. ib. pag. 213.

(61) Compare citation (17) of the article GUARINI.

(62) Lacedæmonie ancienne & nouvelle, p. 167. Edit. of Holl.

(63) Benfraid.

(64) In these words, Il craint Que vous n'en fûtes pas emue Accoutumes vous à la vue D'un homme qui souffre & se plaint.

Let him, if he pleases, reconcile this, and remember this old maxim, with which the universities ring: *Ab assuetis non fit passio*. The soul receiving the emotion only by the inlet of the eyes, when once these are hardened, all surprize ceases. When the eyes have once contracted an acquaintance and familiarity with the strangest objects, these, how terrible so ever at first, grow tractable by degrees, and, entering the soul as friends, raise no longer any disturbance, nor cause the least emotion. The custom of seeing monsters, makes them cease to be such to the eyes which are used to them. Even the sight of spectres and furies, armed with their torches and serpents, would lose its force and horror, in our imaginations, by a long acquaintance with them. By a stronger reason, &c. (65). But as solid as this doctrine may be, I question whether it can be applied in our case, since the maids of Lacedæmon appeared naked only on certain solemn days; and, at other times, wore a habit, which only shewed their thighs. This was a sure way of irritating concupiscence, and not disposing to insensibility by a perpetual custom. Besides, there is a great difference betwixt Lycurgus and those savage nations. There have ever gone naked; but Lycurgus introduced the custom into a town, where it had not been known before, and whilst all the neighbouring nations observed the rules of decency. He cannot therefore be excused. Lastly, the virtue of the Americans, if what travellers say be true, is no justification of this legislator; for the event has shewn, that Lacedæmon was not a place where such novelties could innocently be introduced. In vain is Aristotle's testimony attempted to be invalidated. Nothing is more grave and rational, than the book, in which this Philosopher speaks so ill of the Lacedæmonian women. "Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ τὴν ψαλιν ὁ νομοθέτης εἶναι βυλόμενος κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀνδρας φανερός ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξημέλεικε. ὥστε γὰρ ἀκολάτως πρὸς ἅπαν ἀκολασίαν, καὶ τυφροῦς. Nam cum totam civitatem lator legum vellet ad tolerandos & perferendos labores esse fortem ac robustam, in viris quidem peripicue quod volebat affectus est: in mulieribus vero negligentem se præbuit. Vivunt enim intemperanter & luxuriose, ad omne scilicet intemperantiz genus solutæ atque effusæ (66).—For the lawgiver being willing the whole people should be strong, and enured to toil, gained his point with the men, but took no care of the women; for they live intemperately and luxuriously. The spirit of partiality does not appear in this work; so that, instead of saying, that the flanders of Poets made an impression on this Philosopher, we must on the contrary say, that his authority justifies their reproaches. For the rest, it is not true, that Plutarch hath contradicted Aristotle in the matter in question. It is plain, if we consider it, that this Philosopher spoke only of a custom among the Lacedæmonian wives of governing their husbands. Lycurgus would reform this abuse, and retrench their empire; but seeing no likelihood of success, he desisted from his enterprise, but however made several regulations relating to the sex, which qualified them for producing strong children. Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας παρὶ μὲν ἀγῶν ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι τὸν Λυκῆργον ἐπὶ τὰς νόμους αἰσὶ δ' ἀνέκρουον, ἀποσπῆλαι πάλιν. Fæminas autem ajunt Lycurgum sub legum jugum adducere conatum, cum illæ reclamarent, & contra niterentur, ab incæpto desistisse (67). It is on account of these regulations, that Plutarch has contradicted Aristotle; but he is fallen into the fallacy, which they call *ignoratio elenchi*; he knew not the point in question. 'Lycurgus, says he, (68), at first regulated all that related to marriage and births; for we must not believe, what Aristotle says, that having attempted to regulate and reform the women, he gave it over, not being able to put a stop to their unbridled licentiousness, and the too great authority they had usurped over their husbands.' It is plain, that Plutarch reasons ill; a legislator, who gives over the attempt of bringing the wives into subjection to their husbands, does not thereby abandon all care relating to the education of maids, to their marriages, &c. and yet Plutarch here, to shew that Aristotle had no reason to say, that Lycurgus renounced the design of restraining the power of the women, alleges the regulations of Lycurgus, which tended only to the provoking of the men to marriage, and begetting lusty children. Thousands of such fallacies might be found in Plutarch, if we took the pains to trace them. He mentions, in the following page, an answer, which manifestly supposes the truth of this fact,

that the Lacedæmonian husbands were governed by their wives. A sign that Lycurgus did not reform this abuse: Note, that Aristotle acknowledges, in the same place, that Lycurgus made laws relating to the multiplying of children. Βυλόμενος γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης αἰσὶ πλείους εἶναι τὰς Σπαρτιάδας, προαγγέλλει τὰς πολίτας ὅτι πλείους ποιεῖσθαι παῖδας. Nam cum vellet lator legis quamplurimos esse Spartiatis, invitavit atque allexit civeis ad quamplurimos liberos procreandos (69).—For the lawgiver, willing to multiply the Spartans, invited, and inticed the citizens to get children.

My third remark concerns these words of Mr Guillet. 'I venture not, says he (70), to describe the habits of the maids of ancient Lacedæmon. Sophocles will acquaint you with it, if you observe how he has described that of Hermione, in a fragment cited by Plutarch; it was so short, that the Poet Ibycus, laughing at them, called them Phenomerides.' It is certain, I. That we do not find, in this fragment of Sophocles, the description of an habit; for this Poet only says, that Hermione's petticoat was slit from her hips downwards, and shewed her thighs. II. Ibycus's calling the Lacedæmonian maids Phenomerides, was not from their wearing a very short habit, but from their habits being slit on each side, and shewing their thighs. Plutarch most clearly gives us this reason of Ibycus's raillery (71). I wonder Cragius could commit the following fault. 'Eæ (mulieres) institutæ veteri vestis supra genua decurtatas deferabant. Unde φαινόμενίδες dictæ sunt ab Ibyco Poëtâ, ut testatur Plutarchus, tanquam quæ femora nuda ostenderint (72).—These women, following the old custom, wore short garments, that reached no lower than their knees. Whence they are called naked thighs by Ibycus the Poet, as Plutarch witnesses.' Can a habit which reaches only to the knees, leave the thighs naked? Do not the breeches, which men have worn for so many ages, prove the contrary in all the variations the fashion passes through? III. It is not true, generally speaking, that the Lacedæmonian habit was short. The authority of Clemens Alexandrinus is ill alleged. Cragius has not taken it by the right handle. Οὐδὲ γὰρ, says this Father (73) ὑπὲρ γόνυ καθάπερ τὰς Λακωνίαν παρὰ παρθενης ἐσολίσθαι καλόν. οὐδὲν γὰρ μὲρ ὅστιν ἀπογυμνῶσθαι γυναῖκας εὐπρεπές. That is, it is not becoming to wear such garments as reach only to the knees, as is said of those of the Lacedæmonian maids; for decency suffers not a woman to shew any part of her body naked. First, we see, Clemens Alexandrinus does not pretend that the Lacedæmonian habit exposed the thighs; he only blames them for shewing their feet and legs. Cragius ought to have stopped there. I add, that all the necessary truths may be preserved to this passage, without supposing, that Clemens Alexandrinus pretended, that the Lacedæmonian maids went always thus habited; it suffices that they were in this dress, when they went a hunting, or to wrestle, or performed any other exercise. Now this does not prove, that their habit was very short, but only that they tucked it up above the knee, that they might not be incommoded by it. This must necessarily be supposed, unless we accuse Virgil of gross ignorance; for he has given the maids of Lacedæmon a long and flowing habit, but tied up above the knee, when they hunted:

Cui mater media sese tulit obvia filva
Virginis os habitumque gerens, & virginis arma
SPARTANÆ

Namque humeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum
Venatrix, dederatque comam diffundere ventis
NUDA GENU, NODOQUE SINUS
COLLECTA PLUENTES (74).

Whom in the wood's recess his mother meets,
A Spartan virgin's mien, and dress, and arms,
Dissembling.
For (buntings-like) she on her shoulders hung
A light, commodious, bow, and gave the winds
To wanton in her tresses; bare her knee,
And in a knot her flowing folds confin'd.

TRAPP.

The description, Pollux has left us of the habit of the Spartan maids, leaves no room to doubt, that it was long.

(65) Balzar, at the end of his *Christian Sacra-*tes, p. m. 142.

(66) Aristoteles, lib. ii de Republ. cap. ix, p. m. 246.

(67) Id. Ib. pag. 247.

(68) Plutarch. in Lycurgo, pag. 47.

(69) Aristot. ubi supra, pag. 247, G.

(70) Ubi supra, p. 172.

(71) See, above, the words of Plutarch, remark [B], citation (8).

(72) Cragius de Republ. Lacedæm. l. 3. c. 9. p. m. 155.

(73) Clem. Alexandr. in Prolegomeno, l. ii. c. 1. pag. 204.

(74) Virgil. Æneid. lib. i. ver. 314.

long; for he says, that, when they unlaced themselves to a certain point, they shewed from their feet upwards to their thighs. This is his way of expressing it. *Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν παρθένων ἄνω χιτῶνίσκος, ἢ παραλύσαντες ἀχει τινὸς τὰς πτέρυγας, ἐν τῇς κατὰ πτέρυγας παρέραινον τὰς μερὲς μάλιστα αἱ Σπαρτιάτιδες, ὥς διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἵδαν ὠνύμαζον.* Ita autem dicebatur etiam virginum tunicula; cujus postquam aliqui usque pinnae solvissent, à malleolo inferiore pedis femora ostendebant, maxime Spartanæ, quas idcirco phænomeridas appellabant (75). We may take it for granted then, as to the fact, that Cragius, and those who follow him, are mistaken; but something may be said in their favour, as to their reasoning, founded upon the fact. An habit might be so short, as to leave the thighs naked. See these words of Martial:

(75) Jul. Pollux, apud Meurf. Miscell. Læconic. lib. i. cap. xix, pag. 85.

(76) Martial. Epigram. xciii. lib. i.

Dimidiatque nates Gallica palla tegit (76):

And half the buttock's by the garment hid.

(77) John of the house of Luxemburg.

And what Dubravius observes of the modes which a king of Bohemia (77) brought from France. 'He let his hair grow very long; he wore round-toed shoes; and dressed himself in a short cloak, which reached only to his hips. *Inerat ei perigrinus habitus in neutriendis comis, in calceandis pedibus rostratis calcetis, in vestiendo corpore pallioli vix dimidiata nates regentibus* (78).' But still I maintain, the nakedness of the thighs, which the Lacedæmonian women were reproached with, proceeded not from the shortness of their petticoats; for if they had resembled our pages breeches, or the habits mentioned by Martial and Dubravius, it would not have been enough to have called them Phænomerides. There is no body but easily understands, that, if their petticoats, which were slit on both sides, without being sewed at the bottom, came but little lower than their breech, they had done much worse than shew their thighs in walking; so that the Poets, who took a greater liberty than they do at present, and expressed themselves more grossly, would have given them a much stronger epi-

(78) Dubravius, Histor. Bohem. lib. xx. apud Valefianus, pag. m. 61.

thet than that of Phænomerides, or *naked thighs*. I need not explain this thought more at large.

For the rest, the fashion of short habits was carried to a great excess in the court of France, if what we read in an Italian Author, who lived towards the end of the XVth century, be true. He supposes, that an Italian would not travel into France (§ a), as well because the French were ignorant, as because their very king wore a habit so short, as not to cover the nameless parts. 'Cur obsecro trans Alpes non profectus? Quod scirem Gallos maximè stolidos esse, corpusque curare magis quam animum colere: regemque eorum quamvis splendidissimum tam brevi tamen vestitu incedere, ut pudenda non velet, ac si Cynicorum sectator sit inilitutorum (79).'

(79) Jovian. Pontanus, in dialogo Antonini, pag. m. 1251.

[§ (a) The fashion of short habits had reigned in France, at least from the year 1346: and Gaguin, on the time of the battle of Cressy, book 8th of his History, speaks in this manner, both of this fashion, and of the inconstancy of the French nation in point of dress: 'Fuisse per id tempus per Franciam vestimentorum nimiam deformitatem, Scriptores tradunt: ita ut jocularioram vitam agere Francos à vestibus judicares. Crediderim non defuisse illis à lasciviam atque superbiam, quotidiana gentis mala. Itaque vel angustia, vel laxitate: item brevitate, seu longitudine vestimentorum, Galli semper peccant—Writers tell us, that dress was at that time too much deformed in France; inasmuch that you would judge the French lived a merry life from their garb. I suppose they were both wanton and proud, the daily evils of the nation. Therefore the French always dress in extremes: their cloaths being either too strait or too loose, too short or too long.' Probably, as Gaguin insinuates, they were soon tired of these short habits; but, however it be, they appeared again, and more than ever 120 years after, since king Charles V was obliged to banish that fashion, and others no less ridiculous, by edicts mentioned by Mezerai, in the year 1365: and yet, so true is Gaguin's remark, the same fashion of short cloaths was anew in France, and even in truth on the throne, towards the end of the XVth century; according to Jovian Pontanus, who was an eye-witness of it. REM. CRIT.]

LYCURGUS, an Athenian Orator, son of Lycophron, and grandson to another Lycurgus, whom the thirty tyrants put to death, flourished at the same time with Demosthenes. He first studied Philosophy under Plato; but afterwards betook himself to Oratory under Isocrates, and advanced himself to public employments (a). He was a severe judge, and fit to be compared with the Prætor Cassius [A]. He is spoken of pretty fully in the Supplement to Moreri, but not without some mistakes [B]. He is sometimes

(a) Plutarchus, in Vita decem Rhetorum, pag. 841.

[A] He was a severe judge, and fit to be compared with the Prætor Cassius. This is evident from these words of Ammianus Marcellinus. 'Verum ille, be-

(1) Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. xix, pag. m. 321.

(2) Δημάδης ὕπερον εὐνοῦν μισεν, εἰπὼν ἔτι δι' αἰματος οὐ διὰ μύλωνος τοὺς νόμους ὁ Δράκων ἔγραψεν. Plutarch. in Solone, p. 87. E.

(3) Plut. in vita decem Rhetorum, p. 841.

(4) Ἦν δὲ πικρότατος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις κατ' ἴκονος. Diodor. Siculus, lib. xvi. See also Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in Censura vet. scriptor. pag. m. 192, 193.

(5) Cicero ad Attic. Epist. xlii. lib. i.

'speaks of the Emperor Julian, judicibus Cassiis tristor & Lycurgis causarum momenta æquo jure perpendens, suum cuique tribuebat, nullam à vero abduci, acutus in calumniosiores exurgens quos oderat, multorum hujusmodi petulantem sæpe demeritiam adusque discrimen expertus, dum esset adhuc humilis & privatus (1). — But he, a more rigid judge than the Cassii and Lycurgi, weighed causes equitably, and distributed justice to every one, never deviating from the right: the scourge of calumniators, whom he hated, having had frequent experience of their malice, when in a private station.' Plutarch observes, that it was said of this Lycurgus, that he dipped his pen in death; a thought which well enough agrees with the reproach made to Draco, that he writ his laws, not with ink, but in blood (2). 'Ἐσθ' γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀσέβητον τὴν φυλακὴν, καὶ τὸν κακὸν ἔργον τὴν σκληρότητα, ὥς ἐξήλασεν ἀπαντας, ὥς καὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐνέει λέγειν, Λυκούργον ὁ μύλων ἀλλὰ δακτύλου τρίβον ἀπὸν κάλαμον κατὰ τὸν πονηρὸν, ὥς συνέλαβεν. Urbis etiam custodia ei mandata fuit, & malefactorum comprehensio. Quis quidem omnes expulit: addit ut sospitum quidam dicerent, Lycurgum ita contra malos scribere, ut qui calamum non atramento sed morte imbueret (3). Diodorus Siculus represents him as a violent accuser (4). Add to this these words of Cicero. 'Nolmetiphi, qui Lycurgei à principio fuisse mus, quotidie demitigamur (5). — We who at first, had the severity of Lycurgus, grew milder every day.' See the following remark, at the place concerning Ibis.

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[B] Not without some mistakes. I. He should have said in general, that he banished all malefactors (6), and not simply all loiterers and vagabonds. II. I do not find he excelled in exercises, or was commonly victor in the public games. III. He should not have said, that, when he made himself be carried to the senate, there publicly to give an account of all his actions, they were applauded by all the people: he should not have said this, without observing, that an accuser appeared against him, whose calumnies he confuted (7); nor should he have passed over in silence, that he was several times accused (8). IV. The Athenians, if we may credit the supplement, regarding him as a person, who had something divine in him, consecrated, after his death, an Ibis to him (an Egyptian-bird much like a stork), as the owl had been consecrated to Xenophon. This is misunderstanding Plutarch's words. Amiot translated them thus: *Lycurgus was surnamed Ibis, which is a Black Stork, and it was commonly said, to Lycurgus the Ibis, to Xenophon the Owl.* This passage of Plutarch (9) is much corrupted; but it is easy to see, that it does not signify what is pretended in the Supplement. The learned Henry Valefius will help us to understand it. 'Unde, (10) *scilicet* be, etiam Ibis cognominatus esse videtur, quod scilicet ut Ibis angues, sic ipse noxios cives & peregrinos expelleret. Aristophanes in Avibus: *Ἰβὶς Λυκούργου, χαίρει δὲ τῇ νυκτερίῃ.*

(6) Plutarch, ubi supra, ubi the word ἄνθρωπος, malefactors.

(7) Plut. ibid. pag. 842. E.

(8) Id. ib.

(9) Ibid. pag. 843. D.

(10) That is, because he persecuted offenders with bitterness and violence.

'Ibis Λυκούργου, χαίρει δὲ τῇ νυκτερίῃ.

'Quamquam scio Scholiastem ejus cognominis aliam afferre causam, quod scilicet Ægypto oriundus, aut quod longis cruribus esset Lycurgus. Sed nostram sententiam

11 N

sometimes confounded with Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian Legislator (b).

(b) Lindenbroch in Ammian. Marcellin. Lib. XXII, Cap. IX, & Corradus in Cicer. ad Atticum, Lib. I, Epist. XIII, mistake Lycurgus of Lacedæmon, for Lycurgus the Athenian Orator.

(11) Henric. Vallesius, in Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii, cap. ix, pag. m. 321.
sententiam confirmare videtur Plutarchus in Lycurgi Rhetoris vita: ubi & versum illum Aristophanis adducit, sed mendosum (11). — *Whence he seems to have been surnamed Ibis, because, as the Ibis destroys serpents, so he drove out mischievous citizens, and foreigners. Aristophanes, in his birds, says: 'To Lycurgus the Ibis, to Chærephon the owl: Ibo' I am aware, that his scholiast gives another reason of that surname, to wit, either because Lycurgus was a native of Egypt, or because he had long legs. But Plutarch seems to confirm my opinion, in his life of Lycurgus the Orator: in which he alleges that verse of Aristophanes, but incorrect.* A small doubt comes into my head. This Comedy of Aristophanes was acted in the second year of the XCIII Olympiad (12); and Lycurgus was not only alive, in the second year of the CXIth Olympiad, but he was one of the famous Orators whom the Athenians refused to de-

(12) Vide Sam. Petitii Miscellanea, lib. i, cap. x.

live up to Alexander (13). Of what an age then must he have been, when he died, if he be the same that Aristophanes spoke of in this Comedy? Did this Poet mention persons of obscure condition? V. When it is said, that, upon Demosthenes's testimony, Lycurgus's sons were presently set at liberty, it is plainly intimated, that Demosthenes asserted their innocence; but this is false. Demosthenes was then in exile, and he wrote to the Athenians, that they were blamed for the treatment they gave Lycurgus's sons (14). Hereupon they were released. It was not because, on the testimony of Demosthenes, it was believed they had been unjustly accused. VI. He ought not to have cited Herodotus, who being dead, before Lycurgus was born, could say nothing of him. The citing Pausanias is more pardonable, tho' he has said (15) but a small part of what is ascribed to him; but the not citing Plutarch, is an unpardonable omission.

(13) Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii, cap. 15.

(14) Plut. obi. supra, p. 822. D.

(15) Pausan. lib. i, p. 29.

(a) Poffius found the Latin version of it in Scaliger's copy, and published it. See the remark [O] of the article HOSPITAL. (MICHAEL DE L.).

LYDIAT (THOMAS) an Englishman, published some books in the beginning of the XVIIth century, in which he attacked the opinions of Scaliger, and those of Aristotle, &c. [A]. Scaliger was very angry with him, and confuted him with a deal of haughtiness. See the Prolegomena to his Chronological Canons. He inserted in it a Greek epigram (a), which is very injurious to Lydiat. The latter wrote a-fresh against Scaliger, and took in some other matters [B], and died the third of April, 1646, at seventy four years of age (b).

(b) Write in Diar. Biograph.

[A] He published some writings . . . in which he attacked the opinions of Scaliger, and those of Aristotle. He published at London, in 1605, a treatise *De variis annorum formis*, in which he confutes Clavius, and the Mathematicians of the college of Rome, and Joseph Scaliger. See here a passage of the Scaligerana, which charges him with not understanding what he censures in Clavius: 'Lydiat est melancholicus, æquinoctium mirum statuit 36 diebus post solitum, & dicit à veteribus sic observatum. Reprehendit Clavius, & illum non capit (1). — Lydiat has the spleen: he makes the æquinox 36 days later than usual, and says the ancients so observed it: he finds fault with Clavius, without understanding him.' Mr König makes mention of this work of Lydiat, and of that *De annis ministerii Christi*, printed in the year 1613; but he does not speak of this other work of his: 'Prælectio astronomica de natura cæli & conditionibus elementorum: tum autem de causis præcipuorum motuum cæli & stellarum. Item disquisitio physiologica de origine fontium perennium frigidorum & calidorum: eaque occasione de ortu & causis plerorumque omnium subterraneorum, atque etiam æstus & fæledinis maris, nec non diluvii universalis. Quibus duabus commentationibus adumbratur constitutio universi: ita ut receptæ à multis hodiè Philosophorum Peripateticorum opiniones de quinta cæli essentiâ immutabili, & de elementorum proportionibus sitque refutentur; naturalis autem historia sacrarum literarum de aquâ supercælesti atque igne subterraneo juxta genuinam antiquitatis receptam earum sententiam confirmetur. Auctore THOMA LYDIAT.' It was printed at London in 1605, in 8vo. The author, in his advertisement to the reader, declares he could not bear, that people should be deafened with Aristotle's

(1) Scaliger. voce Lydiat.

authority, as to the pretended difference betwixt the celestial and elementary matter, or that this silly reason should be alledged, that there are things true in Philosophy, which are false in Divinity (2). He maintains that this is making Divinity the sport of Atheists. 'Haudquaquam ratus oportere me contentum esse eo quod vulgo solitum esset responderi ad hujusmodi dogmata, Aristotelica sententiæ sacrarum bibliorum contraria, scilicet verum est Physicè non Theologicè, quandoquidem hoc videretur nihil aliud quam Theologiam exponere ludibrio hominum atheorum. . . . Igitur his duabus exercitationibus Philosophicis . . . conclusum, refutatis præsertim Aristotelis Opinionibus de natura cæli & elementorum, reddere rationes Physicas illius constitutionis universi . . . quæ sacris scripturis videretur esse tradita . . . id præcipue operam dans ut demonstrarem idem esse verum Physicè ac Theologicè.' Note, that he ascribes the original of fountains, and abundance of other things, to subterraneous fires.

(2) Confer quæ supra, remark [C] of the article HOFMAN (DANIEL).

[B] He wrote a-fresh against Scaliger, and took in some other matters. This will appear by the catalogue I am going to give; and of which no footsteps is to be seen in the Sieur König's Bibliothéque. *Defensio tractatus de variis annorum formis, contra Jos. Scaligerum, una cum examine Canonum Chronologicæ Hægogicorum*, at London, 1607, in 8vo. *Emendatio temporum ab orbe condito eujusque contra Scaligerum & alios*, at the same place 1609, in 8vo. *Solis & Lunæ periodus, seu annus magnus*, at the same place 1620, in 8vo. *Epistola astronomica de anni solaris mensura*, at the same place 1621, in 8vo. *De numero aureo. De altariis in Ecclesiis Christianis collocandis, &c.*

LYDIUS (MARTIN) minister of the Gospel, having quitted the Palatinate on account of the persecution, retired into the Low-Countries, in 1576, and was made professor of Divinity at Franeker. He was a native of Lubec, and had been principal of the *Collegium Sapientia*, at Heidelberg, in conjunction with Zachary Ursin (a). He left two sons, who were ministers. BALTHASAR LYDIUS, the eldest, began the exercise of his ministry at Dort, about the year 1603, and died in 1629 (b). He composed some books [A], and had four sons, who were all ministers. The eldest was called ISAAC,

(a) Taken from the Life of David Pareus, pag. m. 15.

(b) Henric. Witte, Diar. Biograph. Part ii, p. 50.

[A] Balthasar Lydius composed some books. He est, conservatio veræ Ecclesiæ demonstrata ex confessionibus Taboritarum & Bihemorum. The first tome was

ISAAC, and died minister at Dort, leaving a son named MATTHEW, who died a minister about the year 1685, and had a good library. JAMES LYDIUS, Balthasar's second son, was minister of Dort, and wrote several books [B]. The other son of Martin Lydius was called JOHN. He exercised his ministry at Oudewater in Holland, and published several books [C]. His two sons were ministers. No one family perhaps has furnished more ministers than this.

was printed at Rotterdam, in 1616, and the other at Dort, the year following. This author's other works are, *Facula accensa historiae Waldensium. Novus orbis seu navigationes primae in Americam* (1).

(1) Witte, *Diast. Biograph. Port.* ii, pag. 36.

(2) That is to say, the absurdities of the Papists.

[B] James Lydius wrote several books. I do not mention several poems he published in Flanders, nor his *Roomfchen Uylenspiegel* (2) printed at Dort, in 1671, in 8vo; but here are two or three books, which shew he was versed in the *Belles Lettres*. I. *Sermonum convivialium libri duo, quibus variarum gentium mores ad ritus in uxore expetenda, sponsalibus contrahendis, nuptiisque faciendis ac perficiendis enarrantur*. They were printed at Dort in 1643, in 4to. They were printed afterwards in 12mo. II. *Agonistia sacra*. III. *Florum sparsio ad historiam passionis Jesu Christi*. He wrote a book also intitled *Belgium Gloriosum*, and a dialogue *De eterna Domini*.

His heirs have some works of his in their hands, which he did not publish. Mr. Van Til, minister and professor at Dort, having seen the manuscript of

the *Syntagma Sacrum de re militari*, and that of the dissertation *De Juramento*, judged them worthy to be published, and advised a Bookseller to do it. This advice was followed, as appears by the volume printed at Dort, in 4to, 1698, and called, *Jacobi Lydii Syntagma sacrum de re militari: nec non de Jurjurando dissertatio Philologica: Opus Posthumum & multa eruditissime incisi, quod nunc primum ex tenebris eruit, notisque illustravit Salomon Van Til Theologus Dordracenus*. See the *Journal of Utrecht* (3), and that of Leipzig (4).

(3) *Mense Octob. 1697, pag. 438.*

(4) *Mense Junio, 1693, pag. 249.*

[C] JOHN LYDIUS published several books. He printed at Leyden, in 1610, a book of Præcolus, intitled, *Concilia Ecclesiae Christianae*, with his criticisms on it. Five years after he put out the lives of the Popes, written by Robert Barnes and John Bale, and continued it to his own time. He was author of that continuation. He had given an edition of Nicolas de Clemangis, in 1613, with notes, and a glossary.

LYNDE (SIR HUMPHREY) a knight, born at London (a), published there two books of controversy, one in 1628, the other in 1630. They sold very well, and were translated out of English into French by John de la Montagne. I will speak of them below [A]. Sir Humphrey Lynde had considerable employments: he was a justice of the peace, and member of parliament (b). He died the fourteenth of June 1636, aged fifty seven (c).

(a) Witte, in *Diast. Biogr. ad ann. 1636.*

(b) *Id. ib.*

(c) *Id. ib.*

[A] His two books of controversy . . . were translated into French by John de la Montagne. I will speak of them below. The French translation of the first of these works, made from the sixth English edition is intitled; *La Voye seure, &c. — The safe way, conducting each Christian, by the testimonies and confessions of our most learned adversaries to the true ancient Catholic faith, which is at this time professed in the church of England, and other Reformed churches* (1). That of the second treatise is intitled, *La Voye esgarée, &c. — The wrong way, making weak and tottering minds stumble in the dangerous paths of error, by the plausible colours of the apocryphal scriptures, unwritten traditions,*

(1) I make use of the Paris edition, by Lewis Vandoine 1647, in 8vo, it is the second edition. I say the same as to the translation of the following treatise.

doubtful fathers, uncertain councils, and a pretended Catholic church. Sir Humphrey Lynde was engaged in this work by a challenge sent him by a Jesuit in these words. 'Let Sir Humphrey Lynde, or those of his party, prove, from good authors, that the Protestant church was visible in all ages, and principally in the ages before Luther (2).' He was a man of great reading; and he gave a very good turn to his answer, and quoted a great many remarkable passages. I make no question but the Jesuit, who sent him the challenge, was the same, who answered his *Safe Way*. He was an Englishman, and his name was Robert Jenison: his answer was printed in English at Rouen in 1631, in 8vo (3).

(2) See the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Safe way*.

(3) See Ale-gambe, p. 412.

LYSERUS (POLYCARP), a famous Divine of the Augsburg confession, was born at Winenden, in the country of Wirtemberg, the eighteenth of March 1552. He was but two years old when his father (a) died; however his mother, marrying a second husband (b), gave him a father-in-law, who took great care of his education. The progress he made in his childhood recommended him as worthy to be educated in the college of Tubingen, at the charge of the prince of Wirtemberg. He employed his time so well, that he was ordained minister in 1573, and commenced doctor of Divinity in 1576. His reputation spread into all parts, so that Augustus, elector of Saxony, called him to be minister of the church of Wirtemberg in 1577. He had no sooner discovered his great abilities in that church, but he was added to the number of Divinity Professors. He was one of the principal directors for drawing up the book of Concord, and vigorously discharged the office of a missionary [A], in order to get it signed by

(a) Pastor and superintendent of Winenden.

(b) Luke Osiander, a famous Divine.

[A] He vigorously exercised the charge of a missionary. I make use of this term on account of the journey he was obliged to take from town to town, to exact subscriptions, and degrade the nonconformists. See the remark [C] of the article HUNNIUS, and consider these words of a German Divine: 'Incident Ministerii ipsius Wittebergenensis primitiae in illud ipsum tempus, quo ingenti cura maxime impensis Electoris Saxon. Augusti liber Christianae Concordiae Collectus, conscriptus & plurimarum Ecclesiarum calculo approbatus fuerat. In hoc ergo

opere feliciter promovendo partes minime postremas sustinuit Polycarpus, dum de mandato ac voluntate Electoris, una cum reliquis ad hanc rem deputatis Nobilibus & Theologis, non Wittebergae modo sed & Torgae, Lipsiae, Misena & alibi subscriptiones ab illis exposcere necesse habuit, qui publicis docendi muneribus vel in Ecclesiis vel in Scholis tam erant praefecti. Tanto autem tamque arduo labore superato &c. (1) — He began his ministry at Wirtemberg at that very time, when the book of Christian Unity was compiled with great care, and at the great expense

(1) Spizeller, in *Temple honoris* referat, pag. 12

(c) In the year 1586.

(d) Taken from his life, composed by Melch. Adam, who has taken it almost all out of his funeral oration, spoken by Leon. Hutterus.

by all who were in employments. He assisted at all the assemblies, which were held about this book, or about the re-union of the Calvinists and Lutherans, negotiated by the agents of the king of Navarre. Christian, elector of Saxony, who succeeded (c) to the dignity of his father, but not to his rigid Lutheranism, was overjoyed at Lyserus's communicating to him the advantageous conditions offered him at Brunswic [B]. He dismissed him with all his heart, but to the great regret of his subjects. Lyserus was at first only coadjutor at Brunswic, but became afterwards intendant. He was recalled to Wirtemberg, after the death of Christian; and was made minister of the court of Dresden in 1594. He stayed there all the rest of his life, and employed his time not only in the functions of the ministry, but also in the education of the young princes, and in writing books [C]. He died the twenty second of February 1601, a father of thirteen children [D], and grand-father to three grandsons and one grand-daughter. His will was an evidence of his charity to the poor, and to necessitous students [E]. He had had a great many quarrels upon his hands (d) [F].

exence of AUGUSTUS, elector of Saxony, and received the approbation of several churches. Polycarp contributed not the least to the success of this undertaking, whilst, in obedience to the command and will of the elector, together with the rest of the nobles and Divines deputed for this purpose, he was obliged to require subscriptions, not only at Wittemberg, but at Torgau, Leipzig, Meissen, and in other places, of those, who were public teachers in the churches or schools. Having performed this great and difficult task, &c.

[B] Christian was overjoyed at Lyserus's communicating to him the advantageous conditions which were offered him at Brunswic. The accepting them was the least of his thoughts; but he believed that the proposal might gain him the advantage of being retained, with useful testimonies of the high esteem they had for him. How astonished must Lyserus be, when he heard the elector's answer: for there was no way left of handsomely refusing the gentlemen of Brunswic: he was under a necessity of accepting their offer. This was a thunder-stroke to the zealots; their reiterated remonstrances to the court were all in vain. See here the words of Melchior Adam (2):

Cum aliud agens Lyserus, conditionis optimæ occasione apud Brunswicenses sibi obtingere, datis ad aulam literis, ostendisset: responsum plane ad posterum tulit: ut frueretur, quam sibi oblatum putaret, sollicitate: ecclesiæ Wittembergensi de alio pastore prospectum iri. Hoc responso ordines consensati non literis modo, sed & legatis ad aulam Electoralem missis, causas plane fonticas, exposuerunt, ob quas de retinendo Lysero sint solliciti: verum irrito plane conatu. — Lyserus having signified to the court by letter, that he had received advantageous offers from Brunswic, was unexpectedly answered, that he might enjoy the happiness, he thought was offered him, and that the church of Wittemberg, must seek another pastor. This answer thunderstruck the assemblies, who, not only by letter, but by their agents, represented to the electoral court the just reasons they had to be solicitous to retain Lyserus; but to no purpose.

[C] He spent his time in writing books. The chief of them are: *Historia passionis Dominicæ secundum IV Evangelia*, at Leipzig 1605, in 4to. *Historia resurrectionis & ascensionis Dominicæ, & missionis Spiritus sancti hominibus aliquot explicata*, Leipzig 1610, 4to. *Schola Babylonica ex cap. 1. Danielis, quam subsequuntur Colossus Babylonicus, Fornax Babylonica, Cedrus Babylonica, Epulum Babylonicum, & Aula Persica. Commentariorum in Genesim Tomi VI.* the first upon Adam; the second upon Noah; the third upon Abraham; the fourth upon Isaac; the fifth upon Jacob; the sixth upon Joseph. *Harmonia Evangelicæ, à Martino Chemnitio inchoatæ, continuatio, seu vitæ Jesu Christi secundum quatuor Evangelia, suas exposita libri tres.* I have elsewhere observed (3), that he published a book of Hafenmullerus: this occasioned a dispute betwixt him and the Jesuit James Gretser, which he broke off after the second reply (4); he saw no end of it, if he would have gone on with his answers; he therefore chose to found a retreat. But as to the dispute between him and a Swiss minister (5), who taught that God had elected all men to eternal life, it was much more obstinate; for it lasted seventeen years. Cum isto, inquam, totis annis septendecim pugnavit (6). I pass over several

books, which our Lyserus published in High-Dutch (7).

[D] He was father of thirteen children. Among others, of Polycarp and William, who lived to enjoy several ecclesiastical and academical employments, and published several books. POLYCARP LYSERUS, born at Wittemberg the twentieth of November 1586, was minister and professor at Leipzig, &c. He died the fifteenth of January 1633, leaving several children. You will find the catalogue of his books in the 452d and 453d pages of Paul Freher's Theatre. WILLIAM LYSERUS, his brother, was born at Dresden the twenty sixth of October 1592. He was professor of Divinity at Wittemberg, &c. and died the eighth of February 1649, leaving several children of both sexes. In the 542d, and 543d pages of the same Theatre, you will find the catalogue of his books. Note that his *Systema Theologico-Exegeticum* was not printed till 1699. In the Leipzig Journal of October, the same year, at the 473d, and 474th pages, you will find the names and qualities of some persons of this family.

[E] His will is a proof of his charity to the poor, and to necessitous students. These are Melchior Adam's words. Testamento cavit, ut quotannis in die Polycarpi & Elisabethæ, certa quædam pecuniæ summa impenderetur, in lautiores victum eorum, qui communi mensa uterentur (8). This author tells us a thing here (9) which perhaps needs some reformation. The ministers would be more respected in Germany than they are, if the students in Divinity were not often in such a condition as he speaks of.

[F] He had a great many quarrels upon his hands. Refer hither what I have said above (10), and add to it another thing not mentioned by Melchior Adam. There was a Poet called John Major, who wrote verses against the methods used to procure subscriptions to the Formulary, and which particularly abused the Divines of Wittemberg. Lyserus took this John Major to task with so much vigour, that he never let him rest till he got him expelled the university. He made himself many enemies by this victory; and, in his turn, fell under their assaults, losing all the preierments he had at Wittemberg. So true it is, that, on some occasions, it is better to be contented with a moderate advantage over an adversary, than drive things to extremities. But where are those, who can moderate themselves, when they have so prosperous a gale, and the governing faction permits them to revenge themselves? Sub initium anni 86 supra seculumillesum turbas Collegio Theologico Wittembergensi dari cepit Joannes Major Poeta, homo desperatæ levitatis, qui editis in publicum carminibus, Religionis sinceritatem, & bonorum Virorum Theologorum cum primis famam vellicare haud dubitaverat, cujus improbis conatibus, cum Polycarpus tum publicè tum privatim magno spiritu se opposuisset, tandemque effecisset, ut Poeta Wittembergensi Academia, si proferrius, dici non potest quos quantofque crabrones tunc exciderit tam in Aula quam in Academia, quantamque invidiam sibi apud multos attraxerit; quæ postea non sine gravi Ecclesiæ scandalo in nervum ita erupit, ut Polycarpus tota Ecclesiâ, & Academia reclamante functione sua exciderit (11). His retirement did not secure him from calumny (12). If we had a full account of this matter, we should find, perhaps, that our Lyserus was partly in the wrong.

(7) Spizellus gives a list of them. pag. 16.

(8) Melch. Adam, ubi supra, pag. 802.

(9) He had just said, Cum singulari quodam modo affectu Wittembergæ cum tenuioris conditionis fortunæ studiosos, quales plerumque esse solent, studiosi Theologos qui se mancipiant, prosequeretur; testamento cavit, &c. — Having a singular affection for Wittemberg, and for students of narrow fortune, as those who apply themselves to Divinity generally are, he provided by his will, &c.

(10) In the remark [C].

(11) Spizellus, ubi supra, p. 12.

(12) Neque vero in hac quantavis splendide ratione contentus, saltem stratum venenosum mortis effugere potuit. lb. pag. 13.

(a) Melch. Adam, in vitis Theolog. pag. 800. See also Spizellus, ubi supra, pag. 13.

(3) In the article JARRIGE, citation (21).

(4) Cum Jesuita Ingolstadiensi Jacobo Gretsero, ob publicatam historiam Hafenmullerianam, publicum ei intercessit certamen: in quo post unam aique alteram volitationem illud Poeta usurpandum sibi statuit: Cede repugnant: cedendo victor abiit. Melch. Adam, ubi supra, pag. 801.

(5) Samuel Huberus. See the article HUNNIG, remark [E].

(6) Melch. Adam, ubi supra.

LYSERUS

(b) It was printed in 1682, under the title of Polygamia triumphatrix, 4to.

(c) Quem tegula
sola tuetur
A pluvia, molles
ubi reddunt ova
columbæ.
*Whom the roofs
only shelter from
the rain,
Where pigeons
breed. . . .*
Juvén. Sat. iii,
ver. 201.

(d) Taken from the fifth volume of the *Observat. Selectæ*, printed at Hall in 1702, pag. 42.

(1) Amiot's translation of Plutarch's Life of Alexander. ch. ii. pag. 142. of the Paris edition for Peter Gaillard 1615, in 8vo.

(2) It is so in my
edition; but
without doubt
Amiot wrote
Acarnania.

Peleus, the prince his son is Achilles, and I am Phoenix. This was likely enough to tickle Alexander, and please king Philip: This was awakening in him great and sublime ideas. This invention made him beloved, and gave him the first place after Leonidas in the young prince's family. I have in another place (3) touched upon the distinction of a governor and a tutor; you will find it plainly enough in Plutarch's words, which I must copy, that my readers may perceive Amiot's error. *Λεωνίδας . . . μὲν ἐν εὐχρατὶ τοῦ τῆς παιδαγωγίας ὄνομα, καλὸν ἔργον ἔχουσιν καὶ λαμπρὸν, ὅσο δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, διὰ τὸ ἀξιωμα καὶ τὴν οἰκιστοῦτα, προεὖς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ καθήκον ἐκτελέουσιν, οὐ δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς παιδαγωγῆς καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ὑποποιτούμενος τὴν Λυσιμαχῶς, ὅτι γινέται Ἀκαρῶν. ἄλλο μὲν ἔστιν ἢ χῶρον αἰεῖον, ὅτε δ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀνωμαλὴν οἰκίαν, τὸν δ' Ἀλέξανδρον, Ἀχιλλεῖα, Πηλεῖα δὲ, τὸν φιλοπαιδῶν, ἢ πατρός, καὶ δυνάτα ἐν εἰς γῶραν. Leonidas . . . pædagogi nomen cum benevolentia et specioso conjunctum officio repudiabat, atque ab aliis dignitatis et necessitudinis causa nutritius Alexandri et rector vocabatur: ille qui speciem pædagogi et vocabulum sumebat Lyfimachus, natione Acarnan, urbaneitate nulla præditus erat alius, sed, quod Phœnicem nominaret scilicet, Alexandrum Achillem, et Philippum Peleus, ideo gratus erat, et secundum locum tenebat (4).*

(3) In the article
ACHILLES,
remark [C].

(4) Plutarch. in
Alex. p. 667. B.

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